



SOCIOECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RESOURCES SURVEY

For the communities of Powakka, Philipusdorp (Kl. Powakka), Redi Doti,
Cassipora, and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi

Produced as part of the Sabajo ESIA



ILACO

Socioeconomic and Cultural Resources Survey

For the communities of Powakka, Philipusdorp (Kl. Powakka), Redi
Doti, Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi.

Produced as part of the Sabajo ESIA report

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DISCLAIMER: The opinions expressed in this report correspond to the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Golder, Newmont, or any other organizations involved in the Sabajo ESIA. The authors are responsible for all errors in translation and interpretation.

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

ADEK	Anton de Kom University of Suriname
BO	Governmental Inspector (Bestuursopzichter)
CR	Cultural Resources
DC	District Commissioner (Districtscommissaris)
DWV	Service for Water Provision (Dienst Watervoorziening)
EBG	Evangelical Brotherhood (Moravian Church)
EBS	N.V. Energie Bedrijven Suriname
ESIA	Environmental, Social, and Health Impact Assessment
GoS	Government of Suriname
GPS	Global Positioning System
HKV	Community logging concession (Houtkapvergunning)
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IGSR	Institute for Graduate Studies and Research
LAT	Latin name
LBB	National Forest Service (Dienst 's Lands Bosbeheer)
LSMS	Living Standards and Measurement Surveys
NDP	National Democratic Party
NH	Natural Resources, Ministry of (Natuurlijke Hulpbronnen)
NIMOS	National Institute of Environment and Development Suriname (Nationaal Instituut voor Milieu en Ontwikkeling in Suriname)
NTFP	Non Timber Forest Product
OAS	Organization of America States
OSIP	Organization of Collaborating Indigenous Peoples of Para (Organisatie van Samenwerkende Inheemsen in Para)
RO	Regional Development, Ministry of (Regionale Ontwikkeling)
SBB	Foundation for Forest Management and Production Control (Stichting Bosbeheer en Bostoezicht)
SWM	Suriname Water Company (N.V. Surinaamsche Waterleiding Maatschappij)
US	United States
USD	United States dollars
VIDS	Association for Indigenous Village Heads in Suriname
WHO	World Health Organization
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

GLOSSARY

<i>Arawak</i>	Indigenous ethnic group, also: Lokono. The word Arawak also is used to indicate the language spoken by the Arawak people
<i>Basja:</i>	Administrative assistants; Member of the traditional authorities
<i>Carib:</i>	Indigenous ethnic group, also: Kaliña. The word Carib also is used to indicate the language spoken by the Carib people
<i>dorpsgemeente</i>	Land tenure title that provided communities with communal land ownership and some degree of decentralized village governance. This tenure title no longer exists.
<i>dresiman</i>	traditional healer
<i>gemeenschapsbos</i>	Community logging concession, previously HKV
<i>Granman</i>	paramount chief/tribal chief
<i>Intangible cultural heritage:</i>	The practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills (including instruments, objects, artifacts, cultural spaces), that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.
<i>Jodensavanne</i>	UNESCO heritage site; a former Jewish settlement (est. 1665), which features the ruins of a synagogue (the oldest still present in the Americas) and historic Jewish cemetery with approximately 450 graves. Currently this place is a tourist site, located near Redi Doti.
<i>Kaliña</i>	Indigenous ethnic group, also: Carib. The word Kaliña also is used to indicate the language spoken by the Kaliña people
<i>Kapitein:</i>	Traditional authority of a Maroon or Indigenous community. Among the Indigenous peoples, this is typically the head of a village.
<i>Kasiri</i>	Alcoholic fermented cassava drink
<i>Lokono</i>	Indigenous ethnic group, also: Arawak. The word Lokono also is used to indicate the language spoken by the Lokono people
<i>Piai</i>	Indigenous shaman
<i>Sambura</i>	Indigenous drum
<i>Sabajo Project:</i>	all Sabajo/Santa Barbara/Margo mining areas plus the haul road to Merian.
<i>Sranantongo:</i>	Suriname Creole language and lingua franca.
<i>Tangible cultural heritage:</i>	Refers to objects that are significant to the archaeology, architecture, science and/or technology of a specific culture. It includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future

tokai

Piai-hut; a hut constructed of palm leaves where the shaman performs spiritual consultations

winti

Traditional Afro-Surinamese religion. Term is also used to refer to supernatural beings

SUMMARY

This Cultural Resources Survey provides an overview of socioeconomic conditions and cultural resources in five indigenous communities in East Para district, in the context of the ESIA study for Newmont Suriname's Sabajo project. Data were collected through desk research, the analysis of an existing household survey data set for the listed communities, and brief community consultations.

Historic records suggest that the Lokono and Kaliña indigenous peoples moved into the present-day East Para region in the early 17th century, to keep at a distance from the plantations that were established in the coastal area. Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi are the oldest indigenous communities in this area. Pierre Kondre Kumbasi and Redi Doti are Kaliña communities, while Powakka, Philipusdorp and Cassipora are Lokono communities. Nowadays, the population is more ethnically diverse; 45 percent of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi inhabitants are mixed Kaliña-Lokono, and in Redi Doti almost half of the population is mixed with non-indigenous. In the most isolated and traditional community of Cassipora, three quarters of inhabitants continue to self-identify as "pure" Lokono. The indigenous communities do not have formal rights to the land they traditionally live on and use. All communities have community forest concessions for the purpose of timber production, though not all are exploited. Commercial agriculture is mostly performed on land assigned by the traditional authorities.

Due to historic migratory moments, many individuals and families that originate from the listed villages live in Paramaribo during the week. They may return on weekends and during holidays. Community members who live elsewhere but contribute to the village and participate in events have equal rights to participate in community decision making processes. The total number of inhabitants in the five communities is estimated at 1653 individuals. Powakka has the largest population and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi counts the lowest number of inhabitants. Improved access and services (electricity) have reduced the need to leave the villages and migrate to the city for work or school - reportedly especially in Powakka and Redi Doti.

Average educational achievement in the Carolina communities is low; almost one third of adults have not completed elementary school. Among the younger generation school attendance is higher. A loss of traditional knowledge and culture was reported in all five Indigenous villages. The causes include missionary activity, (temporary) migration during the Interior War (1986-1992), improved accessibility and resulting influx from outsiders, labor migration, and the influence of television. Evidence suggests that Dutch and Sranantongo are increasingly replacing the indigenous languages. While elders (70+) still speak Kaliña and Lokono fluently, young people primarily speak Sranantongo and Dutch. Children rarely understand and speak the Indigenous languages. The community of Cassipora counted the highest proportion of Lokono speakers and the lowest share of people with fluent Dutch skills. Pierre Kondre Kumbasi counted the largest share of respondents who reported speaking Dutch fluently, with little difference between women and men.

The Catholic Church has a long history of missionary activity in East Para and has established churches in all target villages. Other church societies, such as the Pentecostal Church and Jehovah's Witnesses, organize their praying sessions at home. Only Pierre Kondre Kumbasi and Redi Doti have a piai, or traditional spiritual leader. Indigenous rituals continue to be performed with important events and may include libation. Libation can be done by either men or women, and does not necessarily need to be done by the kapitein. Taboos are an integral part of the traditional indigenous belief system. Menstrual taboos in all villages dictate that women having their period may

not enter the creek or river. Adherence to other menstrual taboos vary by village and individual, and may include not entering a cemetery, and no cooking and/or handling food. There also taboos involving creeks, and a taboo on killing the boa constrictor snake, among others. Rituals around pregnancy, child birth and transition to adulthood have virtually vanished, and if they are performed, it is in a modernized fashion. Also traditional rituals around death have changed. The traditional mourning period has been shortened and traditional festivities involving kasiri consumption, vomiting, and hair cutting were only reported in Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi. Plants/trees and animals with spiritual significance were rarely mentioned.

Both women and men collect Non Timber Forest Products (NTFP), including medicinal plants, construction materials, plants and plant parts to fabricate crafts and utensils, and edible fruits and plants (e.g. palm fruits). In Cassipora, Powakka and Philipusdorp there are dresiman or traditional healers. Cassipora and Powakka also have traditional midwives. Representatives from Cassipora, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi reported several places with special spiritual, historic and/or cultural significance around their villages.

All target villages have a village fund, which is used to finance community projects. The money in this fund mostly comes from logging, mining, agricultural entrepreneurs, and tourism (Blaka Watra, Powakka and Jodensvanne). The most important sources of income in the target villages were agriculture, tourism, government work, fishing/hunting, and jobs in extractive industries (logging, mining). Just over half of individuals ages 15 and over reported that they had not been involved in any cash earning activities in the six months prior to the EBS survey. In all villages there is some degree of commercial agriculture, primarily pineapple production. Commercial agriculture is practiced most intensively in Pierre Kondre Kumbasi. Very few individuals in the indigenous communities of East Para specialize in hunting and fishing for commercial purposes. Craft production is mostly done by women, but is not a significant source of income.

The typical houses in the Indigenous communities of East Para have wood walls and metal sheets on the roof. Powakka and Redi Doti have an elementary school; children from Philipusdorp attend school in Powakka, and children from Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi go to the Redi Doti elementary school. For secondary education children in all communities attend junior high school at Paranam, or senior high school in Paramaribo. Powakka and Redi Doti also have a Medical Mission Primary Health Care (MZ) clinic. The Indigenous communities of East Para are not connected to the national drinking water distribution network of the Suriname Water Company. Instead they receive drinking water through a combination of stand-alone water systems (pumping water from the river), rainwater harvesting, creek water, and hand pumps. All communities are connected to the public electricity grid.

With regard to traditional community government, it is observed that the Lokono and Kaliña Indigenous groups do not have a granman or paramount chief; when needed, the Vereniging van Inheemse Dorpschoofden in Suriname (VIDS) steps in to mediate conflicts. Village leaders (kapitein) and their administrative assistants (basja) are typically appointed through designation. In Powakka, however, the village government was elected and in Redi Doti the kapitein also was elected through voting. A significant share of the traditional authorities in the Indigenous communities of East Para are female. Male and female kapiteins and basjas have the same roles, responsibilities and tasks. The kapiteins of all Indigenous villages in Suriname, including those in Para, are members of the VIDS. In addition, the kapiteins of the Indigenous villages of Para are organized in the Organization of Collaborating Indigenous Peoples of Para – OSIP. The villages in the region often support one

another and have joined forces to protest certain situations (e.g. destruction of the road by logging trucks) or enforce demands (e.g. electricity).

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1 INTRODUCTION

This document (“CR Survey”) provides a detailed description of socioeconomic conditions and cultural resources in five communities in East Para district, namely: Powakka, Philipusdorp (Klein Powakka), Red Doti, Cassipora, and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi (Figure 1). These communities are inhabited by Lokono (Arawak) and Kaliña (Carib) indigenous peoples¹. The study is conducted as part of a larger Environmental and Social Impact Assessment for the Sabajo Gold Project (Sabajo) of Newmont Suriname, LLC (“Newmont Suriname”).

The Sabajo Gold Project is located in Para district in the northeastern part of Suriname, 30 km west of Merian and about 20 km northeast of the Afobaka dam (Figure 1). Access to the site is through existing roads. The Sabajo Project proposes to develop and mine the Sabajo deposit as a satellite to the Merian operation and will only involve mining activities and the transport of ore via a haul road to the Merian mill, where the ore will be processed. This assessment is part of the Sabajo ESIA, which is planned to be submitted in February 2018 to the National Institute of Environment and Development (NIMOS) and interested stakeholders. Ultimate approval of the ESIA by NIMOS is the only permitting requirement relevant to Newmont Suriname, in order to acquire a Right of Exploitation from the Government of Suriname (GoS) for the Sabajo project.

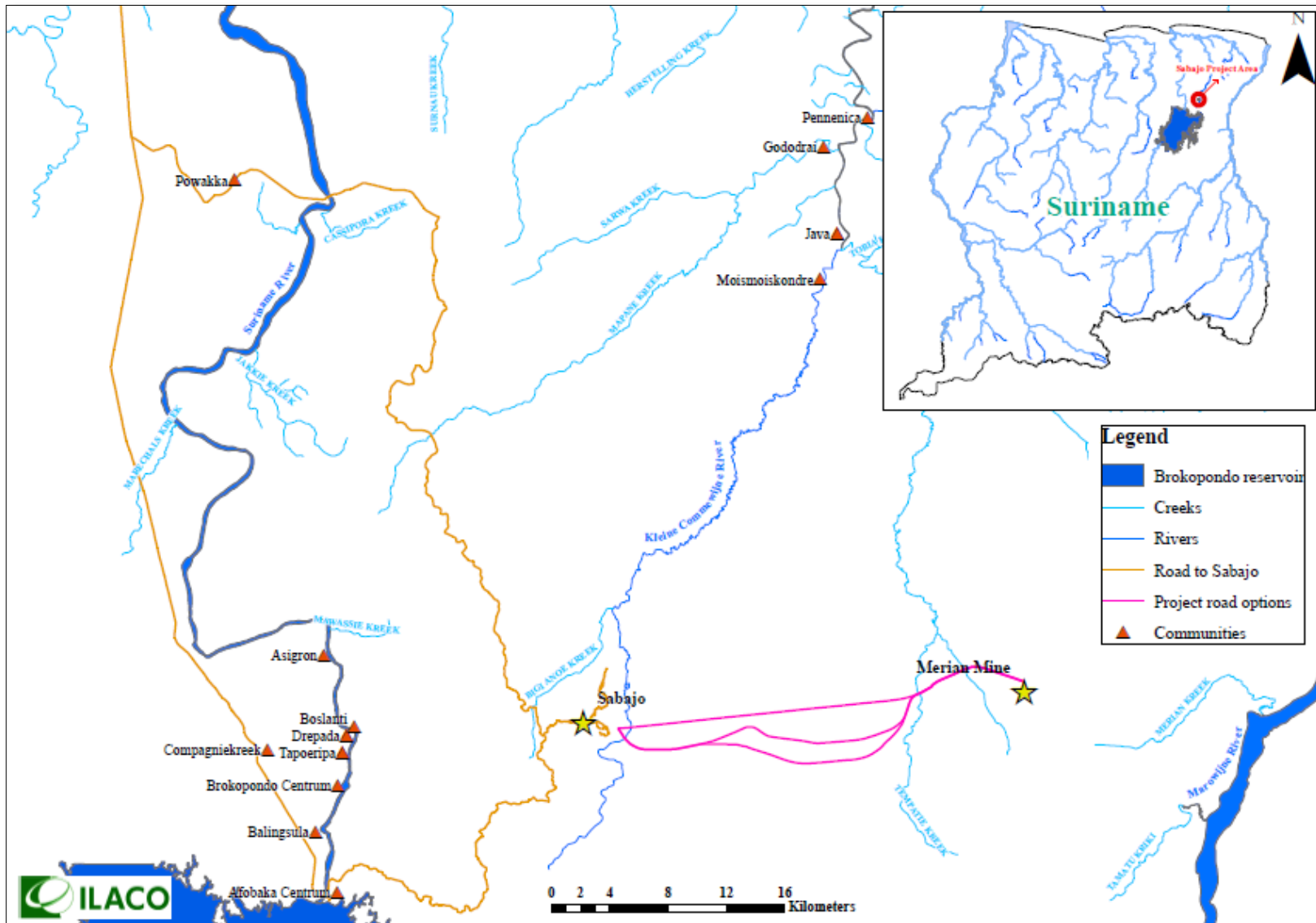
Newmont Suriname, as the project proponent, is responsible for the preparation of the ESIA, which is needed to evaluate the environmental, health and socioeconomic impacts of project-related activities during the construction and operation of the Sabajo Project. Golder Associates coordinated the ESIA study.

