



UNIVERSIDADE DE BRASÍLIA

CENTRO DE DESENVOLVIMENTO SUSTENTÁVEL

MESTRADO PROFISSIONAL EM SUSTENTABILIDADE JUNTO A
POVOS E TERRAS TRADICIONAIS

DISSERTAÇÃO DE MESTRADO

***EFFECTIVE COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY OF THE
MAROON AND THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN SURINAME:***

A CASE STUDY IN RESORT BROWNSWEG

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BRASÍLIA- DF

2017

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**Dissertação submetida como requisito parcial para
obtenção do grau de mestre no Programa de Pós-
Graduação Profissional em Desenvolvimento
Sustentável (PPG-PDS), Área de concentração em
Sustentabilidade junto a Povos e Terras Tradicionais.**

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BRASÍLIA-DF

2017

Lank-Corinde, [Genia Julliette]

[Effective collaboration between the Traditional Authority of the Maroon and the Central Government in Suriname: A case study at Resort Brownsweg / [Genia Julliette Lank-Corinde]. Brasília - DF, [Ano de Publicação (2017)]. [135].

Dissertação de Mestrado - Centro de Desenvolvimento Sustentável, Universidade de Brasília.

Mestrado Profissional em Sustentabilidade junto a Povos e Terras Tradicionais (MESPT)

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1. [autoridade tradicional] 2. [governo] 3. [colaboração]. 4. [desenvolvimento sustentável]. 5. [comunidades tradicionais]. I. [Lank-Corinde], [Genia Julliette]. II. Effective collaboration between the Traditional Authority of the Maroon and the Central Government in Suriname: A case study at Resort Brownsweg.

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Dissertação aprovada em 17 de abril de 2017.

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“I can do all things through Christ[a] who strengthens me”.

Philippians 4:13

Dedicated to Gonda, Carlos, Oedimar and Mirelvio

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Acknowledgements

Studying in Brazil was a huge challenge. I was very scared in the first place, but then I realized that studying abroad would only strengthen me. Besides an academic study, I have acquired among other things endurance, patience and skills to cope with the absence of my family. With boundless love and gratitude, I like to express my heartfelt appreciation to the following people:

My adviser, Dr. José Pimenta, for his expertise, guidance and countless time spent with me. Then, the professors who took time to explain things to me. The coordinators of MESPT, Monica, Caroline and Sergio for their constructive comments and support. From the start Monica has been a stronghold and fortress in many ways. Thanks for going the extra mile. Caroline for her support despite the language barrier. A special thanks to Stéphanie. My classmates, who helped me gathering necessary information; especially those who made the language and classes easier. Erna Aviankoi, despite her busy program did not hesitate to help me with the research methodology and assisting in editing the text and processing the data. Ulrich Bouterse, who despite his busy schedule, also made time to read my report critically. The team that helped me in the field, Jennyfer, Thanya, Monique and Jerry. A very special thanks to you all. My appreciation to the traditional leaders of Resort Brownweg, the government officials and the independent experts for their support. Suribraz, CCBS and Rudy van Els for their advice, support and effort by making it possible for me to attend this study. A special thanks to Telma for her guidance in Portuguese. Not to mention the Ministry of Regional Development, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy of Suriname, Grassalco, Gerrel and Eddy for the administrative and financial support. I am also very grateful for the critical coaching by Peggy Panka, my friend and sister and Ficenca, my sister who supported me through funny, sunny, beautiful and hard times in Brazil. Ramsay, my brother who always helped check if the laptop was OK. Githa, Marlon and Josmela who always made sure that our finances were ready. Also thanks to my housemates. Last but not least my family and in-laws, who have helped make things easier. My spouse and kids: my kids for sacrificing two years so I could grow and excel and my husband, Carlos, who stands as a rock behind me. Thanks for the support, love and sacrifice you made, without you I would not go this far. I want to extend my appreciation to my church family for their payers and support. Most of all the Almighty God, the Author of wisdom, courage and strength for giving me His blessings in making this study possible and successful.

GJLC

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Algemene Bureau voor de Statistieken
ACT	Amazon Conservation Team
ACTO	Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization
Alcoa	Aluminum Company of America
ATV	Algemene Televisie Verzorging
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CCBS	Cultureel Centrum Brazilië Suriname
DC	District Commissioner
DLGP	Decentralization and Local Government Strengthening Program
DSOP	District Strategisch en Ontwikkelingsplan
EBGS	Evangelische Broeder Gemeente Suriname
GB	Gouvernementsblad
GLO	Gewone Lager Onderwijs
GoS	Government of Suriname
HKV	Houtkap vergunning
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
ILO	International Labor Organization
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOP	Meerjaren Ontwikkelingsplan
MRD	Ministry of Regional Development
MZ	Medische Zending
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NTFP	Non Timber Forest Product
OAS	Organization of American States
ODB	Organisatie Dignitarissen Brownsweg
OP	Ontwikkelingsplan
PS MRD	Permanent Secretary Ministry of Regional Development
RKBO	Rooms Katholieke Bijzonder Onderwijs
S.B	Staatsbesluit

SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEOS	Sociaal Economisch Ontwikkelingsplan Suriname
SFOB	Stichting Fonds Ontwikkeling Binnenland
SPS	Stichting Planbureau Suriname
SRD	Surinaamse dollars
STVS	Surinaamse Televisie Stichting
TA	Traditional Authority
UN	United Nations
UPR	Universal Periodic Review
VIDS	Vereniging van Inheemse Dorpshoofden in Suriname
VJP	Vijfjaren Plan
VSG	Vereniging van Saamaka Gezagsdragers

GLOSSARY

<i>Azan pau</i>	gate of palm leaves
<i>Bassia</i>	assistant of the chief
<i>Bongola</i>	crate on the heads of two men
<i>Bee</i>	is a group of families formed by a matriarch
<i>Bee ku Lanti</i>	the family and the people
<i>Ede kabiteni</i>	head chief
<i>Fiscali</i>	Head chief with special task
<i>Fii pau kabiteni</i>	The chief that gain there position within their Lo.
<i>Faka pau</i>	prayer pole where the ancestors are worshiped
<i>Kuutu</i>	Meeting
<i>Gaama</i>	Paramount chief
<i>Gaama fu matu</i>	Chief of the forest
<i>Gaantio</i>	Mothers-brothers or mothers cousins
<i>Gaama duumi</i>	the deceased of a Paramount chief
<i>Gaankuutu</i>	is usually a joint meeting of the various tribes to address issues regarding the Maroons, sometimes also indigenous are involved
<i>Go a se</i>	regularly withdrawing from the meeting for consultation
<i>Kabiteni</i>	village chief
<i>Kii ganinja</i>	is a method of nomination of traditional leaders
<i>Konde kuutu</i>	is a meeting of one village to deliberate about issues concerning the village.
<i>Konde masa</i>	Lord of the Land.
<i>Lio kuutu</i>	is a meeting in which usually all villages or some villages, from the same river basin or tribe, are involved to discuss issues concerning their region or tribe.
<i>Lo</i>	matriclan (various Bee's) is a part of the tribe, which is formed by descendants of slaves from the same plantation, or met in the woods and form a unit but later became a composition of a plurality group of families with a matrilineal structure.

<i>Masa fu di lio</i>	Lord of the river
<i>Marronage</i>	is a larger scaled and more organized form of escaping plantation life and work. Groups of slaves ran away together with the assistance of other runaway slaves. They usually sought refuge in maroon villages
<i>The post holder</i>	(commissioner) an officer charged with supervision who was stationed at the Maroons with the primary goal to ensure that peace agreements were respected
<i>The Saamaka</i>	the <i>Saamaka</i> people (one of the six tribes in Suriname)
<i>Tja naki</i>	is a method of nomination of traditional leaders
<i>Wosu-dendu</i>	families (family consisted of a mother and her children and their respective family)
<i>Wisi</i>	Witchcraft

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this thesis is ‘effective collaboration between the traditional authority of the Maroon and the central government’. The goal is to contribute to effective governance of the communities in the light of the many challenges and changes they face and to enhance sustainable development. Therefore, it is important to look into both systems as well as how government policies influence the development of the interior. For this purpose the research was executed through a methodological approach. A study of available literature, a collection of secondary data from government agencies and primary data obtained through field instruments such as interviews and questionnaires were used in conducting the research. The research was done in the resort Brownsveg in villages of Maroons of the *Saamaka* tribe in the Brokopondo district. In the many studies about sustainable development and collaboration the central focus is human action for the betterment of humanity. That means that they should take into account the consequences of today’s action for the future. One of the studies shows that collaboration is very important in the development process of communities, especially when leaders are involved. It is evident that collaboration is essential for any development process in Suriname. The effect of the lack of collaboration was found to be reflected in the several development initiatives of the government in the interior in general. The leaders who took part in the survey want to put more effort into working together in order to accomplish things for both their resort and for Suriname in general. They also want a voice in the development policies of their communities. During the interviews several leaders have indicated, that the different roles they play within their community are not coming from the government but from their own community and the various tasks they have as traditional leaders. They as leaders of the Maroon communities will continue to exist as long as people are born. Therefore, it is their desire that the government involve them in the development of policies to the accountability thereof. The traditional leaders want a collaboration based on mutual respect, trust and involvement in government action regarding their communities and surroundings. The general conclusion of this research is that there is a lack of effective collaboration within the research institutions and between these institutions, but both parties recognize the need of collaboration and involvement.

Keywords: traditional authority, government, collaboration, sustainable development, traditional communities.

RESUMO

O principal objetivo desta dissertação é pesquisar “a efetividade da colaboração entre as autoridades tradicionais do Maroon e o governo central do Suriname”. O propósito é contribuir para uma governança efetiva das comunidades, em razão dos diversos desafios e transformações pelos quais têm passado com vistas a alcançar um desenvolvimento sustentável. Para isso, é importante investigar ambos os sistemas de governo, de modo a compreender como as políticas governamentais influenciam o desenvolvimento no interior do país. A pesquisa foi realizada através de uma abordagem metodológica que incluiu o estudo da literatura disponível, de uma coleção de dados primários obtidos através de pesquisa de campo, como entrevistas e questionários, que foram utilizados na realização do estudo. A pesquisa foi realizada na localidade de Brownsweeg e em aldeias quilombolas da tribo Saamaka, no distrito de Brokopondo. Nos diversos estudos existentes sobre desenvolvimento sustentável e colaboração o foco central tem sido a ação humana- o que significa que deve também ser levado em conta as consequências futuras dessas ações de hoje. Um dos estudos mostra que a colaboração é muito importante no processo de desenvolvimento das comunidades, especialmente quando líderes estão envolvidos o que demonstra claramente que a colaboração é essencial para qualquer processo de desenvolvimento no Suriname. O efeito da ausência de colaboração, se reflete nas várias iniciativas de desenvolvimento do governo no interior em geral. As lideranças que participaram da pesquisa desejam empenhar mais esforço a fim de trabalhar em conjuntos, com o objetivo de obter maiores realizações em suas localidades e para o Suriname em geral. As lideranças também querem ter uma voz nas políticas de desenvolvimento de suas comunidades. Durante as entrevistas, vários líderes indicaram que os diferentes papéis que desempenham em sua comunidade não advêm do governo, mas de sua própria comunidade e das várias tarefas que assumem como líderes tradicionais. Eles afirmam que continuarão a existir como líderes das comunidades Maroon, enquanto nascerem membros dessas comunidades. Portanto, é seu desejo que o governo envolva-os efetivamente no desenvolvimento de políticas sobre as quais devem assumir a responsabilidade. Os líderes tradicionais querem uma colaboração como o governo central baseada no respeito mútuo, na confiança e no envolvimento em relação às suas comunidades e arredores. A conclusão geral desta pesquisa é que há uma ausência de colaboração efetiva dentro das instituições pesquisadas e envolvimento.

Palavras-chave: autoridade tradicional, governo, colaboração, desenvolvimento sustentável, comunidades tradicionais.

INTRODUCTION

From the colonization of Suriname in the mid-seventeenth century by the Netherlands, political and socio-economic activities of the government are mainly confined to the narrow coastal strip. The majority of the territory, the so-called inland, withdrew almost out of the sight of the authorities.

Over the past three centuries two different worlds were developed in Suriname. The country effectively has two legal systems: a formal system of written laws and structure introduced into the country during the period of European settlement; and a traditional (customary) system based on the social structures of those populations. Given the historically divided nature of Suriname's development, these systems of rules have effectively evolved independently of one another. The formal system consisting of a civil law system, resembles the Dutch legal system adopted from its colonial history. The basic documents of this system are the post-independence Constitution (GRONDWET, 1975) and core codes related to civil, criminal, and commercial law. Primary legislation is enacted by the National Assembly with subsidiary legislation enacted by the Council of Ministers or individual ministers. Resolutions and regulations may be issued by the President or individual ministers based on their legal mandate to do so. The traditional system for both Maroon and Indigenous People is based on social structures and relationships. These 'rules' are not recorded in writing, but are understood by all members of the society and are part of the socialization process that the young go through early in life (ACT, 2010). With the acquisition of independence in 1975, Suriname's government was saddled with this political colonial heritage (Scholtens, 1994, p. 7).

Suriname population is composed of people who have been taken out from different parts of the world. The colonial rulers kept the groups apart in order to stimulate division and after the independence of Suriname some groups consider themselves even more exalted than other groups. Despite the fact that the different races in Suriname have succeeded in maintaining their respective cultural expressions and live together peacefully, there are still clear differences in development of these groups. In most cases, there are no noticeable negative effects in terms of our different races and cultures. Apart from small expressions of relationships in the family environment (e.g. marriages between different races) we celebrate our diversity as Surinamese in races and cultures. Development of the interior of Suriname where there are mainly Maroons and Indigenous Peoples

living, was not appreciable 50 to 60 years ago. Development of an area should not depend on accidental development policies. When developing structures, which are absent in these areas, then it is good not to only look at the history of these areas, but it is also interesting to see if cultural differences are important here. History teaches, that in these areas, communities have developed their own way of life, structure and leadership, differing from the rest of Suriname, which falls under the direct sphere of influence of government. So, this makes it also important to know and understand each other's culture (Lévi-Strauss, 1993 [1973], p. 326).

By the interference of the government in the last century, perceptible and imperceptible collisions occur in these communities. These collisions may be due to the two different authority structures and their methods, but even more, from a lack of cooperation between these two. Lack of cooperation can be a great stagnation in development and especially in sustainable development. For good cooperation it is necessary to know each other, in a sense each other's history and know which the important issues are. When it comes to the development in practice of the Maroons and Indigenous People and their territories there is a kind of discrimination towards them. This research will concentrate on sustainable development in the Maroon communities, and how to stimulate or trigger this. The approach chosen is to look at how the Traditional authority and the government of Suriname can work together in order to promote sustainable development in these areas.

The article of Pimenta (2004) helped not only to see the benefits that collaboration can have, but it also gives the advantages and disadvantages of leadership choices. He illustrated this with the case of the Ashaninka's. In this article, a very small group is dominant, and it also seems to enjoy most of the benefits from the larger group. This is an example that the Traditional authority should take to heart since officials are designated from families. And logically they are also the ones that are accessed in activities within their communities (Pimenta, 2004, p. 121). For example, for community forests the Traditional authorities get the permit for those areas and they also develop cooperation with others. Often enough, the community does not enjoy the economic benefits from these forests.

The authority system of the Indigenous and Maroon communities in Suriname is legitimized by customs and habits it is necessary to find a way for collaboration based on mutual respect in order to stimulate sustainable development. Over the years, the Traditional authority, in one way or another, is approved by the Central government, but not legally regulated. The studied literatures

shows that the call for recognition or a clear line how these two systems operate in parallel is recognizable. Therefore it is important to look into how the Traditional authority collaborates with the central authority for sustainable development for these traditional residential communities.

Research Problem

Most of the problems of the *Saamaka* have something to do with territories and the use by others than the *Saamaka* themselves. The problem with territories is not the only one faced by the *Saamaka*, but there are also problems with the leadership and management system of these areas.

There is a lack of connection between the two governance systems that exist in Suriname. While the legal system of Suriname as formulated in Paramaribo is meant for Suriname entirely and should be active and effective in the total territory of Suriname that is not the case in many of the Indigenous and Maroon communities. This brings an unclear situation between the role of the traditional (tribal) authority and the government.

Disintegration and generational conflicts were also challenges felt. One of the major challenges which further aggravated the generational conflicts and had put the Traditional authority under pressure and which impact can still be felt, is the civil war of 1986-1991. Both the effects of leadership as those of territories are felt in the resort Brownsweeg because both systems are prominent in the area and the changes are more noticeable at this resort.

In recent years, the call for sustainable development is getting louder, and the district Brokopondo, in collaboration with the Decentralization and Local Government Strengthening Program (DLGP) Unit, has made a District Strategic Development Plan Brokopondo 2015-2025(DSOP 2015-2025). This strategic plan clearly indicates the direction of the development of the district. Also, working with partners to achieve this was discussed. It was not clear along what line or on what basis the Traditional authority and government should work together.

The lack of reciprocity based on trust and mutual respect between the traditional authorities and the government is a very big challenge, and as a result, locals often enough do not know which direction to take. They choose therefore, often enough, for the party with the mandatory rules (Sabourin, 2016).

The resort Brownsweg should be prepared to face all these challenges. The *Saamaka* have had no opportunity to participate in the development of their area. With the awareness that has been going on for several years, this gradually is beginning to change. They want to be part of the development and also have an idea of how their area should be developed. This was evident in a session with the Traditional authority of Brownsweg on April 29, 2016.

Research objective and questions

The research objective is to formulate well-funded researched conclusions for strengthening the collaboration between the Traditional authority and the Central government. The outcome should be to contribute to effectively governing the communities in light of the many challenges and changes and to enhance sustainable development. It is also important to describe processes for an effective collaboration between Traditional authority and the Central government to promote sustainable development in the tribal communities.

Following the above, the key question will be formulated with supporting questions to provide answers to the many problems and challenges that have led to this research proposal.

The central question that can be asked is this:

How can the traditional and the central government systems in Suriname work effectively together to achieve local sustainable development in Maroon communities?

The sub-questions that support the central question are:

- How does the Traditional authority of the Maroons in Suriname function today and what are the specific strengths and constraints?
- What is the role of the Central government in local development in Maroon communities?
- What is the current relationship and cooperation between the Central government and the traditional authorities?
- What are the challenges and constraints that exist in the relation between the traditional Maroon authorities and the central government system, and how can these issues be solved to achieve sustainable local development?

Justification of the theme

Born and raised in the interior, district Brokopoondo in Suriname, I always compared the way decisions were made in my district with those in Paramaribo, the capital of the country. There were always differences. For example, the ways in which decisions are made in the interior: If there is no agreement on an issue, a smaller group of persons withdraws from the larger group repeatedly for deliberations until consensus is reached. In Paramaribo parties must abide by the decision of the majority. My own observations as a child of the interior have meant that I always asked myself the question why the government deals differently with the problems and challenges of the interior. As Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Regional Development (MRD), I experienced how complex Traditional authority can be, but also that it is an important institution that our ancestors maintained for decades. Of course it is sad to see how the Traditional authority is eroding. The reason given by the adviser to the president when I was released of my position as director of the Ministry of Regional Development has also contributed to my choice for this topic. Cases are handled differently, and despite of this fact, a traditional authority exists that has dealt with many cases over the years. The question I pose, is why the central government and the traditional authorities are not cooperating with each other on an effective and structural basis.

Although I have learned a lot on the job, I can do even better and contribute to making a difference in my country's development process, particularly with regard to the institution of the traditional authority and the sustainable development of the communities. With regard to the theory I have had the opportunity as far as I know to learn and see how I can use this in practice for my research to contribute to my community and others. I am very privileged to be part of the master program in Sustainability alongside Indigenous Peoples and Territories. By doing so, I see the opportunity that can help me meet my desire to do something in return for both the interior and my country. This program gives me many tools and opportunities to help my community making a difference and to support research on the challenges and perspectives of the traditional authority of Maroon and Indigenous Peoples in Suriname. I chose to research sustainable development in the Maroon communities, and how to stimulate or trigger them. The approach which I have chosen is to look at how the traditional authority and the government of Suriname can work together in order to promote sustainable development in these areas. In my choice to do this research, I am aware that there will be areas of tension between the Traditional authorities and the government, and because

I focus on collaboration between the government and the Traditional authorities, the tension in governance and their vision about sustainable development is mapped.

My research is a tool for both traditional authorities and the government to do things differently. In addition, the local population will provide a better basis to act in relation to developments affecting them.

Methodology

To collect data in the field, a qualitative research method (in-depth interviews) is used. Cases about land use and forest management, regarding the *Saamaka* community are studied to gain insight into how the Traditional authority and the central government may work effectively together in fostering sustainable development within local communities.

The study trajectory was divided in two parts: desk study and field research. Desk research was the first step in this trajectory: reviewing the literature, news articles and studying both audio and video documentation. For the field research, different qualitative methods namely in-depth interviews and observation through ethnographic participation were used. For collecting the data a topic list, an observation sheet as well as a semi-structured questionnaire were designed. The methodology and theoretical concepts will be addressed further in chapter three.

Restrictions

This study is confined to the *Saamaka* area, resort Brownsweag. Although some matters are generally discussed in this thesis, it is more to clarify the matter and research. This study limits itself to look for opportunities for collaboration between the government and the traditional authorities to stimulate sustainable development in this area. Another limitation to this study is the inclusion of external experts, because of the lack of time to do the focus group between the traditional authority and government officials because of availability of the latter group.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is laid out in five chapters. **Chapter 1** deals with the background and history of Suriname and the Maroons briefly. In this chapter several themes will be addressed. A short background of Suriname will be given based on political and social structure and the legal and

institutional framework. Then follows the historical background of the Maroons in Suriname. Several aspects will be addressed here like the origin of the Maroons, their territories and rights.

Chapter 2 deals with the *Saamaka* people, their background, political and administrative order, but also the challenges that led to stagnation in the development. This chapter will also give a brief description of the territories, rights and legislation of this Maroon tribe. Finally, the research area, Brownsveg, its background and socio-economic characteristics will be elaborated on.

Chapter 3 will elaborate on the theoretical and methodological framework about Traditional authority in collaboration with the government for sustainable development. The theories and methodologies of this research will be discussed. Several other themes will be addressed. First, the perspectives to look at the research question will be discussed namely, sustainable land use/management and forest management. Both development and the concept of sustainable development will be looked at from different perspectives. This chapter will also look into fundamental concepts and theoretical references on policy, collaboration, traditional authority & traditional people, but also the definition of the interior of Suriname. Further the chapter will elaborate on the methodologies, such as the research methods, sources and techniques, methods of collecting and analyzing data.

Chapter 4 an overview of the traditional authorities of the Maroons and the government of Suriname will be given, starting with a brief description of the background and development of the traditional authorities, how leaders are appointed, and the traditional authority in the 21st century and the challenges of the 21st century. Further this chapter will address the organization of the government; the government policies regarding the development of the interior of Suriname; the relationship between the government and the Maroons; and finally, the recognition of the Traditional authority by the Central government.

Chapter 5 discusses the results of the research specified as follows: role of the Traditional authority, collaboration of the Central government and the Traditional authority, the Central government, Traditional authority and sustainable development, and further on Traditional authority as land stewards and managers, land- and resources stewardship and stewards of the forest.

Finally, the conclusion will be presented.

1. CHAPTER 1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SURINAME AND THE MAROONS

Introduction

Suriname is a former Dutch colony. It has a geographical location in South America and in geopolitics refers to the Caribbean. Suriname became a colony (plantation economy) in the 15th century and went into Dutch hands in 1667 until its independence in 1975. Suriname is located at the north-east coast of mainland South-America, bordering in the east to French-Guyana, the west to Guyana, south to Brazil and north to the Atlantic Ocean. The following map shows the location of Suriname.

