



People in the beating heart of the Amazon

The impact of indigenous tourism on local community
members and their natural environment
in the interior of Suriname

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Globalisation, Migration and Development

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Cover photo: Maroon woman in a Pangi in Stonehoekoe *by* Sedney Fedries

Preface

"If we knew what it was we were doing, it would not be called research, would it?"

— Albert Einstein

Three weeks before my research ended and I would head back home to the Netherlands, I went to the interior for the last time. At that moment I felt a bit like I did not know what I was doing. I had interviewed a lot of people but was worried that I had missed something, had still a lot of surveys to take off, and began to wonder if my research was useful or not. I took a cab to catch my ride to the interior. In the beginning the ride was a bit awkward, but then the taxi driver and I started talking about why I came to Suriname. He became very enthusiastic about the subject of my research. He was originally from the interior and was very irritated about the fact that people in Paramaribo earn more from tourism to the interior than the people living there. He said that I should make a report and that the government should read this and they should change the situation. He was very emotional and I believed again that I could finish my surveys in time (I had a good reason for it at least) and that my research is important. I felt inspired and was determined to do a good research, make a thesis that will reach the people that are capable of changing this situation.

"Sleep, Wake-up and learn"

—Saramaccan philosophy

During my research I have gathered a lot of information and at first I did not know what to do with all this information. I did not manage to concentrate on the thesis, at least not as much as I wanted to. However, I kept on going (sleeping, waking-up and above all learning), slowly but ever so on a bit faster. Hereby, the results of all my months and months of (sometimes slow) work, my thesis that hopefully helps analysing the situation of the local people and maybe helps to improve this. I think this thesis has become easy to read, yet it describes a complex situation and a topic related to all kind of disciplines.

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This thesis would not be possible without the help of many. Firstly, I would like to thank the people in the interior of Suriname (Jaw Jaw, Lespansi, Gran Rio, Gunzi, Pikenslé, Pam Boko and in the west of Suriname, Section, Washabo and Apoera) for being hospitable and for participating in my interviews. Moreover, I would like to acknowledge all of the respondents who participated in the survey. Special thanks to my local interpreters, Reintje and Omoe.

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Thirdly, I would like to thank my mother, Riet Brouns and my sister, Sharon Brouns and all my other sisters and brother for all the love and support they gave me. In addition, I would like to express gratitude for the support of my family in Suriname, especially my grandma, uncle Howard and aunt Romy.

Abstract

Tourism to the interior of Suriname is relatively new. It started 15 years ago and the local industry is still growing. The tours take place in a unique natural setting and in villages with Maroon and Native American people. As tourism in the region becomes more popular, cultural and natural problems probably arise. For instance, due to tourism cultural traditions change and the amount of garbage produced increases. Nature and cultural aspects should therefore already be taken into account in tourism policies. In addition there is an economic aspect that needs attention.

Tourism to the interior is often organized in package tours, and these are, in general, organized in Paramaribo. They take 3 to 5 days in which tourists visit different villages. Sometimes tourists stay at a lodge, owned by local owners, while in other cases they visit the more luxurious resorts owned by tour operators in Paramaribo. A value chain analyses follows the money spend by the tourists. Applied in this research suggests that there is not much difference between what local people may earn in the first situation, i.e., local people own a lodge, as compared to the second one of the luxury resort (that often claim to be ecotourism and have local employees) in the hands of the Paramaribo tour companies. There is also not much difference in how local people perceive tourism around these two kinds of accommodations. In spite of this local people want to participate in tourism and even see a lot of opportunities in this sector, but ultimately many members within the community hardly profit. However, local people are concerned that tourists profit economically by the photographs they take and supposedly sell.

In order to accomplish a more fair division between the local community and Paramaribo, between communities and between community members tourism must become more pro-poor and community based (at least more driven by local people). This first of all means a rise in knowledge and spread of realistic ideas for local community members. Second, tourists need to be informed about the situation in the tourism business to make better informed choices, and third, the tourism industry itself needs to make a fairer division between the profits between local communities and the tour operators in Paramaribo. Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and (semi-) government institutions could channel these activities and provide support to achieve this goal.

How to improve the local situation is dependent on the local setting (in this case the interior of Suriname), however solutions for improvements can always, in every setting, be found when taking into account all the actors involved in tourism and their role in the industry. The economic, socio-cultural and natural impacts described above are often interconnected. Improvements of these impacts are thus also interconnected. For example, the behaviour of tourists can be improved if tourists get information on the local economic benefits, cultural and social circumstances and natural surroundings and economic benefits may improve because sustainable tourism is becoming more popular.

Keywords: Interior of Suriname (Sipaliwini District), pro-poor tourism, value chain, community-based tourism, ecotourism, impact of tourism, actors in tourism, local community members

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1. Introduction

Tourism is progressively in the spotlights because tourism has become one of the largest industries in the world. Tourism is also important for the least developed countries, the industry accounts for 45% of the exports of services from these countries. In 2009 emerging economies were visited by 410 million international tourists, which is almost half of the total international tourist arrivals. According to the World Tourism Organisation the total amount of tourist arrivals rose from '25 million in 1950, to 277 million in 1980, to 438 million in 1990, to 684 million in 2000, and reaching 922 million in 2008' (UNWTO, 2009, p.2). In 2010 international tourist arrivals were up by almost 7% to 935 million, following the 4% decline in 2009 caused by the global economic crisis (UNWTO, 2011).

Suriname, also, is witnessing a growing tourism sector, although it is still mainly visited by Dutch tourists. The country is a former Dutch colony and an exotic location where the Dutch can speak their language. However, Suriname is becoming popular to other tourists as well. The Lonely Planet travel guide has made a list of the ten best destinations to visit in 2010, and Suriname is one of them. Suriname is appreciated for the large diversity in cultures and large Amazon forest. A largely unharmed part of the Amazon can be visited in Suriname. The interior of Suriname is mostly visited for a few days by European tourists. These trips are mostly booked by tour operators situated in Paramaribo. The villages visited are small from about hundred people to two thousand people in the largest village.

For the reason that my research was conducted in collaboration with the Pater Ahlbrinck Stichting (PAS), present in the region, the research results might assist this organization to this end. PAS operates in the Sipaliwini district in the interior in Upper Suriname and Apoera, the regions where my research took place. Since its creation in 1968 the central goal of the organization is *"the total development of the inhabitants of the territory of the country in a sustainable way to promote the implementation of an integrated program of activities"* (PAS, 2010). The central objectives are capacity strengthening, generating basic services, producing economic development and investing in education and training in the interior region of Suriname. They have projects concerning tourism as well. During my research I have done an internship with this organization.

My central goal is to research the impact of tourism on a small community in the interior of Suriname. In this way I hope to make a small contribution to the promotion of sustainable and pro-poor tourism projects in Suriname. My main research questions are: What is the impact of tourism on a community in the interior of Suriname? And how can these communities profit (more) from tourism projects? To answer these questions I will look at the direct and indirect costs and benefits, the social and economic effects as well as the environmental effects and possible improvements. Research in tourism in relation to development has been lacking in Suriname, Sinclair (2003) is an

exception in this¹. Since tourism in Suriname is relatively new and still upcoming, tourism research is not done extensively yet. This thesis tries to address this omission by studying the Sipaliwini District in the interior of Suriname. Further research is still needed, especially in the field of the tourism industry.

To be able to incorporate all these different elements in one research a multidisciplinary approach is needed. Therefore I will take into account economical, geographical, sociological, psychological, anthropological and environmental factors. This seems very complex, though with researching the implications of tourism all these angles are interconnected and therefore will not be left out. Rather than picking one element of tourism development my goal is to show the complexity in dealing with tourism in a fairly isolated area in a developing country.

Popular concepts concerning tourism and development are pro-poor tourism, community based tourism and ecotourism. These will be explained in chapter 2, the theoretical background. The analytical framework and research question will also be further elaborated in the second chapter. The methods used will be explained in chapter 3. Chapter 4 will provide general background information about the area studied. The results of this research will be presented in subsequent chapters 5, 6 and 7. The economic impact will be explained in chapter 5. Thereafter the likely important socio-economic (chapter 6) and socio-cultural and environmental (chapter 7) impacts will be discussed. In all three chapters possible options to improve the positive outcome of the impact of tourism will be presented. The eighth chapter will conclude this thesis with an overview of the relations between the impacts, the solutions and the participating actors.

¹ Sinclair has written articles about indigenous tourism in the Guyana's focusing on Suriname and French Guyana.

2. Theoretical background and analytical framework

2.1. Tourism



Figure 1: International tourism arrivals from 1950 (source: Federal reserve bank of Dallas)

Tourism is a success story. Since the 1950s tourism has become a success on a massive scale even (figure 1). Tourism can be seen as one of the largest industries of the world. The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 1995) defines tourists as people who "travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for more than twenty-four (24) hours and not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited" (p. 15). In

figure 2 part of the diversity of tourists is visible. In addition tourists can choose for mainstream or more small-scale tourism.

The tourist industry is becoming increasingly global, tourists are ever more attracted to (vigil) developing countries and remote areas. Furthermore, the tourism industry is very diverse as well consisting of enterprises, smaller companies, or small local businesses in transportation, hospitality, tour operating, entertainment and other services supplying tourists in their needs.

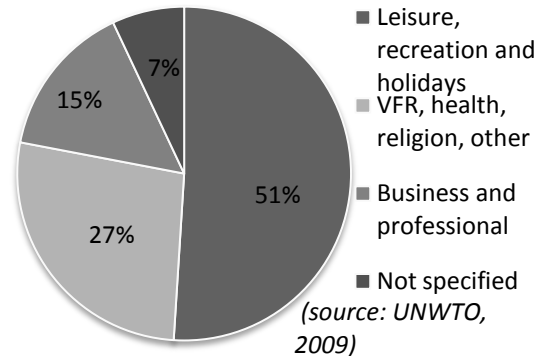


Figure 2: International tourism arrivals per visitor purposes (source: UNWTO, 2009)

2.1.1. Stages of tourism development

Doxey (1975) proposed an Index of Tourist Irritation (i.e. irridex) which suggested that as impacts from tourism increased, a community passed through a predictable cycle of reactions toward it. Local attitudes towards tourism go through the stages of euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism. Butler (1980) distinguishes six stages in tourism, which he labels the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC). The six stages are; exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and post stagnation. In the exploration stage the first adventurous tourists arrive, and thereafter some local entrepreneurs get involved (involvement). In the development stage the external companies take the local industry over from the small businesses. Within the consolidation and stagnation stage tourism is becoming less popular and the tourist arrivals start to decline. In the last stage decline, rejuvenation or stabilization can occur (Ibid.). The model must be adapted to the local context because not in all places the stages are as evidently present. The stage where tourism

development is in largely influenced what the economical, social-cultural and environmental costs and benefits are. In the beginning the previously mentioned influences may be less present and therefore the local community members will probably have a more positive attitude regarding tourism because there are still a lot of possibilities. In addition, tourism is still largely sensitive for changes (Zhong, Deng and Xiang, 2007).

2.2. Impacts of tourism

Tourism brings people from different parts of the world, close by as well as far away, together in an often unique and fragile environment (Archer, Cooper & Ruhanen, 2005). Hence, tourism creates impacts, negative as well as positive, on a local community. The impact of mass tourism is probably different than the impact of alternative tourism, such as indigenous tourism. The scale of mass tourism is greater. Although, new contacts between tourists and local community members is probably more intensive and mutual in indigenous tourism than with mass tourism.

Smith (1996) describes indigenous tourism as 'tourism which directly involves native peoples whose ethnicity is a tourist attraction' (p.283). She uses a Four H scheme; habitat, heritage, history and handicraft. The model is derived from the Four S concept (sun, sea, sand and sex) to describe the beach resort tourism. Habitat is the geographical setting, and is about the fragile places inhabited by indigenous people. These places are popular by tourists because of the uniqueness and harshness of the landscape the indigenous people (manage to) live in. With heritage the ethnographic traditions are meant, thus the values of the local community long-standing skills and knowledge to survive. History refers to the effects of acculturation, specifically to post-contact relation between the westerns and indigenous people. Handicrafts are important to bring back home for tourists and an important way to earn money for the local people (Ibid.).

2.2.1. Economic impacts

In the 1960s tourism was seen as an important option for developing countries to push economic progress, for some countries even as the most important way to development (Holden, 2005). Although, it has become clear that tourism is not the magic solution for developing countries, there are still a lot of opportunities for 'the poor' to profit from tourism. Tourism creates jobs in the formal sector as well as in the informal sector. More indirectly, tourism may increase jobs in vending (for example handicraft or snacks) and in the hospitality industry. In rural areas an increase in diversification in jobs is often much needed because of the lack in job opportunities.

The Pro Poor Tourism (PPT) partnership (2004) states that often vulnerable groups (e.g. rural workers, women, young workers and low skilled workers) are the people that can find a job in the tourism industry. Tourism requires new infrastructure, communication means, healthcare, water,

electricity and sewage, the local community may also profit from these new services available. So tourism may help development, though tourism can have some negative consequences on a local community too. For example, the interests of commercial (foreign) operators can have negative outcomes for both the local people and their natural resources. Tourism can cause displacement and increase local costs (Ibid.). According to Kreag (2001) tourism often offers primarily low-paying, minimal wage or less, and seasonal jobs.

2.2.2. Social and cultural impacts

In the 1970s the benefits of tourism were questioned, and more attention to negative influences on culture and social life and on natural surroundings were brought up. The economic effect, discussed above, is assumed to improve the quality of life for the poor. However negative implications of tourism can be that tourists are perhaps causing cultural intrusion in remote areas. Another problem may be the loss of access to land or coastal areas. This can have economic as well as social or cultural implications (PPT Partnership, 2004). According to Dogan (1989) development affects the habits, daily routines, social lives, beliefs and values of the local people. If tourism is successful, people from other areas may seek new residence within the thriving area. Local identity and culture may be lost and tensions within the community may rise, the area could get overcrowded and crime rates may go up (Ibid.). On the other hand tourism can improve community services, such as recreation and cultural facilities and communication facilities (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005).

According to Sinclair (2003) the key challenge for the Guiana's 'is to structure the indigenous tourism experience in such a manner as to guarantee the greatest integrity to the indigenous people and their lifestyles, even as the demands of the tourists are being satisfied' (p.1). Hence, my aim is to research the impact on indigenous people. However, to come to a solution for improving tourism, research about what tourists desire is also needed. Tourists often want to get to know the 'authentic' culture, for example the local cuisine and history.

Tourism can be seen as a contributor to (the well-known concept of) globalisation². People from different parts of the world come in contact with each other, face-to-face. Shaw and Williams (1994) state that 'tourism is a particularly potent agent of cultural change' (p.14). Indigenous communities are often fairly isolated from the rest of the world. In fact, they are popular because of their distinctive culture and unique natural surroundings. The popularity can be 'dangerous' for two reasons. Sinclair (2003) stated that, also for Suriname, there is a need to watch out for the dangers of falsification of the own culture identity and the dilution of the local culture. Thus firstly, these 'new'

² Globalisation has two sides: decrease of space and time and the spread of Western culture.

contacts and the popularity may strengthen the will to earn money with their culture. The risk is that not the real culture is shown but 'fake' cultural history, habitat, heritage and/or handicraft. All cultures develop, however due to falsification a culture may lose their specific identity. Secondly, tourists bring their culture to the indigenous community. The risk hereby is the emergence of a 'monoculture', traditions, values and 'ways of life' may get lost.

In addition local people may get objectified as a tourism attraction. Photography plays an important role here in as people are objectified in the photos tourists and the tourism industry makes. The industry often neglects to ask local community members about the opinions they have about the pictures, if they approve being depicted in folders, internet, books, postcards and calendars. Tourists take pictures without asking, in some countries local people are afraid tourists do not pay or take unattractive photographs of their country and take those pictures home (Bruner, 1996).

2.2.3.Environmental Impacts

In the 1970s the awareness of the environmental impact in tourism within the academic circle increased. Exotic and thereby more fragile areas become increasingly popular. By the end of the 1980s and especially in the 1990s tourists and more people in the tourism industry became environmentally aware (Holden, 2005). Concepts such as 'green tourism', 'eco-tourism' and 'sustainable tourism' became popular.

A lot of the concerns about the natural environment have to do with 'the overuse of natural resources and pressures placed on ecosystems' (Holden, 2005, p. 166). Both of these concerns have to do with the scale of the developments and the rising amount of visitors, but also with the growing popularity of remote and vulnerable natural surroundings. One of the problems is the loss of natural environment to tourism activities, such as lodges and entertainment. The local usage of natural resources, such as water, could increase significantly. Consequently, the preservation of such resources might not be sustained. The amount of waste and the sewage disposal in the tourist areas becomes larger as tourism becomes more popular (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005). Therefore, the intensification and the manner of garbage disposal need to be addressed. Nevertheless, the largest negative environmental contribution from tourism is probably the pollution from travelling. Not only the number of tourists has grown, the distances travelled, by car or plane, have increased also (Holden, 2005).

Nonetheless, tourism may be an alternative for more damaging industries such as mining and logging. International tourists may have an environmental awareness that they share with local people, community members and local people from the tourism industry (Holden, 2005). The environmental influences together with the economic and cultural influence stimulated that new

approaches to tourism were developed. Hence, for the most part out of the concerns about the impacts described above pro-poor tourism, community based tourism and ecotourism arise.

2.3. Pro-poor tourism

An important concept in relation to tourism is pro-poor tourism (PPT). This concept was initiated towards the end of the 1990s. Pro-poor tourism could be defined as 'tourism which brings net benefits to the poor' (Harrison, 2008, p.851). The concept is not focused on enlarging the tourism industry as a whole but on reaching the poor. A goal of pro-poor tourism is to enhance linkages between the poor people and the tourism businesses. The poor are in this way able to participate more effectively in tourism and its contribution to poverty alleviation will be increased. Hence, the net benefit that goes to the poor can be increased (PPT Partnership, 2004).

