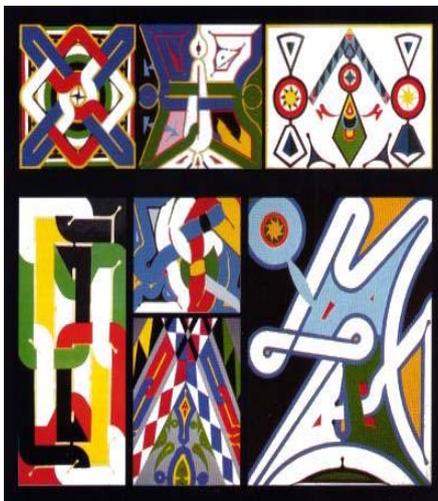


**Inter American Development Bank (IADB)
Ministry of Regional Development (RO)**



**SURINAME:
SUPPORT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE INTERIOR PROJECT**

Institutional Strengthening (103)

(PROJECT ATN/JF-10343-SU)

Final Report on Strengthening Traditional Authorities (103)

Prepared by

Suriname International Partners (SIP - Consortium)

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Suriname Support for the Development
of the Interior project (SSDI)

**DISCUSSION DOCUMENT ON THE
ROLE, STATUS AND TRAINING NEEDS OF
THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES**

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Executive Summary

The Suriname Support for the Development of the Interior Project (SSDI) is a Technical Cooperation (TC) activity funded by the IADB to gather data for the development of the project loan proposal. The TC is executed by the Ministry of Regional Development of the Republic of Suriname.

The TC has three components: Development Planning (SSDI 101), Collective Rights (SSDI 102) and Institutional Strengthening (SSDI 103).

SSDI 103, in turn, has three parts: strengthening of the Ministry of Regional Development, the NOGs and CBOs working in the interior, and the customary authorities. This report refers to the third objective: strengthening of the customary authorities.

Bas: This section is matching with DLGP's objective to strengthen Sipaliwini (local government) with the capacity for community development in close cooperation with the Traditional authorities, the citizens through the NGO's, the CBO's.

The second section of the report outlines the research methodology that was used.

The third section of the report provides a brief research context. It describes the eco-region of Suriname and the tribal community as well as the areas where they live. A brief overview of the origins of chieftaincy is presented.

Section four describes the locality, social structure and political organization of the Maroon and Indigenous groups. The difference between the Maroon and Indigenous groups is pointed out. Among the Maroons chieftaincy is still intricately linked to the clan and lineage, whereas among the Indigenous groups the criteria and procedure of appointing a village chief does not necessarily require membership of a given clan or lineage.

Bas: This section can be useful for the review of the District Organogram.

A key issue is raised here: in the process of legal formalization of the role and status of the customary chiefs, should the clan and lineage system provide the framework for formalization, or should the village be recognized as the basic administrative unit? Among the Indigenous population the primacy of the village as administrative unit seems to be the preferred alternative, but this needs to be confirmed through consultations with the Indigenous communities and leaders. These policy decisions are logically prior to any effort to strengthen the customary authorities. Their new role needs to be defined so that a culturally appropriate training package can be prepared.

Bas: we have to take also into account other studies done in this area as: pre-study Sipaliwini (Hans Lim Apo), the new model of governance of Sipaliwini (Lim a Po), The A Dual System of Self-Government for Sipaliwini, 'Reconciliation of Universalism and Cultural Relativism' (Hans Lim Apo 21-04-2010), Indigenous and Tribal Government and the Decentralization Programme in Suriname / International Legal Framework and Examples of Self-Government Arrangements from Abroad (Dr. Ellen Rose kambel 24-01-2006

Section five reviews the process of acculturation and the impact of external influences on the culture, governance, economy and social development of the tribal societies in Suriname. This review spans a period of over 300 years and describes the process of increasing acculturation as the coastal infrastructure is extended into the interior. The 1950s are a critical decade, because the introduction of the outboard motor reduces travel time to Paramaribo from the interior village from one or two weeks to a few days. The introduction of airfield reduced travel time even further, to one to two hours.

This section concludes with a discussion of the position of Maroon and Indigenous person today, in terms of educational attainment in both the customary and western tradition. The greatest threat is the loss of customary culture, while insufficient western skills are acquired to sustain oneself in the western society and economy. This amounts to assimilation into poverty. It is suggested, instead, that both customary and western knowledge systems should be equally valued and that for the people of the interior combining the best of both worlds is the desired outcome.

Section six provides an in-depth review of the role of chieftaincy today, from both the customary and from an acculturative perspective. The roles are assessed from six perspectives: governance, economy, social development, infrastructure, environment and natural resource and external relations. Along these six dimensions both the customary and introduced tasks are outlined. We arrived at a total of 92 tasks, which amounts to a staggering responsible for a single chief.

A SWOT analysis was made of the roles of chiefs, revealing the strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. The lack of legal status is considered the main threat to the institutions of chieftaincy. Due to the lack of statutory authority the chiefs run into a wide range of problems, especially when dealing with the introduced institutions such as gold mining, timber extraction and other non-customary economic activities. It is suggested, moreover, that a balance needs to be struck between the preservation of customary culture and learning the skills to cope with the introduced institutions.

In section seven it is concluded that the formation and development of the Indigenous and Maroon societies and the subsequent process of acculturation has left the customary village leader with two kinds of tasks: the more customary roles associated with traditional Indigenous and Maroon culture (protocol, funerals, conflict resolution,

rituals etc.); and the roles associated with national government, the money economy and the more western oriented development institutions (western health, western education, economic development projects, environmental issues associated with resource extraction etc.).

It is impossible for a small group of men and women to handle this varied and wide range of issues effectively and efficiently. From the assessment above it is evident that the chiefs are better equipped to deal with the more customary roles associated with traditional Indigenous and Maroon culture (protocol, funerals, conflict resolution, rituals etc.). They are less well equipped to deal with the introduced institutions of western culture. Therefore, the creation of a Village Sustainable Development Platform was suggested to assist the chiefs in the varied and technical development tasks.

The platform could consist of teachers, nurses, members of CBOs and other private sector persons with skills and expertise that can contribute to the management and development of the village. This platform will be at the service of the chiefs, and one or more village chiefs should have a seat in the platform and perhaps even chair it.

The platform also prepares an annual village development plan. Via the chiefs in the village council this plan is then presented to the Local Council of the Resort in which the village is located (Ressortraad, RR). The Local Council, in turn presents these plans to the District Council (Districtsraad, DR), which in turn, merges the various resort plans into a single annual district development plan. This district plan is then presented to the executive branch of the local government (districtsbestuur). From here the district plan goes to the Ministry of Regional Development which, with these documents, formulates its contribution to the Multi-year National Development Plan (MOP) of the Republic of Suriname.

Bas: The annual Village Plan should follow the legal Plan and Budget cycle of Art. 51 Law on Regional Bodies, and the process scheduled in the Handbook Budget and Financial Management. The Plan will be prepared in the period October-December of each budget year, and will be presented to the Ressort Council during the hearings in January. During the process following hereafter the Plan will be incorporated in the District Plan. The next steps will result in the incorporation of Plan in the Annual Plan based on the Multi Annual National Plan.

With regard to sustainable development planning, through this trajectory each village in the interior is thus linked to the national administration. Moreover, this model harmonized the functions and relations between the institutions of customary and national local government.

The recommendations also suggest that the process of capacity building and training need not be put on hold until the policy decisions have been made about the future role, status and linkages of the various institutions of local government. There are a

number of generic training needs that have been identified and can be executed in the short term. These include training on:

1. Tasks, decision making, local ordinances and administration
 - 1.1 Functions of the executive and legislative chiefs
 - 1.2 Function of the Village Judicial Council
 - 1.3 Village administration (Village Administrative Office)
2. Community development planning (Village Sustainable Development Platform)
3. Project planning, formulation and management
 - 3.1 Project planning, preparing budgets and fundraising (VSDP)
 - 3.2 Project execution (Executive Chiefs and VSDP)
 - 3.3 Monitoring and follow-up for projects (Village Assembly)

Bas: DLGP and SSDI have to agree on the formulation of the package of trainings DLGP will provide to the District staff and personnel of Sipaliwini as required achieving the level 2 certification. DLGP-PIU is processing the recruitment and selection of consultants to built capacity within the administration of Sipaliwini Commissariat focused on 'community development'. PIU will provide SSDI the Terms of Reference for comments.

1. The Assignment

The SSDI project has three components:

- 101 Development Planning (related to the interior)
- 102 Collective rights (land rights, tenure and use, mapping and traditional authorities)
- 103 Institutional strengthening (Ministry of RO, Traditional authorities and Local Organizations and NGOs)

Within component 103 there is a task that calls for the assessment of the training needs and interests of the traditional authorities. When this assessment is completed the results are to be used to develop a training plan, which is to be implemented.

In order to make an assessment of the training needs of the traditional authorities of the tribal communities in the interior of Suriname one has to first have

- A good appreciation of the socio-cultural context in which the institutions of chieftaincy are imbedded;
- an appreciation of the historical origin of these institutions
- an in-depth understanding of the customary role and status of the traditional authorities;
- the subsequent developments this institution has gone through during the past decades and even centuries;
- a good appreciation of the challenges faced today by members of the institutions of chieftaincy, including the non-customary roles that have to be played by chiefs; and
- together with the key stakeholders and traditional authorities the Ministry of Regional development needs to develop a vision and mission statement outlining the future role for the traditional authorities of the tribal societies in the interior of Suriname.

Once this basic information has been outlined, and a vision and mission statement has been formulated we can turn to

- the assessment of the training needs of the traditional authorities,
- the development of appropriate training materials and tools, and
- the execution of the relevant training programs

Bas: In the meantime DLGP has signed a contract with Lim Apo Institute to prepare the technical and legal background papers, and the draft laws to give the Traditional Authority a role in the Law on Regional Bodies, regulating the relation with the district Commissioner, the District and Ressort Council, and the District Executive Bodies regarding the performance of the autonomous task, the tasks of co-governance between the local and central government. The PIU will provide SSDI the Terms of Reference. The PIU considered recently to add SSDI in this consultancy to assist Lim Apo Institute in the preparation of the technical background paper.

2. Method

Baseline studies in ten interior villages provided the basic input for the Development Planning Component and the chieftaincy part of the Institutional Development Component. Both qualitative interviews and quantitative survey were carried out in the ten Maroon and Indigenous villages. Extensive interviews were conducted with chiefs in the villages. The quantitative survey also contained questions on the role and functioning of the traditional authorities in the villages, and their responsibility for development. The results of the Development Planning Component provided important input for the report on the strengthening of the traditional authorities.

The methodology included literature studies, in-depth individual interviews, focus group sessions and quantitative surveys. The qualitative techniques were used with the quantitative techniques in an interrelated manner. The results of the interviews were used for refine the questionnaire.

Qualitative research provided depth of understanding regarding the manner in which community members go about their livelihoods, structure and govern their societies, and specifically regarding resource use during livelihood activities as well as the preservation of the natural resources in their living environments. The insights that were acquired during qualitative research were critical to the design of the questionnaire to be used for quantitative research.

Quantitative surveys suffer in quality when certain basic questions are not included in the questionnaire. It is hard to design a good quantitative survey form without input from qualitative data. The table below explains the functional relationship between the two approaches:

Research methods

QUALITATIVE	QUANTITATIVE
Provided depth of understanding	Measures level of occurrence
Asks "Why"?	Asks "How many" or "How often"?
Studies motivation	Studies actions
Is subjective	Is objective
Enables discovery	Provided proof
Is explanatory	Is definitive
Allows insights into behavior, trends, and so on	Measures level of actions, trends, and so on
Interprets	Describes

After the results of the qualitative research were compiled and analyzed, the quantitative surveys were designed. The survey forms were tested and modified after it appeared that respondents had trouble understanding some of the questions. In the design of the survey form, the following steps were observed.

Sequence of the research steps

#	Activity	Comments
Qualitative		
1.	Literature research	
2.	Design topic guide(s) or interview questionnaires	The topic guides contained separate sections dedicated to the different stakeholders
3.	Test each topic guide with one or more focus group sessions	
4.	Revise the topic guides	Make sure that relations between the various target groups are clear and understood
5.	Conduct focus group interviews and in-depth interviews with the different target groups	Interviews were conducted in all the wards of the villages, providing a good spread
6.	Prepare reports of the different focus group interviews and in-depth interviews	The reports of the sessions were used to write the report on the villages that were surveyed
Quantitative		
1.	Desk research: analyze questionnaires from similar surveys	Adapt forms using insights from the qualitative research
2.	Design new questionnaires using the insights from the qualitative research	Use reports of focus groups interviews with target populations
3.	The designer tests the questionnaires with three or more respondents	Make sure that the respondents understand each question
4.	The questionnaires are edited and improved	
5.	Training with all surveyors during which the purpose of the census is explained and the entire questionnaires are reviewed	Local persons were recruited (teachers, literate persons) to carry out the survey. It is important to go over all the questions to make sure everybody understands the information gathering process
6.	Conduct surveys	Use quality control supervisors in the course of the census. Team members reviewed forms and instructed surveyors on how to proceed. Incomplete forms were rejected.
7.	Data entry for surveys	Use an appropriate data entry program so that correlations and other statistical tests can be performed. SPSS was used.
8.	Data analysis and reporting	The results were presented in a separate data analysis report, and then used to prepare the final report.