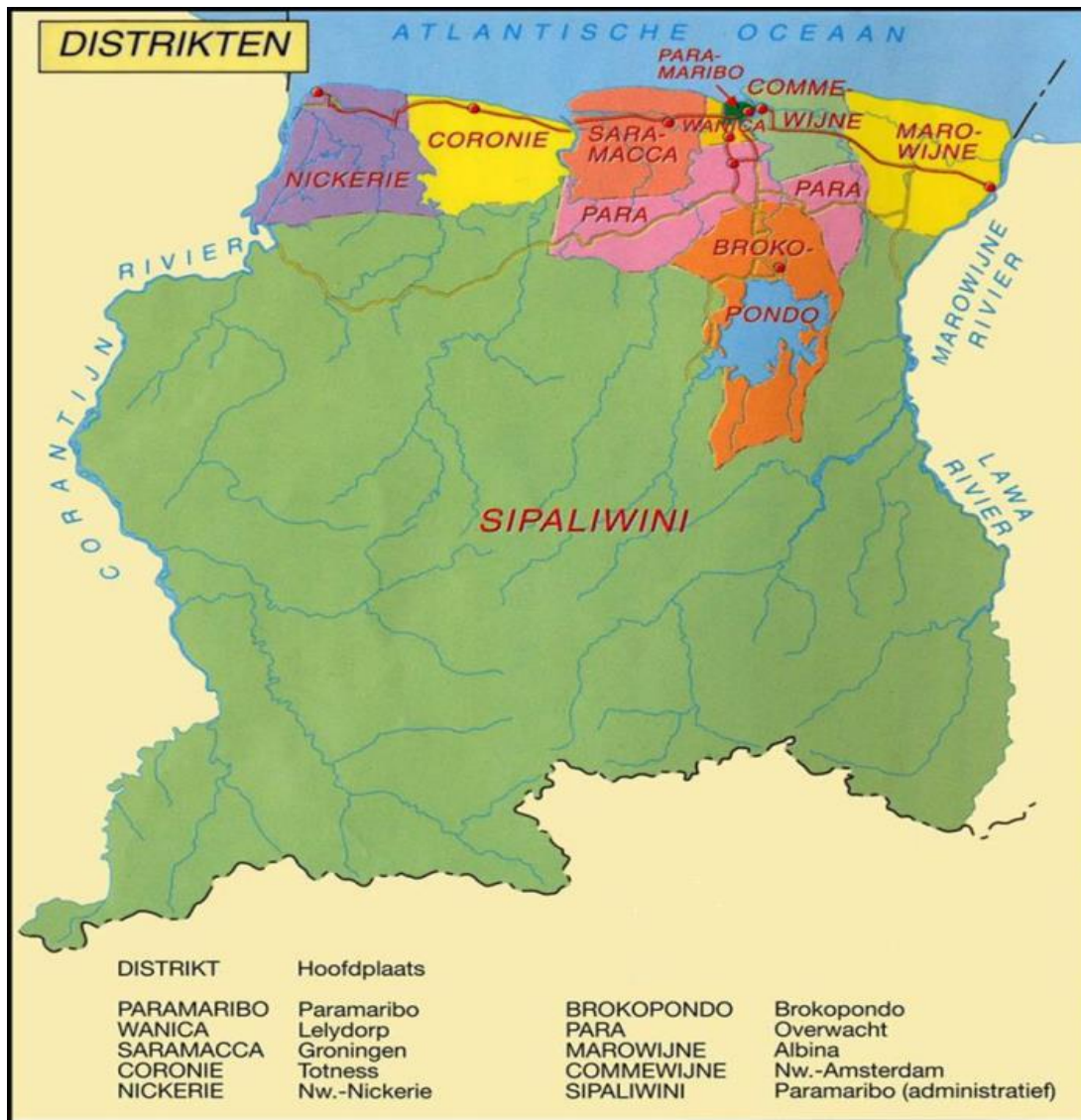


Figure 1: Map of South America

The country is characterized by a diverse ethnic, religious, cultural and language composition. To start with the diversity in ethnicity, the population consists of (i) Hindustani, descendants of

contract workers from India (27.4%), (ii) Creoles, descendants of mainly West African slaves, who remained in the plantations till the abolition of slavery (15.6%); (iii) Javanese, descendants of contract workers from the Dutch East Indies in Java, Indonesia (13.7%), and (iv) Mixed (13.4%). The Indigenous (3.8% = 20.344) are the original inhabitants of Suriname. Besides, the Maroons (21.7% = 117.567) are just like the Creoles descendants of slaves, but they fled slavery and live mainly in the forests of Suriname (ABS, 2012).

Suriname has approximately 534,189 (ABS, 2012) inhabitants and a land area of 163,820 km². Almost 80% of the population resides in the low lying coastal plain representing approx. 25% of the land area while 20% of the population is scattered over the rest of the country. The official language is Dutch and *Sranan* is the lingua franca. Different ethnic groups have retained their native language and the majority can speak two or more languages (MDG report 2014). The diversity in religions, cultures and languages is due to the different ethnic groups. After the abolition of slavery in 1863, the Netherlands took workers from other parts of the world such as China, India, and Indonesia to continue the work on the plantations. For administrative reasons, the country is divided in ten districts Paramaribo (capital), Nickerie, Coronie, Saramacca, Wanica, Para, Commewijne, Marowijne, Brokopondo and Sipaliwini. See below the map of Suriname with the ten districts.



(www.suriname.nu, 2017)

Figure 2: Map of Suriname with the districts

1.1 BACKGROUND OF SURINAME

Political and social structures

After the colonization of Suriname by the Netherlands in 1667, a people's representative was introduced in 1866. In 1948, a general suffrage for men and women was introduced. The first political parties were formed shortly after the First World War and the first general elections were held in 1949. Suriname acquired autonomous status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands in

1954 and became independent on November 25, 1975. Both before and after independence, politics in Suriname were run by a large number of coalition parties, which were often founded on ethnic lines. After the military coup d'état on 25 February 1980, the military remained in power until 1987. The general elections of 1987 brought a civilian government to power again until December 24, 1990, when another coup d'état took place. General, free and fair elections thereafter took place in 1991, 1996, 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015.

The present Constitution of Suriname dates from 1987 and was last amended in 1992. The Republic of Suriname is a democratic state, based on the sovereignty of the people and on respect for rights and freedoms as stated in article 1 paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Suriname. The political power rests with the people and is implemented in accordance with the Constitution.

The political democracy is characterized by participation and representation of the people of Suriname in establishing a democratic political system as well as participation in legislation and administration, directed towards maintaining and expanding this system as stated in Article 52 paragraph 2. The Republic of Suriname is a decentralized non-federal state. The democratic structure consists of a regional level of government services, whose function, organization, competencies and procedures are laid down by law and are in accordance with the principles of participatory democracy and decentralization of government and legislation (Article 159) (GRONDWET, 1987 gewijzigd in 1992).

The President is Head of State of the Republic of Suriname, Chairman of the National Security Council, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, Chairman of the Council of State. He is also in charge of the foreign policy of the Republic of Suriname and of all efforts geared towards the development of the international legal order. The president is chosen for a period of five years by the National Assembly.

The vice-president is in charge of the day to day operations of the Council of Ministers, consisting of 17 ministers, which is the highest executive and administrative governmental organ. Since February 2017, Suriname has 16 ministries.

The National Assembly supervises the work of the government in accordance with the Constitution. The assembly consists of 51 members, who are chosen per district by means of a democratic and free election for a 5 year term.

Legal and institutional framework

Suriname is both a parliamentary democracy and a Republic. The Constitution of the Republic of Suriname is the supreme law of the country. It sets out and defines the authority of main bodies of the State. All other legal regulations and laws must be in line with the Constitution.

The preamble of the Constitution embodies the guarantee that the principles of freedom, equality and democracy as well as the fundamental rights and freedoms of mankind will be respected. Chapters V and VI of the Constitution set out the different basic rights and freedoms as well as the manner in which they can be protected. Article 10 of the Constitution states that “Everyone has in case of infringement of his rights and freedoms a claim to an honest and public treatment of his complain within a reasonable time by an independent and impartial judge”.

Suriname’s law acknowledges two authorities that can administer justice. The Cantonal Court is the first court in the State, where as the Constitution designates in article 39 the High Court of Justice as the highest authority entrusted with the administration of justice in Suriname. Suriname also recognizes the original jurisdiction of the Caribbean Court of Justice for the interpretation of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas and the contentious jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court on Human rights.

The human right infrastructure of the Republic of Suriname has both legal and institutional components. The legal component includes the constitutional regulations, the national law of Suriname as well as its international obligations. The institutional infrastructure is composed of Governmental Institutions and Non-Governmental Organizations for the different areas of human rights (UPR Landen Rapport Suriname, 2011, pp. 6-7). Suriname holds membership in a number of international organizations among which the United Nations, ACTO, OAS and CARICOM.

1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MAROONS IN SURINAME

As written earlier, Maroons are descendants of slaves from Africa. The word “maroon” comes from the French word “marron” which in turn comes from the Spanish, “Cimarron” which means dweller on a mountain top. The indigenous people were first referred to as “maroons” by the Spanish, however blacks gradually dominated the maroons and the word was eventually applied to them. These slaves resisted against the degrading treatment of slavery and fled the plantations. The organization and leadership among the slaves was also affected and the geographical situation of Suriname lent itself particularly well to marronage. Marronage is a larger scaled and more organized form of escaping plantation life and work. Groups of slaves ran away together with the assistance of other runaway slaves. They usually sought refuge in maroon villages. Given the favorable geographical situation of Suriname, most marronage took place in small groups (Hoogbergen, 1985, p. 54). During the marronage, the number of runaway slaves continued to increase and to provide in their livelihood they attacked the plantations. The number of Maroons increased from 700 in 1680 to 7,000 in 1780. According to (Groot de, 1983b, p. 179), the average number of Maroons was approximately ten percent of the slave file. In the 18th century the power of the Maroons increased so much that they were a threat for the colony. Due to the power they gained, the colonial government had no other choice then to make peace with them.

After signing treaties with the colonial rulers, the Maroons, also known as *businengee*, were able to build undisturbed societies, drawing upon their African heritage. They live in tribal societies and are divided in different tribes. The tribes are comprised of sub tribes (matrilineal clans or *lo*) in one or more villages. People of the same sub tribe(s) feel bound together through ties of kinship and community history that go back to the formative period of marronage.

The total Maroon community counts 182 villages with a representation of around 1405 officials (traditional leaders). More than 40 percent of the Maroon population lives in the capital and coastal area of Suriname. The number of Maroons living in tribal societies (Marowijne, Brokopondo and Sipaliwini, the larger concentration area of Maroons in the interior) is estimated at 54.458 (ABS, 2012). Maroons can be found in all the ten districts in Suriname, but there are only three districts in Suriname where there are no near Maroon villages: Paramaribo (the capital of Suriname), Coronie and Nickerie.

1.3 ORIGINS OF THE MAROONS

The Maroons fled to different areas in the interior of Suriname and, as mentioned before, they succeeded to establish independent tribal communities in the rainforest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Maroons are divided into six tribal groups:

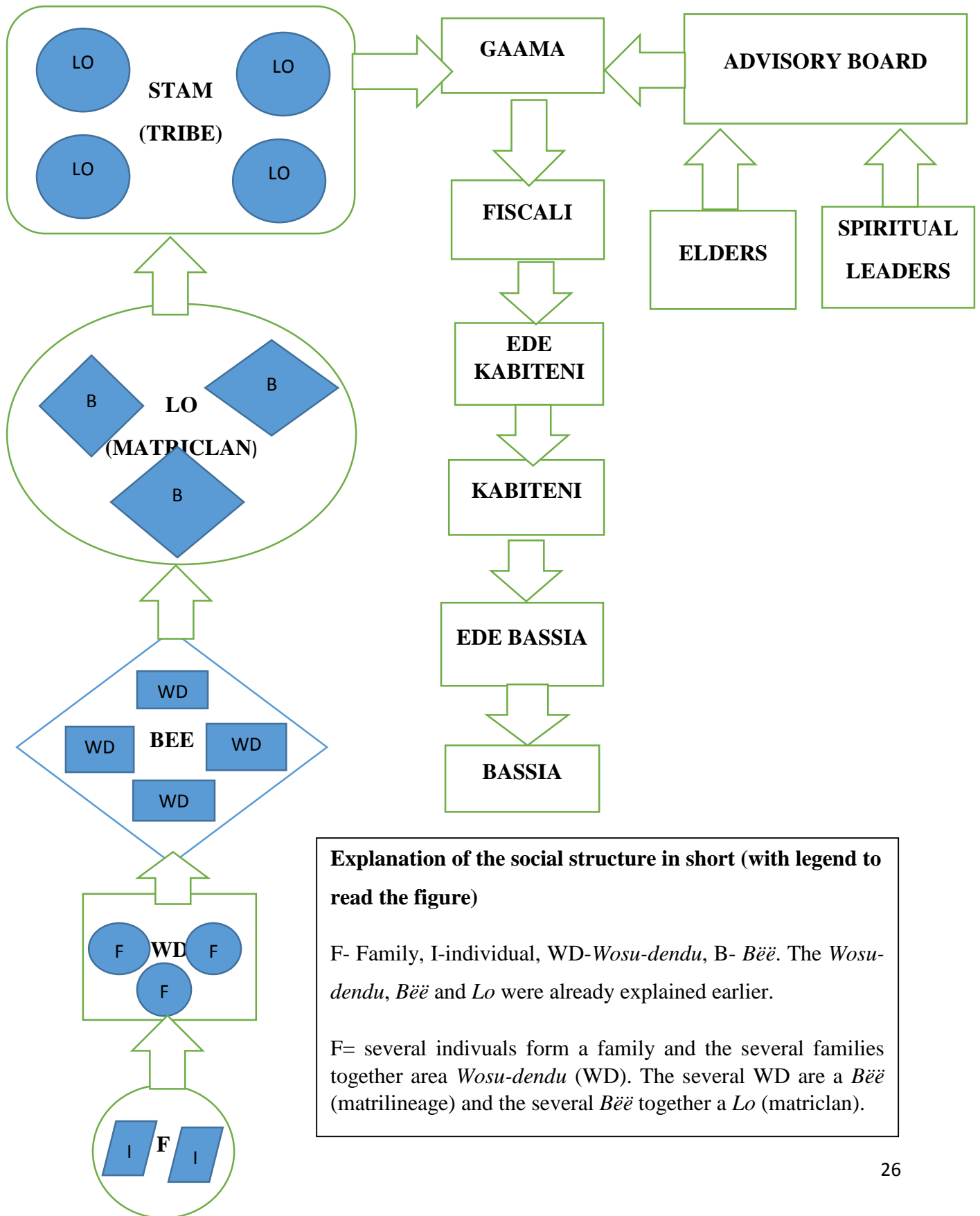
1. *Saamaka*
2. *Okanisi or Ndyuka*
3. *Matawai*
4. *Paamaka*
5. *Aluku or Boni*
6. *Kwinti*

These communities operated for decades without interference of the central government. The tribes took their names from the regions where they initially settled or from the name of a chief. The territory of each tribe is bounded by mountains, rivers, watersheds and forests. Besides founding of independent communities, the six Maroon tribes have been able to develop their own tradition and culture (habits, values, norms, language etc.). All six Maroon tribes have their own languages; the *Saamaka* and *Okanisi* are the best known. The other four languages resemble or derive from the *Saamaka* or the *Okanisi*. For instance, the *Paamaka* and *Aluku* are very similar to the *Okanisi* and *Kwinti* and *Matawai* to the *Saamaka*.

Composition of society

The Maroon communities have a particular composition. The communities are furnished on the basis of small groups (Libretto, 1990, pp. 31-33). Membership may take place by birth, marriage or descent. The core of the Maroons is formed by the matrilineal kinship. The most important relationships are formed by the *Wosu-dendu*, *Bëë* and *Lo*. The *Wosu-dendu* is one single family consisting of a mother and her children, grandchildren and grand grandchildren. The size of the *Bëë* is determined by the number of family members belonging to a same parent strain (usually a few generations back). Each tribe is divided into a number of *Lo*. Thus, the *Lo* is composed of plural matrilineages, the *Bëë*. The members of the *Lo* are supposed to have the same matriarch based on the below mentioned matrilineal structure. The largest Maroon groups consist of 12 *Lo* and sometimes more. They develop through a split or merge. The smaller Maroon groups have less than 12 *Lo*.

Figure 3: Social structure of the Maroons



Leadership

Traditional authority is the system that heads the different Maroons communities, giving direction and ensuring their survival. When regrouping after fleeing, these leaders had a different role in dealing with the challenges of the unknown forest and being the medium between the individual Maroon and the colonial leaders (the colonial leaders were the plantation owners, military leaders, and the government). In the period of warfare, certain persons emerged as leaders with military qualities. The chief (*gaama*) of a tribe would originate from the military leader's sub tribe. Among the *Saamaka*, this was for example the *Matjau* clan, and among the *Okanisi*, it is the *Oto* clan (Libretto, 1992, p. 1). After settling in the various communities, the traditional leaders were locally appointed, usually after spiritual consultation and according to traditional descend-rules.

As visualized in Figure 3, the *gaama* is appointed by the *Lo* for the position; the *fiscali*, *ede kabiteni* and *ede bassia* get the position on the basis of merit. Although the *fiscali* is a head chief, he has a coordinating role that is the reason he is above the *ede kabiteni*. The *kabiteni* and *bassia* are appointed by the *bee* and *lo* in cooperation with the family. The Advisory Board gives solicited and unsolicited advice to the *gaama*, *lanti* (community). Within the Traditional Authority, the woman plays an important role. Although she does not give advice publicly, she plays an important role when advising through the elders and/or her brothers and husband.

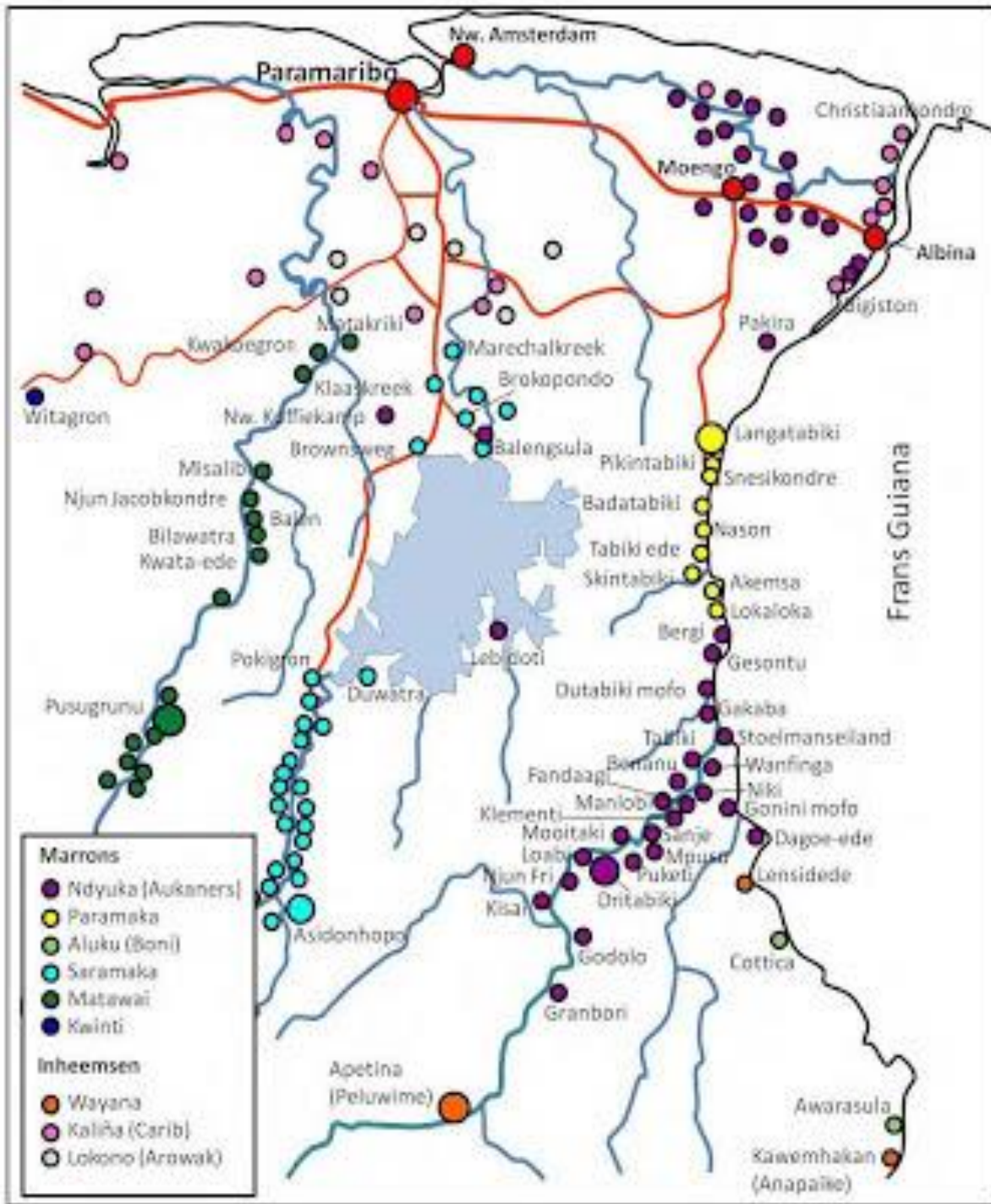
1.4 TERRITORIES OF THE MAROONS

The Maroons live in the interior of Suriname and their territories are bounded by mountains, rivers, watersheds and forests. The larger parts of the communities are in the districts Sipaliwini, Marowijne and Brokopondo and they have a few villages in the coastal area in the districts Commewijne, Para, Saramacca and Wanica. They live as follows:

1. *The Saamaka* communities are in the districts of Sipaliwini, Brokopondo and two villages in Wanica. Most of the villages are at the Upper Suriname River, Gran Rio and the Pikin Rio in the north of the professor Van Blommenstein reservoir and after the construction of the dam in the Brokopondo area (Suriname River).

2. *The Okanisi* or *Ndyuka* live in the districts Sipaliwini, Marowijne and Commewijne; they have communities at the Tapanahony; the Marowijne, the Cottica and Upper-Commewijne River.
3. *The Matawai* live in the district Saramacca; this group has established its community in the Middle and Upper- Saramacca River.
4. *The Paamaka* have their communities along the district Sipaliwini; the villages are at the Marowijne River.
5. *The Aluku or Boni* have their establishment at the district Sipaliwini; their territories are partly on Surinamese border side at the Lawa and partly on the side of French-Guyana
6. *The Kwinti* live in the districts Sipaliwini and Saramacca at Coppename and the Upper-Saramacca River.

The figure below illustrates the areas where the tribal people live in Suriname. Each Maroon or Indigenous tribe have a different color which is indicated by circles on the map.



(Kraaijer, 2013)

Figure 4: Collective map of the tribes of Suriname.

1.5 RIGHTS OF THE MAROONS

Although agreements have been concluded in the 18th century with the Maroons to bring so-called peace between the parties, these treaties were more aimed at safeguarding the interests of the colonial government. Table 1 below shows the initial and the renewed treaties with the various Maroon tribes. Betterson (Betterson, 2003) shows clearly that even in the renewed treaties, the interests of the (colonial) government has been restated and/or guaranteed.

Not one traditional community or people hold any form of communal land property title to their lands and territories. The Decree Principles Land Policy states that the State owns all land that is not granted to anyone (S.B 1982 no 10.) and all natural resources by law (Decreet Grondbeginselen Beleid. S.B.1982 no 10, 1982). The same about land rights goes for the Indigenous people. The State can issue recourse exploitation concessions without their consent. The law recognizes that they are entitled, but that only to use and enjoy their villages, settlements and agricultural plots. When the state decides that these areas are needed for other activities, the tribal peoples and these rights are neglected as matter of law (article 4 of the Decree Principles Land Policy). The rights of the Maroons are not regulated in the Constitution of Suriname, neither the Constitution of 1975, or the Constitution of 1987 speaks of any rights of these groups. The only things that offer a grip for the argument which communities can use, concerning the land which they inhabit, without being disturbed, are the peace treaties of the 18th century and the protection clauses which are incorporated in statutory regulations and some of the articles cited in certain laws such as the Mining Act, the Gold Ordinance, the Forest Management act, the L-Decrees on Principles of Land Policy etc. In addition to the international judgments, such as the *Moiwana* judgment and the *Saamaka* judgment, there are no other legal provisions governing the rights of the Maroons. These protections clauses mention for example that the concessionaire must respect the rights of Indigenous and Maroons in their villages, settlements and farmland that may be located in the area. *The Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Maroons in Suriname* of Ellen- Rose Kambel and Fergus MacKay (Kambel, E & MacKay, F, 1999, pp. 202-204) and *The Land Rights of the Indigenous Peoples and descendants of the Maroons in Suriname* of Tania Velthuisen (Velthuisen, 2008, p. 119) mention all the laws and legislations, where all these protection clauses are.