According to the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership (2004) there are three different aims within PPT: increase economic benefits, enhance non-financial livelihood impacts and enhance participation and partnership. Increasing economic benefits can be achieved for example by increasing employment, expand enterprise opportunities and develop collective income activities (such as fees or income shares). Non-financial impacts are such diverse impacts as capacity building, mitigate environmental impacts, social and cultural impact and local access to infrastructure and services. Enhanced participation and partnership can be achieved through more support and enabling policy participation in decision making (by government and private sector), creating pro-poor partnerships with the private sector and increasing flows of information and communication between stakeholders (Ibid.). The poorest are possibly not easily reached. They have the fewest assets and links, and are therefore less capable to participate in tourism (Harrison,2008).

Mitchel (2007) distinguishes three ways in which tourism affects poor people. Firstly, opportunities in labour income (through jobs or small enterprises) and changes in livelihood directly affect the poor. The people affected are mostly living nearby. Secondly, people that work in the sectors that supply tourism (e.g. food) are affected indirectly by tourism. They may live far from the tourism areas. Thirdly, there are dynamic effects mainly on the macro economy. Within these latter effects factor markets, other export sectors, or the natural environment are included. The outcome can be both on the poor as on the non-poor (Ibid.).

In addition to the potential problems associated with tourism in general, there are some critiques on Pro-Poor Tourism as well. PPT is focused on the absolute benefits and not on the relative benefits of the poor. Therefore, Pro-Poor Tourism can enlarge income differences (Harrison, 2008). Some researchers question the broadness of the PPT definition. Should (and could) all projects that benefit the poor be called pro-poor tourism? Benefits from all kinds of tourism activities are possible. However this may be the strength of the concept as well because not only so called alternative

tourism should be taken into account but also mainstream tourism and absolute growth also means more income for the poor (Ibid.). Thirdly, it is impossible to calculate the exact benefits for the poor. There are many ways to calculate these benefits and tourism may benefit the poor directly and indirectly. Therefore the calculations are always estimations, which can be used in a value chain as shown below. In addition, it is still not proven that pro-poor tourism is more effective than other kinds of tourism (Ibid.). Therefore further research is needed.

2.3.1. Value chain

Pro-poor tourism can help by the popular notion of 'making markets work for the poor'. Small tourism projects and thus also community tourism is not enough to effect the macro level economy. The Overseas Development Institute (ODI), International Finance Corporation (IFC) and SNV Netherlands Development Organisation developed the pro-poor value chain approach. It was developed to shift from project thinking to large scale impact. A value chain is 'the full range of activities that are required to bring a tourist to a destination and provide all the necessary services (accommodation, catering, retail, excursions, etc.)' is meant (Mitchel, & Ashley, 2009, p.1). This method focuses 'on key points along the chain where interventions could expand income opportunities for the poor, within a commercial service sector' (Ibid.). Therefore 'the US dollar is followed'.

Additionally the pro-poor income (PPI) is measured by calculating the US US dollars per year that flow to the poor (Ashley & Mitchel, 2008). The aim is to research with this method how the poor are engaged, if their position can be changed, and what the effect of changes in value chain performance on the poor is (Mitchel, & Ashley, 2009). Within the value chain analyses the indirect and direct benefits are taken into account and therefore not only the job market but also the food and the craft chain are important. Within the value chain analyses it is not only distinguished where the poor gain the most benefit from but also where the benefit could be increased. In addition the bottlenecks and constrains need to be revealed (Ibid.).

2.4. Community based tourism

Community based research aims to place the community and their members central in their research instead of the local government and development organizations (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005). Tourism affects the people in the local community, economically, socio-culturally and environmentally. Community based tourism (CBT) advocates that development through tourism can be reached as 'the social, environmental and economic needs of local communities are met through the offering of a tourism product' (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 1). Goodwin and Santilli (2009) define community based tourism as 'tourism owned and/or managed by communities and intended to deliver wider community benefit' (p.12).

Community based tourism is in recent years largely criticized as not conforming to the market and not making enough profit (Mitchel & Muckosy, 2008). CBT projects fail because, In addition, these projects often depend on development organizations and cannot survive without them. A lot of CBT projects are not actual community based according to the definition described above (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). CBT projects are often not founded by the community itself and are sometimes not fully supported (Ibid.).

However, some communities do profit from these kinds of community based projects. Yet, to be a success certain criteria have to be met. Managers of these projects have to report about the initiatives and the projects need to be judged on creating local economic development and reducing poverty. Logically there also has to be a market (or has to be created) for tourism in a certain area, private investments may help. The private sector is said to be a better funding agency than the development organizations because they are assumed to have more knowledge on how to be market conform (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). On the other hand, the difference between the private tourism initiatives and CBT projects is that the community members need to be empowered in CBT projects because this may improve the social capital and economic benefits of the community members (Ibid.).

Rutten (2002a; 2002b; 2004) criticized the practical outcome of the community based policies on the basis of his research about wildlife tourism in Kenya. The private sector has more knowledge and finances as the local community members have and in addition the local community members are not aware of the potential benefits and costs of tourism. In this way the private sector can control and overpower these communities, particularly when contracts are signed. To improve the situation of the local community, members must be supported by independent organizations (e.g. development oriented NGOs) (Rutten, 2002a;2002b). Rutten (2002b; 2004) generated more factors that have to be taken into account in order for community based tourism to be a success:

- Initiative for community based tourism should be with the local community and they should understand the benefits and costs that can arise from tourism. Realistic expectations should be formed.
- A widely supported discussion about whether to get involved in a tourism project is very desirable.
- The local community would preferably build the basic facilities and infrastructure themselves or should at least become the major stockholder.
- If commercial companies are involved agreements about 'payments, terms, conflict resolutions and socio-economic aspects' have to be made (Rutten 2002b, p. 34)
- Communities should develop complementary products and not copy each other.

- Transparency of tourism industry, thus meetings for local community members as they are often illiterate and thus cannot read reports.
- Tourists should be better informed about the character of tourism and about what this kind of tourism means for the development of the community.

2.5. Ecotourism

The year 2002 was the year of ecotourism. Ecotourism is defined in a lot of different ways and there is no consensus about the definition. However, before the start of the year of ecotourism in 2000, the general characteristics of ecotourism are summarized by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 2000). Ecotourism is nature-based with attention to the traditional cultures prevailing in the natural area and contains educational and interpretation features. The trips are often organized for small groups organized by locally owned businesses. It minimizes negative impacts on natural and socio-cultural environment and supports the areas by generating economic benefits (including jobs) for local people and organisations and increase awareness about nature and culture with local community members and tourists. Some additional concerns are land tenure and the lack of control of tourism projects by local communities, and if the current concept of protected areas for protection of biological and cultural diversity is efficient and fair, indigenous and traditional rights and there is a need for precautions and monitoring in (sensitive) areas (Ibid.).

Determined from the summary above Ecotourism can thus be pro-poor and community-based. Additionally, there is an extra focus on the natural environment. During the year of ecotourism it was established that ecotourism is more than being careful with nature, but for example also awareness of local interests and culture. However there is a lot of confusion about the concept, and a lot of people only emphasizes natural aspects. Ecotourism is a popular term with a lot of stakeholders in tourism (Holden, 2005). The term is used for two main objectives, for economic objectives as 'a selling point' or to be an ideal for local and international policy.

2.6. Package tours

In a package, two or more travel elements, such as accommodation, transportation, guide services, entertainment and other hospitality services, are combined (Patterson, 1997). The two main points of critique are that these tours do not able local businesses to profit and that there is little contact between local people and tourists. Most of the expenditures go to airlines, accommodation and other international companies. An all-inclusive package tour often include activities were contact with local communities is little or regulated. Hence, tourists have little free time that they can spend with local community members. The contact is important for local communities to be able to sell goods or provide services to tourists (Holden, 2005).

The tour operators design and plan package tours. Tour operators largely operate from the countries the tourists originate from, mostly Northern American or European. On the other hand there are the destination-based tour operators in the country visited by the tourists. Tour operators offer transportation and accommodation and luggage and passenger transfers (referred to as ground handling). Entertainment and food and drinks are provided and regularly a tour guide or other representatives accompany the tourists on their trip. The destination-based tour operators often arrange the local based tours (i.e. trips usually taking a few days). Another important goal of tour operators is to market their tourist destinations to make them more popular (Lumsdon & Swift, 1999).

2.6.1. The tour guide

Schuchat (1983) and Reisinger & Steiner (2006) indicated that tourists travelling in group tours join to safely meet strangers, be guided by experts, to give meaning to their trips, learn to be travellers, see new sights, bring back souvenirs and photographs and learn about local culture and nature. Hereby the role of the tour guide is important. The guide can be seen as 'a central agent between those visited and those to visit' (Gurung, Simmons & Devlin, 1996, p. 107). To realize the wishes of the group, the tour guides have to provide what the tourists want. Therefore, the tour guides are expected to provide protection and security, to inform the tourists about the place they visit, improve group interaction and be a leader, mentor and entertainer (Schuchat, 1983; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). To benefit the local communities, the tour guides need to take into account the financial earnings, social climate and the environment surroundings of the community members. To realize the desires of those who visit and those visited the tour guides need to be properly trained (Gurung et al., 1996).

2.7. Analytical framework

In the previous chapter, the theory used as the guideline for my thesis, was presented. In the following my specific objectives in this research will be presented and further elaborated in an analytical framework.

2.7.1. Central goal

My central goal of the research conducted is to understand and value the impact of tourism on communities in the interior of Suriname. In this way I hope to make a small contribution in making tourism projects in Suriname more sustainable and pro-poor. As mentioned, the key aim of this project is to determine the (potential) implications of tourism for communities and their members in Upper Suriname. Moreover, to improve the socio-economic situation of the community my aim is to find ways how this could be enhanced best by tourism.

2.7.2. Concepts

In the theoretical framework discussed above the concepts described below are already discussed. However, hereby the main concepts are operationalized further in the way they are used in this research.

Tourism: The travels of people in places outside their usual surroundings for more than twenty-four hours whereby the tourists come in contact with local people in the community and with the local environment. Hence, tourism probably has an impact on the local community. Tourism encompasses several stakeholders including tourists, lodge holders, tour operators, tour guides, governmental and non-governmental organisations and local community members.

Indigenous tourism: Tourism that involves indigenous people, whereby their culture is a central tourist attraction. The tourists are interested in the four Hs, i.e., habitat, heritage, history and handicraft. These aspects impact on the way tourists influence the (indigenous) tourism industry.

Economic impact: influences of tourism on local earnings and income of the local people

Socio-cultural impact: influences of tourism on the social and cultural life of the local people

Environmental impact: influences of tourism on the natural surroundings of the local people

Pro-poor tourism: Reaching the poor by enhancing the linkages between the poor people and the tourism (or related) businesses.

Value chain analysis: Measures large scale impact of tourist activities and reveals the bottlenecks and constrains by following the money flows through the tourist industry. It is a tool to determine the beneficiaries of tourist spending. The tool can be used to determine what to change to make it more pro-poor and what the effects of these changes in the value chain will be.

Community-based tourism: Tourism that is owned and/or managed and supported by the local community.

Ecotourism: Tourism that takes into account the natural and cultural surroundings, as well as the local earnings. The term is used as an idealized concept in policies and by the tourism industry as a popular way of travelling or for selling tourism products.

In the next paragraph the relation between these concepts is made clear in an analytical framework.

2.7.3. Framework

Tourism has an impact on the local community, their economy, social structure and environment. The effects may be positive as well as negative. When it involves indigenous tourism this impact may be more intense. Another important assumption is that with the right approach the negative impacts and costs can be reduced and the benefits increased. The pro-poor tourism, the community based tourism and ecotourism notions may help to find 'solutions' to the right approach.

As seen in this chapter Community-based tourism projects have often failed and the CBT concept is largely criticized. The people of the interior live (relatively) isolated from the rest of Suriname and therefore may have less to do with the macro economic development of Suriname. A balance between making enough profit and not being overwhelmed by tourists need to be made. Both the pro-poor tourism concept (more focussed on mainstream) and ecotourism and community based tourism are included. The pro-poor aspect becomes visible in the value chain and will probably illustrate the income differences between Paramaribo and Upper Suriname. With the use of the community based tourism concept the costs and the benefits of the community and the members themselves are taken into account. The natural environment is also considered.

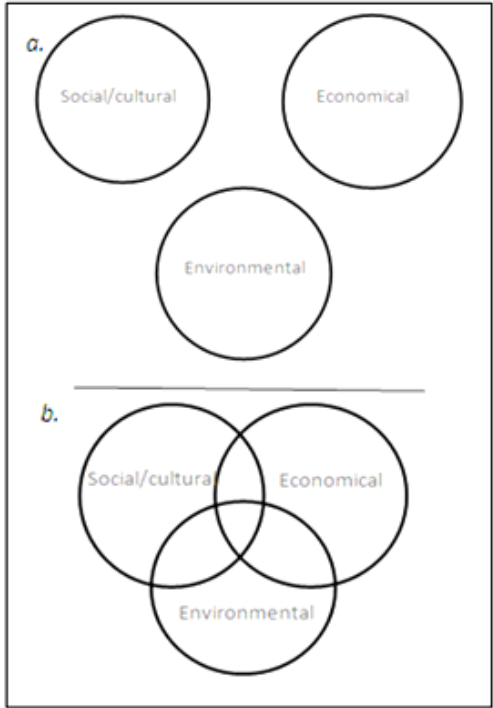
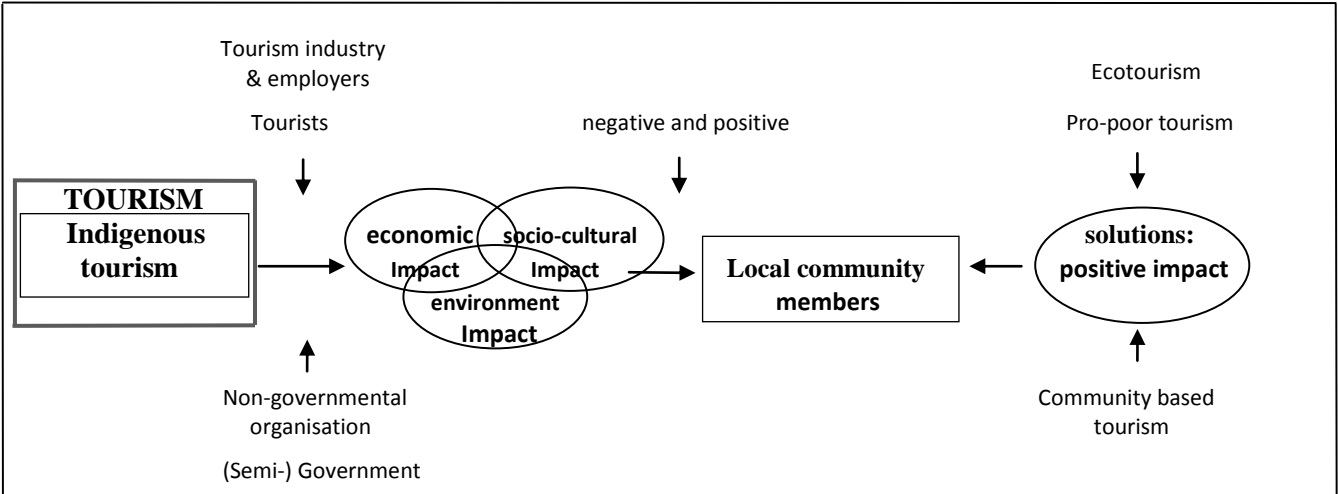


Figure 3: relation of impacts

The three main impacts researched, being economic, socio-cultural and environmental, are interrelated. They are often researched separately, however in reality they are interconnected (see difference in figure 3). These impacts are often researched by different groups, each focussing at one impact. In most cases the groups have concerns related to other impacts (Kreag, 2001). My aim is not to research from the point of view of one of these groups, but to focus on all three impacts and at the same time keep in mind that they are connected as in figure 3b. Therefore my analytical framework is based on theories from different disciplines (groups). Nonetheless, the impacts found in the results can come out not to be evenly important or present (yet) in this research area.

Figure 4 Conceptual framework of tourism in the interior of Suriname



2.8. Research question

The Saramaccaners in Upper Suriname and the Arowakken in Apoera live in a relatively unharmed piece of Amazon rainforest. The people live intimately with their natural surroundings, but did tourism change the natural environment (or maybe will change in the future)? The rainforest may not be influenced that much with the relatively small groups coming to Upper Suriname at this moment. But tourism may affect the nearby natural resources of the local population, to what extent do the people in the interior of Suriname profit? Or could they profit more? It seems that mainly the tour operators in Paramaribo profit the most. There are some new initiatives for community based tourism, but are there enough tourists making use of these facilities? Do the tour operators in the city support these community based tourism projects (or do they want to support these projects in the future)? In my research I will determine more precisely what the benefits and costs are for the Interior of Suriname.

My main research question is: What is the impact of tourism on communities in the interior of Suriname? And how can a community profit (more) from tourism projects?

2.8.1. Sub-questions

To answer the main question I will look at economic consequences as well as social, cultural and environmental costs and benefits. I will take into account the direct and indirect costs and benefits of tourism and come up with suggestions for possible improvements. To cover all these aspects the main question is divided in the following sub-questions:

1. What are the economic effects of tourism on the community? Important aspects to keep in mind are the direct or indirect effects, and how the earnings are spread within and between communities.
2. What are the social and cultural effects of tourism on the community? Hereby the direct effects on the local culture as well as possible changes in social structure should be taken into account.
3. What are the effects of tourism on the environmental surroundings of the people in the community?
4. Which steps should be taken to let the poor benefit more from tourism in all relevant fields, i.e. economically, socially and environmentally? Hereby pro-poor tourism along with community based tourism and ecotourism are taken into account.

3. Research methods and techniques

To determine the impact of tourism on the local people in the interior of Suriname, I will look at the direct and indirect costs and benefits, the local social and economic effects, the consequences on the natural environment and possible improvements. Therefore I have interviewed different actors in or influenced by the tourism sector such as, tour operators, other organisations, lodge owners, guides, employees, other community members and tourists. Additionally, I conducted a household survey among the community members.