Both authors of the report have extensive research experience and have written several books and papers on Maroon societies. Mr. Richene Libretto is an expert on the traditional authorities and has worked 34 years as a civil servant of which 18 years as district commissioner. During this entire period Mr. Libretto has been actively involved

with the traditional authorities. Mr. Healy's research has focused on the African origin and development of Maroon societies.

The results of the qualitative and quantitative research were used to identify the training needs. Literacy and educational levels are the most obvious challenges in strengthening the traditional authorities. During the analysis of the functions of chiefs that was made during the course of this research revealed that a village chief has a very large number of customary as well as non-traditional functions.

Overall the chiefs have fewer problems with the customary functions, though the new chiefs, including the Paramount Chiefs, are not trained and prepared ahead of time for their customary functions. The situation is complicated by the fact that the identity of new chiefs is not revealed until the spirit of the deceased chief confirms the identity of his successor. The new chief has to survive on the basis of his own experience and previous expertise, and on the guidance of his advisors.

However, the management of contemporary functions represents a greater challenge to chiefs, and these include the formulation of community development plans, a demand that is now being put on customary chiefs. The development and execution of community based projects can also be daunting, as administrative, technical and organizational skills are required, many of which are not part of the customary culture.

In the report that follows the source material for these conclusions is presented, analyzed, and used to identify the key training that need to be addressed in the short term.

Bas: DLGP-PIU has to prepare a multi annual District Strategic and Development Plan (DSDP). The recruitment of local experts is now in process. No experts applied on the advertisement of a month ago. Possible, we have to repeat this advertisement. This Report of SSDI will be used as input. The DSDP's of all the 10 Districts will be incorporated in the new Multi Annual National Plan (2010-2015). Thus, SSDI has done a great job.

3. The research context

3.1 General introduction

Suriname is an ethnically diverse country. The surface area is 163.000 km² with a population of about 500.000 citizens dispersed throughout ten districts and 62 resorts. About 50% of the population lives in Paramaribo, the coastal capital city, some 38% lives in the fertile coastal area and 12 % lives in the hinterland or interior, mainly in tribal villages.

Suriname was colonized in 1651 by the British. The Dutch took over in 1667 and only with a brief interlude controlled the colony until independence in 1975. The British first

tried to enslave the Indigenous population, but this contributed to the outbreak of the Amerindian War (1678-1686). They did not succeed. Instead, Africans were imported to work on the plantations as slaves. Many slaves escaped from the plantations and settled in the remote locations in the dense rainforest. The colonial government outfitted expeditions to the remote interior locations, but the colonial troops has a lot of trouble subduing the escaped slaves, they did not manage to defeat the Maroon fighters. During the 1760s and the 19th century peace accords were concluded with the six Maroon nations.

After abolition of slavery in 1863 Indian (Hindustani) and Javanese indentured laborers were brought to Suriname and after their ten-year term most of the indentured laborers settled in the coastal area to work as independent farmers. Chinese were also imported as indentured laborers and they went mainly into the trading sector. Today Suriname has five major ethnic groups: the Indigenous, coastal and interior African groups, Hindostani, Javanese and Chinese. There are six escaped-slave or maroon tribes, four major indigenous tribes and several smaller indigenous groups living in over 150 villages in the interior.

From north to south four broad ecological zones can be used to describe the ecological and forest diversity in Suriname:

- The young coastal plain (Demerara Formation with the plantation zone and small- and large-scale agricultural development. The capital city of Paramaribo on the west bank of the Suriname River developed in the young coastal plain after colonization during the 1650s. Oil is found in the young coastal plain.)
- The old coastal plain (Coropina Formation, location of the older plantations, but today this zone consists mainly of farmland and animal husbandry enterprises. Bauxite mining still takes place in this zone)
- The savanna (The Coesewijne Formation, inhabited mainly by Indigenous communities and now very popular with the tourists who are attracted to the black water creeks and white sand. Forestry activities still take place in this zone.)
- The interior (Crystalline basement rock, settled by Maroon and highland Indigenous communities. Gold mining is widespread in the eastern part of the country, the known coastal bauxite deposits are now almost depleted. New bauxite will have to be developed deeper into the interior of the country. Forestry activities are also moving further south into the interior as the timber resources in the coastal area are also becoming depleted).

In Suriname the term “interior” is defined in two different senses. With respect to the natural environment the term is used to refer to the broad ecological zone south of 5° latitude where the basement rock of the Precambrian Guiana Shield emerges above the sediment and sand deposits of the coastal plain and savanna belt. This area encompasses about 80% of the country and for the most part it is hilly or mountainous

and covered with dense tropical rainforest. This is the fourth category in the list above. The term “interior” also refers to the administrative area in which tribal communities live, which is mainly the ecological interior but also includes parts of the old and young coastal plain where Maroon and Indigenous communities have settled.

The 150 Indigenous and Maroon villages of the interior are tribal, which means that these groups display some form of cultural unity and the members themselves explicitly recognize some affinity towards one another through descent and kinship ties. There are six Maroon tribes and four major indigenous tribes and several smaller indigenous communities:

TRIBE	LANGUAGE	LOCATION
Saramaka	Afro-Portuguese	Suriname River basin, from Marshall Kreek along the Afobaka road to Ston Uku on the Gran Rio, a tributary of the Suriname River
Matawai	Afro-Portuguese	Saramacca River
Aucaner	Afro-English	Tapanahony, Marowijne, Cottica and Lawa Rivers
Paramacca	Afro-English	Middle Marowijne River
Aluku	Afro-English	Lawa River
Kwinti	Afro-English	Coppename River
Carib	Kaliña	Mainly in the savanna belt; a few villages are located in the coastal area
Arowak	Lokono	Mainly in the savanna belt; a few villages are located in the coastal area
Trio	Trio	Sipaliwini River; Upper-Tapanahony River; Middle- and Upper-Corantijn River
Wayana	Wayana	Tapanahony River; Lawa River
Smaller Indigenous groups	Sakëta, Okomojana, Katuena, Pïrëuyana, Okomojana, Wai Wai, Aramajana, Mawayana, Sikïiyana, Akurio	Most of these groups live in Kwamalasamutu on the Sipaliwini River

3.2 The origins of chieftaincy

The origin of chieftaincy in the Indigenous and Maroon communities is related but not identical. In both the Indigenous and Maroon society's chieftaincy is tied to descent groups, but there are also some differences. Different cultural processes have resulted in the institutions of chieftaincy Indigenous and Maroon communities, although the terms for village chiefs and assistant village chief are the same (*kapitein* and *basja*). The institutions of the Paramount Chief developed first among the Maroon societies. As we saw, recently the national administration upgraded the Head-Kapitein of Kwamalasamutu to Granman. We will first say something about the origin of chieftaincy among the Maroons and then something about the origin and development of the chieftaincy among the Maroons.

There are two ways of looking at the origin of the Maroon social institutions. One approach attributes the origin of the clans and the embedded institutions of chieftaincy to the shared experiences on the plantations and the family and social ties that developed. The other approach considers the influence of African institutions equally or even more important. For example, all Maroon tribal societies in Suriname are matrilineal and this is peculiar. In his thesis Richene Libretto notes that this is a fact that requires a much better explanation than a shared experience on the plantations.

In the interior the elders say that the *basja* is the oldest of the chieftaincy function in the Maroon leadership tradition that dates back to the plantation era. After escaping from the plantations the *basja* functioned as head of the matrilineal clan. The Dutch colonial forces continuously outfitted expeditions against the runaway slaves and destroyed the settlements and gardens they encountered. But as noted above, they were not able to subdue the escaped slaves. After the peace treaties in the 1760s the first Maroon groups were able to lead a more secure life without the threat of attack and destruction. They built larger and more permanent villages and the function of village *kapitein* and the Paramount Chief emerged. The chiefs have a considerable number of traditional functions (see chapter 5). Throughout the ages the functions of the chiefs have expanded to include new roles, particularly those associated with external relations and community development.

The historical origins of the Indigenous and Maroon institutions of chieftaincy have not researched in-depth. There is a study of the VIDS and the OAS on succession of chiefs in our indigenous communities, and this document does contain some historical information on the development of Indigenous chieftaincy. It is important that this gap is filled in the future.

Although a deeper understanding the historical origins of the institutions of chieftaincy among the Indigenous and Maroon communities would most certainly contribute to the process of legal formalization of these institutions, in the context of this assignment we do not have the time and resources to explore these histories in-depth. We will have to fall back on the current situation without an in-depth understanding of the historical origins of these institutions. In the next section, however, we will look at a series of

processes in the history of the tribal nations that have affected their communities, their way of life and the institution of chieftaincy.

4. Locality, social structure and political organization

4.1 Maroons.

Maroons live in villages, scattered through the tribal areas. For example, in the case of the Aucaners, there are villages in at least four locations: the Tapanahony River, the Lawa, the Marowijne and the Cottica River. Residents of each of these villages each have a village identity. When two persons meet one will say “I am from such and such a village.” Each village is made up of wards (*pisi*) in which the various lineage and family members live together.

But each Maroon is also a member of a matrilineal descent group or clan (*lo* in Aucaans), made up of descendants of an ancestress who lived during the time of slavery. Even though paternal relatives are also important, descent is traced back in time through the mother’s line. A Maroon only has one grandparent and not four as we do in the west. The descent groups or clans, in turn, are divided into smaller descent groups or lineages (*bee*). The bee is made up of extended families (*wosu dendu* in Saramakan; *mama oso pikin* in Aucaans).

Each village was established by members of a given clan, and the descendants of the founders are called “children of the soil” (*goonpikin* in Aucaans, or *goonmii* in Saramakan). In each village there is a clan shrine dedicated to the ancestors of the clan who established the village. The village also has a mortuary and a graveyard. Settlements without an ancestor shrine dedicated to the village founders, a mortuary and a graveyard are not considered a village (*konde*) but a camp (*kampu*). Under normal circumstances a person who passes away in a *kampu* is brought back to their respective clan village for the funeral.

There is a Ghanaian proverb which says that “an alligator does not die in the water, because the monkeys would have to dance at his funeral.” In other words, if he did die in the river he would float downstream away from his relatives. When the alligator feels that his last hour has arrived he climbs on shore to die.

The hierarchical political organization of the Maroons is embedded in the systems of descent and residence. Each village chief (*kapiteins*) appoints his successor. This appointment, in turn, is sanctioned by elders and chiefs belonging to the lineage from which this leader inherited the matrilineal right to succession through membership of his or her descent group. During the 1960s the tradition emerged of having the Paramount Chief also sanction the appointment of a new village chief (*kapitein*) before

his or her candidacy is sanctioned by the national government. This procedure also applies to assistant village chiefs (basjas).

Succession of Paramount Chiefs is more elaborate. Normally the Paramount Chief appoints his successor and this appointment is sanctioned by a council of elders and chiefs of the lineage which brings forth the Paramount Chief. Then the new Paramount Chief is traditionally installed. The candidate is then Paramount Chief of the Maroon nation in question. The central administration is then informed of this traditional installation and the new Paramount Chief is subsequently invited to come to Paramaribo to be sworn in by the President, the head of State of the Republic of Suriname. A ministerial decree is then issued by the Minister of Regional Development who is now responsible for tribal affairs.

The Paramount Chief has the special authority to recognize certain chiefs for their outstanding leadership and accomplishments and appoint these persons as Head-Kapitein. A few Head-Kapiteins, however, are also appointed by a lineage council, but this is now the exception rather than the rule.

The tribe territory is usually divided into several regions and these regions are governed by a Head-Kapitein. In each region there are several villages and each village has one or more village Kapiteins. As noted earlier, the villages are divided into wards, but each ward does not necessarily have a resident kapitein or an assistant village chief (basja). Chiefs are appointed by the main lineages that make up the village, but a lineage may live in several wards, each of which may or may not have a chief.

