

The road to planning, setting a course

An institutional analysis of spatial planning in Suriname



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This thesis is written as a final assignment for the master Landscape Architecture and Planning, specialisation in Spatial Planning, at Wageningen University

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Abstract

Suriname is considered a small state, due to a for its region relatively small territory and population size. Smallness brings along specific characteristics for a state. As being a former colony of The Netherlands, most of Suriname's parliamentary and administrative system is adopted from The Netherlands, the institutions regarding spatial planning as well. The concept of the transfer of institutions from one context to the other is called institutional transplantation. One precondition for successful institutional transplantation is the compatibility between host and donor country. Suriname is hardly comparable to The Netherlands in terms of size, landscape, culture, politics or society though. It is questionable if a model of spatial planning from The Netherlands is appropriate for Suriname. In September 2005 Suriname established the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management. Spatial planning is now for the first time in history explicitly covered by a ministerial department. This has been a valuable step in the historical development of spatial planning in Suriname and displays opportunities for institutional change. An important comprehension lies with the recognition of the institutional development of spatial planning in Suriname and the characteristics of Suriname as a country.

Keywords: spatial planning, Suriname, institutions, institutional transplantation, small states

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Glossary

DA'g1	Democratic Alternative g1 (Democratisch Alternatief g1)
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
KTPi	Indonesian Peasant Party (Indonesische Boerenpartij)
NDP	National Democratic Party (Nationale Democratische Partij)
NPS	National Party Suriname (Nationale Partij Suriname)
NR	(Ministry of) Natural Resources (Ministerie van Natuurlijke Hulpbronnen)
PDC	(Ministry of) Planning and Development Cooperation (Ministerie van Planning en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking)
PLFM	(Ministry of) Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management (Ministerie van Ruimtelijke Ordening, Grond- en Bosbeheer)
PNR	Party Nationalistic Republic (Partij Nationalistische Republiek)
PW	(Ministry of) Public Works (Ministerie van Openbare Werken)
RD	(Ministry of) Regional Development (Ministerie van Regionale Ontwikkeling)
SDP	Social Democratic Party (Sociale Democratische Partij)
SPA	Surinamese Labour Party (Surinaamse Partij van de Arbeid)
SRD	Surinamese Dollar
UN	United Nations
VHP	United Hindustan Party (Verenigde Hindostaanse Partij)

Preface

Wageningen, 25-05-2010

Writing a thesis. For five years I followed the approach of this assignment suspiciously. During my academic development I was constantly searching for new challenges and preferred dynamic structures. Staying focussed on one topic for at least six months, the objective of a graduation research did not fit within this motto. So when I started formulating my research topic I told myself; "This is my last and most requiring academic adventure, it may better be good". And it was! Strikingly, writing this thesis and carrying out the additional research turned out to be the most enjoyable and challenging assignment of my whole student curriculum.

In September 2009 I made a start with exploring research possibilities. A good friend from the Technical University in Delft, who I cooperated with a year before, carried out her internship in Suriname. As being completely unfamiliar but very appealing to me, Suriname got my attention. A quick search on the internet learned that Suriname established a ministry for Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management in 2005, but that the public criticised the inactive attitude of the ministry and the lack of spatial policy and operation. I was curious about the accuracy of these accusations and about spatial planning in Suriname. With directions from my supervisor Prof. Dr. Arnold van der Valk I developed a research proposal and the journey began. The objective of this research was to make an institutional analysis of spatial planning in Suriname and to provide an aid for institutional transformation in the future. From January till March I visited Suriname. With this visit I wanted to try to see through the country and experience the society and the landscape myself. In this period I fell in love with Paramaribo and got even more fascinated about my research. I hope I can engage you just as much by my writings.

With this preface, I would like to thank the people who were involved in the accomplishment of this thesis. I would like to thank my Surinamese friends, who helped me getting to know the country so much faster than I would have on my own. I want to thank my Surinamese respondents, who received me so hospitably and provided me with valuable reflections. I also want to thank my supervisor Arnold van der Valk for his valuable feedback. Finally, I want to thank my friends and family. My friends at Gaia made me enjoy working on my thesis just by being there. My family provided me with the opportunity to undertake this adventure and made some seemingly slight, but very valuable contributions to this report.

Enjoy reading this thesis,

Merel van Boxtel

Summary

Spatial planning is a highly discussed and philosophised topic in Suriname. Spatial planning currently is not in the condition the government and the community would like it to be. After the last state elections, Suriname established the Ministry for Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management in September 2005. For the first time in history spatial planning now is covered by a ministerial department. However, after 4,5 years still no physical evidence is present that spatial planning actually came to development or that at least a commonly, integrated spatial policy is on hand.

Suriname's parliamentary, administrative and legal system is adopted from The Netherlands, her former colonial ruler until 1975. Also the institutions concerning spatial planning are based on the Dutch system. In 1972 the Urban Decree was established in Suriname, a law that contains regulations regarding destination and construction of land. Together with the in 1973 established Plan Decree, which contains regulations regarding national and regional planning on behalf of a proper spatial planning of land use, the Urban Decree forms the most important set of spatial directives. According to this legislation, the three ministries of Public Works, Planning and Development Cooperation and Regional Development are charged with planning related tasks. Most importantly, the Planning Service of the Ministry of Public Works is charged with the making of structure and development plans. However, these documents have never officially been made. Suriname therefore has no legal spatial document which can be used for examining spatial developments. At the time of the establishment of the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management, none of the legislative tasks were assigned to this new ministry. Operational power still lies with the other three ministries.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is based on the theories of both institutional transplantation and small states. Institutional transplantation is the concept of the transfer of institutions from one context to the other. Transplants can be various things, like policies, programmes, procedures, ideologies, justifications, attitudes and ideas. Within institutional transplantation the word 'institution' is used as a container concept for all these possible transplants. One precondition for successful institutional transplantation is the compatibility between host and donor country. Suriname is hardly comparable to The Netherlands in terms of size, landscape, culture, politics or society though. Suriname is considered a small state, due to a for its region relatively small territory and population size. Smallness brings along specific characteristics for a state. Two important characteristics that apply on Suriname are first the excessively large government and bureaucracy compared to the size of the country and its available resources and second, politics and policy are extremely personalised, prompting nepotism and corruption. Additionally, Suriname's society and politics are extremely ethnicised. Suriname's society is built up out of a mix of descendants of Creole slaves and Hindustan, Javanese and Chinese contract workers from colonial days and political parties are based on the different ethnical roots.

It is questionable if a model of spatial planning from The Netherlands is appropriate for Suriname. A whole set of measures can be taken to domesticate the model, but most importantly transformations of the spatial planning system should focus on the institutional framework. As can be concluded from the theories on institutional transplantation and small states, an important comprehension lies with the recognition of the institutional development of spatial planning in Suriname and the characteristics of Suriname as a country. Focus should lie with exploring the possibilities for development of a law on spatial planning, by which a domesticated definition of spatial planning can be given, and with the clustering and assignment of legislative tasks to the most appropriate ministry. Institutions from countries with similar characteristic can serve as an example.



Chapter 1

Introduction

On September 6th 2005 the Republic of Suriname established the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management. This was the first time in Surinamese history physical planning was explicitly categorised as a ministerial directorate. The Surinamese public had sound hope for positive developments in terms of spatial planning policy, now that finally a ministerial planning directorate was erected. Suriname, only an independent republic since 1975, has found herself in a struggle for development in the past decennia and now it seemed to be the time for spatial planning.

This thesis focuses on the development of the spatial planning system in Suriname. Institutional transplantation and small states theories are analysed for helping understand the development of the system. This introduction chapter first elaborates the problem description. Following, the research objective and questions are stated out. The research questions are followed by the outline of the report. Finally, a clarification of the research methodology will conclude this chapter.

1.1 Problem description

Suriname is a developing country. Not according to United Nations' (UN) list of 'Least Developed Countries', but to UN's list of 'Small Island Developing States'. Suriname is not an island, but because Suriname, together with a few more countries on the mainland, shows many of the same characteristics islands states do, United Nations as well as international literature considers Suriname a small island state. The criteria for being a small island developing state are the level of confrontation with constraints in sustainable development efforts (United Nations, 2010). Suriname is faced with a small domestic market and heavy dependence on external and remote markets; high costs for energy, infrastructure, transportation, communication and servicing; long distances from export markets and import resources; low and irregular international traffic volumes; high volatility of economic growth; limited opportunities for the private sector and a proportionately large reliance of their economies on their public sector; and fragile natural environments. These are seven out of nine indicators listed by United Nations for confrontation with constraints in sustainable development efforts. Besides isolated location, Suriname is confronted with difficulties of being a relatively young state and with recovery from a dictatorial status and civil war. Suriname has been a Dutch colony from 1667 till 1975 and only has been sovereign for almost 35 years now. In those 35 years Suriname has gone through a dictatorial phase from 1980 till 1987 and was on top of that stage of a civil war from 1986 until 1990. These circumstances, both in geographical and in socio-historical relation, are far from ideal for developing a well-functioning independent republic. Surinamese parliamentary system with accessory juridical system is based on the system of her Dutch mother country. Suriname, however, differs from the Netherlands from many points of view, what makes the parliamentary system and jurisdiction not ultimately effective and efficient. Some effort was made in creating laws and

rules more applicable to the new republic, but according to literature and local newspapers, policy and management on various topics do not seem very structured and observed yet.

Spatial planning is one of those policy topics and is highly discussed and philosophised in Suriname. Back in colonial days Suriname had a flourishing Planning Service under the Ministry of Public Works and Traffic (nowadays the directorates of this ministry are split up and the Planning Service is part of the Ministry of Public Works). In the early 1970's the service even managed to produce the first, but later turned out to be also the only, structure plan for Paramaribo, Suriname's capital city. However, after becoming independent in 1975 expertise was eagerly needed in other sectors than spatial planning and the emergence, and with that the decline, of the department was set in motion. In the dictatorial period a major exodus of technicians took place in Suriname and the Planning Service was barely alive. After the dictatorial regime the Planning Service recovered, but physically nothing happened in the explicit field of spatial planning. The tide seemed to turn when in September 2005 the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forest Management was established. Physical planning got an actual ministerial directorate for the first time and the first objective in the statutory 'Decree Task Description Departments' states that the ministry should take care of a substantial spatial planning. However, after 4,5 years still no physical evidence is present that spatial planning actually came to development or that at least a commonly, integrated spatial policy is on hand.

Definition of spatial planning

In order to clarify the topic of this research it is necessary to elaborate the concept of spatial planning and to elaborate the definition of spatial planning. The concept of spatial planning is centuries old. Thousands of years ago, when the first cities in the world were built, there already was some course of spatial planning. After all, these cities were built according to some form of spatial policy. The term 'spatial planning', however, is not that old. Back in the 19th century, people started to elaborate 'urbanism'. Urbanism is a broad concept, but I like to advocate the definition that the Technical University of Delft gives to urbanism; *"the efficiency of building cities, as being the human place of residence. This means that people design the positioning of buildings and the spaces of the city in coherence with each other"*¹. In the 20th century people started to use the term 'spatial planning' or 'physical planning'. According to Delft's definition, urbanism deals with purely the design of the environment. Spatial planning is highly related to this concept, but focuses not just on the aesthetics of space, but more on the knowledge necessary to be able to design the environment. Spatial planning includes social, economic and environmental aspects. Additionally, spatial planning focuses not solely on the urban environment, but on the built environment in general.

It is difficult to give one single definition for spatial planning. A definition from juridical theoretical perspective differs from a definition from a theoretical planner professional's perspective and the definition of a practical form of spatial planning again differs from the other two. Besides, the definition given to spatial planning in The Netherlands can be different from the definition Suriname would like to give to it, or would be more appropriate for Suriname. My background, and thereby maybe also my pitfall in criticising Suriname, lies in the Dutch school of spatial planning. Whatever definition I will give to spatial planning, it will always be coloured by that background. I will elaborate here a definition based on my Dutch academic background, but in chapter 5 and 6 I will also try to explain how I believe spatial planning is more applicable on Suriname.

Prof. mr. W. Brussaard, respected land jurist and involved with the establishment of the Dutch Law on Spatial Planning in 1965, defines spatial planning as *"the search for and the acting out of the best thinkable adaption of space and society, for the sake of that society"*

¹ Technical University Delft (2010), <http://www.bk.tudelft.nl/live/pagina.jsp?id=f2bb2c1f-a7cb-4e58-b205-65e3d4fa0d7b&lang=nl>. (Last viewed 19-03-2010).

(Brussaard, Ampt-Riksen and Bongers, 1993). I advocate the seemingly good intention of spatial planning in this definition. However, the addition must be made in the time that Prof. mr. W. Brussaard was engaged in spatial policy-making, the Dutch government had a very dominant position in the society. The relation between government and society was rather hierarchical and the government gave active direction to the society. This phenomenon also worked its way into spatial planning policy. The interference of the government in the relation between society and physical environment was comprehensive. The idea reigned that the society was malleable, as long as the government made plans and invested financially.