My main units of analyses are the local community members. My goal is to measure the impact of tourism on local people and to research how their situation can be improved. The other actors are important as well because they all play a role in the way local community members are impacted and thus in possible improvements. Most of my research took place in two areas, Jaw Jaw/Lespansi and the Gran Rio, both inhabited by Maroons from the Saramaccan tribe. In addition I gathered qualitative data in Upper-Suriname, Gunzi, Pikenslé en Pam Boko also inhabited by Saramaccaners. In the west of Suriname I visited villages inhabited by Native Americans from the Arowakken tribe. I have also conducted information in Paramaribo through interviews with tour operators, tourists and Non- Governmental Organisations.

3.1. Interviews

3.1.1. In-depth Interviews with community members

Altogether I conducted 15 in-depth interviews with community members (not employed in the tourism sector) in Upper-Suriname and Apoera. These interviews were conducted ahead of the household survey. These community members were mostly randomly chosen. Some were chosen because of their connection to the community. Questions posed centred on how they were influenced by the tourism industry and the tourists visiting their village. The length of the interviews was diverse, and varied from about 30 minutes to an hour and a half.

3.1.2. Interviews with tourists

Tourists were foremost interviewed in Suriname's capital city Paramaribo. Most of the tourists stay for most of their time in this city. Sometimes they take trips to the interior of Suriname. Six tourists were interviewed in cafe 't Vat (well known by tourists) and two in an internet cafe. In addition two tourists answered my questions via the internet. They were asked questions about the trips they took, why they choose a certain tour operator and how much money (during the trips) they spent on handicrafts. The interviews were short and took about 20 to 30 minutes.

3.1.3. Interviews with organisations, employers and businesses related to tourism

In total I interviewed 19 people working for six tour operators and three governmental organisations, seven lodge holders, a guide and two other employers. These interviews helped to get a more overall view, and gave me general information about tourism in Suriname. In addition they helped to get to know the long term effects of tourism. This is important because the community members focussed more at the short term effects. In addition, I got information about who started the projects and why. The length of the interviews varied a lot (from about 20 minutes till two hours)

3.2. Survey

To gather quantitative data I used a questionnaire that collected information from local households (Appendix 1, the survey is in Dutch the official language of Suriname). The questions posed were directed at both the household as well as personal level. The most important aspects surveyed are the direct and indirect costs and benefits, the effects on the local earnings, social life and environmental surroundings. Possible suggestions for improvements were also sought for. The questionnaire was partly constructed in the Netherlands and adapted and finalized after some of the above interviews were taken, where some of the questions of the survey were piloted. In addition, I discussed the survey with a colleague from the PAS originally from Upper Suriname.

The survey was conducted among 85 households and comprising about 400 people. However, not all surveys were collected in one area. 64 surveys were taken in Jaw Jaw and Lespansi. Further south In the Grand Rio area 21 surveys were collected. The survey was taken orally in Dutch with an interpreter, translating from Saramaccans to Dutch. I mainly worked with one local interpreter who knows the village well so that I did not interview two people from the same household. In Jaw Jaw we started the interviews in the back of the village and thereafter visited people from all corners of the village, therefore we had a clear starting point and ending. In addition this made it easier to collect data in every area of the community. In the Gran Rio area we wanted to interview households from different communities in the region. The interview took about 45 minutes per household.

3.3. Value chain analyses

Using the information gathered I made a value chain of the tourism expenditures. Mitchel and Ashley (2009) indicate the steps needed to make a value chain (Figure 5). However, it is difficult to calculate the exact amount that flows through the value chain, but an indication can be made. The following steps are taken into account during my research, using the above mentioned methods, and within the analyses below (chapter 5):

Figure 5: Steps involved in value chain diagnosis

Phase	Step	What to do?	Why?
Phase 1: Diagnosis	Step 1	Preparation	To define the destination, type of potential target group, and assessment team/partners
	Step 2	Map the big picture: enterprises and other actors in the tourism sector, links between them, demand and supply data, and the pertinent context	To organise a chaotic reality, understand the overall system
	Step 3	Map where the poor do and do not participate	To avoid erroneous assumptions about poor actors. To take account of the less visible suppliers
	Step 4	Conduct fieldwork interviews in each node of the chain, with tourists and service providers, including current/potential poor participants	To provide data and insights for Steps 5 to 8
	Step 5	Track revenue flows and pro-poor income. Estimate how expenditure flows through the chain and how much accrues to the poor. Consider their returns and factors that enable or inhibit earnings	To follow the US dollar through the chain down to the poor, and assess how returns can be increased
Phase 2: Scope and prioritise opportunities	Step 6	Identify where in the tourism value chain to seek change: which node or nodes?	To select areas ripe for change, drawing on Steps 1 to 5. To ensure Steps 6 to 8 are focused on priority areas
	Step 7	Analyse blockages, options, and partners in the nodes selected, to generate a long list of possible interventions	To think laterally and rationally in generating the range of possible interventions
	Step 8	Prioritise interventions on the basis of their impact and feasibility	To generate an intervention shortlist, comprising interventions most likely to deliver impact
Phase 3: Feasibility and planning	Step 9	Intervention feasibility and planning	Package selected interventions for funding and implementation

Note: These steps are iterative and cannot be entirely sequential, e.g. some initial thinking from Step 6 (where to focus) will help in focusing resources within Step 5.

Source: Mitchel & Ashley, 2009

Important to keep in mind is how many people are and could be included, and who the poor are. The community members in each of the different communities are considered 'poor' and in need to profit more from tourism development and in particular the package tours to the interior villages. Although there are poor people in Paramaribo profiting from tourism as well, the people in the interior are indicated as being the 'poor' in the value chains presented in chapter 5. There are often no actual jobs in the interior and they are lacking behind as there are little economic activities

in the interior. The satisfaction of the local people with their general income and their income from tourism as well as with tourism in general is measured in order to determine if tourism development is also desired by the local residents as well. The differences in income within the communities are small. However, the overall income difference between the interior and Paramaribo is considered quite large. The value chain can be influenced by the market demand, supply conditions, policy context, market failures that constrain greater benefits to the poor, increases in participants and costs on the (non-)participants and effects on the environment (Ashley and Mitchel, 2008). I have tried to involve all these aspects as much as possible in my analyses.

3.4. Validity and reliability

There were no major problems with the assessment and with the content of the survey. In the general information obtained, a few small problems occurred, such as with age and family structures. Some of the people from the survey had difficulty with determining their own age and the age of their household members. The problem was solved with the use of ID-cards and sometimes the age was estimated. Household were sometimes difficult to reconstruct, because of a number of reasons. Firstly, man and woman do not always live together but do eat together. Sharing food and meals is an important aspect in determining who belongs to the household or not and was decisive. Secondly, some men have more than one wife and more than ten children sometimes they live with one woman for a few months and then with another. Secondly, children do not always live within the household. Children above the age of twelve, when they go to secondary school, often move to villages in other regions or to Paramaribo (capital city of Suriname). Although they do not live at home the family still had to take care of them. Therefore I also incorporated them in my survey but noted down in the survey if they did not live in the community and with the household anymore.

During my research I had no major methodological problems. The non- response was low, an estimate is that about 15 % (or less) of the people did not want to participate. I stayed with the interpreter when the surveys were taken to make sure that the questions were rightfully understood. With some questions I used a scale of 1 to 10, not everyone was used to utilize the scale. Therefore, extra attention to those questions and extra explanation was necessary. In addition, in the Gran Rio area I had not enough time to take the amount of surveys desired. However, together with the qualitative data gathered I have enough information to take this area in my account as well.

4. Local context: Interior of Suriname

4.1. The Guyana's

Suriname is seen as an authentic country one that is not fitting in with the rest of Latin America. Socially and culturally the country fits in more with the Caribbean areas than with other Latin American countries. Tourism is an important income generating sector for the Caribbean³.



Figure 6: Map of Guyana's (source: www.geography.org)

Geographically, however, the country does not fit in with the Caribbean Islands, Suriname is one of the three Guyana's together with British and French Guyana. Suriname is situated in the middle of the Guyana's with British Guyana in the west and in the East French Guyana. The Guyana's are situated in the North East of South-America, with the large countries Venezuela and Brazil neighbouring these small countries. The three Guyana's are in addition part of the Guyana (region) together with parts of Western- Venezuela and Northern-Brazil. In comparison with countries bordering the Guyana's, Surinam is less well known. This also affects

tourism towards the region.

4.2. Suriname

Suriname is a small country, it has a population of about 481.000 people (CIA world, 2010)⁴. Paramaribo is the largest city, about half of the Surinamese people live in this city. The northern part of the country, where the majority of the Surinamese people live, is located on the coast. The southern part of the country is mostly occupied by the Amazon rainforest. Suriname has a GNI per capital of 11,267 US dollar and can according to the IMF (2009) been seen as an emerging and

³ Not all countries are equally taking part in this industry and a lot of (poor) people are left out. The poor could benefit a lot more from tourism. In addition Meyer (2006) concludes that in the Caribbean more people can benefit if tourism is linked to other sectors such as manufacturing and agriculture and creative and cultural industries.

⁴ Information retrieved on 19 February 2010

developing country⁵. According to the CIA Factbook (2010)⁶ 70% of the Surinamese live under the poverty line. The income differences within the country are still rather large, between neighbourhoods in Paramaribo as well as between the city and the interior.

Suriname has a tropical climate. The average temperature in Suriname is between 23 degrees and 32 degrees. Suriname has a short (December to early February) and a long rainy season (April to mid August) and a short (February to end April) and a long dry season (August to early December) (Anda Suriname, n.d.a)⁷.

The country has a large cultural and religious diversity mainly due to its colonial past. Suriname was inhabited by Native American people (i.e. Indians) before the English and later the Dutch came to Suriname. Slavery was introduced in the beginning of the sixteenth century only to be abolished in 1863. Labourers from Indonesia (Java) and India were recruited to take over the work performed by the former slaves on the plantations. The result of these population movements is a country with a mixture of Indigenous people (Indian and Maroon), living in the interior as well as the city, and groups of Hindu, Chinese, Creole and Javanese people and some Dutch people, mainly living in the city and the Northern part of Suriname (Nationaal Archief, n.d.)⁸.

Suriname is a former colony of the Netherlands, consequently the ties created partially still exist. The country is independent since 25 November 1975. The countries share the same language and some parts of their history. Additionally, almost as many Surinamese people live in the Netherlands as in Suriname. The recent election in Suriname was in the news shows and papers in the Netherlands. The newly elected president is convicted of drug trafficking in the Netherlands. The negatively exposed news in the Netherlands may affect tourism in Suriname negatively.

4.2.1. Tourism in Suriname

The government of Suriname sees tourism as a serious opportunity for economic development. Stichting Toerisme Suriname (STS) was founded by the government in order to promote tourism to Suriname. In addition the Suriname authorities work together with the Caribbean Community (CariCom) but recognize that the tourism industry in Suriname is different from other Caribbean countries (mintct, 2004). Suriname is not famous for its 'bounty' beaches. Tourists visit Suriname for the Amazon rainforest or the diverse cultures in the city (Paramaribo). Suriname is actually known for the diversity in cultures harmoniously living together.

In 2008 about 215,000 people visited Suriname by plane, the main and almost only way to get in to Suriname. The main reasons for visiting Suriname are family visits (52%), vacation (27 %),

⁵ Information retrieved on 10 September 2010

⁶ Information retrieved on 12 September 2010

⁷ Information retrieved on 31 October 2010

⁸ Information retrieved on 10 September 2010

and business (10%)(Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2009). In 2004 a large scale visitor survey among tourists visiting Suriname was held. The survey gave interesting findings about the characteristics, behaviour opinions and expenditures of tourists. The tourists from the Netherlands account for more than 75% of all tourists. 68 % of the pleasure tourists visited Suriname for the first time, while 80% of the tourist visiting friends and family had been to Suriname before. Hence, more than two thirds (68%) of the tourists had a tie with Suriname and one third was born in Suriname. Almost 90% of the tourists made independent travel arrangements, the rest travelled on a package tour arrangement (Suriname visitor survey, 2005).

As stated above most of the tourists arrive in Suriname without a package tour arrangement. The tours are mostly booked after arrival. Most of the package tours to the interior of Suriname are bought from local destination-based tour operators in Paramaribo. Not mentioned in the Suriname visitor survey (2005) were the interns; mostly students or young employees having stayed with a local organization in Surinam for some time who want to add a holiday after concluding their training or want to make trips in the weekends. There are about 1000 interns in Suriname at any time. Most of these students work in a school or hospital and stay for a few months. They are often visited by family and friends. According to the tour operators these are mostly Dutch and some Belgian students and they themselves and their parents are the major buyers of the package tours.

4.3. Interior of Suriname (Sipaliwini District)

My research was conducted in the Sipaliwini District in the interior of Suriname (figure 7 and a detailed map in appendix 2), mainly in Upper Suriname. Upper Suriname is fairly isolated from the rest of the country and can thus be seen as a remote area. The inhabitants in the interior of Suriname profit less from the economic progress in Suriname than the rest of the country. Upper Suriname is an area in the centre of Suriname near the Suriname River. The area

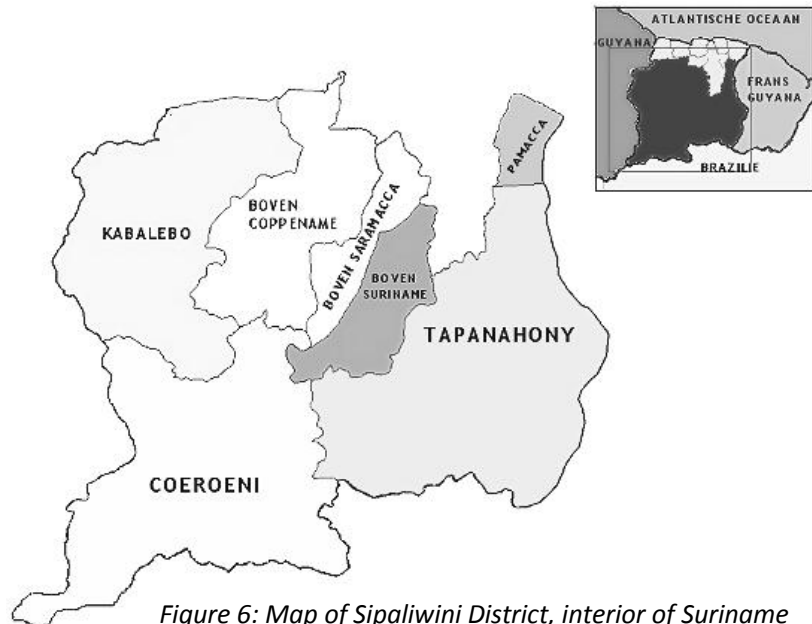


Figure 6: Map of Sipaliwini District, interior of Suriname (source: Anda, n.d.b.)

consists of about 60 villages and has about 13,000 inhabitants (Anda Suriname, n.d.c). The area is mainly inhabited by Saramaccaners which are Maroons, sometimes referred to as 'Bush Negros' or in Suriname often as 'boslandcreool'.

Maroons are descendants of African slaves who escaped from Suriname's plantations from the 16th to the 18th century. Although, nowadays about half of the Maroon population has moved from the interior to the city. About 15% of the total population of Suriname is from Maroon descent. It is said that in this country much of the nation's poor are Maroon. Except from the Maroon other indigenous people inhabit the interior, Native Americans also called Indians or locally 'inheemsen'. They are the first inhabitants of Suriname. About 3% of the Suriname population belongs to the Indian tribes, the Caraïben and Arowakken in the North and the Trio en de Wayana in the South. In general these groups are also isolated from the social economic progress in the Rest of Suriname (Bruin, 2008).

The interior of Suriname can be seen as less economically developed than the rest of Suriname. About half of the Maroons and also a lot of the Native Americans already left the interior largely because of a lack in economic and educational prospects (SaMON, 2008). There is only primary school education in and near the villages. The educational level in the interior is lower in comparison to Paramaribo. There is a shortage of qualified teachers, learning resources and accommodation (De Coster, 2010). There are some job opportunities for men in logging, gold and

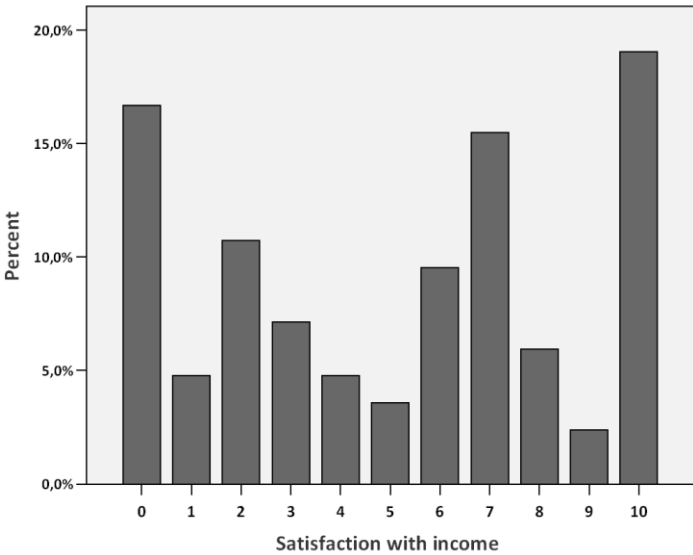


Figure 8: Satisfaction with income in the interior of Suriname (source: own survey)

bauxite mining, however they often still have to migrate to another location in the interior for these jobs. A few people sell goods in a small supermarket or occasionally goods that are brought back from Paramaribo. About 44.7 % of the households questioned in the survey are unhappy with their overall income. More striking is that this satisfaction was on average graded with a poor 5.1 out of 10. People are often largely unsatisfied or largely satisfied with their income

(figure 8). The largely satisfied people often said that they should be satisfied with what they have although not much.

Suriname had a Civil War between 1986 and 1992, a war between army Chief Bouterse and his former bodyguard Ronnie Brunswijk. Hundreds of civilians and fighters were killed and thousands of people fled from the Interior to Paramaribo. The war has destroyed a lot within the interior of the

country, entire villages were wiped out and outpatient clinics, schools, businesses, roads, water and electricity facilities and public facilities were destroyed (de Vries, 2005). In a more recent hazard, in May 2006, Upper Suriname was struck by a flood. The whole of Suriname was hit hard by the flood; 276 villages and 70 villages were completely covered under water. Approximately 30,000 people had no shelter. In addition, a large part of the harvest was lost. A lot was destroyed, houses, agricultural land, but also tourist residences (Samenwerkende Hulp Organisatie, 2008).