These political functionaries are primarily linked to the descent groups and not locality, hence several chiefs may live in one village ward while none live in another. The descent groups (lineages and clans) cross-cut the localized groups in the regions, villages and wards. An Aucaner Maroon living in a village on the Cottica River may belong to a clan that originates in another village on the Tapanahony River. Villagers on the Cottica know what village on the Tapanahony their ancestors came from, even though they have never been there. The Cottica River was populated by the Aucaners just after the onset of the 19th century, thus these clan links have survived over two hundred years of geographical separation.

This raises an important question for the process of formalization and legal recognition of chieftaincy and Maroon villages. What aspect of organization should be given priority: the clan and lineage structures of the descent system, on the one hand, or the principles of locality expressed through the physical organization and clustering of villages, on the other? We will return to this discussion below.

4.2 Indigenous.

Among the Indigenous societies in Suriname the institution of Paramount Chief did not develop as it did among the Maroons. The institutions of leadership among the coastal Caribs and Arowaks are much less hierarchical than that of the Maroons. Each village has its own Kapitein, but they do not function under the leadership of a Head-Kapitein or Granman. The village chiefs are usually tied to an extended family, but here too there are some differences. In many Indigenous villages' chiefs were chosen in general elections in which each adult member of the community could vote. This is different than the Maroon communities in which a chief is selected by a lineage council consisting of chiefs and elders, but not by all adult community members in the course of general village elections.

After the Peace Accord was signed in 1992 the coastal Indigenous groups formed the Association of Village Chiefs in Suriname (VIDS) on the 27th of August 1992. This organization became active in 1993.

Each village chief is member of a council of chiefs and a chairman is elected among the village chiefs to serve for a period of two years. The VIDS council is administratively supported by the VIDS bureau, which has legal status under Suriname law as a foundation. The VIDS Bureau has a board which oversees the functioning of this support institution. The VIDS expressed its doubt about the value of holding general elections in the villages and now refers to the process of succession of village chiefs with the term "aanwijzen", which roughly translated as "pointing out" or "selecting" a new chief.

The developments among the highland Indigenous groups were somewhat different. The senior chief of the major highland Indigenous villages were Head-Kapitein's by decree, but they were commonly referred to as "Granman." During the Wijdenbosch Presidency, however, Head-Kapitein Asongo Alalaparú of Kwamalasamutu was formally promoted to Paramount Chief. He was now recognized both informally and formally as Paramount Chief and he received the same allowance as the Maroon Paramount Chiefs. This appointment met with some resistance of the Wayana communities on the Tapanahony and the Lawa, because they did not necessarily consider themselves subjects of the Granman of Kwamalsamutu. The chiefs of the highland Indigenous communities recognize the VIDS and respect the important role they play, but it is not clear if the Granman of Kwamalasamutu has a regular seat in the council of chiefs of the VIDS which is made up of village Kapiteins.

4.3 Conclusion

These principles of Indigenous and Maroon locality, social structure and political organization pose some interesting challenges for the legal recognition of customary chieftaincy and the tribal communities in Suriname and the roles to be assigned by law to these authorities. These roles, in turn, will have to be considered in order to assess and decide to decide what type of capacity building and training is required for the chiefs.

In the legal recognition of the social and settlement structures among the Maroons, what aspect of organization should be given priority: the clan and lineage structures of the descent system, on the one hand, or the principles or locality expressed through the physical organization and clustering of villages, on the other? These choices will have far reaching consequences for the type of administrative structures to be formalized by law and the knowledge and leadership skills that will be needed to manage these organizational entities. These training needs, in turn, will define the training material that has to be developed and the training programs that must be carried out.

Bas: The execution of DLGP goals to build capacity in the districts for a better quality of service delivery from the district administration to the citizens doesn't depend on the political issues around the recognition of current structures. In DLGP the training of the traditional authorities on several levels has not been included. The DLGP training program covers the staff persons of the local government, the members of district and ressort council. As said before, DLGP attempts to incorporate the role of the Traditional Authorities in the Law on Regional Bodies, in which these authorities up till now for unknown reasons are excluded. In the DLGP training Program SSDI kan have a great role in training of the afore mentioned trainees in respect to all is important to learn about the traditional authorities and all the actual questions.

5. Acculturation of the tribal communities

Today the conduct of customary social processes and rituals works very well. For example, Maroon elders and chiefs know how to organize a funeral, they need no assistance with these types of activities.

During the history of Suriname, however, political, economic and social processes have had a significant impact on the development of the Indigenous and Maroon communities in the interior. With these processes of acculturation, new challenges have emerged for the village and tribal leadership. For example, village leaders must now learn to understand what a community development project is, what a legal person is, what the different types of legal persons are, what organizational option is best for a

particular project, and on the basis of which considerations these different choices must be made.

Before turning to the specific tasks of the chiefs, however, and the training that is required, we will present an overview of the acculturative processes that have added a long list of additional functions to the role description of customary chiefs. We have listed these acculturative processes in the table below. Here follows a brief description of the processes, the period during which they occurred, including a brief description of the impacts these social processes had on the tribal communities.

Colonization. During the pre-colonization period five major Indigenous groups lived in the coastal area: the Caribs, the Arowaks, the Warraus, Sapoyers and Paracotten (Dragtenstein 2002; 24). The last three groups no longer live in Suriname today, they were probably decimated by disease and absorbed by the other groups. The Warraus still live in Guyana. Soon after the British colonizers arrived the cordial trading relations degenerated into conflict. Some traders abducted Indigenous women, captured men to be used as slaves and treated the local population poorly. In addition to these stresses and strains, the introduction of European material culture must have had a significant impact on the original Indigenous population.

In Amerindian wars. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans relations between the Caribs and Arowaks were not always cordial. When relation between the Indigenous population and the Dutch colonizer deteriorated further and the Amerindian war started in 1678, the Dutch took advantage of the rift between the two major indigenous groups. They relied on support from the Arowaks to fight the Caribs. An important issue that emerged during these wars is related to leadership and the role fulfilled by Indigenous leaders.

In discussion on leadership in Indigenous communities it is often noted that Indigenous persons do not like domineering person as leaders. Some scholars even suggested that there were no strong leaders among the Indigenous groups. During the interior wars, however, the names of several dominant leaders emerged, including Kaykoeisi and Priary. This conflict may have forced the Indigenous groups to adopt a more hierarchical leadership system, but after the war the groups may have once again split up into smaller bands. In any event, the Indigenous population withdrew to more remote locations away from the plantation zone. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century reports of the Indigenous population began to emerge again. It is clear that during the Amerindian Indian Wars the Indigenous communities had strong leaders with centralized power.

Slavery. The impact of slavery on the original African cultures was significant, but most of the escaped slaves had only lived on the plantations for a few years. Thus, when they settled in the interior knowledge of their customary leadership institutions was still remembered. The term *basja* (assistant village chief), however, dates back to the

plantation days and refers to the foreman on the plantation who was responsible for the supervision of the slaves under the plantation owner. On the plantation the basja was not a popular figure, but the name was retained because instead of assisting the plantation owner the basja now assisted the village chief. In the Maroon communities basja is a key person with an important status.

Maroonage. Already during the Amerindian War the Maroon assisted the Indigenous groups in their fight with the Dutch colonists. When an indigenous group attacked plantations many Africans slaves fled into the rainforest. The Indigenous groups helped the Maroons to become familiar with the tropical rainforest. An important aspect of the Maroon wars was the formation of fighting bands with a hierarchical structure and strong and dominant leaders. Functions such as Gran Fiscali, Majoro, Blaka Jakti, Redi Jakti, and Opposii all date back to the Maroon war period. After the peace treaties the military leaders became the peace time leaders who were responsible for maintaining peace and order in the communities.

The leading clans also received a peace staff (*fee paw, fee man tiki*) and today kapiteins and basjas from these clans are considered more important than the other leaders without a peace staff. Because they no longer could attack plantations to obtain weapons, gun power, metal implements and other items, the Maroon leaders also received a tribute from the colonial government at regular intervals. They became responsible for the distribution of these goods among tribal members and thus a kind of social obligation developed as one of the tasks of the peace time leaders. In addition, the leaders were now also responsible for maintaining external relations, through the post holders, with the colonial government in Paramaribo.

Religious acculturation. Immediately after the signing of the peace treaties of the 1760s Moravian missionaries travelled to the Upper-Suriname River to convert the Saramaka to Christianity. But even before the peace treaties the Moravian church had sent missionaries to Arowak Indigenous communities along the Saramacca and Corantijn River. In 1754 the Ephraim post was established on the Corantijn and in 1756 the post at Saron was established.

Among the Indigenous groups the community leader was often also the shaman. With the conversion to Christianity some leaders converted while others left the community because their customary role was undermined by the new church. In 1771 among the Saramaka Maroons the Paramount Chief Arabini was baptized. This created tensions in the community because many of the leadership functions were embedded in the customary religion. An outcome of this process was the emergence of Christian and non-Christian villages on the Suriname River. The Saramaka now make a distinction between *konde sembe* (persons not baptized) and *kerki sembe* (baptized persons) who live in a *kerki konde* (Christian village). The Christian villages have had an advantage over the customary villages in terms of education and this also had an influence on the capacity of leaders to manage external relations with the coastal area and NGOs. Today

this situation is changing; the government has now introduced schools in non-Christian villages.

Timber extraction. After the peace treaties the Maroons increasingly moved downriver and settled closer to the banks of the main rivers. The Maroons harvested timber for their own use but they also started cutting timber for sale in the coastal area. They transported the timber to town with rafts and boats. In 1846 Posthouder Dhondt on the Cottica River reported that 265 rafts and 520 boats with timber passed his post on the way to the coastal area. Almost 2000 Maroons had received passes in connection with this work. Since slavery had not been abolished yet the free Maroons needed passes to travel to the coastal area and Paramaribo. In 1849 he reported 350 rafts and 305 boats and 1551 passes had been issued. After that the number declined for that area, but timber harvesting took place on other rivers.

The impact of timber extraction is mainly economical. Persons who cut logs and transported them with rafts to town during the 19th century would acquire money in Paramaribo and purchase their own goods to be taken back to the village. This gave entrepreneurs more independence and a greater sense of independence.

Mineral extraction. As early as the 1830s Maroon men began to travel to French Guiana to work in the gold mining area as boatmen. During the 1870s gold mining got underway in Suriname and the Maroon men of East-Suriname became active in river transport. They brought thousands of Suriname and foreign miners and their equipment and supplies over the treacherous rapids to the gold fields as far as the Lawa River.

During the gold boom of the early 1900s the Maroon boatmen in East-Suriname became relatively wealthy and became more powerful in their respective communities. Thoden van Velzen and Wilhelmina van Wetering (1988) argue that the river transport system decreased the dependency of the small group of boatmen on their clan and lineage for labor support and other forms of exchange. This gave the entrepreneurs a greater sense of independence. After gold production peaked in 1912 at about 1200 tons a steady decline set in. In 1922 the Maroon boatmen who serviced the gold mining even went on strike in an effort to secure higher fees for their services. Gold production continued to decline. When the gold standard was let go during the 1970s the price of gold began to climb and it once again became attractive to venture into remote rainforest locations to prospect for gold.

Rubber extraction. The Bolletrie tree grows in locations throughout the rainforest of the interior and produces latex. The tree is protected and may not be cut down. At the end of the 19th century the demand for rubber sent hundreds of balata bleeders into the Suriname rainforest. This sector peaked out in 1914 because World War I isolated the export market for this product. After the war production was restarted but at a much lower volume. Maroons from the interior worked in the balata industry and made a

decent living and had more cash income further integrating them into the money economy.

Education. With the missionaries came the introduction of western education in the interior. During the 18th century, however, the first schools were built. During the second half of the 20th century education really got underway in the interior. However, after a visit by the Paramount Chiefs to Africa in 1970, the tribal leaders saw that education and tradition need not be mutually exclusive. This was an eye opener for them and once home they urged the government and the mission to build more schools in the interior.

Health care. With the missionaries also came the introduction of western medicine in the interior, however, with the construction of the hospital at Kabel Station on the Upper-Suriname River in 1947 a complete revolution took place. This was the first full equipped hospital which could admit patients and treat serious and contagious illnesses. The hospital at Stoelmanseiland followed in the 1950s, and during the 1960s the hospital at Djumu replaced the Kabel Station hospital which was submerged by the hydro-electric lake. During the 1970s clinics were built in each region of the interior and managed by trained health workers who were in radio contact with doctors at the Paramaribo base. The air ambulance service was also developed during the 1960s to evacuate serious cases. The Interior Medical Mission established airstrips to access the clinics and service them. The impact was significant, life expectancy among the Indigenous and Maroon population increased significantly.