Table 1: The initial and the renewed treaties with the various Maroon tribes

	Initial peace treaties	Renewed peace treaties
1	October 10, 1760 with the tribe of <i>Ndyuka</i>	September 21, 1809 with the tribe of <i>Ndyuka</i> in English interregnum, March 25, 1837 with the tribe of <i>Ndyuka</i>
	September 19, 1762 with the tribe of <i>Saamaka</i> ,	December 13, 1835 with the tribe of <i>Saamaka</i> , 1924 Protocol with the Saamaka
	1767 with the tribe of <i>Matawai</i> ,	1838 the tribe of <i>Matawai</i>
4	1860 strain of <i>Boni's (Aluku's)</i>	

(Betterson, 2003)

2. CHAPTER 2 THE SAAMAKA PEOPLE

Introduction

The *Saamaka* is the research population. The decisive factor of this study were the many challenges faced by the *Saamaka* in their development process. If the government would apply a different strategy, namely an effective collaboration with the TA, sustainable development of the *Saamaka* may be fostered. The *Saamaka* are everywhere in Suriname. They can also be found in the Netherlands, the United States and other parts of the world. The highest concentration of *Saamaka* is in the Sipaliwini district on the Upper Suriname River, Brokopondo and a small part in the district Saramacca. This chapter gives more insight into the *Saamaka* tribe.

2.1 BACKGROUND OF THE SAAMAKA

The *Saamaka* is one of the six Maroon tribes in Suriname. They derive their name from the escape route they followed through the Saramacca River to the areas where they live now. According to Price (1983) the *Saamaka* have more than 12 clans (*Lo*) and these are: *Abaisa*, *Agbo*, *Awanna*, *Biitu*, *Dombi*, *Fandaaki*, *Kasitu*, *Kwama*, *Langu*, *Matjau*, *Nasi*, *Njanfai*, *Papoto*, *Paati-nenge*, and *Watanbii*. According to Price (Price, 1983, p. 16), the *Matjau* hosted the *Watambii*, *Kasitu* and the *Paati-nenge*, but also the *Papoto* and the *Njanfai* clan. The *Abaisa* hosted the *Fandaaki* on their lands. The *Langu* clan is made up of *Kadosu* and the *Kaapatu* and later the people who split off to become the *Kwamma*. The *Nasi* clan hosted their companion clan the *Biitu*. The *Awana* clan made up of *Tiifu* and *Tobiasi-nenge*, and often considered by outsider to include as well the Ingi-pisi people and those of the *Agbo* clan (Price, 1983, p. 27). Many writers who have done research in this area talk about 12 *Lo* and *Saamaka* also currently talking about 12 *Lo* spread across about 81 villages and camps. The 12 *Lo* are: *Abaisa*, *Awanna*, *Biitu*, *Dombi*, *Faandaki*, *Kwamma*, *Langu*, *Matjau*, *Nasi*, *Njanfai*, *Papoto* and *Watambii*. The 12 clans extra judicially represent the *Saamaka*.

A clan of the *Saamaka* is also divided into *Bee*, as mentioned in chapter 1. It has an average of a few hundred to a few thousand people. Most *Lo* derive their names from that of the planter or plantation where they arose, this does not mean that all members of such a *Lo* came from the same plantation. The *Matjau* for example, derive their name from the Portuguese Jewish planter Imanuel

Machado, the *Abaisa* from Labadie, *Nasi* from Nassy etc. Each *Lo* historically has certain rights in a certain territory. The division is not entirely balanced, but is made in consultation with each other and also can use each other's lands. The *Saamaka* live mostly in groups of families in a village. The transmigrations disrupted many of these families and they live in several villages now. The same pattern can be notice in villages where a number of families are.

2.1.1 Political and administrative order of the Saamaka

During marronage, the Maroons had no central authority. They knew the *gaama fu matu*¹ (chief in the forest) a leader who appeared in each small group. Actually a central authority in the form of *gaama* as we know was imposed to the *Saamaka* by the governor in the peace treaty of 1762, because the governor only recognized *gaama* as a contact. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the governance of the *Saamaka* was approved in the peace treaties of 1762 and 1835 by the government. Article 4 of the Convention of 1762 and article 11 of the Convention of 1835 indicate that the *Saamaka* have to mention who their paramount chief is and at death they will notify the government whom will be the successor and he must take an oath of allegiance to the government after his appointment within his tribe.

The paramount chief embodies the highest political office of the *Saamaka* society. In *Saamaka*, he is sometimes called *masa fu di lio*² (lord of the river) and *konde masa*³ (lord of the Land). The succession takes place according to matrilineal principles from a historically determined *Lo*. In *Saamaka*, this is the *Matjau Lo* (Libretto, Scholtens et al). Now there are voices that the succession should take place according rotation. It is also claimed that the *Matjau Lo* have stolen the *gaama*, but this is not confirmed in the different desk research done. In the past, there were many existing rivalries about the institute of the *gaama*, especially between *Matjau-*, *Nasi-*, *Awana-* and *Langu Lo*. This rivalry has come to resurface since 2004 and is still ongoing. Basically a *gaama* cannot be succeeded by his son, only by his brother or sister's son. Since Djankuso (1898), the residence of the *gaama* of *Saamaka* is Asidonhopo in the *Pikinlio* (Pikin River).

¹ Chief of the bush

² Lord of the River

³ Lord of the Land

The *gaama* has an important symbolic function and embodies the collective traditions and knowledge of his people. The extent of his authority depends partly on his personality, the way he propagates his people to outwards and his influence is greatest near his home area. The *gaama* practices not only worldly power, but also religious power (Scholtens, B, Wekker G, Putten van, L & Dieko, S, 1992).

The *Saamaka* no longer know the different functions of the past such as *granfiscali*, as from the beginning of the 21th century the function *fiscali* was used. Within the *Saamaka* societies there is consensus on that key functions are assigned to men. Over the years this has changed, because now there are female *bassia* and *kabiteni*. Only at the level of *gaama*, *fiscali* and *ede kabiteni* there are no women in position in the *Saamaka* societies. Nevertheless, women play an important role in the decision-making by giving advice behind the scenes.

Previously each *Saamaka Lo* had a *kabiteni* these were called *fii pau kabiteni*⁴. This changed with the population growth, the changes within the communities and the external influences. The number has increased considerably as a result, so does the number of *bassia* because each village chief has four *bassia* at his disposal. In *Saamaka* societies the *fii pau kabiteni*'s enjoy the most prestige. In the *Saamaka* communities, each village has its own administration, *lanti*, consisting of one or more village chiefs, *bassia* and council of elders. Political influence is also exercised by the priests (*obiama*). This is also very much changed with the arrival of the church in many villages. Many *Saamaka* villages are Christianized, so the *obiama* has no more important place in these villages, but the church and school do. Each village has a large degree of autonomy. The status of a village is determined by the presence of a *faka pau*⁵ (prayer pole where the ancestors are worshiped), and a cemetery. And in the traditional non-Christianized villages, a welcome port near the landing place is formed by the *azan pau*⁶(gate of palm leaves), intended for prevention of evil influences. The *Saamaka* societies also have permanent camps where the above issues are usually absent.

Legislation such as law takes place in a *kuutu* (meeting) in the *Saamaka* societies. Such meetings take place at different levels, especially the village-, *lio*- and *gaankuutu*. The *gaankuutu* is held at

⁴ The chief that gain there position within their Lo.

⁵ prayer pole where the ancestors are worshiped

⁶ gate of palm leaves

the residence of the *gaama* and consists of the *lanti* of the different villages or representatives of *lanti*. This is chaired by the *gaama*, who has veto power. Each *kuutu* should follow certain ideal or aesthetic form, which is aimed at a consensus and should not give rise to discord or spare. During the *kuutu*, which sometimes can last days, the parties may withdraw regularly (*go a se*⁷) for consultation. A *kuutu* is above all the platform of choice for the display of rhetorical qualities. Law violations can be contested by secular punishment, such as goods and fines, corporal punishment and banishment, and with supernatural sanctions. Traditionally, only the more serious offenses, such as homicide, are left to the central government. The *Saamaka* leave homicide for the central government but also punish the person with banishment and destroying of properties of the family of the murderer. These penalties (punishments) are slightly changed under the influence of increased contact between the interior and the coastal area.

The traditional governance (Scholtens, B, Wekker G, Putten van, L & Dieko, S, 1992, p. 38) can be seen as democratic in the sense that all the people are involved in decision making. However, according to these writers the democratic character can be at odds with the matrilineal succession proceedings, and the actual exclusion of most of the *Lo* from the institute of *gaama*. This administration is effective in a relatively closed and isolated society and functioned as such. Increasing contact between the interior and the coastal area, including the associated acculturation, also caused some erosion of Traditional authority. Especially the transmigration (1964) and the civil war (1986-1992) have reinforced this process. A new challenge for the political and administrative order in the interior is the introduction of the decentralization of governance in the form of district and local councils in which no account is taken of the Traditional authority.

The amount of traditional leaders of the *Saamaka* has grown very explosively in recent years. *Gaama* Belfon Aboikoni, who died in 2014, is the 13th government approved *gaama* of the *Saamaka* since 1762. The Traditional authority of the *Saamaka* had some difficulties back in the 19th century with the succession which occurs mainly from historically designated *Lo*. The *Saamaka* had a relatively long quiet period without difficulties in the succession of the *gaama*. After the death of *Gaama* Songo ongoing disputes followed each other. Since then, the leadership of the *Saamaka* at these levels has a dispute. This dispute began with the death of *Gaama* Songo Aboikoni in 2003 and the appointment of *Gaama* Belfon Aboikoni, where two parties were

⁷ Regularly withdrawing from the *kuutu* for consultation

contesting this. Eventually, the government, on the recommendation of the majority of *Saamaka*, accepted and formalized Belfon Aboikoni as *gaama* of *Saamaka*. After his death, the same happened where there are three names doing the rounds as the *gaama* of *Saamaka*. One of the persons claiming to be the *gaama* of the *Saamaka* is the younger brother of the late *gaama*. This is still disputed, two years after the death of the *gaama*.

Both the Maroons as the Indigenous have a traditional system with traditional leaders. The tables below will provide first an overview of the Traditional authority of the Maroons in Suriname. Then in the following an overview of the traditional authority in the total *Saamaka* area and then a gender representation of the traditional authorities in the area.

Table 2: Overview of Traditional authority of the Maroons in Suriname

No	Officials	Female	Male	Total
1	<i>Gaama</i>	-	6	6
2	<i>Ede kabiteni</i>	-	29	29
3	<i>Kabiteni</i>	32	254	286
4	<i>Ede Bassia</i>	5	21	26
5	<i>Bassia</i>	530	528	1058
	Total	567	838	1405

Table 3: Overview Traditional Authority of the total area of the Saamaka

Area		Gaama (Paramount Chief)		
Total <i>Saamaka</i> Area		1 (male)		
Area	Villages	Male	Female	Total TA
Brokopondo	29	122	94	216
Boven-Suriname	50	327	229	556
Wanica	2	11	10	21
Total	81	460	333	793

Table 4: Gender representation Traditional Authority (male and female)

<i>Saamaka</i> TA	<i>Ede Kabiteni</i>	<i>Kabiteni</i>	<i>Ede Bassia</i>	Bassia	Total
Male	15	148	19	282	464
Female	0	20	3	306	329
Total	14	168	22	588	793

2.2 TERRITORIES OF THE SAAMAKA

The *Saamaka* live in 81 villages along the Upper Suriname River in an area north and northwest of the Afobaka Dam and the district Brokopondo. The traditional *Saamaka* territory includes the basin of the Upper Suriname River and its source rivers, the Gran Rio and the Pikin Rio.

According to the applicable law and tradition, the *Saamaka* territory is collective ownership of the *Saamaka* people. It consists entirely of land and resources that the *Saamaka* have traditionally occupied and used in accordance with their traditional system of land use. Within these communities, the clans are the main landowners. The different soils that form the *Saamaka* territory according to the *Saamaka* and the resources they can use belong to the 12 clans. Each *Lo* owns certain parts of the *Saamaka* territory. Individual members and extended family and kinship groups (*Bëë*) hold subsidiary rights of use and occupation within the area belonging to their *Lo*.

Although the 12 clans have ownership of the land constituting the *Saamaka* territory, *Saamaka* law stipulates that captains or members of a clan are not allowed to sell or give away the ownership of their clan. These lands are inalienable.

The traditional boundaries between the lands of the various clans and between the *Saamaka* people and its Indigenous and Maroon neighbors are respected and they are precisely tracked and recorded in the oral history and tradition. The *Saamaka* have extensively inhabited and used this area, from the early 18th century, the only exception being when in the 60's, 26 villages were forcibly

relocated by the Afobaka Dam. This dam was built near the northern boundary of the traditional *Saamaka* territory and so has flooded 50% of the territory.

The *Samaaka* area consists of 81 villages, of which 50 are located in the Upper Suriname area, 29 in the Brokopondo area and 2 in the district Wanica. These villages are represented by 793 officials at a local stable of approximately 30.000 people living in the villages. This is displayed in table 3.

2.3 RIGHTS AND LEGISLATION OF THE SAAMAKA

The basis for rights and regulations of the *Saamaka* are laid in the peace treaties of 1762 and 1835. Following these conventions, no other laws incorporated the rights of the Maroons as clearly defined as mentioned above. The rights of the Maroons are not regulated in Surinamese law or regulations. Neither one of the two constitutions of Suriname mentioned rights of the *Saamaka* even with the change this has been neglected in 1992. They lack any effective legal safeguard for their traditional territories and ownership rights to their lands and resources. The *Saamaka* people are no exception in this regard. The only distinction is the international judgment of the Inter-American Court for Human Rights in the *Saamaka* case which gave them certain rights over their territories. For more detail about the rights of the *Saamaka* territories search for the *Saamaka* case 12338.

2.4 CHALLENGES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SAAMAKA

After the peace treaties of the colonial government with the *Saamaka*, there have been a number of challenges and problems that have stagnated the development of the *Saamaka*.

To start with, the Brokopondo Plan, the Surinamese government tried to implement a specific policy regarding the development of the interior. In this context, they wanted to attract foreign investors. The government then went into a partnership with the North American transnational, Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA). In 1916, Suriname became acquainted with the bauxite industry. At the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding in 1957 between the Government of Suriname and Alcoa was included in return for new and extensive bauxite concessions that an aluminum smelter would be built. As a result of this agreement, it was

determined that a dam would be built for hydro-electric power for supplying energy for the processing of bauxite to alumina and aluminum respectively. To carry out this plan, the people that lived in the area had to be moved, as a large part of their territory would go under water. Landveld (Landveld, 2009, p. 45), Michels (Michels, 1973, p. 33b), and other writers talk about 5000 Maroons and 25 to 26 villages. Scholtens (Scholtens, 1994, p. 129), however, indicates that there were about 6,000 Maroons distributed in 34 villages (28 villages of the *Saamaka* and 6 of the *Okanisi*), who were forced to leave. It is conceivable that different figures are used by different authors, because the recording of data and especially the data of the transmigration went very flawed. This situation had led to the transmigration of the *Saamaka* people in 1964.

After the forced transmigration, the *Saamaka* were resettled in downstream transmigration villages as Brownsweg, Klaaskreek and Hermandorp (Bakker E, Dalhuisen L, Hassankhan M, Steegh F , 1993, p. 73). The government wanted to prevent the massive migration of the Maroons to Paramaribo, but this was just driven by, among other new developments within the country in the field of education and a lack of work in the new villages. Some consequences of the displacement are:

- ✓ change in migration patterns: temporary and seasonal migration became permanent migration
- ✓ scarcity in the livelihood of the transmigrants
- ✓ disruption of families and communities
- ✓ undermining of the traditional governance
- ✓ the *gaama* of the *Saamaka* was not representing the interests of *Saamaka* north of the lake adequately because of the distance (Hoop, 1991, pp. 125-127)
- ✓ there was a development, that did not take into account the fundamental interests of the displaced. This resulted in an increased urbanization (Weasberge, 1976, p. 37) mostly to Paramaribo and the coastal areas.

Secondly, the Civil war 1986-1992 was another stagnation in the development of the *Saamaka*. The civil war is one of the black pages of the recent history of Suriname. Hundreds of people, mainly Maroons and Indigenous people in the Marowijne, Brokopondo and Sipaliwini region, but

also military and 'jungles'⁸ were killed. Thousands of people had to flee their residential areas and many villages and camps have been destroyed. Numerous vital economic projects have been destroyed and societies, especially in the interior, were seriously disrupted. Roads, water systems, schools, electricity and water supplies, in short, the infrastructure was fully impaired. In resort Brownsweg most of the infrastructures were destroyed and villages were burned. In addition to the inflicted material loss mainly, the damage on the intangible level was immeasurable, in particular the disruption of families and disrupted relationships. The restoration of the disturbed relationships, both within and between the various Maroon communities and Indigenous people, was one of the biggest challenges Suriname was facing (Scholtens, 1994, p. 127).

Uncertainties regarding Land Rights and Gold Mining in the *Saamaka* territories can be seen as the third factor stagnating the development of the group.

The inhabitants of the Brokopondo area, including resort Brownsweg are also very dissatisfied with the fact that the government has granted to third parties concession rights for gold mining in 'their' areas. These activities make the issue of land rights of the local population exceptionally complex, and again a 'hot issue'. After so many decades, it is still unclear who has the right to decide on the grounds and especially the natural resources in the interior of Suriname.

In 2000, the *Saamaka* filed a formal petition with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. The *Saamaka* judgment (more known as the *Saamaka* case 12338) is about the lingering land rights issue between the *Saamaka* people and the Government of Suriname, the first party filed a complaint with the Inter-American Court. On November 28, 2007, the Inter-Americans ruled in the case of the 12 *Saamaka Lo* against the State of Suriname. This judgment was delivered after a survey of Suriname to further illustrate certain aspects of the first sentence (Twelve Saramaka Communities, 2007).

The *Saamaka* have complained three years to the national authorities about these logging and mining concessions. They also voiced their complaints about the lack of respect for their land rights, both by the government and the companies. In addition, Suriname is one of the country in the Americas that has failed to recognize at least to some extent these rights.

⁸ The fighters of the Jungle Commando (was the armed group which fought against the military)

Fourth, the New Koffiekamp case is also recognizable for stagnation of the *Saamaka* development. New Koffiekamp is one of the villages which had to move as results of the transmigration caused by the construction of the dam. The inhabitants of this village are in danger of leaving their village for the second time in favor of the gold mining company Golden Star. The company was awarded the Gross Rosebel concessions, which covers 17,000 hectares. This concession is now held by I AM GOLD Rosebel Gold Mines. The village lies in the southern part of the concession (Kambel, E & Mackay, F, 2003, p. 86). Nowadays, this village is surrounded by mined area, except for the gold company that went into mining production in 2003, also locals are identified as illegal gold miners around this village.

Fifth, the floods in 2006, by which most *Saamaka* villages in the Upper Suriname area flooded, have contributed to the stagnation of the development of the *Saamaka*.

2.5 RESEARCH AREA RESORT BROWNSWEG

The resort Brownsweg is located in the south of Suriname in the district Brokopondo. This district was established as a special administrative unit with the building of the Afobaka Dam for power generation of the construction of the Paranam aluminum plant. This project led to the transmigration of about 28 Maroon villages, as mentioned earlier. As a result new villages were created in district Brokopondo and the Upper Suriname River. This district is very rich in natural resources and has a great contribution in the national income and even villages are located in areas where these supplies are common. The research area is especially rich in precious stones, wood and a large part consists of a nature reserve.

The district consists namely of six provinces (resorts): Marshallkreek, Klaaskreek, Centrum, Sarakreek, Brownsweg and Kwakoepron. My research area is Resort Brownsweg in light pink.



Figure 5: Map of the district Brokopondo with its resorts

2.5.1 Background of resort Brownsweg

All the villages that are now part of the resort Brownsweg were destroyed by the water when the dam was built. The name of the resort is also the name of the largest village in this resort. This village was founded in 1959 as a conglomerate which initially consists of seven villages inhabited by the people who moved in 1964, five years after the start, and now consists of 11 villages and these are as follows: New Koffiekamp, New Koffiekamp (km 106), Brownsweg, Kadjoe, Makambi, Djankakonde, Birudumatu, Ganze, Wakibasus 1, 2 and 3. Its population is about 4343 and it is one of the most populous resorts in the district (DSOP Brokopondo, 2015-2025, p. 18).

Table 5: Inhabitants and representation of the Traditional Authority of resort Brownsweg (male and female)

Area (villages)	Inhabitants	Male	Female	TA
Birudumatu	276	129	147	8
Brownsweg	384	227	157	-
Djankakondre	163	80	83	7
Ganzee	485	238	247	9
Kadju	708	337	371	7
Makambie	527	261	266	6
Wakibasus 1, 2, 3	1450	707	743	17
Nw Koffiekamp, Koffiekamp (Km 106)	350	176	174	15
Total	4343	2155	2188	69

(DSOP Brokopondo, 2015-2025)

Table 6: Gender representation of the Traditional Authority in resort Brownsweg

	Ede Kabiteni (Head Captain)	Kabiteni (Captain)	Ede Bassia (Head Assistant)	Bassia (Assistant)	Total
Male	2	10	1	26	39
Female		1		29	30
Total	2	11	1	55	69

2.5.2 Socio Economic Characteristic of Resort Brownsweg

In the past, residents of the interior had done agriculture, balata, fishing and hunting and occasionally, small-scale gold mining and logging to build houses and boats. After the transmigration, the traditional leaders and the residents had no response to the new environment in which they were brought. They had to search for new opportunities to survive and to support their families. Through all this suffering they had to abandon the traditional way of surviving and finding new ways to survive. The men then began logging, small-scale gold mining and working in the then-operating company in the region, Suriname Aluminum Company (Suralco). After the civil war, there was an entire transformation in the district Brokopondo that was not called positive development, especially in resort Brownsweg. There prevailed a veritable gold rush. Many men, women and youth took to the gold fields to build a life of subsistence for them. Gold was mined in an irresponsible manner. Both the government and the traditional authorities had no answer to this phenomenon. But on the other hand, the government was also one of the accused, who gave a lot of mining and logging concessions in the area. The traditional authority is also not free, because they had the so-called community forests; which they also rented to third parties without any supervision of what happened and some of them also participate in mining activities.

Jerry Finisie, member from the resort Brownsweg and a Manager at Rosebel Gold Mines, said in his presentation at the meeting that I organized with the Traditional authority of the resort Brownsweg on April 29, 2016 that trust is the building block for development. In the same presentation, he indicated that development is not possible without certain conditions. One of the conditions which he indicated is economic activities.

Economic Activities

Gold mining (small scale and large scale) and commercial forestry are the main economic activities in terms of income and employment in Resort Brownsweg. Other economic activities are shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, handicrafts, herbals, shops, government employment and remittances from migrated family members (Muntslag, 2006). The most government employed mainly work at the Ministry of Regional Development, the Ministry of Agriculture, Husbandry, Fisheries and Forestry, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs and Public Works. Approximately 75% of the inhabitants of Brownsweg have food plots, which are primarily intended for subsistence

(mixed crops). Muntslag (2006) identified some core problems in Brownsweg village in relation to agriculture production and marketing:

- ✓ Agriculture has diminished in economic importance relative to other sectors, especially small-scale gold mining
- ✓ Agricultural land in resort Brownsweg and its vicinity is rather infertile. Fertile agricultural lands are available but at a far distance from the villages.
- ✓ A lack of credit; a lack of marketing facilities and information; a lack of cheap transport; of extension services and training; of employment and low incomes; of production tools and equipment.
- ✓ A lack of secure land tenure/titles and problems of conflicting land use claims, i.e. conservation, eco-tourism, agro forestry, gold mining and logging (Burnett, 2014, p. 31)

Community forests/ HKV

For purposes of community logging a special type of concession called *Hout Kap Vergunning* (HKV), the so called logging permit, was granted by the government to the Maroon *kabiteni* (Muntslag, 2006). Most HKV's are directly controlled by the *kabiteni* and often leased to outsider loggers for exploitation. The access to the HKV's and the distribution of income derived from the HKV's are permanent areas of conflict between families and individuals, since not everybody gets an equal share of the benefits (Muntslag, 2006). The *kabiteni* do not want to share the benefits of these HKV's with others. This is acknowledged by most of the traditional leaders I spoke to or had an interview with during my research on camp.

This is one of the reasons why the government now granted *Gemeenschapsbos* (Community forest) to the villages, which is legally on the name of the village *kabiteni*, but under supervision of a commission. In an interview with a few traditional leaders in resort Brownsweg it was clear that not all villages have such permits and some of the Community forests are not active. Wakibasi 1 does not have a Community forest yet. The permits of Djankakonde and Makambi are not active for different reasons. One of the *ede kabiteni* of Brownsweg, acknowledged in the interview with him that the Community forest of Wakibasus 3 on his name does not have sufficient logging material (wood) for commercial use. The villages are trying to finance small projects with the

funds from these community forests in their respective villages in this resort. See the list of communal forests in attachment no. 5.

The distribution of income from the community forests

The entrepreneurs who participate or work in the community forests of the resort Brownsweg have agreements with the captains on whose name these forests are registered. They sign these under supervision of the Ministry of Regional Development.