4.3.1. Tourism in the interior of Suriname

When placing the tourism in the interior in Butler's tourism stages, tourism is still in a stage of involvement and development. The first tourism camps were built about twenty years ago. The last 10 years tourism to the interior is becoming increasingly popular. Local people are getting involved in tourism and larger businesses are developing their new tourism products as well. Although only a small group of the local people is involved and a large group of tour operators and lodge holders from outside the communities is becoming active in the area.

A lot of tourist tours to the interior are organized in Paramaribo and usually not by the inhabitants of the area visited. Tourists thus leave from the city, here and sometimes in the country of origin the planning of the trip begins. There are dozens of tour operators in Paramaribo. The tours to Upper Suriname usually take only a few days and have to be made by bus and boat or by plane. These trips are often sold in package tours including drinks and food, accommodation, transport and activities. The tours to Upper Suriname are expensive for local people and are mainly made by foreign tourists. A lot of Surinamese people have never visited the interior of their own country.

Tourists are interested in the unique culture of the Maroon and the Native Americans. They have their own language, a unique ancestral and traditional lifestyle, a distinctive cultural organization of the community (e.g. endogamy and polygamy), Saramaccan music, dances and religious rituals. The leader of the community is the captain who settles disputes and looks out for the welfare of the community. At the same time these cultural traditions may get (partly) lost by 'western' influences. Contacts between Western and indigenous cultures (i.e. history) already exist before tourism. These contacts mainly consisted of missionaries, researchers and development workers. Tourism though enlarges these contacts abundantly.

Local people profit from tourism by owning lodges, or working for lodge holders (e.g. as a guide or cleaning lady), providing local transportation and by selling handicraft or other objects to tourists visiting their villages. The communities in Upper Suriname are small and may sometimes be a bit overwhelmed by the tourists visiting their village. They come into contact with new languages, cultures, customs and values. The Saramaccaners do, of course, also have their own (traditional)

cultures, customs, values, and language. A central question is what the consequences of those encounters are and if these changes have positive or negative outcomes.

The main difference between the two main research areas, Jaw Jaw and Lespansi and Gran Rio discussed below, is the way local tourism is organized, more precisely the kind of tour operator that are operating in these areas.

4.3.2. Jaw Jaw and Lespansi

Jaw Jaw is a village in the middle of Suriname situated relatively north of the Upper Suriname area. The trip from Paramaribo to Jaw Jaw takes about four and a half hours, four hours by bus and 30 minutes with the boat. In the future the travel time will be shortened because of the asphaltting of the road. It is also possible to travel by plane, therefore you have to travel from Paramaribo directly to Laduani which takes about one hour. In a short boat trip tourists are brought to Jaw Jaw. Jaw Jaw is a village with about 500 people and it has a Roman Catholic church. In the River near the village there are a lot of beautiful Rapids (a 'sula' also named Jaw-jaw). Jaw-Jaw is a transmigration village that is founded after a mandatory relocation because of the construction of a dam and reservoir in 1965. The community has an elementary school and an outpatient clinic.

Jaw Jaw is one of the prime tourism villages in Upper Suriname. It is an older destination, the first tourism camp was build about 14 years ago. As more tourism destinations have arisen the popularity of Jaw Jaw has decreased. This village has lodges called Djamaika and opposite to the village on an island is the holiday village Isadou situated. Djamaika is owned and run by the captain and his family. Isadou is a bit more isolated from the village, the owner lives there but visits his family in Jaw Jaw regularly. They both have 5 to 10 employees.

Lespansi is half an hour walk from Jaw Jaw. Lespansi consists of two parts, Lespansi 1 and Lespansi 2. It is a traditional village with about 100 inhabitants, mostly women. There are no schools and health clinics, hence they have to go to Jaw Jaw. Sometimes tourists visit the community to make a village walk. According to the people in the village a few years ago more tourists came to this village than nowadays. Both villages have electricity for a few hours a night, from 7 pm to 11 pm. The villages do not have tap water; therefore drinking water is collected in durotanks.

4.3.3. Gran Rio(Langu)

Gran Rio Langu region consists of the following villages, Bediwata, Ligorio, Begoon, Kajana, Deboo, Godowata and Stonhuku. In one of the villages in Gran Rio there are no white people allowed to visit. During my research these communities totalled 1,113 people. There is a school and a health clinic in Kajana. Most of the tourists arrive by plane in a two hour flight from Paramaribo.

The biggest tourist attraction in this area is the waterfall called the Awarradam. There are two tourist resorts in the area, METS (Movement for Eco-Tourism in Suriname) lodges near the Awarradam and Kosinda in Kajana. The METS is an organisation with employees in Paramaribo and local in Awarradam and other locations in the interior. The owner of Kosinda used to work with the METS and later started his own company. He originates from the area and employs local people

5. Value chain: following the tourists into the interior

A value chain looks at the steps taken by a business and at what is earned by whom, the value chain can be used in the tourism industry as well. The value chain is an instrument that primarily gives an estimation of the economic impacts of tourism to the interior. The two value chains discussed below are based upon two trips, one in Jaw Jaw consisting of ten and the other in Gran Rio with eight tourists. One chain analyses a tourism trip where the lodges are locally owned (in Jaw Jaw) another where the lodges are owned by a tourism organization (in Gran Rio). There are too many actors involved and to little figures known to make a value chain based on annual earnings, therefore the value chains are based on a single trip. However an estimation of the annual earnings of the local community members will be made. The value chain starts with the travel arrangements made in the tourists' homelands. Nevertheless, we look at the impact of tourism on the people in the interior. Trips to the interior are normally booked with a local tour operator in Paramaribo. Therefore including tourism expenditures in, to and from Paramaribo is not necessary as the planning and payments of these trips are made in Suriname.

5.1. Actors

There are several 'players' within the tourism industry each fulfilling certain tasks; provision of accommodation, travel, food, entertainment and so forth. The main means of transportation for the tourist trips are busses, boats and airplanes. Some tour operators have their own busses and drivers, though most of the tour operators need to hire a driver and rent a bus somewhere else. Small private transportation business can easily be found and hired in Paramaribo. To travel by boat a sort of a



Figure 9: Plane with tourists landed in Kajana (Gran

Surinam Airways, Gum Air and Bleu Wings. These airlines are usually booked by the local tour operators and thus also included in the price of a package tour.

There are a lot of tour operators in Suriname (destination-based), some organize the tours themselves, though most of the tour operators sell places in a tour organized by other companies.

canoe with an outboard motor called a 'korjaal' is used. The boatmen can be found locally in the interior itself. The boatmen can be hired by the tour operator but are also often hired by the lodge holders. The international airlines bring visitors from their home country to Suriname, while several Surinam national and regional airlines are responsible for taking people to the interior.

The most important local airlines are

Thus all tour operators are interconnected, and as a result tour operators and a tour organizer collaborate in providing package tours. The tour operator takes care of an almost complete package for the tourists, including food and drinks, a place to sleep, activities and so on. Most of the tour operators are based in Paramaribo city. The tour operators can be found all over the city, but especially near the main tourists meeting places. The prices charged for a tour are adapted to the other tour operators in Suriname. They make deals, in advance, about the price they pay for the services they thereafter sell to the tourists. This means that tour operators have price agreements with the lodge holders, guides, dance groups and cooks. Tourism organizations, like the METS, Danpaati and Anaula, organize tours but also manage one or more lodges and additional activities in the interior. Tour operators also inform tourists about the community they visit and what they may or may not do.

The probably most significant group of actors, at least for this research, are the local community members. Most of the local community members are not directly involved in tourism. Some 7.8 % of the people in the survey said their main occupation was in the tourism industry. Those who do work in the industry make 'arts and handicrafts' have lodges or are employers by tour operators or lodge holders. About 75 % of the local people of 15 years and older has only a primary school education or has no education at all. The civil war, the (low) quality of the educational system and the large amount of people that moved to Paramaribo are the main reasons for the low educational level of the interior. However, when working for a tourism organization, like the METS, Danpaati and Anaula, the local employees are trained for their job and thus receive a form of additional education.

Some tour guides originate from the destination while others were born and stay in the city. Most, approximately 75 %, of the guides (and also cooks) are employed by tour operators. Nonetheless, Djamaica lodges in Jaw Jaw for example has a local guide and cook, they are however usually not hired as the tour operators bring their own cook and guide. The guides take the people with them on nature walks and village walks. Some guides accompany the tourists from Paramaribo to the interior and sometimes act as the driver as well. The role of the guides is important as according to the tourists the tour guides give them a feeling of safety, they have interesting stories and knowledge to share.

There are (or could be) a lot of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in tourism, such as development organizations (e.g. PAS), environmental organizations (e.g. Nimos nature institute), community based organizations (e.g. "Wan duumi moo didia" for preservation of the local culture in Kosindo and stichting Kajana), women's organizations (present in most villages) and academic institutions (e.g. Anton de Kom University). They all represent groups and have a concern for the environmental setting of these groups. Tourism may influence the groups and their

surroundings positively or negatively, therefore these organisations are (or need to be) involved in tourism in order to manage the consequences into the right direction. Additionally, these organisations are sometimes directly involved in the tourism value chain because every so and then tourists or tour operators donate money to a local organisation. A probably more central role they (potentially) play in the tourism business is through stimulating positive outcomes of tourism and slowing down the negative consequences on the local community and the environment.

The government is responsible for policy making with regard to tourism. As mentioned above the Surinam government sees the tourism sector as an important tool for economic development. A role in this respect can also be played by the semi-governmental organization, Stichting Toerisme Suriname (STS). An employee of this foundation affirmed that tourism is, more than it used to be, incorporated in policy statements. STS was founded in 1996 and aims to promote responsible tourism, 'sustainable and with more positive aspects' (Karen Tjon, 19 March 2010). The government can influence the value chain by stimulating tourism and therefore increasing the amount of tourists in Suriname and thus the earnings for the actors in the chain. Another important role of the government can be to look out for harmful effects and encourage beneficial results of tourism.

Tourists have a large say in what the trips to the interior are about and the maximum costs attached. In the value chain the tourists are important because they spend the money and therefore they are the actors that bring the money in the value chain. They pay for the trip and sometimes for donations to schools or local organisations. Most of the tourists choose to travel with a tour operator, because they are safe, it is easy (all in one service), you do not have to bring food and supplies, the guide knows a lot, someone cooks for you, interesting stories are told and the quality of services are good. On the other hand some tourists see disadvantages in travelling with a tour operator as this is more expensive, and there is less freedom to do what you want. However, often tourists do not know how to organize a trip themselves.

5.2. Value Chain

Making use of the value chain means following the 'US dollar'. With the value chain the money that reaches the poor is estimated. The question is where the money that the tourists spend is going to. The prices for the trips to the Interior are high (from about 300 to 900 US dollar). A certain amount of the money paid is used to cover the cost of the trip, but also the tour operator is a major beneficiary. Most of the money paid to the tour operator remains in Paramaribo. The tour operators pay the lodge holder for the nights, sometimes for the activities (for example, forest or village walks) and for use of the kitchen an earlier arranged amount. Which proportion of the money goes to the community in Upper Suriname depends on the number of people from the community that work in the tourist camp, as cleaners, guides or cooks, and that sell goods, such as handicraft and food. If

those people all come from one family (such as on Jaw Jaw) the revenue will probably be distributed less equally. However, there are some tour operators that set up funds or donate money to the community so that more people can profit.

Selling food and drinks should be included in the value chain. A lot of the food consumed in the interior is brought along from Paramaribo. Therefore the revenue flows back to the city. Sometimes the vegetables are sold by local community members. Some people with a surplus of their 'kostgrondje'⁹ sell this surplus to the camp holder, as happens in Gunzi. Meat and fish is probably more difficult to gain locally. There is a danger of overfishing and hunting of too many animals, making these animals stay farther away from the village and are thus harder to catch at the expense of local use.

Since everything is paid for the tourist travels to the Interior with the idea that all the costs are already covered in advance, and thus nothing or little more expenses have to be made in the place of destination. Accommodation, activities, food and beverages are already taken care for, therefore tourists do not have to contact local people and do not have to spend money locally. Moreover, tourists have little contact with people in the villages they visit since they lack free time because of the time schedule they are in.

Not only is everything taken care of in a package tour, the tour operators also decide when everything will take place. Most tourists were very positive about the local people they met, however several tourists indicate that they had little time to spend with local people. If tourists have more contact with local people they are more likely to buy goods and handicraft from them. Most of the contact takes place during a village walk wherein they visit a village and some people show their houses, the guide decides what the tourists visit and where they can buy their goods. However, tourists do not know that a lot of the local people have handicrafts to sell. However, if tourists are open to spend more money in Upper Suriname, the range of things money could be used up on has to be larger, for example, more kinds of handicrafts and snacks and more diversity in activities.

Since 2006 the mobile phone networks in Suriname are expanding to Upper Suriname. There's never been a fixed telephone line. Contact with the world outside Upper Suriname had to be made via a radio. The mobile phone offers new opportunities for lodge holders, tour operators and tourists to make appointments. For example, in Gunzi, most of the people call in advance to the lodge holder and then come with own transport or the bus leaving from the Saramaccastraat to Gunzi.

⁹ Native term for a piece of land on which an owner or lessee cultivates crops for personal use

5.2.1. Value Chain Jaw Jaw

Within the first value chain presented below (figure 10) it is estimated how much money from the trips to Jaw Jaw reaches the community members. This trip is mostly taken by bus and boat. The tour operator and the lodge holder are not the same business, the tour operator is from Paramaribo and the lodge holder from Jaw Jaw. Estimated is that for these trips to Jaw Jaw 340 US dollar per person is paid by the tourists and that on average ten people take part.

Figure 10: Value chain Jaw Jaw

Kind of expenditures Tourists:	Earnings Paramaribo (estimation)	Earnings interior Suriname (estimation)
• Plane ticket	n/a.	n/a.
• Accommodation	n/a.	n/a.
• Food and drinks	n/a.	n/a.
• Other expenses (shopping)	n/a.	n/a.
• Package tour to the interior	(+- 3400 USD for four days, group of ten people)	n/a.
○ Organisation tours	2380 USD	0 USD
○ Food and drinks	200 USD	15 USD
○ Employees (local or from Paramaribo): Guides, gardeners, cleaning persons, cooks, lodge administrator etc.	70 USD	50 USD
○ Transportation (also driver and boat owner/controller)	135 USD	200 USD
○ Accommodation (local owner)	0 USD	350 USD
<i>Outside the package</i>		
○ Handicraft and 'snacks and drinks'	0 USD	35 USD
○ Tips and donations	35 USD	70 USD
	----	----
Total:	2,820 USD	720 USD

Note that the employees mentioned above can be employed by the camp owner (the money will be paid from money earned from the local lodges) or the tour operator in Paramaribo (extra money will flow into the communities)

In total the tourists spend about 3,540 US dollar when they make a trip to Upper-Suriname, in this example Jaw jaw. About 720 US dollar is received by local people from Upper-Suriname. Thus about 20.3% of the money that tourists spend when on a package tour ends up by local people from Upper-Suriname, in and near Jaw Jaw. The lodge holders estimated that about 20 to 60 people visit Djamaica and about 80 to 200 visit Isadou per month. However this is very dependable on the season, in the dry periods more people visit Suriname than in the wet. In average 15 trips per month and about 180 per year are taken to Jaw Jaw. Which means that the local people in and around Jaw Jaw earn about 128,000 US dollar per year, however the costs are not taken in consideration yet. Costs are for example building and maintaining the lodges and facilities, boats and outboard motor.

The tour operators (responsible for 'organization tours') receive most of the money, not all of this money stays with tour operators but also ends up at the office and the employees in Paramaribo.

In addition there is usually more than one tour operator involved in such a trip. Tour operators work together to ‘fill up’ each other’s tours. Therefore the profit made is spread between different tour operators. Tourists can buy local handicrafts and agrarian products (e.g. bananas and peanuts) from local people and sometimes snacks in the small shops or snacks. Some of the schools, other facilities and local organization get donations from tourists. Some of the tourism workers, especially guides, drivers and boatman, get tips from tourists.

5.2.2. Value chain Gran Rio

There are two kinds of lodges in the Gran Rio area, a locally owned tourist camp and a camp from the METS. The value chain of Gran Rio is based on the latter. The METS is a relatively large tourism organization with international ties in Swiss, the Netherlands and England. The organization has besides the lodges near the Awarradam, also tourism camps in Palameu and Kasikasima. A trip to the Awarradam costs 730 US dollar per person. An average group of tourists consist of about eight people.

Figure 11: value chain Gran Rio

Kind of expenditures Tourists:	Earnings Paramaribo (estimation)	Earnings interior Suriname (estimation)
• Plane ticket	n/a.	n/a.
• Accommodation	n/a.	n/a.
• Food and drinks	n/a.	n/a.
• Other expenses (shopping)	n/a.	n/a.
• Package trips to the interior	(+ 5,840 US dollar for four days, group of eight people)	n/a.
○ Operating tours and accommodation	2,896 USD	0 USD
○ Food and drinks	135 USD	35 USD
○ Employees (local or from Paramaribo): Guides, gardeners, cleaning persons, cooks etc.	70 USD	270 USD
○ Transportation (including flight)	2,364 USD	0 USD
○ Donation METS	0 USD	20 USD
○ Dance group	0 USD	50 USD
<i>Outside the package</i>		
○ Handicraft and agrarian products	0 USD	70 USD
○ Tips and donations	35 USD	200 USD
	----	----
Total	5,500 USD	645 USD

Note that the employees mentioned above are all employed by the tour operator.

In total the group of eight tourists spend about 6,145 euro when they make a trip to the Awarradam. About 645 euro is received by local people in the Gran Rio area. Thus about 11.9 % of the money that tourists spend when on a package tour ends up by local people from Upper-Suriname, Gran Rio. In busy months 200 people visit the three above mentioned regions. About 80 trips per year are

made to the Awarradam. The local costs are lower as the lodges and boats used by the METS are the responsibility of the METS. The local earnings from tourism are about 52,000 US dollar per year.