Logistics. The 180 kilometers track of the gold train was the first major incursion into a tribal area. Both persons and goods were transported between Paramaribo and the Sara Kreek Region, via Kwakugron on the Saramacca River. People living near the train stations gratefully used this service but on the whole the Maroons continued to rely on water transport to Paramaribo. The introduction of the outboard motor during the 1950s did have a significant impact on the movement of tribal peoples throughout the interior, because two and three week trips were reduced to a few days. The introduction of roads further reduced travel time and costs, while the impact of air transport was even more radical, it reduced travel to the interior to an hour or more. The introduction of roads also caused people to leave villages along the river to settle along the access routes to Paramaribo. Improved access to the coastal area has had a significant impact on the functions of chieftaincy and resulted in new leadership and community development roles.

Reductions. During the 1910s Father Moll of the Catholic Mission promoted the idea of forming conglomerate Indigenous settlements in the savanna belt. This would facilitate the spread of the gospel, but also health care and education. These plans seem not to have progressed beyond the discussion stage, but today the formerly scattered families of villages such as Matta or Bigi Poika live together in a single settlement. During the 1960s, however, a massive movement got underway to merge the scattered Trio and

Wayana settlements into four conglomerate settlements: Alalaparú (later Kwamalasamutu), Tepu, Apetina and Kawemhakan. During the transmigration of the early 1960s the large conglomerate village of Brownsweg was created, consisting of eight communities which lived in separate villages along the Suriname River. Bringing together scattered bands into a single large community had a significant impact on the leadership roles.

Relocation. When the hydro-electric dam at Afobaka was built during the early 1960s some 6,000 persons living in 25 villages were forced to relocate to transmigration villages (Brownsweg, Klaaskreek, Maeshall Kreek, Compagnie Kreek, Nieuw Koffiekmap, Tapuripa, Boslanti, Njun Lombe). Other groups migrated further upriver and established new villages on the Upper-Suriname River (Jaw Jaw, Kayapaati, Guunsi, Gaan Tatai, Pambooko). A few villagers moved to the coastal area and Paramaribo. Most villages split up, some villagers settled above the lake while others went to live in the transmigration settlements below the lake. During the early transmigration years the group members felt a strong sense of solidarity and the chiefs could still exert their authority. After a few years due to more frequent contacts with the coastal area cultural conflicts emerged, especially among the younger generations. Many young villagers now began to consider their culture primitive and undeveloped.

Urbanization. During the 1950s and 1960s the process of urbanization got underway. Persons from the interior were hired by government services (Operation Grashopper, GMD, BWKW, Meteo, AMC, CBL) to work in the interior, but now they had an income and could rent a house in Paramaribo. They would then bring the wife and kids to town, and the kids had more educational opportunities in town). In 1964 the West-Suriname bauxite project got underway and many interior persons were hired to work in the west of the country. During the 1970s this process accelerated, as the West-Suriname project got underway. During the interior war (1986-1992) some 15,000 displaced persons fled to Paramaribo and the coastal area. After the war many displaced villagers remained in an urban and peri-urban setting.

Political incorporation. During the elections of 1963 voters in the interior were massively registered and the process of political incorporation began. The first Maroon candidate was chosen as member of parliament (Wilfred Liefde from Ganze for the NPS). From that time onwards a Maroon was always member of parliament. The first Maroon political party was established (Progressieve Bosneger Partij PBP, later BEP). During the elections of 1969 for the first time a Maroon representative belonging to a Maroon political party was elected to Parliament (Fransman, PBP). During the elections of 2005 a coalition of three Maroon parties (A-Combinatie) won five of the 51 seats in Parliament and became part of the government. The A-Combinatie fielded three Ministers). [During the election of 2010 the A-Combinatie won 7 of 51 seats.](#)

Another important landmark was the introduction of local- and district councils in the Constitution of 1987. In 1989 the law was adopted to effectuate this provision. In that

same year the Ministry of Regional Development was formally established. This Ministry was responsible for tribal chieftaincy and interior development. With the establishment of the local councils an extension of the coastal political system was now immediately present in the interior communities. Still the tribal chiefs continue to function as the de facto leaders of the interior communities, even though their functions are not recognized by Suriname law, while the role and status of local and district council members are.

Administrative incorporation. During the 1960s the central government began to establish administrative centers in the interior. With these offices the presence of the central administration was further strengthened. Moreover, in 1983 the division of districts was modified and the Sipaliwini District was created which now covered almost the entire interior portion of the country.

Conflict. The interior war (1986-1992) had a significant impact of tribal government. This was a disaster for the institutions of tribal government. Conflicts were now resolved with guns and the traditional authorities had little to say about the day to day affairs in village life. After the war the role and status of the chiefs was somewhat restored, but not to the level that existed prior to the interior war.

Extraction industries. After the peace accord of 1992 was signed gold mining in the interior spun out of control. Foreign investors descended on the interior to lap up large tracts of prospective land, leading to numerous conflicts. Over 10,000 Artisanal and small-scale mining flocked to the interior and the sub-sector expanded rapidly. The environmental impacts of uncontrolled mining have resulted in a massive health and environment disaster. The lack of formal recognition and statutory authority left the chiefs in a helpless position and they could do very little to control the situation. Some chiefs seem to have concluded that if they could not beat the gold miners, they would join them.

The table below summarizes these historical events.

PROCESS	PERIOD	IMPACT
Colonization (First period under the English)	1651-1667	Contact with trading agents Changes in material culture and socio-political impacts Recruitment of indigenous slaves Conflicts with traders and planters
Conflict (Indian wars)	1678-1886	Strong military leaders emerge Withdrawal after the peace treaties
Slavery (African based slavery)	1651-1863	
Marronage	1640-1760s 1760s-1863	Formative era first three groups Formative era second group

Religions acculturation	1760s-1863	
Timber extraction	1830 1800s (?)	Aucaner Maroons settle along the Cottica, begin to transport timber to Paramaribo Saramaccaners begin to transport timber to Paramaribo
Mineral extraction	1830s 1870s 1920s	Saramakers go to French Guiana to work as boatmen in the gold mining sector Gold mining gets underway in Suriname Bauxite extraction in Moengo
Rubber	1890-1960s	Important source of income for a select group of town Creoles and Maroons.
Education	1848 1850 1920s 1930s 1940s 1970s	Ganze, Saramaka, Suriname River Koffiekamp, Aucaners, Suriname River Indigenous, Kalebas Kreek, Powakka, Matta, Galibi, Casipora, Bigi Poika Aucaners , Tamarin, Cottica Aucaners, Tapanahony River Government schools, many locations in the interior
Health care	1940s 1960s	Hospital at Kabel Station Medical Mission of the Interior (Medische Zending)
Logistics	1902-1912 1950s 1950s 1960s	Gold train Outboard motor Air transport Road construction
Reductions	Early 1900s 1960s	Carib and Arowak villages merge Clustering of Trio and Wayana villages
Relocation	1960s	Transmigration in connection with the Afobakka dam
Urbanization	1960s	West-Suriname, road construction
Political Incorporation	1960s	Election of 1963 voters in the interior were registered
Administrative incorporation	1963 1983	After the elections of 1963 the Central Government created an administrative system for the interior with a presence in selected interior locations (Debike, Stoelmanseiland, Brokopondo Centrum Kwakoegeon, Apoera, Langatabiki) Creation of Sipaliwini District
Conflict	1986-1992	Interior war
Extraction industries	1990s onward	Gold and timber

Human capital includes access to good health and education or skills training. The introduction of Christianity in the interior went hand in hand with the introduction of

western health care and education. The introduction of these facilities has had significant health care benefits for the interior populations. Life expectancy increased significantly and so did the population.

In the area of education the results have been less impressive. Elementary schools have been established throughout the interior, but generally speaking the level is much lower than in Paramaribo. Despite the risks involved parents are eager to send their kids to school in town. They feel that this is the only way to ensure that they get a good education.

The communities have also paid a price for these western benefits. Practices of customary healing and the transfer of traditional skills and knowledge persist to some extent in the lineage and family structures. Nevertheless, today in most interior communities significant 'culture loss' occurs in the domain of indigenous knowledge.

The process of culture loss usually involved substitution, young persons would attend western schools and the customary modes of knowledge transmission via relatives and elders lost ground. A person attends school, learns a trade and gets a job. Western education also translated into language loss. Because words and concepts are bearers of indigenous knowledge loss of languages means a loss of critical indigenous knowledge. Part of the knowledge of the rainforest on which the sustainable livelihoods were based is gradually lost with each generation.

There seems to be an inverse relation between the level of indigenous knowledge and western knowledge, as the level of one knowledge system increases the other seem to decrease proportionately.

For many interior communities this is a serious problem, because the quality of education in the interior is much lower than in the coastal area. While valuable indigenous knowledge is being lost through acculturative processes, which could be used to foster sustainable livelihoods, the return in terms of western knowledge and skills is not commensurate. This outcome of this unequal exchange emerges clearly from a statement made by Matapi, a resident of the Miriti-Parana-Amazons reservation in Columbia:

..... 50 years ago, the priest arrived. Boarding schools were built. We labored to build them. The priest forced us to bring out sons to them to be taught. The boys were forced to remain there most of the year. They were not with their families, they did not learn, they did not learn from their fathers, they did not work with their mothers. Dancing was forbidden. At the boarding schools the children were beaten; they humiliated our sons if they did not behave as they were taught.

After 50 years, where is the teaching? What has it accomplished? What Indian has been trained as a doctor, a mechanic, a magistrate? Why don't the young

people want to obey their elders? Why are the young people not interested in our tradition and our culture? Why have the people scattered in all directions and no longer live together?

Today we must teach and explain. We must make an effort to relearn our culture. That would be our main concern if we wish to continue to live well and in peace.

It would be ideal if a balance could be struck which would encourage both an increase in the level of western knowledge systems through better education and the retention and dissemination of indigenous knowledge.

This would require a significant shift in national education policy for the interior and a new curriculum that would incorporate customary teaching and learning systems into the national curriculum that is used in village schools. The long list of customary responsibilities of chiefs outlined in the next section makes it clear that such training would today be a welcome addition to the knowledge transmission currently in use. Training institutions could be established in the various settlement regions where both older and younger persons could attend classes in the afternoon, on weekends, or during the holidays.

Finding a way to combine the best of the indigenous and the western worlds could significantly improve the sustainability of the livelihood strategies of interior communities and improve their well-fare and well-being. It is important, however, to focus on the entire range of community assets, and the creation of indigenous and Maroon knowledge centers (IKC, MKC) provides an interesting methodological option to help achieve this objective.

The greatest threat is the loss of customary culture, while insufficient western skills are acquired to sustain oneself in the western society and economy. This amounts to assimilation into poverty. It is suggested, instead, that both customary and western knowledge systems should be equally valued and that for the people of the interior combining the best of both worlds is the desired outcome. "Culture is not an obstacle to development (as was the prevailing view of many years), but rather the start-up capital for sustainable social and economic development, because it builds on peoples values, aspirations and potential rather than imposing a development model from the top down and from the outside in" (Deruyttere 1997; 11).

6. The role of chieftaincy today

6.1 Introduction

We used six major categories to assess the institutions in a community or tribe, including the institutions of chieftaincy. The following six categories were used:

- Government (executive, legislative and judicial)
- Economy (customary and money economy)
- Social Development (health care, education, social affairs, sport and recreation)
- Infrastructure (for each sector)
- Natural environment and conservation (natural resources and sustainable development)
- External relations (between communities in the tribe but also external relations to the tribe).

Bas: the criteria DLGP uses for the approach of community development to achieve welfare for the citizens in the living areas come from Art. 1 of Law on Regional Bodies (LRB): District and ressort plan will cover all the policy options for social and economic development of a district regarding:

- *Natural environment and living circumstances;*
- *civil technical infrastructure;*
- *agriculture and industrial development*
- *public utilities;*
- *education, culture and sport,*
- *medical and social care;*
- *and other issues to be added by state decree*

All these requirements for the welfare of the communities are policy areas of the central government. The actions, the steps from planning, preparation and execution of projects can only be done in co-governance between the central and the local government. We have to look at the opportunity to shift some of these issues to the autonomy of the local government through a special state decree.

We have to select the right package in which the staff and others of Sipaliwini will be trained in the field of community development. The SSDI-package and the DLGP/LRB-package are near to each other.. The structures within the maroon and the indigenous communities will have also a role. For this category we need to develop a special training module. Its possible that new tasks and responsibilities will be added to the traditional tasks and responsibilities.

While discussing the level of local government as one of these six categories we also realized that it would be necessary to separate out the tasks of the tribal chiefs into three major categories, especially since the list is so extensive:

- executive,
- legislative and
- judicial.