On the basis of the schedule presented in attachment no. 5, different prices were used for a cube wood within the different forests. In a conversation with the chairman of the organization of traditional leaders in this resort, Organisatie Dignitarissen Brownsweg (ODB), every entrepreneur pays 10 USD for 1 cube of wood that they takes out of the community forests. Upon inquiry, an entrepreneur indicated that they ask between 110 and 120 USD for a cube wood. The chairman of ODB further states that two ways for distribution are being used for the income of the community forest in the different villages. Depending on the harvest, the entrepreneur takes wood from the forest 1 to 2 times a month. The distribution is as follows:

Table 7: Distribution income community forests resort Brownsweg

Distribution Community Forests	1 st distribution	2de distribution
Income in the Villages	System %	System %
Village chief	25	20
Other traditional leaders	-	5
Committee	10	10
Village	65	65
Total	100	100

Attachment 8 shows the production and income that the stakeholders of the communities got out of the community forests or HKV's of this resort in 2016. There were no figure of the first quarter

of 2017 available. In the next to table the distribution on basis of both the calculated income will be shown. The amounts are not distributed proportionately among the various stakeholders. The whole is dependent on the production of such a community forest. Some distribute more and others less.

Table 8 shows the figure and the distribution according to attachment 5 and table 9 shows the figures and distribution according to the chairman of ODB.

Table 8: Distribution income community forests resort Brownsweg according attachment 5

The first way of distributing			
No	Stakeholders	%	\$
1	Village chief	25%	15,378,725
2	Committee	10%	6,151,490
3	Village	65%	39,984,686
	Total		61,514,901
The second way of distributing			
No	Stakeholder	%	\$
1	Village chief	20%	12,302,980
2	Other Traditional leaders	5%	3,075,745
3	Committee	10%	6,151,490
4	Village	65%	39,984,686
	Total		61,514,901

Table 9: Distribution income community forest resort Brownsweg according to chairman ODB

The first way of distributing			
No	Stakeholders	%	\$
1	Village chief	25%	17,789,295
2	Committee	10%	7,115,718
3	Village	65%	46,252,167
	Total		71,157,180
The second way of distributing			
No	Stakeholder	%	\$
1	Village chief	20%	14,231,436
2	Other Traditional leaders	5%	3,557,859
3	Committee	10%	7,115,718
4	Village	65%	46,252,167
	Total		71,157,180

In conclusion the traditional leaders and villagers of resort Brownsweg can do more with the income they get from the community forests if they join forces. Although the community forests do not produce much compared to what the entrepreneurs gaining out of it, the forests bring up some money if the communities in this resort jointly spend it to sustainable projects. Now, the resources from each community forests is been using for purposes concerning that village and more on projects on small constructive nature.

Electricity and Water

Although the Brokopondo reservoir has made it possible from Paramaribo and part of the coastal area to be equipped with electricity, people in the vicinity of the hydroelectric were lack electricity for years. In the 90s, the government has decided to provide these areas with free electricity. The installation of most households are not done by qualified electricians and are not connected in a professional way to the net. Most villages in Brokopondo have almost 1x 24-hour electricity, but very poorly with many blackouts. Also water supply is free, but in later years very deficient in this district, especially in the resort Brownsweg where the villages are not along rivers and creeks like other villages. The villages in this resort have for quite some time, one day alternating water from the taps. If today the villages on the left have water, the one of the right will have the next day.

Education

The Government, the Roman Catholic Special Education (RKBO) and the Moravian Church Suriname (EBGS) provided education at primary level in resort Brownsweg. There are no secondary schools at junior level yet in resort Brownsweg, although the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science is busy with the construction of a school to put education at junior level. According to the *ede kabiteni* in an interview on November 2, 2016, the construction of the school was put to a stop, for up to now unknown reasons, as a result of which students must follow secondary education at a distance from their residence. Some parents chose to put their children in Paramaribo in boarding schools, from where they can visit the school. But the majority of these children attend the secondary school in Brokopondo centrum, which is the capital of district Brokopondo. In addition, they are faced with inadequate or expensive transport. Moreover, the school bus often breaks down and the students have to walk all the way home or to school.

There are four schools at primary level (Gewoon Lager Onderwijs, GLO) namely:

- ✓ The Pater van der Pluyschool of the RKBO, located in the Wakibasoe 2 village;
- ✓ The D. R. M. Schmidtschool of the EBGS, located in the Ganze village;
- ✓ The O.S. Brownsweg of the government, located along the road to Birudumatu;
- ✓ The Johannes Kwameschool of the EBGS, located in the New Koffiekamp village.

Resort Brownsweg provides education on primary levels for adults who have not finished primary school or have not received any education. They are given the opportunity to follow the *Bigisma Skoro*. This type of adult education which is part of the lifelong learning concept is managed by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and Community Development. They provide also education on secondary school level for students that finished the primary school, but did not attend or finish the secondary school, the so-called dropouts, and students which are too old for the secondary school.

Healthcare

Healthcare at Brownsweg is provided by the Medische Zending (MZ), a government subsidized primary healthcare organization which covers the healthcare for the poor and underprivileged in the interior of Suriname. Experience shows that MZ covers everyone who has a permanent residence in a village in the interior and not working for the government or a company, so does

not have any other medical insurance. MZ has two clinics or healthcare centers in Resort Brownsweg: one located between the villages Ganze and Birudumatu for the villages of conglomerate Brownsweg and one at New Koffiekamp. The clinic of Brownsweg has reasonable facilities such as a laboratory, an incubator and a pharmacy with a reasonable supply of medicines. There are also facilities to accommodate patients, and there is an ambulance. The staff consists of four health assistants and three assistants for the clinic. There is no regular doctor. A doctor visits the clinic twice a week for consultation.

Although MZ is in the area, some of the biggest challenges mentioned by several official of the Traditional authority during my interview in the last week of October and first week of November 2016 were about health care and the services of MZ. One of the *ede kabiteni*, indicated that he would rather prefer an expansion of the service, extra training for some personnel and regular control by the head office of MZ in Paramaribo. According to him, admitted patients are not properly taken care of and emergencies have to suffer greatly under the administrative rules of MZ, which can result in fatal situations. He also indicates that the distance from most villages to the MZ clinic is quite far and it is very difficult for older people (Burnett, 2014, pp. 32-33).

Communication

The inhabitants of resort Brownsweg received more television channels since digital television is introduced in Suriname. There is a tower on Brownsberg, which is a nature park in resort Brownsweg. Before the digital television they could only receive STVS (state-owned), ATV (semi state-owned) and Apintie. STVS has poor reception in the area. The inhabitants cannot receive all the radio stations. Only those with a strong signal like Apintie and Radio 10. The two main telecommunication companies of Suriname, Telesur (semi state owned) and Digicel (private), provide mobile services in the interior. Telesur has a tower and also opened a mobile shop in Brownsweg, which is closed since 2016. The person responsible for of Telesur Interior indicated that the shop was closed due to payment commitments that could not be met. They now ensure that all stores have sufficient upgrade cards. This shop was the only one in Brokopondo district.

3. CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK- TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN COLLABORATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Based on Surinamese laws all land belongs to the government. MacKay and Kambel (2002) indicate that the land did not belong to the colonial government, because the Indigenous people were the rightful owners. According to them the Indigenous territory has never ceded to the Spaniards nor to the British and the Dutch. The Europeans were only allowed to cultivate the coastal area. Mackay and Kambel's vision is supported by international organizations such as International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations (UN) and the Organization of American States (OAS). These organizations insist that the historical rights of Indigenous and Tribal peoples should be respected. This study will focus specifically on sustainable land use / management and forest management to look at the collaboration between the Traditional authority and the government and how this can stimulate sustainable development. Although sustainable land and forest management has an interdepartmental character and spreads over several ministries, this research was limited to four following ministries namely Ministry of Regional Development and the Ministry of Natural Resources, Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forestry Management and the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fisheries. They are not described further in this research, but officials of these ministries will be interviewed for this study. This is due to the fact that their policy cover the area of the subject the best. They deal with land management or use and forest management in Suriname. They are also the ministries which issue a permit or advice prior to granting an authorization. They must also ensure that policies and legislation are made regarding land use and forest management or joint contributions to policy and legislation. Furthermore, this chapter will elaborate on the theoretical concepts and methodologies used for this study.

3.1 SUSTAINABLE LAND AND FOREST MANAGEMENT

Strategies for sustainable land and forest management including agricultural land and forest should include reform of regulations on land ownership; in order to end unsustainable practices in land

and forest management such as the exploitation of natural resources. Land and forest are of eminent importance for the inhabitants of the interior. Apart from the fact that they derive their cultural identity from these sources, they are directly dependent on their existence. They also exploit the resources from the land and forest for market purposes. Improving land and forest use can be a positive development for the interior as it contributes to poverty reduction. The communities in the nature rich interior can, conversely, contribute to the achievement of Surinam's international commitment for conservation and protection of the natural resources of our country. This contribution requires, on the one hand, a different vision and policy of the government and the local community with regard to the land and forest sector, on the other hand, it calls for optimal participation of the communities in planning and decision-making on these sector.

The communities in the interior of Suriname are crucial actors in the land and forest sector, as they can be considered as direct users and land and forest managers. Ultimately, they must implement environmental laws and thus play a crucial role in the conservation and protection of land and forest. However, this role and the participation rate of local people in planning and management of forest and nature within their living and living areas is still unclear and very small. There is a need for capacity and institutional development regarding community forestry at local level, so that they can also contribute to the implementation of the green development vision of Suriname (Waterberg, 2010).

3.1.1 Sustainable land management and land use

Land management and land use are important tools not only to prevent or mitigate disasters, but also to promote development. The Decree Land policy arranges the principles and regulations of the land-use policy (Decreet Grondbeginselen Beleid. S.B.1982 no 10, 1982). All land, which is not proven by other right of ownership, is domain of the State. Although the Maroons and Indigenous people have no title on the ground where they live and this rule indicates that ownership must be shown, there are other arrangements that indicate that account should be taken of the communities of the Maroons and Indigenous in activities that are deployed in the interior. The various challenges in respect of policies and development have manifested themselves as other problems arise as a result of a lack of structural policy and the development of the various regions of the country. Degradation of land that was for example mainly occurring in the coastal area is now shifting to the inland as well. This is mainly due to the increased mining activities, which are

subject to other soil erosion and leave large craters. This has as consequences the loss of biodiversity, soil contamination, but also clouding groundwater and surface water. In the development plan 2012-2016, it is indicated that in this period the policy itself will mainly focus on the rehabilitation of mined areas, the promotion of sustainable land use in Suriname through the mitigation of land degradation and the improvement of the ecosystem for the benefit of agricultural and other production activities. Despite the fact that notification in the OP 2012-2016, the government continues to issue licenses for both logging and mining activities. In addition to the concessions issued there are illegal workers who are engaged mainly in the mining sector.

These challenges have an impact on the Maroons and the ancient relationships they have with the land. Many Maroon communities live of agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing. Due to the lack of policy by the government in respect of the interior, the inhabitants in the interior have a shortage of space for planting, fishing, hunting etcetera. These people are usually practicing over cropping. With the government issuing concessions in these areas, those agricultural activities come under pressure. For example, mining activities in the Brownsberg Nature Reserve area are less than 5 km from the nearby village. There are also concessions that even run across plots of the villagers.

3.1.2 Sustainable Forest Management

Within the Amazon region, Suriname is known for its rich biodiversity. In the light of globalization, this will undoubtedly entail a dual responsibility, as exploitation of the Amazon rainforest in the future will be an international responsibility. According to the OP 2012-2016 Suriname will continue its international strategic forest policy in such a way, that they will have a leading role in terms of sustainable forest development and protection of the tropical rainforest with its local and global ecological functions. The forest not only accommodates a gigantic biodiversity, but is above all, the place of establishment of tribal living people of the interior of the country. The key question that still appeared in several reports over the past 30 years is why the resource forest contributes so little to the national economy, while this resource is omnipresent. The increasingly common causes are:

- ✓ lack of planning of land use;
- ✓ the Forest Management Act of 1992 does not fully correspond to the currently used principles for sustainable forest management;

- ✓ limited accessibility and infrastructure of the natural resource forest and outdated concession policy;
- ✓ lack of skills and staff at each level;
- ✓ outdated and inadequate maintenance of equipment in the forestry and sawmills;
- ✓ poor management of forest operations and sawmills;
- ✓ too little investment in the forestry sector;
- ✓ limited access to financial resources and problems of land use and land use rights for the traditional communities;
- ✓ depletion of community forests and HKV and inefficient management of village communities in the interior of the country.

With regard to the above, the government indicates that the relevance of the forestry policy will be evaluated. The government intends to professionalize the operation and monitoring of the forest (OP, 2012-2016, p. 152). However, the involvement and vision of the local communities are not mentioned in this development plan.

3.2 FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS AND THEORETICAL REFERENCES

A policy is defined as a logically coherent set of decisions that indicate the direction of the organization and strategic resources, including achievement of its goal and effective use of its resources (Boldewijn, 1990, p. 54). In this paragraph, the focus is on development policy. This kind of policy aims at enabling the development of a specific sector and/or region. The policy of the Surinamese government is determined for a given period and is recorded in a number of documents. The major policy documents are the government statement, the long-term development plan for the incumbent government and the budget of the government.

3.2.1 Collaboration

Collaboration is working with someone to produce or create something. It also means a cooperative arrangement in which two or more parties (which may or may not have any previous relationship) work jointly towards a common goal. Besides, collaboration is also defined in the meaning of negotiations as conflict resolution strategy that uses both assertiveness and cooperation to seek solutions advantageous to all parties. It succeeds usually where the participants' goals are

compatible and the interaction among them is important in attaining those goals (www.businessdictionary.com, 2017)

In the scope of this research, the concept of Chrislip and Larson (Chrislip, D and Larson C, 1994, p. 5) on collaboration is used. They defined collaboration as a concept that goes beyond communication, cooperation and coordination. In their point of view, it is a mutually beneficial relationship between two or more parties to achieve common goals by sharing responsibility, authority and accountability for achieving results. It is more than simply sharing knowledge and information (communication) and more than a relationship that helps each party achieve its own goals (cooperation and coordination). The purpose of collaboration is to create a shared vision and joint strategies to address concerns that go beyond the purview of any particular party" (Chrislip, 2002, p. 1).

3.2.2 Development and sustainable development

Sustainable development is a global concept (Suite, 1994, p. 31). It may therefore explain why Suriname has not developed a national concept for sustainable development. In the OP 2012-2016, development or sustainable development is not defined. This document uses the concept of sustainable development as it was developed by the United Nations. As the OP 2012-2016 indicates, relevant issues in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) broadly correspond to what the government stands for in the Development Plan 2012-2016. In addition, a number of other matters are cited as prerequisites for development. Man is central to this, as well as the availability and accessibility of data is important for an orderly society. Furthermore, education and training, equal distribution of development, a fair distribution of income and capital, and sustainable health are seen as basic conditions for development (OP, 2012-2016, pp. 37-38).

The UN - Brundtland Commission emphasizes that sustainable development is development that meets the need of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet or endangering their own need (The UN- Brundtland Commission, 1987, p. 17). Sustainability is about the scarcity of resources that can produce wealth, now and in the future. The surface of the earth is finite and raw materials can and will run out and the capacity of the atmosphere and our natural environment has its limits. Sustainable development is therefore an ideal balance between ecological, economic and social interests. All the developments in the

technological, economic, ecological, political or social contributions to a healthy earth with affluent residents and functioning ecosystems are sustainable.

Sustainable development is defined by Emanuels (1999) as development that uses natural and human resources in a fair and humane manner and maintains the satisfaction of the needs of present and future generations (Emanuels, S, Jack, M, Ragoonath, B, et al, 1999). Following on, Ragoonath (2004) has an interesting description of development which is close to sustainable development. In his approach, development cannot and should not be explained in terms of infrastructural development or economic growth. Development must be understood in relation to the improvement of the social, economic, political, cultural and even psychological quality of life of the citizenry, integrating them into the society, while at the same time empowering them to live fulfilled lives (Ragoonath B, et al, 2004, p. 145).

On a seminar held on “Academic discourse on Opportunities and Challenges for Small States in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Launching of the Caribbean Human Development report 2016-2017 in Suriname” several speakers pointed out several topics on sustainable development. Involving the local authorities and communities was one of the topics that got attention. In this context, the bottom up approach of the SDG’s with the following objectives passed in review:

- ✓ Interact and engage with communities and groups within society on SDGs
- ✓ Report on the views and voices of related communities and groups on developmental issues; The Voices for SDGs
- ✓ Strengthen and empower local authorities to identify community needs and advocate for attention and solutions
- ✓ Collect demographic data of the communities in the margin of the implementation of project activities

The following quote was used to emphasize the importance of getting local communities involved:

“Tribal people work with sustainable development for centuries. Why don’t we involve them when we make policies” Peggy Panka⁹ (Regional Seminar November 16, 2016).

Consequently, the two following quotes clarifies the understanding that Maroons and Indigenous People understood sustainable development way back before the Western Countries came with concepts of sustainable development and - including Suriname.

“We tribal people have been living in the interior for centuries, we know how to preserve our forest because we still have a forest in Suriname, and we know what sustainable development means. What I don’t know is that you and I, the government and my people have the same opinion on development” 2015. Village Chief, Kabiten Steven Petrusie (Panka, 2016, p. 2).

“The Indigenous Peoples are the first inhabitants of the country. We have a centuries- old relationship with our lands and with the environment in which we live. We have been managing nature and its natural resources for centuries. Thanks to sustainable management by the Indigenous Peoples we still have biodiversity and nature today. If we would have “developed” the land as did the Western countries, we would be living now in a big, dry desert”. Cultural Survival 2004. Village Chief Richardo Pane (Panka, 2016, p. 2)

To focus effectively on development of an area, policy development should not be accidental. When development is structurally absent in remote areas, it is advisory to look at both the history of these regions as well as to their cultural differences. According to Levi-Strauss these aspects of insights make it important to know and understand each other’s’ cultures and backgrounds (Levi-Strauss, 1952, p. 3).

Although many definitions abound the most often used definition of sustainable development is that proposed by the Brundtland Commission as used in the following documents, DSOP Brokopondo 2015-2025, Atkins et al (2007), Quaddus et al, (2013), Dernbach J. C. (1998), Dernbach J. C. (2003), and Stoddart (2011). The combination of definition and concepts, which are used in this research, does not limit the scope of sustainability. The explanation does, however, touch on the importance of intergenerational equity. This concept of conserving resources for

⁹ Peggy Panka is head of the International relations Department at the Ministry of Regional Development and Coordinator of the project “Localizing the Sustainable Development Goals engaging local authorities and communities.

future generations is one of the major features, that distinguishes sustainable development policy from traditional land- and forest management, and which also seeks to internalize the externalities of degradation. Although the government documents are more about the Western view of sustainable development that is of the major international organizations, its view demonstrates in practice the vision of the industrialists of the South. It is very difficult to have a definition that fits both views. In Suriname, there is a need of changing minds, administrative, social structures etcetera in how sustainable development should work. It also means a political change through the decentralization of the management of resources on which local people depend. That means that the Traditional authority should be involved in the structures of decentralization. It also calls for encouraging citizen participation, organizations and strengthening local democracy. In this way, the three pillars (economic, social and environmental) of sustainable development which are inextricably linked to each other will better show to advantage. As a consequence, the population will derive benefit from this sustainable development. So it is important to find common grounds and a concept that is best fit to the development of these areas.

3.2.3 Traditional people and traditional authority

The International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention no.169 states that people are considered indigenous either because they are descendants of those who lived in the area before colonization or because they have maintained their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions since the colonization and the establishment of new states (Lutz, G & Linder, W, 2004)

Traditional authority is a distinguishing feature in the landscape of contemporary Africa. In many African countries, traditional leadership remains important in organizing the life of the people at the local level despite modern state structure. Traditional leaders perform a variety of important functions regulated by customary law-including dispute settlement, natural resources management, local development and traditional religious tasks – they often play a role in local or national politics, and they are in various way linked to modern state structures.

Traditional leaders deliver essential services that African states do not always succeed in delivering. They act as intermediaries between the government and the local population; and they are often a political force to reckon with wielding enormous electoral and general influence in their own communities due to their control over resources and people (Ubink, 2008, pp. 5-6).

Weber (1958) describes traditional authority as authority that is legitimated by the sanctity of tradition. The ability and right to rule is passed down, often through heredity. In fact, Weber states: “The creation of new law opposite traditional norms is deemed impossible in principle.” Traditional authority is typically embodied in feudalism or patrimonialism. In a purely patriarchal structure, “the servants are completely and personally dependent upon the lord”, while in an estate system (i.e. feudalism), “the servants are not personal servants of the lord but independent men” (Weber, 1958, p. 4). But, in both cases, the system of authority does not change or evolve. The above given definition by Weber to traditional authority is very close to the Surinamese situation, but in Suriname, over the years, the traditional authority is subject to change due to various reasons and influences and there is no lord-and-servant relation.

3.2.4 Definition of the interior of Suriname

For the interior of Suriname, there is no clear definition, which often complicates the delineation of the area. Different names and expressions are used for the interior such as: “the hinterland”, “the area not on the coast”, but also “the area that is underdeveloped”. Various definitions are therefore being used by the government and government-related institutions, which often leads to confusion. The interior is also associated by society with the area where the tribal people, Indigenous and Maroons live (Apapoe, 2004, p. 10).

The definition given by the Ministry of Regional Development to the interior changes over the years and this is also reflected in the recently used definition. To the interior of Suriname are reckoned, parts of the territory where the population is tribal. Therefore Brokopono, Sipaliwini and parts of Marowijne, Wanica, Para, Nickerie, Saramacca, and Commewijne are regarded as the interior of Suriname. The interior is no longer considered a catchment area by the ministry, but an area with great potential for development and contribution to national development. (Beleidsnota, 2012-2016)

The Multi-annual Development Plan (MOP) 2000-2005 describes the interior of Suriname as the parts of the territory where the population is predominantly living tribal in the original tribal area. This area is characterized by a wide distribution of the population, coupled with a low population density, of which greatly the economic viability of care and services is determined by the government.

Foundation Planning Suriname (SPS) said that, for the inland (applies here the definition of the districts that are behind), showed no change in their development and are characterized by the absence of an established development-oriented policy. These districts were initially considered catchment areas as results of marginal or totally inadequate facilities in the areas of health and basic education. To the interior the following districts may be considered Sipaliwini and parts of Para, Brokopondo and Marowijne (SPS Policy Document Interior 1989)

According to several anthropologists who have done research in Suriname, the anthropological criterion defines as “the Interior” the areas where people traditionally live in tribal communities. Based on this criterion, eight of the ten districts are included to the interior. Only the two districts, Paramaribo and Coronie, are not considered to be part of the interior of Suriname.

There is also a social-economic criterion, indicating that the majority of the domestic population lives below the poverty line. There is lack of accessibility to provisions for individuals, which determines the quality of life (Apapoe, 2004, pp. 10-11). The definition used by the Ministry of Regional Development, based on the purpose of the thesis, is further used. Namely the promotion of sustainable development through effective cooperation between the government and the Traditional authority.

3.3 METHODOLOGICAL BASES

This thesis is written in the context of the professional master in Sustainability alongside Traditional People and Territories (MESPT) during the period of 2015-2017 at the Centre for Sustainable Development of the University of Brasilia. This study aims to train professionals to develop research and social interventions, based on the dialogue of knowledge (scientific and traditional) and for the exercise of rights, valuing the Socio-biodiversity and safeguarding of the cultural heritage (material and immaterial) of indigenous peoples, maroons and other traditional communities.

To collect data in the field, a qualitative research method (in-depth interviews) is used. Cases about land use and forest management, regarding the *Saamaka* community are studied to gain insight into how both systems, as mentioned earlier, may work effectively together in fostering sustainable development within local communities.

The study trajectory was divided in two parts: desk study and field research. Desk research was the first step in this trajectory: reviewing the literature, news articles and studying both audio and video documentation. For the field research, different qualitative methods namely in-depth interviews and observation through ethnographic participation were used. For collecting the data a topic list, an observation sheet as well as a semi-structured questionnaire were designed. The choice for a qualitative study is based on the fact that this method gives the opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations. Simultaneously this method provides insights into research topic and helps develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research.