These trips to the Awarradam are more luxurious than the tour to Jaw Jaw mentioned above, therefore these tourists have often more to spend. They travel by plane which is also included in the package tour. They are brought to local foundations where they get information and can donate money. In almost all the villages in the region there are dance groups that perform for tourists. In comparison with the value chain of Jaw Jaw there is about as much revenue for the inlanders there as in the Gran Rio region. Relatively speaking there are in Gran Rio even a bit less earnings for the members of the community than in Jaw Jaw. This has to do with the lodges that are locally owned in Jaw Jaw and are from a tourism organization (METS) in Gran Rio. In contrast the donations and the spending on handicrafts and snacks is larger in Gran Rio as these tourists have often more to spend and more attention is given to the needs of the local communities (by visiting community based organizations). It does not necessary mean that a lot more local people profit more if lodges are locally owned (as in Jaw Jaw) and local guides are used. This becomes clear in the next chapter, the owners of these lodges and the guides largely profit their own family.

5.3. Options to improve local earnings

Within the value chain it becomes clear that the tourists do not spend a lot of money in the interior and outside the package. In the value chain this is visible as most of the money is earned in Paramaribo (in the middle column) by the tour operators or in the case of the Awarradam also the airline. To enlarge the economic impact on the local community all the different actors need to work together. First, the involvement of a tour operator could be avoided so that tourists travel on their own and tourists are 'obligated' to spend more time and money with local people. Yet, we need to mention that inclusion of tour operators could mean that the poor in the city might be assisted, thus the tour operator in Paramaribo can be pro-poor too. Tour operators and the city are not the 'enemy', however a more equal distribution of the earnings would be desirable. Local people say tour operators are needed to give information to tourists on the communities and their cultural heritage. In addition, tourists say that they like to go with a tour operator because it is easy and safe and they can give some extra information. The role of the tour operator can be partly taken over by another manner of provision of information. This could for instance be done in an information centre to provide information about the local culture and ways to travel and how to contact local lodges. Hereby NGOs and the (semi-)government can play a role in making this kind of information sharing with tourists possible.

Second, the local employees and lodge holders can get better deals with tour operators in order to earn more money. They can achieve this by organizing meetings between these two

stakeholders where both interests are taken into account. There are dozens of tour operators and each year there are coming more. Therefore some tour operators have problems to make ends meet. Others may not want to lose income, and may choose one of the other cheaper lodges. Consequently some of the tour operators may not want to participate. The lodge holders are United in the LBO (Lodge holders Boven Suriname) and can talk with the organizations of tour operators, VESTOR (Vereniging van Surinaamse Touroperators) ,to incorporate as much of the interests of the two groups of businesses as possible.

Third, it would be better if more of the package tours are organized locally. Examples of how this could be done are by cultivating food or to have more local cooks and guides employed. A more fair division between the city and hinterland can in this way be created. This can also be done if the initiative in the organization of tours comes from local people. This happened in Apoera where a local initiator made contact with a tour operator in the city. Most of the earnings from the trip were for the local businessman that also arranged everything for the trip. The initiators do not have to be from the interior to have more local income. Danpaati is a tour operator that said to be the only tour operator where the profits go largely to their social projects. They have 48 local workers and are one of the largest employers in the region. They have a local day care, therefore the mother can work and the older children can go to school in Paramaribo. The only down side is that these package tours to the interior are a bit luxurious and thus expensive for some tourists (e.g. interns).

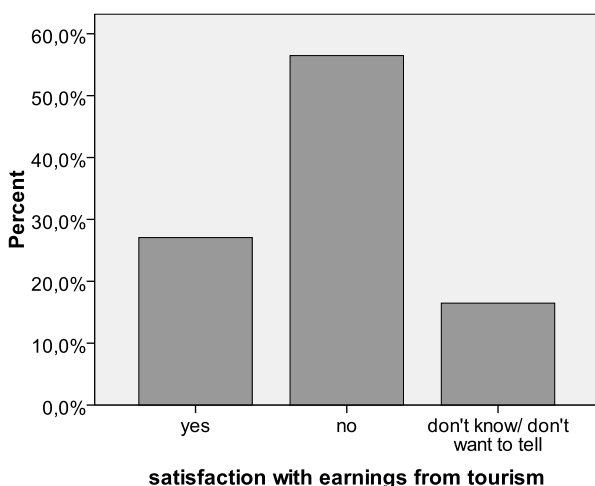
Fourth, the production and selling of handicraft was often mentioned as a way to earn more money from tourism. Many people mentioned dissatisfaction with the numbers sold because they do not know how to sell their products and for which price and the guides and the lodge holders often favour family guides so that other people cannot sell their products. This problem will become clearer in the next chapter, and thereafter ideas of how local community members can earn more through tourism will be discussed.

fifth, it is important to keep in mind the absolute as well as the relative earnings for the community. The poor can eventually profit more by earning more money while relatively speaking nothing really changes. For example, if more tourists visit the interior, more trips to the interior are made and tour operators and the local tourism businesses profit more from tourism. This absolute rise might be because of either more tourists coming or tourists paying higher rates and therefore the tour operator from Paramaribo as well as the local community members will profit more. Thus by stimulating tourism to Suriname and the interior, local people profit as well.

6. Local experiences and social inequalities

Tourism impacts on the livelihood of the people and a region in an economic sense but also affects the social setting. In this chapter the socio-economic impact of tourism is examined. Many people from the interior of Suriname left their village of origin mainly for educational reasons. Tourism, however, may stimulate people to stay in or come back to the interior after their education is finished because of new or extra job opportunities. In the previous chapter we saw that the poor (i.e. the local community members) get a small part of the earnings from the tours to the interior. Yet the local inequalities and local concerns and opinions about tourism should also be mentioned. Overall, people are largely unsatisfied with their economic situation and tourism may help to change this. For most of the people interviewed, however, it was noted that they are unsatisfied with what they earn from tourism. Economic success is very important for most people from all the different communities. However, not everyone in the community or every community can participate in the tourism industry. For only 7.8% of the adults the main occupation is in the tourism industry. This means that the other 92.2% make a living somewhere else, though most of the people live from their 'kostgrondje'.

While for most of the people interviewed the main occupation was not in tourism, 18.8 % of the people reported that they do work in tourism from time to time, and when questioning about separate activities this percentage was even more. Most of the people active in tourism sell handicrafts (31.8 %). Other people earn money from tourism through a business related to tourism (4.7%), hiring out a boat (9.4%), selling agrarian products (23.5%) or other goods (5.9%). 43.5% of the



satisfaction with earnings from tourism
 Figure 12: Graph of satisfaction with income tourism (%)

people profit from tourism through donations from tourists. Some of these donations are given to the people directly or handed over to the school of the children from that household. A small group of people profits from tourism and only 27.1 % of the people said to be satisfied with their household income earned with tourism (figure 12). This is including the people that are satisfied with not making money in the tourism industry. Moreover, more than half of the people (56.5 %) want to earn more from

tourism and are thus not satisfied with what they earn or with the fact that they do not earn money with tourism at all.

6.1. Inequalities in the interior

An important question is how the money made by tourism is divided within the community (i.e. can everyone profit or just a small group). The earnings are generally not spread equally within the community. Only a few community members can earn money from tourism through a job, a lodge or by selling handicrafts to tourists. However, most of the people are satisfied about how the tourism earnings are distributed throughout the community, 51.8% is satisfied, 34% is not satisfied and the rest is neutral or did not know if the earnings are spread equally in the community or not. People that profit economically from tourism are significantly ($p=0.005$) more satisfied with their earnings from tourism. There is also inequality between local people that do work in the tourism industry. The lodge holder earns more money than local employees, such as guides, cooks and cleaning ladies. Nonetheless, because most people are not able to work in the tourism industry, those who do are mostly satisfied that they have a job and there is little dissatisfaction with this kind of inequality.

In addition there is a significant gender inequality in the opportunities men and women have and the money they can earn in the tourism sector. The differences in opportunities have largely to do with the difference in educational level and the level of acculturation. Women and elderly people are usually less acculturated and less educated, if at all (see table 1). These differences translate in the kind of people that work in the industry which favours mostly men and youngsters. However the latter difference is in this research not significant and relatively even more elderly people seem to work in tourism than young people (absolute it is the same), an extensive research could be more conclusive and can back up the qualitative data I have gathered. An exception in the first is the handicrafts business, as these goods are mainly made by women. However, only a few make a good living from selling handicrafts (see paragraph 6.2.1.).

Table 1 inequality in gender and age

	Men	Women	Sig. Difference	Young (age 15-40)	Older (age 40>)	Sig. difference
No education	18.2% (8 out of 44)	42.9% (36 out of 84)	$P < 0.05$	27.1% (19 out of 70)	43.1% (25 out of 58)	$P < 0.05$
Main occupation: tourism industry	12.8% (6 out of 47)	4.7% (4 out of 86)	$P > 0.05$	6.7% (5 out of 75)	8.6% (5 out of 58)	$P > 0.5$

Source: own survey

6.1.1. Friction in communities

Most of the community members indicated that they want to take part in the tourism business but cannot. Lodge holders and tour guides often profit family more than other community members. Djamaica (tourism camp) is a family business, almost all of the people involved are relatives. According to a woman from the community (interview 26 March 2020) the community members do

hardly profit from tourism and do not know much about the money earned from tourism only that 'everything goes to the owner of the camp'. Therefore the relationship between the lodge holder and the rest of the community is not so good, there is a bit of friction between the family and other community members. Nevertheless, she said that there are communities where this problem is less pronounced and gave an example in Gunzi. Here the community at large receives a contribution from the tourism business. The family running the Djamaica camp see no problem at all. According to the daughter of the lodge holder 'everything is well between us and the rest of the community'.

In several communities it was mentioned that the guides often enable family members and friends to profit from tourism and prevent others from profiting. Tour guides know the language the tourists speak (mostly Dutch) however most of the community members only speak Saramaccans. Therefore they do depend on the tour guide in order for the local people to communicate with the tourists. A woman in Pikinslé gave an example of a guide that had lied that the tourists in his group were not interested in buying handicrafts. However, a visitor in the village that spoke both the languages (Saramaccan and Dutch) witnessed what happened and told the woman that the guide did not tell the truth. Eventually she sold handicrafts worth about 15 euro. She assumed that the guide wanted the tourists to buy somewhere else, probably with family.

Thus as we have seen there is some friction within communities, however most people do not experience much friction. As we have seen above, most of the people are satisfied with how the benefits from tourism are spread between community members. Although as tourism becomes more popular tension will in all probability rise.

6.1.2. Inequalities between communities

Not only within but also between communities the economic benefits are not equally spread. This very much depends if there is a tourist camp present in or near a community and if the village is included in the village walks. If this is not the case, the influence of tourism is less and so are the economic benefits. In addition, the size of the tourism camp and the popularity of the village and the camp are important. Both these aspects will ensure that more tourists will visit this village. Jaw Jaw and the villages in Gran Rio are both popular and have a lot of tourists in comparison to others. Pam Boko in contrast is less known by tourists. The village has a small tourism camp with room for about 20 people, but is only visited every three months. Inequality can cause friction, however no evidence of friction between communities was found (yet), in neither of the villages.

The popularity of villages and camps among tourists changes over time. Already one can notice a distinction between the old and new locations. This will probably be even more notable in the future. New locations are often more luxurious and therefore more suitable for mainstream tourism. The older tourism locations have, for example, only small wooden sheds and outside

showers to share. One of the tour operators (interview 3 June 2010) stated that Jaw Jaw is one of these older tourism destinations. Because of these changes in popularity new inequalities between villages arise. The main problem is the lack of innovation versus the higher standards demanded by (some of) the tourists arriving in the area. In addition tourism becomes a more standardized product. The tour operators sell all of the same tours and the same products in all of the villages. This also influences the number of villages that can profit from tourism.

In the previous chapter the main difference between Jaw Jaw and Gran Rio was presented: Jaw Jaw having a local lodge holder and Grand Rio an external lodge owner. However from the results in the questionnaire it becomes clear that the people in both of the areas did not think much different about tourism. For example, concerning the earnings made from tourism in both cases about a quarter of the people are satisfied with their earnings from tourism (23.8% in Gran Rio and 28.1% in Jaw Jaw). In both the areas people are about as much involved in tourism (no significance difference in any activity). In Apoera, Washabo and Section the people aired almost all positive voices about tourism. Although far away from Upper Suriname and Indian population the impact of tourism is not that different. There are a lot of small tourism camps, however most of the people do not profit from tourism economically. These neighbouring villages are laid out in a row. Apoera village is visited by tourists most. Because the villages are so near to each other they can work together and people from all three villages could profit from tourism.

6.2. Challenges in tourism

The analyses above make it clear that not everyone can profit (yet) economically from tourism. However, those who do profit struggle with the inherent risks and seasonality's of the tourism business and the potential benefits from tourism as well. Tourism is dependent on the seasons of the year (the dry seasons) or the tourism seasons (holidays, summer- Easter and Christmas vacations), this is mainly a problem for smaller businesses. In addition there are many people who would like to participate but fail to find employment in the tourism sector because there are not enough tourism activities or tourists. These kinds of problems will be illustrated with tree examples below, about handicrafts, dance groups and donations

6.2.1 Handicrafts

A lot of the difficulties mentioned above are visible in the selling of handicrafts. The two main products sold in Upper Suriname are pangi's, decorated shawls to drape around your body, and bowls made of calabashes (figure 14). There is little variety in the products that are sold. Tourists are more likely to buy smaller goods that fit easily in their suitcases, there are barely any trinkets sold. Consequently, tourists buy less handicraft and mostly in only one village. When they come back to

upper Suriname, or visit more areas, they buy often nothing. In Apoera handicraft is sold on tables set up by a couple from the Arowakken tribe and tables set up by women from the Trio tribe (figure 13 and 14). They have smaller goods to sell and seem more content with the amount of handicraft they sell.



Figure 13: handicraft sold by Arowakkan couple



Figure 14: handicraft from Maroon (left) and Native American (right) cultures.



The most frequently mentioned reason people are positive about tourism is the possibility that tourism offers for the sale of local products. However, most of the people are not satisfied with the number of handicrafts they sell and thus would like to sell more products. Most of the products are sold by community members during

village walks and in the tourism camps. The people from the village ask guides to sell their products. According to local people the guides do not cooperate, but help their families to sell products. They do not work with a fee. The community members depend on the guides because they often do not speak Dutch or English. A woman from Pikinslé (24 March 2010), living in the backside of the village, said she sells less than others because the tourists have already shopped around upon entrance in the village. In Gran Rio a woman (interview 12 May 2010) gave an example of a guide that took tourists always to the same family members living behind her. In Jaw Jaw the pangis are sold within the tourism camp. Most pangis are made by family members of the lodge holder. People from the village may sell their products but have to ask for permission from the lodge holder. The camp is not receiving extra profit over the pangis they receive from others. If the pangi is sold the person who made the pangi get the full amount that is paid for the product. No fee is asked, however the family often gets small gifts in return (e.g. food and soft drinks).

Another problem mentioned by a lot of the community members is the trouble to set a price. There is a lot of manual labour and time invested in the products offered for sale. Therefore the community members would like a fair price for their products. However, the guides often disagree

with the prices the local people ask because they claim these to be too high. The tour guides are on their turn concerned that the tourists would not buy anything if the goods are too expensive.

Alternative ways to sell handicrafts have been developed in several villages. In Pikinslé the handicrafts are sold in a local museum. The museum purchases the products at a cost from people living in the village. Thereafter they add a little extra money on the prices for the tourists, this is a small profit for the museum. Community members are dissatisfied with the sales to the museum. The museum thinks that the villagers ask too much money for their products; this causes friction between the museum and the people from the community. However, the museum provides some unique items, in comparison to other villages, such as the bag and comb in the back of the first picture of figure 14. In Gunzi handicraft is sold in a giftshop. The giftshop is indicated with a big sign next to the Suriname River. This creates expectations, but when we visited the giftshop it became clear that these expectations were not met. The giftshop looks a little bit messy, it is quite small and sells products in little variety. They sell especially Pangi's and Calabashes, the same as in the other villages. The woman in the giftshop (interview 26 March 2010) experienced that tourists found the products too expensive and too big. Tourists prefer artefacts and jewellery that is light and easy to carry home, things that would without problems fit into their suitcases. In Apoera most of the handicraft sold is jewellery, a larger success than the handicraft sold in Upper Suriname.

6.2.2. Dance groups

A lot of the communities in Upper Suriname have one or more dance groups to entertain tourists visiting their village. The groups are popular and often provide entertainment during the evening and are often included in the trips. The price the tour operators pay for tourists to see a group dance are set in front. The group varies from about six persons to about fifteen, groups with men or women and groups of young and old people.

The dance groups get paid as a group and have to split their earnings. They get about 35 Euro per performance. The group must also ensure maintenance, for example clothing and musical instruments to dance on. According to a young woman in Gran Rio the people in the group get 5 SRD (1,70 US dollar) per person per dance. Some of the groups have problems in finding enough people to dance because the members of the group are disappointed about the little money they make. In addition it is difficult for the groups to find new young members, because they have often moved to Paramaribo for schooling or are less interested in traditions.

6.2.3. Donations

What happens with the donations from tourists or tourism organisation is often unclear for the local community members. The Movement for Ecotourism Suriname (METS) for example donates 15 euro

for every airplane that lands in Kajana (Gran Rio). A lot of the community members know this, but they do not know what happens with the money. According to the METS the money is donated to the village fund. Thereafter they do not follow up on what happens with this money. The money of all the 8 villages goes to Basha Kadsoe Pompia (a help of the captain) in Stonehoekoe. The Basha in turn, saves the received money to an amount of SRD 8000 (2800 US dollar) and then meets with representatives of these 8 villages. Each village representative will then receive that part that the village deserves (depending on how many people live in a village). And the money is then used for social objectives (e.g. meeting places, landing stage) of the villages.