This separation is helpful because the list of tasks is so long that confusion would result from analyzing all these tasks in a single category. By splitting up the tasks of the chiefs into three categories it will be easier to assess the training needs, but also to develop the required training materials and programs for the broad range of functions they perform.

In addition, in the discussion on acculturation we saw that a distinction needs to be made between the customary and more modern tasks, thus, doing this in three sub-categories makes the analysis much easier to manage. We must assess the different executive, legislative and judicial roles of the Indigenous and Maroon customary chiefs in terms of the:

- customary roles of the Chiefs, and
- the more contemporary roles of the Chiefs.

In addition, while going through these six major categories we have to take into account the similarities and differences between the Indigenous and Maroon institutions of chieftaincy. In the sections below we outline the various tasks in the suggested categories. Placing a particular function in a specific category can be confusing at times.

For example, certain executive functions also entail legislative action, such as the establishment of governing structures. These tasks can be separated, however, into two sub-types: the executive aspect of establishing governing structures (organizational), and the legislative aspects of establishing governing structures (making the rules and procedures).

6.2 Government and chieftaincy

As suggested above we will look at the role of chiefs in three categories. We begin with the executive functions, followed by the legislative functions, and finally we list the judicial functions. We start with the tasks that go way back to the formative era, and then discuss the more contemporary tasks.

Executive (customary)

- During the period prior to the peace treaties (before 1760) the Maroon groups and bands maintained contracts and relations with each other regarding sharing of information and resources, as well as the exchange of group members and women (clan exogamy), and to work on the formation and organization of the tribal structures. Of course, the responsibilities of the chiefs regarding the formation and maintenance of the tribal structures continued after the accords of the 1760s.

- After that peace treaties were signed the role of the chiefs included maintaining contacts among the villages in a given tribe and with other Maroon and Indigenous Nations in the interior of Suriname.
- After the Peace Treaties the chiefs were also responsible for maintaining contacts and relations first with the colonial government (through the Post-Holder) and then later with the national administration of the Republic of Suriname
- The chiefs were also responsible for holding meetings to take decisions on the admission of persons and organizations into the tribe or a community (missionaries, teachers and other persons). This decision making process caused stresses and strains in some communities.
- Since earlier times the chiefs are also responsible for supervising all funeral tasks and activities.
- The customary leaders are responsible for observing the rules and procedures regarding the succession of chiefs and the leadership selection processes, as well as the execution and management of these processes.
- In general, the chiefs meet with the relevant actors and stakeholders to take decision on all matters affecting village life, but also life in the village clusters, tribal sub-regions as well as the entire tribe.

Executive (contemporary)

- Through the intermediaries of the Central Government, the District Commissioner and his staff (DS, BO), the tribal chiefs function as local executive counterparts to the Central Government.
- As soon as there are plans for an activity in the tribal areas, the chiefs are supposed to be consulted on this matter. It could be a government project, a private sector project, a social development project (education, health care), an infrastructural or environmental project, or even relations with a foreign organization or institution that wants to help with some activity. The chiefs then decide what their role will be in the planned activity.
- The functional relation between the traditional chiefs to the resort- and district councils (RR, DR) has not yet been defined. This is an issue that urgently needs to be addressed. RO is training RR members for development work, but the actual project activities are initiated and coordinated through the chiefs.
- Chiefs are responsible for the management of the community forests (and HKVs) and conclude agreements with outsiders to harvest timber and pay a contribution to the village fund. The management of the funds paid to the village is a very sensitive subject, nonetheless, formal regulations are urgently needed to structure this process.
- Chiefs are responsible for relations with mining enterprises working in their tribal areas and have to look after the interests of their community.
- Chiefs are responsible for relations with tourism enterprises working in their customary settlement areas.

- Chiefs are responsible for dealing with the governmental and non-governmental institutions of social development (health, education, culture, sport & recreation).
- Chiefs are responsible for dealing with the governmental and non-governmental environmental institutions and agencies
- Chiefs are responsible for dealing with the governmental and non-governmental institutions and agencies responsible for infrastructure (airports, roads, river transport, air transport).
- Chiefs are responsible for dealing with non-governmental institutions and agencies abroad, who want to help the community.
- IT skills, office management and modern communication skills.
- Essentially, chiefs have become development workers even though their customary training has not prepared them for this task.

Legislative (customary)

- Unwritten codes for establishing the governing structures are agreed upon and adopted, an oral internal constitution is agreed upon as well as the procedures for the leadership selection processes.
- Established the various chieftaincy offices, as well as the associated ritual functionaries and functions.
- Establish oral regulations and procedures for holding meetings, types of meetings (open meetings, executive sessions, closed sessions), setting agendas, quorum, debate, decision making and voting.
- Use these procedural guidelines to establish the general laws and regulations on the basis of which the tribe is governed.
- The unwritten codes and regulations governing property rights and inheritance are agreed upon.
- Procedures for the conduct of customary civil and criminal court proceedings and tribunals in the case of conflicts, crimes or other violations of customary law.

Legislative (contemporary)

- Codify the laws and conventions used to establish the governing structures, formulate an internal constitution, and set rules for elections and the leadership selection processes
- Establish written regulations and procedures for holding meetings, types of meetings (open, executive sessions, closed sessions), setting agendas, quorum, debate, decision making and voting.
- Establish written regulations for the proposal of ordinances and resolutions, the minimal required contents of these documents, introduction of ordinances and regulations in meetings, readings, discussions, changes, adoption and effective date. The process of amending ordinances and resolutions should also be formulated on paper.

- Recoding minutes and the encoding, safe long-term storage and retrieval of minutes.
- Establishing committees to undertake legislative work.
- Elections and duties of tribal officers in the legislative bodies.
- Procedures on litigation.
- Procedures to keep the order during meetings.
- Rules on the keeping of records (chronological, by subject and the index).
- Regulations on compensation of chiefs and other dignitaries.
- Rules on regular reports on duties performed.
- Rules on preparing and processing expense accounts.
- Rules on the establishment of different legal persons (foundation, corporation, association and cooperative) in the tribal setting.
- Rules on the consultation of Indigenous and Maroon communities in keeping with international standards.

Judicial (customary)

- The implementation of the various types of customary court procedures (krutus) for civil cases.
- The implementation of the various types of customary court procedures (krutus) for criminal cases.
- The application of sanctions including payment of fines, labor penalties, physical punishment, supernatural sanctions involving disease and even expulsion from the tribe
- Asylum in house of the chief of an elderly
- Mediation in disputes and conflicts

Judicial (contemporary)

- The implementation of the various types of customary court procedures (krutus) for civil cases based on written procedures.
- The implementation of the various types of customary court procedures (krutus) for criminal cases based on written procedures.
- Procedures for legal appeal based on written procedures and a possible link to the national legal system when all internal or local options for appeal are exhausted
- The application of sanctions including payment of fines, labor penalties, physical punishment based on written instructions and guidelines.
- Asylum in house of the chief of an elderly also based on written instructions.
- The problem of Jurisdiction, especially the case of criminal proceedings.
- The issues associated with sanctions taking into account international conventions.

Bas: As said before Lim Apo Institute has been contracted by DLGP to regulate these kind of relations through amendment of the Law on Regional Bodies. We will forward this report to the

consultant, while SSDI will be added to this consultancy in the phase of the production of the technical background paper. Not only the Chiefs are responsible for all the above mentioned tasks, but also the Commissioner, the District Executive Bodies, the Ressort and the district Council. There to many role players.

6.3 Governing the Economy (customary)

The economy can be divided into two parts, the customary subsistence economy and the modern money economy. However, there is increasingly overlap between these two categories, as financial compensation is being expected for some customary tasks.

- Procedures and traditions regarding labor sharing, food and other resources
- The regulation and administration of land and resources, including natural resource management
- Regulations regarding agriculture, agricultural land and its use
- Regulations regarding hunting (using weapons, places for hunting, conservation measures), and fishing (regulation of nekoie use, use of nets)
- Regulations regarding transport (ocasio)
- Regulations regarding statute labor and services

Governing the Economy (modern)

- Procedures for the administration and management of projects (agriculture, animal husbandry) initiated by the government.
- Procedures for the considering, debating and approving projects (agriculture, animal husbandry, tourism, gold mining etc.) initiated by private sector parties
- Procedures for the considering, debating and approving livelihood projects (agriculture, animal husbandry, tourism, gold mining etc.) initiated by private sector parties such as NGOs and other non-profit organizations providing assistance.
- Procedures for developing modern business management and administration skills, including training in general management, personnel management, technical management, project development and implementation, bookkeeping and the keeping of stocks and inventories.
- Capacity building with regard to IT and other modern communication skills.

6.4 Customary Social Development

Social development focuses on the institutions of society that keep community members healthy, empower them through education and training, and promote physical and mental health through sport and recreation. Demography, migration (in and out) and membership of the various kin groups and lineages, as well as membership

of community based organization and external organization are all social development issues.

- Adopted regulations regarding membership of the various lineages and clans and the rights and duties associated with this membership
- Protocol and forms of politeness
- Social development and relations (including child raising)
- Rules regulating betrothal and marriage (wedding night, virginity), including rules of divorce
- Traditions regarding the birth of children and naming
- Rules regulating the nurturing and raising of children and the roles and responsibilities of adults charged with these child raising responsibilities
- Rules regarding the transmission customary knowledge from generation to generations
- Orientation towards the maintenance of culture and language
- Regulations and taboos regarding religion, health and well-being
- Regulations regarding death and funerals, including mourning
- Regulations regarding the care of the elderly, handicapped and needy
- Regulations and rules regarding funerals and the sharing of expenses
- Conventions regarding housing and sharing of living spaces

Modern Social Development

- Modern social development involves the establishment of foundations and associations.
- Developing project ideas and formulating project proposals
- Making cost projections and preparing budgets for project
- Fundraising is essential to secure the necessary funds
- Project execution and monitoring
- Project accounting and preparing statements of expenditure
- Maintaining contacts with donor and intermediate organizations

Bas: 6.3 and 6.4 is delivering e good insight and input to develop the training module focused on the social-economical development of the living areas, as required in Art. 1 LRP.

6.5 Managing and developing Infrastructure

In the customary setting developing and maintain infrastructure was not a major concern. Each family and lineage was able to provide the basic infrastructure that was needed. Once western health care and education were introduced the need for a clinic and school building as well as staff housing became a new aspect of village life. With the introduction of airports the airstrip and the arrival and departure hall was added to the list of village infrastructure. Water and electrical facilities soon followed. Docks and concrete landing place became commonplace. Large meeting halls built by the

government were introduced. For some villages access roads to the main road became infrastructure that needed to be maintained.

Maintaining this infrastructure has put an additional strain on the workload of the customary chiefs. Very often the supply of diesel fuel runs out and the chiefs have to find a way to keep the village generator going. The water systems that were introduced into the villages have not proved sustainable and the chiefs have to struggle to find a way to upgrade the systems and keep them operational under very difficult circumstances. These include the lack of an operational village fund and the absence of an annual development plan for the village with a budget. Collecting money in the village for the upkeep of services is very challenging because over the years the government has provided free electricity and water.

A much less obvious need is an office with an administrative set-up for the chiefs. If an annual village plan has to be prepared with a budget, and a village fund needs to be maintained, the chiefs will need an office. The office needs to be maintained and office supplies need to be replenished as they become depleted.

The infrastructure can thus be assessed along the following categories:

- Administrative infrastructure (office, office furniture & equipment, office supplies)
- Economic (rice mill, cassava mill, chainsaws for collective use, infrastructure to house these services and a system to manage these resources).
- Social development (clinic and staff housing, school and teachers housing, sport fields and sport clubs, training facilities for adults)
- Utilities and other infrastructure (water, electricity, bridges, roads, landings & docks, meeting halls and other public spaces)

Bas: 6.5 is the right overview we need to develop the guidelines/module in the field of infrastructure as required in Art. 1 LRB.

6.6 Managing the natural environment

The management of the natural environment can be considered from several perspectives:

- Environment and hygiene in the village
- Environmental issues in the agricultural zone around the village
- Environmental issues related to the river and river banks
- Environmental issues related to the forest proper, where hunting, fishing, logging, gold mining and other economic activities take place.

These tasks differ from each other and require a different set of skills and operating tools and facilities. Let us look at these four categories, review the current situation and make some suggestions.

Environment and hygiene in the village. The Ministry of Regional Development already has hired villagers to clean and maintain public spaces in the villages, especially the path and walkways. As villages get larger (such as Guyaba) consideration might also be given to garbage collection and processing. Handling sewage water, especially in villages with water systems, is a major challenge. It can, however, be overcome with simple measures such as drainage pits that are dug into the ground that are filled with gravel and sand. The introduction of toilets is also a critical issue.