Newmont wants to get acquainted with the culture of indigenous communities in the area because there is potential that Newmont will use the “Carolina road” for transport of people and goods to the Sabajo Project area, should the Sabajo Project be developed. Even though some of the villages are not located directly on the Carolina road, the villagers use the main road for commuter traffic, to transport children to school, and other purposes. This study focuses specifically on: cultural history; demographics and ethnic composition of the villages; village-level and household-level economics; political organization and decision-making; cultural belief systems, expressions and practices (intangible culture); and relevant tangible culture.

In following pages, this CR survey for the Indigenous communities of East Para district proceeds as follows. Chapter 2 describes the methods that were used for data collection and analysis. The results are presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 contains a summary and conclusions. And bulky data are compiled in the Appendices.

¹ During the validation meeting, community participants indicated that they preferred the terms “Lokono” and “Kaliña” over “Arawak” and “Carib”.

Figure 1. Indigenous communities of East Para and other communities in relation to the Sabajo Project



2 METHODS

2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study was conducted in two stages. Most of the data presented in this study was obtained in stage I, through desk review and the analysis of existing data. In stage II, findings from the study of secondary sources were verified and complemented by interviews with selected key informants in the target communities.

2.2 RESEARCH ETHICS

Research procedures adhered to professional ethical standards for social science research, including the American Anthropological Association Ethics Handbook. Furthermore, the CR survey was conducted in line with the principles of International Finance Corporation (IFC) standard # 7 considering Indigenous Peoples, particularly with regard to obtaining Free Prior Informed Consent prior to data collection.

In practice, this approach meant that prior to data collection, the proposed research and methodology were discussed with the Association for Indigenous Village Heads in Suriname (VIDS). VIDS both represents the interests of the Indigenous communities and serves as a first point of contact with outsiders. VIDS first contacted the indigenous village leaders to discuss the request for a meeting. Upon approval, the village leaders (kapiteins) of all villages were contacted by the consultant to ask for a meeting and discuss the preferred format of such a meeting.

During the village consultations, the researchers introduced themselves and explained the purpose and approach to the data collection mission once again.

On October 30, 2017, a validation session was held with participants from the Indigenous target communities. Approximately 40 persons were present, but the community of Redi Doti was not represented. During the validation meeting the preliminary study results were presented to the communities. The community members were asked whether the information was correct, and helped fill in gaps and clarify uncertainties. The input from the validation meeting was integrated into the draft report.

2.3 REVIEW OF SECONDARY SOURCES

Several recent and older studies have been conducted on the Lokono and Kaliña indigenous peoples of East Para. In 1992, father Joop Vernooij² wrote a cultural study about Powakka. Even though this work is 25 years old, the information it contains, especially the sections on history of the community, remains relevant. In more recent years, different Anton de Kom (ADEK) University students conducted thesis

² Vernooij (1940-2017) was a Dutch Catholic priest who came to Suriname in the late 1960s. He published several works about the role of the Catholic church in Suriname, but also about indigenous communities and the church, and other topics.

research in the Indigenous communities of East Para. These theses focused on natural resources and Non Timber Forest Products (Gajapersad 2005, Nanoe, 2013), and on language use (Gravenstijn, 2011).

In 2014, the Vereniging van Inheemse Dorpshoofden in Suriname (VIDS) obtained financial support from the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) to execute the project “Mapping and management of indigenous communities’ lands and resources in Para East region”. The outputs of this project included a land use map of the Lokono villages in East Para (Figure 3), and a management plan for this user area (Rijswijk, 2016). These documents have been used as information sources.

2.4 THE EBS DATA SET

In 2015, N.V. Energie Bedrijven Suriname (EBS) obtained a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) for the electrification of rural communities. As part of this project, an impact evaluation had to be carried out. The impact evaluation included a baseline survey in 17 Indigenous and Maroon villages prior to the start of improved electrical service in beneficiary communities. The EBS baseline survey communities included Cassipora, Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, Powakka, Philipusdorp (klein Powakka, surveyed as part of Powakka), and Redi Doti.

The EBS baseline survey used a very extensive questionnaire, which was structured after the Living Standards and Measurement Surveys (LSMS) of the World Bank, though greater emphasis was placed in this questionnaire on information related to energy consumption than in a typical LSMS survey. Some modules were modified based on the questionnaire used during the 2012 Census of Suriname. The EBS baseline survey consisted of a community questionnaire and a household survey. The aim was to survey all permanent resident households in every village, but some households could not be found during the fieldwork period. If a household was absent during the three contact attempts, it was not surveyed.

The EBS baseline survey was executed in early 2016. After data collection, data were cleaned and entered into an SPSS database by Suriname consultancy firm Social Solutions. The complete dataset was sent to EBS and an IDB consultant in the United States. The IDB consultant was responsible for data analysis.

For the present assignment, Social Solutions used the raw data set and performed its own data analysis on it. Much of the statistical data in the present report were obtained from this dataset, unless indicated otherwise.

2.5 FIELD WORK

Consultation meetings were held with representatives of Cassipora (15 Oct 2017), Powakka and Philipusdorp (19 Oct. 2017), Redi Doti (19 Oct. 2017), and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi (23 Oct. 2017). The consultations were held in a general meeting with one or more members of the traditional authorities and one or more other individuals with specific knowledge about the village. The meeting with the representative of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi was held in Paramaribo. A list of consulted community representatives is presented in Appendix A.

In agreement with the village leaders, it was decided not to conduct interviews or focus groups with a broader selection of community members, such as for example groups of women, men, and youth. The reason for this approach was to minimize the burden of the study on the community. A limitation of this approach is that the qualitative data present primarily the opinions and perception of a small, selected group of community leaders. Possible bias was reduced by presenting the data in validation meetings, and by triangulation of the qualitative data with information from secondary sources.

In each village, specific questions were asked to verify written records and fill gaps in information obtained from secondary sources. The questions differed per village, depending on what data was already available. The answers were recorded in writing.

3 RESULTS

3.1 CULTURAL HISTORY

3.1.1 Area geography and history

East Para, where the target communities are located, is situated on the old coastal plains of Suriname, and largely covered with Savana and Savana forest. Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi are situated along the Suriname River; Cassipora and Powakka are connected to the Suriname River through a creek, and Philipusdorp is not connected to the Suriname River but does have access to a creek. In the 17th century, colonists established tobacco and sugar plantations in this area (Rijsdijk, 2016). The plantations also were used for timber production. The present tourist site Jodensavanne (Savana of the Jews) is a remnant of this era. Nowadays Para is the most important district for wood production in Suriname.

3.1.2 Early settlement

Archeological research suggest that pre-Columbian indigenous groups travelled through the Amazon flood plains along the Rio Negro and the Orinoco River valley to the Northern shores of the South American continent (Versteeg, 2003). These early Orinoco cultures influenced indigenous cultures throughout the Caribbean region and it is plausible that the present-day Lokono have their origins among these groups (Patte, 2010). The pre-Columbian Lokono settled in the coastal areas of Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname and French Guiana (Versteeg, 2003).

Since pre-Columbian times, the Lokono co-existed with the Kaliña Indigenous groups in the same areas (Versteeg, 2003; Patte, 2010). The Kaliña indigenous peoples came from the North, from the Caribbean region (Vernooij, 1992). Not much is known about the exact location of the early Lokono and Kaliña communities.

In the early years of colonization, Indigenous groups who had been living in the coastal area fled upriver to escape efforts of plantation owners to enslave them³. Some Indigenous groups settled in the area now known as “Carolina”, where they lived along the Paracreek, Siparipabocreek, Bofrucreek (~7- 8 km from Powakka) and Cassipora creek⁴. Consulted community representatives reported that in the forest, one still finds ancient artifacts such as fragments of earth work and a stone ax. No records could be found about the exact dates of establishment of the target communities. Interviews with community representatives suggest that Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi are the oldest villages in East Para.

Powakka

Powakka is a Lokono community and by far the largest of the Indigenous communities of East Para. Indigenous peoples have populated the place from more than 300 years (Rijsdijk, 2016). Since the early 1900s, the Catholic mission has established itself in Powakka and influenced its development.

³ Community meeting with Powakka and Philipusdorp (19 Oct. 2017) and Redi Doti) (19 Oct. 2017)

⁴ Confirmed during validation session by Mr. Martin Pursie from Cassipora. Inhabitats from the other communities did not comment.

Powakka has a woman's organization, *WheKhalwabetjie* (we brave women) but it is not active at present. There is an active sports club, which organizes sports activities for soccer (women and men), volleyball and a variation on baseball (*slagbal*).

Philipus Shikwabana (Philipusdorp)

Philipusdorp, previously named "Klein (small) Powakka", was established in 1964, when a Lokono man from Powakka, Mr. Philipus, moved there with his family. The village was initially a satellite village of Powakka, and governed by the Powakka traditional authorities. In 2013, Philipusdorp obtained the mandate from Powakka to become "independent" and to have its own traditional authority structure⁵. This process was endorsed by the Government of Suriname (GoS). The inhabitants originate mostly from Powakka, and in addition from other Indigenous villages such as Tapoeripa, Matta, Donderskamp, Washabo, and Cassipora.

Cassipora

Vernooij (1992) reports that Cassipora (Lokono: *Kashipurhi* or "fish creek") was already populated by Lokono people in the 17th century. In 1928, the colonial government recognized Cassipora as a formal village⁶. In those days the village could only be reached by boat, from Paranam. In the 1960s Cassipora was connected to the road that was constructed as part of a project of the Foundation for Forest Management and Production Control (*Stichting Bosbeheer en Bostoezicht*, SBB) (ibid.).

Compared to the other Carolina communities, Cassipora is furthest removed from Paramaribo and most isolated. As a result, Cassipora is relatively the least acculturated (Gravenstijn, 2011). There are two active sports organizations in the village; a soccer club for men and a *slagbal* (variation on baseball) club for women. There used to be a women's organization "*Casipuri hiarono washaté*" (Women of Cassipora, let us work towards the future) but it is no longer active.

Redi Doti

Redi Doti (litt: "Red Dirt") is originally a Kaliña community. The ancestors of the present day inhabitants of Redi Doti have a long history in the area. According to the head *basja* of the village, a group of Kaliña lived in the location of the later *Jodensavanne*, but fled upriver when Jewish plantation owners established themselves in the area⁷. A group of Kaliña settled on a red-colored mountain, from where the village obtained its name. When roads were constructed, the ancestors of today's inhabitants of Redi Doti migrated to live closer to the roads. For the past 200 years, Kaliña have been living in the vicinity of the present location.

The website of Foundation Jodensavanne confirms that the roots of Redi Doti can be traced to the Indigenous peoples who populated this area since the 17th century⁸. The village Redi Doti at its present location however, was established relatively recently (1930), starting with the construction of a Roman Catholic Church. An elementary school was established shortly after arrival of the church.

⁵ Meeting with village representatives of Powakka and Philipusdorp, 19 Okt. 2017

⁶ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

⁷ Mr. Sabajo, Head Basja Redi Doti, pers. com. 19/10/17.

⁸ <http://www.jodensavanne.sr.org/smartcms/default.asp?contentID=607>

While the village was originally inhabited by Kaliña, it nowadays is inhabited by a more diverse mix of people due to inter-marriage and migration. Also, Indigenous families that were scattered along the Suriname River moved to Redi Doti to be closer to school and other facilities. In 1931, Redi Doti obtained the status of village community (*dorpsgemeente*), as per resolution of the Roman Catholic mission (Gravenstijn, 2011).

For many years, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi were one village, with one traditional village government and one *kapitein*. In February 2011 villages formally separated and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi obtained its own traditional authority structure⁹.

There is a youth organization and a women’s organization, neither of which carries a specific name (Gravenstijn, 2011)¹⁰.

Pierre Kondre Kumbasi

Pierre Kondre Kumbasi was probably already inhabited by Indigenous people in the early 17th century¹¹. At the time it was a Kaliña village named Kumbasi, named after the nearby Kumbasi creek. Nowadays Pierre Kondre Kumbasi can be considered a family village¹². Its tribal forefather, (*stamvader*) Mr. Pierre Joeroeja settled in the village in 1875 and since then the village appears in written history. The village was renamed after Mr. Pierre, but -in 2011- it was decided to add Kumbasi to its name. Hence the village is now officially named Pierre Kondre Kumbasi.



Pierre Kondre Kumbasi has a soccer club and a women’s organization. Foundation Agricultural development Indigenous Suriname (*Stichting Landbouwontwikkeling Inheemsen Suriname*) resides in the village and has as its goals to promote entrepreneurship and to develop leadership for women and youngsters.

3.1.3 Ethnic composition of the villages

Through time, the Indigenous communities of East Para have become increasingly ethnically diverse. Data from Gravenstijn (2011) suggests that in the community of Redi Doti, almost half of the population consists of individuals of mixed ethnic descent (Indigenous with non-Indigenous), while almost a quarter of inhabitants reported a mixed Lokono-Kaliña background (Figure 2). Also in Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, which is originally a Kaliña village, only 13.2 percent of the population self-identified as “purely” Kaliña (in 2010; Figure 2).

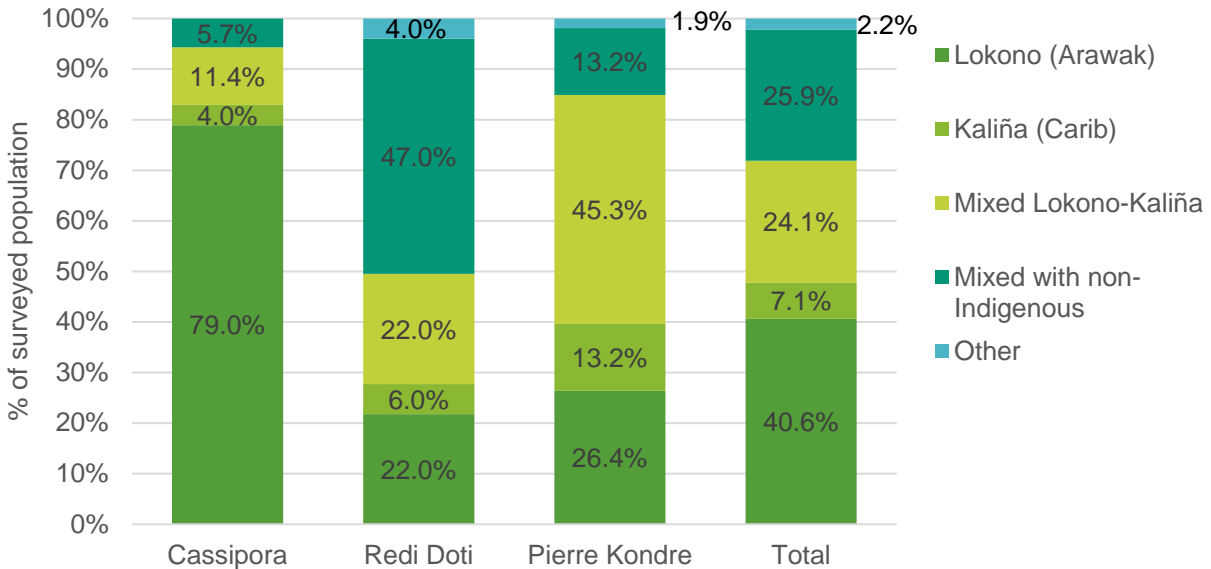
⁹ Kapitein Lloyd Read of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, validation meeting, 30 October 2017.