From the 1970's on, criticism on this way of practicing spatial planning arose. Critics listed that this course of spatial planning was too much reserved. Plans were the products of an unparalleled design process, not lending itself for discussion. Besides, the character of the plan process was too linear, by which the possibilities for feedback were limited. Finally, the planning process was too much fixed on the result. The possibility to adapt to insecurities got terminated. In short, the lack of flexibility discredited the reigning way of spatial planning. The alternative was a more collaborative way of spatial planning, in which a less dominant position is assigned to the government and the 'black box' of making plans is tore open. The shift took place from *government* to *governance*. The government is not longer a higher power that gives directives to the society, but more a participating party in the planning process. Direction occurs in a concertation of public and private actors. In The Netherlands the concepts of *environment planning* and *area development* set in. Environment planning covers the enlarged field of on the physical environment focused planning domain. Besides the spatial planning domain, environmental planning also covers environmental and water management, land-use development, nature and landscape policy, infrastructural policy, spatial-economic policy etc. (Hidding, 2007). Area development is related to environment planning. Area development indicates an area focussed approach of planning. The ideas behind these approach lie within the range of spatial differentiation in environmental problems. Other ideas behind area development are;

- the increasing interest of competitive advantages of areas in economic globalisation;
- decentralisation of administrative tasks;
- possibilities to make connections between policy level and operational level;
- possibilities to contact and activate relevant planning actors.

Dutch planning practice became more horizontal and participative. In the course of this thesis I will clarify the structures and dynamics of Surinamese planning practice. It can be fairly plausible that this elaborated concept of spatial planning is not suitable for Suriname. To which degree this concept is appropriate for and desirable in Suriname I will discuss in chapter 5 and 6.

1.2 Research objective and research questions

As can be abstracted from the problem description, this thesis is about the development of the spatial planning system in Suriname in relation to institutional transplantation and small states theory context. The general objective of the research is to make an institutional analysis of spatial planning in Suriname. This analysis is based on an exploration of the historical development of spatial planning in Suriname, together with an exploration of Suriname's society, economy and political system. This thesis examines which competences the government has and should have in the playing field of spatial planning. Hereby has to become clear how spatial planning works in Suriname and why it works the way it does. By this research I want to put my finger on the success and failure of the institute and thereby give suggestions for further research on the exploration of the future of spatial planning

in Suriname. The discussion on institutional transplantation and small states theory will be useful to understand the relationship between these two concepts and the context of spatial planning in Suriname.

To make an institutional analysis of spatial planning in Suriname, the next main questions are asked;

"What do the structures and dynamics of spatial planning in Suriname look like? And how can institutions, with regards to political, cultural and economical context, be transformed into a more appropriate spatial planning system for Suriname?"

The answer on this problem statement is the main outcome of the research. To be able to give that answer in the end, the areas of spatial planning in Suriname, institutional context and small states characteristics are firstly explored. The next questions are associated to these areas;

- What is Suriname's institutional context of spatial planning and how did it come about?
- How does institutional transplantation work?
- What are the institutional preconditions for a successful spatial planning system in Suriname?
- What is a small state?
- What are Suriname's distinguishable characteristics regarding culture, politics, and economy?
- What success and failure did spatial planning experience in Suriname and what were their causes?
- What prospects and possibilities does Suriname have for spatial planning?
- To what extend is spatial planning desirable in Suriname?

1.3 Outline report

After this introduction chapter, this report contains the following chapters;

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter the theoretical context of institutional transplantation and small states is elaborated. These two concepts account for the theoretical basis of this thesis.

Chapter 3. Development of Suriname

This chapter describes the historical development of Suriname. Geographical, economical, societal, political and parliamentary developments are elaborated. This clarification supports the context of spatial planning in Suriname.

Chapter 4. Spatial planning in Suriname

Chapter 4 contains the case study of this thesis. The results of the analysis of the spatial planning system are presented.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

In this chapter I will conclude the most important results of the research by answering the problem statement. Furthermore, I will give recommendations for practical application of the results.

Chapter 6. Epilogue

The epilogue constitutes the final chapter of this thesis. I will discuss the case study of spatial planning in Suriname in relation to the concepts of institutional transplantation and small states. I will give a critical reflection on the findings and the related theoretical concepts. Additionally, I will give a critical reflection on the methods used to carry out this research and give recommendations for future research.

The conclusions and the epilogue can be seen together as an elaboration of my personal thoughts. The statements in the conclusions are based on 'hard' evidence and the statements in the epilogue are more speculative. Some statements from the conclusions are further elaborated more speculatively in the epilogue. The epilogue should be regarded as an important part of this thesis, because it contains valuable knowledge on the research. Therefore this thesis should be read completely, not finishing after the conclusions.

1.4 Research methodology

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the institutional development of the spatial planning system in Suriname. In order to achieve this objective a pragmatic and qualitative research is carried out, with the character of an explorative and analytical study. The research concerns a problem, namely the unknown development of spatial planning in Suriname that needs exploration and analysis. The unravelling of this problem is the main focus of the research and several methods are used to act out this purpose. Most of the data used are qualitative. History of institutionalisation and efficiency and effectiveness of spatial planning are hardly quantifiable.

The first method used in the research is a literature study to clarify the historical development of several aspects of Suriname and the concepts of institutional transplantation and small states theories. The analysed aspects of Suriname concerned geography, society, economy, politics and the parliamentary system. The second method is a case study. Originally it was the plan to scan Surinamese legal, plan and policy documents in order to clarify Surinamese practice of spatial planning. In reality it turned out that the amount of plan and policy documents is scarce. Additionally, these documents are rarely publicly accessible, because of their unofficial status. As a result the case study's literature scan was limited to mainly legal documents. The third method was interviewing persons with an interest in Surinamese spatial planning. These interviews show different perspectives on the practice of spatial planning in Suriname, what helps creating a complete picture. Finally, the fourth method used is the method of triangulation. Triangulation is the comparison of data and knowledge acquired from different sources. When using a single case study, forceful accent on triangulation is demanded in order to exclude coincidence (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2000). The data and knowledge assembled with the first three methods are compared and used to underpin each other.

Literature

For building up the theoretical framework on institutional transplantation, several scientific books and articles were collected. This literature was adequately focused on the field of spatial planning. Small states theories, however, are hardly applied on spatial planning. Literature was derived from related fields of science, like environmental science, economics, public administration and social anthropology. Contemporaneously, small states theories do also apply on countries on the mainland, but mainly on islands. I made effort to extract those elements of small states theories that were applicable on the mainland.

Other literature was examined to research spatial planning context and the case

study. Knowledge about spatial planning was extracted from scientific sources like books, articles and course readers. Literature and documentation related to the case study of Suriname included books, local publications, local newspapers, legal documents and internet sources. Knowledge and data from these sources were also used in preparation for the interviews.

Case study

In this research, the case study is not used to underpin the theoretical framework. The findings of the theoretical framework are used to clarify the findings of the case study. The focus of the case study is to unravel the development of spatial planning in Suriname, seen in historical, political and institutional context.

Interviews

The technique of interrogation is a through questioning and utilisation of key concepts directed activity, in which you attempt to get desired information from on advance selected persons (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2000). One of these techniques is face-to-face interviewing. For this research I used a relatively open course of interviewing, in which I solely had a list of topics and general questions I wanted to interact on. The starting position for each interview was the same. The interviewees were asked their relation and experience with spatial planning in Suriname, their opinion about the tasks and functioning of the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management and the success and failure of spatial planning in Suriname. Some interviewees expected a lot of input from my side and solely answered the questions I would ask them, others told complete stories on their own initiative. Inevitably, the results of the interviews are subject to interpretation, but the fact that both I and my Surinamese interviewees spoke Dutch as native language reduced the amount of information lost in translation.

The purpose of the interviews was to assemble relevant information and opinions on the spatial planning system in Suriname. By this a thorough analysis and a complete picture of the system could be established. The selected persons all had an interest in and/or solid knowledge about spatial planning in Suriname. The interviewees demonstrated different interpretations of the functioning of the system, the achievements of the ministry and the way things should be. At first a few persons/institutions with a certain important interest in spatial planning were contacted. These contacts referred me to other contacts. The interviewees were selected based on their supposedly different viewpoints, interests and supposedly sincerity. Ultimately, planning authorities, local institutions, local ventures, urban engineers and academics were interviewed. A total of 13 persons from eight different institutions were heard. Understandably, there are always more persons and institutions to interview. However, I believe the collection of interviewees with additional information, present a complete picture of the spatial planning system in Suriname.

Demarcation

This research aims at creating insight in the institutional development of the spatial planning system in Suriname. In order to create that insight, current spatial planning in Suriname together with ancillary institutional context is analysed. This research will however strictly focus on the elements of institutionalisation that are relevant for spatial planning and vice versa. Naturally, the complete process of adaptation of spatial planning includes many aspects and phases, for instance in the fields of law, jurisdiction and policy, but this does not fit within the scope of this research.



Chapter 2

Theoretical framework

In this chapter the theories of institutional transplantation and small states are elaborated. These two concepts construct the theoretical basis of this thesis. The research questions will be answered by taking this theoretical framework into account.

2.1 Institutional transplantation

De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis (2002, p. 21) state that;

Institutional transplantation is one of the many concepts in use to label the transfer of policies from one setting to the other.

The term of and the ideas on institutional transplantation are not new. A quick search learns that back in the 1970's a study was made on institutional transplantation in Chilean agriculture². However, De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis are the first to develop a concrete concept of institutional transplantation by a complete publication dedicated to this topic. The statement given above indicates that according to the authors the concept at least involves 'institution' and 'transplantation', but in this case also 'policy'. Institutions are described and defined in many fields of knowledge, like law, economics, administration, political science, sociology, anthropology, history and environmental science. De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis focus their concept on the fields of both public and private administration, planning, political science and political geography and this is just the scope I roam within for this thesis. With their publication they aim on *providing insights into the empirical experiences of countries adopting policy institutions from other countries, in order to improve the performance or the legitimacy of their own institutional structures* (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002). For this thesis I focus on the aspects of institutional transplantation that apply on the transplantation from one country to another as well.

Defining institution and transplantation

In order to clarify the concept of institutional transplantation the sub-concepts of institution and transplantation need to be defined. The statement of the previous section indicates that policies are a form of institution and topic of transplant. Transplants can be various things, not just policies, but also programmes, procedures, ideologies, justifications, attitudes and ideas (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002). Within institutional transplantation the word 'institution' is used as a container concept for all these possible transplants.

Institution is not an unambiguous concept. The internationally often cited D.C. North (1990, p. 3) defines institutions as:

² Brown, M.R. (197?), *Agricultural "extension" in Chile: a study of institutional transplantation*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin.

The rules of the game in a society or, more formally, the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction.

Huntington (in Hendriks, 1996, p. 93) gives a very classical definition of institutions as:

Stable, valued, recurring patterns of behaviour.

Institutions concern a vague concept, but are however anthropogenic creations that constitute a stable framework for society and its interactions. A distinction can be made between formal institutions and informal institutions. Formal institutions are legal rules and basically refer to abilities and obligations, while informal institutions are social practices and rituals based on underlying cultural norms and values (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002). Informal institutions indicate adequate modes of behaviour in given circumstances and account for the foundation on which formal institutions are built (Casson, Della Giusta and Kambhampati, 2010). Both formal and informal context of institution need to be clear in order to understand the complete concept, because they lean on and complement each other. Together they make up the rules of the game with the practises around them (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002).

Institutions are not static. They can be framed and reframed and also be transplanted. Transplantation in the concept of institutional transplantation can be explained by many terms; borrowing, emulation, imitation, copying, adoption and transfer are all applicable. Matter is that an institution is put from one setting into another somewhere else. The general reason why institutions are transplanted is to bring progress to the host society. The performance or legacy of one's institutional structures needs to be improved and borrowing an available alternative can speed up the process or can be achieved at lower costs than when innovating a new structure. Other considerations are to break local resistance by using new, imported structures. Adopting successful policy solutions developed elsewhere are seen as being a way to share in the success of that donor country. Contemporaneously, existing institutions have proven themselves and it is easier to convince people by pointing at achieved results, than by arguing on completely innovative ideas (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002).

Historical perspective

The concept of institutional transplantation is not new. Institutions have always been diffusing. This can be concluded from the spread of religions, languages and ideologies, but also of techniques and policies, processes that have been occurring since the origin of mankind. This spread occurs from core regions into larger areas. In the past, institutions have been applied on (sometimes also borrowed from) conquered territories and populations. This conversion was forced, but later on more voluntarily transplantations took place. In processes of modernisation, decolonisation and democratisation, organisational and institutional alternatives from successful and powerful societies were imitated and emulated. In the case of modernisation a key factor that prompts institutional transplantation is the predominant role of a society (P.J. Taylor in De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002). The principle is that the society whose ideas are ruling, the so-called hegemony, functions as a model for other societies. Being a hegemony is based on having developed an innovation that brings about economic advancement. This phenomenon prompts emulation and policy of the hegemony is soon copied by other states that aspire more power and success. In the case of the democratisation of existing states and the creation of new states by decolonisation of the non-European world, also people of the host society are the stimuli behind institutional borrowing. In these cases the success and power of the donor countries are aspired as well. One very influential donor country, when it concerns political institutions and policies, is England. England is host to parliamentary

institutions of 'Westminster', model to many parliamentary systems worldwide.

Currently, globalisation, Europeanisation and intensified international and transnational communication due to improved infrastructure have lead to a new impulse in institutional transplantation. Distances to information and for bringing in expertise have become smaller, whereby several performing institutions and promising policy solutions from other countries became within reach. Institutional transplantations come about increasingly faster over larger distances. Additionally, globalisation with its related access to information boosts up the aim for performance in order to stay on to the highly developed countries and stay or become competitive. Finally, globalisation crumbles hierarchical relations between nations. Previously, former colonies were exclusively roaming within institutions of their former colonist country for borrowing. The new information and communication technologies bring other alternatives within reach, whereby dominant powers do not overrule less dominant anymore. These countries confronted with similar problems can now exchange experiences with each other and develop more suitable and appropriate institutions (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002). This idea does not only apply on former colonies, but also on for instance smaller western countries or countries from the former Socialist bloc, that can use other role models than they used to do.