Environmental issues in the agricultural zone around the village. As villages get larger and larger the management of agricultural land and the environment in this zone becomes critical. It is important to consider a shift towards more permanent agricultural systems, but this is a long term effort.

Environmental issues related to the river and river banks. The pollution of waterways by ASM gold mining activities is a critical issue. Moreover, the dumping of garbage along the river banks and in the river is widespread. Much of the modern day garbage is plastic and does not biodegrade. The dumping of garbage along the river banks is also a problem for tourism.

Environmental issues related to the forest proper, where hunting, fishing, logging, gold mining and other economic activities take place. The management of pollution associated with livelihoods, especially ASM gold mining is the major issue that urgently needs to be addressed. Entire water catchment systems are being affected. Reduced impact logging is also becoming more important, as accessible timber resources are becoming scarcer and scarcer. The planting of trees should also be considered.

The village leadership needs to consider what kind of organizational structure is needed to perform the environmental functions and provide environmental services.

Bas: A special unit /division has been incorporated in the Organogram of Sipaliwini and approved by Ministerial Decree. The Ministry of Regional Development will take care to hire qualified personnel, the DLGP will provide this unit with furniture, equipment and ICT facilities; Nimos has a contract with DLGP to provide this unit with training. We will forward this SSDI report to NIMOS to implement the recommendations in a close cooperation with SSDI. The central government will be requested to appoint an environment inspector as Head of the Environment and Health Unit within the District Commissariat of Sipaliwini.

6.7 Managing External relations

As the government, the private sector and NGOs increasingly move into the interior the management of external relations become increasingly important. In view of the

educational and literacy levels of the tribal chiefs the creation of a administrative resource center should be considered to assist in the development and maintenance of the wide range of external relations each village has to deal with. At least three categories can be considered and would include administrative support for:

- External administrative relations
- External economic relations
- External social development relations
- Relations with environmental institutions and organizations, national and international

Bas: It regards the integrated relations and acts. Attention has to be paid to this issue. The Wide Area Net Work of DLGP is available and also the new structures as the Citizen Information Center, the Citizen Participation Commission. We have to work this out in close cooperation.

6.8 Development needs and concerns: SWOT analysis

In the section below we used the results of the research to prepare a SWOT analysis of the situation in which chiefs and the village councils find themselves today and to identify the key training needs.

Strengths

Governance. A major strength of the traditional system of government includes the manner in which the ancestors of the Maroon tribes organized themselves into lineages and clans based on descent. This descent system is used to demarcate tribal territories and regulate access to natural resources. Therefore, first and foremost, the tribal chiefs have to be knowledgeable of the system of descent and the principles of social organization that are based on tribal ancestry. This knowledge is necessary to regulate the day to day affairs of the village and the tribe and today most chiefs still have a good command of this knowledge and expertise. Most chiefs are able to function effectively within the village using this system of organizing the community.

The main traditional task of the chiefs is to settle conflict between families in the village or in different villages, and here again we see that knowledge of the descent system is a key asset, because it is precisely this knowledge that is needed to do the job. The knowledge of the customs protocol and customary law of the tribe is thus a major strength. The role of the chiefs in protecting persons through asylum and other means is still in force.

Economy. The chiefs in the villages still have good knowledge of the territory and environment and they use this knowledge to regulate the customary economy. They

can mediate disputes over access to agricultural plots, timber forests as well as access to hunting or fishing areas.

Social development. There are many very knowledgeable leaders in the villages. Their knowledge is still passed on to younger persons, but also to outside experts on Maroon culture. Healers in the villages still have special knowledge of medicinal plants and procedures, and many patients are referred to the various villages with healers for specialized treatment. Some chiefs are also healers.

Today there are schools for almost every cluster of interior villages, which means that most of the kids now have access to elementary education. The chiefs have encouraged and supported the development of schools in the villages.

Many NGOs have done good work in the interior villages. They have supported the development of skills such as food processing, a wood processing, use of the sewing machine to prepare clothes and mosquito nets, eco sanitation and many other skills.

Infrastructure. Most large villages have a large meeting hall that is at the disposal of the chiefs to hold gatherings and meetings. Several key villages have guest houses built by the government. The government has been active in building concrete landings for the villages to facilitate the loading and unloading of goods and cargo. Many villages have water and electricity. The Community Development Fund and the Fund for the Development of the Interior has been instrumental in realizing these facilities. Several new schools, clinics, nurses and teachers housing have been built recently by these projects. Several NGOs are also helping to build water facilities. Some villages have bridges which are critical for mobility during the rainy seasons.

Natural resources and environment. The available natural resources still seem to be sufficient to sustain the livelihoods of even the larger villagers at an acceptable level. The chiefs still regulate access to natural resources and the system still works reasonable well. There are teams employed by the Ministry of Regional Development which maintain the public spaces and connecting paths in and between the larger and more central villages.

External relations. The villages of the interior have good relations with many external agencies, who are sponsoring a wide range of projects including water and even a biodiesel initiative. The Ministry of Regional Development is very active in the village and employs numerous persons in various roles.

Weaknesses

Governance. Chiefs are appointed for life and this has both advantages and disadvantages. If a chief is doing a great job the village benefits enormously. However, if

a chief falters he cannot be removed and the village suffers the consequences of weak local leadership.

The villages, the surrounding territories and the institutions of chieftaincy have not been recognized by law. The chiefs do not have statutory authority and this hampers their ability to govern effectively. The key here is to achieve effective leadership so that the villages can become more successful in the current socio-economic and resource context. Leaders with statutory authority are key to this process.

In some villages the residents complain that the chiefs do not intervene, effectively when there are serious conflicts. The chiefs, in turn, say they do not have the necessary tools and resources to manage all types of situations. For example, when criminals flee Paramaribo to hide in the villages the chiefs are rarely able to constrain them. In such situations the support of the police has to be called in. Sometimes this creates conflicts, because the family of the offender may object to the presence of the police, especially in cases involving sexual offenses.

If and when the role and the status of the various types of chiefs is defined by law certain tasks will be executive, some tasks will relate to lawmaking, while other important tasks will be judicial. To date there is no separation of powers, which in some cases may lead to a conflict of interest, especially when dealing with funds that are made available to the village by outsiders.

The issue of legally establishing chieftaincy, customary land and resource rights is quite complex and covers a wide range of issues. One of the key issues is the management of village administration and funds. There is also a need for robust administrative controls.

In most villages there is no structured village fund, and this is a fact which undermines the confidence of villagers, who have express reluctance to contribute to say the water fund, or the electricity fund. Nobody likes to pay taxes, but if and when people do pay taxes they at least want some assurances that the money will be well spent. In some villages the chiefs receive payments for timber extraction from the community forest, but the villager never sees any of this money. The villagers complain but there is nothing they can do against the village chief, who is appointed for life. These are facts which argue in favor of having a clear separation of powers.

Bas: See the article in the newspaper "De Ware Tijd" regarding the illegal base of the "Village Fund". The Board of the village is generating some revenues that belong to the central government. As soon as possible we have to look at it. It's possible to create the Village Fund legally and to allow depositing revenues from some resources in this Fund to finance the Village Budget, approved by the District council. The capacity should be built first before implementing the financial decentralization at village level.

However, arguments for a cultural match are also compelling. If community members do not have some kind of affinity with their system of government it will not work!

There is no “one size fits all” solution to this challenge. In “Seizing the future” the authors note that

“the range of forms of successful governance in native America ranges from ‘textbook’ parliamentary democracy (as at Membertou and Flathead) to ‘textbook’ tri-cameral systems (as at Osoyoos and Oklahoma Cherokee) to traditional theocracy (as at Cochit Pueblo in New Mexico) to mixtures of traditional and new structures (as among a number of the Iroquoian tribes and First Nations and at Navajo) “(Cornell et al 2005: 32).

There is also a need for the alignment of the different local governance institutions. The local council members of certain villages are trained together with the local council members from other villages in the various resorts in the interior. This training is provided by the Decentralization of Local Government program (DLGP). The first three training programs are held in a different village each time and are used to train the local council members in the skills that are needed to formulate a resort development plan.

The fourth meeting of the year is used to make the annual resort development plan, which is submitted to the Ministry of Regional Development. This resort plan is then merged with the other resort plans to form the annual development plan for the interior district in question.

At the same time, NGOs and other organization approach the villages through the institutions of chieftaincy to provide assistance with community development projects.

The local council member we interviewed said that even though they were also responsible for the development of the region they were not always involved in these projects as local council members. There seems to be insufficient alignment between the system of customary chieftaincy and the more recently introduced system of local government.

Bas: We have to describe and overview the planning and budget cycle of the ressortplan in Sipaliwini, in a way to incorporate village plans, approved by the traditional authorities in cooperation with the district government and other structures, in the ressort plan. The Ressort council approves the ressort plan and submits this to the District Council that on his turn will produce and approve the District Plan. The other steps are matching the legal planning and budget cycle.

The traditional system of government has its strengths, but there are also challenges. Throughout the years the villages have emerged as a stronger administrative unit than the lineage or clan. Most youngsters today do not even know what a clan (Lo) is and to which clan and lineage they belong, suggesting that this is a trend which will continue in the future. Therefore, opportunities for recognizing the village as the basic administrative unit should be seriously considered.

Of course, if the system of chieftaincy is to be maintained, the descent traditions must also be maintained and knowledge of this system should be revived and maintained if and when needed.

Bas: We have to consider to prepare manuals so that written guidelines are available for all actors within the government and the private sector how to deal with all the traditional processes one has to take into account when close cooperation is needed to get things done

Economy. The village economies have their strengths, but also their weaknesses. As the population increases, the carrying capacity of the rainforest to sustain several hundred or thousand people will be exceeded. Land, timber, game and fish will increasingly become scarce resources and alternative livelihoods would have to be developed.

The money economy offers a way out: sectors such as tourism, transport, gold mining and the export of produce are becoming increasingly important sources of income. However, the chiefs and the local population need assistance to develop the skills that are necessary to optimally exploit opportunities in the money economy.

Alternative forms of agriculture, such as semi-permanent farming, should now be developed so that more people can survive on the same area of land. Conservation measures are also needed to sustain game and fish levels. The chiefs have an important role to play in promoting these livelihood alternatives and conservation measures.

Social development. The younger generations are losing customary knowledge, but most they are not learning enough western skills to thrive in the money economy. An effort to introduce post-elementary education and skills training in the villages is becoming critical. At the same time, training to preserve traditional knowledge and skills is also needed. Skilled person in the villages could be recruited and trained to function as cultural development workers.

Infrastructure. Many villages have large meeting halls that are not being used. Why is this? Traditionally the meeting hall was built in the middle of the village. The meeting halls of Kajapati, Botopasi and Nieuw Aurora are built where the old meeting house was and there are being used. The cultural pre-conditions for site selection may be the key to this challenge, and should be considered. If the meeting hall is too big, the village cannot maintain it, and it is not likely that it will be used or maintained.

Several villages would benefit from bridges over the nearby creek, especially the women who have to go to their gardens in the rainy season.

Very few villages have an office for the chiefs, and when an office exists it is not outfitted with the necessary fittings to facilitate administrative work. As money becomes an increasingly important governance resource, the need for a well managed and administered village fund that is safely kept becomes evident.

Natural Resources and environment. Many large villages now have problems with garbage disposal. Not all villagers are willing going to walk half a mile to the edge of the village to dispose of garbage. In almost all the villages garbage is dumped into the river, and as there are now a large number of plastic bottles which do not decompose easily, the amount of garbage at the riversides is increasing every year. This is very bad for tourism, as it makes a bad impression.

As the use of modern exploitation and extraction equipment (chainsaws, tractors, backhoes) is becoming more commonplace, the villages also need to develop additional conservation measures. As the populations increase the need for alternative livelihoods and conservation measures increases too, so that the carrying capacity of the rainforest is not exceeded. Chiefs need to be trained to revive or develop conservation measures.

External relations. It was noted that many villages have good relations with external agencies, who are sponsoring projects. However, there are vestiges of many projects lying around the villages (abandoned rice mills, cassava mills), which attest to the lack of sustainability of the projects that introduced this equipment into the villages. What are the lessons learned? These projects were set up without building in sufficient sustainability criteria. The village leadership needs to insist on more guarantees for sustainability, especially in the relation between the village and the supporting NGOs. The chiefs need to be trained in sustainability management.

Bas: DLGP prefers an integrated approach to develop the living areas/villages, based on an integrated village plan and budget developed in close cooperation with all sectors, under the responsibility of the Village Management Team. We don't have any believe in ad hoc provisions of which no body knows who is responsible for the operations and maintenance.