In Jaw Jaw the primary school is popular to donate money or supplies. Tourists bring often pencils and writing books. The school is set up by the Catholic Church. They donate the school supplies needed. According to the headmaster of the school (interview 26 March 2010) they get enough supplies from the church. He said that it is good that tourists donate supplies to the school. However these donations are actually not very necessary. Some of the people in the village are sceptical about what is donated ‘donation consist mainly of candy and balloons’ as an adult male he does not profit from these donations (interview 13 May 2010).

6.3. Popularity and opportunities for locals

Local opinions towards tourism are almost always positive, mainly when asked about tourism in general. This has largely to do with the opportunities people see in tourism. A woman in Gunzi explained (interview 26 March 2010) ‘Since tourism came to the village you can find a job and you can sell stuff’ or as the captain in Washabo said (interview 7 April 2010) ‘tourism is a good thing, it’s a way of earning’. 83.5% of the people are positive or very positive about the effect of tourism on the household, even more people 90.5% of the people are positive about the effect of tourism on the community. The rest of the people are neutral about the impact of tourism on the household and community and only a few are negative (4.7% and 3. 5% respectively). People who profit from tourism economically (thus by selling goods and food, work and donations) are more positive about the impact of tourism on the household (see figure 15, $p < 0.05$) but are not significantly ($p > 0.1$) more positive about the impact of tourism on the community.

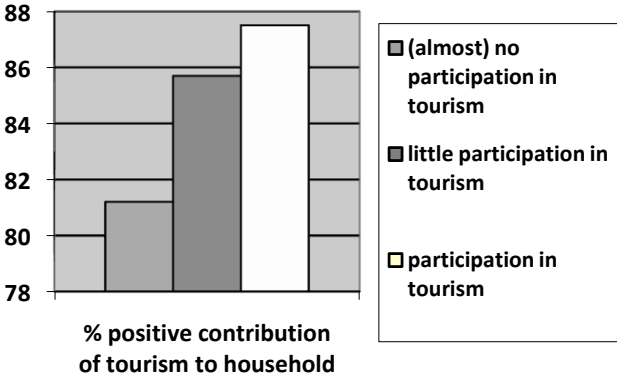


Figure 15: percentage of people that are positive about tourism by participation in tourism (source: own survey)

The vast majority is thus positive about tourism, though, not everyone is enthusiastic about tourism. This can cause friction in the community. In Gunzi a woman (interview 26 March 2010) said

that she was dissatisfied with the role of the captain. He is according to her negative about tourism and had been yelling angry at tourists. However, those who have negative sentiments towards the sector do this mostly for other arguments. For example, tourism is held responsible for growing economic inequality within the community. Some of the people are unhappy with this and the friction it sometimes causes. This is a kind of social cost that has crept into the community. Another reason people might have negative opinions is because of other direct or indirect costs (financial or environmental). Some 9.4% of the households said they have financial costs from tourism, however all these household have someone working in the tourism industry and the costs are related to their tourism business. The land in the interior of Suriname is not locally owned. The government has the property rights and the indigenous people have the user rights. However, tourism camps are not build on places were local people live (including not on 'kostgrond'). A teacher in Gran Rio (interview 13 May 2010) planning to open a tourism camp explained that she can build her camp wherever she wants because there is a lot of land available and the land was not owned by 'anyone' (she did not say anything about the government). The few people that expressed negative sentiments about tourism are mostly unsatisfied with social-cultural aspects (see next chapter).

Opportunities in tourism are thus important for the local community members. This can also be seen in the number of people that want to participate in tourism and aim to profit from the new chances (see table 3). About 75% of the people interviewed indicated an interest in selling handicrafts. Over 30% do sell handicrafts at this moment. Having a tourism camp and selling agrarian products are also popular desires, but in reality most have not put these activities into practice. The opportunities that the people see are not there for everyone. It is already mentioned that tourism is still fairly in the first stages of development. If the people cannot profit from these opportunities in the future, the people might turn less positive towards tourism.

Table 2: Reality and desires in tourism

	2010	Desires for the future
Sell handicrafts	31.8%	74.1%
Have a tourism camp	< 3%	44.7%
Sell agrarian products	23.5%	61.2%
Other tourism development	n.d.	24.7%

Source: own survey

6.4. Knowledge and education

It was often mentioned by local community members that they would like to participate in tourism activities but did not know how to do it. In table 2 the biggest gap between reality and their desire is in being an owner of a tourism camp. During the survey many people said that they would like to open a tourism camp but did not know how. The people in Paramaribo engaging in tourism are often better educated. They have seen how tourism works in their surroundings, they speak the same

language as tourists and have more opportunities and financial means to work or start a business in tourism. Some of the villagers had never been to the city (Paramaribo) in their lifetime. For many years tourism has been part of life in Paramaribo. There is a wide range of businesses related to tourism (hotels, bars and tour operators). A profound knowledge about the tourism industry is lacking in the interior. Here, local people often do not know how to start a business or how to sell more products and food. In addition a majority of the local people (68.2%) have no idea about how many tourists are visiting and how much money is earned in tourism.

In the previous chapter it is already mentioned that the level of education in Upper Suriname is low, 76.6% of the people in the survey age 15 years or older have no education or are educated at primary school level. Nationwide 44.9% of the people age 15 years and older has a primary school education or no education (ABS, 2010). Education is important to be able to work in tourism. There are in my survey no people with no education that have a main occupation in the tourism industry (sig. difference with people with an education is $p < 0.05$). 92.2% speak Saramaccan in their household and not even one percent of the households speak at home English or Dutch¹⁰. In the entire country 48.8% of the people speak Dutch and some of them English at home (Ibid.). When local people do not speak the language they need other people to interact with tourists, so they cannot advocate for their own interests (see also paragraph 6.2.1.). Consequently, they are more dependent on others, for example guides, who speak Dutch or English. This is considered not to be the optimal situation to profit from tourism.

Tourism also offers prospects for obtaining new knowledge about tourists and foreign cultures and about the Dutch or English language. The tourists sometimes try to communicate with local people, especially with children. A man in Jaw Jaw (Interview 26 May 2010) said he was glad that his children learn to speak Dutch when talking to tourists. Thus local people are 'learning by doing', for example in Jaw Jaw in the Djamaica lodges it was discovered that tourists like to buy ornate and colourful Pangis. Learning from tourism is of course easier when you already participate in tourism, this also applies to this example. In Gunzi a woman (interview 26 March 2010) said that she learned from tourists about the healing powers of a plant in front of her house, the tourists got this information from other tourism trips they had done before.

6.5. Options for improvement

The question remains how to cope with and solve the identified problems of growing income inequality and other challenges. In this chapter we have seen that community members have foremost positive expectations about tourism. Therefore it is important to continue to innovate and

¹⁰ Note that those who speak a certain language at home (for example Saramaccans) can also know other languages (Dutch or English)

have more variety in tourism activities, accommodation and goods. They can be more market-oriented and in this way increase the revenue. The actors that could be active in realizing this are the community members themselves, tourism industry (principally the tour operators and tourism camps) and for guidance possibly NGOs or (semi-) government. Tourists may be consulted to see what their wishes are. In this way more (local) people should be able to profit from tourism and as a result decrease the currently growing inequality in financial benefits within and between communities. Innovation is particularly important in the older tourism locations because else they will lag behind.

The museum in Pikinslé is a good example of innovation and it helps to get more people to the community. Another opportunity is growing local food for tourists. The knowledge of cultivating food is already there. The tour operator can call the local lodge holder to ensure that there is enough food present for the tourists. And because many local people want to participate, having a central place to sell handicrafts, agrarian products (snacks such as bananas and peanuts), is therefore a good solution. Everyone can participate and it will become easier to set a price because everyone sells in one place. In addition people are probably producing more unique goods in order to stand out with other sellers. Finally, tourists often like to buy goods in markets or shops (as they are used to at home) and the goods will be more attractive to them.



Figure 16: Museum in Pikinslé

A few people said that they would like a tourism fund where tourists can give their donations to. This is probably a good idea, because this is easier to control than donations that go to all different persons and organisations (e.g. schools and medical centres) and community members can decide what happens with the money instead of the tourists. Tourists are proven to be willing or even wanting to help a community with donations. An NGO may play a role in this, because they are experienced in development projects. If tourists could see what happens with the money they might even be more willing to donate.

Education and training may increase knowledge about tourism and the English and Dutch language. The regular education system and the quality of the system are important and might be improved, but also additional specific trainings regarding tourism or Dutch or English will probably help to get more people involved. Moreover, important is that the community is informed well about tourism by people working in the industry and that the people in the tourism industry in their turn listen to the community members. This could for example help solve the dissatisfaction of local sellers of handicrafts about the prices they get for their goods. A third actor involved are the tourists, if they are informed about the prices and know that a lot of the local people have goods to sell they will probably be more aware if someone wants to sell something and will depend less on their guide. If all the actors cooperate and are informed well the inequalities and other social problems will probably be reduced.

7. Socio-cultural impact and the environment

The interior of Surinam has an attractive and beautiful flora and fauna. As unique is the cultural life and traditions of the local people. The local people are a tourism attraction (in village walks and in dances), therefore tourism to the interior can be called indigenous tourism, and the four H scheme (habitat, heritage, history and handicraft) can be applied and will be discussed in this chapter. Parts of this scheme, such as handicraft (previous chapter), are already examined. The relationship between tourism and culture and environment is mutual; tourism affects the cultural life and natural environment and the cultural and natural aspects are important selling points in tourism. According to STS tourists today think and act greener. In addition they are more aware of the other side of life of the local people: poverty, than they did in the past (interview 19 March 2010). The cultural and environmental impact of this type of tourism has to be seen in relation to the (social-) economic problems discussed in the previous chapters. Tourists pay more money for the tours because of the unique culture and environment. On the contrary, some of the changes needed to improve or maintain the impact on cultural and natural aspects have a negative influence on the economy. For example, if a place is overloaded with tourists with as result a bad effect on nature and friction in local communities, the tour operator has to adapt and this may have a negative economic effect.

7.1. Culture: heritage and history

Local people, in general, have an open attitude towards visitors originating from other parts of the world and the encounters they have with tourists. If the attitude towards tourism is placed in the irridex of Doxey (1975) tourism here would still be in an euphoric stage. With tourism they can exchange some aspects of their cultural background and learn from each other. A woman in Pikinslé (interview 25 March 2010) stated that she liked tourism because she now meets people, coming from various parts of the world. She also said 'in the past the village was not progressing, there was nothing to do'. 80% of the people claim that tourism brought liveliness to their village. The villagers are quite isolated. The only contact the people of Surinam's interior have is with family relatives (some as far as Paramaribo or even the Netherlands) besides people from their own village and the neighbouring settlements.

Since the introduction of the cell phone in this part of the world, their horizon has widened and contacts are easier to maintain. In some communities hundreds of tourists are visiting every year. As a result contacts with other cultures from other parts of the world have increased tremendously. In the past this was limited foremost to missionaries and development workers. Tourism in the area, though, is still in its starting-off phase. The local people are curious and they like the vivacity tourists are bringing into the village. It is therefore no surprise that 81.9% said that tourists do not disturb the peacefulness and quietness of the area.

Tourism affects cultural traditions, positively or negatively, in different ways. 63.5% of the local people said that tourism ensures that traditions remain, for example traditions such as dances, music and handicraft. As a woman in Gran Rio (interview 13 May 2010) explained, 'tourism is good for traditions because we can show our traditions to others'. In addition some traditions remain or are passed on to new generations as these traditions are shown to tourists and people can earn money with these traditions. The museum in Pikinslé is founded in order to preserve certain cultural elements. This culture can now be shown to the foreigners. The idea had come from a cousin in the Netherlands and a group in the Netherlands supported the realisation of the museum.

Relatively few people (29.8%) agreed with the statement that people could not keep certain traditions (i.e. heritage) because of tourism. A woman in Gran Rio gave an example of how tourism influences the way they dress. The women in the region wear Pangi's and often do not wear a top, however for the tourists they adapted their customs and cover their breasts. She did not like that she could not wear what she wants anymore, however in some villages they still wear the way they are accustomed to. The Surinam River is very important for the communities. Local people wash their cloths and do their dishes on the riverside, bath in the river, catch fish and use the river for transportation. Tourists swim in the river and sunbath next to it on the river banks. As more tourists come to the interior this might become a problem as the two groups will need to share the same space. However, some changes in traditions are not perceived as negative. For example, in the past in Ligoría (Gran Rio), the women went to their 'kostgrond' for long periods. They stayed with their crops for months, but nowadays this happens, due to tourism, not anymore. They have to be in the village to be able to profit from tourism. This is mostly perceived positively because they do not have to leave the village for such long periods anymore and they can stay with family. The food is nowadays produced closer to the village.

About one third (34.5%) of the local people believe that tourists do not respect their culture. As a teacher in Jaw Jaw (16 May 2010) explained, some tourists do not respect the local culture; they walk around in the village in their bikini or go swimming when they are menstruating. This was also mentioned in the West of Surinam. A Woman in Washabo (interview 8 April 2010) said that tourists sometimes do not respect the local people's culture. She also gave the example of female tourists that go swimming in the river while having their menstrual period. This is not allowed because it is unclean, women need to wash themselves at home during this period. Some parts of the village are sacred, tourists are not allowed to visit and to take pictures. Sometimes there are other long-established rules in the village that tourists need to take into account. In Stonehoekoe (Gran Rio), for example, men and women both need to walk on the other side of a tree when entering the village. Tourists are usually not familiar with these traditions, however the guides usually tell them where

they can or cannot go. Another often mentioned issue is that tourists sometimes do not respect local culture and take pictures without asking.

7.1.1. *photography*

The best known and thus often mentioned problem is that tourists take pictures of the community and the local people without asking. Tourists take pictures and shoot a film in order to be able to show what they have seen to the people back home. According to a man in Lespansi (interview 22 May 2010) 'tourists do not want to pay for taking pictures; we were photographed while building a boat but were not paid for the pictures taken'. Many community members expressed the idea that in their opinion tourists take pictures to sell and earn money. Some said that when they visited the city (i.e. Paramaribo) they saw postcards or found books and magazines with pictures of themselves and other community members. Bruner (1996) describes the same phenomenon in Ghana and states that this has to do with the commercial view local people have on tourism. This most likely also applies to the interior of Suriname as most of the people in the interior see tourism as a way to earn money and thus as a commercial phenomenon. Photography is thus perceived as something commercial because it is connected to tourists and tourism.

In addition, tourists might not always know what they can and cannot photograph. As a woman in Gunzi (interview 26 March 2010) explained 'there are places that have a special cultural meaning,; these may host certain artefacts which without permission may not be photographed'. Although, in many villages the official religion is Catholic or Evangelical, traditional¹¹ customs and places are still sacred and important. Besides a lack of respect for the local culture, knowingly or unknowingly, in other cases it is sheer lack of decent manners. A woman in Gunzi gave an example 'once there were people that arrived in the village and made pictures when someone had just died. The corpse was still in the village'. But she added as well that most tourists do listen and stop taking pictures when asked.

A major annoyance among the people of Upper Suriname is that tourists take pictures from the boat when passing a village or a fishing boat. These tourists do not ask for permission, and the local community members cannot ask for a small fee because the boat passes too fast. Additionally, women do not have the time to get dressed and cover their breast before the tourists pass. When tourists are not informed well, they do not know how to behave during a trip to the interior. In one of my travels to the interior I shared a boat with two tourists travelling to Jaw Jaw on their own, thus without a guide or tour operator. They were making pictures of women doing the dishes on the side

¹¹ Traditional culture and religion is also used as a local emic term to indicate long-established non-western cultural and religion aspects within the communities.

of the river and of fishermen in a boat. The men began to shout at them, the tourists did not know what they were doing wrong.

7.2. Natural Environment (*habitat*)

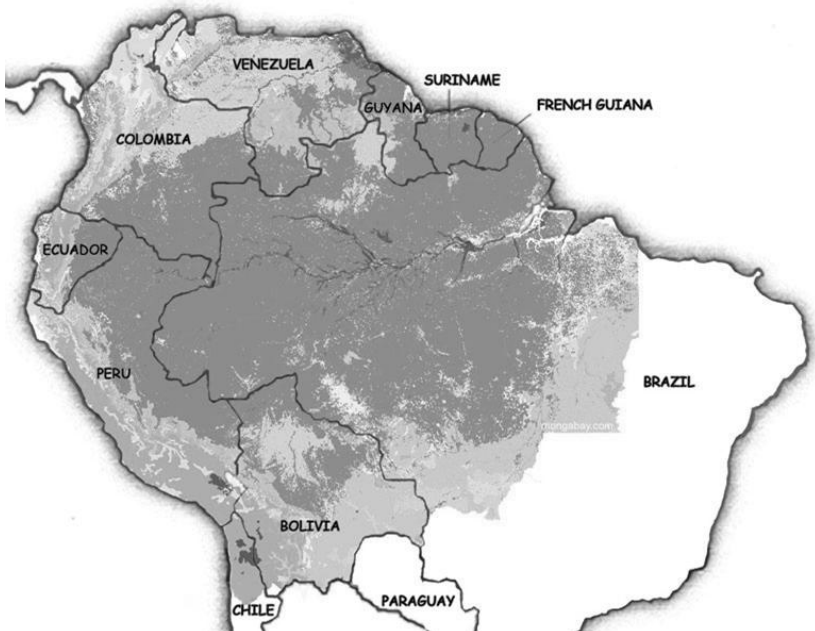


Figure 17: Map Amazon rainforest (source: Rhett Butler)

Some 80% of Suriname is covered with the vulnerable Amazon rainforest. In figure 17 the Amazon rainforest is shown. The forest is about 7 million square meters in size, and it is the largest tropical rainforest on earth. The region comprises nine countries, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guyana, French Guiana and Suriname (Rhett Butler, n.d.).

Between May 2000 and August 2006, nearly 150,000 square kilometres of forest, an area larger than Greece, and since 1970, over 600,000 square kilometres (232,000 square miles) of Amazon rainforest have been destroyed (Ibid.)