Pitfalls

Like described above, the main purpose of institutional transplantation is to bring improvement to the host society. By improving the performance or legitimacy of institutional structures the aim is on bringing growth and prosperity. In times of well-developed information and communication infrastructure, many opportunities are present for shopping around for promising policy solutions. The implementation of institutional borrowings is subject to an interaction between expectations, both from the host country as from the donor country. The general expectation is that transplants bring similar positive results to the host country as they did to the donor country. However, the process may bring unforeseen consequences. Compatibility between the host society and the transplant is one of the main conditions for successful transplantation, but it often occurs that policy-makers do not realise or pay enough attention to this aspect. There are mainly two important causes, both from contextual nature that can be pointed out for explaining the lack of compatibility. First, transplanters can be confronted with difficulties in assessing the suitability of a model. There is a long way to go between the experiencing of a successful model elsewhere and the actual implementation in day-to-day practice the host country. Underestimation of the entire accessory factors of a transplantation process and of the process that the donor country has gone through before accomplishing the current results, undermine the assessment of compatibility. Additionally, the success of a model elsewhere can be overestimated by policy-makers. Detailed seeing through an institutional model is difficult when done by persons not familiar with the model. Secondly, transplanters can be confronted with different legal, administrative and cultural traditions in the donor and the host country. Implementation of alien procedures and measures can be ineffective or even counterproductive (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002). Measures can turn out to be inappropriate in a different context and thereby barricade the functioning of domestic institutions. The process of globalisation has only polarised the tension around compatibility. Institutional borrowing is subject to hypes and rather seldom clearly assessed on its possible structural and cultural consequences. With the increasing speed to which information and experiences are exchanged, these processes occur even hastier than before. Currently, institutions are even transplanted long before they have actually proven themselves.

In my defining of institutions I have discussed the difference between formal and informal institutions. It is the tension between formal and informal institutions that puts forward the context-related problems discussed above, within the concept of institutional

transplantation. When changing a dominant model of legal practices by implementing a variant of a promising alien model, a set of formal institutions must be integrated with the framework of domestic informal and remaining formal institutions. Understandably, applying the total complex of both formal and informal institutions on a society, so both legal rules and social practices and traditions, is nearly impossible. Especially society's cultural traditions are not instantly, if ever, replaceable. Institutions are developed at different levels of the governmental working field. The subdivision into three active levels clarifies the domains of formal and informal institution in which institutional transplantation occurs. These levels are *the constitutional level* i.e. ground rules or legal systems, *the level of policy areas* i.e. relations between governmental bodies or formal regulations and *the operational level* i.e. daily activities or procedures (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002).

The pitfalls of institutional transplantation are now vastly elaborated, but what are the measures of institutional transplantation success? This is not an easy answerable question. The transplantation of an institution from one state to another is a complex and comprehensive concept. Assessing its success therefore is difficult and also depends from the perspective of consideration. Success for one stakeholder does not automatically imply success for another. Success can be measured as the degree of resemblance achieved between the donor institution and its copy. However, from my elaboration until now can be concluded that especially implementing exact institutional copies have a high probability for unfitness within the already existing (formal and informal) institutional structures in the host country. The purpose of institutional transplantation is to bring improvement to the host country, not to make an exact copy of an original institution in a new context. According to the purpose of institutional transplantation, its success can be measured by determining the degree of improvement achieved in the host country. Again the degree of improvement is not easily assessable. It is important that policy-makers start to comprehend the importance of consideration between potential and limitations of institutional transplantations. This can be achieved by developing guidelines for assessing the suitability of a model and for proper and careful preparation of a transplantation.

Two concepts

According to De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis (2002), institutional transplantation can be considered from two different theoretical perspectives. These perspectives can be meaningful in understanding the practicalities of institutional transplantation. In this section I will elaborate both perspectives. The first considers institutions as man-made designs that can be framed and reframed according to one's likings and expectations. The second considers institutions, though man-made, as static evolutionary originated constructions, limitedly capable of dealing with structural alterations. The first perspective is named 'actors pulling in'. This perspective assumes that policy actors are constantly searching for opportunities to reframe dominant institutional models according to their likings, by exploring examples and best practices from other institutional contexts. The policy actors apply a form of 'lesson-drawing', which is a concept comparable to institutional transplantation. Rose (1991, p. 4) says about lesson-drawing:

Confronted with a common problem, policy-makers in cities, regional governments and nations can learn from how their counterparts elsewhere respond. More than that, it raises the possibility that policy makers can draw lessons that will help them deal better with their own problems.

Besides learning what they can do to improve institutional models, observers can also learn what to do to avoid negative developments. Rose also states precepts for assessing the suitability of a model; the model should not be too unique; the donor institutions should be substitutable for the host country; cause-effect structures of the model should be simple; the change of scale should be small. Besides, the transplantation should be complete and

appropriate.

The second perspective is named 'goodness of fit'. This perspective assumes that an institutional transplant integrates within its new context like if it has always been there, or it is rejected and will never make a good fit. The degree to which the transplant fits or not generally depends on compatibilities between donor and host society. The idea is that some countries are more similar than others, forming 'families of nations' (De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis, 2002). The context of formal legal rules and informal social practice and rituals show a certain resemblance among the members of a family. These resemblances do not arise from independent legal systems, but are related to the roots of the family. The members share similar legal, political, administrative and cultural backgrounds, with often a similar parent from whom institutional systems were exported. Being a member of the same family of nations, with characteristics from the same origin, decreases the risk at significant unpredictability, confusion or contradiction in transplanting institutions. While exploring the possibilities for institutional transplantation, a deeper knowledge of the legal, politico-administrative and cultural traditions of both the donor and the host country, as well as a specific analysis of the congruence between the transplant and its future institutional environment, improves the assessment of suitability.

2.2 Small states theory

Since the end of World War II, universal opposition against colonialism grew. Many of the smaller islands and enclaves became politically independent. In 1960 United Nations published the document *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*, in which no attempt was made to discourage decolonisation in very small territories. However, in 1962 the problem of smallness made its appearance on the international scene on a seminar promoted by the Institute of Commonwealth Studies of the University of London.

Definition of smallness

Small countries have a number of specific characteristics that distinguishes them from large countries. These characteristics are related to their economy, their dependence on external factors, their position in the international community and to policy and control. It is difficult to define smallness with any precision, the factors which decide if a state is small are negotiable. A state can be small in one sense, for instance in terms of population, and not in another (in terms of area). A state can only be called small when it is put in relation to other countries and not in an absolute kind of way. Therefore there are different definitions of small states. For this study I build on the three parameters used to define the size of a state in the international literature; size of territory, size of population and Gross National Product. A small state can be seen as a state with a for its region relatively small territory, a small population and/or a low GNP. Population size is the most relevant indicator to define small states and the flexible limit of 1.000.000 inhabitants is often used. Judging from the parameters, three major groups of small states can be distinguished; states with small populations and small territory, states with small populations and large territory and states with large populations and small territory. Literature on small states is often restricted to island states. The list of United Nations countries with less than 1.000.000 inhabitants contains 60 islands opposed to 16 countries on the mainland. Islands have specific characteristics which are related to their isolated site. Insulation is an often used foundation for theories on small states. Although countries on the mainland are not isolated in the same way islands are, they can still be isolated. These countries often are toughly accessible over land and solely limitedly connected to international infrastructure. For this theoretical

framework I have made an attempt to extract these elements of small states theories that do apply to countries on the mainland. In addition, more attention is paid in literature to economic aspects of small states rather than to social and political aspects. Since I consider spatial planning for this study from more a social and political point of view, more effort is put in extracting these relevant aspects from literature. Economical aspects are also exposed, but only in relevance to spatial planning and for covering a complete package of small states theories.

Small states face certain problems and constraints due to their size;

- small states are remote and isolated; not only physically, but also economically because of their position out of all important trade routes;
- small states are limited in their possibilities for communication, transport and disclosure, what especially applies to small states with a relatively large territory;
- they stand geographically, politically and economically far away from the international power centres;
- they have a limited domestic market and a lack of international market capacity;
- small island states often have a limited amount and diversity of natural resources on which they can base their economy (however, this does often not count for small states with large territory) and often depend on only a few export products for foreign currencies;
- finally, small states suffer from so-called *diseconomies* of scale in several sectors, including economic production, infrastructure development, knowledge accumulation and government services. This often leads to severe financial expenses in supplying collective goods.

Besides these problems and constraints, small scale also brings along certain benefits, like short communication lines between government, market and community. In theory, short communication lines benefits effective and efficient advocacy and efficient response on new developments. This statement, however, I will discuss later on (Mol, Mol and van Vliet, 2004).

Small states theory in historical perspective

A considerable amount of small states has in history been part of a colony. Especially small development countries and island states used to be part of other countries. Not until after World War II many of these small states have become sovereign, whether or not completely. Although some states already had limited autonomy before. The colonial history still has influence in the functioning of governments in small states. Governance often is taken over from their colonial rulers (Sevic, 2001). Western countries, the most common rulers of colonial states, consider permanent, neutral and efficient provision of services the ideal model for bureaucracy. They focus on the idea of a constitutional government, with a distinction between politics and government services. The same model often is applied in their colonies, without taking the specific characters of a small state into account. The only adaptation made to the models sometimes was little reduction of the administration, lesser ministries or combination of top positions. Such automatic and unadapted transplantation of governance causes problems. The transplantation of governance may know technical scale reduction, but this is not combined with a necessary reorganisation or redefinition of functional power distribution or interrelations between government services. Besides, certain elements of voluminous, strongly hierarchical, differentiated and formalised bureaucracies of large states do not work in small states. In small states personal networks and less formalised, differentiated and hierarchical relations rule within governments (Murray, 1985). Another aspect that should be considered is that bureaucracies of young states need time to grow and develop. Procedures, policy organisations, negotiation

traditions etc. are hardly institutionalised yet and are subject to shifting political leaders and governments.

Internal organisation of the government

The governments of small states are characterised by a specific internal organisation. The government or bureaucracy of small states often is excessively large compared to the size of the country and its available resources. This phenomenon is due to the copying of management models of larger states, mostly their former rulers, in which differentiation of services and ministries are counteracted insufficiently. The causes are not only to be found in the historical roots; also international obligations, pressure from foreign countries, foreign help and domestic developments cause excessively large governments, because of their disproportionally strong appeal to the bureaucracy of small states. Another cause is the little possibility for *economy of scale*; even though there is a limited amount of clients, certain functions have to be fulfilled by the government.

These excessive governments have to be filled up with enough employees to cover all the work. When the population size is limited, also the highly educated and/or experienced workforce is limited. Limited capacity of the government is the consequence. Senior administrators in small states therefore are under disproportional pressure and often are engaged in multifunctional positions. At the same time their possibilities for promotion and reward are limited. This all together not incidentally leads to flow of senior administrators to foreign countries. On the other hand do these senior administrators have a large influence and a powerful position. Policy making in small states is more dependent on persons and personal networks and is less characterised by businesslike, functional, standardised, formalised and professional relations between services and government organisations. Policy administrators in small states have more freedom and manoeuvre than ones in large states do, also because the description of their task is less detailed. Besides, often no comparable specialists are present within the government who can take care of contra-expertise or critical reflection.

In his analysis about the interrelation between politics and policy Sutton (1987) concludes that politicians in small states often exert bigger power to government services than the ones in larger states do. This political power is strongly based on and connected with persons. More even than on party-political basis. Furthermore, politicians have direct relations with each other and interfere on all policy grounds, without much functional specialisation. In small states, the post of a politician rarely is a complete job, whereby politicians frequently stir on different fields. This does not only lead to entanglement of interest and impure separation of functions, but it also encourages mobility between politics and other communal sectors. This so-called *personalisation* of policy and politics in small states however does not always have to be negative. It can lead to unfunctional policy, personal arbitrary, entanglement of interest and institutional strictness, but it can also lead to more effective and efficient control. It depends on how small states exploit these attributes in the direction of good and effective management. Often policy of small states leads to too much personnel and to less steering capacity and experts. In addition, government officials often are not satisfied with and proud of their work, what leads again to problems in policy making and even more in policy implementation. Especially small states with large land area, low development level and limited financial resources face troubles with the implementation and maintaining of policy. Although, also countries with small land areas or more financial resources are confronted with too little administrative capacity of the government to give head to the increasing complexity of problems of small states in a globalising world.

In theory, the government does not have a significantly different role in small states than it has in large states. However, the manner of fulfilling tasks, the way of operation and her dependence on domestic and foreign private and public parties does differ significantly

on certain aspects from governments in larger countries. Besides, governments in small countries are confronted with specific problems that do not or less keen appear in other countries. When analysing and understanding success and failure of management and control in small states and when developing propositions to improve management processes and the achievement of objectives, these specific characteristics of management and control in small states have to be taken into account.

Summarised, this is a total list of the problems that occur, as a consequence of the above, within governments and management of small states;

- little steering capacity;
- failure of management processes;
- corruption;
- viscosity and prevailing of self interest;
- swoon of management and politics of small states compared to the market and international affairs.

However, there are small states that have managed to be successful in management and control. Though the scale of a country brings along specific characteristics, size in itself has not an all determined impact on management failure and insteerability in a globalising world. Often the small development countries are the ones on which the rather negative analysis of management and control applies.

Economy and small scale

Small countries have a small domestic market and limited diversity in production structure. This makes a self supplying economy often extremely expensive and mandates small states to both export own products in order to attain scale benefits in mass production and to import consumption and capital. Understandably, many goods can not or only at high costs be produced by themselves. Particularly small developing countries and former colonies are characterised by such unilateral economies and little diversity in production. These diseconomies of scale are not only related to the industrial and agricultural production and marketing, but also in the supply of social and physical infrastructure. The cost per head of the population for infrastructure like roads and public transport systems, electricity, water pipe and sewer systems are relatively higher in small states than in large states. Even though the often smaller physical distances to be bridged. The same applies to costs for spatial management. Often a certain level of quality has to be accomplished, without the needed specialties present. Consequently, specialisation in spatial management is only achievable till a certain level.