Although I am from Brokopondo and spent a great deal of my youth in Brownsweg I chose to have a preliminary research. It was a refreshing orientation, because the villages grew bigger than I could imagine as a child. I held a meeting and three one-on-one interviews with traditional leaders. I also had a talk with the Minister of Regional Development. The meeting was with the Traditional Authority, the District Commissioner, the members of Parliament of this district, the District and Resort Councils of Brownsweg and workers from the office of the districts commissioner in Brownsweg and civil society. The aim was to inform them about my research and the objective of the research. This meeting was attended by the traditional leaders of all the 11 villages of resort Brownsweg, the districts commissioner, the districts secretary, who headed the office in this resort and his workers, a representative of the District Council and the Resort Council and civil society (women of two Women Organizations). The members of parliament representing this district did not show up, although two of them are of resort Brownsweg. Although I knew most of the leaders and went in many meetings with them, it was new and another experience for me. At this meeting I also used the opportunity to give a platform to 4 other academics (Jerry Finisie, Jennyfer Jozefzoon-Wachter and Thanya Soke-Fonkel) for short presentations. The fourth one (Monique Jack-Finkie) was the facilitator and the others including me did presentations. The subjects diverse from development and sustainable development, decentralization to the relation between the several regional authorities. All four of us are from the Brokopondo district and work in Brokopondo or with the regional authorities. The Sub-director of development of the interior of the Ministry of Regional Development, Mrs Soke-Fonkel, she also held a presentation and the Chairman of the platform of Traditional authority of Brownsweg (ODB), Kabiteni Lambertus Waandels helped me to mobilize

the traditional leaders for the meeting, but also with choosing the leaders for interview they were of great help. In this meeting the Traditional authority of this resort gave their view about development, the relation with the government and the challenges they face when it comes to development of their areas.

After the meeting I had a short one-on-one interview with the Ede kabiteni, a representative of the district council and the chairman of the platform of Traditional authority of Brownsweg. The question about development and how they experience and see it was asked, but also the role of the Central government in this. All agreed that sustainable development is a must for their communities, especially with all new development in their area such as mining and logging. But also a government that does what it says. They also complain a lot about the lack of basic infrastructures that can help them to develop their communities such as schools for their children, guaranteed healthcare, drink water, electricity, roads etc.

The findings of the preliminary research were informative, but were used together with the comments of my qualification to develop the research strategy. I change my strategy a few times due to lack of responses and availability of the initial groups, especially on the side of the government.

Permission was asked from and granted by the collective platform of traditional leaders of district Brokopondo (*A Dow Wan Teng*) and the Organisatie Dignitarissen Brownsweg (ODB), a collective platform of the traditional leaders of Brownsweg. Letters were also sent to the Minister of Regional Development and the District Commissioner of Brokopondo to inform them about the research in resort Brownsweg, but also to ask for their support. I know the resort Brownsweg pretty well, but there are parts where I had never been and I soon found out that it has expanded over the years with the expansion of existing and the establishment of new villages. I made use of academics from this resort who did something in the area of development and Traditional authority but were also working actively in this area. First I had conversations on the telephone with both the head chiefs and the chairman of the platform of traditional authority of Brownsweg (ODB), thereafter a brief meeting with the chairman of the platform to discuss how the field research will take place.

As a child of the interior, I know about how the structures run and what's needed when someone wants to do a research. By convention, the authority is notified, but also, where necessary, be asked for permission. On that basis, I acted because I respect the structures, but also the traditional authority I greatly admire. Any researcher must communicate with the highest authority in the community before starting with any research in a traditional community. Resort Brownsweg has two head chiefs (*ede kabiteni*) and in the case of my research I talked to both of them. I had a meeting with the District Commissioner, Traditional authority of resort Brownsweg. The various comments during my qualification has prompted me to use other examples than initially chosen. After a conversation with Professor Jack Menke, he advised me to look for experts outside the higher government official. Except that I had already taken certain decisions after qualifying and changes had been made regarding my research, I had after exhausting attempts to speak to the senior political officials of the government to make tough decisions and adjustments in design my study.

Decisions and adjustments made:

- I change gold mining as example to land use, land and forest management as an example for collaboration to stimulate sustainable development in the area of the tribal people. These points were more workable in practice than gold mining for my research since the inland residents are highly dependent on land and forest.
- A few of the listed leaders were not available so I chose to interview more leaders than planned and made use of leaders of different villages.
- Also most of the interview scheduled with government officials were postponed so I had to find an answer to that. I chose experts, as advised by Professor Menke. Experts from the outside but also from the inside, who have expertise in the areas of the administrative systems of Suriname but also in traditional authorities, sustainable development, land use, land- and forest management. I identified six experts, four of them were available (see attachment no 1).
- Instead of the focus group I interviewed nine traditional leaders randomly, one elder, six senior government officials and four experts. I dropped the focus group, because of time space and used experts instead to fill that gap.
- The languages used were *Saamaka* and Dutch. I did the interviews all by myself.

In table 7 the following information, which include gender, age, education and occupation of 20 respondents are presented.

Table 10: Presentation of the interviewees

		Frequency
Gender	Male	13
	Female	7
Age group	35-44	7
	45-54	7
	55-64	2
	65-84	3
	85-94	1
Completed education level	None	1
	Primary education	3
	Secondary education (junior, senior)	3
	Tertiary education (senior)	3
	Academic education	10
Additional training	Yes	16
	No	4
Working	Yes	20
	No	0

Twenty respondents were interviewed of whom 13 men and 7 women. From the following villages: Makambi, Ganze, Kajoe, Djankakonde, Wakibas 1 en 3. The mean age was 40. Ten respondents were from the Traditional authority: (1 *ede kabiteni* (man), 4 *kabiteni* (3 men, 1 women), and 4 *bassia* (2 men, 2 women). Farther, 1 elder (man)), 6 senior government official (4 men, 2 women) and 4 interviewees were included in the research as experts (2 men and 2 women). The respondents are fairly educated. The first explanation for the educational level of the respondents, is that transmigration has brought a few positive effects such as increased opportunities for education in the transmigrated areas (Landveld, 2009, p. 213). Second, a mix group of academics and non-academic is used. Additional training of the respondents includes government training for civil servants and organization of women training. Respondents have

occupations both in the public and private sector. The term *not working* refers to those respondents who do not have a steady job or are receiving a government allowance.

3.3.1 Sources and techniques

To have a clear idea of how the collaboration was set up and how the process was monitored, and for the outcome to be satisfactory, different qualitative data collection methods are the best way to guarantee an in-depth-research. However, all research methods and data collection instruments have strengths and challenges. The combination of in-depth interviews and observation through ethnographic participation was therefore used to combine the strengths of the different methods.

By doing this, the effectiveness of the method was enhanced. Consequently, by observing day-to-day collaboration between government and local traditional officers, matters arose from the interviews shed light on the extent of the effectiveness of both groups working together. Major challenges of qualitative studies such as the methods that were used for this research, are the time-consuming aspect of collecting the data, the analysis process as well as being objective as researcher, because of my background during the study trajectory. The different methods were elaborated as follows:

In-depth interviews

Members of traditional authorities, citizens (i.e. villagers), government officials, and local representatives were targeted for the interviews. The research population with regards of the local traditional leaders is 69. All were closely involved in the collaboration with the government about land use and forest management. From the side of the government, also 6 officials were interviewed and 4 experts (external and internal of the government). This brought the total amount of interviewees to 20.

Ethnographic participation

Since it is impossible to go back in time and observe the way the government and the Traditional authority dealt with land use and forest management, day-to-day collaboration between the government and the traditional leaders was observed. As a researcher, being with the people and joining local activities, was an important requisite. Keeping one's objectiveness was a major

challenge as well. However, to enhance researcher's objectiveness the designed observation sheet was used.

3.3.2 Methods of collecting and analyzing data

Data collection and analysis

Collecting and processing qualitative research data is quite challenging. During the interviews, besides writing, a voice recorder was used. The recording was to enhance the reliability of the data.

The data collected from the in-depth interviews was analyzed as follows: first, the data was transcribed and then sorted. The answers of the respondents served as a guideline for the sorting into similarities and contradictions. Then, the results were discussed with a second coder in order to establish the reliability and validity of the data. Based on the outcome of this consultation, the final analysis was done.

Ethical and legal considerations

Each respondent, who was asked to participate, was informed in-depth about the consequences of their participation. No interviewee was forced to support the study. Also if respondents did not give permission, the interviews were not recorded.

4. CHAPTER 4 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY (TA) OF THE MAROONS AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SURINAME (GOS)

Introduction

The peace treaties formed the basis for the administrative relations between the colonial government and the Maroons. To control and manage their communities, the Maroons have their own governance system. This system is very different from that of the central government. The interference of the government was also limited to the coastal area where the plantations were. The interior, especially the areas where the Maroons and Indigenous live, were free from governmental interference before the 18th century. After signing of the peace treaties with the Maroons there was a limited degree of governmental interference. There was space for the central government to intervene in the local structure by placing post holders¹⁰ in the residence of the *gaama*. The *gaama* is the head of the traditional Maroon system. With the peace treaties the central government back then was aiming at maintaining peace in the colony. It is important to indicate that the function of *gaama* existed before these peace treaties but it was not yet recognized by the colonial government. A proof of recognition was the possibility to send a *gaama* for appointment by the government. Their freedom was legalized. However, due to economic dependence of the Maroon in relation to the government, they still hold subordinate position. In this chapter both the Traditional system of the Maroons and that of the Government of Suriname are discussed briefly.

4.1 BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

The Traditional Authority (TA) is an administrative body within the Maroon communities. The TA is headed by the *gaama*. This official is backed by the *ede kabiteni*¹¹, co-decision-makers of the *gaama*. In each village there are *kabiteni*¹² responsible for the daily management of villagers' affairs. The *kabiteni* are assisted by the *bassia*¹³ on the logistics level. The line between

¹⁰ (commissioner) an officer charged with supervision who was stationed at the Maroons with the primary goal to ensure that peace agreements were respected

¹¹ Head chief, responsible for an area

¹² Village chief responsible for a village

¹³ Assistant of the chief responsible of a village

policy and output is not as black and white, because decisions are generally taken by consensus in the community. Traditional authorities are appointed for life and can only be replaced after their death, in most cases by persons in the maternal line. Succession after the death of such a dignitary took place on the basis of evidence (usually someone prepared during the life of the person in authority). The other form of succession is by extension of a community (growing community). Through the years, there has been a change in this system in terms of follow-up and designation. For example, in recent years, there are indications of officials, made on the recommendation of the *gaama* without broad support from the community. Then the so-called political influenced representations (persons of political parties) were put forward for a traditional position without the necessary capacities.

The governing system of each tribe is structured as follows (See Figure 6):

- ✓ Tribal or paramount chief (*gaama*)
- ✓ Head chiefs (*ede kabiteni*)
- ✓ Village chiefs (*kabiteni*)
- ✓ Male and female head assistants of the village chief (*ede Bassia*)
- ✓ Male and female -assistants (*bassia*)

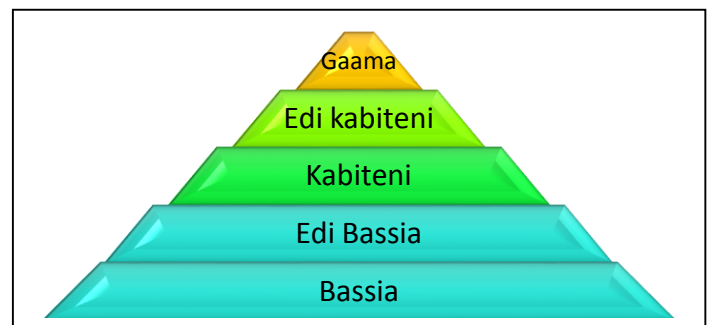


Figure 6: Structure of the Traditional Authority

The gaama

The *gaama*, the paramount chief, is in charge of external relations with among others the central government. He represents the tribe. The *gaama* is the head of the tribal assembly and he also nominates lower officials for appointment by the government. Because of the importance of his role, the *gaama* is released from the mourning obligations incumbent upon other members of his community.

The ede kabiteni

The *ede kabiteni* represents the *gaama*, the supreme authority, in supervising the administration of a specified territory. Usually, a village chief is elevated to the office of head chief by virtue of his administrative abilities. In most of the cases, a head chief is the *fiscali* of the *gaama*. The *fiscali* is a head chief responsible for certain tasks and have certain powers as agreed with the *gaama* and

his assembly. The fiscal are assigned special tasks as agreed. In each tribe, this is different. In some cases head captains are responsible for different regions. The fiscal along with the head captains represent different regions and report directly to the *gaama*. A region is an area consisting of several villages. In the case of the *Aluku* and the *Kwinti*, the *ede kabiteni* may be the matriarch of the tribe. However, in that position, he is not recognized by the government as a *gaama*. The fee is different and the events surrounding the death and the appointment of a chief is nowhere mentioned and fixed by the government as in the case of the *gaama*.

The kabiteni

The village chief wields authority over a village on behalf of the paramount chief. Villages are represented as units by the *kabiteni*, who has a decisive voice in all deliberations except those occurring in tribe-wide assemblies. A chief generally has four *bassia* at his or her disposal to do the job.

The bassia

The *bassia* assists the higher officials in carrying out ritual and administrative matters. The principal duty of the assistant of the village chief is to act as town crier and maintainer of order. The sphere of a female *bassia* responsibility is restricted to domestic activities during ceremonial occasions. In this society, women have a subordinate role in term of speaking or acting in public, but a very important role when it comes to the advising assemble.

Administration of Justice

Among all Maroon societies, the juridical system is nearly the same. Each tribe creates its own body of laws in the course of tribal councils. Justice is based on unwritten rules and is not devised by persons occupying official positions. Elders and other respected persons and family councils dispense justice. The reaching of a verdict, which always takes place during a meeting (*kuutu*), is always public and all decisions are taken by consensus. The suspect is not present during the trial but is represented by a family member or other advocate. Conflicts between families are settled by family councils. All conflicts, transgressions and minor offenses are settled according to tribal customs. Serious crimes such as murder are handed over to the central government. Finally, it

should be mentioned that a chief's house offers temporary asylum to all transgressors and accused persons.

Besides the traditional authority, we have village elders and spiritual leaders and boards such as *konde kuutu* (village council), *lio kuutu* (river council), and *gaankuutu* (council of the land) who play an important role in traditional communities. A *konde kuutu* is a meeting of one village to deliberate about issues concerning the village. A *lio kuutu* is a meeting in which usually all villages or some villages, from the same river basin or tribe, are involved to discuss issues concerning their region or tribe. A *gaankuutu* is usually a joint meeting of the various tribes to address issues regarding the Maroons, sometimes also indigenous are involved. *Gaankutu* is defined as the highest constituent meeting of the supreme authority of the interior with representatives of indigenous and Maroon communities.

4.2 APPOINTMENT OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS

Within the tribal society, the various administrative functions belong to certain *wosu-dendu*, *bëë* and *lo* and they are also responsible for identifying potential candidates for the position. At the nomination, it is important that a distinction is made between “old” and “new” authority. For an existing or “old authority figure” what matters is that the job was already occupied by someone else. The death of the previous staff creates a vacancy. The *gaama* or *kabiteni* will usually ask the family to appoint a successor. This is done in the traditional way. Emanuels (Emanuels, 2004) indicates the following five ways how traditional leaders are appointed.

- Designate predecessor during his/her life. As an authority figure designates someone for whom he has a certain fondness and his/her opinion meets the current requirements for the function and expectations of the family and the community. He bases his opinion in most cases, not only on his own observations, but also asks for the views and opinions of respectable persons in the various *wosu-dendu* without mentioning his name or that he wants him as successor. When the opinions correspond then the person often releases his preference to the successor by entrusting him with specific tasks. If the opinions differ too much from his, then he keeps his preference as long as possible secret. After his death, the oracle will decide the choice, usually this does not differ much from the choice he had already made during his life. The oracle is a spiritual ritual. In this case, the body of the

"person" is laid in a crate carried by two men on the head to find answers to unanswered questions in his life. The person is not carried literally, but preparations tied to a beam to represent the person. Then questions are asked and on the basis of the movements of the oracle the experts of this ritual know if the answer is positive or negative.

- *Tja naki* (designation by the oracle of the deceased). The *tja naki* is the method of nomination which actually is a complement or a confirmation of the first method. The body of the deceased is laid in a "*bongola*" or crate on the heads of two men and is carried around. Through questions and answers it will be determined who the successor is. A choice determined in this way and that coincides with the suspicions of the *Bëë* is hardly disputed.
- *Kii ganinja* (appointment by the chicken-oracle). This method is applied only if a choice for a candidate is not made by the first and second method. A chicken is held by the scruff. The names of several candidates are called, while the chicken can hang motionless. By the name of the right candidate, the chicken strikes three times with the wings. For those present it is clear that the character has found the right candidate.
- *Political intervention by certain groups*. In the latter case, all three previous cases can be ignored, when one suspects certain undesirable people to aspire to the function; or if one member of a particular *Wosu-dendu* wants to be excluded. A candidate is put forward by a select group. This often leads to tribal succession disputes.
- *Someone casts himself as the slain dyed candidate successor*. In this case, he does not hesitate to threaten the other person with the dead through "*wisi*" (witchcraft).

In Christian oriented communities, the second and third form of nomination will not occur or occur less because it is considered "*pagan*".

The author also states that in the case of new features the nomination is different. Furthermore, there are five reasons stated in the report for the appointment of new officials.

- Nomination by the *gaama*, under rendered services and friendship. This form is coherence with the *bëë* required. The *gaama* naturally looks first if such a feature already exists in the *bëë* and personal quantity of people already occupying. This is important for the balance of power between the different *bëë* and *lo*.

- Nomination by the *bëë* or *wosu-dendu* at the instigation of the *gaama*. He does this because he wants to give a traditional political function to the *bëë* or *wosu-dendu* concerned. The *gaama* please note in this case depends mainly on the size of the group. It used to be mostly older "mothers-brothers" or "mothers-cousins" (*gaantio*) who were thus politically placed in office.
- Nomination for services rendered during *gaama duumi*¹⁴. These nominations are for people who have demonstrated special services during the passing and the funeral of the *gaama*.
- Absence of a candidate in the *bëë*. Someone else got the "job" because no one else is available in the *bëë* or *wosu-dendu*.
- Emerging as leader of the *bëë*. Someone can also gain the function because it presents itself as the leader of the own *bëë* or *wosu-dendu* and requests *gaama* for confirmation of the function.

Interviews with elderly and traditional authorities also show that there is another way to designate an authority figure and that is when communities grow. Some villages grow faster compared to others. This is called expansion. Then, there can be designated a new authority figure for the group. In all cases, it is important that the candidate to be nominated is the eldest son of the oldest sister. He must also comply with the applicable functional requirements, and primarily have an exemplary manner. By example, including to meet family obligations through attending funerals, giving gifts to sister children and act as mediators in disputes between relatives. The candidate must be accepted by the members of the family and large parts of the local population (village or region), who are referred to as "*bëë ku lanti*" (the family and the people = in fact, the various interest groups in society). It is hereby one can waive on public opinion and the views of members of the *wosu-dendu* and *bëë*. Public opinion about the candidate's track record and leadership skill are important for the nomination. Whatever the opinions are, they will not easily withdraw a nominee. The nominee may well withdraw himself and designate someone else (Emanuel, 2004, pp. 11-13).

The traditional structure is not part of the Surinamese government as mentioned earlier. These officials get an ordination from the government in recognition of their position, but they do not have an official job description, duties and powers. The traditional authorities in Suriname do not

¹⁴ The dead of the *Gaama*.

have a legal status. Traditional leaders receive monthly compensation from the government and the *gaama* has privileges such as free transport from the village to Paramaribo and vice versa, and free medical treatment and hospitalization of the government.

4.3 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The governing bodies of the tribal society came quite under pressure over the years. The many changes in the world have not spared them and they had to find answers to issues that their communities are facing. Issues such like migration, changed views on values, leadership and kinship relations, economic pressure, and increasing contacts with the outside world and government (political) involvement in, for example, the selection and appointment procedures, inadequate facilities and low (financial) valuation among other have contributed to this.

The result is, for example, existing mechanisms for the promotion of community, solidarity and cohesion, and responding appropriately to events such as crime, internal conflicts and the call for change or development by the population no longer function effectively. It is widely recognized by traditional leaders that the tribal society is no longer isolated from other ethnic groups. Traditional authorities see themselves as entities besides the government entities with a degree of autonomy particularly when it comes to its own internal tribal affairs.

Challenges of the 21st century

According to the Strategic plan 2012 -2016 of the Ministry of Regional Development, the Traditional authority is an important administrative institution within the communities in the interior, and therefore an important development partner of the government. Strengthening the Traditional authority is a necessary condition in the endeavor to achieve development in the interior. The ministry will take the following actions to strengthen the Traditional authority:

- ✓ Preparation of legal products to determine the position of the Traditional authority, which is inextricably linked to the Land rights problem;
- ✓ Developing guidelines and regulations regarding the functioning and monitoring of the Traditional authority;

- ✓ Strengthening the Traditional authority through information sessions and designing and redesigning the existing working facilities.

Although the government, through the Ministry of Regional Development, indicates the importance of the Traditional authority, it is not clear which role it plays within the Surinamese governing system. There is an unclear situation between the role of the traditional (tribal) authority and the government. Tribal communities have their own governing system with many unwritten tasks and, historically, the Traditional authority dealt with the representatives of the colonial powers in Suriname on issues concerning their residential communities. After independence, they deal with the president or the minister responsible for tribal affairs. Besides the Traditional authority in the interior of Suriname, there is also a local government consisting of district and local councils and the district administration. The role of the council as part of the local government is limited by law.

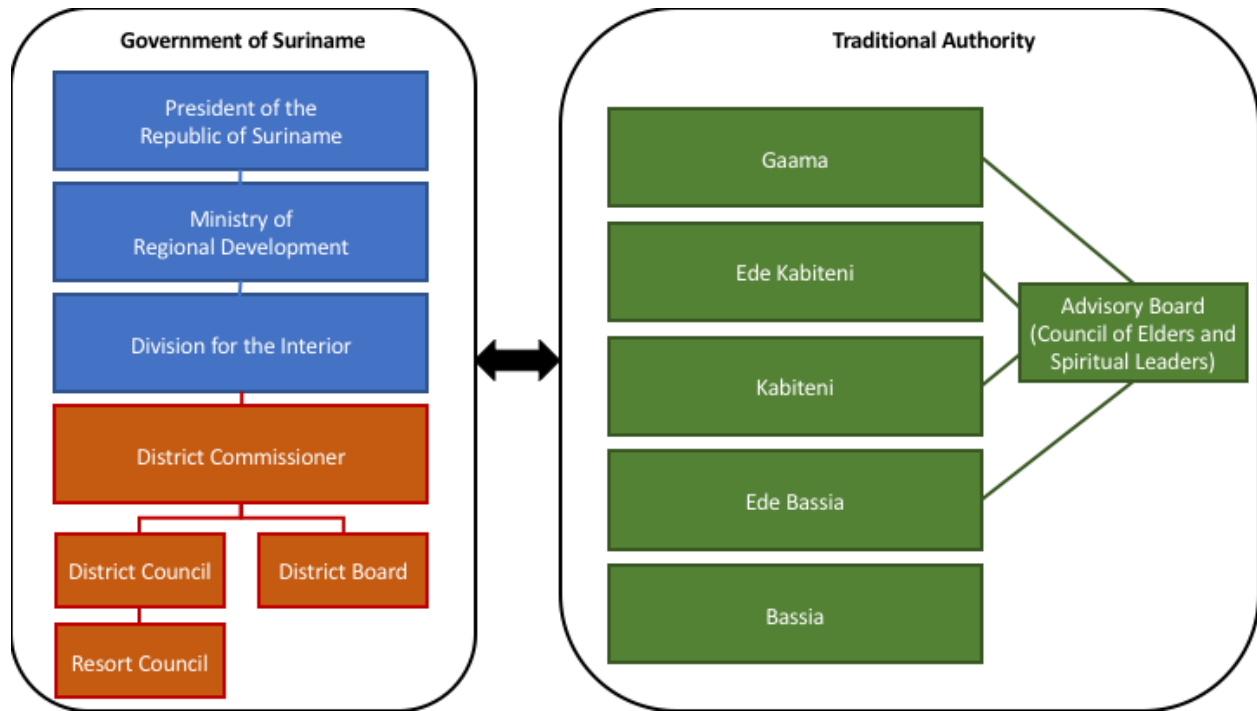
The central government pretends to recognize tribal authorities and this creates a contradiction in government's policy. On the one hand, the government is using the traditional (tribal) authority for some of government's duties or responsibilities and, on the other hand, the government does not recognize them as a legal authority. Neither the constitution of 1975, nor the constitution of 1987 mentioned the tribal authority structures in the interior as an authority. They are also not mentioned in the decentralization process as locally existing government. The Maroons are supposed to take part in this process as citizens of a district and not as a communal group. The council and the tribal authority have the same goal when it comes to aspirations for development of the community. But both organs are functioning alongside each other. This leads to confusion and many inconveniences and tensions between them, because of this, participation of tribal authority in the decentralization process is not very effective. The regional organs were introduced without taking into account the existing tribal government structures. There was not any meaningful consultation or participation of the tribal authorities (Soke-Fonkel, 2011, p. 2).