The potential negative role of tourism in Suriname causing the destruction of the forest is very small. However, we need to be careful with the rainforest. For example, according to Mr. Panday (DWT, 20 November 2009), the tourism industry does influence the natural surroundings, the habitat of the local community



Figure 18: Photos made in the Amazon rainforest in Suriname

members, in the interior. Trees are chopped, problems with drainage of water (from shower and toilets) rise, tourists produce a lot of garbage and use lots of water and the motor boats give air and noise pollution. It is true that some trees are chopped for tourism to build tourism resorts in Suriname. Nonetheless, there is yet no evidence that this is a major threat to the Amazon Forest, as this is still limited in comparison with other industries. In contrast, bauxite and gold mining, the two

largest industries in the interior of Suriname are causing major ecological problems. According to the Stichting voor een Schoon Suriname (SvSS, n.d.) mercury poisoning, caused by the gold mining and pollution of soil, water and air caused by the bauxite and oil industry are two of the largest environmental problems for Suriname. Therefore tourism might be a better alternative and thus not only a threat to nature.

Problems with garbage, water and sewage might arise, not only because the number of tourists is up but also because tourists are using more water and produce more garbage than local people do. Tourists are not used to be as careful with the amount of garbage they produce and water they use. Local people often do not use flush toilets or showers. They wash themselves in the river and go to the forest or dig a hole instead of using a flush toilet. Almost nobody in the interior mentioned these differences. Nonetheless, here also applies that this is not a large problem yet, but it is something that should be taken into account in the future. Oliveira (2003) also mentioned garbage, water and sewage problems in similar villages in Brazil. The problems became larger because of the lack of tourism planning. This might happen in Suriname as well, given that central tourism planning is most often not applied in the villages in the interior of Suriname.

Direct negative influences felt by the community are minimal, 93% of the respondents said that their natural surrounding was not influenced by tourism (22.4%), or only influenced (very) positive by tourism (70.6%). Tourists often do not like to see filthy villages and bottles floating in the river. Therefore, the living area of the community is kept clean and garbage is not as often thrown in the river than local people used to do. However, in the survey only 34.5% of the people agreed that garbage is better taken care of because of tourism. Another reason, underlying the previous reason, for the positive attitude towards the role of tourism for nature is the new awareness and appreciation for nature. A man in Ligeria (interview 12 May 2010) noticed that 'tourists are environmentally friendly and take account of nature'. A woman in Lespansi (interview 13 May 2010) said that the awareness in the interior is growing, 'nowadays local people throw fewer things in to the river, this thanks to awareness because of tourism'. Some people even said that they have more appreciation for nature than they had before the arrival of tourism. Some do not see the admiration tourist have for nature as something positive. For example a man in Jaw Jaw (interview 12 May 2010) said that 'bakra's¹² want to take over nature'.

In spite of the positive influences or because of the new born appreciations, still 41.7% of the people said that garbage created by tourism is not handled well. A few people mentioned that other waste, not only garbage from tourism was also not dealt with in a positive way. People criticize local community members because some still toss things on the ground. In the West of Suriname (Apoera,

¹² Bakra's are Dutch people in Suriname

section and Washabo) the garbage problem is also large. They do not know what to do anymore with the cans and plastic bottle. 'They are hard to get rid of' according to captain Lewis of Apoera (interview 7 April 2010). Tour operators are partly responsible for the waste created by tourism. They bring cutlery, plates, cups, plastic bottles and food to the interior. Cutlery, plates and cups are often reusable, and therefore do not need to be disposed. The biodegradable garbage is left behind in the interior and often burned. The rest of the garbage, mostly plastic bottles and cans, are taken back to Paramaribo. Some tour operators take nature into account others also the space they have in the boat and bus, and therefore buy big plastic bottles so they have to carry around less garbage. Tour operators may take most of the garbage from tourism back to Paramaribo. However, the waste disposal in Paramaribo is also wanting.

7.3. Future of the interior

All in all the local people in the interior of Surinam are mainly positive about the socio-cultural and environmental impact of tourism. It is very important to keep track of the socio-cultural and environmental changes that (may) occur so that people continue to air a positive opinion about the influences on their traditional culture, their daily lives and their natural surroundings. The main reason that the environmental and socio-cultural impact, caused by tourism, is still small is that the tourism industry in this region is still fairly new. In addition, these impacts are spread out over several communities.

Local people are getting more used to tourism and are also acquiring a better understanding of what tourism really means. Some problems may therefore decline, for example worries about photography as people learn that tourists usually do not earn money from the pictures taken. Likely new problems may arise, such as problems with increased use of local facilities (e.g. water and sewage). How people think about tourism and its consequences may change over time, as has been shown in previous research on tourism development (Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975). The socio cultural customs and heritage and the natural environment in the interior are according to most of the people no problem. Chances are that these problems will still be overlooked or are not (fully) present.

Precautionary measures are therefore needed. When tourists are given information as discussed in previous chapters they also need to be informed about the fragility of nature and culture in order to improve or secure positive impacts instead of negative. Tourists can for example learn a bit about local culture and minimizing the use of local resources. In addition, local community members should be informed about the tourists visiting their community. So that misunderstandings (e.g. about photography) that may cause irritation and may cause friction in the future can be solved. In the previous chapter it is discussed that a tourism fund can be used for local development. When

tourists pay a fee to take pictures this fund might get extra donations and community members might become less irritated with tourists.

In government policies regarding tourism the vulnerable environment and the unique Maroon and indigenous cultures should be taken into account. One of the goals of the government is to increase tourism, however in the future the growth of tourism might need to be controlled because the effects of tourism on local daily lives and the natural surroundings are too large. To prevent villages to be overrun by tourists, tourism must be spread over as much villages as possible (but still be cost-effective). In this way a village will be less likely to be largely effected (negatively) in daily life. In Upper Suriname alone there are 60 villages and at least half are just scarcely affected by tourism.

With the all-inclusive package tours to the interior the tour operator plays an important role in providing information. Especially tour operators that originate from the area understand what tourists should take into account when visiting the interior. For example, the manager of tour operator Suriname Total Adventure tours (2 May 2010) stated:

I give information in advance. Tourists should respect and accept people in Upper Suriname. We must respect the living and housing conditions, the culture and the clothing. For example, a woman cannot walk from the river to home in her bikini. Tourists must also take into account the language and customs. You must communicate in a different way, with more trust and acceptance. People can move independently, but you cannot knock on doors on your own.

Other tour operators may still need to learn a bit more about the local habits and peculiarities. Tourists visiting the interior of Suriname on their own initiative need this information as well. Therefore, an information centre seems to be a good initiative.

Although the term eco-tourism is often used in Suriname, not everyone understands what this means. The concept is used because of the beautiful flora and fauna and unique cultures living in the Amazon. Suriname is even advertised as the beating heart of the Amazon. Tourism in the interior is small scale, an important aspect of ecotourism. However there is more to it and not all actors in the tourism industry know exactly what ecotourism is. For example an owner of a guesthouse in Apoera (Interview 8 April 2010) after hesitating stated 'ecotourism means flora and fauna, preserving nature and sustainable use of the environment'. He did not include preservation of local culture or increasing local earnings in the concept. Therefore, these actors in the tourism industry possibly need to be informed more about what ecotourism is and how to have a business that does provide ecotourism.

8. Conclusion

This research focussed on the impact of tourism on local community members in the Sipaliwini District located in the interior of Suriname. The results of this survey show that people in the interior of Suriname do profit from tourism in their region but inequality in the distribution of these benefits and costs are present, first, between the interior and the tourist sector in the capital city of Paramaribo, and second, within these local communities between individual households. Besides the socio-economic impacts the socio-cultural and environmental effects are found to be increasing congruent with the ongoing development of tourism in this region. This makes this research all the more important because a lot can still be done to prevent negative impacts and improve local benefits from tourism. Research about the willingness of participation within this industry is still needed. In fact, whenever a community decides to join the growing number of tourism initiatives in the interior of Suriname more specific research should be undertaken first and foremost before tourism projects are set up. Specific attention should be given to the environmental and cultural impacts.

The tourism business in the interior is affected by some of the latest developments. For example, a fairly large number of people have recently moved away from the interior of the country in search of jobs and schooling, which is especially a drain on the availability of young men in the interior. Tourism may be a tool to stop this trend as tourism offers jobs 'close to home'. A set-back though is that in the interior there is a lack of schooling opportunities and therefore people are less able to compete for jobs in the tourism industry.

In the theoretical framework three concepts linked to tourism are introduced, i.e., pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism and ecotourism. These three concepts have gained momentum since the 1990s in order to improve the benefits from tourism for the local community members and their surroundings. These concepts are important for the individual researcher as they alert where one should look at when doing impact research. Pro-poor tourism provides an important tool, i.e., the value chain, to analyse where the money spend on tourism goes to. The tourism industry into the interior in Suriname can be strictly divided in two players: Paramaribo businessmen and the host communities in the interior. The pro-poor concept stresses that both the absolute and relative earnings in the interior, in comparison to Paramaribo, out of the tourism business needs to be enhanced. Community based tourism emphasizes the importance of local participation in tourism development. In addition, community based tourism place the local people central in their research. Ecotourism emphasizes the vulnerability of the environment in tourism locations and the need for the local community to profit from tourism. The three concepts explained in the theoretical framework are intertwined and all important in the thesis. Solutions represented in the results

chapters are hard to be contributed to one of these concepts, since not only the concepts are important but also the local situation, and the latter is my main starting point.

Additionally the actors, in the local situation and involved in tourism are a good basis for research on the impact of tourism. These actors are, at least in the case of Suriname, tourists, local people, or people working for or owning tourism businesses, but also local organization and government (-al organizations). The actors influence and are influenced by tourism and therefore also play an important role in improving the impact of tourism for local community members. For example, local people found that it is important that tourists behave and that the guides and lodge holders help local people with earning money (e.g. selling handicraft).

8.1. The impact

There are several ways in which local community members can make some profit out of tourism; selling handicrafts or agrarian products and snacks or taking people around by boat. They may do this as employees or through having their own business. Approximately 19.2 % (Jaw Jaw) and 11.9% (Gran Rio) of the earnings from trips to the interior go to the local people. In an absolute sense this difference in earnings is less; in both cases about 700 US dollar per trip. We estimate that in Jaw Jaw tourism may bring along some 128,000 US dollar (not considering costs) to Jaw Jaw and a few surrounding communities per year. However, 82.2% of the people in the interior do not have a job in tourism and do not sell much handicrafts and food. A majority of the households has a 'kostgrondje' for their upkeep. Most of the people that work in the tourism industry, for example people selling handicrafts or participating in a dance group, are not satisfied with the amount of money they earn in tourism. We also need to realise that not every community is involved in tourism. This may cause friction when the tourism business becomes a success in certain communities, leaving others empty handed.

Additionally, most local people have no or only a primary school education. This makes it more difficult to communicate with tourists, to work in the industry or to set up a business. They cannot communicate with tourists because they often do not speak Dutch or English. Furthermore, most of the people have little knowledge about the tourism industry itself and thus do not know how to sell products, how to set a price and how to start a business. Local community members often do not know how many tourists visit their village and how much profit there is to be made, because information in the tourism industry is often not shared with local community members. The impact caused by tourism will probably change if local people have more knowledge of and information about tourism, because they know what they can expect and how they can participate in tourism.

Nowadays people are not satisfied with what they earn, however they are still very positive about tourism, because of the possibilities tourism offers. When the tourism industry shares more

information with local people they are probably more realistic and have more capabilities to change their situation. Tourists also lack much information. If tourists would have more information on local earnings, culture and the natural environment they are probably more willing to weigh the local benefits and traditions. Tourists will probably more consciously choose for the support of the local entrepreneurs probably at the expense of the larger tourism companies in Suriname.

Chances are that negative outcomes of tourism, in particular those that have to do with culture and nature, are still overlooked by the local community members. This is experienced in research with the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC); at the start of a new tourism project most of the local people are very much in favour of tourism (Butler, 1980; Zhong, Deng and Xiang, 2007). However, over the years when the tourism business matures the negative effects of tourism becomes better understood. The villages I have examined are still in one of the first phases of the cycle, the involvement and the development stage, and in the irridex (Doxey, 1975), in the euphoric stage. It is important that the community members are involved in tourism so they have control over what happens and in this way influence tourism to be positive for the local community. In this way they will hopefully stay euphoric.

The trips to the interior are in an exclusive setting and with unique indigenous cultures (Maroons and Indians). This kind of tourism is called indigenous tourism because culture is hereby a tourism attraction. Indigenous cultures are often less in contact with Western cultures, however tourism may increase these contacts. Most of the local people were positive about the contacts made between them and the tourists because they then have the ability to share parts of their cultural heritage and tradition, learn from the cultures of the tourists and it brings liveliness to the community. Nevertheless, there are some irritations about how the tourists behave. The most mentioned problem related to tourism and culture is photography, pictures are taken without permission and local community members are afraid tourists use the pictures to earn money. The four h system of Smith (1996) includes habitat, heritage, history and handicraft. Photography is not incorporated in the four h system of indigenous tourism, but is often an important aspect of indigenous tourism. It could probably be incorporated in the four h system as handicrafts.

Tourism has also brought problems towards the natural environment. The largest problem is the waste that is produced by the tourism industry. The current capacity is not suited to deal with the waste produced by so many more people, particularly if the industry will grow larger in the future. In Upper Suriname most of the plastic bottles are taken back to Paramaribo. In Apoera a lot of the waste stays in Apoera although the problems with garbage are already large in this area. In addition, more water is needed especially if more tourists come to the interior. Tourists use in general more water because they are not used to be economical with water.

8.2. Development

People in the Sipilawini district need to be involved in tourism in order to profit economically from tourism. However, in order for the community to be able to be involved in and profit from tourism more education and knowledge is needed. Better quality of the local primary educational system enables people to learn better Dutch and maybe even English. Therefore communication between tourists and local people will become easier and that makes it easier for local people to participate. People can learn in training what tourism is, how to sell their products and set up a tourism business. NGOs can help to provide training and help to improve education. Local community members need to participate in training and apply what they have learned to improve their situation. The key players in the tourism industry can share information that can be used in training of (their own) employees.

Training may also be needed for people that sell handicrafts and other goods to tourists. A lot of the tourism products are very comparable to each other. Many similar tour packages are sold in Paramaribo and most of the handicrafts in the villages in Upper Suriname are the same (calabashes and Pangi's). To raise the sale of products it is also necessary to display them in a more attractive way as well, for example, by putting up nice looking shops and small markets. The key actors to achieve this should be local community members but they might need to get assistance from knowledgeable NGOs, and tour operators.

Overall, the improvement of the numbers of tourists that visit the interior and the spread of the tourists over more communities will improve economic profits for more local people. If the tourism industry is spread over more communities more people can profit and fewer villages are overrun by tourism and have related problems (socio-cultural or environmental). Relative growth of earnings from tourism of people in the interior is important in order to have a more equal distribution in communities. However, when the growth of local tourism is absolute, both the local as well as people from Paramaribo will profit more. Absolute growth of the tourism in the interior of Suriname can even improve inequality between communities if the absolute growth means that more communities will be included. For example, by promoting the country in travel guides or internet, everyone could profit more economically. This will be a successful improved impact on the local community only if the above suggestions are taken into account.

Tourists are often unaware of local interests and cultural sensitivities. Tourists can be informed in a tourist centre situated in Paramaribo, most of the tourists start their trip to the interior in this city. There is already a tourists information centre in Paramaribo, this centre might specialize more on how to travel to the interior and can give information on local life, the environment and local earnings from tourism. Tourists often do not dare or do not know how to travel by themselves, thus without a tour operator in an all-inclusive package tour. However, when travelling alone

chances are that local people will be able to sell more handicrafts and agrarian products. In addition, local organisations will probably also stimulate local entrepreneurship, because more things such as food, entertainment and guided walks, need to be organized locally, therefore more local people will be employed and more local businesses will arise. The (semi-) government and NGOs can help to set up an information centre and inform tourists. Tourism industry, in particular the transport sector on how to travel, can give information to the tourists centre also on the services they provide. Therefore the tourism businesses can profit from the centre as well. Moreover, Local community members can provide information for the tourism centre, such as how they would like tourists to behave or information about local tourism businesses.

Overall tourists, 7 out of the 8 tourists I interviewed, do not want to travel by themselves and prefer organized tours in to the interior. They do not feel safe without a guide or think it is too much hassle to organize a trip themselves. These tourists can be informed by a tour operator. NGOs and/ or (Semi-) government agencies could make a directive for tour operators on what tourists need to know on a trip to the interior. In this way tourists are informed about local interests, cultural and social sensitivities and the natural surroundings as well and can contribute to a positive impact of tourism in the interior. It may help, as an alternative to tourists travelling on their own, as well if the tours are organized less in advance and not as much in Paramaribo which will hopefully result in more free time and more local earnings.

Tour operators and lodge holders sometimes have misunderstandings with the local community. A common misunderstanding between local people and the tourism entrepreneurs has to do with the prices tourists pay for handicrafts. Local people ask more than tourists want to pay. The guide, speaking on behalf of the tourists, simply states that the price is too high without acknowledging the time spend on the production of these artefacts. Also, the tourism industry and the tourists are not always informed well about local desires such as that almost everyone in the community has handicraft to sell or that they would like if tourists would ask to take pictures of them. Guides favour their relatives when they bring tourists to the village. They give their family the opportunity to sell handicrafts excluding other members. Meetings between local community members and people in the tourism industry should be arranged to avoid these problems in the future. They can inform each other about their concerns and about the prices local people can ask for their products. Tour operators can inform guides about local concerns and should arrange these meetings with local community members. NGOs can mediate between local community members and the key decision makers as well as ordinary employees in the tourism industry.

The value chain analyses made clear that the actors operating in this chain are all important in improving benefits to the interior and thus to make this kind of tourism more pro-poor. For example, new deals between (destination-based) tour operators and local actors, such as employees

or lodge holders, need to be made in order to be able to ensure that the local community members can profit more economically. The prices tour operators pay to local lodge holders and tourism workers is set in advance and confirmed with a phone call in front. The local workers and lodge owners cannot ask too much because they are afraid the tour operator will bring tourists somewhere else. LBO (Lodge holders Boven Suriname) and VESTOR (Vereniging van Surinaamse Touroperators) might help to accomplish better deals when these groups make, for example, agreements on a minimum price. Employees in the tourism industry, may need help with negotiations to earn more money. NGOs might provide this help.