Relations between government, market and community

Small states are characterised by specific (inter)relations between the government and government officials on the one hand and market parties, non-governmental organisations and the civil community on the other hand. Within this phenomenon, two mechanisms undermine the policy capacity of small states. At first, bureaucracies and government organisations in small states are often characterised by tight networks between administrators and non-governmental organisations. Small states know, like described before, very intensive and personal interactions and networks, while larger states are characterised by more impersonal, business like and formal interactions. Social relations in small states serve several purposes and have different dimensions. Government officials often have personal relations with people they also meet for business purposes. These tight and close relations and networks are also structured and organised along family lines, ethnic or tribal lines or other common identities. Government officials, as well as employees from other sectors in small states, derive their identity partly from their group or organisation of profession, but also from family relations, ethnic background, birth region and other social connections. Social positions in small communities are more

private; people are judged by who or what they are earlier than by what they do. Universal treatment according to set, common universal criteria and standards is less self-evident. Actions by policy administrators, from this point of view, will also be evaluated according to interest of certain groups and not only based on formal frameworks of profession, common interest or universal principles. The consequence is that, compared to larger states, policy making, performance and enforcement only slightly develop into formal and professional structures. Impersonal criteria of efficiency, effectiveness, integrity, purposefulness and equal treatment transform because of all interfering networks and relations that handle different criteria. Altogether this leads to favouritism, unequal treatment, non-transparent decision-making, corruption and a little expert governmental system. Small communities have to find a way to deal with these close, intensive and multiplex relations. Lowenthal (1987) describes this phenomenon as *managing intimacy*. Actors meet each other closely in different roles and contexts and therefore are experts in preventing conflicts, subordinating their own points of view, avoiding disagreement and in activating networks to accomplish goals. This way of acting not always automatically leads to harmony and consensus, but debates in small states are often less sharp and dogmatic.

Secondly, limited capacity of the governmental administration in small states leads to awry relations with bog and powerful market parties, especially in countries where the economy strongly depends on a few enterprises. In this case the government does not have enough resources to combat these opponents. Government officials can not compete on the field of knowledge, information, financial resources and power and influence on the political decision making. Like in large states, government officials in small states sometimes fulfil roles within large companies. In small states however, this seems more often to result in entanglement of interest. This is partly due to the fact that the top of the government in small states is smaller and less differentiated and that the market is more strongly dependent on just a few parties. Control mechanisms on observing and preventing entanglement of interest are less developed.

Above the influence of companies on governmental decision making is described. However, even if a company wanted to, it is difficult to loosen up the connections with the government. Even though the government has limited steering capacity, it wants to be concerned in everything. Because of the large amount of close networks it is not easy for companies to keep the government at distance. The separation between government and market is less sharp to make because of those networks, several positions of both government officials and company top managers and the sometimes large interest of the government in larger companies in important economic sectors. Often these companies date from the colonial period.

Besides the mechanisms that undermine the policy and steering capacity of small states, there are also mechanisms that have a positive influence in small states. Short communication lines between government, market and society are mentioned as positive starting-point for effective policy and management. Information from the market and the society flows easily, fast and without distortion to decision making bodies and vice versa. This can make policy-making and implementation less viscous, faster and more adequate. The chance on making bad decisions based on bad information is smaller. Besides, the significant influence of civilians on policy in small states is evaluated as an important originality. Even small parties in small states are not easily being ignored, also because civilians often know and address their leaders and politicians by person. However, in practice these benefits do not always work like in theory. Especially in small developing countries, where there are large differences between rich and poor, empowered and impotent, where a strict dictatorial regime applies or where adequate infrastructure for the gathering, criticising and communication of information is missing, fast communication lines and direct contact between civilians and politicians are frustrated. At the same time, information is only limitedly controlled in developing countries and often rules an

information monopoly because of a lack of civil organisations that gather and communicate information independently from existing institutions.

Spatial planning in a small state

Spatial planning is a governmental task, but not many small states are capable of managing their environment properly. The cause of this is at least partly related to the typical characteristics of small states as described in previous paragraphs;

- a lack of technology, knowledge and information to solve problems and to exploit all possibilities of manoeuvre;
- lack of professionals and policy capacity, necessary for managing the spatial environment;
- especially in the case of small states with large land area, large distances, limited physical communication infrastructure and limited policy capacity lead to problems with maintenance and control;
- problems concerning internal organisation of spatial planning in the way of interlace of functions, competence and little business like policy making;
- too tight relations between the government and private parties;
- *diseconomies* of scale in spatial management, whereby the costs per unit are often high;
- the continued use of systems, policies, attitudes and habits for years after they have come obsolete and irrelevant.

In theory small states also have a few benefits concerning spatial planning though;

- it is relatively easy to reach consensus on spatial measures and reformation;
- spatial monitoring is easier to achieve and faster to adapt;
- metropolitan spatial problems like silting of infrastructure are less present.

There are small states that, despite their size, do have developed balanced and adequate steering institutions. These states find a way to compensate for their economic, demographic, cultural and political disadvantages. These states often work and think in projects, flexible the formal distinctions between ministries or hierarchical layers build in improvisation and flexibility in the structure of government services or replace hierarchical decision-making by consensual steering. In this report is examined if and to what degree the (theoretical) advantages and disadvantages for spatial planning are applicable to Suriname. Literature on small states theories is used to unravel and understand the causes of success and failure of spatial planning in Suriname. Understanding causes and backgrounds of success and failure in current spatial planning practice in Suriname is essential to be able to give recommendations for improvement.

2.3 Concluding notes

The most relevant conclusions from the elaborated theoretical framework are;

- Institutional transplantation is a concept that labels the transfer of policies from one setting to another.
- Within the concept of institutional transplantation transplants can be various things like policies, programmes, procedures, ideologies, justifications, attitudes and ideas. The word 'institution' is used as a container concept for all these possible transplants.
- A distinction can be made between formal institutions and informal institutions, in which formal institutions are legal rules and informal institutions are social practices and rituals based on underlying cultural norms and values.

- The general reason why institutions are transplanted is to bring progress to the host society.
 - Distances to information and for bringing in expertise have become smaller, whereby several performing institutions and promising policy solutions from other countries have become within reach.
 - Compatibility between the host society and the transplant is the main conditions for successful transplantation.
-
- A state can only be called small when it is put in relation to other countries and not in an absolute kind of way.
 - Three parameters used to define the size of a state are size of territory, size of population and Gross National Product.
 - A considerable amount of small states has in history been part of a colony and this colonial history still has influence in the functioning of their governments.
 - The government or bureaucracy of small states often is excessively large compared to the size of the country and its available resources.
 - Politics and policy are often extremely personalised in small states, what prompts nepotism and corruption.
 - Small countries suffer from diseconomies of scale, have a small domestic market and limited diversity in production structure.

The presented theoretical elaboration accounts for the perspective from which I will look at the case study of spatial planning in Suriname. The knowledge from literature will be confronted with the results from the following case study in the discussion chapter (chapter 5). With this discussion I will also try to point out evident connections between the two theories of institutional transplantation and small states.



Chapter 3

Development of Suriname

3.1 Geographical and historical development of society and economy

The first inhabitants of Suriname were Indians. Based on archaeological findings, approximately 9000 – 10.000 years ago the first Indian tribes reached the south of Suriname (Buddingh', 1999). The Arowakken were the first Indian tribe to definitely settle in Suriname, around 500 A.C. Later on, the Indian tribes of the Caraïben set foot on Surinamese territory. In 1499 the Guyana's, of which Suriname was part, were first superficially explored by Europeans, impersonated by the Spanish companion of Columbus, Alonso de Ojeda. In the first half of the 17th century Europeans established the first settlements in Suriname and in the year 1650 the English earl of Parham, Francis Willoughby, established the first permanent settlement; the current Fort Zeelandia in Paramaribo. Suriname came in Dutch hands in 1667 and until Suriname's independency in 1975 Suriname stayed under Dutch colonial reign, except for fourteen years of English governance between 1804 – 1816.

In the period between 1650 – 1900 the economy of Suriname was based on the plantation system. The plantation system comprised that capital and labour were conveyed from overseas to produce sugar, coffee, cocoa and cotton for the European market. At first, slaves brought from Africa were accounted for labour, later on contract workers from Asia worked on the plantation sites. After 1900, small agriculture that produced rice and other crops for the domestic market became more important. This was mainly due to the efforts of the Hindustan and Javanese contract workers (Van Lier, 1977). Also logging and mining became important; first gold (1875-1920), later on bauxite (from 1922), crude oil (from 1983) and finally gold again (from 1990) (Buddingh', 1999).

Geography

The plantation sites were all situated in the northern coastal part of Suriname. Namely the largest part of the country (80%) is covered in high dry land tropical rain forest and hardly accessible (Mol, Mol and van Vliet, 2004). Suriname is built up out of three clearly distinguishable landscapes. First the tropical rain forest covers the inland in the south. At the north side of the inland lays the Savannah zone (7%), built up out of grass and bush savannas and savannah forests on sandy river sediments. At the north side of the Savannah zone lays the coastal zone, which houses large swamps, swamp forests and mangrove forests on clay soils. The coastal zone is built up out of marine clay sediments; erosion sediments from the Andes highlands that reach the coast of Suriname through the Amazon river and the Guyana stream. These sediments have made the coast very fertile.

Suriname has a surface of 163.820 km² and is compared to surrounding countries relatively small. The country is divided into ten districts, with her capital city Paramaribo situated in the homonymous district in the coastal zone. Annex 1 contains a map of Suriname, illustrating the districts as well. Paramaribo houses close to 50% of Suriname's

population, what makes Paramaribo a disproportionate large city, dominating the country by its size and influence. The economical development of Suriname has developed parallel with the three geographical zones described above. Economical development barely took place in the hardly accessible inland. This area is exclusively accessible on fast streaming rivers by small boats or by small airplanes capable of landing on simple airstrips. This area is only scantily populated by Indian tribes, with sometimes touristic jungle lodges situated nearby. The Savannah zone is difficult to access, but not impossible. This zone is connected through a network of unpaved roads, which are hardly passable during rain season. However, some large mining and wood companies settled in this zone, got concessions in exchange for asphaltting the roads. The zone now becomes rapidly easier accessible. The mining and wood industry is established in this area, as well as recreational destinations. This area is home to many more Indian tribes as well as maroon tribes. The coastal zone is relatively well connected through some paved roads, like the east-west connection and the connection between Paramaribo, the airport at Zanderij and the industrial area of Paranam. Additionally, the area is provided with an extensive system of proper sand roads. All urban activities are situated in this coastal zone. Figure 1 illustrates the accessibility of Suriname.

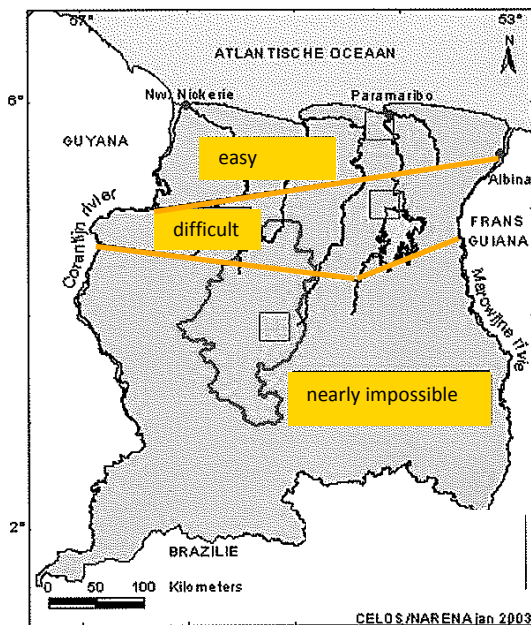


Figure 1. Simplified map of Suriname with arrangement of the country based on accessibility according to Mol, Mol and van Vliet (2004).

Development of Suriname's municipality

Immediately when Suriname became Dutch property, a lobby started in the Republic of The Netherlands to send enough white colonists to Suriname. The interest under the Dutch people was not very high, so besides Dutch, also some Frenchmen and Germans, but mainly Portuguese Jews from Brazil settled in Suriname. The colonists got to work as plantation owners and constituted the economic and political elite in the colony. The first slaves to be working on the Surinamese plantations were brought from Western Africa. In the period between 1682 – 1826 an estimated number of 300.000 slaves arrived in Suriname (Van Lier, 1977). A part of these Creole slaves succeeded to escape into the forests. These refugees formed the maroon tribes in the savannah and coastal zone. In 1863 slavery was abrogated in Suriname and the remaining Creole would later on settle in the urban areas. Now slavery was no longer licit, a lack of labourers threatened the survival of the plantations. Crimps were send out to Asia to hold promising talks and seduce thousands of people to come to Suriname to work as contract workers at the plantation sites. These contract workers came from China (1853 – 1875, 5.000 Chinese), India (1873 – 1916, 34.000 Hindustanis) and Indonesia (1890 – 1939, 32.500 Javanese). The Javanese were imported from the other Dutch colony, Dutch Indies, and were previously promised a return afterwards.

Approximately 25 percent of the Javanese managed to go back to Indonesia, however, this return was not arranged properly so the main part had no other choice than to stay in Suriname. This mix of slaves and immigrants from all over the world resulted in the current ethnic diversity of Suriname.