In a presentation Kambel (2007) concluded that a decentralization program is being implemented by the Suriname government, but it is not clear how tribal authority needs to participate as a group in the decentralization process (Kambel, 2007). While there is migration of Maroons to Paramaribo, more officials are appointed. In naming these authorities, one may not always comply with the traditionally established rules for appointment. The traditional leaders are increasingly

asked for government intervention in matters traditionally settled by the Traditional authority such as maintaining their communities. It is not clear what view the current generation holds regarding the role of Traditional authority and how politics or party politics or formal education influences this system. Furthermore, it is not so clear what role the government has given the Traditional authority when entering in the decentralization process. It is over the years no longer clear what function the Traditional authority had given her institution and how it has developed within the administrative system of Suriname. Of course there are in addition to the many challenges and problems also opportunities that make it interesting to look at the future of the traditional authority.

Despite all the challenges between the government and the Traditional authority, there is a certain interaction between the two institutions as illustrated in the figure below. This figure is adapted from ACT (2010) and a few changes has been made in it.

Figure 7: Interaction between Government and Traditional Authority



4.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SURINAME (GOS)

Before independence, Suriname was governed by the Netherlands and the highest civil servant was the governor, who represented the Dutch Government. After independence, the Constitution of Suriname is the source of law for the establishment of the state, geographic subdivision and organs. The establishment of state organs and their functions and powers as well as the relationship are mentioned herein. Rights and duties of citizens are also recognized or guaranteed in the Constitution. The GoS consists of a central government and the regional government.

Regional bodies

The Constitution of 1987 regulates, in chapters XXI to XXIII, the possibility of decentralization of administration as already indicated in the beginning. Article 159 states that *"The democratic order of the Republic of Suriname comprises at regional levels, local government bodies, whose function, organization, powers and conduct of law should be settled in accordance with the principles of*

*participatory democracy*¹⁵ and decentralization of governance and regulation ". In Article 159 an organic law "Law on Regional Bodies" of 29 June 1989 is mentioned. This indicates the rules concerning the organization, functioning and powers of the regional bodies. Article 161 of the Constitution mentions two representative bodies. At regional level, the Surinamese government system has an administrative coordination between:

- ✓ The Resorts and District councils
- ✓ The District Administration
- ✓ The District Commissioner (DC).

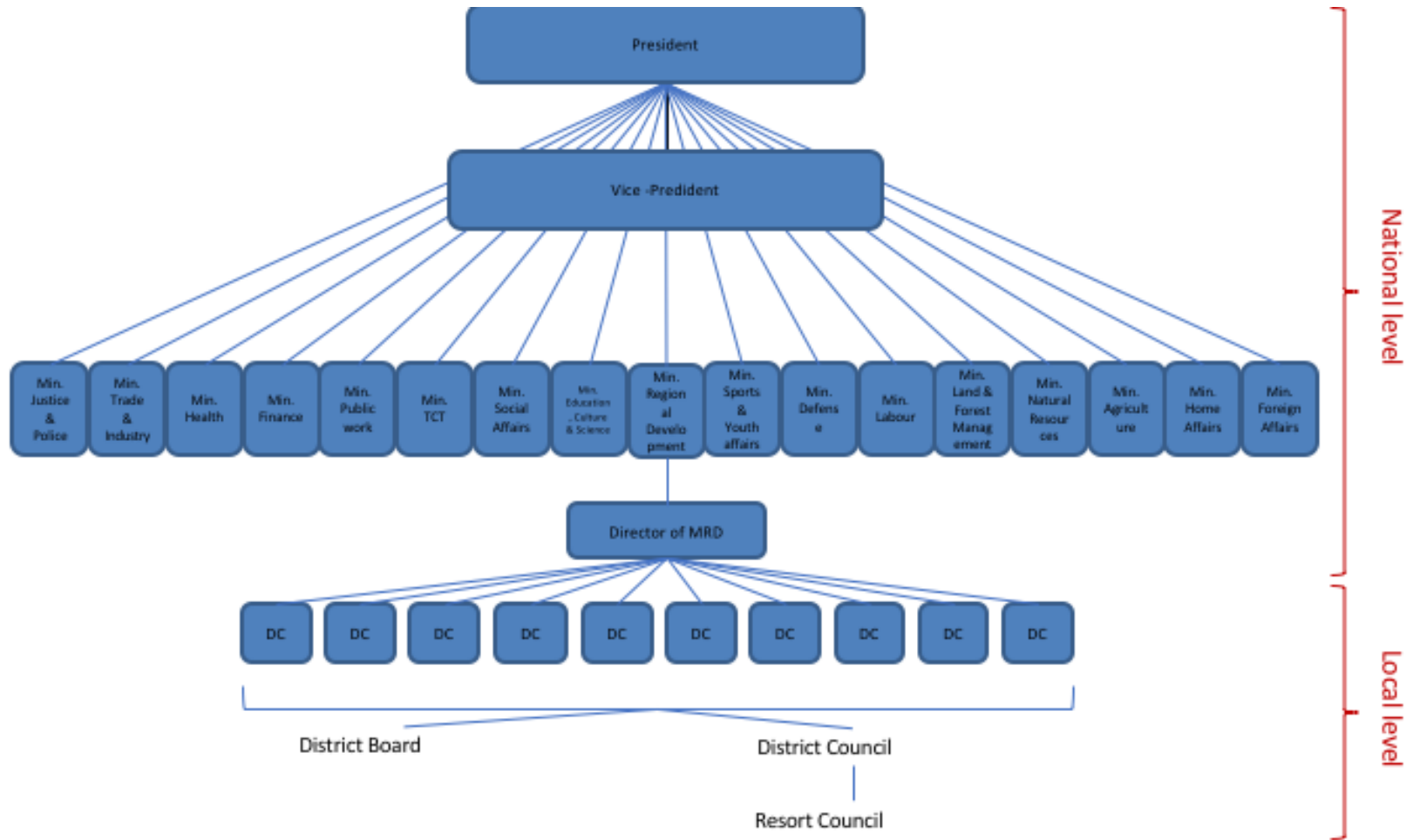
The district council is the highest political body of the district and the local council is the highest political body of the resort. The staffing of these bodies shall be by means of the results of the general elections. The local councils are directly elected by the people, while the district councils are determined in proportion to the number of seats of the political parties in the administrative jurisdiction. The local councils elect amongst the members a chairman and the DC is the official governmental representation of the president of the district council. The district administration is the executive body of the district. The district board is composed of representatives of the various ministries. As members, they have to preferably reside in the district. Since the establishment of these boards, they are deficient to work. It may be said, that they do not provide significant contribution to the activities at the regional level. This is among others due to lack of coordination within the governments and the various departments. The DC heads the regional government at regional level. He as "stimulating development worker" directs both the political (District- and Resorts council) and administratively decentralized governance (District Administration) (Gonter, 1998, p. 31). The legal hierarchy looks like this:

- ✓ The president
- ✓ The minister of the Ministry of Regional Development
- ✓ The director of the Ministry of Regional Development
- ✓ The District Commissioner.

¹⁵ Participatory democracy is the participation of the people to establish a democratic political system and participate in legislation and administration.

The Law Regional Bodies (S.B.1989 No. 44) and related legislation, including the Rules of Procedure for the District Boards etc. regulate the regional (local) representation. The traditional authority of the tribal people is not mentioned in any of these laws.

Figure 8: Organogram of the Surinamese Government (National and Regional)



4.5 GOVERNMENT POLICIES REGARDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERIOR OF SURINAME

The development policy for the interior has known different periods, forms and peaks. The colonial rulers, in their policy, have given a separate treatment to the interior. The traditional authority was recognized and their defined territory was respected. The policy pursued was therefore not aimed at the development of the interior. After the emancipation in 1863 there were noticeable changes in government policy towards the interior. Integration was promoted for the purpose of low-cost labor. Several attempts have been made to use the Maroons as laborers for the activities of the colony without success (Scholtens, 1994, p. 49). The policy of integration was not designed to promote development in the interior even less to uplift residents.

In the forties of the last century, Suriname started with its planned development with the establishment of the Welfare Fund (1948). Various studies have been done in 1947 before this fund was established (Apapoe, 2004, p. 20). The interest in the development of Suriname came through political and economic developments after the war. This had everything to do with stimulating the consumption pattern of the world to increase sales by the industrialized countries. The Netherlands gave substance to this new policy by establishing the Welfare Fund and creating basic infrastructure to attract investors. This fund was meant to address the development of economic prosperity resources and improving social conditions. Besides the Welfare Fund, there were a number of plans and funds created for the development of Suriname (including the interior. Here are some of the plans (1947-1992) which had to ensure the development of Suriname.

- ✓ Ten Years Plan 1955
- ✓ The Brokopondo Plan 1957
- ✓ The National Development Plan and the Five-Year Plans (VJP) 1965-1975
- ✓ Additional Structure Plan 1961
- ✓ Program for Socio-Economic Development of Suriname (SEOS) 1975-1992.

The majority of these plans revealed that the development of the interior did not apply as a priority. Then, in the Policy Paper 1989 the following papers were incorporated as policy priorities:

- ✓ Emergency Plan
- ✓ Resettlement Plan

- ✓ Recovery Plan
- ✓ Development Plan

These plans had the aim of developing the interior in order to achieve integrated self-resistant rural economies. As a condition, there must be the existence of peace and security. This policy is presented at the time for approval of the Council of Ministers, but never approved. The objective of this policy is the same as the one of the Stichting Fonds Ontwikkeling Binnenland (SFOB)¹⁶, a public foundation. The new approach was namely "to develop a production area" and developments outside called for different approach of the development of the interior. Although the policy approach to the interior in the period 1992-2016 has changed, involvement of the residents of interior are marginal in the policy making of the government with regard to their communities.

The residents of the interior recognized that they need to take their development in their own hand, an awareness that was reached with the cooperation of various non-governmental organizations. The land rights issue is also a huge obstacle to the development of these areas. The government states in the Multi-Year Development Plan (2006-2011) that the land rights issue is complex (MOP, 2006-2011). The inhabitants of the interior have no title to the land they live on, so they cannot take part in the economic activity on the basis of bank financing as done normally in the coastal area. The government points out that there are potential conflicts between concessionaires and the local people, who depend for their survival on the forest in particular for hunting, farming and logging (Apapoe, 2004, p. 33)

4.6 RELATIONSHIP GOVERNMENT AND THE MAROONS

A number of writers including Scholtens (1994), Libretto (1990), Mac Kay & Kambel (2004), Hoogbergen (1985) and van Lier (1977) called the interior of Suriname in their works "a state within a state". Scholten calls it a "state within a state" based on documents and items of writers before the independence Junker (1932), Westphal (1858, et al). Ooft (Ooft, 1964) indicates that the colonial government regarded the interior as a separate state and so as an equal partner. A state

¹⁶ SFOB is a foundation that search, manage and use resources for the development of the interior of the Ministry of Regional Development

in this case according to Ooft is an independent equipped area in which people live. This does not mean “a modern state”, but an independent unit. By this view of the colonial government, they felt the need to control the means of peace agreements, such as agreements between two equal nations. Here, it should be assumed that the colonial government considered the interior as a separate state for the semi-isolation in which it found itself. This fact also supported the "state within a state" theory, in which it was assumed that the interior was a separate state with its own government. This was made because the elements to be a state were present include:

- ✓ territory
- ✓ population and
- ✓ authority.

Van Lier, on the other hand, indicates that the *gaama* saw the area where his tribesmen lived as his area. These pretensions of the *gaama* came from the fact that the colonial government for centuries spared the Maroons and even encouraged to pursue economic activities in the territory, without having had any real right to the ground. In the earlier land warrants and concession decisions warranty formula was always taken to protect the Maroons and Indigenous people. Regulations were established earlier in legislation as the Gold Act of 1882, the Balata law 1944 and Timber Law of 1947. Hoogbergen (1985) indicated that a state as in the case of the Maroon communities should be seen as an independent nation. This is not the state as in the international jargon. The treaties have been concluded on the basis of what the Dutch were accustomed to do in West-Africa (Betterson, 2003, p. 9). This arrangement resulted from the peace treaties among others explained in article 3 of the treaty of 1762 with the *Saamaka* and article 2 of the 1760 treaty with the *Okanisi*. It is stated that the Maroons may use the land to live and to develop economic activities. The formula is shown as follows "which respects the rights of Maroons and Indigenous to their villages, settlements and land at their disposal domain land".

4.6.1 “Recognition” of traditional authority by the central government

In the Maroon communities, political positions existed long before the peace treaties were signed with the central government. The functions of “*gaama oe matu*¹⁷” and “*bassia*” already existed.

¹⁷ Gaama oe matu - Chief of the forest

The members of an important *Lo* enjoyed special authority and served as chiefs in the forest. After the conclusion of the peace treaties, the government asked for a central leadership and the *gaama* function was introduced. The government change in some extend the way the Traditional authority was organized with the introduction of a central leadership, the *gaama*. At the conclusion of peace, the *gaama* received some special dignity characters, including a peace stick with the arms of the Netherlands on the so-called *fii pau*. The dignitaries recognized by the government depending on their position got a certain kind of suit alleging the military ranking system and a breastplate (Scholtens, 1994, p. 25).

The *gaama* is designated and installed by his tribe. The government ratified the appointment official by letting the *gaama* oath earlier by the governor, now the president of the Republic of Suriname ants him an indemnity. As written earlier, there are other benefits including:

- ✓ Free medical treatment and nursing
- ✓ Compensation necessary to stay in Paramaribo (GB 1996 No. 96)
- ✓ Grant to co-maintain their dignity
- ✓ Office clothes and footwear
- ✓ A house on the residence of the *gaama*
- ✓ An outboard motor and petrol

The *gaama* has a secretary who assists him in all administrative tasks. This officer is a civil servant and receives a salary from MRD, which among other things is responsible for the regional administration and development of the interior. The ministry also provides the office supplies such as pens, stamps, envelopes etc.

The central government provides for the salaries of the workers of the *gaama* include a cleaning lady and the boatmen. The government not only builds a staff residence for the *gaama*, but is responsible for the maintenance and renovation of the buildings. In the past, a number of service apartments were in Paramaribo especially for the *gaama* and delegates. The government also provides transport (in most cases flights) and food during the stay of a *gaama* in the city. According to Meulenhof (Meulenhof, 2002, p. 32), the government provides packages for the *gaama* when he returned to his residence. The *gaama* sees this as supporting his people. The *gaama* contributes to the socially weak who appeal to him. He therefore asks for oil, rice, salt, oil, rum etc. It is traditionally so, that the government provides these goods at every mission of the *gaama*. If the

goods are beneficial to his tribesmen, is being left open in this thesis. The fact is that the provisions currently in force are limited to the following provisions for the *gaama*:

- ✓ The financial compensation
- ✓ The allowance for representation
- ✓ 8 barrels of gasoline annually
- ✓ Office clothes and insignia
- ✓ boat and outboard motor of 60HP¹⁸

Upon the death of a *gaama*, the costs associated with the mourning and burial ceremonies are covered by the government. Similarly, the cost of handling the mourning rituals and the installation of the newly designated *gaama*. In comparison to the *gaama* the head chief / chieftain get a lower fee and representation and also two barrels of gasoline less per year. At the death and the appointment of a chief, there is no directive in this area.

The above illustrates how dependent the Traditional authority has become over the years of the central government. The monthly fees for the Traditional authorities as established by decision of the Minister of Regional Development dated September 25, 2012 No. 6340, on revision of the fees of the Traditional authorities look like this:

Table 11: Monthly fees of the traditional authorities

	Function	Montly Fees SRD ¹⁹	Montly Representation SRD
1	<i>Gaama</i> (Paramount Chief)	1.884,45	247,50
2	<i>Gaama</i> (Headchief)	1.128,50	165
3	<i>Ede Kabiteni</i> (headchief)	948,75	-
4	<i>Kabiteni</i> (Village Chief)	619,85	-
5	<i>Ede Bassia</i> (Head Assitent)	455,40	-
6	Assitent (<i>Bassia</i>)	354,20	-

¹⁸ Decision of the Minister of Regional Development dated September 25, 2012 No.6340, on revision of the fees for the Traditional Authority (Staatsblad no 545.Beschikking van de Minister van Regionale Ontwikkeling d.d. 25 september 2012 no.6340, inzake herziening van het honoraria voor het Traditioneel Gezag).

¹⁹ SRD-Surinamese dollars. One USD is 7.50 SRD since the midst of the second quarter of 2016. On 28 of March, 1 Brazilian Real (BRL) was 2.41 Surinamese dollar (SRD).

The government in Paramaribo has tried in the past, and still trying, to interfere, sometimes in a subtle way, with the appointment of officials of the interior (Traditional Authority). The case of the Prime Minister Pengel and the *gaama* of the *Okanisi* illustrate to some extent the interference of Paramaribo in the appointment of Traditional authority. In 1965, the government led by Prime Minister Pengel tried to install the *gaama* of the *Okanisi*, Gazon Matodja, outside the tradition of the Maroon community. It is customary that the *gaama* of each tribe is installed in the appropriate corresponding spiritual village by his folks before traveling to Paramaribo for recognition. When he took this action the mourning of the deceased *gaama* was not over yet, so the appointment of the new *gaama* was not addressed yet by the *Okanisi*. The action of the Prime Minister went totally against the traditions of the Maroons and met with resistance (Pakosie, 1999, p. 108).

In the succession of *Gaama* Songo Aboikoni of the *Saamaka*, there was also a dispute for the succession between two candidates. This dispute was not resolved before the government has recognized one of the candidates and this has led to blood battle between the respective families of the candidates, and some members of the families ended up in jail. Eventually, the *gaama* became the recognized *gaama* of *Saamaka* by the government and shortly afterwards the other candidate has died. The recognized *gaama* from the dispute has led his tribe for 10 years and died in 2014. Since his death, there is another dispute over the succession and, two years later, the tribe still has no *gaama*. The government has created a commission to mediate the dispute between the rival *Lo* that are claiming the office of *gaama*, but so far without a satisfactory result. In the meantime, there are three different persons installed as *gaama* of *Saamaka* by different groups within the tribe. None of them is recognized by the government.

One of the interviewed experts indicated that the tribal peoples were actually formally acknowledged, which he illustrates by saying:

“The government should legally recognize the traditional authority, because they already recognize them by taking their fees in their budget, but also expanded the policy notification of certain matters relating to the Traditional authority. They appear in the budget of the Ministry of Regional Development, which is adopted by the National Assembly, but they are nowhere in the constitution. When the government indicates that they recognize these groups de facto or de jure they should also be included in the Constitution as groups that historically have organized themselves within certain territories, societies with their own culture, tradition, etc. and that cannot be ignored. I suggested to the constitution committee to include them in the

constitution, but it was stated that the constitution regulates the structure and relationship within government agencies and if they would include these groups they would admit that there is a state within a state. He said that with a legal recognition, similar arrangements should also be put in writing over what will be the role of the Traditional authorities in the formal administrative system of Suriname.”.

It can be concluded that recognition has two meanings here. A positive and a negative one. Positive in the sense that the government recognizes the Traditional authority, because there is an institutional function and grants awarded to the Traditional authority by the government (fee, material things, and uniforms). Negative in the sense that there is no formal recognition in text exists (law) and the land rights issue is still pending. The basis of the problem is land rights, because the Traditional authority should have right on something to govern. So when the government legitimize the Traditional authority, they should also mention what rights they have and upon what. Is the rights upon their communities, land, forest etc.? A formal recognition of the Traditional authority by law would need also a recognition of land rights.

5. CHAPTER 5 COLLABORATION AND SUSTAINABILITY IN “PRACTICE”

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the results of the research in two parts. The first part shows the results from the field study with regard to the role of TA. Follows, collaboration between the government and the TA and sustainable development, as a practice consistent with the theory that was used in this study from the perspective of both groups will be addressed. Finally, the TA as stewards and managers of land and forest. It is evident that collaboration and development cannot be separated from each other, even more, what concerns sustainable development. Should the government and the traditional authorities come to the point that they want to develop the interior in a sustainable way, the first thing they should do is agree with each other how they want to do that. This requires arrangements and agreements, so that they are on the same page in the first place in regards to cooperation and then see in which areas they want to work together to stimulate the sustainable development. All this requires structured and integrated policies, but also need local residents' involvement. In addition, it should be clear what is meant by interior to handle things effectively. Both the government and the authority of the interior should be talking about the same when speaking of the interior. The preconditions such as laws and institutions should be in place. To make a start to develop policies that will promote sustainable development, trust and mutual respect should be the basis.

5.1 ROLE OF THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

According to the research the traditional authorities have different roles. During the desk research the following roles were shown:

- ✓ political and administrative role,
- ✓ socio-cultural role,
- ✓ juridical role and
- ✓ they also function as land and forest stewards and managers.

Remarkably, is that during the field research the Traditional authority gives themselves two other roles beside the traditional roles they had, namely an advisory role and partner in development. A

government official said that the traditional authorities have a facilitating and mediating role. The facilitating and mediating roles are roles that are already part of their socio-cultural and juridical role.

According to a number of respondents (4) only the three roles they have been given traditionally, when they accepted the office as a traditional leader remain. Some (3) indicated, that they have an advisory role alongside the traditional roles they have to fulfill. One group of TA (3) see themselves not only in the roles above, but also in the role of a partner in development. A *kabiteni* explained:

“We have many problems and challenges to fulfill all these roles, but despite all this we try to do everything in our power to do them. Some of the problems we do not have answer to address them that is why we need the government to work together with us to tackle the problems”.

One of the *bassia* added:

“The government cannot say how the development of the interior should be. We must do it, and along with them to determine the direction. Development of an area is progress of that area”.

Political and administrative roles

The relation between customary leaders and the central government has developed based on custom, oral agreements and practical considerations. Communication with the government usually occurs by means of the DC, but it is not uncommon that tribal authorities address the minister or even the President in person. Although the traditional authorities have an honoraria from the government, it remains unclear what this accountability means in practice and who carries what responsibility in the administration of day-to-day community affairs in relation with the government. One undefined matter is the level of authority that may be exerted by the *gaama* and his support staff.

The amount of influence that the various ethnic groups have on national political decision making depends directly on their presence in the various national and regional government offices. The Maroons are very much integrated into the national political system. In recent years, the resort Brownsveg even has traditional leaders in parliament, management of ministry, district

administration, district council or local council. One facet paralyzing the day-to-day works of the traditional authorities is their lack of administrative resources and an operational budget. In the past, traditional leaders typically did not have offices and lack reliable and regularly supplied transportation means (e.g. boat, outboard motor, fuel), writing materials, and/or communication tools (e.g. radio) other than those supplied by NGOs or visiting government delegations usually in anticipation of the elections. And also when traditional leaders want to discuss matters personally with government officials; build liaisons with national interest groups; seek donor assistance; or invest in community development, they first need to seek money from third parties (ACT, 2010, p. 7). One of the *kabiteni* said that in recent years changes occurred and explained this as follows:

“We as traditional leaders of resort Brownsweg saw the need of bundling, because it helps to make better counterbalance with the government when we are organized. For example the VSG and VIDS could only achieved certain things because they are organized. In Brokopondo we have “A Dow Wan Teng” for all the traditional leaders of Brokopondo and in our resort the Organisatie Dignitarissen Brownsweg, an organization of the traditional leaders of Brownsweg. Our organization is initially to organize and regulate our affair in a better way. The organization has a legal personality in order to facilitate the promotion of our interests. We also use part of the funds from the community forests in resort Brownsweg to build space for the purpose of the Traditional authority, such as meeting rooms with associated office space, as well as community centers like kuutu-oso and centers for burial purposes”.

Socio-Cultural Roles

Traditional authorities are responsible for safeguarding the well-being of tribal members. A traditional leader explained this as follows:

“If the government pays us or not, we will always remain traditional leaders as long as people are born in our community. Our work is twenty-four hours a day, as long as the community exists. We as leader cannot say we are on leave or it is too late as long as you are needed you will have to be ready”.

Traditionally, this role included the redistribution of resources to ensure that the weakest in the community would have enough to eat. Reciprocal and caring relations form the social fabric of subsistence based communities in the interior, and the traditional authorities are responsible for maintaining these structures.

With increased integration into the national economy, we see that some leaders are forfeiting their social caretaking role and instead use their privileged position for betterment of their kin group only. Such behavior has led to a withering of respect for traditional leaders, and a lesser willingness of especially youngsters to listen to them.