¹⁰ They were referred to as “Youth organization of Redi Doti” and “Women’s Organization of Redi Doti”

¹¹ Lloyd Read, Kapitein Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, 23 October 2017.

¹² “Lloyd Read kapitein van Pierre Kondre”. *Starnieuws* 13 March 2011.

Figure 2. Ethnic composition of inhabitants of the communities of Cassipora (N=70), Redi Doti (N=101) and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi (N=53).



Source: adapted from Gravenstijn, 2011 (citing Menke, 2010)

3.1.4 History of land tenure

The boundaries of the traditional lands of the Lokono and Kaliña peoples are contained in their oral histories, and recognized by neighboring communities (OAS, 2013). Under Suriname law, however, such boundaries and rights to traditional lands are not formally recognized.

In the early 1900s, a Foundation of the Powakka family Stugard bought the abandoned plantation land “Nahamoe” along the Suriname River¹³. This land is part of the land that Powakka claims among its ancestral lands. At present there are no activities on this land. In 1937, the colonial Dutch government gave the communities of Powakka and Cassipora (and Bigi Poika) the status of village community (*dorpsgemeentes*)¹⁴ with a communal leasehold license (*gemeenschappelijke erfpachtvergunning*) and local right of self-determination (Vernooij, 1992). Through this measure the inhabitants of Powakka and Cassipora obtained legal land title. In 1947, the colonial government allocated communal logging concessions (*houtkapvergunning*-HKV) to several Indigenous communities. Under the HKV title the land

¹³ According to Vernooij (1992), the Lokono of Powakka established an Association (*Vereniging*), with the formal name: Association of Arawak Indigenous Peoples “Powakka” (*Vereeniging van Arawakken-Indianen “Powakka”*). Around 1917, this association acquired property rights to the former plantation Nahamoe. This association is probably the same group as was referred to by Powakka villagers. Consulted community members from Powakka confirmed that a Foundation from the family Stugard (from Powakka) owns the plantation lands

¹⁴ Suriname used to have about 21 *dorpsgemeentes*; 20 of which were annulled in the late 1970’s (with the exception of Berlijn, district Para). The title of *dorpsgemeente* provided communal land ownership, under supervision of a village government (GB 1938, No. 66). It provided for a decentralized form of governance with an own, elected village government, own sources of income and autonomous budgetary authority with regard to maintenance of tertiary roads, the allocation of land plots and so forth.

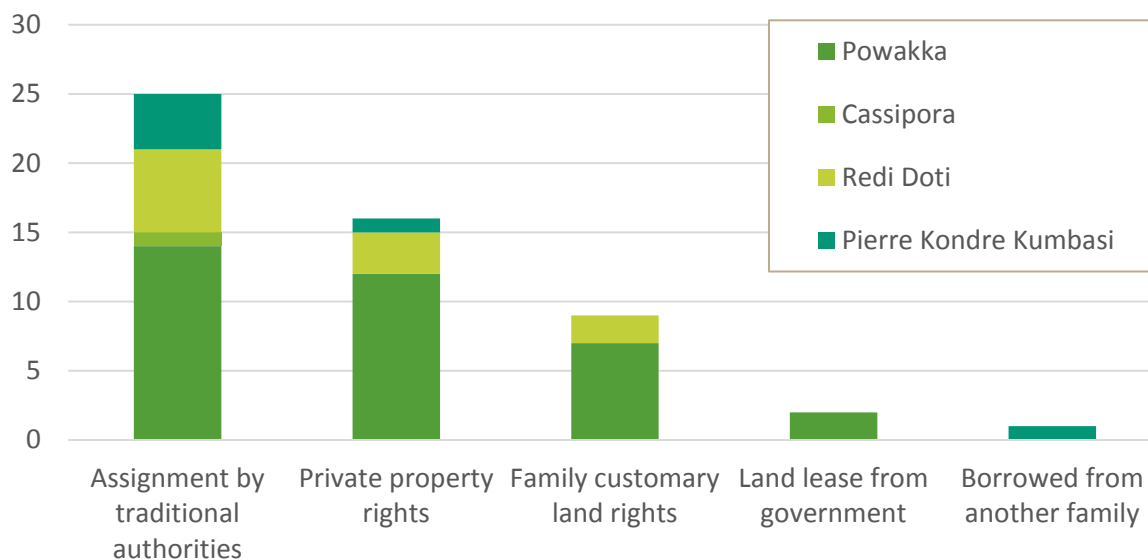
remained governmental domain land (*domeingrond*) and the title does not provide the communities with more general user or ownership rights to the land (ibid.).

In 1981, Suriname’s military regime abolished the title of “dorpsgemeente” (Decree C-44), and the land under land tenure again became government domain land. During consultations, village authorities of Powakka commented that they did not know why the leasehold title on their community lands had been taken away from them.

Traditional regulations about customary rights to land and resources remain respected in present-day Lokono and Kaliña communities. These customary laws define collective ownership over traditional lands. (OAS, 2013). The different villages respect each other’s boundaries. If someone from outside the village wants to use village lands, he or she must first obtain permission from the traditional authorities, who subsequently follow traditional consultation practices within the village (ibid.). The village of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi is in the of process elaborating traditional rules into a document in favor of people that want to re-migrate to the village. It includes, for example, rules about collective ownership¹⁵.

The EBS survey asked households involved in commercial agricultural production about their property rights to the land. The one household in Cassipora that used land for commercial production reported that it had received this land through assignment by the traditional authorities. In Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, four household had obtained their land for commercial agriculture/livestock through assignment by traditional authorities, one household had borrowed the land from another family, and one household reported holding the land in private property.

Figure 3. Form of land tenure reported by households involved in commercial agriculture



Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

Also in Redi Doti and Powakka (incl. Philipusdorp), the largest share of households had obtained access to this land through assignment (resp. 6 and 14 households). Others reported having tenure rights as a

¹⁵ Mr. Read, *kapitein* Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, pers. com. 23/10/17

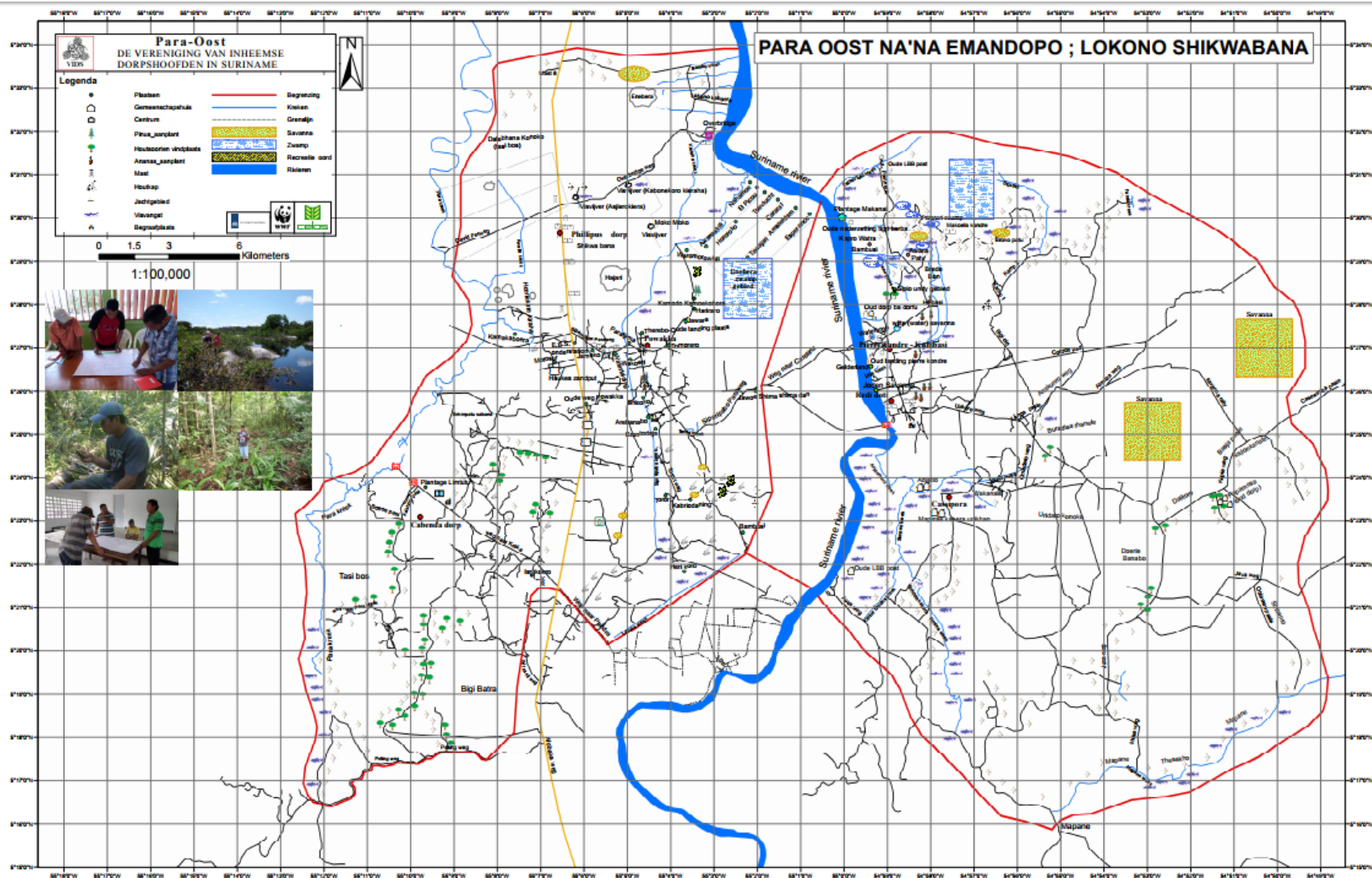
part of their customary rights to the land (resp. 2 and 7 households in Redi Doti and Powakka); private property rights (resp. 3 and 12 households), and having the land in lease from the government (2 households in Powakka).

The traditional area of the five target communities is important for timber production. The GoS has extended logging concessions in and around these traditional lands. In addition, the communities Powakka, Cassipora, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi have their own community Wood Cutting Licenses (*Gemeenschapsbos*, previously named *Houtkapvergunning – HKV*) (*SBB bosbouwlegger*, September 2017).

The denial of traditional rights to land for Indigenous peoples by the GoS has been a matter of frustration for many years. The *kapitein* of Cassipora reported that the village has filed a formal request to obtain a land title to the former National Forest Service (*Dienst 's Lands Bosbeheer -LBB*) terrain around the village already four times (2003, 2014, 2016, 2017), but the land title was never obtained. Recent demarcation of the traditional home lands (Figure 2) should support such requests. The GoS has indicated that the villages can apply for Community Forest, but such a land title is temporary, and specifically for the purpose of timber production. The Indigenous communities, by contrast, want unlimited rights to their traditional living and usufruct areas, for the purpose of hunting, fishing, logging, collection of non-timber forest products, and other uses, including conservation¹⁶.

¹⁶ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers com. 15/10/17

Figure 4. Land use map of the Lokono villages of East Para district (source: VIDS) (map also provided as separate document)



3.2 DEMOGRAPHICS

3.2.1 Population numbers and structure

Because of migratory movements, there are many individuals and families from the village that live in Paramaribo during the week, but return in weekends and during holidays. As a result, the villages have both permanent and temporary (weekend/holiday) residents (Table 1). In Cassipora, the *kapitein* reported that there are 40 permanent households in the village, plus five households that are in the process of constructing a home in the village, plus another ten families that are living in Paramaribo but have a house in the village and are actively involved in community matters¹⁷. In Redi Doti, it was estimated that there are 140 to 150 permanent residents, but 232 persons with ties to the villages if they include the people who come on weekends and holidays and participate in village affairs¹⁸. Respondents in the different villages agreed that even if a person is not living permanently in the village, this person is still considered a member of the village if he or she is involved in village matters. In Pierre Kondre Kumbasi villagers pay village tax. Compliance with this obligation determines whether one is recognized as a village member. The *kapitein* of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi commented on the challenge to maintain a good relationship between the villagers that live in Paramaribo and those who live permanently in the village¹⁹.

Unlike in Maroon communities, the inhabitants of Indigenous communities typically live at some distance from one another. The *kapitein* of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi emphasized that indigenous peoples like their peace and quiet; they do not want to be bothered by noise from neighbors or outsiders²⁰. This statement was endorsed by the *kapitein* of Cassipora and *basjas* from Powakka²¹. As a result, the villages are broadly dispersed and houses are typically built some distance from the road.

Table 1. Estimated number of inhabitable houses, permanently inhabited houses, and households²² in the Carolina communities²³

	Houses of non-permanent residents	Permanently inhabited houses ²⁴	# Surveyed Households	% households surveyed
Philipusdorp	10	56	121*	40.1%*
Powakka	15-20	246		
Redi Doti	1	54	30	55.6%
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	31	15	10	66.7%
Cassipora	10	40	21	52.2%

* Powakka and Philipusdorp were surveyed under one name and from the EBS dataset it is not possible to distinguish between the two.

Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

¹⁷ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora pers. com. 15/10/17

¹⁸ Mr. Sabajo, head *basja*, pers. com. 9/10/17

¹⁹ Mr. Read, *kapitein* Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, pers. com. 23/10/17
pers. com. 23/10/17

²¹ Validation meeting, pers. com. 30/10/17

²² A household was defined as a group of persons who share meals and sleep in the same home for at least seven out of the 12 months in a year, or who jointly manage household finances.

²³ Information about the number of non-resident households and permanent households was obtained during community consultations, and confirmed during the validation meeting of October 30th, 2017a

²⁴ This figure was provided by during meetings with the village authorities of the various communities.

The EBS survey targeted a specific number of households per village, using a random sampling design in cases where the actual number of households exceeded the target number of households. In surveyed households, demographic information was recorded for all household members²⁵. Table 2 presents the numbers of adult men and women (18 and older) and the numbers of boys and girls under the age of 18 in surveyed households in the Indigenous communities of East Para. Because not all households were surveyed, the real numbers of male and female community inhabitants was extrapolated based on the counted or reported real number of permanent households. Table 2 also presents the extrapolated population numbers, as well as the population numbers reported a year ago by Rijdsdijk (2016).