Between 1800 – 1890 the amount of inhabitants in Suriname was rather stabile at an estimated amount of 49.000 – 56.000 (Van Lier, 1977). By arrival of immigrants the population gradually increased from 69.000 in 1900 until 142.000 in 1940 and afterwards faster until 350.000 in 1970 and approximately 480.000 in 2009³. In the theoretical framework I have elaborated that a population size less than 1.000.000 is considered small. Together with the relatively small territory size, Suriname can be considered a small country. Even though the population increased, compared to other countries Suriname is one of the few in the world that knew a rather small increase (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, 1999). This low increase in population was including due to emigration of Surinamese to The Netherlands around the independency in 1975, after de December murders in 1982 and around 1990 when the economy of Suriname worsened fast. The density of the population is rather low at 2,9 inhabitants per km² and the majority of the population (around 95%) lives in the coastal areas. In the small districts Paramaribo and Wanica the density of the population is respectively 1338 and 193 inhabitants per km², while in the inlands, where solely maroons and Indians live, the population density varies from 1,6 in Brokopondo to 0,2 inhabitants per km² in Sipaliwini (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2003).

The colonial history of Suriname had brought people from all kinds of continents, with very different cultures, languages and religions together in one country. After abrogation of slavery, the Dutch administration tried on one hand to create unity by conducting assimilation politics, but on the other hand increased diversity by stimulating immigration from British Indie and Dutch Indie. Purpose of the assimilation politics was to unify the Surinamese as Dutchman. Governor Kielstra, who governed in the years before World War II, thought this approach would not work for the Asian part of the population and therefore put accent on separate development of different population groups with conservation of their own identity (Dalhuisen, Hassankhan and Steegh, 2007). After the war the Surinamese society was highly divided. Between population groups existed besides cultural also social-economical and geographical differences. The main part of the Creole lived in Paramaribo, the bauxite towns of Moengo and Paranam and in the districts Commewijne and Coronie. Most of them worked as labourer or for the government. The Hindustanis mostly lived in the rural areas around Paramaribo and in the districts Saramacca and Nickerie. They worked mainly as farmers and merchants. The Javanese lived concentrated in the district Commewijne and worked on the remaining plantation sites and as farmers. Indian and maroon tribes were distributed over all districts. Only the urban Paramaribo knew an ethnic mix. This distribution is still visible in current Suriname. The distribution of labour shifted from agriculture to service sector in all population groups, but mainly the cultural and geographical differences are still present today.

Social interaction

As can be concluded from the above, the society of Suriname is very ethnically compartmentalised. Besides, the society is rather small. In short, Suriname's society is intensively ethnitisated and personalised. Every major ethnic group in Suriname, namely the Creole, Hindustanis, Javanese and Chinese, have their own political parties, national holidays, associations etc. Moreover, the ethnic groups hold on to their own traditions, religions and languages. Although these ethnic groups together constitute the Surinamese

³ Central Intelligence Agency (2009), *The World Factbook*. Washinton D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2119.html#> (last viewed October 11th 2009).

society, people individually are also distinguished by their ethnic background. Ethnicity gives people identity in Suriname. Social intercourse is encouraged by shared ancestry and, like in most anthropologic behavioural patterns, communality unifies. In daily etiquette this unification by communality can be seen in prejudice and a slight course of favouritism. People have strong opinions about the characteristics of persons of other ethnic groups. On the face of it, Hindustanis are for instance generally considered greedy and Creole are considered rather lazy. When people talk about each other, the ethnic background of the person of subject is always named. Like if conclusions can be drawn from that additional fact. Furthermore, people tend to ease down in social interaction when it concerns people with resembling ethnic background as themselves.

The second characteristic of Suriname's society is its personalisation. Because of the smallness of the society, the lines between people are very short. People meet each other in different roles and contexts and personal networks root deeply into a large part of the society. A consequence of these, in relation to the size of the society, substantial personal networks is that people are judged by who and what they are, rather than by what they do. When goals need to be accomplished, this can be both professionally and personally, people activate their personal networks. Much faster and easier than people in larger societies do. This ethnitisiation and personalisation set in selective and informal daily etiquette in all societal echelons of Suriname. This pattern also worked its way into Surinamese politics. Political interaction is also coloured by ethnic connectivity and personal relations. These modes of interaction inflict nepotism, favouritism and entanglement of interest.

A benefit that comes about through short lines within personal networks is that control also is more personal. Discretion is difficult in Suriname's personalised society and persons are personally addressed for their responsibilities, prominent persons as well.

Economy

The economy of Suriname was based on the plantation system in the period between 1650 – 1900. All other economic activities were direct or indirect leaning on the presence of the plantation sites. With the colonisation by Lord Willoughby in 1651 Suriname became part of the fast expanding world economy. The demand from the Western European market was defining for the nature and scale of the agricultural production. At first sugar, in that time very valuable as being even a mean of payment, was completely determining the plantation production. After 1750 also coffee, cocoa and cotton were produced. Labour on the plantation sites was accounted for by slaves and after abrogation of slavery in 1863 by contract workers. The Creole slaves who became free men started to work as farmers and later on also as labourer in paid employment; with the government and with mining corporations. The Asian contract workers started to work as individual farmers and/or as paid employees on the plantation sites after expiration of their contract period (Buddingh', 1999, Dalhuisen, Hassankhan and Steegh, 2007).

After the abrogation of slavery the economical importance of the plantation system gradually decreased. During the economical crisis in the 1930's and during World War II, when no tonnage was available for exporting plantation products, this process just accelerated. At the same time however, small scale agriculture, performed by former Hindustan and Javanese contract workers, increased, but this production was mainly for domestic purposes. Already around the turn of the 20th century, the Dutch government started to see Suriname as a downhill colony with little economic perspective. But during World War I the small scale agriculture proved to be a resolution, because Suriname could provide itself and The Kingdom with food in times of high inflation. The production capacity in small scale agriculture was increased and especially the district of Nickerie developed rapidly, with rice production as core business. The real change-over came when in World War II the Surinamese bauxite mines, already in use since the end of the 19th century, became indispensable for the American aircraft industry. From this period on

bauxite extraction became the driving force of Surinamese economy. Not a very stable force though, because of fluctuation in world market prices. The war also brought about the development and modernisation of the airport of Zanderij, at that time a stopover site for the American air fleet. Back in 1916 the multinational *Aluminium Company of America* (Alcoa) already established its daughter company *Surinaamse Bauxiet Maatschappij* (SBM, later Suralco) in Suriname. They got concessions for 40 years, with later an extension of 75 years. By signing the *Brokopondo agreement* in 1958, Alcoa mandated itself to construct a dam and a hydroelectric generating station. This station would generate energy for the aluminium melter Alcoa was also going to build. These developments started up the genesis of the Brokopondo reservoir, a reservoir as large as the Dutch province of Utrecht, and a large economic boost for Suriname (Buddingh', 1999, Dalhuisen, Hassankhan and Steegh, 2007).

Alcoa is one of the multinationals that relatively easily got concessions, on top of advantageous tax preconditions, in exchange for private investments in Suriname. Other companies with comparable conditions are the now Australian-British-Dutch bauxite company BHP Billiton and Surinamese wood company Bruynzeel⁴. Suriname currently depends for 70-90% on Suralco and Billiton for her foreign currency income. The American bacoven company United Fruit Continental is together with Canadian shrimp company SAIL another international foreign currency earner. The only domestic companies which earn firm foreign currency at the moment are Bruynzeel and oil company Staatsolie. Additionally, cocaine smuggling accounts for a complete parallel economy in Suriname, also earning firm foreign currency. A large disadvantage of the multinationals exploiting Surinamese natural resources is that income over those resources streams directly to foreign economies and hardly benefits Suriname itself (Mol, Mol and van Vliet, 2004). Suriname misses very valuable income and the exploitation of natural resources occurs in a little sustainable manner, but the government already agreed irreversibly on decennia long concessions.

Although bauxite is the most important mineral excavated in Suriname, gold mining is also significant. In 1874 the issuing of gold concessions started. Gold seekers from everywhere came to Suriname to find gold at the river and creek banks. Since 1990 even a new gold rush seems to be happening. Mainly Brazilians infiltrate the inland in their search for gold. Complete new villages, with mainly Brazilians, arise and illegal gold production rapidly increases. Before 2003 Suriname knew no large scale gold mining. However, the Canadian company Cambior started the construction of a gold refining factory (Mol, Mol and van Vliet, 2004). Besides bauxite, also gold is extracted on large scale since recently. Both activities take little account for the environment, nature and landscape. Forest sites and creek banks are left quashed after being excavated for respectively bauxite and gold mining. The activities destroy the original flora and fauna on mining sites, damage the top layer of the soil and make her sensitive for erosion. Additionally, the complete hydrological regime is disrupted and both soil and surface water become contaminated. When the mines are used up, deep mining lakes or enormous barren fields stay left. Attempts of mining companies to rehabilitate the sites never lead to recovery of the original situation, but can at least minimise the consequences for the environment. Besides consequences for nature and environment, large scale mining results in migration of people, because of disappearance of farming or living area.

Mining is not the only economic activity with a quashing impact on the environment. Although the main part of the Surinamese forest is nearly unaffected (a global rarity), transnational logging companies are held accountable in

⁴ Bruynzeel was established in 1952 and has for a long time been part of the Dutch family company Bruynzeel. In 1982 the company was sold to the Surinamese government for a symbolic sum and has been a state company since. Currently the Surinamese government is negotiating with a private party on acquisition.

international literature for economic exploitation and large scale forest degradation. The amount of international logging companies is increasing in Suriname. In the 1940's mechanisation of Suriname's forest exploitation started. The exploitation started at easily accessible parts of the forest, near the rivers and the roads. Until the 80's the exploitation and logging was entirely in Surinamese hands and the scale was limited. During the instable political situation and the unsafe situation in the inland in the 80's, wood production nearly stopped. When the situation stabilised and safety improved, domestic wood production only started up slowly. Therefore foreign companies were attracted to give the wood production an impulse. Currently, logging is in hands of various small Surinamese family companies, a few large Surinamese companies and a dozen foreign multinationals, but this sector is constantly submissive to rapid changes. The multinationals obviously dominate the sector, according to their share in income of foreign currency (Mol, Mol and van Vliet, 2004).

A final source of income for Suriname has been Dutch and European development funds. The Netherlands and Europe financed several projects since WWII, in order to confront the structural problems of Suriname's economy (unilateral production structure, limited growth of employment, negative balance of payments). This contributed however just slightly to Suriname's prosperity. The Netherlands started in 1947 with granting development aid, when the law on *Prosperity Fund for Suriname* came about. The Netherlands would contribute forty million guilders (18,2 million euro) in the period 1947-1954. The largest project in that period was the development of the rice production in the district Nickerie. In 1954 the *Ten year plan* was worked out, followed by two *Five year plans* in 1967 and 1972. The Netherlands contributed respectively 300 million guilders (135 million euro), 240 million guilders (118 million euro) and 400 million guilders (180 million euro). The development funds were spend quite unilateral on agriculture and infrastructure. Industrial projects were underappreciated financially. The infrastructural improvement mainly benefitted large foreign companies. When Suriname became independent in 1975, The Netherlands funded another 3,5 billion guilders (1,6 billion euro) (Buddingh', 1999).

Interaction standard

Interactions and associated transactions in economy are grounded on the patterns of social interaction in the Surinamese society. Because of the extensive personal networks, interactions occur according to personal acquaintance and in a relatively informal setting. Transactions are subsequently more dependent on persons and personal networks. Formal, businesslike, functional and standardised patterns are not by definition customary. This informal interaction standard may result in decision making that is not in essence beneficial for a company.

3.2 Parliamentary system

In 1682 Suriname became a colony of the West Indie Company, by agreement on the Patent of the Society of Suriname (Dalhuisen, Hassankhan and Steegh, 2007). This patent stated explicitly that Suriname was a colony and not a commercial establishment, in contradiction with other Dutch colonies. The patent regulated the governing body in Suriname and the relation with the Republic of The Netherlands. Because of this patent, colonists in Suriname got much more self-governance than other Dutch colonies did. The constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815 ended the autonomy based on the patent and governance of the colonies came in hands of the king. The king administered all colonies by Royal Decrees, prepared by the minister of colonies. Amendment of the constitution in 1848 put legislative power over the colonies in hands of the States General and the Dutch

government. These developments resulted in installation of many Dutchman in civil service and magisterial power and an almost complete disappearance of the formal influence of the colonists in Suriname. In 1865 the government granted the colonists a representation in administration in the course of a chosen organ; the Colonial States. However, obtainment of suffrage was related to one's taxable income, so the electorate encompassed in its best days only 2% of the population. The Colonial States had comparable entitlements of those of the States General, with that difference that they first had accountability towards the Surinamese governor and secondly to the Dutch government. The Hague had the final word. The governor functioned as 'government' and the Colonial States as 'parliament', but also the governor was dependent from the ministry of colonies in The Netherlands (Dalhuisen, Hassankhan and Steegh, 2007).

On December 7th 1942, queen Wilhelmina of The Netherlands announced in a radio speech from London a new condition for The Kingdom for after World War II. The colonial territories Dutch-Indie, the Netherlands Antilles and Suriname would gain internal self-control (Buddingh', 1999). Directly after the war political mobilisation got started in Suriname, anticipating on the promised internal autonomy. In 1948 universal suffrage was introduced and an "executive board" was established in Suriname, which functioned as some sort of cabinet. In 1949 the first common elections for the Surinamese States were held and in 1950 an interim arrangement was worked out. This arrangement comprised the settlement of internal business by Surinamese ministers themselves with merely the obligation to render account to the States. In 1954 Suriname obtained entirely legislative and budgetary control over domestic matters. On November 25th 1975 Suriname became independent.