A high official of the Ministry of Natural Resources backed this with the following:

“Although the relationship that our ministry have with the traditional authority can be called good, I experience, as the biggest challenge, the disunity (which is noticeable at meetings sometimes) internally among traditional leaders. This is expressed in over and again accusations sometimes. There seem to be interests, but I cannot be ascertained, because I did not personally research this”.

While, on the one hand, youngsters are disappointed in their traditional leaders, one also increasingly hears these leaders complain that young people no longer want to listen to them. This trend is an (indirect) outcome of closer integration into the national economy and society. In the context of rights to land and a certain degree of self-governance and management of these lands, it is crucial that respect for traditional authorities is being strengthened. Part of the socio-cultural role of traditional leaders concerns their religious role. Among the Christianized groups, the link between political and religious leadership tends to be weaker.

Juridical role

The Maroons safeguarded their right to maintain their own legal system with related juridical measures, separate from that of the central government. Nevertheless, under current Suriname law, customary authorities have no mandate to speak law and justice and may not impose laws other than national laws. Thus, without clear guidelines in the current legal framework, we can conclude from the various historic legal documents that the peoples living in tribal societies have a right to their own legal and juridical systems as long as these systems are in agreement with the national laws. It is unclear which system supersedes in the case of conflicting regulations. In practice, local authorities play a crucial role in maintaining law and order, and in promoting adherence to both customary and national laws. At a national policy level, it is tolerated that these authorities resolve small offenses such as theft and village fights through punishment after consultations in village meetings. In part, this policy of tolerance exists out of practical reasons. For many interior villages, the nearest Suriname police posts are many hours if not days of travel away. For another part, interior populations dislike too much meddling from the State into their affairs. As a result of both

local preference and state incapacity, most criminal offences are dealt with at the village level by the customary authorities. These processes usually involve some sort of arrangement between the family of the wrongdoer and the aggrieved party. Possible sanctions vary per tribal group (ACT, 2010). One of the *kabiteni* stated:

“The traditional authority is needed, because the government cannot do everything. We act as law enforcers in our areas. Outsiders do not know how we solve things and not for every issue police is needed”.

He is supported by an expert who further indicated:

“The government does not even have enough information where all communities are and where they reach. The tribes know and have agreements among themselves, about the borders”.

Another expert stated, that the government should be thankful to the traditional authority for maintaining order in the interior, because the territory of Suriname is vast and the government cannot oversee it all.

The strong reliance on the customary legal and juridical systems is not unproblematic, for four main reasons. In the first place, actions of traditional authorities in reaction to crime and misconduct are rather arbitrary. Offenders are punished according to the personal discretion of the village authorities and their advisors, which in turn is influenced by their relation to the culprit. This situation violates the basic human rights of both crime victims and perpetrators.

A second problem is that the traditional authorities do not have a formal mandate to arrest offenders or impose punishment. This situation severely limits their options to maintain order and justice, especially where outsiders who do not recognize the customary laws are involved.

Third, traditional authorities generally are skilled in dealing with traditional problems such as theft, village fights, sexual abuse, and the violation of customary land use rules. They may not be as effective in deal with modern problems. Arm robbery, alcohol abuse, drugs related issues as well as cases involving people from outside (e.g. Brazilian gold miners) are relatively new and it is difficult for especially elderly leaders to judge possible risks (ACT, 2010). One of the traditional leaders said:

“We did not know these problems before the transmigration and the beginnings years of the new villages. I could leave my door open when I went somewhere. If it was wide open someone pulled it close”.

The resort Brownsweg has a police station, which has the legal authority and could possibly in cooperation with the traditional authorities address these problems. The Traditional authority indicates that the police in the resort fails. They stated further in this report that the fourth problem is that in some communities respect for traditional authorities is withering, with the result that they no longer have the power to fulfill their tasks as local judges and order keepers. For example, there are no clear rules on how traditional authorities should handle crime. A leader illustrates this withering of respect as follow:

“The young men now drink in groups along the streets and break the bottles on the street. They do not mind if a traditional leader is near. When you as a leader say something about it, then you get an answer that is not your duty”.

Advisory role

The Traditional authority indicated that they are there as an institution to look together with the government in matters concerning the interior. And they want to advise the government on the many issues faced by their communities. Only they did not feel that the government allows them to do that. They have a whole list of problems cited which their resort is facing and which they cannot solve by themselves. They indicate, that together with the government they could deal with many of those if the government would listen to them and conformed to commitments they make when they come once in their areas. An elder stated, that they only have an advisory role as Traditional authority of this resort, but most traditional leaders did not agree with him.

Partner in development role

They indicated that they cannot sit back and wait for others to do something regarding their development. As part of the country, they want to work with the government on the development of their communities. They have come to the conclusion because lots of resources go wasted due to a lack of involvement of the people of the interior. But also various agencies, organizations that are engaged in projects of the interior, are not working together. Sometimes they know about each other, but sometimes not. They further state that, as officials, they know which direction they want to go with the development of their area, but the challenges and problems in the area have piled

up that they cannot do it alone. They need help from others to minimize the problems. Because of the many challenges to solve the most fundamental problems, they lack the tools and time to address issues in a sustainable way. Issues such as healthy drinking water, stable power supply, good health care, post-secondary education for their children, but also things like drug use and alcohol abuse. Some (3) are worried about the uncontrolled gold mining in their surroundings. It should be noted that most of the respondents (7) did not see gold mining as a problem. This was not mentioned as one of the problems they listed.

The government also indicated that they are partners (4), but it is not clear what that partnership include. Although the government officials did not mention what kind of partner the Traditional authority is, the Policy Document of the Ministry of Regional Development 2012-2016 mentions that the Traditional authority is a necessary requirement in the pursuit of development within the country. One of the interviewed government official stated:

“This partnership is debatable, because the Traditional authority finally has a minor role in relation to the government if I look closely at it”.

One respondent stated that the Traditional authority is also facilitator and mediator for the government in issues concerning their communities and surroundings.

The above shows that there is a need for proper arrangements, but even more collaboration between the government and the traditional authorities to tackle the challenges and problems faced by these communities by addressing these immediately.

5.2 COLLABORATION CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

According to most of the interviewees in the traditional authorities (7), there is no adequate collaboration between TA and the government. They base this on things that are promised by the government, but were not realized accordingly. The way the government copes with their interests and their communities is also an indicator. The following quote of a *bassia* emphasizes the before mentioned:

“Suriname is a difficult country for collaboration. Before elections, political parties come to us to talk and make promises and after the elections they seem to forget us. We have an organization as traditional leaders of resort Brownsweg. We are striving

to work together, but it is really difficult. Collaboration between government and traditional authorities must find its basis in political parties.”

An elder from the community added up to this, by saying that collaboration does not exist between the TA and the Central government because there is no fundament for it. He further states:

“There are no appointments and things are imposed on the TA. The administration of the country is in Paramaribo and the interior is not involved”.

Contrarily, there is a minority of these leaders (3) who believe that there is collaboration between the government and the TA. They argue that the government inform them when there are new projects or when new programs will be started in their resort. Besides, the Minister of Regional Development always contact them for things that will be done directly from Paramaribo in their area, and for ongoing business they have a constant collaboration with the local government office or the District Commissioner. By farther questioning, it seems that this group defines "being informed" as collaboration.

Out of the government officials, the majority (4) states that there is collaboration between the TA and the government. According to a high official of the Ministry of Regional Development the following holds:

“There is an age-old partnership between the government and the TA. The basis for the partnership has been laid at the conclusion of peace by the colonial government and the Maroons. The central government is on the first line, the District Commissioner on the second line and the TA on the third line. The government indeed is considering the TA. The legal recognition of traditional authority is yet to come, and my ministry is working on that.”

This respondent acknowledges, however, that there is no structure for this collaboration.

Regarding how the TA is taking in consideration by the government, the respondent from the Ministry of Regional Development, is backed by an expert in this field:

“Indeed, the government takes the TA into account. But, regards cooperation, it does not exist between the government and the TA. There was never really a collaboration between the central government and the TA. Communication was poor and the government assumed that when the communication would be improved the inland

residents would integrate in Suriname, so it would not been necessary to put things in place. Because everything would form a whole.”

According to this expert, successive governments did not pay attention to these issues because over the past years the governance system of the tribal people has developed alongside the one of the country and the reasoning of successive governments was not right.

Another expert indicates that we do not take enough time to study the traditional governance and reason from Paramaribo that it has no authority anymore, until Paramaribo try to do something in the field and it is proven wrong. She argues, that the introduction of decentralization has been a missed opportunity for the government to actually show that there is collaboration between the government and the traditional authorities. Because collaboration is not only informing people but the actual participation of all groups. She says, that she talks in her own research about a dual governance, where different forms of government coexist. She would not talk about partnership in the sense of how the high official of the Ministry of Regional Development explains it. She says that the Traditional authority is not part of the government of Suriname:

“So when the high official speaks about first, second and third line, he looks at things from the point of view of the government. Traditional governance should be viewed from a local level, but because the government is so weak at the local level, the TA looks straight back up the central government. Since the government has no control over the entire territory of Suriname, the government should be glad that there is a TA in the interior in order to take care of things. There is a national governance and traditional governance.”

Two respondents (officials from a ministry) stress that they do not have an association with the TA; and if there is any than not directly. One of them says that contact from their department with the TA goes through the Ministry of Regional Development.

Both parties made clear to have the intention to work towards structural collaboration for mutual benefit and above all for the sustainable development of the interior. The high official of the Ministry of Regional Development states on behalf of the government the following:

“We are working to put legislation and framework conditions in place so that the cooperation can take place on a structural basis. We will work on the recognition of

the Traditional authority, the law on traditional authority and the inclusion of the rights of indigenous peoples and Maroons in Suriname's constitution".

The official of the TA illustrated with an example how cooperation can be structured and might be based on a better basis. He illustrated in the following imagery:

"...te ie ko a mi woso no ja ko a dendo ma ie sie wan muje ku mii no ie go taki taa mi abi wan muje ku gaan hia mii no wa sa woko same ja, bika ja sabi e die muje die sie de e mi muje, ma e ie ko a woso dendo no hi haksi mi ta we mi sie wan muje ku wan lo mi aki ambe abi de no mi o konda da ju finifini unfa a waka no woo sa woko same ja.."

Means if the government comes to our communities and think they know our challenges and problems, without consulting us about how we see things, than I am sure that we will not have a collaboration, because we are the one who live in the communities and know what the challenges and problems are and how to tackle them. Most of the time we just lack a few things, but which are achievable with the help of others.

The Traditional authority demands regards cooperation only trust, mutual respect, good communication, involvement and openness. They believe that if the government take these things into account it will be easy to work together with each other.

One expert gave in concrete terms how she believes that collaboration between the government and the traditional authority could be achieved. One expert said:

"In my opinion there are two different systems which have developed side by side. I called it a dual system. The government should look at how these two systems work together, but also how they can complement each other. They should know who is responsible for what, when and how and make arrangement how they will do this, because the government is not able to oversee the total territory of Suriname, especially the interior".

According to the government, cooperation is the centuries-old partnership that the government and the traditional authority have with each other. When studying the literature about this partnership,

it is more a one-sided specific cooperation where the government has set its requirements and traditional authority is more or less dependent on it. The traditional authority, on the other hand, indicates that cooperation must be mutual on the basis of respect, trust, etc.

This study shows that the reality of both groups is sometimes very far from each other. It is also not consistent with the theory that is use for collaboration in this thesis. The research confirmed both the absence or lack of cooperation between the different government departments and also the lack of collaboration with the Traditional authority. A structural basis of collaboration according to Larson & Chrislip (1994), where the relationship is based on mutual benefits with the same objectives and shared responsibility, authority and accountability for the achieving of results is absent. The cooperation is not even on the basis of sharing of knowledge. It has remained at the point of sharing one-sided information. The purpose of collaboration to create a shared vision and joint strategies to address concerns that go beyond the purview of any particular party is out of discussion here in relation to the theory.

5.3 THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

There is a lot being said about sustainable development of a country, in particular traditional communities. This study also focuses on the sustainable development of Indigenous and Maroon peoples. An expert states as follow about sustainable development:

“I think there is a misconception when it comes to policies initiated by, for example, the United Nations as a world body, as exemplified by the concept of sustainable development. Critics quickly tend to talk about Western concepts as these countries have a certain weight, but in principle, every country represented in this organization's voice and partly also determine the development of policy in this area”.

The government has tried to have different approaches to sustainable development in recent years. In the past, the emphasis was placed on various sectors in Suriname. According to the government sustainable development is about integrating sectors that have so far been treated as independent and separate development components. There are a number of challenges to be faced as an integrated sustainable development vision, strategy and program are formulated in Suriname, including the following: integrating cross-cutting thematic areas into the key priority areas requires a completely different set of capacities, knowledge and skills among decision-makers, government technical staff,

and partners from the private sector and NGOs. There are rapid changes in the technology required and used to support and implement a sustainable development program.

Suriname has not formulated a vision or strategy on technological development yet, and this is essential if decisions are to be taken for the sustainable path forward. The capacities required to develop clear indicators to measure progress in complicated, integrated priority areas are scarce and/or lacking in the country on the short term.

This research reveals that the government missed a chance to adjust and align the current national planning system of Suriname with the district decentralization program, so that efficient and adequate planning, decision-making, implementation and fundraising at district and local level could take place. Funding needs to be available for the continuous process of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation at all levels. This is backed by one of the expert who stated that:

“Decentralization is a missing chance for the government to show how they collaborate with the Traditional authority, but also to involve them in the development of the interior. The government did not recognize the traditional authorities in this process. They were included as common citizens in a resort in this process, but not as a centuries-old institution”.

Another expert added:

“That a participatory population is very important and sustainability should be integrated into the decentralization process, because this process is the basis of choice for local development”.

While the central government is busy formulating an integrated sustainable vision, strategy and program, the traditional authorities are more concerned about how the government will involve them to achieve this in their territories. The Traditional authorities in this area indicated, that they always try to handle their environment and all in their surroundings in a sustainable way. What they want is the protection of their land, water and forest, in short, the environment in which they live; for them and the generation to come. A traditional leader uttered this concern as follows:

“I try to encourage the residents of my village to apply for lands where they think they can do something, because they can get up one morning and everything was issued by the government”.

Most of the interviewed traditional authorities (7) are of the opinion that the government is not doing enough to stimulate sustainable development in the interior. Two others indicated that, they do not see any development and another states, that the basis for sustainable development is absent. This is exaggerated by an expert as follows:

“Development in the interior is not sustainable not from the point of view of NGO’s or the government. The government only looks at the financial side of development and not the human side of it, otherwise education of the interior, for example, would not have many problems at commencing of each new school year”.

In contrast, the government officials (5) declared that they are doing enough to develop the interior on a sustainable way. According to the high official of the Ministry of Regional Development, sustainable development is a long-term and structured development, whereby this part of development is typical and generations can build on it. He added that when he took office he issued an assessment and found that the Ministry of Regional Development, which is to ensure the development of the interior as mentioned in her job description could not bring enough building blocks for sustainable development, which is why the structures are adapted. He further stated:

“We created two new directorates within the ministry, specifically to take up the sustainable development of the groups in the interior. These two directorates are Directorate for Sustainable Development and Indigenous Affairs and Directorate for Sustainable Development Afro-Surinamese of the Interior. And a third directorate is also revived, in particular, the Directorate Agricultural Development Interior. These directorates must ensure that the traditional authorities and communities should be involved in policy formulation by the ministry. In this context, land rights issues must be resolved faster because it creates stagnation in the development. The various kuutu are high on the agenda of the ministry and we are busy already to establish the rules of the gaankuutu with one of the tribe of the Maroons”.

A high official of the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forestry Management said that they promote sustainable development by providing community forests to the communities. He further stated that the Traditional authority should use the capacity for the development of their areas. This, according to him, should be their part of the job. In the interview with a senior official of MRD it has shown that this is not the case, because MRD compiles guidelines for the use of community forests for the communities and managing finances. It has also emerged clearly during the research that matters contained in the government's plans and what they say does not match with what happens in practice.

One experts gave her view on how sustainable development can be reached in the interior. One indicated:

“First, it is important to invest in the human factor. Second, the residents of the interior already use tourism, what needs to happen is proportionality with regard to resources, stimulate tourist kindness in this sector. I believe that the inland residents, who have the facilities and most of the work do not get the most, but that tour operators take a great deal of the income. Finally, agricultural sector also is one that can use for sustainable development not only by encouraging people to operate in a professional manner, but also facilitating as government to seek markets, but also that the supply of raw materials in the field can be use there by encouraging companies to operate in the area so that employment is also taken up”.

In conclusion is not sure the Central government and the Traditional authority have the same definition or the same aspiration towards sustainable development, but it appears that the government is concentrating on big projects such like bauxite mining, gold mining etc. which the tribal people feel like is not bringing development for them. According to the several plans in the past this was the same case.

5.4 TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AS LAND AND FOREST STEWARDS AND MANAGERS

For centuries, tribes have continually created and adapted land, forest and resource utilization practices to ensure physical and cultural survival such as the adaptation of hunting- and fishing skills, use of certain spaces, etc. The report “Support Traditional authority structure of Indigenous Peoples and Maroons in Suriname” stated that consulted studies had documented a wide range of traditional customary practices that regulate natural resources and show that traditional authorities take leadership in a sustainable land and forest use system. The Maroons have not abandoned the centuries-old way of land and forest management. The traditional authority indicates that the land is still divided as traditionally done in families for plots etc. This, too, has come to be under pressure. There is almost no more land in the near area for agriculture to be identified, because of gold mining and commercial logging in the vicinity of the tribal communities. Also, young people and traditional leaders are guilty of this.

5.4.1 Land-and resources stewardship

In global term there are three complementary parts in land and resources stewardship that are important to mention. These are ownership of the used land, benefits of the land use, and management of the used lands. In the interview with the traditional leaders they complain a lot about this issue. Although they can use land for agriculture plots, hunting, and fishing and for spiritual reasons, they stated that they do not have any formal rights if some other person asks a concession in that same spot and get it. The use of land is not really guarantee.

Ownership of the used land.

From a legal point of view, as stated in previous paragraph, in Suriname all land in the interior is owned by the State if not contracted as concession or permit. Tribal people do not have the formal right to utilize the land. Although the country is blessed with a low population to land ratio compared with a lot of similar countries and land per se should not be the hot issue, but in practice it is an issue. Community people must have the ownership of the natural resources they need for subsistence use. One can hereby think of cultivation plots, forest products, fishing and hunting resources (ACT, 2010). A *bassia* states in our interview that ownership is not enough, because if it was the land right issue would not occur. In this same matter one of the expert added:

“Ownership can only work if both parties know there responsibilities. We can see the many issues the government has in the interior from land rights to gold mining issues”.

Benefits of land use

There are many possibilities in the benefits of land use, ranging from the pure subsistence agriculture and Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) use up to partnerships with private sector investors. In this regards another expert said:

“The traditional leaders do not use the forest to full extend for the benefit of their communities. They are recently, only concentrate on commercial logging and they have to make better deals with entrepreneurs who work in their community forest. They also have to look at the other sectors within the reach of these forests such as provision in own need for food and forest production, collection of non-timber forest products and reclamation for agricultural purposes, but also involving villagers, for instance, for doing the inventory by themself and also the harvest”.

Management of the used land

In the report “Support to the Traditional authority structure of Indigenous Peoples and Maroons in Suriname”, the authors argued that when people feel involved and own something that gives them benefit, motivation for implementing a good management is often a natural result.

They stated further that, as political and social leaders, customary authorities have the responsibility to look after the sustainable use of natural resources; to establish and endorse rules that support environmentally sound practices; and to place sanctions on those who violate these unwritten rules. History tells us that in some cases the chiefs yield to the temptation and give permissions for mining (gold, diamonds, bauxite) and/or logging in their surrounding areas where the resources are required by the local communities for their subsistence life.

The Traditional authorities can also be seen as stewards of agriculture land because cultivation is one of the main things for which they use land. A high official of the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandries and Fisheries indicated at the interview on the 20 of December 2016:

“Ensuring food security is very important for our department. And in order to achieve this is certainly necessary to work together with traditional communities. Tribal communities typically cultivate many crops and multiple varieties of each crop in space and time and by doing so, harvest security is enhanced and diet diversity is promoted”.

The tribes have maintained and adapted different forms of agricultural systems for centuries and could be called the founders of agricultural land stewardship. Their knowledge, traditions, land use and resources management are of immeasurable value for further development. Note that, for the agriculture part, there is only one agricultural research institute in all of Suriname and this is, unfortunately, located in the capital. The agricultural unit initiated by the Ministry of Regional Development to directly support agricultural production in the interior did not function the past five years due to political interference. Recently, this ministry re-establish the unit again.

5.4.2 Stewards of the forest

The relationship with the forest and communal peoples are based on Non-Timber Forest Product (NTFP). The remarkable traditional knowledge with regard to the use of the forest products is a source of ethno botanical information and much of the knowledge gained from tribal people is the foundation of the herbal medicinal industry today. Unwritten rules ensure that biological resources are not over

harvested. Members are only allowed to take out of the forest what they need and will use. When thinking of valuation of the natural forest, tribal communities should also play a significant role. However, the Nature Conservation Act 1954 (Natuurbeschermingswet 1954) article 5 provides some prohibition provisions. This is contrary to the tradition of the inhabitants of the interior who live off of hunting and fishing. The Nature Conservation Act does not allow for any exceptions for tribal people (ACT, 2010).

Although there is more to get out of the forest, observation has shown that the emphasis is now being placed on commercial logging. At the meeting with the traditional leaders of resort Brownsweg, they also pointed to that. A few alternative uses of forest cited, in particular, provision in own need for food and forest production, collection of non-timber forest products and reclamation for agricultural purposes as stated in the law forest management 1992 . They agreed that the above mentioned use of the forest will be discussed at the next meeting of the traditional authority of the resort and they will see how they can join in order to achieve these things. As a matter of fact they said they will ask assistant of experts in the area, but also form the district. The only concrete and formal agreement that the traditional authority knows with the government is about Hout Kapvergunning (HKV), then community forests. Apart from legislation, on this part, there are also rules and agreements to which both parties must adhere to. A recent regulation is the one that must regulate the financial management of community forests and ensure that there is no abuse of funds by the traditional leaders. Here, both sides are diametrically opposed to each other, because the traditional authority does not agree that these funds are transferred to the district fund, under management of the DC. They find that it is immature to ask permission from the District Commissioner, even less, the long road it will take, according to them, before they get to the resources, which they previously had on their own account.

CONCLUSION

- ✓ In conclusion, the research revealed that there is a discrepancy in the official government intentions and the actual implementation of policies regarding the interior. Clear policies are lacking and without these it is difficult to formulate goals and plans, and monitor implementation or progress towards attaining goals.
- ✓ According to the research, the Traditional authority still has different roles in their communities, but also in relation to the government. It has emerged from the research, that these roles are under pressure due to the various issues, among which integration, new challenges and problems, but also that new roles have evolved through these changes.
- ✓ As political and social leaders, customary authorities have the responsibility to look after the sustainable use of natural resources; to establish and endorse rules that support environmentally sound practices; and to place sanctions on those who violate these unwritten rules. However, being a 'traditional' tribal individual and being a leader does not automatically make one into a wise and responsible land steward. There are numerous examples of leaders that have used their power, or adversely not carried sufficient power, to practice or endorse practices that exhaust or destroy the land and its resources.
- ✓ Actions and decisions, which are required in order to develop an integrated collaboration, are hampered by a lack of legislation. Government agencies working at cross-purposes and not combined them for better policies and results for Suriname's benefit. Also, Traditional authorities have no unity with each other in order to move the government with gentle pressure to address cases of the interior.
- ✓ This study shows that the practice is not consistent with the theory at the area of collaboration. The research confirmed both the absence or lack of cooperation between the different government departments and also the lack of collaboration with the Traditional authority. A structural basis of collaboration according to Larson & Chrislip (1994), where the relationship

is based on mutual benefits with the same objectives and shared responsibility, authority and accountability for the achieving of results is absent. The cooperation is not even on the basis of sharing of knowledge. It has remained at the point of sharing one-sided information. The purpose of collaboration to create a shared vision and joint strategies to address concerns that go beyond the purview of any particular party is out of discussion here in relation to the theory.