Based on extrapolations, the total number of inhabitants in the target communities is estimated at 1653 individuals. The largest group of community members are men ages 18 and older (581), followed by women (474), boys younger than 18 years (334) and girls (262). Powakka has the largest population, while Pierre Kondre Kumbasi counts the lowest number of inhabitants.

For all but one community, the extrapolated population numbers are higher than the population numbers reported in the VIDS study (Rijdsdijk, 2016). One explanation is that village representatives may have over-estimated the number of permanent households in their communities. Another explanation, mentioned by community representatives in different villages, is that in the past year several families have returned to the Indigenous communities to permanently live there. Different factors have contributed to this re-migration to interior villages, including the current national crisis and high living expenses in Paramaribo, and asphaltting of the road, construction of the Carolina bridge and availability of 24 hour electricity. The head-*basja* of Redi Doti, for example, mentioned that with the electricity, a public housing project, an elementary school with teacher housing, and a clinic, young families no longer leave the community and instead new people have arrived²⁶.

Table 2. Numbers of adult men and women, and numbers of boys and girls under the age of 18 counted in surveyed households, plus in [brackets] the extrapolated population numbers

	Men	Women	Girls <18	Boys <18	Total	Pop. in Rijdsdijk, 2016	Av. Household size
Powakka	175 [437]	148 [369]	77 [192]	108 [270]	508 [1268]	902	4.2
Philipusdorp						171	
Redi Doti	34 [61]	30 [54]	9 [16]	20 [36]	93 [167]	155	3.1
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	16 [24]	10 [15]	11 [16]	9 [13]	46 [69]	50	4.6
Cassipora	31 [59]	19 [36]	20 [38]	8 [15]	78 [149]	175	3.7
Total	256 [581]	207 [474]	117 [262]	145 [334]	725 [1653]	1453	4.0

Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data; extrapolations based on figures stated during community consultations

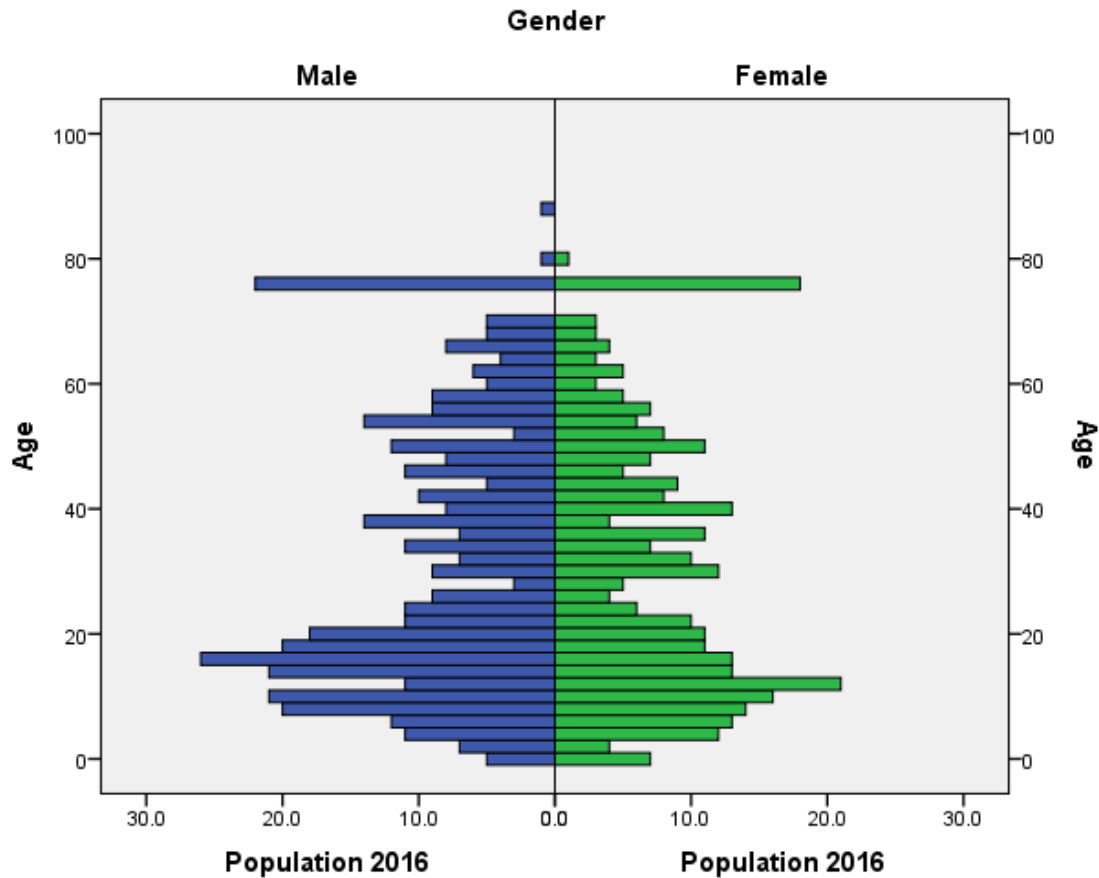
²⁵ A household member was defined as someone who in at least 7 out of the past 12 months regularly slept and ate with the other household members, OR who provides an economically important contribution to the household.

²⁶ Mr. Sabajo, head *basja* Redi Doti, pers. com. 19/10/2017.

Based on the EBS data a population pyramid was constructed for the target communities. The population pyramid suggests that the communities count quite a number of elderly persons (the large bar at age 75 represents all persons older than 70). Consulted village representatives suggested that this observation may be explained by the fact that after the civil war, especially elderly people returned from Paramaribo to their home communities. Meanwhile younger people, who were working in the city, stayed behind.

The population pyramid shows a dent for the age cohort between roughly the ages 25-40. This dent is likely caused by (temporary) labor migration to Paramaribo. The communities count quite a number of children and youngsters in the ages ~8 to 20, but the number of young children under the age of 8 is relatively low. Consulted community representatives from Cassipora suggested that the low number of young children may be a consequence of the out migration of young families, to work and send their children to school in Paramaribo.

Figure 5. Population pyramid for the communities of Powakka, Redi Doti, Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi²⁷



Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

²⁷ The large number of persons recorded as being age 75 can be explained by the fact that during the survey, the age of persons older than age 70 was not exactly recorded. For the purpose of construction of the population pyramid, the age of all these people was set at 75 years of age. In reality, this bar represents all people who are older than 70.

In other communities it was observed, however, that since the arrival of 24 hour electricity (Jan-May 2017), young families are more inclined to stay in the village. It is possible, therefore, that the shape of the population pyramid has shifted somewhat, especially for the larger, less isolated villages with public facilities (school, clinic), such as Powakka and Redi Doti. In Powakka, for example, community members mentioned that the population structure in Cassipora, where there are many elderly persons, is very different from that in Powakka, where there are more young families. Representatives from Powakka and Philipusdorp also mentioned that given their close proximity to Paramaribo, people working in Paramaribo no longer need to migrate, but they stay in the village and drive back and forth. Especially given the high and increasing living expenses in Paramaribo, more people now prefer to commute. There are also school children who use the school bus to attend high school or university in Paramaribo. Hence improved access has reduced the need to leave the village and migrate to the city.

3.2.2 Migration patterns

In past decades, Indigenous peoples from the Carolina communities have had different motivations to migrate. The *kapitein* of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi explained that in the early 1900's villagers moved to other villages such as Bernharddorp. Vernooij (1992) reports that after World War II, Powakka became increasingly connected to the coastal area through the Afobakka road and a ferry connection. As a result, many villagers left to work elsewhere. With new developments of Suralco and the National Forest Service (*'s Lands Bosbeheer* -LBB) some villagers found local employment and were more likely to stay in their village. More recently in Cassipora and Redi Doti, the presence of Blaka Watra (vacation resort), SEMC NV (Suriname Earth Moving Contractors) and Antino Minerals has brought employment opportunities. The *kapitein* of Cassipora reported that the village, which manages the Blaka Watra vacation resort, tries to accommodate as many villagers as possible at Blaka Watra to allow people to earn an income in the area and prevent out-migration²⁸. Yet people still leave the area to search for employment.

During the Interior War (1986-1992), Powakka was evacuated for a brief period to escape violence, but the inhabitants returned soon afterwards (Vernooij, 1992). For the communities of Cassipora, Redi Doti, and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi it is reported that during the Interior War, many individuals moved to Paramaribo or other Indigenous communities²⁹. In Cassipora, mostly elderly people returned after the Interior War, while many young families stayed in the city for work and schooling of the children.

As a result of the migratory movements, the villages consist of three groups of people:

- People who are registered in the village and live in the village
- People who are registered in the village but live (during the week) elsewhere
- People who are not registered in the village, but live there

Neither of these groups has more or less rights than others to participate in community decision-making processes. In fact, individuals and families that have left the village often continue to play an important role in village decisions and development. The *kapitein* of Cassipora reported that when there is a village meeting, invitations are also sent to these villagers in Paramaribo, and when they are available they

²⁸ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora pers. com. 15/10/17

²⁹ Gravenstijn 2011; Rijswijk, 2016; confirmed by M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

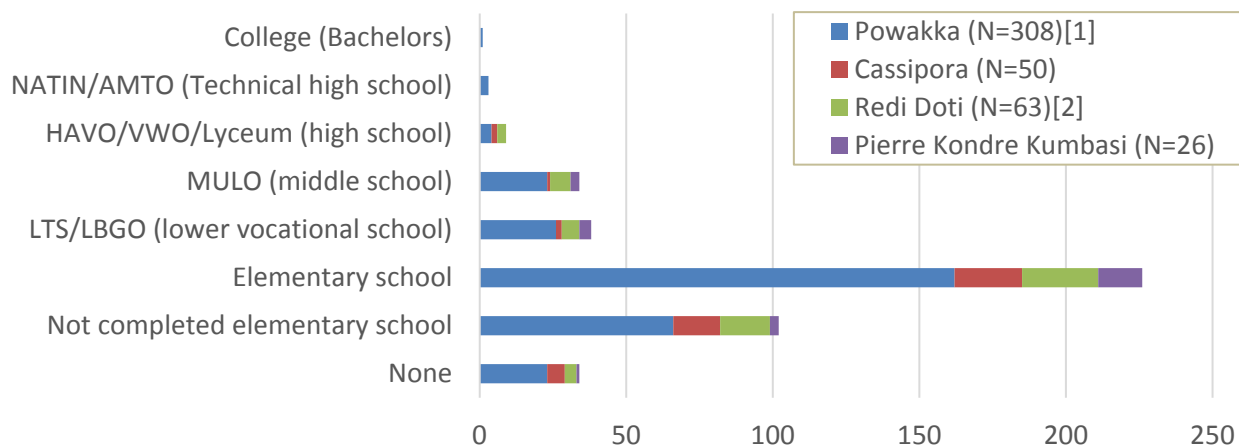
typically come to attend³⁰. These people have as much voice in village meetings as permanent residents, as long as they sign the participation sheet. In Cassipora, persons who do not want to sign off on the participation list do not have a right to speak in meetings (ibid.). Also when there have been road blocks to protest against heavy logging truck traffic on the local roads, Indigenous villagers now living in Paramaribo have come to participate. In other situations, for example when government food aid or school supplies are distributed, the *kapitein* sees to it that families living in the village are supplied first (ibid.).

In other villages, similar comments were made. For example, representatives of Powakka, Philipusdorp and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi confirmed that people who often visit the village and are clearly involved, also have a right to vote and participate in village meetings³¹. In Redi Doti, the head *basja* indicated that as long as one has a connection with the village, one is allowed to participate in village politics and vote. However, one has to clearly contribute. For example, someone who never helped with cleaning the village, cannot come to cast a vote in a meeting about the succession of a *kapitein* or *basja*.

The close connection of the Indigenous villages with village members in Paramaribo is also apparent in the fact that the *kapiteins* of the Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi live in Paramaribo.

3.2.3 Educational achievement

Data from the EBS survey suggest that average educational achievement in the Carolina communities is low (Table 3). Almost one third of adults in the target communities has not completed elementary school (30.4%), including 7.6 percent of individuals who never even started school. Less than a quarter of persons 18 years and older completed some form of continued education (middle or high school, or vocational school) after elementary school. The largest share of these individuals either completed lower vocational education (8.5%) or middle school (7.6%) without obtaining a higher degree. Only twelve individuals (2.7%) reported completion of high school level education.



[1] excluding 15 unknown cases

[2] excluding 1 unknown case

Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

³⁰ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora pers. com. 15/10/17

³¹ This was confirmed during the validation meeting, October 30th, 2017.

As compared to other Carolina communities, adults in Cassipora had completed, on average, relatively lower levels of formal education. Cassipora counted relatively more individuals 18 years and older who had never completed elementary school, and the lowest proportion of persons who had continued education after high school.

There are signs that educational achievement in the younger generation will be higher. In 2016, 94.1 percent of all children and youngsters in the age group 6 to 17 was still in school.

Table 3. Highest level of education completed by community inhabitants 18 years and older.

Highest education completed	Powakka (N=308) ³²	Redi Doti (N=63) ³³	Pierre Kondre Kumbasi (N=26)	Cassipora (N=50)	Total (N=447) ³⁴
None	23 (7.5%)	4 (6.3%)	1 (3.8%)	6 (12%)	34 (7.6%)
Started but not completed elementary school	66 (21.4%)	17 (27%)	3 (11.5%)	16 (32%)	102 (22.8%)
Elementary school	162 (52.6%)	26 (41.3%)	15 (57.7%)	23 (46%)	226 (50.6%)
LTS/LBGO (lower vocational school)	26 (8.4%)	6 (9.4%)	4 (15.4%)	2 (4%)	38 (8.5%)
MULO (middle school)	23 (7.5%)	7 (11.1%)	3 (11.5%)	1 (2%)	34 (7.6%)
HAVO/VWO/Lyceum (high school)	4 (1.3%)	3 (4.8%)	0	2 (2.6%)	9 (2%)
NATIN/AMTO (Technical school, high school level)	3 (1%)	0	0	0	3 (0.7%)
College (Bachelors)	1 (0.3%)	0	0	0	1 (0.2%)

Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

Community consultations suggests that with improved accessibility, youngsters who attend high school or university in Paramaribo can continue to live in their interior village. For example, a couple of youth from Redi Doti and Powakka attend continued education in Paramaribo; the school bus leaves the villages daily at –respectively- 4:30 am and 5:00 am to get the children to school in time.

3.3 INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

3.3.1 Acculturation and culture loss

The loss of traditional knowledge and culture in the Indigenous villages of East Para has been reported in several studies (Gajepersad, 2005; Gravenstijn, 2010; Nankoe, 2013). Different factors have caused this trend. First, Christianization and pressure from the church to abandon Indigenous religions has affected maintenance of traditional culture (Gravenstijn, 2011; Gajapersad, 2005).

³² Excluding 15 unknown cases

³³ Excluding 1 unknown case

³⁴ Excluding 16 unknown cases

Secondly, during the Interior War (1986-1992) many families migrated either permanently or temporarily. As a result, urban lifestyles with television, radio, and contact with outsiders, increasingly influenced the traditional way of life (Vernooij, 1992; Gravenstijn, 2011).