Civics

Suriname's state organisation has from the beginning been inspired on the foundations of a parliamentary democratic constitution (Fernandes Mendes, 1989). Suriname had no original native alternative available, because of the little habitation before the by colonists created society. The current parliamentary system of Suriname is based on the *Westminster model*⁵, what also applies for The Netherlands. Formally the Dutch government did not involve with the making of the constitution. However, the structure and the content of the independency constitution of November 25th 1975 is based on the worked out and detailed constitution of The Netherlands, in which political and social-economic planning is integrated. The constitution has been amended in 1987, but the intention stayed the same. In the times of independency constitution-making, people innocently assumed that when democratic and juridical principles could be defined in meaningful documents, prosperity and growth would follow automatically. When Suriname became independent the existing parliamentary system was maintained. The relation between States, government and governor remained unchanged, only the names of the organs changed in respectively parliament (since 1987 the parliament is called Assembly), government and president. Suriname is subdivided into ten districts with a by government appointed district commissioner, who administers the district together with the district secretary. However, Paramaribo pulls the strings⁶. Suriname's administration basically consists of one layer. The characteristics of the Westminster model can be recognised by the construction of the government. The government is constituted by the president, vice-president and the ministers, who are responsible to the Assembly. The president and vice-president are to be appointed by the Assembly and have no factual governing power. The board of ministers is

⁵ The Westminster model is a form of democratic parliamentary system in which the constitution contains headlines of the in England applied parliamentary system.

⁶ At the moment Suriname is exploring the possibilities of decentralisation of the government, but for this thesis and for the context of current spatial planning practice in Suriname I stay on to the current parliamentary system.

appointed by the president. The board is since the amendment of the constitution in 1975 not an independent policy determining organ anymore, but is mostly concerned with policy preparation and performing. The Assembly, i.e. the nation representative organ, consists of 51 members chosen by the nation and is primarily reckoned to control the government. However, the Assembly is now the body that determines policy, by being charged with the approval of governmental policy and therefore has relatively much power (Fernandes Mendes, 1989).

3.3 Development of politics

Suriname's society is extensively politicised. Political influences play a role in several governmental organisations and communal institutions. This has a few negative consequences. At first, people get appointed for positions based on political preference, whereby key positions are filled up because of connectedness with the ruling political party or tendency rather than on personal qualities, knowledge and experience. A second consequence is discontinuity in the organisation and policy of the government. Every four years political elections take place and political context changes, whereby key positions are replaced and policy changes radically. This discontinuity has direct consequences for lower levels of the government and the society, because they are confronted with difficult circumstances for stable and predictable policy. Thirdly, the danger exists that companies are used for political purposes. Business decisions are in this situation taken based on political preferences and not based on economical motives. This can have as a consequence that decisions are taken which have a negative influence on the functioning of the company (Mol, Mol and van Vliet, 2004).

Like mentioned in the previous paragraph, political mobilisation got started directly after the war, anticipating on the promised internal autonomy. Before, interest in the formation of political parties in Suriname had not been very large, because of the little power the Surinamese States had in The Kingdom. An important stakeholder in the Colonial States was the *Union Suriname*. This was a cultural association with a political streak, founded by the lightly coloured Creole bourgeoisie in order to obtain administrative tasks. These Creoles did not aim for independency, because they saw Suriname as a Dutch settlement of which they became culture medium.

During the war, all over the world much accent was put on ethnic differences, what has led to larger self-awareness in all population groups in Suriname. This also reflected in political point of view. Hindustan and Javanese united in the *Hindustan-Javanese Central Board* in 1946, mainly to prevent the *Union Suriname* to be the only party discussing the autonomy with the Dutch government. Later that year the *Muslim Party* was erected as the first real political party, followed by the *Hindu-party*, the Javanese *Persatuan Indonesia* (KTPI from 1949) and the out of Roman Catholic Creoles consisting *Progressive Surinamese Public Party* (Progressieve Surinaamse Volkspartij, PSV). The *Union Suriname* got replaced by the *National Party Suriname* (Nationale Partij Suriname, NPS) also in 1946. The NPS presented itself at first as a national party, but because it propagated against common right to vote in order to keep their comfortable position in the Surinamese States, the party was little attractive for other population groups than Creole. In 1947 the Hindustan-Javanese elite erected the Hindustan-Javanese counterpart of the NPS; the *Hindustan-Javanese Political Party*. However, because of ethnic and religious indifferences the party collapsed after two years. The British-Indian immigrants united in the *United Hindustan Party* (Verenigde Hindostaanse Partij, VHP) with whom later on the Muslim Party and the Hindu-party merged (Buddingh', 1999).

As can be concluded from the above, political mobilisation executed completely along ethnic lines. The establishment of a political party of their own for Hindustanis and

Javanese was not just a course of protection against possible Creole dominance, but also a powerful instrument for the emancipation of their own ethnic group. The Chinese and Jewish population groups were already adapted and emancipated and therefore did not feel the urge to constitute a party of their own. Besides, they had significantly smaller sizes and would less easily be able to constitute a party on their own. The political parties in Suriname were established on initiative of the societal upper layer. The leaders of the parties responded to the ethnic distinguishing characteristics of their own group to mobilise enough voters. This was the foundation of the political system after the war.

In 1949 the first common elections for the States were held. The elections however were coloured by shrewd activities of the NPS. Prior to the elections, the NPS had proposed a district system in the States. The Netherlands were fond with the initiative of the largest party in the States and did not stop them in any way. However, the NPS bound the districts in such a way that the Hindustanis and Javanese would never be able to obtain absolute majority in the to be distributed chairs. Besides, the NPS made an unfair distribution of chairs per amount of voters per electoral district. The Hindustanis and Javanese did not resist, however, because their leaders were far too happy to be involved in the highest political level. Unsurprisingly the NPS won the elections and obtained majority in the States. Also the VHP and KTPI obtained some chairs. Remarkably, the proportion of votes was comparable to the proportion of ethnicity at that time. Election campaigns had been anticipating on this. The different parties did not differ much in ideology though. They all wanted an autonomous status for Suriname within the context of The Kingdom. This status would be established in 1954.

Later on the power of the NPS toned down, because also the other parties started to play shrewd games in order to increase their power and because parties formed connections with each other to start cooperating. Resigned NPS members in 1955 constituted the *Social Democratic Party* (Sociale Democratische Partij, SDP), which formed the *Unity Front* (Eenheidsfront) together with PSV and KTPI, against the cooperating NPS and VHP. Later on these cooperation connections changed based on power strategies and ethnic emancipation. The support of other parties could be obtained by bribery. Eventually, the government was in the hands of a cartel of party elites, who established a stabile democracy in the segmented society. Parties consisted of the ethnic elites, mobilised their adherents based on race, but worked together at the top. This system maintained because the top of the parties realised the danger of political fragmentation. This system took account for a well functioning society from 1958 till 1967. The out of elites consisting parties composed their own governance, but their adherents agreed on this because they were also promised good career prospects in exchange for their vote. This was the cause for the steadily increase of the amount of government officials. Even the establishment of ministries was a way of employment. These formations were merely election promises. Another way to mobilise adherents was party propaganda by well-known influential people. Also these persons were promised good career prospects.

From this period on, many different parties were established because of drop-outs of one party constituting a new one and the combination of parties. But always based on racial descent. In 1961 a group of mainly Creole academics established the *Party Nationalistic Republic* (Partij Nationalistische Republiek, PNR), with as main objective the total independence of Suriname. At first the PNR had only little adherence, because the Surinamese were content with the situation as it was and were not looking for change. However, after 1967, when the steadfast coalition of the NPS and VHP was broken, the economic situation worsened. People started to think that by becoming fully independent the tide could be turned. The VHP was the only party that was not a patron of independence, because they believed the emancipation of Hindustanis would better flourish under Dutch reign. However, also the Dutch kingdom itself patronised independence of Suriname and in the end the VHP had no straws left to stay on to. Prime minister Arron

declared in February 1974 that he wanted the 'conveyance of sovereignty' realised by the end of 1975. The process of independence went very fast and The Netherlands barely interfered with the situation. She even wanted to fasten up the process in order to get rid of their image of colonists and to counteract mass immigration from Suriname. This went at the expense of proper preparation. On November 25th 1975 Suriname became independent. Despite promises of prime minister Arron to hold early elections, it would last until 1977 for the first elections to take place. Within 1979 the political and social agitation increased and therefore new, left oriented political parties established. They wanted to get rid of the on ethnical politics based system. However, they did not manage to obtain any chairs in the government. Ethnic sensitivities were tightened up by becoming independent, but still the people held on to their ethnic origins.

Instable years

In early 1980, sixteen soldiers led by Desi Bouterse committed a coup and took over control of the country. At first the intention was to bring change and improvement to the republic. Discontent with the 'old' politics was commonly spread. However, the new rulers became more and more radical and good intentions made place for cruel interventions, with the murder of 15 prominent opponents of the military regime in December 1982 as climax. Political parties other than with the military affiliated parties were prohibited during that time. Instead of improvement, the military regime brought misery to Surinam society, politics, economy and education. On top of the military regime, in 1986 a civil war broke out in the east of the country, by which Surinamese territory was lost to a guerrilla movement of maroons. The war would last until 1990 and worsened the situation in the country further than it already was. The military regime lasted officially till 1987, when Desi Bouterse allowed free elections and a new constitution was approved on. However, under the condition that the 'Military Authority' still had influence on the national governance. Still, during the elections of 1987 the Surinamese people completely discharged the military regime and Bouterse's political party *National Democratic Party* (Nationale Democratische Partij, NDP). The former political parties got 90 percent of all votes. From this moment on politics was performed by various political parties again. However, the military has been a shadow power in the Surinamese government for years and there have been times where the NDP does have been the greatest party. Army commanders committed another (more peaceful) coup in 1990 and army leader Desi Bouterse only officially stepped back in 1992.

New Front

In 1991 elections were held again. A few new parties entered the political field; *Democratic Alternative 91* (Democratisch Alternatief 91, DA'91), a party inspired on the ideas of the Dutch political party D66, which wanted to break with the traditional system of patronage in politics, and the *Surinamese Labour Party* (Surinaamse Partij van de Arbeid, SPA). During these elections, for the first time ethnic indifferences were put aside a little bit and SPA constituted the 'New Front' with the parties NPS, VHP and KTPI, a coalition that still exists these days, however in a slightly different formation. The New Front was confronted with the heavy task to get Suriname back on track. The economical condition of the country was unfortunate; the bauxite market had collapsed, so Suriname hardly had foreign currency available and could barely import consumer goods legally; inflation was immense; available government money had for the most part been spend on salary for the massive government official force, so little finance was left for other governmental tasks.

During the elections of 1996 New Front lost its majority and NDP managed to form a coalition with two other parties. NDP front man Wijdenbosch became the new president and under his leadership Suriname crashed into one of its most severe economical crises in history. New Front gained back majority in 2000 and has constituted the government since. Evidence shows economical recovery, but the damage done has been so severe that the

recovery process will not be finished on short term. After the last elections in May 2005, the parties NPS, VHP, SPA, DA'91, A-combination (a new formation of three former maroon parties) and *Pertjahjah Luhur* (PL, an at that time 7 year old Javanese party) constituted the New Front.



Chapter 4

Spatial planning in Suriname

This chapter is the elaboration of the case study on spatial planning in Suriname. The writings are made up from literature study, interviewing and my personal experiences while visiting Suriname. I will discuss the practice of spatial planning in Suriname by describing legislation regarding spatial development and the establishment of the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management.

4.1 Spatial legislation

In 1956 a start was made with legislation concerning spatial organisation in Suriname by the establishment of the 'Construction Decree' by the Ministry of Public Works and Traffic. The Construction Decree contains regulations regarding the administration of construction licenses. In 1972 spatial planning was legally secured on a larger scale by the establishment of the 'Urban Decree' by the Ministry of Public Works and Traffic. This law contains regulations regarding allocation and construction of land. The Urban Decree dictates the making of structure plans, development plans and parcel plans. The structures of these instruments, except for parcel plans, are adopted from The Netherlands. Structure plans are legal documents, to be made by the Planning Service of the Ministry of Public Works, in which the future arrangement of land according to its urban destination is determined, for the district of Paramaribo and living areas in other districts. A living area is defined by the decree as an area, to be determined by state decree, consisting of one or more population clusters, and its surrounding areas to be involved in future developments. In 1973 Groot-Paramaribo is appointed as living area, as well as the urban areas of Nieuw-Nickerie and Apoera in the district Nickerie in 1981. Additionally, the Urban Decree dictates the making of development plans by the Planning Service, to completely or partly complement a structure plan. Development plans give requirements for preventing decay of a terrain for the realisation of given destinations and for protection and conservation of a realised destination. On smaller scale the decree dictates the making of parcel plans. Parcel plans are not to be made by the Planning Service, but by private stakeholders wanting to build on their land. The ministry has to approve on the parcel plan and has to issue a construction license. A parcel plan defines the construction on a particular parcel within an area taken up in or in expectation of a structure plan.

In 1973 the 'Plan Decree' was established by the former Ministry of Installation. This ministry was charged with national and regional planning and policy, ahead of the upcoming independence of Suriname. The Plan Decree dictates regulations regarding national and regional planning on behalf of a proper spatial planning of land use. In addition to this decree the Plan Office was established, which was charged with the carrying out of research and provision of advice on national and regional planning and with the preparation and development of that planning. Besides, two rather advising organs were established; the Interdepartmental Advise Commission of Development Planning should give advise on

behalf of correlation and orientation of the to be developed policy and the Advisory Board for Planning and Development in Suriname should advise on national and regional planning. These two organs should create the opportunity for a controlling framework. Currently, these entries are not staffed though. After the Ministry of Installation was withdrawn, all three entries became part of the current Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation in 1991.