- ✓ Because collaboration is defective within the internal organization of the government and also in some cases, on the side of the traditional authorities, it is not surprising that there is no structural cooperation between these parties.
- ✓ Collaboration and integration of development efforts are needed at all levels—international, national and local. Local authorities need to be given more authority in the management of land, water, forest etc. Such decentralization, together with good governance structures that ensure situational leadership at the local level and link to national formulated policies, will have a better chance of developing collaborative local partnership, where control mechanisms can be more easily applied.
- ✓ Decision-makers need to understand that sustainable and equitable development is a process with a long-term vision and goals, which require patience and investments in human resources, time and money. There is no clear understanding among decision-makers of sustainable development and how to achieve the ultimate goal of human well-being. Actions and decisions, which are required in order to develop an integrated development agenda, are hampered by a lack of legislation and outdated legislation, but also political will.
- ✓ In conclusion is not sure the Central government and the Traditional authority have the same definition or the same aspiration towards sustainable development, but it appears that the government is concentrating on big projects such like bauxite mining, gold mining etc. which the tribal people feel like is not bringing development for them. According to the several plans in the past this was the same case.
- ✓ Although it is not sure the central government and the Traditional authority have the same

definition or the same aspiration towards sustainable development, both parties indicated to put more efforts in their attempt to develop the interior in a sustainable way.

- ✓ It can be concluded that recognition has two meanings here. A positive and a negative one. Positive in the sense that the government recognizes the Traditional authority, because there is an institutional function and grants awarded to the Traditional authority by the government (fee, material things, and uniforms). Negative in the sense that there is no formal recognition in text exists (law) and the land rights issue is still pending. The basis of the problem is land rights, because the Traditional authority should have right on something to govern. So when the government legitimize the Traditional authority, they should also mention what rights they have and upon what. Is the rights upon their communities, land, forest etc.? A formal recognition of the Traditional authority by law would need also a recognition of land rights
- ✓ The government's financial capability of funding essential infrastructure, such as utilities (water and electricity), especially in the remote areas, is weak. Healthcare services, education, communication and social-economic activities should go hand in hand. There is a shortage of expertise and limited research capacity in the country, which make it difficult to fully understand the underlying issues of sustainable development.
- ✓ In Resort Brownsveg, they still use land for agriculture plots, hunting and fishing, but the major activities the last ten years in this resort is gold mining and commercial logging. The study also revealed that the funds resulting from these sectors are not used to finance sustainable projects.
- ✓ Awareness of land rights has also brought with it, that the belief and judgment many inhabitants of the interior had about land and their environment is changing. They are now more than ever aware, that they do not have legal rights to the land and environment in which they live. It is worth a study to find out if the sprawl display by both many residents of the interior as some officials when it comes to stewardship, is partly due to this awareness. This became apparent during the observation in the field.

- ✓ Residents and officials participating in the misuse of land and forest. The authorities give permission and even have agreements with outsiders for commercial logging for example, without checking what is being taken out of the forest. For example HKV (logging permit), a practice that was legally in place until 1992, were registered in the personal names of the chiefs of the villages. It was not unusual that that outside loggers closed deals with captains who were given permits to cut and remove timber. And the same goes for the communal forest. The contested involvement of traditional leaders in gold mining is also evident.
- ✓ Traditional leaders are not always transparent about use of land and forest, as results misuse of land and forests. Although some of them are debit to ineffective, misuse and also know within their communities who misuse land and forest, they keep quiet about it. This is also one of the reasons why their performance does not have much effect within their territories. These types of actions let them compromise on their power, authority and popularity.
- ✓ In conclusion the traditional leaders and villagers of resort Brownsweg can do more with the income they get from the community forests if they join forces. Although the community forests do not produce much compared to what the entrepreneurs gaining out of it, the forests bring up some money if the communities in this resort jointly spend it to sustainable projects. Now, the resources from each community forests is been using for purposes concerning that village and more on projects on small constructive nature.
- ✓ It can be concluded that the traditional leaders perceived the guidelines for financial management of community forests as something that is imposed on them and the communities by the government.

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ATTACHMENTS

1. INTERVIEWS

- Mrs. Ine Apapoe, expert (Public administrator and lecturer at the Anton de Kom university, but also a Maroon and expert of the Maroon culture)
- Mr. Guno Malone, expert (Forestry expert, Deputy Director of Foundation for Forest Management and Production Control, a semi-government organization)
- Ms. Peggy Panka, deskundige (Public administrator, sustainable development specialist and working at private own)
- Mr. August Boldewijn, expert (retired lecturer Administration)
- Ms. Alice Jongaman, Head of the department of Community development of MRD
- Mr. Ordiano Saeroon, Deputy Director Forest Management at the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forestry Management
- Ms. Kathleen Souprayen, Deputy Director Land affairs at the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forestry Management
- Mr. Edgar Dikan, Minister of Regional Development
- Mr. Dave Abeleven, Director at the Ministry of Natural Resources
- Mr. Ashween Ramdin, Deputy Director at the Ministry of Agriculture
- Ms. Ifna Vrede, kabiteni
- Mr. Papai Kadoesoe, bassia
- Mr. Henk Finisie, ede kabiteni
- Mr Eduard Weewee, kabiteni
- Mr. Erwien Mawie, kabiteni
- Mr. Frans Weewee, elder
- Ms. Emmelien Pobosi, bassia
- Mr. Lambertus Waandels, kabiteni
- Ms. Judith Nelson, bassia

➤ Dhr. Justus Leidsman, bassia

2. QUESTIONNAIRE

Name:

Function:

1. Does the Traditional Authority work together with the government?
 - yes
 - no
 - a. What are the areas of cooperation?
 - b. At what level is the cooperation?
 - c. Are there agreements on the cooperation?
2. What is the status of the traditional authority in your opinion?
 - a. Is it regulated?
 - b. If not, why not and is it important that it is regulated?
3. What is the role of traditional authority?
 - a. What role does the traditional authority have in regards to the cooperation with the government?
 - b. Is the traditional authority involved in formulating policy of the government towards the interior, and what does that commitment mean?
 - c. Are there issues that affect this collaboration and role?
4. What is sustainable development according to you?
 - a. What do the traditional authorities themselves do to develop their area in a sustainable way?
 - b. Does the government do enough to promote sustainable development in the interior?
 - c. Do you believe that resources from the natural resources that exist in the region, revert to the development of the area?
5. Are the traditional authorities involved in land and concession applications in the interior?
 - a. What does that involvement mean?
 - b. What is the policy regarding the distribution of income from the concessions near the communities?

Muito Obrigada (Grantangi)

3. QUESTIONNAIRE (EXPERTS)

Name:

Function:

1. Are you aware what status of the traditional authority is within the Surinamese administrative system?
 - a. Yes / No? Motivate your answer.
 - b. Is this status legal? No, you believe that the traditional authority should have a legal status?
 - c. What role do they have?
2. Do you believe that the government works together with the traditional authority in the interior?
 - a. How does this collaboration works?
 - b. What is the basis of this cooperation, according to you?
 - c. Is it necessary that when the government talks about partnership in the case of the traditional authority must it be based on equality? Yes No. Explain your answer
 - d. In which areas are they working according to you?
3. Do you believe that the government's policy proceed to solve the challenges and problems of the interior?
 - a. Are the residents of the interior i.e. the traditional authorities involved?
 - b. Is this based on sustainability according to you?
 - c. What does sustainable development means according to you?
 - d. Are revenues that are extracted from the natural resources used in the interior for the development of the interior?
4. 4. Which strategy do you think will work to develop the interior of Suriname in a sustainable way
 - a. Who should do it?

Muito Obrigada (Grantangi)

**4. OBSERVATION SHEET AT VARIOUS OCCASIONS IN WHICH THE TRADITIONAL
AUTHORITY PARTICIPATE**

1. Internal meetings of the village
2. Meetings with the various villages
3. Meetings with outsiders
4. Lead at this meetings
5. Decision makers at meetings
6. Intervention when members are likely to go astray from the core
7. Traditional celebrations
8. Religious ceremonies
9. Funeral rites
10. Healing ceremonies
11. Action in abuses in the village
12. To request the hand of a woman (traditional engagement and wedding)
13. Act as land and forest owners and managers
14. Role in these activities

5. COMMUNITY FOREST PERMIT RESORT BROWNSWEG

No.	Village	Field area no.	Surface (ha)	Operator / licensee	Phone #	Village Committee	Entrepreneur (with agreement)	Deposit to Bank / district fund	financial agreements	Remarks
1. 1	Kadjoe	312b	2590	Rozenberg Marlon	8656880	-----	Panka Rinaldo	DSB	60 srd p/m3 spar	The agreement has already expired
2.	Djanka kondre		2175	Tooi, W		-----	-----	-----	30 srd p/m3 spar	-----
3.	Macambie	252	2970	Kadosoe Mofie L		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
4.	Nw.Ganzee	312	2295	Waandels Lambertus	8645607	-----	Wintrip International	District fund	30 srd p/m3 spar	According to the captain, the entrepreneur does not produce, making the village receives no revenue. The village wants to terminate the contract with the entrepreneur .-- / will be sent a letter to SBB for an overview of the volume of wood already produced .--
5.	Nw. Ganzee Nw. Ganzee	312a 722	2550	Hoop Magnus Ifna Vrede	08837442	wel	Wintrip Great east investment Suriname	District fund VCB bank	10 \$ p/m3 spar 8 usd	Idem. Agreement is valid until 2018
6.	Nw. Koffiekamp	252a		Wijnerman,L	8807474	-----	Wintrip	Hakrin bank	25 srd p/m3 spar	The agreement has already expired

7.	Nw. Koffiekamp	252b		Wijnerman, L		-----	Wintrip	Hakrin bank	25 srd p/m3 spar	Hood boxes closed for commercial logging
8.	Birudumatu	302	2775	Kaijen, E		-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
9.	Wakibasoe 2	250 a	2130	Finisie	8627774	-----	Kuish, Glenn C	-----	20 srd p/m3 spar	The agreement has already expired

6 CRONOGRAMA

Month	Activities	Comments
March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Searching and Reading of Material ▪ Research for my qualification paper ▪ Meeting with the Minister of Regional Development ▪ March 29-- Meeting with Traditional Authorities of Resort Brownsveg and other actors 	X X X X
April- May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reading of scholarly books, documents, etc. ▪ Another meeting with the Minister of Regional Development ▪ Research and reading material for the qualification ▪ Working on my qualification paper ▪ Submitting my qualifications paper 	X X X X X
May	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Qualification 	X
June-July	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Establish roadmap for data collection ▪ Preparing field work 	X X
July – November	Field research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Observation ▪ Interviews 	X X
Dec-Jan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Processing of data ▪ Drawing conclusions 	X X
February- March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Submitting concept to the advisor ▪ Processing comments of the advisor 	X X
March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Submitting final work (March, 31) 	X
April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Defending thesis (April, 17) 	X

7 COMMUNITY FORESTS

In accordance with the Forest Management Act of 1992 (Article 41. paragraph 2) the definition of community forests reads as follows:

"Woodlands, which are situated around communal land and for workers in villages and settlements living and also designated tribal forest dwellers as community forest, and which serve to cover their own need for food and forestry production, as well as for possible commercial timber exploitation, collection of non timber forest products and reclamation for agricultural purposes".

These forest areas are under article 41 paragraph 2 of the Forest Act (S. B. 1992 no.80) by the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forestry Management (RGB) after consultation with the Minister of Regional Development designated as community forest

Community Forests are issueing to replace the logging permits (HKVs). Logging permits were issued to people, usually to the chief for the benefit of his family or persons who may be considered to belong to his tribe (Art 9 paragraph 3 Wood Decision) (Wood Receivable 1947). Was popularly / this is known as the "cut down bussi" and to date, the names of many chiefs remained as "property". He alone determines what should be done. The village has no benefit.

To counter this phenomenon convenient there are already a number of HKVs converted to Community Forests. Community Forests are issued on behalf of the community and village chief acts as manager.

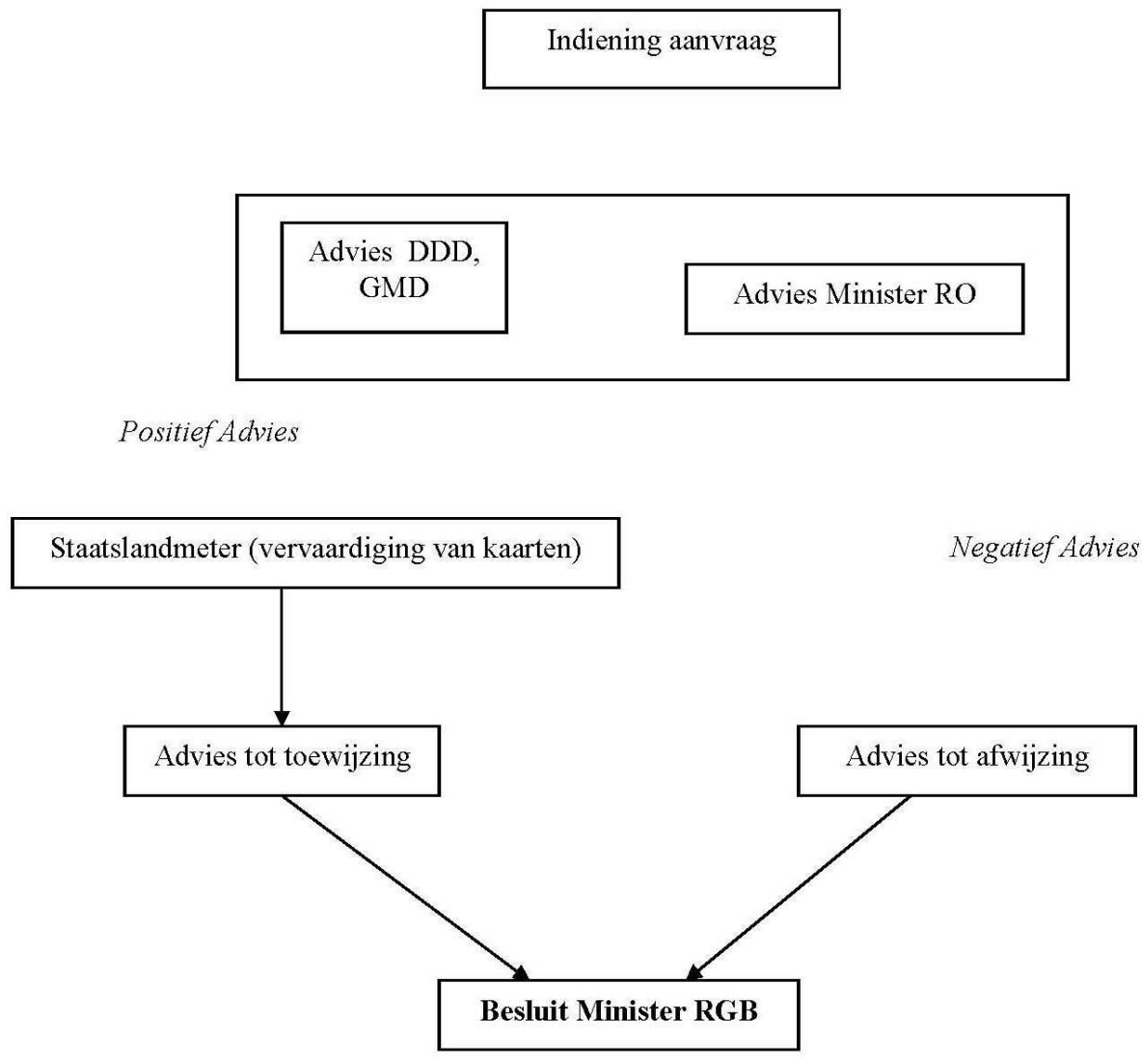
Application procedures Community Forests (GMB)

Procedure for obtaining a community forest (GMB)

1. Application and allocation GMB
 - From the traditional authority, in particular, a captain log in to the Foundation for Forest Management and Production Control (SBB) for advice on applying for a community forest (GMB). If no captain is present than a *bassia* asking for advice.

- The captain must submit an application on behalf of the village at the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forestry Management (RGB). The Minister refers to SBB for further processing.
 - The Minister of MRD sends the request to the Deputy Director Development of the Interior (ODOB) for further processing.
 - The ODOB sends the request to the District Commissioner (DC) to carry out
 - Opinion of DCs for assigning GMD to villages
 - The DC sends its recommendation ODOB
 - The advice of the DC will be forwarded to the Minister of MRD
 - The Minister of MRD sends the advice of the Minister of RGB for further processing.
 - If positive advice from MRD the communal forest is assigned by RGB, by a disposal to the community of the village who applied.
2. Commercial forest GMB / Entering into Commercial Agreements
Chapter 2 Commercial timber exploitation.
3. Research / advice of DCs to enter into agreements
- The district commissioner shall appoint a local B.O (government official) to go to the village in cooperation with employees of Department of Village Development to inform the community.
 - The airing different views of the community
 - Advise to attract an entrepreneur
4. Evaluation after 10 years renewing GMB. The village is assigned a GMB for a period of 10 years. After evaluation, this may be extended.

AANVRAGEN GEMEENSCHAPSBOS



-
- **DDD - Service of Domains**
 - **MRD - Ministry Regional Development**
 - **RGB – Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forestry Management**
 - **GMD - Geological and Mining**
 - **GMB – Communal forest**
 - **DO – Department of Village Development**
 - **DC – District Commissioner**

Agreements Commercial timber exploitation

Procedure Commercial Forestries community forests

Commercial timber exploitation:

1. After obtaining the GMB, the captain can do on behalf of the community to commercial logging. This is determined by a *kuutu*.
2. The village must commit a forest inventory to know what to avoid in the communal wood (wood export or local wood). This is very important when entering into the agreement to take such in determining the price per timber cubage.
3. The village will attract an entrepreneur. The entrepreneur will be presented at a *kuutu* the community forest. In those *kuutu* will determine the duration of the contract and the price per timber cubage.
4. The village will also have to decide on a *kuutu* that payment is made equal to the village after the entrepreneur has paid the fee (tax to the state). In case of refusal of the economic evidence the fee will not be signed by the captain, so that the entrepreneur can not transport the harvested wood.
5. The captain gives the DC where the GMB is and that he has an entrepreneur to work with. He can hand over a copy of the figurative map of relevant community forest to the DC.
6. The DC sends them to the Village Development Department (DO) of ODOB to draw up a contract "commercial forest community forest / logging permit."
7. DO department goes along with the government officials of the DC to investigate, where they inform the community about the management and use of GMB.
8. A village committee of the village should be constructed consisting of one member of each family represented the village. This is passed on in writing to the DC. The agreement is signed by the captain / *bassia* and the entrepreneur in front of the DC. Of this, get the entrepreneur, the DC and the DO a copy.
9. Statement issued by the Minister of MRD in which he consented to the village to operate the community forest. Of this, get the entrepreneur, the DC and the DO a copy.

Tasks and responsibilities of stakeholders

Among stakeholders in the commercial wood utilization can be distinguished:

1. The traditional authority
2. Village Committee
3. The entrepreneur
4. Village Community (Villagers)

Ad 1. Duties and powers Traditional authority

- ▶ The traditional authorities, in particular the captain, has authority to which he performs acts of management on behalf of the community.
- ▶ The traditional authority's first point of conflict. He has a mediating or problem-solving role.
- ▶ The traditional authorities shall ensure that there is peace and order within the community regarding GMB.
- ▶ The traditional authority does quarterly written report to the DC and the Minister for Regional Development.

Ad. 2. Duties and powers village committee

- ▶ Draw up a plan for sustainable community forest management (watching forest and nature conservation, economic benefits and social development of the community).
- ▶ Prepare action plan for the management, monitoring and evaluation management.
- ▶ To act as intermediary traditional authorities and community and entrepreneur c.q. government.
- ▶ Maintaining financial records (cost-benefit analysis).
- ▶ Regular reporting traditional authority and community in relation to activities within the community forest.
- ▶ Prevention of conflicts related to community forest use.
- ▶ Up project proposals.
- ▶ Holding a forest inventory along with the entrepreneur.

- ▶ Commissioners are villagers who are nominated by the traditional authority. They must have a valid ID of Suriname. This writing is transmitted to the DC after which it confirms or approves. Assuming that it is a representation of the village. This can also be examined to the DC.
- ▶ The committee is trained by the MRD in the management and use GMB.
- ▶ The committee has a supervisory task.
- ▶ It shall ensure that the entrepreneur complies with the rules laid down in the agreement.
- ▶ To determine if implementing sustainable logging in the community forest.
- ▶ The committee reports on a quarterly basis in writing to the traditional authority.
- ▶ When the detection of irregularities, this is passed on to the traditional authority for further action.
- ▶ Village Commission to two times a year hold a general *kuutu* which the Office of the Commissioner of the relevant district and the dept. DO is invited. The DC and DO is reporting that *kuutu* for the leadership of the Ministry.
- ▶ Village Commission shall submit the annual financial report community forests by SBB, the Minister of RO and DC.
- ▶ Village committee reports to the community.
- ▶ The committee is appointed by ministerial order for a period of two years. Thereafter or replaced renewed membership. In severe abuses, unacceptable behavior or own request of a committee member, it can be prematurely thanked by the DC. After which no compensation receives.

The committee consists of five, seven or nine members. This can be determined on the basis of the size of the village.

The committee consists of:

1. Chairman
2. Vice-president
3. Secretaris
4. Penningmeester

5. Second treasurer
6. Member from a family
7. Member of a family

Chairman

- Representation Committee
- Check the operation of the contractor
- Ensures that unauthorized persons will not perform duties in compartment of entrepreneurs
- Advising on and promotion of activities and projects in the village
- Making contacts / maintained with the traditional authorities and entrepreneurs

Vice-president

Replace chairman if necessary

- Support chairman in its tasks

Secretary

- Schedule meetings and organize between operators, traditional authorities and the community of the village
- Taking minutes of meetings
- Describe to implement

Treasurer

- Budget preparation of projects to be implemented
- Accounting and financial management consultancy
- Budget control activities
- Preparing financial statements

- Create Financial report
- Do Issues / generate income and pay
- Pay bills
- Register Payouts
- Retrieving Income / check-in / Register

Second treasurer

- Replaces the treasurer absence and supported in carrying out the tasks

Members

- On behalf of the chairman, the members are used to perform audit procedures.

AD. 3. Duties and powers entrepreneur

- ▶ Signs agreement with the traditional authority
- ▶ Sustainable forestry in accordance with guidelines SBB
- ▶ Holding a forest inventory
- ▶ Landfill of a deposit amount receivers for the community before starting work on the GMB
- ▶ Payment of royalties to SBB
- ▶ Depositing funds into the district fund

AD. 4. Duties and powers of the villagers

- ▶ Participation in *kuutu*
- ▶ Exercise control on the Traditional authority and village committee
- ▶ Sustainable projects to contribute to the Traditional authority and village committee
- ▶ Participation in village project initiatives

8 PRODUCTION AND INCOME COMMUNITY FOREST RESORT BROWNSWEG 2016

No	Community forest/ HK	Community	Production 2016
1	312b	Kadjoe	0
2	308	Djankakondre	487,805
3	252	Makambi	664,206
4	312	New Ganze	2,586,239
5	312a	New Ganze	114,776
6	722	New Ganze	96,653
7	252a	New Koffiekamp	2,014,016
8	252b	New Koffiekamp	229,338
9	302	Birudumatu	0
10	205a	Wakibasus 2	0
11	315b	Wakibasus 3	922,685
	Total		7,115,718

Total income community forests resort Brownsweg 2016 according to the prices p/cube given in attachment 5

No	Com. For/HKV	Community	Production 2016	\$ p/cube	Total
1	312b	Kadjoe	0	17	0
2	308	Djankakondre	487,805	9	4,463,416
3	252	Makambi	664,206	10	6,642,060
4	312	New Ganze	2,586,239	9	23,276,151
5	312a	New Ganze	114,776	10	1,147,760
6	722	New Ganze	96,653	8	773,224
7	252a	New Koffiekamp	2,014,016	7	14,380,074
8	252b	New Koffiekamp	229,338	7	1,605,366
9	302	Birudumatu	0	0	0
10	205a	Wakibasus 2	0	6	0
11	315b	Wakibasus 3	922,685	10	9,226,850
	Total		7,115,718	93	61,514,901

Total income Community forests resort Brownsveg 2016 according the saying of the chairman of ODB

No	Com. For/HKV	Community	Production 2016	\$ p/cube	Total
1	312b	Kadjoe	0	10	0
2	308	Djankakondre	487,805	10	4,878,050
3	252	Makambi	664,206	10	6,642,060
4	312	New Ganze	2,586,239	10	25,862,390
5	312a	New Ganze	114,776	10	1,147,760
6	722	New Ganze	96,653	10	966,530
7	252a	New Koffiekamp	2,014,016	10	20,140,160
8	252b	New Koffiekamp	229,338	10	2,293,380
9	302	Birudumatu	0	10	0
10	205a	Wakibasus 2	0	10	0
11	315b	Wakibasus 3	922,685	10	9,226,850
	Total		7,115,718	110	71,157,180