In the third place, also after the interior war, increasing external influences have affected cultural maintenance and preservation of the culture (Gravenstijn, 2011). In the past decades, the Indigenous communities of East Para have become more accessible due to infrastructural improvements, such as construction and later pavement of the Afobakka road (ibid.) and construction of the new Carolina bridge (2014). As a direct result of improved access, tourists now visit the communities in larger numbers. And vice versa, it has become easier for villagers to buy products in Paramaribo and market their products in the city. Moreover, the presence of Suralco, SEMC NV., and other firms has brought outside laborers to the area. Meanwhile the relatively limited local employment opportunities still force many Indigenous individuals to search employment in other communities or in Paramaribo (Gravenstijn, 2011).

Fourth, and related to the above, an increasing number of individuals from other -indigenous or non-indigenous- cultures came to live in the Indigenous communities of East Para. Community inhabitants reported that the increasingly mixed composition of the villages has contributed to cultural change³⁵.

And finally, there is the growing influence of television, especially with the new (2016) connection to the national electricity grid.

In a study on multi-lingualism and cultural identity among youth in Cassipora, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, Gravenstijn (2011) finds that in all listed villages, specific cultural expressions such as traditional dance and music have deteriorated. Traditional singing, dancing and music still exists but are seldom practiced. For Redi Doti, it is reported that traditional singing and dancing continue to be practiced, but now with electronic instruments rather than the traditional instruments. In Cassipora there is a music group named “Wewatho” (we are it), which plays modern Indigenous music in Sranantongo and Lokono.

Nowadays Indigenous hammocks are seldom fabricated. Only elderly people still know the skills of fabricating hammocks from white cotton (*Gossypium Spp.*) or fibers of the Morisi palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*). Folklore costumes for tourism purposes are still made, but the production process has changed. Nowadays, for example, women often use wool from Paramaribo instead of raw cotton. The traditional models are changed based on western fashion or models from other Indigenous groups.

In all villages, working together collaboratively (Lok: *nekobotang* ; Kaliña: *moshiro*) is still practiced and remains culturally significant (Gravenstijn, 2011).

3.3.2 Language

In Cassipora, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, Suriname’s lingua franca Sranantongo has strongly influenced use of Indigenous languages (Gravenstijn 2011). Not only is Sranantongo increasingly a

³⁵ Validation meeting, October 30th, 2017.

primary language; it also influences the Indigenous languages so that a hybrid language is formed, such as Lokono with Sranantongo pronunciation and words (ibid.).

Evidence suggests that Dutch and Sranantongo are increasingly replacing the indigenous languages as the main communication tool. Gravenstijn (2011) finds in Cassipora that the oldest generation (70+) speaks Lokono fluently, while they can get by in Sranantongo and seldom speak Dutch. Their children (ages 50-70) speak Lokono, Sranantongo and Dutch. People in the age group 30 to 50 typically do not speak Lokono fluently, and communicate with their parents in Sranantongo and Lokono. This generation speaks Dutch fluently. Their children (ages 0-30) often do not speak Lokono – with a few exceptions. Yet they are fluent in both Sranantongo and Dutch.

Similar results were obtained for Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi (Gravenstijn, 2011). While elders (70+) speak Kaliña and Lokono fluently, the youngest generation (0-30 years) is no longer able to communicate in these languages. Young people do speak fluent Sranantongo and Dutch.

The EBS survey asked for every household member 12 years and older, what language this person uses most often. Appendix B lists the responses, separated by community, gender and three age groups (12-17; 18-59; 60 and older), showing differences between villages and between generations within villages. Table 6 summarizes these responses by gender.

Only in the Lokono communities of Powakka and Cassipora, the surveyors encountered inhabitants who reported using their Indigenous Lokono language as the language they used most often. Indigenous language speakers were found in the different age groups, though older people (60+) were relatively more likely than adults (ages 18-59) and children (ages 12-18) to list Lokono as their most used language. In the Kaliña communities Pierre Kondre Kumbasi and Redi Doti, there were no people who reported the Indigenous language as their most used language (Annex B). Gender differences in likelihood to primarily speak an Indigenous language were not observed. Among both women and men, about one out of ten persons 12 years and older named an Indigenous language as their most used language.

The shares of men and women who listed Dutch as their most used language were similar; about one third of individuals. Youth in the ages 12 to 17 were most likely to name Dutch as their most used language. The fact that Dutch is the formal school language probably affects this result. At school no attention is paid to the Indigenous language, but neither are children discouraged from speaking it among each other³⁶. Very few children speak the Indigenous language as their first language (Annex 3) and they do not use it to communicate to each other, so it is not perceived by teachers as a barrier to learning proper Dutch³⁷.

In 2010-2013, VIDS implemented a bilingual intercultural math education program in the Indigenous communities Galibi and Donderskamp. This program was introduced to the primary school in Powakka

³⁶ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

³⁷ This is very different from the Maroon communities, where the tribal language is typically the language that children grow up with, speak at home and among one another. Maroon children in interior communities often start school not speaking any Dutch.

but not executed. In Redi Doti, there was reportedly a school project to promote knowledge of the indigenous language, but the new principle abandoned this project. VIDS is now looking at ways in which the indigenous language can become part of the school curriculum. Among others, VIDS is working on the Penard’s Kari’na Encyclopedia project. A kaliña story and a song in the Kaliña language are part of this project, and will be introduced in the school of Redi Doti³⁸.

Sranantongo is the most used language for a majority of individuals over the age of 12; in all age groups, in all communities, and among both women and men (Annex B). The only exception are women in Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, who relatively more often named Dutch as the language they preferred to use in daily life. These findings are in line with the results of the 2011 study by Gravenstijn, who found that Sranantongo was the most used language in 72 percent of households she interviewed in Cassipora, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi (N=52).

Three women and one men interviewed during the EBS survey reported sign language as their most used language. All four individuals lived in Powakka. The presence of hearing impaired inhabitants in Powakka was also observed by Vernooij, in 1992.

Table 4. Language most used by individual men and women (all 4 communities)³⁹; Absolute number (N) and percentage (%). Only individuals 12 years and older.

	Indigenous	Dutch	Sranantongo	Sign language
Men	33 (10.1%)	100 (30.7%)	192 (58.9%)	1 (0.3%)
Women	26 (10.5%)	86 (34.7%)	133 (53.6%)	3 (1.2%)
Total	59 (10.3%)	186 (32.4%)	325 (56.6%)	4 (0.7%)

Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

Note that the above data on languages does not say anything about the proportion of people who are able to speak their Indigenous language; it only is an indication of what language people use most often in their daily lives.

The questionnaire also asked for each individual in surveyed households if the person was able to speak and understand Dutch. Also this question was only addressed to individuals 12 years and older (Table 5). In the communities of Powakka, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi half or more of the men and women ages 12 and over, self-reported being fluent in Dutch (with the exception of women in Powakka, among whom 42.5% reported being fluent in Dutch).

In the community of Cassipora, the proportion of people who reported speaking fluent Dutch was lower; 18.2 percent of men and 30.8 percent of women. Also, one out of every five women in Cassipora reported speaking no Dutch at all or just a few words. On the other hand is Cassipora the community where youth are most likely to speak an Indigenous language. Youth in this village are typically raised in three languages: Lokono, Sranantongo and Dutch, and parents actively use Lokono words and sentences

³⁸ Ms. Read, teacher, pers. com. 30/10/17; commented during the validation session.

³⁹ See Annex D for specifications per age group and per community.

during daily chores (Gravenstijn, 2011). People often switch back and forth between the three languages within one conversation.

As compared to inhabitants of the other communities, inhabitants of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi reported the best Dutch speaking skills. There was not much difference between women and men in their ability to speak Dutch (EBS data). Knowledge of the Indigenous language, however, is lower than in Cassipora, especially among youth. Parents in Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi usually speak Sranantongo and Dutch with their children, while Lokono and Kaliña are very little or not at all spoken in the household context (Gravenstijn, 2011). In one conversation, or even in one sentence, people switch back and forth between Sranantongo and Dutch.

Table 5. Dutch language proficiency among inhabitants of the Carolina communities, 12 years and older, by community and gender.

	Men			Women		
	Not at all/ just a few words	Sufficient to make myself understood	Fluently	Not at all/ Just a few words	Sufficient to make myself understood	Fluently
Powakka	10 (4.4%)	106 (46.3%)	113 (49.3%)	11 (6.3%)	89 (51.1%)	74 (42.5%)
Redi Doti	1 (2.5%)	18 (45%)	21 (52.5%)	2 (6.3%)	11 (34.4%)	19 (59.4%)
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	0	7 (31.8%)	15 (68.2%)	0	4 (30.8%)	9 (69.2%)
Cassipora	1 (3%)	26 (78.8%)	6 (18.2%)	5 (19.2%)	13 (50%)	8 (30.8%)
TOTAL	12 (4.9%)	157 (48.5%)	155 (47.8%)	18 (7.3%)	117 (47.8%)	110 (44.9%)

Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

3.3.3 Religion and rituals

Non-traditional religion

The Catholic Church has a long history of missionary activity in the Carolina area. Catholic churches have been established in Cassipora, Powakka, and Redi Doti in the late 19th century/early 20th century (e.g. Vernooij, 1992; Gravenstijn, 2011), and in Philipusdorp since January 2017. Pierre Kondre Kumbasi is influenced by the Moravian church because its location across the river from the Evangelical (*Evangelische Broeder Gemeenschap* – EBG) village Carolina. Years ago pastors from this village visited Pierre Kondre Kumbasi to preach their religion. However, Pierre Kondre Kumbasi has no church. Nowadays, those who want to attend church typically visit the Catholic church in Redi Doti⁴⁰.

The *kapiteins* of different villages reported that they did not allow other church societies to build a prayer house in the community⁴¹. They had observed elsewhere that the presence of multiple churches can divide the community⁴². Moreover, some of the other churches are hostile towards expressions of

⁴⁰ Mr. Read, *kapitein* Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, pers. com. 23/10/17

⁴¹ This was reported in Cassipora, Redi Doti, and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi.

⁴² M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

traditional Indigenous culture⁴³. An example was provided in Redi Doti, where two years back, a traditional spiritual healer (*du-man*) burned down his *tokai* (piai hut) and related shrine after he had been converted to a Pentecostal or Jehovah society. The head *basja* of Redi Doti also lamented that people who attend “another church” (but the Catholic church), no longer attend village meetings and refrain from participation in cultural rituals. The Catholic Church was said to be much more tolerant towards expressions of traditional Indigenous religion⁴⁴. The kapitein of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi confirmed that the Roman Catholic church in Redi Doti is very tolerant. As an example, he mentioned that during International Indigenous Day (national holiday) people were allowed to play the *sambura* (traditionale Indigenous drums) in the church⁴⁵.

Even though other church societies have not be allowed to build a church structure in the Carolina villages, the Pentecostal Church (*Volle Evangelie*) and Jehovah’s Witnesses do have a presence in the villages. Members of these church communities organize their praying sessions at home.

Despite long-term presence of the church and considerable church attendance, the Indigenous communities continue to attribute great importance to Indigenous belief systems and rituals. The head *basja* of Redi Doti mentioned that in that village, there are no people who only follow the indigenous religion.

Piai

The traditional spiritual leaders of the Lokono and Kaliña are the shamans or *piai* (Litt: someone with knowledge, a teacher). A *piai* is an intermediary between the human world and the supernatural world. He brings himself into a trance to establish contact with the *wintis* (supernatural being; spirit) to be in touch with the supernatural world. *Piai* is a gift; he is born with it, it cannot be learned. The gift will manifest itself in the child, and it will then be recognized by its family members.

In Redi Doti, there is an active *piai*. He performs his rituals in the *piai* hut or *tokai*, a hut constructed of palm leaves. In front of the hut is a shrine, which consists of a wood structure resembling a man, about 1.5m in height, wrapped in a piece of cloth with Maroon traditional print (*pangi*). Next to the *tokai* is another hut, which is referred to as *Ndyuka kampu* (Ndyuka Maroon hut). The Indigenous *wintis* house in the *tokai*; the Maroon *wintis* are in the *Ndyuka kampu*. The *piai* can consult either type of *winti*, and uses both shrines.

Two sons of the former, now deceased *piai* in Pierre Kondre Kumbasi have inherited parts of father’s spiritual healing powers and are treating patients for different ailments. They work with these powers for traditional spiritual consultation. Patients also come from other communities, including Maroon communities. Philipuskondre, Cassipora and Powakka do not have a *piai* in their village.

Both women and men can become *piai*; it depends on whether you have been chosen by the spiritual world.

⁴³ G. Sabajo, head *basja* Redi Doti, pers. com. 19/10/2017

⁴⁴ Mentioned in the focus groups in Powakka and Philipusdorp, in Cassipora, and in Redi Doti.

⁴⁵ Mr. Read, *kapitein* Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, pers. com. 23/10/17

Libation

Indigenous rituals are performed with important events, for example, at the start of planting on a new plot or as part of the first stone ceremony for a new building. Libation is often part of such rituals; using a calabash with water, soft drink, or beer. In Cassipora only water is used for libation. Representatives of all villages reported that libation needs to be executed in the traditional language⁴⁶.

Traditional prayers may be directed at the Christian God, but also at ancestors or at a variety of spirits of the earth (Gron Mama), water (Kriki Mama) or other natural elements. Both women and men can perform libation rituals. In different communities, it was reported that some individuals attending the Evangelical church no longer want to perform libation or be present. In Powakka, for example, the *kapitein* does not perform libation because she is a member of an Evangelical church society. If libation needs to be done, she asks someone else to do it.

Libation can be done by either men or women, and does not necessarily need to be done by the *kapitein*. *Kapitein* Fernandes from Cassipora reported that she sometimes deliberately lets the newer *basjas* perform libation so that they can practice this skill.

Taboos

As part of their traditional belief system, Indigenous peoples adhere to certain taboos. Like the Maroons, Indigenous peoples traditionally adhere to menstrual taboos, but these taboos are no longer strictly obeyed in all Indigenous communities of East Para. In all villages, representatives reported that when a woman has her period, she is not allowed to enter the creek or river. In Cassipora, women in their period also are not allowed to go to the forest, make and distribute *kasiri* (fermented cassava drink), clean a burial site, or come near a *piai* or cook for him. In Cassipora, these rules are reportedly followed by all women⁴⁷.

In Redi Doti, it was reported that a woman in her period can stay at home and should rest. She is not allowed to enter the forest. The husband will go alone to the agricultural plot. Traditionally, a woman may not cook for anyone, including her children, and not touch the pots and pans – though some men are not bothered by it. Also in Powakka and Philipusdorp it was mentioned that whether or not a woman can cook depends on whether there are boys or men in the house who have *trefu* (sensitivity to a certain taboo). Visiting the cemetery is not allowed during menstruation. Further, women in Powakka and Philipusdorp can do their usual things during their period, just take it easy. The *kapitein* of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi reported that older women typically do not cook for males during their period, but young girls no longer follow such rules.