The Plan Decree gives directives on behalf of national and regional planning. The Surinamese government understands by planning the development of policy on behalf of a coherent and sustainable development of Suriname (Planverordening, 1973). This planning is supposed to focus on serving the natural opportunities and resources of the Surinamese territory, on keeping an adequate balance between the available space and the to be stimulated development and on conservation of a healthy living area. These objectives should be accomplished according to some preconditions. First, the sustainable character of the natural resources should be conserved. Second, plans should be social-economically adequate, serving material, social and cultural needs and common prosperity and welfare. Sufficient employment should be warranted and the Gross National Product should be increased as much as possible.

Suriname speaks of the words *spatial planning* as well, in legislation dating from the early 1970's. In the state decree from 2005, by which the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management was established, this new ministry is charged with taking care of a *substantial spatial planning*. The content and the interpretation of spatial planning is nowhere legislatively registered though. This implies that the acting out of spatial planning occurs according to free interpretation. According to literature study and observation of planning practice, a picture of spatial planning in Suriname can be indicated however. This picture starts with the Dutch verb Suriname uses for spatial planning; 'verkavelen'. Translated into English, 'verkavelen' means something like allotting. This word indicates the scope on which Suriname approaches spatial planning currently. Suriname approaches spatial planning on parcel scale, rather than on large, integral scale and therefore focuses rather narrowly. Spatial planning in Suriname is tightly engaged with the issuing of land and less employs the definitions The Netherlands would like to advocate, like for instance *environment planning*. Environment planning seeks for a combination of different spatially related disciplines, while Suriname approaches spatial planning more fragmented, due to the small scale focus. Suriname aspires satisfying parcel development, rather than an integral spatial overview⁷. Suriname besides completely lacks any spatial zoning. Diverse modes of land use are used together. Industrial activities for instance are not just concentrated in industrial zones, but can also appear in residential areas. Recently, the Ministry of PLFM made an announcement on the prohibition of industrial activities in residential areas, however. And before the establishment of this ministry, nature conservation areas were classified already. Although, the statement on industrial activities is the only assertion made by the ministry on zoning for whatsoever. Contributory to this phenomenon is the fact that spatial documents have never been made. Although the Urban Decree dictates the making of structure and development plans, this activity has never been carried out. Because of this absence of structure and development plans, Suriname has no general vision of spatial planning. It is not clear for actors what is expected from them, so spatial developments are not adjusted to each other. An example can be found in residential construction activities. A private developer is allowed to build once a parcel plan is approved on. The Ministry of Public Works is responsible for the construction of roads. The inner urban areas are provided with asphalt roads, but outside the existing urbanisation boundary, roads are no more than sandy paths. It occurs that people construct a house close to, but outside of the urbanisation boundary and the Ministry of Public

⁷ E. Schalkwijk in "Gronduitgifte alleen door bestemmingsplannen begrijpelijker". *De Ware Tijd*, August 8th 2006.

Works omits to construct a connecting asphalt road. Surinamese professionals slightly start to acknowledge the approach of large scale, more integral spatial planning though. In the district of Commewijne a pilot project by the name of Richelieu started in 2006, in which the possibilities of working with an integral development plan for the construction of a residential area are examined. This plan attempts to involve water management, soil improvement, infrastructural construction and housing construction. The Spatial Planning Department of the municipality of Amsterdam in The Netherlands cooperates on this project together with the Surinamese government and a few private parties. The department operates according to Dutch example of *area development*, a complete new approach for the Surinamese government. However, the first irregularities become visible already. The first 120 residences are delivered in 2009, but are still waiting on the connection of utilities by the Ministry of Public Works.

Law on spatial planning

Nowadays, the laws elaborated in the beginning of this paragraph are still valid and in use in Suriname. There are a few negative associations with that fact. First, the laws are not adequately maintained. Structure plans and development plans have never officially been made. Back in the early 1970's the Ministry of Public Works and Traffic had a flourishing Planning Service (nowadays the sub directorates of this ministry are split up and the Planning Service is part of the Ministry of Public Works). The service even managed to produce the first, but later turned out to be also the only, structure plan for Paramaribo. This plan was never deposited for public inspection and never officially approved on by the parliament though. When Suriname became independent in 1975, the expertise of the employees of the Planning Service was required in other sectors and the emergence, and with that the decline, of the department was set in motion. In the dictatorial period a major exodus of technicians took place in Suriname and the Planning Service was barely alive. After the dictatorial regime the Planning Service recovered, but physically nothing happened in the explicit field of spatial planning since. Structure plans and development plans have never been made. Parcel plans are made indeed, because these are not to be made by the Ministry of Public Works, but by private stakeholders wanting to build on their land. The ministry only has to approve on the plans and has to issue construction licenses. There are no official documents that can be used to count the application against though, because there are no higher scale documents in the sense of structure and development plans.

Secondly, the laws are very dated and not adequate anymore. A lot has happened since the approval of the laws, with most importantly the establishment of the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land- and Forest Management (Ministerie van Ruimtelijke Ordening, Grond- en Bosbeheer, PLFM) in 2005 and the progressing urbanisation of Suriname. The Ministry of PLFM is supposed to take care of a substantial spatial planning. The definition of spatial planning is however not juridically defined by law, as elaborated above. In practice, the Urban Decree is used as policy instrument for planning, but this law does not cover the complete load of spatial planning. The Ministry of PLFM has started up the initiative to develop a new law on spatial planning. They studied Dutch law on spatial planning and established a commission, which was supposed to explore the possibilities for a new Surinamese law. However, due to time, money, capacity and effort constraints, this commission failed and no concept law was developed. According to the existing laws, construction and parcel licenses only have to be applied for in the by law designated living areas and within 500 meters on both sides of the national connecting roads. Outside of the urbanisation boundaries, small scale spatial development occurs according to personal interpretations and preferences. The urbanisation boundaries currently lie far behind the boundaries indicated by law however. This results in a rise of buildings completely randomly at the borders of the urban areas.

4.2 Ministry of Physical planning, Land- and Forest Management

After the last elections in May 2005, the parties NPS, VHP, SPA, DA'91, A-combination and PL constituted the New Front and were thereby large enough to form a coalition. In this current coalition, the certification of the governmental head divisions looks as follows;

- **NPS:** Presidency, ministries of 'Natural Resources', 'Defence', 'Foreign Affairs' and 'Finance';
- **PL:** Presidency parliament, ministries of 'Social Affairs and Housing', 'Spatial planning, Land- and Forest Policy' (PLFM), and 'Education and Nation Development';
- **VHP:** Vice-presidency, ministries of 'Public Works', 'Agriculture, Husbandry and Fishery', 'Internal Affairs' and 'Justice and Police';
- **A Combinatie:** Vice-presidency parliament, ministries of 'Regional Development', 'Health' and 'Transport, Communication and Tourism';
- **SPA:** ministries of 'Labour, Technological development and Environment' and 'Commerce and Industry';
- **DA'91:** ministry of 'Planning and Development cooperation'.

Previous to the formation of the coalition and the classification of the ministries, PL demanded, as condition for participation in the New Front, the management of the Ministry of Natural Resources. Until that time land management was a sub-department of that ministry. As alternative, PL suggested the addition of Land Management to another directorate to be managed by PL. The sub-department land management is charged with land issue and the application of parcel licenses. Finally, the coalition parties agreed on the constitution of a new ministry; the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Land- and Forest Management. A significant part of the sub-tasks of the directorate Natural Resources was transferred to the new ministry and NPS was left with a clipped ministry.

Tasks ministry of Spatial planning, Land- and Forest Policy

According to the State Decree of September 6th 2005 the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Land- and Forest Policy is charged with taking care for the following distinctive tasks;

- a. a substantial spatial planning, this in dialogue with amongst others the Ministry of Regional Development, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation and the Ministry of Natural Resources;
- b. the topography, the cartography, the geodesy, the soil research and the soil mapping;
- c. the soil destination, in interdepartmental relation where necessary;
- d. a solid land issue, this in cooperation with the to be considered ministries, in interdepartmental relation where necessary;
- e. the cadastral survey and the public registers of the mortgage office;
- f. the control on legitimate and functional use of assigned land, in interdepartmental relation where necessary;
- g. the control on compliance of all rules and decrees as regards geodesy;
- h. the stock-taking, exploration, optimal exploitation and management of the resource forest, flora and fauna;
- i. a responsible nature management and nature protection;
- j. the control on compliance of all rules and decrees with regard to the production of wood and wood products, flora and fauna⁸.

⁸ Article 1, term 6. Besluit taakomschrijving Departementen 1991 (S.B. 1991 No. 58, zoals gewijzigd bij S.B. 2005 No. 94).

The ministry is divided into three substantive sub-directorates; forest management, land management and physical planning. The sub-directorate forest management was a well-functioning sub-directorate when it was still part of the Ministry of Natural Resources and also functions well in the way it is now. In dialogue with international policy, Suriname set up her own policy for her 90% of the countries' surface covering forest. In 2005 14,4% of Surinamese total land surface was protected area. Back in 1948 already, the government established the Nature Protection Commission, an advisory commission for studying conservation problems and for proposing legislation concerning nature conservation. The Game Law and Nature Preservation Law resulted from this commission in 1954⁹. Forest management is also, in cooperation with the Ministry of Natural Resources, charged with the development of solutions concerning logging and mining issues. Although Suriname possesses large forest sites, she has to deal with deforestation and erosion on the logging and mining sites. In this sector there is still a large opportunity to take hold of.

The sub-directorate land management is charged with the mortgage office¹⁰, the domain service¹¹, land inspection, land taxation, the geodesy service and soil and aerial mapping. Before, as stated in the State Decree, land management was also responsible for cadastral survey, but this is now a non-ministerial body. The core business of land management is the issuing of land. The sub-directorate physical planning does not have any individual department, but is responsible for taking care of a spatial planning. One commonly often heard complaint, however, is that the Ministry of PLFM and more specifically the sub-departments land management and physical planning, are not decisive and energetic and still nothing has been done in the field of spatial planning. The ministry would only keep itself busy with land issue and this would go at the expense of spatial planning. Besides, land issue would occur not as fast as it should be and the department is accused of favouritism. However, according to unofficial numbers, the department has issued over 28.000 lands in this reign period with regard to 4500 lands in the previous reign period¹². The waiting list for land issue is much longer, although a lot of maintenance in arrear has been done.

Knowledge

The sub-directorate physical planning is lead by two jurists. These persons are specialised in land laws, but have no background in physical or urban planning. Their main work consists of taking care of land issue related summary procedures. A rather strange fact, because this seems to be more a case for land management than for physical planning. However, also in lower divisions of the sub-directorate no (urban) planners are employed. The department solely employs jurists, plan economists and soil scientists. The ministry therefore is unable to make use of knowledge and expertise on development of spatial plans and policy. Suriname actually counts only a handful of people with a background in spatial education, educated in The Netherlands or other foreign countries, and these are for whatever reason not employed by the Ministry of PLFM. Until this current college year, Suriname had no education for spatial or urban planning or urbanism. With the start of the college year 2009-2010, the Institute for Graduate Studies and Research of the Anton de Kom University of Suriname introduced the new master course Urban Planning¹³. In a few years, the first graduate students can start giving input in spatial related institutions. However, the problem will not be suddenly solved. Suriname's strong hierarchical formal culture does not give much space to the ideas youngsters. Traditionally, wisdom of the

⁹ Unesco (2005), <http://www.unesco-suriname.org/natural%20heritage%20in%20suriname.htm>. (Last viewed 13-02-2010).

¹⁰ The mortgage office takes care of land title registration.

¹¹ The domain service is the entry for land application.

¹² Bean, H., J. Bouterse and K. Lo-A-Njoe. Paramaribo: Plan Office.

¹³ "Status Wet Ruimtelijke Ordening nog onduidelijk". *De Ware Tijd*, October 17th 2009.

elderly and experienced is highly expected to be respected. The freshmen are not easily being heard and they have to put up a strong struggle to gain significant participation.

Task description related ministries

According to the State Decree of September 6th 2005 the Ministry of Spatial Planning, Land- and Forest Policy should work in dialogue with amongst others the Ministry of Regional Development, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation and the Ministry of Natural Resources. I will state the tasks of these ministries, as recorded in the Decree Task Description Departments of 1991 and its amendment of 2005, which are related to those of the ministry of PLFM.

Ministry of Public Works (Ministerie van Openbare Werken, PW)

The Ministry of OW is charged with taking care of;

- the policy, planning and development of common structural architectural, civil-technical and other common infrastructural facilities;
- urban planning and urban development, in cooperation with appointed ministries.

Considering the Urban Decree of 1972, the Ministry of PW is charged with the making of structure and development plans. The Planning Service is also part of this ministry. Besides, construction licenses have to be applied for at the Ministry of PW.

Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation (Ministerie van Planning en Ontwikkelingssamenwerking, PDC)

The Ministry of PDC is charged with taking care of;

- national development planning, as well as of the integration of the sector and regional plans and programs in the national plan.

The Ministry of PDC formulated directives for policy and so also for spatial policy.

Ministry of Regional Development (Ministerie van Regionale Ontwikkeling, RD)

The Ministry of RD is charged with taking care of;

- an integrated government operation, focussed on regional development and improvement of the residential and living environment of the inhabitants of the districts and on the rebuilding of the inland.

Large scale spatial policy, for instance on the directions of urbanisation in Suriname, is formulated by the Ministry of RD.