Opportunities

Governance. The process of legally recognizing land rights and resource rights, as well as the institutions of chieftaincy, is now underway and Project SSDI 102 is responsible for this activity. The outcome of this project is urgently needed to set the agenda for the formalization of village and tribal government in the interior of Suriname.

The issue of alignment between customary government and the national institutions of local government can be addressed in cooperation with the DLGP Program, which is well funded, and has significant human resources at its disposal.

Bas: The best approach of the Ministry with support of the IDB to solve the question of land rights and land use is to incorporate this issue in the legal component of DLGP, which Program and all activities under its umbrella fall within the legal scope and political consensus. PIU can procure the consultants and the SSDI to prepare the technical background paper, the legal background paper and based on the acceptance and consensus of these documents, the draft laws on land rights and land use can take place, a well-known and successful procedure

Project SSDI 103 is also responsible for setting up a training program to strengthen the institutions of chieftaincy and this resource should also be used to strengthen village government, especially the village administration.

A policy recommendation is needed to address the issue of separation of powers in the villages, and to suggest feasible approach with a high cultural match. A recommendation can be made in the context of SSDI 103.

Bas: DLGP is responsible to strengthen the local government consisting of the District management team of the district Sipaliwini, the head and the staff members of the ressort offices, the members of the District and the Ressort Council. SSDI can be responsible for the strengthening of the village government. A close cooperation between DLGP and SSDI is needed.

Economy. As noted in the section above the chiefs have an important role to play in steering the village and local economy. The chiefs are not equipped to function as development workers, but they should become development managers. They should be able to oversee the village development process, especially in the economic sphere. Training provided by SSDI 103 will assist in the first effort to help the chiefs develop these skills. The training will include the skills that are needed to understand what a village development plan consists of and can be used as a development tool. However, under the current circumstances chiefs will need to appoint reliable and educated advisors who can help them with these tasks.

Social development. Again, the chiefs are not equipped to function as social development workers, but they should become social development managers. They should be able to steer the social development processes of the interior villages, especially in the with respect to education, training and capacity building. Training provided by SSDI 103 will assist in the first effort to help the chiefs develop these skills. The training will include the skills that are needed to prepare a village development plan, which would include a social development component. Again, a core group of educated advisors (teachers, health workers, store keepers) could be appointed to support the chiefs.

Infrastructure. The optimal use of existing infrastructure can avert many issues and problems. The existing infrastructure, such as school buildings, which are not used in the afternoon, can be used to train youngsters who have already left school in the skills they need to function in the local economy. Rooms in the meeting halls can be converted to offices for the chiefs at a minimal cost.

Natural resources and environment. A separate trainings program needs to be developed by environmental and natural resource experts for chiefs and other village leaders. This training needs to focus on conservation measures which enhance the sustainability of natural resource exploitation in this very large village. Of course, the

training for creating a village development plan would include an environmental component.

Some external assistance can be used, the Maroons possess knowledge of the environment that can be used to develop such conservation instruments. The emphasis on western style forest exploitation, including commercial logging, may have weakened the customary sustainability approach. Encouraging knowledgeable Guyana residents to use the indigenous knowledge to develop environmental management regimes could help bring this type of knowledge back into vogue.

External relations. Relations with RO and urban NGOs should be exploited as much as possible, especially in the area of capacity building. The chiefs should insist that all new projects have a high sustainability dimension and that all the necessary capacity building should be provided.

Bas: as said before, that strengthening of only the village government will not be enough to manage the planning and budgeting mechanism to produce an integrated village development plan. The involvement of the district government and the other political bodies as District and Ressort Council is needed also. Even the involvement of the central government through the District Executive Body is needed, because of the fact that most of the sectors included in the village plan fall under the regime of the central government. That's the reason why DLGP prefers to work on an integrated village plan with involvement of all the partners. The local government as well the village government should be strengthened to manage be able to manage this. Apart from this we have to take into account the outcome of the multi annual District Strategic and Development Plan (DSDP) once will be decided to prepare a village development plan. PIU/DLGP and SSDI can work this out in a close cooperation.

Threats

Governance. The lack of legal status is the main threat to village and tribal management and development. The formal structuring of village and tribal government, whereby the role of the chiefs is clearly defined, is a *conditio sine qua non* for sustainable development. Without statutory authority and new rationalized instruments of sanction, the chiefs will not be able to properly govern modern day villages and control development such as drug production and trade. Moreover, a separation of powers is needed to engender trust in the village administration and especially in the management of village funds. A low literary level of the chiefs is also a threat, that can be mitigated by developing support institutions or platforms for village government (see attachment 5).

Bas: As said before the Lim Apo Institute has been contracted already to stipulate the role of traditional authority in the law on Regional Body. SSDI will be added to this consultancy to produce the technical background paper. In my opinion a big part of this paper is done in this / current report.

Economics. More sustainable livelihood strategies need to be developed to deal with the customary subsistence patterns. The situation is not critical yet; as the population

grows the need for alternative forms of food production will increase incrementally. Skills training is needed or youngsters who have left or completed elementary education in the villages, or else they will engage in criminal activities to survive.

Social development. A balance has to be struck between the need for transmission of customary and western skills from generation to generation. Youngsters obtain a very elementary western education which leaves them ill prepared to survive in the money economy. At the same time they are losing their customary skills in areas such as woodworking, house and boatbuilding, but also hunting and fishing.

Criteria for sustainable development need to be disseminated not only among the chiefs, but among all villagers and CBOs. If projects do not become more sustainable, village development will falter, and the villagers will become discouraged. The necessary training needs to be provided to achieve this aim of more sustainable projects.

Infrastructure. The optimal use of existing infrastructure can avert many issues and problems. The existing infrastructure, such as school buildings, which are not used in the afternoon, can be used to train youngsters who have already left school in the skills they need to function in the local economy. If this is not done, they will turn to drug production in greater numbers because they lack the skills sets to do other legal work.

Natural resources and environment. Alternative livelihood strategies and techniques need to be developed to make the customary subsistence patterns more sustainable. The situation is not critical yet; as the population grows the need for alternative form of food production will increase incrementally. Animal husbandry, such as the raising of chickens and other animals, will become more important as game levels decline.

Garbage disposal needs to be dealt with in a more systematic way in order to avert outbreaks of diseases and other negative environmental impacts.

External relations. If the village leadership and community members do not develop the skills sets to promote, manage and execute sustainable development schemes, external support will dwindle. Donors are increasingly demanding a more sustainable use of the resources that have been made available to the villages and interior communities.

The table below summarizes the results of the SWOT analysis.

Strengths	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of the descent system which is used to structure tribal society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of legal status undermines the functional authority of chiefs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of the customary laws and regulations and application as needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lack of land and resource rights hampers controlled development

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good knowledge of the territory and natural resources allotted to each clan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low literacy and educational levels hamper good governance
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional knowledge is still passed on; western elementary schools present 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More sustainable livelihoods are needed to feed growing populations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of customary plants and medicine still strong and passed on 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social development should focus on skills that are useful in livelihoods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recent improvements in infrastructure including meeting halls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depopulation of tribal areas hampers development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural resources still sufficient to sustain communities with exceptions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive ecological damage from gold mining and other exploitation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from many organizations in Paramaribo and abroad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural conflicts and lack of support for chieftaincy by youngsters
Weaknesses	Opportunities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chiefs are appointed for life which is a weakness in case of poor performance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project underway to legally recognize chieftaincy and land rights
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chieftaincy and the customary territories are not recognized by law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The decentralization program could be used to support local development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erosion of authority 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chiefs can appoint a development platform or bureau to support them
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no separation of powers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chiefs can recruit local advisors to assist in social development
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No structured village administration and properly administered fund 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is sufficient infrastructure that can be used as offices
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No alignment of local government agencies (customary and RR/DR) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resources are available to train chiefs in natural resource management
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited control over natural resource exploitation in customary areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Numerous organizations exist that are eager to support the interior
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acculturation and limited skills to survive in the money economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The SSDI recommendations can be used to strengthen local government
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Carrying capacity of natural 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A separation of powers could

resource base is overexploited in some areas	greatly improve specialization
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor control over projects sponsored by external agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A separation of powers could reduce the workload of chiefs

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Summary

The SSDI project has three components:

- 101 Development Planning (related to the interior)
- 102 Collective rights (land rights, tenure and use, mapping and traditional authorities)
- 103 Institutional strengthening (Ministry of RO, Traditional authorities and Local Organizations and NGOs)

This report is part of project 103 and focuses specifically on the challenges associated with chieftaincy. The specific objectives of this project are to undertake:

- the assessment of the training needs of the traditional authorities;
- the development of appropriate training materials and tools; and
- the execution of the relevant training programs.

The link between project 101 Development Planning and 103 Institutional Strengthening is critical. Project 101 started out with a detailed literature study including the sources available on chieftaincy. Next a baseline diagnosis was conducted. First a qualitative village survey was made with questions about local government and chieftaincy. Next a household survey was made in ten villages and 600 households were queried. Again questions about local government and chieftaincy were included in the survey. The results of these surveys fed into project 103.

In the context of projects 101 and 103 consultations were held with the Ministry of Regional Development, officials of the district administration, representatives of the traditional authorities and staff members of the decentralization project. These exchanges were intended to bring about cross-fertilization of information, ideas and recommendations. The head of the Decentralization Project of Local Government (DLGP) was very excited about the prospects of integrating the results of project 103 into the decentralization effort. To date the DLGP has not focused on the institutions of chieftaincy and their incorporation into the local and national system of government.

Projects 101 and 103 afford an exceptional opportunity to help initiate and develop the linkages desired by the government.

In order to make an assessment of the training needs of the traditional authorities of the tribal communities in the interior of Suriname we provided a backdrop with the following information:

- A good appreciation of the socio-cultural context in which the institutions of chieftaincy are imbedded;
- an appreciation of the historical origin of these institutions;
- an in-depth understanding of the customary role and status of the traditional authorities;
- the subsequent developments this institution has gone through during the past decades and even centuries; and
- a good appreciation of the challenges faced today by members of the institutions of chieftaincy.

7.2 Conclusion

The formation and development of the Indigenous and Maroon societies and the subsequent process of acculturation has left the customary village leader with two kinds of tasks:

- the more customary roles associated with traditional Indigenous and Maroon culture (protocol, funerals, conflict resolution, rituals etc.); and
- the roles associated with national government, the money economy and the more western oriented development institutions (western health, western education, economic development projects, environmental issues associated with resource extraction etc.).

As a result, today the list of tasks that the village chiefs have to attend to is staggering. To be sure, in the tribal villages we are looking at a relative small administration compared to the administration national level. However, the list of responsibilities of the chiefs is far greater than those of the administrators in Paramaribo. We have listed a total of 92 tasks and there are more. It is impossible for a small group of men and women in the villages to handle this varied and wide range of issues effectively and efficiently.

In Paramaribo we need 17 ministries with thousands of staff members to address such a wide range of issues. In the administration in Paramaribo there is a separation of powers, the executive, legislative and judicial branch of government. Each of these branches has a cadre of specialists to address the broad range of issues and challenges

that surface every day. In the interior the chiefs have to deal with all these issues by themselves, without the benefit of advisors and experts.

In sum, due to acculturation many new tasks are added to the already long list of customary responsibilities of a chief. Today the chiefs have too many roles, the chiefs have so many responsibilities that they cannot manage them effectively under the current circumstances in village life..

7.3 Recommended separation of powers and roles

Chiefs should specialize. But how can the national and customary local government carry out this specialization? There are several options.

The roles of the chiefs can be grouped into several categories – the executive, legislative and judicial tasks. There are four options for separating out the current functions and powers:

1. The first option is to separate out and limit all three powers: the executive, legislative and judicial.

Then there are several options which combine two functions and separate out one:

2. A separate executive branch, legislative and judicial combined
3. Executive and judicial combined, legislative separated out
4. Executive and Legislative combined with a separate judicial branch

The first option is to separate out and limit all three powers, the executive, legislative and judicial, does not appear feasible in most of the small villages. Too much specialization will be difficult to implement effectively in small communities. In the context of Maroon culture, chiefs do not make laws. New laws and regulations are agreed upon during village council meetings or tribal council meetings (Jari Krutu/Gran Krutu). During these meeting suggestions for new laws and regulations are debated until consensus is reached. Moreover, it will also be difficult to assign separate roles to village chiefs, whereby a chief that came to live in the village would make laws regulating the conduct of a chief of the village core kin group.