There are also taboos that apply to creeks; especially with regard to what one can and cannot throw in the creek. Mapane is a place of special spiritual significance, and specific taboos must be obeyed when visiting this place. The day prior to visiting Mapane, the word “Mapane” may not be spoken. Once one is

⁴⁶ validation meeting 30/10/17. Also, Interview with Kapitein Fernandes of Cassipora, October 15, 2017.

⁴⁷ M. Fernandes, kapitein Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

at Mapane, other words cannot be spoken, such as “cassava”, “machete” and “salt”. Failure to obey such taboos can lead to illness and even death⁴⁸.

Urinating and defecation is not allowed just anywhere. It is important that visitors report to the village authorities, so that they can be informed about the specifics of these regulations.

Rites of passage

Rituals around pregnancy and child birth have virtually vanished. In Cassipora, the kapitein mentioned that traditionally, a pregnant woman was not allowed to eat ice, banana, monkey meat, and turtle. She also was not allowed to bend the cassava bread before eating it, and to sit with a bent back. The spouse of a pregnant woman had to obey hunting and fishing restrictions. Nowadays few young couples follow these rules.

In Powakka and Philipusdorp, it was mentioned that after child birth, the mother and her newborn stay at home for a week. After that week there is a party (*kuma watra*), and the baby will receive presents. In Pierre Kondre Kumbasi a newborn should stay in the house the first eight days of his/her life⁴⁹, in Redi Doti six weeks. After this period the baby can be brought out and can be shown to the village; usually with a small celebration. In Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, it was observed that young parents nowadays may hold a joint celebration with more than one baby, to share expenses. This celebration is more symbolic and not necessarily exactly on the eight day⁵⁰. The kapitein of this village also reported that the father of a newborn is not allowed to hunt or fish in this first week; he should also stay in and around the house. In Redi Doti, the mother of a newborn was said to stay near the home for about three months, during which time she will not go to the forest⁵¹.

Also rites of passage that used to be held for youngsters entering adulthood have mostly disappeared. In the past, when a girl experienced menarche (first menstruation), she would have to stay for a week long in a corner of the house or in a separate hut. The *kapitein* from Cassipora explained that during this week, the girl would have to get up at 4 am to bathe. In the early morning she would get young Morisi palm to weave a hammock. At 6am, she would return to her secluded location, where she would have to clean raw cotton of impurities to prepare for weaving. The only person visiting the girl was an elderly woman. During these seven days, the girl would get hardly any food and no rice. Every day, she would only receive one hummingbird to eat; half in the morning and half in the afternoon, and a small calabash with water. The reason for this period of fasting was that the girl would learn to get through periods of scarcity. On the eight day, when the girl would come outside, she would receive a traditional shoulder cloth or traditional clothing and a large calabash with *kasiri* to drink. At this moment she would also get advice about how to live her life as a woman. From this day on she was considered an adult woman.

The *kapitein* of Cassipora mentioned that most parents no longer submit their daughters to this ritual; it still happens but it is rare, depending on the family⁵². In many cases, the girl will just stay at home for a

⁴⁸ M. Farnandes, kapitein Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

⁴⁹ Validation meeting: Ms. Yvonne Herman (pres. women association), Pierre Kondre Kumbasi.

⁵⁰ L. Read, kapitein Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, pers. com. 23/10/17

⁵¹ Mr. Sabajo, Basja Redi Doti, pers. com. 07/11/17

⁵² M. Farnandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

week. In Powakka, respondents reported that in most families, the girl will still stay separate from her family for a week, until she is “clean” again. During this week she has to fast; she is not allowed to eat chicken or other city food; only a small piece of cassava bread and some fish or bush meat. In the early days there would be a party after the week of seclusion, but this does not happen anymore. In some cases the girl gets presents, such as a necklace or a traditional shoulder cloth. Now the girl is a woman and she is expected to laugh less and perform female chores, such as grating cassava.

In Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, inhabitants do not perform any coming of age rituals anymore at all. The mother will just talk with the girl to explain how to behave properly as a woman.

For boys, there are no elaborate rites of passage to mark their transition to manhood. An older man will talk with the boy about his changed role in society, and he will go hunt or fish with his father. When a boy has turned 20, he may enter the forest alone to hunt and shoot with a hunting gun.

In the early days, girls and boys who were unruly or cheeky were subjected to the wasp-test or ants-test as part of the initiation rituals⁵³. Wasps or stingy ants were woven into a mat, and the mat would be pressed to the youngsters’ bare back. The boy or girl would have to endure the pain without making noise. This ritual is no longer performed.

Rituals surrounding death depend on whether the family wishes to perform the burial ceremonies according to the Catholic Church or according to the traditional religion. In the case of a funeral for someone with an important position/role in the community, traditional rites are usually performed (possibly in addition to the church rituals). A *Sambura* music group will perform. In Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, it was reported that originally, there was a celebration to end the mourning period one year after the person had passed away. During this ritual, close family of the deceased (e.g. children) drink a lot of *kasiri*. Next they will bath and subsequently force themselves to throw up. Next, the family will cut their hair. Nowadays, this celebration is usually held a week after the person is interred, in line with Christian rituals that are common in Suriname. Older people in the community disapprove of this shortened mourning period⁵⁴. In Cassipora, similar *aiti dee* (eight-day) rituals were reported (i.e. drinking *kasiri*, vomiting and cutting hair). In this village it was commented that the mourning period can be 3, 6 or 12 months. However, now everything has become so expensive, people often immediately finish the mourning period after the *aiti dee* rituals⁵⁵.

In Powakka, Philipusdorp and Redi Doti, such rituals are not performed. A week after a person is buried, the family hold an *aiti dee* but it is more like a regular get together to commemorate the deceased person, during which they pray⁵⁶.

Sacred trees and animals

In the traditional religion, certain trees, plants and animals have special spiritual meaning. Interestingly some of these beliefs are very similar to those in the Maroon winti religions. It was observed that only

⁵³ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

⁵⁴ Ms. I. Read, school teacher at Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, pers. com. 07/11/17.

⁵⁵ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

⁵⁶ P. Sabajo, *kapitein* of Powakka, pers. com. 07/11/17; Basja Sabajo of Redi Doti, pers. com. 07/11/17

very few respondents named examples of sacred plants/trees and animals; others denied the special significance or were simply not familiar with it.

- Some respondents reported that the Kankantrie (Lat: *Ceiba pentandra*) is a sacred tree, which may not be cut. Others said, however, that the kankantrie is simply a very large tree, but without spiritual significance⁵⁷.
- The tobacco tree, pepper tree and Takini-tree are trees in which strong ghosts live (only mentioned in Cassipora; unknown in the other communities).
- The kapitein of Cassipora reported that there is a specific vine in the forest that you are not allowed to cut. When you cut it, it spills red tree sap, and you will also start to bleed. Representatives from other communities, however, had not heard about this vine.
- The *kapitein* of Cassipora also reported that in the forest, when one observes certain termite heaps or wood worms with white foam, these may not be removed. This was not mentioned by other indigenous respondents, though it has been heard before from Maroon people.
- In the forest, one may see heaps with termites, with white foam on it. You cannot remove these places.
- The Boa Constrictor/ Suriname Redtailed Boa (Sur: *tapijtslang*), which also in the winti religion has high spiritual significance, may not be killed. If one kills it coincidentally, bad things will happen. Smaller snakes may be killed when they enter your living space. For example, the poisonous fer-de-lance (Lat: *Bothrops atrox*; Sur: *labaria*) snake may be killed since it can pose a threat.

3.3.4 Traditional knowledge of plants

A recent study about the collection of Non Timber Forest Products (NTFPs) by women in the communities of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, Redi Doti and Cassipora suggests that particularly women collect a large variety of plant and animal products from the forest (Nankoe, 2013). These products include plants and plant parts to make jewelry, palm fruits (podosiri, kumbu, morisi, awara, maripa, moeri) and other edible plants (e.g. sugar cane and kasjoe); and medicinal plants.

A study in Powakka finds that both women and men collect NTFPs, including medicinal plants, construction materials, and plants to fabricate utensils (e.g. bow and arrow, rope, hammock) (Gajapersad, 2005). In addition, plants are used for fishing and hunting purposes. For example, specific plants are used as bait or to stupefy fish, but plants also may be used to brew potions for good luck and/or protection of the fisher/hunter.

Medicinal plants are used for a wide variety of illnesses, injuries and conditions, ranging from fever and eye infections, to diabetes, abortion, and various types of wounds and skin ulcers (Gajapersad 2005). Some individuals who rely on medicinal plants attribute healing powers to these plants by themselves, while other people combine plant use with rituals. As compared to elders, youth are much less knowledgeable about medicinal plants (Gajapersad, 2005). Moreover, many youngsters do not seem interested in learning this type of traditional knowledge (ibid.).

In Cassipora, Powakka and Philipusdorp there are *dresiman* or traditional healers. In Powakka, there are also six men with special gifts who are specialized in a certain type of medicine; in Philipusdorp there is

⁵⁷ M. Fernandes, Kapitein Cassipora. Confirmed during validation meeting by Mr. Martin Pursi – Cassipora and Ms. Ingrid Read (vice-chairman women association) – Pierre Kondre Kumbasi

one such person. In Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi there are no traditional healers to treat regular illnesses.

Cassipora and Powakka also have traditional midwives. Pregnant women can choose whether they want to go to the Medical Mission clinic for prenatal care and delivery, or to the traditional midwife. When going to the traditional midwife, the pregnant woman also has to follow cultural rules (see above). For example, when a pregnant woman throws up, she has to eat cassava and meat while she sits on the toilet. After that she will stop throwing up. When a woman is pregnant and she follows the traditional rules, her spouse also has to follow certain rules, such as hunting and fishing restrictions. In Powakka, it was reported that while virtually all women deliver at the MZ clinic, the traditional midwife is called in for support in the case of complications. The traditional midwife also can turn the baby in the belly when it does not lay in the correct position. No traditional midwives were reported in Redi Doti, Philipusdorp and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi.

3.4 TANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Throughout the area, especially around the villages, there are numbers places with special spiritual, historic and/or cultural significance. Some places are physically recognizable, such as *tokai* houses and burial sites. Other places are less obvious to outsiders, but may be recognized by certain vegetation or landscape features. Below we summarize some of the important tangible heritage sites for the different communities, obtained from interviews with community representatives and from literature.

CASSIPORA

Blaka Watra (Lok: *Omadaro*); in the colonial era, *piai-men* brought Indigenous people here to bathe, so that they gained strength in their struggle against the colonial troops. When the early Indigenous settlers in the area were still exploring the area, they went to this location to pray.

Suikerdam, Adjabo: First village at Cassipora creek

Different creeks, incl: **Simonkriki**

Mopinti, Buradji sanale, Wakana le: Places where villagers go to pray.

Mapana: Village with spiritual meaning

Cemetery

REDI DOTI

Medicinal well with healing powers at Jodensavanne⁵⁸; Medicinal plants are collected in this area. Also important for tourism

Cordonpad; also important for tourism

Two Morisie trees near the river. These trees may not be cut or removed.

Tokai (Piai house); spiritual place to pray for protection of the village.

Gelderland: First school was established here

Cemetery

Drai; location near the new Carolina bridge where the village was established and ancestors have been buried.

⁵⁸ Jodensavanne is a UNESCO cultural heritage site.

POWAKKA

During the consultation meeting, village representatives explained that there are no places of traditional significance. This was verified during the validation meeting.

PHILIPPUS KONDRÉ

Protected forest: There are certain places in the forest that the community wants to preserve because they contain important resources. For example, tassi palm leaves, which are used for roofing, are now scarce, and hence the places where they are found are protected.

Place where people used to go for consultations with ancestors (no name was known). This place may not be disturbed.

PIERRE KONDRÉ KUMBASI

Place where the forefather, Mr. Pierre lived and is buried. Rituals are still performed here.

Topona: A place to bathe, with holy well water. One may not go there during menstruation

Place where the piai goes to give clients/patients a ritual bath

Cemetery

3.5 COMMUNITY AND HOUSEHOLD ECONOMICS

3.5.1 Village fund

All target villages have a village fund, which is used to finance community projects. The money in this fund mostly comes from logging, mining and tourism. As reported above, the communities of Pierre Kondré Kumbasi, Cassipora, Redi Doti and Powakka/Philipusdorp have logging rights in community forest concessions that are allocated to the specific communities⁵⁹. Powakka and Philipusdorp share a forest concession, of which the part closest to Philipusdorp is managed by this community, and the other part by Powakka. In some cases, (a part of) the community forest concession is leased to a logging company, which pays the community a certain fee per m³ of wood. This money is deposited in a community fund.

In Redi Doti, the community fund has been used to provide youth who are attending high school in Paramaribo with a monthly allowance. In addition, the community has used the money to build a new school and teachers' housing. When the principle of the school wants to organize a day trip with the school children, he or she can also ask the village fund for support. While there has not been logging on the community timber concession for some years now, the village fund receives money from the Jodensavanne tourist site, and from sand mining. Since January 2017, village entrepreneurs also are asked to contribute to the community fund. For example, the village government is looking at the best way to ask for a contributions from commercial pineapple producers.

In Powakka, villagers have worked wood for many years, but now there are few commercially attractive wood stands left on the community forest concessions. The new village government has declared that for the time being, it does not want to do timber production, but rather focus on sand mining. The

⁵⁹ For the location of these community forest concessions, see the SBB forest concession map, which is regularly updated: http://sbbsur.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Bosbouwlegger_A0_20171013.pdf

village is currently establishing a committee to manage sand mining activities and ensure that associated fees are deposited in the village fund⁶⁰.

Also in Philipusdorp, which shares a community forest concession with Powakka, there are currently no logging activities in the HKV. This community started with a village fund about a year ago. The inhabitants contribute monthly; 10 Srd for elderly and other low-income families, and 50 Srd for families that can afford it. Three persons from the community indicated to the *kapitein* that they wished to start commercial agriculture. It has been agreed that these entrepreneurs will also pay something to the village fund once they start harvesting. The money in the village fund is used, among others, to organize things for school children, for example a sports event⁶¹.

In Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, the Foundation for Agricultural Development Indigenous peoples Suriname (*Stichting Landbouwontwikkeling Inheemsen Suriname*) coordinates logging activities on the community forest concession. External entrepreneurs are no longer allowed to work on this concession, and instead the aim is to provide employment for local people. The Foundation pays the community fund 20 USD per m³ instead of 10 USD m³ (which was paid by the external entrepreneurs). Among other things, the fund will be used to buy a school bus to transport children to the elementary school in Redi Doti. In addition, the community would like to obtain ownership of the old (destroyed) Carolina bridge to develop it as a board walk, and develop an eco-tourism location. The community fund will be used to realize these plans.

In Cassipora, the community forest has not yet been developed, and the money in the community fund comes from the proceeds of the Blaka Watra tourist resort. The money is also mostly used to manage the resort; pay the laborers, certification of the life guards, garbage collection, cleaning, and so forth. In addition, the fund is used to support social projects. For example, the fund is used when a person passes away and the family does not have sufficient money to make all related arrangements, or when the school children have an educational school trip and certain parents are unable to pay the fee⁶².