A 'village contribution' organised in a village fund set up by tourism industry and funded by tourists may help local development, it may help avert irritation related to culture and photography and it might help the local community members appreciate tourism more. In order to accomplish the latter, this fund must profit at least a large part of the community and therefore increase the number of people benefitting from tourism. Most of the local people feel like they do not profit from tourism. In addition they feel like tourists profit from the pictures they take and they do not. Donations to schools and other organizations have proven that tourists often like to contribute to the communities they visit. Tourists can pay a fee for taking pictures that might be a village contribution. If tourists know where the donations they give go to they are more willing to give money.

Tourism in the interior is still in a beginning stage. However, for the future there are some risks for the interior. Some cultural conflict between community members and tourists as well as some problems related to the environment are already mentioned. These problems are not large, but do not need to grow even much bigger in the future. As more tourists come to the village and, for example, the inequality between communities increases or if more and more water is used this may cause problems in the future. The tourism industry should keep in mind the delicate nature and unique Marron and Native Americans cultures. The (semi-)government needs to set out tourism policies that are aware of the unique cultures and the natural environment of the interior.

A lot of actors are involved and there are different options to raise the benefits of tourism and reduce negative impact on local community have been given. The influences and forthcoming problems are complex and need to be monitored by NGOs and government in order to become positive influences or to be diminished. In the end this will be the only viable way to keep the heart of the Amazon beating sustainably for current and future generations of hosts and visitors alike.

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Appendix 1 tourism household survey (Dutch)

Toerisme huishoud enquete

Boven-Suriname 2010

Algemene instructies

De doelen van dit onderzoek zijn informatie verkrijgen van de sociale en economische situatie van de mensen in de gemeenschap en informatie verkrijgen over de rol van toerisme voor de gemeenschappen. De enquête bevat vragen over uzelf en anderen die wonen of hebben gewoond in dit huis en dus deel uit maken van uw huishouden. De geschatte tijd voor het afnemen van de enquête is drie kwartier. Alle informatie door u verleend zal strikt vertrouwelijk worden behandeld.

(Ik ben een student aan de Radboud Universiteit in Nijmegen, Nederland. Ik heb al vaker enquêtes afgenomen, onder andere in Thailand. Ik ben altijd vertrouwelijk met informatie omgegaan en zal dat nu ook natuurlijk zeker doen.) Ik werk samen met de PAS, we zullen geen persoonlijke informatie verstrekken aan derden.

Heeft u nog vragen?

Naam van het dorp:

Huishoud nummer:

Naam van de respondent:

Naam van de hoofd van de familie:

Datum van het interview:

Tijd interview - start:

Tijd interview - einde:

Duur van het interview:

Naam van de interviewer:

Form A: Basis informatie Huishouden

A1: kunt u ons alstublieft wat vertellen over uw huishouden?

Personen die leven binnen dit huishouden

PID	bijnaam	relatie tot hoofd hh	geslacht	leeftijd (in jaren)	geboorte plaats	burgerlijke staat	opleidings- niveau	opleiding afgerond	Reden voor stoppen	hoofd beroep	Religie	leeft in hh	huidig verblijf
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N

Personen die niet meer in dit dorp wonen

Instruction/remarks:

A) PID = personal ID-code. Geef elk gezinslid een code

F) Uitzonderd als geboren in het ziekenhuis. Dan plaats waar ouders op dat moment woonden

H) opleidingsniveau = hoogste niveau behaald

I) Opleiding afgerond? = Heeft deze persoon zijn school afgerond? Of is hij/zij gestopt met de opleiding?

M) Leeft in HH = leeft deze persoon op dit moment in het huishouden? Of leeft deze persoon ergens anders?

Form A Codes

(C) Relatie tot hoofd van het huishouden

- 01 Hoofd van het hh
- 02 Echtgeno(o)t(e)
- 03 kind (biologisch)
- 04 kind (stiefkind / geadopteerd)
- 05 schoonzoon/-dochter
- 06 Ouder
- 07 schoonmoeder of schoonvader
- 08 broer of zus
- 09 schoonbroer/-dochter
- 10 kleinkind
- 11 Grootouder (moeders kant)
- 12 Grootouder (vaders kant)
- 13 oom/tante
- 14 neef/nicht
- 15 bediende
- 16 Andere familie (specificeer)
- 17 Ander niet familielid (specificeer)

(D) Geslacht:

- 01 Man
- 02 Vrouw

(F) geboorteplaats:

- 01 In dit dorp
- 02 een ander dorp in boven Suriname
- 03 een ander dorp in binnenland van Surinam
- 04 Paramaribo
- 05 Andere stad in Suriname
- 06 Buiten Suriname

(G) Burgelijke staat

- 01 Nog niet getrouwd
- 02 samenwonend
- 03 Getrouwd
- 04 Traditioneel getrouwd
- 05 Leven niet samen
- 06 Gescheiden
- 07 Weduwe/ Weduwnaar

(H) Opleidingsniveau:

- 01 Nog niet op school (naar kolom K)
- 02 Nooit naar school geweest (naar kolom K)
- 03 gewoon lager onderwijs
- 04 LBGO 08 HBO/universiteit/IOL
- 05 LTS/Mulo 09 Anders,specificeer
- 06 Natin
- 07 VWO/Havo

(I) opleiding afgerond:

- 01 Ja
- 02 Nee, specificeer hoeveel jaar afgerond.....
- 03 Nog niet, specificeer hoeveel jaar afgerond

(J) als gestopt, de belangrijkste reden

- 01 economische redenen 03 N.V.T., nog op school
- 02 kinderen gekregen 04 andere reden, specificeer

(K) Hoofd beroep:

- 01 Student/ kind
- 02 Werken in de toeristen industrie
- 03 Werken in de industriële sector
- 04 Werken in de service sector
- 05 Werken in de agrarische sector
- 06 Bussiness/ handel
- 07 werken in de Transport sector
- 08 handwerk
- 09 gepensioneerd
- 10 Huishouden
- 11 Werkloos
- 12 ongeschikt/ gehandicapt
- 13 Anders (specificeer)

(L) Religie:

- 01 Katholiek
- 02 EBG
- 03 Traditioneel
- 04 Rastafari
- 05 volle evangelie
- 06 Anders (specificeer)

(M) Leeft momenteel in het HH:

- 01 Ja, permanent
(meer dan 9 maanden afgelopen jaar, naar form B)
- 02 Ja, maar tijdelijk gemigreerd of seizoensmigrant
(meer dan 3 maanden afgelopen jaar, naar form B)
- 03 Nee, is verhuisd voor scholing
- 04 Nee, is verhuisd voor werk
- 05 Nee, vanwege verzorging familie buiten het dorp
- 06 Nee, mee verhuisd met kinderen en/of echtgeno(o)t(e)
- 07 Nee, anders (specificeer)

(N) Verblijft op dit moment in:

- 01 Paramaribo
- 02 Een ander dorp in Boven Suriname
- 03 Een ander dorp/ stad buiten Boven Suriname

Form B: algemeen sociaal-economisch

B.1 Wat zijn de inkomensbronnen voor u en uw huishouden?

Type inkomensbron	ja/ nee	Amount (SRD)	Periode
A	B	C	D
01 Agrische activiteiten - eigen bedrijf/ eigen grond			
02 Agricultural activiteiten - loondienst			
03 Toeristische activiteiten - eigen bedrijf/geen baas			
04 Toerische activiteiten - loondienst			
05 andere niet-agrarische activiteiten - eigen bedrijf/geen baas			
06 andere niet-agrarische activiteiten - loondienst			
07 Pensioen			
08 Remittances* (geld uit stad of buitenland)			
09 Sociale steun van de overheid			
10 Anders, specificieer			

(*Remittances = geld van mensen buiten de gemeenschap (meestal stad) teruggestuurd naar familie binnen deze gemeenschap)

Form B4 Codes

(B) Inkomsten?

01 Ja

02 nee

03 Ik weet het niet/ dat wil ik niet vertellen

(D) Periode:

01 Dagelijks 04 jaarlijks

02 wekelijks 05 anders (specificeer)

03 maandelijks

B.2 Hoe tevreden bent u met het inkomen van uw huishouden?

(0=helemaal niet tevreden, 5=neutral, 10=helemaal tevreden)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Form C: Toerisme

C.1 Bent u of een ander persoon in uw huishouden betrokken bij toerisme projecten en/of organisaties (vb een toeristenkamp of tour operator)? Noteer PID en naam project/bedrijf/organisatie

.....

C.2 Bent u zich bewust van het aantal toeristen en de opbrengsten van deze projecten/kampen?

01 Ja 02 Nee

C.3 Hoe tevreden bent u met de manier waarop de opbrengsten uit toerisme zijn verdeeld binnen de gemeenschap?

(0=helemaal niet tevreden, 5=neutral, 10=helemaal tevreden)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

C.4 Hoe tevreden bent u met de manier waarop de opbrengsten uit toerisme zijn verdeeld tussen het binnenland en Paramaribo?

(0=helemaal niet tevreden, 5=neutral, 10=helemaal tevreden)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

C.5 Heeft toerisme uw huishouden positief beïnvloed door middel van:

beïnvloed door toerisme dmv	Ja/nee	Form C2 codes
A	B	(B) beïnvloed
01 werk in deze sector (noteer wat voor werk)	PID:	01 Zo Ja, PID
02 Een bedrijf(-je) dat gerelateerd is aan toerisme	PID:	02 Nee
03 Donaties van toeristen	PID:	03 Weet ik niet/
04 Verhuren van boot	PID:	Wil ik niet vertellen
05 Beter transport van en naar de gemeenschap		
06 Verkoop van handcraft	PID:	
07 Verkoop van agrarisch producten aan sector	PID:	
08 Verkoop van andere goederen, specificieer	PID:	
09 Tradities die blijven voortbestaan		
10 afval wordt beter opgeruimd		
11 Het is levendiger in het dorp		
12 Anders, specificieer	PID:	

C.6 Heeft toerisme uw huishouden negatief beïnvloed door middel van:

beïnvloed door toerisme dmv	Ja/nee	Form C4 codes
A	B	(B) beïnvloed
01 Financiële kosten, specificieer	PID:	01 Zo ja, PID
02 Het niet in stand houden van oude tradities		02 Nee
03 afval wordt gedumpt		03 Weet ik niet/
04 hogere prijzen voor eten en drinken		Wil ik niet vertellen
05 toeristen houden geen rekening met onze traditionele cultuur		
06 De rust wordt verstoord		
07 Anders, specificieer	PID:	

C.7 Denkt u dat u en/of iemand in uw huishouden in de toekomst gaat beginnen met:

In de toekomst	Ja/nee	Form C4 codes
A	B	(B) beïnvloed
01 Handicraft verkopen	PID:	01 Zo ja, PID
02 Een kamp openen	PID:	02 Nee
03 Agrarische producten verkopen aan toer. sector	PID:	03 Weet ik niet/
04 Anders, specificieer	PID:	Wil ik niet vertellen

C.8 Bent u tevreden met hoeveel geld u verdient aan toerisme?

01 Ja 02 Nee 03 geen mening/weet ik niet

C.9 Hebben de toerisme projecten/kampen negatief of positief bijgedragen aan?

	zeer negatief	negatief	neutraal	positief	zeer positief	geen mening/ weet ik niet
01 uzelf of uw huishouden	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
02 uw gemeenschap	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
03 de touroperators	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
04 de natuur	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

C. 10 Heeft u nog vragen of opmerkingen?

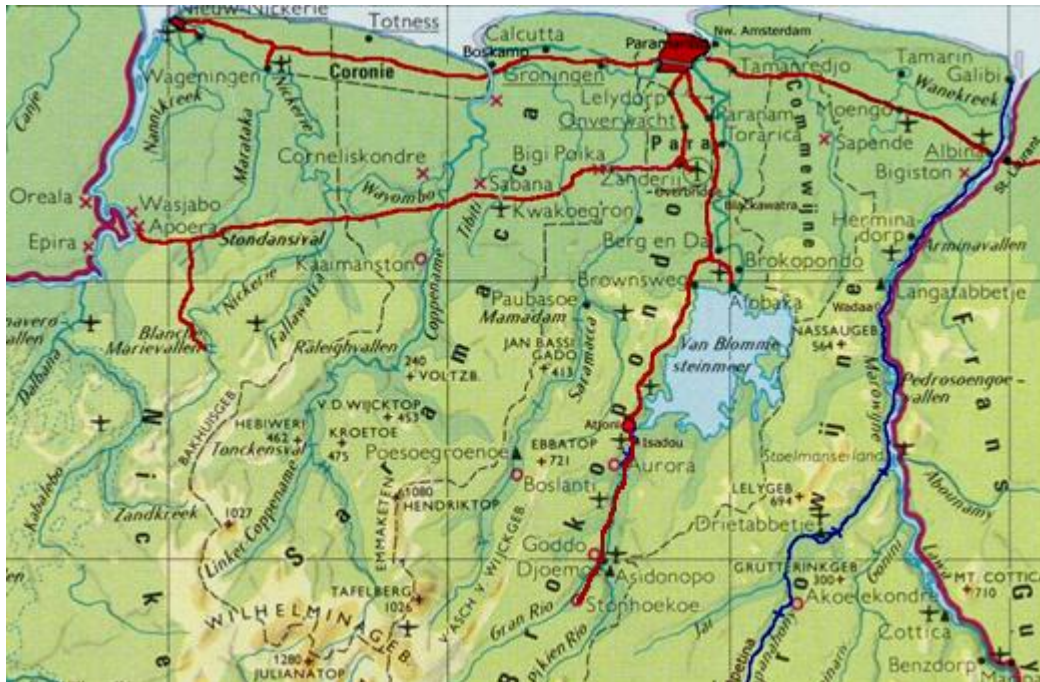
schrijf aan achterzijde van dit vel papier

Appendix 2 Detailed maps of Suriname



Source: World Wildlife Fund (WWF), n.d.

Main tourism routes



Source: Online Maps, 2010

Instruction: Four important tourism routes, all leaving from Paramaribo. The ones going to Apoera and Upper-Suriname are the most important for my research as they go through the Sipaliwini District.

Appendix 3 'problems', solutions and actors

	Why?	What?	Who? How?
1. Training and education for local community members	A lot of the local people have no or only primary school education. Most of the people can only speak Saramaccan and cannot speak Dutch. Most of the local people do not know much about tourism, for example about selling handicraft and what tourists like to see on a village or nature walk.	Better quality of the local primary educational system enables people to learn better Dutch and maybe even English. Therefore communication between tourists and local people will become easier and makes it easier for local people to participate. People can learn in training what tourism is, how to sell their products and set up a tourism business.	NGOs: provide training and help to improve education Local community members: Participate in training and apply what they have learned to improve their situation Tourism industry: Share information for training.
2. Tourist information	Tourists are often unaware of local interests and cultural sensitivities. Tourists do not dare or do not know how to travel by themselves, thus without a tour operator. However, when travelling alone chances are that tourists spend more in the interior and have more contact with local community members.	Tourists can be informed in a tourist centre situated in Paramaribo, most of the tourists start their travel to the interior in this city. There is already a tourists information centre in Paramaribo, this centre might specialize more on how to travel to the interior and can give information on local life, the environment and local earnings from tourism.	(Semi-) government and NGOs: Help to set up an information centre and inform and thus reach tourists for example by pamphlets. Tourism industry (in particular the transport sector): give information to tourists centre and inform tourists about the centre. Local community members: give information to tourism centre.
3. Information sharing between actors	Tour operators and lodge holders sometimes have misunderstandings with local community members. A misunderstanding between local people and the people active in tourism has to do with the prices tourists pay for handicraft. In contrast the tourism industry and tourists are not always informed well about local desires. Guides favour family with the opportunity to sell handicraft when visiting a village.	Occasionally a meeting between local community members and people in the tourism industry should be arranged. They can in this way inform each other about their concerns and about the prices local people can ask for their products.	Tour operators: inform guides and have meetings with local community members. Local community members: come to meetings and share their concerns. NGOs: These organizations can mediate between local community members and the people working in the tourism industry.

4. Better deals between tour operators and local businesses	The prices tour operators pay to local lodge holders and tourism workers is set in advance. The local workers and lodge owners cannot ask to much because they are afraid the tour operator will bring tourists somewhere else.	LBO (Lodge holders Boven Suriname) and VESTOR (Vereniging van Surinaamse Touroperators) might help to accomplish better deals when these groups make agreements on a minimum price. Employees in the tourism industry, may need help with negotiations to earn more money.	Lodge holders and tour operators (LBO and VESTOR): fix prices Workers tourism sector: negotiate wages. NGOs: support actors in making agreements
5. Village fund	Most of the local people feel like they do not profit from tourism. In addition they feel like tourists profit from the pictures they take and they do not. Some tourists feel the need to contribute to the community they visit.	Tourists can pay a fee for taking pictures that might be used in a 'village contribution' . Tourists have a useful way to contribute to development in the community. If tourists know where the donations they give go to they are more willing to give money.	Tour operators/ guides: Tell tourists about the village fund and give information wherefore it is used. Tourists: Listen and may participate Local community members: decide where the donations go to. NGOs: Channel donations
6. Awareness of cultural and natural aspects in tourism policies	Some problems were indicated. The local community did not see much difficulties. However other studies have shown that these cultural and environmental problems become bigger when tourism evolves.	Keep in mind the delicate nature and unique Marron and Indiginous cultures. For example by distribution of the industry over more communities so that more people can profit and fewer villages are overrun by tourism because tourists are spread over more communities.	(Semi-)government: Set out policies that is aware of the unique cultures and the natural environment. Others: follow up the new policies
7. Promoting tourism to the Interior	Overall improvement of amount of tourists to the interior and the spread of the tourists over more communities so that more people profit economically.	Overall promotion of tourism in Suriname and the interior. For example by promoting the country in travel guides or internet. This will be successfully improve the impact on the local community if the above suggestions are taken into account.	Tourism industry: Promote responsible tourism (semi-) government: Promote pro-poor eco-friendly tourism accepted with the community members.