At first sight the second option in the list appears attractive. Some chiefs will retain their executive functions, while others could specialize in lawmaking and the application of the traditional laws and regulations in customary court. The executive chiefs could retain their customary mediation role in disputes in the event they are not personally involved. This is important because chiefs are expected to mediate in family conflicts

together with the family elders. However, this separation of roles and powers will also be difficult to implement, because some chiefs will be executive while others will be lawmakers. Again, it will be more challenging to introduce a system would be accepted whereby one set of chiefs makes laws for other chiefs. It is advisable to introduce such far reaching changes at a later time.

The third option is not recommended either, because the executive would also be the agent of social control, and in many instances a chief would end up keeping an eye on him or herself. This is a conflict of interest.

Under the fourth option the executive and legislative functions are combined, just as the system is today. Under this system the chiefs form the executive. The chiefs, elders and village adults are all involved in lawmaking, but also advise on executive matters. The customary court, however, would be formed by the elders of each family in the village. They would form the judicial council of the village (Rechtsprekende Raad van het Dorp).

Too much change introduced too quickly will be difficult to implement. This option is recommended, as it would not involve far reaching changes and would take advantage of existing customs in the tribal communities of the interior of Suriname.

Bas: Let's brainstorm. More explanation needed.

7.4 Village council, Judicial Council and administrative support

It will not be easy to implement any change in a system that has existed for centuries. However, in view of the many problems associated with the management of village resources and the village fund, the introduction of autonomous independent controls will most certainly contribute to a better managed village.

Bas: DLGP is a decentralization and local government Strengthening program, just at district level (own revenues, own plans, own budget, self financial management), based on Law on regional Bodies and the Interim Law Financial Decentralization.

Thinking about management of village fund, village council with autonomous task, village ordinances means thinking about a comprehensive DLGP at resort and village level. First we have to finalize the DLGP-II at district level. After having done this, a program can be set up to decentralize budgetary authority, financial authority, the authority to create own village fund, self financial management, etc. from the district council to the village council. This 'little' DLGP will include also components to create new management and financial institutions, and to strengthen the capacity at village level to carry responsibilities of autonomous tasks. New laws are needed to shift responsibilities, funds, tasks to the villages. All this is not included in the current objectives of DLGP-II.

As long as the legal base for autonomy of the villages has not been effective, the villages will operate in respect to the systems and mechanisms created by the financial decentralization in Sipaliwini at district level.

The chiefs would retain their customary executive and legislative roles, only the judicial roles would be separated out. The chiefs would still come into office under the customary procedures of selecting chiefs within the clans and lineages.

The members of the judicial council of chiefs would be selected from the elders of each family in the village, regardless of their status as members of a founding clan or lineage. In this way every family would be represented in the village judicial council, whether they have a chief or not. As a result there would be much better representation in the system of social control by all concerned.

These two bodies would be jointly supported by a village administrative office. The staff of the administrative office could be recruited from skilled persons in the village. Some staff could even work part time in the village administrative office, because the pool of educated persons is not extensive and they usually already have jobs as teachers or health workers. In fact, this already occurs in the villages, this proposal would only formalize an institution that already exists. The village administrative office would also support the Village Council in the conduct of External relations.

The tasks of the village administrative office could include:

- The collection of funds and the administration of the village fund
- The development of project proposal and budgets
- Assist in the execution of projects and project monitoring
- Manage an office which provides administrative assistance to the executive chiefs and judicial council
- Assist in the negotiation of protocols, MOUs and agreements with outside agencies and organizations

7.5 Village Sustainable Development Platform (VSDP)

A platform could be created in the villages consisting of village chiefs, the administrative office and skilled representatives from every family in the village. The business sectors in the village (tourism, agriculture, transport, gold, timber, trade) should also take up an active role in the VSDP. This platform will be at the service of the chiefs, and at least one or more village chiefs should have a seat in the platform and perhaps even chair it.

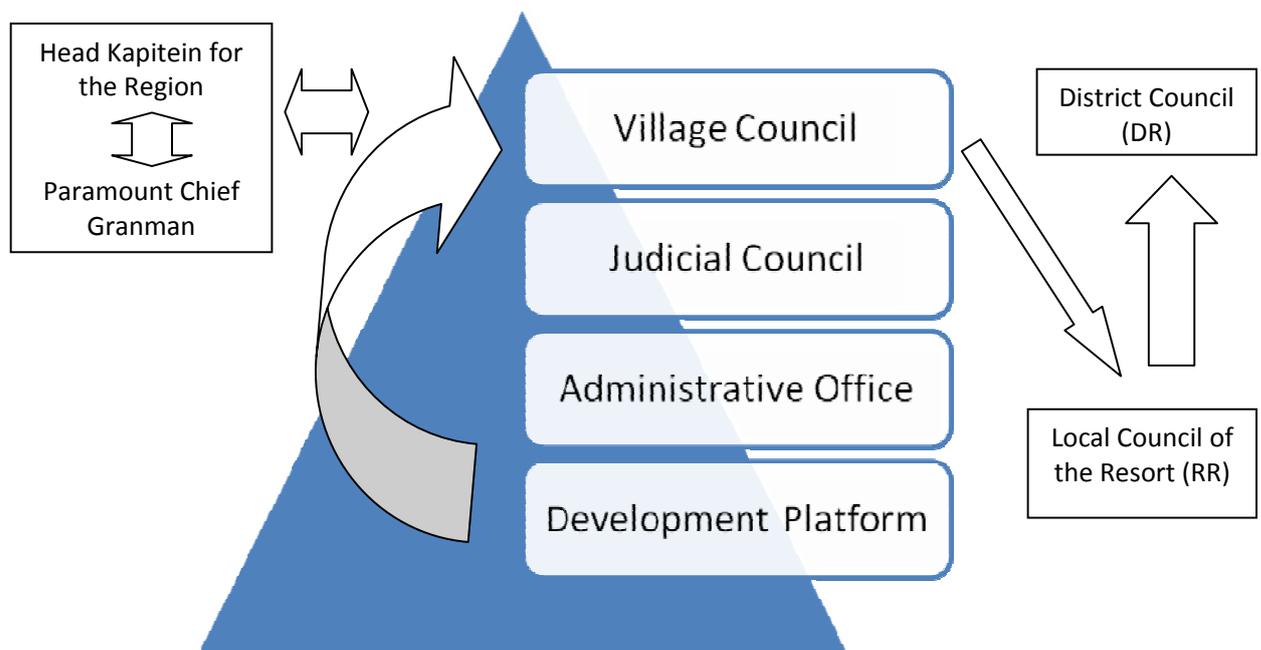
There tasks of the platform could include:

- The preparation of the village development plan and budget
- Monitor execution of the plan by the village council and administrative office

This platform will function as a kind of think tank for the village and will provide technical support to the chiefs, especially with regard to activities of a more technical

nature requiring skills and expertise of the western economy and technology. Technical efforts such as alternative forms of agriculture, such as semi-permanent farming, and the introduction of conservation measures are the kinds of tasks the platform should assist with.

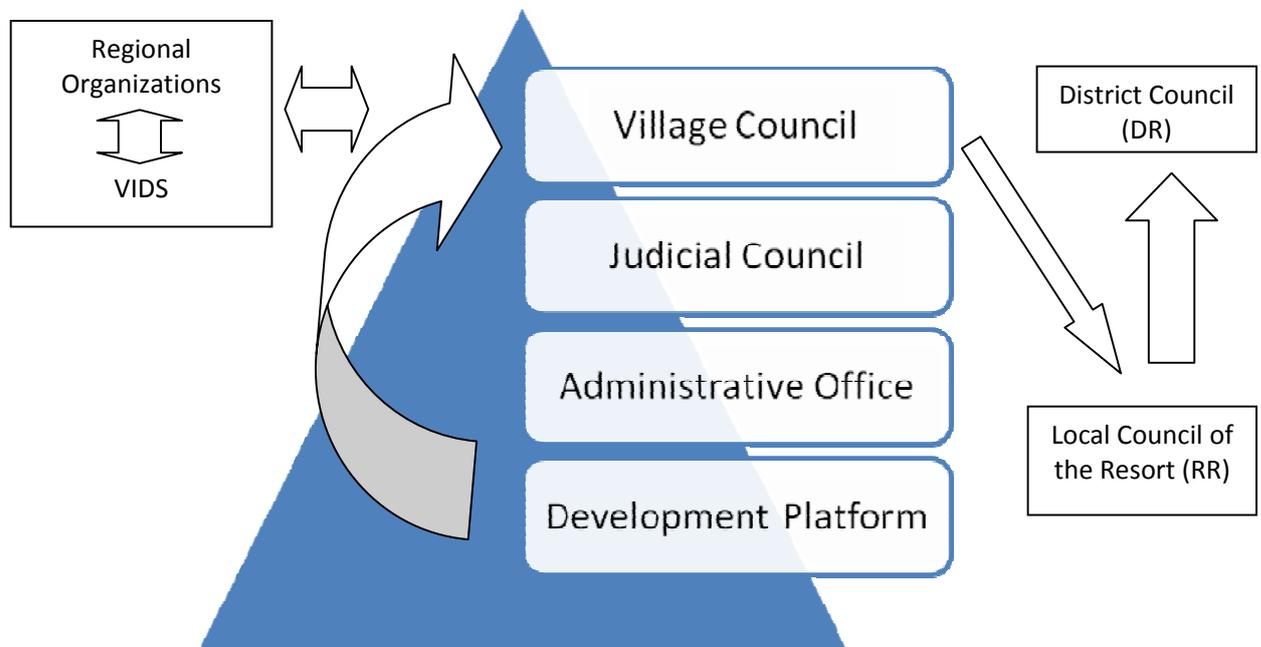
The platform also prepares a draft annual village development plan that is first approved by the village, the Head Kapitein for the region and the Paramount Chief. Via the chiefs in the village council this plan is then presented to the Local Council of the Resort in which the village is located (Ressortraad, RR). The Local Council, in turn presents these plans to the District Council (Districtsraad, DR), which in turn, merges the various resort plans into a single annual district development plan. This district plan is then presented to the executive branch of the local government (districtsbestuur). From here the district plan goes to the Ministry of Regional Development, which, with these documents, formulates its contribution to the Multi-year National Development Plan (MOP) of the Republic of Suriname.



With regard to sustainable development planning, through this trajectory each village in the interior is thus linked to the national administration. Moreover, this model harmonizes the functions and relations between the institutions of customary government (the chiefs) and the institutions national local government (Local Councils).

With regard to the Indigenous communities, in the model the regional Head Kapitein is replaced by the regional organizations such as the Organization of Indigenous Villages in

Para (OSIP). Instead of the Granman, in the case of the Indigenous communities, the review could be done by the Association of Village Chiefs in Suriname (VIDS).



Again, this model harmonizes the functions and relations between the institutions of customary government (the chiefs) and the institutions national local government (Local Councils).

Bas: Take into account the legal calendar of the planning and the budget cycle as it is detailed in the Handbook Budget and financial Management. It's important to acknowledge the fact that the situation in Sipaliwini is forcing us to adjust the cycle and the calendar in conformity with the reality.

7.6 Recommendations for training

As noted above, the process of capacity building and training need not be put on hold until the policy decisions have been made about the future role, status and linkages of the various institutions of local government. There are a number of generic training needs that have been identified and can be executed in the short term.

In anticipation of the key policy decisions that have to be made, and the division of tasks that results from the subsequent allocation of responsibilities, it is possible to identify a number of generic training needs with a high priority.

Regardless of the outcome of the discussion on the role and tasks of the customary authorities, the local- and district council members, there are a number of basic tasks

that all villagers and their leaders should become familiar with. These include training on:

1. Tasks, decision making, local ordinances and administration
 - 1.1 Functions of the executive and legislative chiefs
 - 1.2 Function of the Village Judicial Council
 - 1.3 Village administration (Village Administrative Office)
2. Community development planning (VSDP)
3. Project planning, formulation and management
 - 3.1 Project planning, preparing budgets and fundraising (VSDP)
 - 3.2 Project execution (Executive Chiefs and VSDP)
 - 3.3 Monitoring and follow-up for projects (Village Assembly)

Training coordination, monitoring and evaluation: Consultations should be held with the Ministry of Regional Development and traditional authorities to decide on a mechanism for training coordination in order ensure optimal use of the available resources and to avoid overlapping. Close cooperation with the DLGP program is strongly recommended.

Bas: It's not necessary to put the training on hold and waiting for the decisions about the future role, status and linkages of the various institutions of local government. A clear distinction should be making between the opportunities of financial decentralization of Sipaliwini through DLGP-II and the opportunities as recommended in this SSDI-report still to be created through a specific DLGP for the villages. While the recommended option is in process, the villages will participate in the capacity building activities, a.o. trainings, to develop their own village development plan, to prepare their own budget, to help increasing the district revenues through the District Fund for financing of the village budget. It's legal wise possible to register the village revenue separately in the District fund.

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