3.5.2 Commercial services in the communities

Apart from Cassipora, all listed communities have a store. The inhabitants of Cassipora buy their groceries either in the villages of Redi Doti or Powakka, along the road to Paramaribo, or in the settlement of Paranam. The villagers also buy products collectively in Paramaribo and share the transport costs (Gravenstijn, 2011).

None of the communities has a banking institution or place where one could request micro-credit. In Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, there is an internet café or similar location where people from the community can use internet.

⁶⁰ trad. authorities Powakka, pers. com. 19/10/17

⁶¹ G. Kabelefodi, kapitein Philipusdorp. Pers. com. 08/11/17

⁶² M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 07/11/17

3.5.3 Most important occupations in the communities

Community representatives in Powakka, Philipusdorp, Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi named agriculture as the most important occupation in the community⁶³. Inhabitants of Philipusdorp process cassava and sell the products (e.g. cassava bread, cassava soup) at the Paramaribo Central Market. Until about five years ago this was the main income earning activity in this village, but nowadays young people prefer salaried work and some of them are employed with IamGold, nearby timber processing firms, and tourist resorts (e.g. Overbridge river resort)⁶⁴.

In Cassipora tourism was believed to be the most important occupation and industry, mostly related to the nearby Blaka Watra tourist resort, followed by agriculture. Other important jobs in the Indigenous communities of East Para included hunting/fishing, government job/public worker (*overheidsdienst*), logging and large-scale mining (Table 7). The latter category most likely referred to sand and gravel mining in this area, and not gold mining.

Commercial agriculture in the Carolina communities focusses mostly on the production of pineapple. Part of the pineapple production is sold in the city.

Table 6. Main occupations performed in the Carolina communities according to consulted key informants in 2016.

	Most common occupation	Second most important occupation	Third most important occupation
Powakka	Agriculture	Public worker	Job in large-scale mining
Redi Doti	Agriculture	Fishing hunting	Public worker
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	Agriculture	Fishing/hunting	Logging
Cassipora	Tourism	Agriculture	Fishing/hunting

Source: EBS baseline survey data set, 2016 data

3.5.4 Income earning activities at the household level

The EBS survey asked for each individual of 15 years and older in the household what kind of paid work the person had performed in the six months preceding the interview, regardless of the duration of the job and of whether or not the job was still performed at the time of the interview. Because this question focused on paid labor, subsistence agriculture and other subsistence activities were not considered.

Of the total sample, just over half of individuals ages 15 and over reported that they had not been involved in any cash earning activities in the six months prior to the interview (53.6%, N=537⁶⁵). The

⁶³ A focus group was held with community representatives; consisting of traditional authorities, government representatives in the community (e.g. the B.O.) and other knowledgeable persons. In this case, the question was: "What occupations/jobs are most common in this community?" (Welke beroepen komen het meeste voor in dit dorp?). Respondents were asked to name the number one, two and three most common occupation. The information was validated during the validation meeting (31/10/17) and follow-up phone interviews.

⁶⁴ G. Kabelefodi. Kapitein Philipusdorp, pers. com. 08/11/17.

⁶⁵ There were 188 missing cases of household members ages 15 and over who were not present at the time of the household survey, and for whom others in the household could not provide information.

most common cash earning activity is self-employed agricultural worker (12.3%). Other jobs performed by more than 10 persons included government employee (3.5%); employee in the mining sector (incl. Staatsolie and Newmont) (3.4%); cleaning (2.5%); tourism sector (1.9%); security guard (1.9%); and construction (incl. painter, welding) (1.5%) (N=537). Tourism jobs are often related to tourism at *Jodensavanne* and to the Blaka Watra recreational resort. These locations are popular tourist attractions, and located near Cassipora and Redi Doti. Redi Doti also features holiday apartments. In Powakka, there are two recreational swimming places. These places are visited by both Suriname and foreign tourists, mostly in weekends and during school holidays. Members of the Carolina communities make a living by selling items to tourists, working in a lodge; cooking, being a life guard, cleaning, and so forth.

Jobs performed by 5 to 10 persons included driver (incl. taxi and bus), self-employed fisherman/hunter, gardener, and maintenance/handyman. Other jobs were a diverse selection of both self-employed work and work for a company or boss.

There are slight differences between the communities in terms of the most common jobs performed, but there is no clear pattern. As compared to the other Carolina communities, in Powakka there appeared to be relatively more individuals ages 15 and over who had not performed any cash-earning activities in the past six months. In Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, almost one third of individuals ages 15 and older had reportedly earned cash income as self-employed agricultural worker (31.4%, 11 persons), while in Cassipora this was only one person.

3.5.5 Commercial agriculture and animal husbandry

East Para has a long history of commercial agriculture and animal husbandry. In 1936, the Ministry of Agriculture in collaboration with the Catholic Church started an animal husbandry project near Powakka (Vernooij, 1992). The project started with five cows, which were donated to the village authorities. The project was never successful, and was abandoned in 1940.

The EBS survey asked households whether they had used land for commercial agriculture or livestock purposes in the 12 months prior to the survey.

The data suggest that commercial agriculture is practiced most intensively in Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, where 6 out of 10 surveyed households reported using land for commercial agriculture or livestock production (Table 8). In this community the average size of the commercial plots was also much larger than in the other communities, and none of the households involved in commercial crop production planted on an area smaller than 1 ha. The land use map confirms the high significance of pineapple production for this village (Figure 3). Since a year, people from Pierre Kondre Kumbasi and Redi Doti work together in a cooperation. One of its goals is to open a pineapple factory in 2018 to process pineapples from the region. The project is executed with Candied Fruits SA (from the district of Saramacca) and the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

In Powakka and Redi Doti, a somewhat smaller share of households was involved in commercial agricultural or livestock production (resp. 28.2% and 34.4%). While there were households in these communities that used quite large commercial plots of up to 6 ha, there were also households who

reported planting on just 75-80 m² (0.0075-0.008 ha). In Cassipora, only one household reported using land (0.75 ha) for commercial agricultural or livestock production.

Table 7. Household involvement in commercial agriculture or animal husbandry

Community	# Households	# households that used land for commercial production	Av. Size of commercial land in ha
Powakka	124	35	1.0 ha
Redi Doti	32	11	1.4 ha
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	10	6	3 ha
Cassipora	21	1	0.75 ha

Source: EBS survey

The most important commercial crop planted in the Carolina communities is pineapple. Both youth and older people are involved in the production and marketing of pineapple, which has been aided by improvements in infrastructure (Nankoe, 2013). In addition, women in Cassipora plant cassava to sell cassava products such as cassava bread, Indigenous pepper soup (*pepre watra*) and *kasiri* (alcoholic cassava drink). Cassava products are sold both in the community and in Paramaribo.

In Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, none of the households reported livestock production. Seven households in Redi Doti and seven households in Powakka reported holding livestock for commercial purposes; chickens, other poultry, sheep and goat (EBS survey).

The communities expressed interest in commercial production of fruits, vegetables and chicken/eggs for Newmont if there would be an opportunity⁶⁶.

3.5.6 Sale of fish and bush meat

The EBS survey data suggest that a selected few individuals in the communities specialize in hunting and fishing for commercial purposes. In Redi Doti and Cassipora, none of the households reported selling fish, bush meat or live animals in the month preceding the interview. One individual from Pierre Kondre Kumbasi and three individuals (from three households) in Powakka had sold game and fish in the month prior to the interview.

3.5.7 Fabrication and sale of crafts

Particularly women use NTFPs and animal parts (e.g. teeth, the beak of a beetle, feathers) for the fabrication of crafts. In addition, Indigenous jewelry is fabricated from beads that are bought in Paramaribo. The sale of crafts appears infrequent though, and during the EBS household survey it was not mentioned as a relevant source of income. This was confirmed during the village meetings. Crafts for sale are mostly fabricated by women (Nankoe, 2013).

⁶⁶ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17; L. Read, *kapitein* Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, pers. com. 23/10/17.

There are different venues for selling crafts; at a road stand, through a middleman in Paramaribo, or directly at the tourist site Joden Savanne. Women also sell crafts to each other. The village authorities of Redi Doti have to provide permission before one can sell at Joden Savanne.

3.6 HOUSING AND ACCESS TO SERVICES

3.6.1 Houses

In the target communities, the exterior walls of most inhabited houses are constructed of wood (70.9%) or wood and plastered bricks (17.6%). Other houses are built of metal sheets, plastered bricks, cement slabs, or a combination of the above. The dominant roofing material consists of metal sheets (*zinkplaten*; 93.4%). The remaining houses have roofs made of wooden shingles (4.9%) or palm leaves (*tassi*; 1.6%). There were no obvious differences in house construction between the communities.

On average, houses in the Indigenous communities of East Para count 3.6 rooms. This number includes the kitchen or kitchen hut, even if it is separated from the main dwelling, but excludes the balcony, garages, hallways and bathrooms. The average number of sleeping rooms per dwelling is 2.1. In Redi Doti, there is a government housing project about 500m away from the village center. As compared to houses in the other three communities, houses in Redi Doti were, on average, somewhat larger (av. 4.3 rooms, $p < 0.005$). It is possible that the public housing project in Redi Doti affected this finding. The houses in this project also have sanitation facilities inside the home. The number of sleeping rooms was virtually equal in the four communities.

3.6.2 Access to education

In 1917, the Catholic mission established a school in Powakka, which still exists. There also is a primary school in Redi Doti. Prior to the Interior War there also was a primary school in Cassipora but it was destroyed, and nowadays children from Cassipora visit the Johan Cheliusschool primary school in Redi Doti. A school bus brings the children from Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi to this school. People's tribal affiliation is not an issue in selection a child's elementary school. Parents simply select the school that is nearest. Hence children from Redi Doti, Cassipora and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi attend the elementary school in Redi Doti, regardless of whether they are Kaliña, Lokono, mixed Indigenous or have another ethnic background.

None of the communities have a secondary school. School busses bring older children from the different communities to the Junior Secondary schools (*Voortgezet Onderwijs Junioreniveau – VOJ*) at Paranam. There are also school busses that bring people to Senior Secondary school (*Voortgezet Onderwijs Seniorenniveau - VOS*) or University in Paramaribo.

3.6.3 Access to health care

Powakka and Redi Doti have a Medical Mission Primary Health Care (MZ) clinic. Inhabitants from Cassipora and Pierre Kondre visit the clinic in Redi Doti. It takes the inhabitants of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi about 5-10 minutes by car, and people from Cassipora half an hour, to reach Redi Doti. Inhabitants of Philipusdorp visit the clinic in Powakka.

The EBS survey asked for each household member if, in the seven days preceding the interview, the person had been ill or injured to the extent that the person had not been able to execute his or her daily tasks, such as attending school, performing household chores, or going to work. In the total sample of four communities, 4.3 percent of individuals had reportedly suffered from illness or injury. In the community of Pierre Kondre Kumbasi, no-one reported having been ill or injured in the week prior to the interview. In the other communities, 3.7 percent (Powakka, N=508), 5.1 percent (Cassipora, N=78) and 8.6 percent (Redi Doti, N=93) of household members had experienced illness or injury. Most common illnesses included body pains, diarrhea or intestine problems, and chronic illness. Three persons had suffered from Zika.

Slight differences were observed between the different age and gender groups in their propensity to be ill or injured. Elderly persons over 60 years of age were about twice as likely to have suffered from poor health than adults (ages 18-59) or youngsters under the age of 18 (resp. 7.3%, N=96; 4.4%, N=367; 3.1%, N=262). Women (all ages) were slightly more likely than men (all ages) to report illness (Resp. 5.6%, N=324; 3.2%, N=401). The eight school-aged children who had been ill or injured during the past seven days had missed, on average, 2.3 days of school.

Virtually every individual in surveyed households in the target communities was insured (96.7%; N=725), typically through a Medical Mission PHC health card.

3.6.4 Access to public services: drinking water, sanitation, electricity

The Indigenous communities of East Para are not connected to the public drinking water distribution network of the Suriname Water Company (*N.V. Surinaamsche Waterleiding Maatschappij*, SWM). Powakka features a stand-alone water system, which was installed by the Service for Water Provision (*Dienst Watervoorziening*, DWV) or the Ministry of Natural Resources (*Natuurlijke Hulpbronnen*, NH). The villagers have water taps on their plot (*erfkraan*), not in the home. Management of this system will soon be taken over by SWM. The water is not filtered and according to an SWM representative, not suitable for drinking by World Health Organization (WHO) standards⁶⁷. Community members do not pay for this water. Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre Kumbasi rely on a shared DWV stand-alone water system. This system used to have a filter, but the filter has been broken for some years and now the water system simply pumps river water to the households, which have a water tap on their plot. This water does not comply with WHO drinking water standards. Villagers in all villages also rely on rainwater harvesting from their roof tops.

In Cassipora, there are several hand pumps that are connected to underground wells. The hand pumps divert the water to a tap point near the homes⁶⁸. Not all households have a pump nearby though, and some households primarily harvest rain water in large (400-450 gallon) rain water collection bins (*durotank*), or they use creek water. The village of Cassipora has sent a request to SWM to be connected to the national water distribution network. Also Philipusdorp relies on about 23 hand pumps, which are connected to wells. These hand pumps were installed through a project from the Canada Foundation

⁶⁷ C. Lieveld, Department Head Planning and Research SWM, pers. com. 12/10/17

⁶⁸ The water quality is reportedly good. Of 13 wells that were tested by SWM, only 2 were found to be suboptimal.

(~2000)⁶⁹. The pumps generally work well, but in the dry season the water sometimes has a smell. Some inhabitants of Philipusdorp connected a hydrophore (water pressure regulator pump) to the hand pumps, to pump the well water directly in water storage bins (*durotank*). The village is searching for funds to extend the drinking water supply system.

In the dry season relatively more households in the target villages rely on the water trucks from the DWV of the Ministry of Natural Resources. The DWV water trucks provide drinking water to rural areas that are not connected to the Suriname Water Company (SWM) grid. The DWV trucks do not service Cassipora because this village has sufficient access to water in the dry season⁷⁰.

For sanitation, just over half of households in the target communities use outhouses or latrines (*plee*, non-flush; 52.2%, N=182). Forty-two percent of households use a flush toilet with a septic tank, and another 5.5 percent of Carolina households reported use of a flush toilet with drainage to outside (e.g. the river). There are some differences among the target communities in terms of the most common sources of sanitation. For example, in Redi Doti three quarters of households reported using a flush toilet with septic tank, versus only one third of households in Powakka. In Powakka, by contrast, latrines are most commonly used (63.6% of households, N=121).

In the period December 2016 - May 2017, the Indigenous communities of East Para were connected to the public electricity grid of the Energy Company of Suriname (*Energie Bedrijven Suriname – EBS*). Consulted community members suggested that the presence of 24 hour electricity allows children to study in the evening hours. Moreover, more people have started small businesses, for example selling popsicles and juice.

Table 8. Access to public services

	Clinic	Access to drinking water	Connected to EBS grid
Powakka	Yes	SWM stand-alone water system; unfiltered river water. Also rainwater harvesting.	Yes, Dec. - May 2017
Philipusdorp	No	Hand pumps to pump water from different wells.	
Redi Doti	Yes	DWV stand-alone system; unfiltered river water. Also rainwater harvesting.	
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	No	DWV stand-alone system; unfiltered river water. Also rainwater harvesting.	
Cassipora	No	Hand pumps to pump water from different wells. Also rain and creek water	

⁶⁹ The hand pumps of Cassipora were installed around the same time, and probably also through this organization, but the kapitein of Cassipora was uncertain about the organization name.

⁷⁰ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

3.7 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

3.7.1 Traditional authority structures and the central government

The authority structure of *kapiteins* and *basjas* was implemented in Indigenous communities after the example of the Maroons, where this structure existed since the 18th century peace treaties with the colonial government. In contrast to most Maroon tribal groups, however, the Lokono and Kaliña Indigenous groups do not have a *granman* or paramount chief. According to respondents from different villages, the coastal Indigenous peoples used to have paramount chiefs as well, up to about 200 years ago. Due to wars and internal conflicts, the groups scattered and no longer have central leadership⁷¹. The village authorities have discussed with VIDS about whether or not they want to reinstall *granman*, and are contemplating the advantages and disadvantages. As a disadvantage, one head *basja* mentioned that a *granman*, as one person, has a lot of power to take far reaching decisions for the entire group. The village authorities, by contrast have to discuss with more persons before taking a decision⁷².

Generally, when the internal process of selection is completed, the candidate is nominated to the Ministry of Regional Development (*Regionale Ontwikkeling-RO*) for a formal procedure of inauguration and official appointment (*beschikking*). The appointment letter states the rank of the authority and area the candidate is responsible for. The appointment letter gives the leader only recognition from the Government for the authority over a specific area of Suriname, however, does not specify that the authority is part of the Government system (ACT, 2010). Traditional leaders receive a public honorarium. Therefore the government has limited the number of authority positions, and tribal groups need to consult with the Government (*District Commissaris, DC*) prior to recommending a traditional leader for appointment (Betterson, 2003, cited in ACT, 2010)).

The Ministry of Regional Development (RO) –particularly it’s Division for the Interior (*Directoraat Binnenland*)- is responsible for coordination of all Government activities in the interior. This Division supervises the Districts Commissioner’s office which serves as an intermediary between the Government of Suriname and the people and authorities of the interior. Interior representatives may approach the DC in person, through the elected District and Resort Councils, and through the appointed Governmental Inspectors (*Bestuursopzichters, BO*).

3.7.2 Selection and appointment of traditional authorities

The *kapitein* is the head of the traditional village governance structure. Traditionally, the *kapitein* and other members of the traditional authorities are appointed through designation. More recently, some indigenous communities have opted for democratic election as a way to select their community authorities.

In Cassipora the traditional leaders are still appointed through designation, though villagers can influence the outcome. When a new *kapitein* or *basja* must be appointed, the community comes together in a meeting and elects a Commission to lead the appointment process. The Commission

⁷¹ Mentioned in Redi Doti, Powakka and Philipusdorp. 15 Oct. 2017.

⁷² Head *Basja* Sabajo, pers. com. 15/10/17

members go house by house to ask villagers who they would like to see as their new leader and why. The Commission reports on its findings to the traditional authorities that are still in function. Next there will be a new meeting, where the villagers discuss whether they believe if the favorite person is up to the task. If the person is accepted, he or she will be the new *kapitein* or *basja*, and the government will be asked to formally appoint the person. The appointed person will not wait for the formal GoS appointment (and related fee) though, but start the work immediately.

In Redi Doti a similar selection process takes place. When a new *basja* needs to be appointed, the *kapitein* goes from house to house with a list of three names, to ask who the village inhabitants prefer. When one person appears to be favorite, the *kapitein* will talk to this person to see if he or she is up to the job. Next a meeting is called to discuss the candidate with the villagers. Also in Philipusdorp, the traditional authorities have been appointed.

Appointment is for life, though it is possible that the person resigns or is asked to resign. A reason for resignation may be that the person is in ill health or feels that he or she is not in line with the other authority members in the village. A reason that a *kapitein* or *basja* is asked to step down may be that the person has committed a severe wrong (for example, which resulted in a prison sentence) or has moved from the community and is no longer actively involved. In Redi Doti, it was reported that resignation is a process; one cannot just quit. If a *basja* or *kapitein* wishes to step down, a village meeting is called to discuss the request for resignation, and it is possible that the village asks the person to stay on for another couple of months. Respondents from Philipusdorp reported that a commission of elders evaluates the *kapitein* every five years. This commission determines whether the person is doing well.

In Powakka, another system is in place. In January 2016, the current village authorities were elected for a period of five years; with a full team of *kapitein* and *basjas*. Each candidate handed in a list with the names of the persons in his or her party (*kapitein* plus *basjas*). During this election process, the village was supported by VIDS. Among others, VIDS appointed a commission that defined the profile for suitable candidates (e.g. no criminal antecedents). There also have been discussions with the villagers, and in agreement with VIDS, a date was established for the election.

The present *kapitein* of Redi Doti also was elected. At the time of his election, there were two candidates; one from Pierre Kondre Kumbasi and one from Redi Doti (the villages were then still under shared leadership). The election took place during a *krutu* (meeting) with both villages by counting fingers. When a new *kapitein* must be selected, the head *basja* will be in charge to arrange succession. In that case, he will discuss the matter with the elders. When there is more than one candidate, there will be another election (with fingers).

The head *basja* of Redi Doti reported that if the son of the previous *kapitein* had wanted to follow up his father that would have been possible. This comment suggest that in some cases, hereditary succession takes place.

During a recent VIDS conference in Redi Doti, a proposal was brought forward to stop election of traditional leadership, because it is not in line with the Indigenous traditions. This proposal must be

approved by all villages. Hence it is possible that the next Powakka traditional leaders are appointed again.

As soon as a person has been appointed or elected as *kapitein*, he or she automatically becomes a member of VIDS. VIDS is not involved in the appointment process but one or more representatives come to attend the ceremony when everything is completed. Occasionally VIDS will interfere, for example when a *kapitein* is asked by the village to step down but refuses to go. They may sit in the meetings as silent observers and give advice, but ultimately it is the village that decides⁷³.

Table 9. Number of male and female traditional authorities and succession process in the target communities.

Village	Selection process traditional authorities	<i>Kapitein</i>		Head-basja		Basja	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Cassipora	Appointment	0	1	1	0	1	2
Powakka	Election	0	1	1	0	2	1
Philipusdorp	Appointment	0	1	1	0	3	0
Redi Doti	Appointment (<i>basja</i>) / Election (<i>kapitein</i>)	1	0	1	0	2	1
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	Appointment	1	0	1	0	1	1
Total		2	3	5	0	9	5

A significant share of the traditional authorities in the Indigenous communities of East Para are female. Male and female *kapiteins* and *basjas* have the same roles, responsibilities and tasks⁷⁴. Also, male and female authorities should be treated with the same level of courtesy and respect. In Powakka, respondents reported that whether the *kapitein* is male or female simply depends on who has been listed as candidate.

3.7.3 Meeting with traditional authorities and the village

If an outside party such as Newmont Suriname wishes to meet with the traditional authorities and the village, it should first contact VIDS⁷⁵. VIDS will discuss the matter with the *kapitein(s)* and upon approval an appointment can be made. If a meeting is scheduled, someone from the village council (*kapitein* and *basjas*) will go house to house to inform the people. Preferably village meetings are scheduled at least two weeks in advance.

⁷³ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17

⁷⁴ M. Fernandes, *kapitein* Cassipora, pers. com. 15/10/17. Confirmed in other villages.

⁷⁵ The Association of Indigenous Village Leaders Suriname (Vereniging Inheemse Dorpshoofden Suriname (VIDS) is an umbrella organization of the Suriname traditional authorities, of which every Indigenous village leader (*kapitein*) is a member. VIDS was established in 1992 as an organization to represent the interests of the Indigenous peoples of Suriname. Primary goals of VIDS include the allocation of collective land rights to Indigenous peoples, and strengthening indigenous traditional authority structures. The associated village leaders of VIDS are supported by Foundation Bureau VIDS (est. 2001; Stichting Bureau VIDS), which focusses specifically on legal issues.

Decision-making processes in the village typically are based on consensus. If a decision must be taken, for example about a community development project, villagers will first discuss the matter in a community meeting. Next, there is some time for contemplation, during which everyone has the opportunity to consider the different options. Eventually people agree on the best option.

3.7.4 Collaboration between Indigenous villages

The *kapiteins* of all Indigenous villages in Suriname, including those in Para, are members of the VIDS. In addition, the *kapiteins* of the Indigenous villages of Para are organized in the Organization of Collaborating Indigenous Peoples of Para (*Organisatie van Samenwerkende Inheemsen in Para –OSIP*), which is a local working arm of VIDS. The OSIP represents the 14 Indigenous villages of Para. The board consists of five *kapiteins*; currently the *kapiteins* of Hollandse Kamp (chair), Pikin Poika, Cassipora, Philipusdorp, and Mata.

Consulted traditional authorities indicated that the communities in the Carolina area often work together, in the context of OSIP or otherwise, for example when there are security issues (e.g. crime) or specific problems. They also join in protest movements; for example by blocking the road to ask attention for destruction of the road by heavy logging trucks. The communities of Powakka and Philipusdorp are particularly close and often do things together.

Occasionally there also have been conflicts between the villages. For example, Cassipora and Redi Doti had a dispute about rights to the Blaka Watra tourist resort. This conflict has been resolved. Also between Redi Doti and Pierre Kondre, the relationship was referred to as “a bit strained”⁷⁶.

Both as a collective and by themselves, the Carolina communities have managed to obtain government support for community development. According to representatives of Powakka, the village lobbied hard for electricity and pavement of the roads, among other issues, by barricading the roads. A traditional authority member of Redi Doti suggested that the fact that the Indigenous communities of East Para are strong supporters of the current presidential party (National Democratic Party – NDP) may have played a role. Among others, the *kapitein* of Redi Doti is an NDP parliament member. In addition to asphalted roads and electricity, a public housing project with 20 houses was built in Redi Doti (2011), and a community meeting hall was built in Pierre Kondre Kumbasi (2011). During consultation meetings it was suggested that repair of the Carolina bridge was motivated by logging and mining interests in the area south of Carolina.

⁷⁶ Interview with traditional authority in Redi Doti, October 19, 2017.

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- Map of Cabendadorp, (Klein) Powakka, Cassipora, Redi Doti, Bernharddorp en Pierre Kondre Kumbasi.

APPENDIX A. CONSULTED STAKEHOLDERS

Community	Name	Function	Date consulted
Cassipora	Muriel Fernandes	Kapitein	15 October 2017; 7 November 2017 (phone)
Cassipora	Gilbert Fräser	Entrepreneur	15 October 2017
Powakka	J.K. Jakaoemo	Head basja	19 October 2017
Powakka	Kenneth Makosi	Basja	19 October 2017
Powakka	Deborah Sabajo	Secretary Women's Organization	19 October 2017
Powakka	Ruben Orasji	Basja	19 October 2017
Powakka	Sharran Hoepel	Chair sports club	19 October 2017
Powakka	Patricia Sabajo	Kapitein	7 November 2017 (phone)
Philipusdorp	Ludwig Sabajo	Basja	19 October 2017
Philipusdorp	Ricardo Jubitana	Hoofd basja	19 October 2017
Philipusdorp	Gladys Kabelefodi	Kapitein	8 November 2017 (phone)
Redi Doti	Clements Sabajo	Hoofd basja	19 October 2017; 7 November 2017 (phone)
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	Lloyd Read	Kapitein	23 October 2017; 27 October 2017 (phone)
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	Ingrid Read	Teacher Redi Doti/Powakka	30 October 2017; 7 November 2017 (phone)

APPENDIX B. DATA ON MOST SPOKEN LANGUAGES

Most often language used by individuals in Carolina communities by gender, community and age group. Only individuals 12 years and older

Men	12-17	18- 59	60+	Total
Powakka	Indigenous: 2 Dutch: 24 Sranantongo: 26	Indigenous: 16 Dutch: 37 Sranantongo: 83 Sign language: 1	Indigenous: 11 Dutch: 4 Sranantongo: 23	Indigenous: 29 (12.6%) Dutch: 66 (28.6%) Sranantongo: 135 (58.4%) Sign language: 1 (0.4%)
Redi Doti	Dutch: 1 Sranantongo: 5	Dutch: 6 Sranantongo: 19	Dutch: 3 Sranantongo: 6	Dutch: 10 (25%) Sranantongo: 30 (75%)
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	Dutch: 5 Sranantongo: 1	Dutch: 8 Sranantongo: 6	Sranantongo: 2	Dutch: 13 (59.1%) Sranantongo: 9 (40.9%)
Cassipora	Dutch: 1 Sranantongo: 1	Indigenous: 2 Dutch: 10 Sranantongo: 11	Indigenous: 2 Sranantongo: 6	Indigenous: 4 (12.1%) Dutch: 11 (33.3%) Sranantongo: 18 (54.5%)
Total N (% of age group)	Indigen.: 2 (3%) Dutch: 31 (47%) Sranantongo: 33 (50%)	Indigenous: 18 (9%) Dutch: 61 (30.7%) Sranantongo: 119 (59.8%) Sign language: 1 (0.5%)	Indigenous: 13 (22.8%) Dutch: 7 (12.3%) Sranantongo: 37 (64.9%)	Indigenous: 33 (10.1%) Dutch: 100 (30.7%) Sranantongo: 192 (58.9%) Sign language: 1 (0.3%)

Women	12-17	18- 59	60+	Total N (% in village)
Powakka	Dutch: 11 Sranantongo: 16	Indigenous: 7 Dutch: 45 Sranantongo: 68 Sign language: 3	Indigenous: 12 Dutch: 1 Sranantongo: 12	Indigenous: 19 (10.8%) Dutch: 57 (32.4%) Sranantongo: 97 (55.1%) Sign language: 3 (1.7%)
Redi Doti	Dutch: 1 Sranantongo: 1	Dutch: 9 Sranantongo: 15	Dutch: 3 Sranantongo: 3	Dutch: 13 (40.6%) Sranantongo: 19 (59.4%)
Pierre Kondre Kumbasi	Dutch: 2 Sranantongo: 1	Dutch: 6 Sranantongo: 2	Sranantongo: 2	Dutch: 8 (61.5%) Sranantongo: 5 (38.5%)
Cassipora	Indigenous: 1 Dutch: 4 Sranantongo: 3	Indigenous: 2 Dutch: 4 Sranantongo: 7	Indigenous: 4 Sranantongo: 2	Indigenous: 7 (25.9%) Dutch: 8 (29.6%) Sranantongo: 12 (44.4%)
Total N (% of age group)	Indigenous: 1 (2.5%) Dutch: 18 (45%) Sranantongo: 21 (52.5%)	Indigenous: 9 (5.4%) Dutch: 64 (38.1%) Sranantongo: 92 (54.8%) Sign language: 3 (1.8%)	Indigenous: 16 (41%) Dutch: 4 (10.3%) Sranantongo: 19 (48.7%)	Indigenous: 26 (10.5%) Dutch: 86 (34.7%) Sranantongo: 133 (53.6%) Sign language: 3 (1.2%)