Ministry of Natural Resources (Ministerie van Natuurlijke Hulpbronnen, NR)

The Ministry of NR is charged with taking care of;

- a national policy as regards energy and the natural resources, forest policy excluded;
- inventory, exploration, optimal exploitation and management of minerals, natural water resources and for energy needed natural resources;
- control on compliance of all rules and decrees with regard to the minerals, water management, the incentive, the transport and the distribution of energy.

By the establishment of the Ministry of PLFM, the Ministry of NR is severely clipped. All tasks of PLFM previously were tasks of NR. The Ministry of NR mainly cooperates with the sub-directorate of forest management and not so much with the sub-directorate of spatial planning.

Another ministry taking care of tasks related to spatial planning is the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Housing. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Housing is charged with taking care of the promotion of housing and the management and assignment of public housing. Additionally, the Ministry of Domestic Affairs since 2005 is charged with some new tasks that from my opinion should also be objective of spatial planning;

- the maintenance of healthy and balanced relations between human kind and the surrounding nature and the realisation and protection of a sustainable, optimal residential and living environment;
- the construction and maintenance of parks, public gardens and green spaces.

Cooperation

As can be concluded from above, the complex of spatial planning is spread over more than one ministerial directorate. The Ministry of PDC formulates directives for spatial policy, according to the main lines for national policy set by the Ministry of RD and the Ministry of PW is responsible for the making of structure and development plans. An activity the Ministry of OW never carried out though. On top of this, the Ministry of PLFM should take care of a *substantial spatial planning* according to the State Decree of 2005. The question what the Ministry of PLFM understands by a substantial spatial planning, if there is no explicit task assigned to the ministry, can be answered by the elaboration of the definition of spatial planning of paragraph 4.1. Currently, Suriname aspires satisfying parcel development. When all the different spatial planning related tasks spread over different directorates, the only way for the Ministry of PLFM to carry out spatial planning is to cooperate with the other ministries. This is also dictated by the State Decree No. 94 of 2005. However, little evidence is present on proper cooperation. Large spatial development projects, like the development of new residential areas, are initiated by the Ministry of PDC. The Ministry of OW is often asked for complementary information and the Ministry of PLFM is only occasionally asked to participate in idea formulation processes. When examining the account statement of 2007 of the Ministry of PLFM it strikes that no money is spend on such projects. Besides unit costs, budget is spent on land acquisition, allocation, forest management and the Surinamese Bruynzeel logging company. In the section 'finance' I will further elaborate the balance sheet of the Ministry of PLFM and spatial development projects.

The little occurrence of cooperation can first be ascribed to the different political parties behind the ministries. All ministries involved are directed by different political parties and have different ethnical roots. Traditionally, the cooperation between political parties with different ethnical backgrounds has not run very smoothly. Each directorate carries out their tasks according to their own interpretation and without dialogue with related ministries. Additionally, the political system in Suriname has to contend with an enormous lack of transparency and comprehensibility. The actions of the ministries are not easily controllable and little effort is put in attempting to control. The possibilities for control are also limited by the administrative organisation of having only one administrative layer. Policy making and project operation are all initiated by Paramaribo and no lower administrative level exists to control. A consequence of this little cooperation is that no integral spatial planning is carried out. When every ministry just does its job, without consulting to this job related ministries, miscommunication leads to the obstruction or delay of projects. An example of obstruction can be illustrated by my own experiences with the development of housing projects in the district Commewijne. The Ministry of PDC, amongst others, initiated the construction of a residential area. However, after one year the houses were still not connected to the water net or to the sewer, a responsibility of the Ministry of PW. Similar symptoms occurred in the residential project of Richelieu I spoke about earlier.

The lack of cooperation can in the first place be explained by the traditional segregation between the political parties. However, these patterns might be breakable, when a communication strategy is set out. Still another reason for too little cooperation stays left. No party has taken up the initiative to develop a strategy for cooperation. No party makes regulations or gives directives on how to combine the different sub-departments on spatial planning to develop a complete and proper functioning

spatial planning system. The lack of general vision, due to the absence of spatial policy documents, leaves the departments with no other option than to act according to unilateral interpretation.

Finance

Like mentioned before, I have examined the account statement of the Ministry of PLFM of 2007. The account statements of 2008 and 2009 were not officially approved on by the National Assembly at the time of this research. The budget of the ministry was in 2007 spent on land acquisition, allocation, forest management and the Surinamese Bruynzeel logging company. The ministry's income, a total of 51.111.000 SRD, around 13.000.000 euro convertibly, came from land taxes, retribution on wood, stamp taxes, the mortgage office, bridge tolls and diverse non-tax income. Additionally the ministry received donor appropriation from The Netherlands and the United Nations Development Programme. Remarkably, the donor appropriations accounted for almost 40% of the ministry's income. All the governmental state accounts are controlled by the Surinamese audit office and disclosed after approval by the National Assembly. However, this is not a guarantee that the income and expenses of the ministry are comprehensible and transparent. The entries on the state account are slightly vague and it does not become clear in detail where budget is spent on.

Although the state account of the Ministry of PLFM shows no evidence of expenses on spatial development projects, there are particular projects going on in Suriname. Besides state fund from the Ministry of PDC, the Inter-American Development Bank finances several projects in Suriname. The IDB is actively working with the Surinamese government on their new strategy for the next five years. IDB's current core strategy is *"to support policy and institutional reforms in Suriname in order to improve institutional and incentive frameworks"*¹⁴. As precondition IDB assumes an adequate macroeconomic framework in the country. The focus, relevant for spatial planning, lies on governance and modernisation of the state and environmentally sustainable development. This translated into projects where the Ministry of PLFM, besides the already involved ministries of PDC and OW, can play an interesting role, like a plan for Paranam Industrial and Commercial Park in 2009 and the preparation of a plan for sustainable management of productive land uses in 2010. Currently, the Ministry of PLFM is participating in meetings on plan development, but is not involved with the operational phase.

Criticism on the ministry elaborated

After almost the completion of one reign period, physically nothing has been done in the field of spatial planning, a critique which is commonly heard in the local news papers, but also in the professional field. The Ministry of PLFM admits the critique that physically little has been done in the working area of spatial planning. The reason for this fact is however rather more distinguished than a lack of fervour or putting public interest first. The problem also lays with legislation and implementation. First, there is no legislation specifically aimed on spatial planning. Suriname works with the Urban Decree of 1972 and the Plan Decree of 1973, established when Suriname was still part of The Netherlands. These laws can indeed be used as guidelines for spatial planning, it namely dictates the making of structure and development plans. However, a more specific law is desirable. This is explicitly pointed out by several actors from the working area of spatial planning, like the Ministry of PLFM and the dean of the Technical Faculty of the Anton de Kom University, as well as by the public embodied by local newspapers¹⁵. The Ministry of PLFM has studied the Dutch law on

¹⁴ Inter-American Development Bank (2010), http://www.iadb.org/countries/home.cfm?id_country=su. (Last viewed 08-05-2010).

¹⁵ See for instance Nanhkoesingh R., "Bestuurlijk veranderingen gefundeerd op gedegen wetgeving", in *De Ware Tijd*, December 17th 2005.

spatial planning and extracted elements which can be useful for Suriname. I believe this is a rather strange development, however, because Suriname is absolutely not comparable to The Netherlands. Not as regards size, landscape, culture nor society. This is a point for the epilogue however. To continue, Suriname misses a juridical and legislative framework for spatial planning. Furthermore, the Ministry of PLFM is limited in possibilities for implementation. Previously listed laws do dictate the making of plan documents, but these tasks are not assigned to the new ministry by other ministries at the establishment of the Ministry of PLFM. The Ministry of PDC, where also the Plan Office is part of, is juridically charged with the development of policy, also for spatial planning. The Ministry of PW, where the Planning Service is part of, is responsible for the making of structure and development plans. Even is the Ministry of PLFM intended to make particular plans, the other ministries would protest because of their tasks being taken away. Furthermore, the withdrawal of ministerial entries goes at the expense of the budget.

This does not alter away the fact that maybe Ministry of PLFM internally could have worked on strategies for the future of spatial planning and creating a vision. Although the ministry can legally not develop structure or development plans, it could initiate directives for what they would like to have planning be like. Illustrating their ideas on cases like this was not obstructed for the Ministry of PLFM and could have been an opportunity to show their intention.



Chapter 5

Conclusions

The main objective of this research was to make an institutional analysis of spatial planning in Suriname. The problem statement of this research was;

"What do the structures and dynamics of spatial planning in Suriname look like? And how can institutions, with regards to political, cultural and economical context, be transformed into a more appropriate spatial planning system for Suriname?"

Eight research questions, presented in the first chapter, were used to find answers to this problem statement. A literature review, a case study and interviews were used to collect data to find answers to the research questions. The theoretical concepts of institutional transplantation and small states were analysed, to help understand the development of spatial planning in Suriname. In this chapter I will elaborate the most important findings of the research. The conclusions are based on the literature study and the results from the case study of Suriname. Furthermore, I will signify recommendations for practical application of these results. I recommend the reader to consider these conclusions together with the epilogue. The conclusions and the epilogue together construct the elaboration of my personal thoughts.

5.1 Institutional context

In 1972 the 'Urban Decree' was established in Suriname by the Ministry of Public Works and Traffic. This decree contains regulations regarding destination and construction of land. The Urban Decree together with the in 1973 established 'Plan Decree' still accounts for the ruling directing legislation for spatial planning. The Urban Decree dictates the making of structure plans and development plans by the Planning Service of the Ministry of Public Works (PW). Suriname's administrative system is built up out of one administrative layer; the ministries. The ministerial level therefore is the only possibility for carrying out such developments. Structure plans are to be made for Suriname's capital Paramaribo and for the living areas of the cities Apoera and Nieuw-Nickerie and secure the future arrangement of land. Development plans should completely or partly elaborate a structure plan and are therefore also just made for the three main living areas, as well as for the areas within 500 meters from main roads. Development plans should give requirements for particular destinations. Additionally, the Urban Decree dictates the making of parcel plans by private parties wishing to develop land. The Plan Decree dictates regulations regarding national and regional planning on behalf of a proper spatial planning of land use. This policy is supposed to be made by the Plan Office, part of the Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation (PDC). Other ministries charged with planning related tasks are the Ministry of Regional Development (RD), which is charged with giving directions for an integrated government operation, focused on the improvement of the living areas and thereby gives

directions for urbanisation in Suriname, and the Ministry of Natural Resources (NR), which should take care of policy and control on natural resources, forest excluded.

In 2005 the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management (PLFM) was established. All tasks assigned to this ministry previously were tasks of the Ministry of NR. Except for the tasks related to planning, because physical planning was an entirely new sub-directorate. The establishment and the management of the Ministry of PLFM was a demand from the political party PL, as condition for participation in the New Front, an engagement of political parties aspiring to constitute Suriname's coalition. PL was particularly interested in the department of land management, because this department is charged with the lucrative entry of land issue. The ministry is, amongst other tasks, charged with taking care of a *substantial spatial planning*, in dialogue with related ministries. However, this dialogue is rather omitted. The sub-directorate of physical planning does not have a particular individual department. All operative tasks regarding spatial planning are legally assigned to the above mentioned ministries. None of the entries were transferred at the establishment of the Ministry of PLFM. Additionally, the ministries do not, or only slightly, communicate on the projects they carry out. The ministries are hardly aware of what the other is working on. The Ministry of PLFM is left in ignorance and is legislatively restrained to undertake action. I would recommend to change legislation and make a new division of the planning related departments. Preferably, the Planning Service and the Plan Office are united in the sub-directorate physical planning and are made responsible for an important share of the development of spatial policy and for operational spatial planning. The latter in dialogue with the national directives for policy made by the Ministry of RD. An alteration in the task division of the ministries is not very easy to establish though. This alteration implies ministries to yield entries. Because ministries are directly countenance of the political parties behind them and with that of the ethnic group behind the political party, ministries are not very fond of yielding entries. The political parties have to be convinced to put first public interest before interest of a political party or an ethnic group. This is however a deeply in society rooted pattern that needs to be broken. Breaking this pattern will not be easy to accomplish. A solution could lie with educating the new generation. When professional ethics, with a focus on public interest, becomes part of educational courses, awareness of the importance of putting public interest first is encouraged with the new generation of professionals. However, implementation of renewed modes of interaction will probably take decades and will only succeed with stern maintenance of educating new generations.

Besides legislation regarding operational task division of spatial planning, the legislative set of planning instruments should be evaluated. Suriname's planning departments still work with laws dating from the 1970's and these laws are not specifically focused on the concept of spatial planning like Suriname knows this concept currently or would be suitable for the future. The title 'Urban Decree' already implies this law is rather focussed on urbanism. With the establishment of a law on spatial planning Suriname would know a legal definition of spatial planning and the Ministry of PLFM could operate according to this. The content of this definition I will discuss on in chapter 6.

Institutional transplantation

The institutional structures regarding spatial planning are built up in times Suriname was, although autonomous, officially still part of The Netherlands. The institutional structures of The Netherlands were used as directive for the construction of Suriname's legislation and administration. The transfer of these structures can be called *institutional transplantation*. Institutional transplantation is the comprehensive concept of countries adopting policy institutions from other countries, in order to improve the performance of their own institutional structures. The word 'institution' is used as a container concept for all possible transplants, like policies, programmes, procedures, ideologies, justifications, attitudes

and ideas. A distinction can be made between formal and informal institutions. Formal institutions are legal rules and informal institutions are social practices and rituals, based on underlying cultural norms and values. In case of the planning structures of Suriname, the formal policies, programmes and procedures of The Netherlands were adopted. A slight adaptation to these structures has been made, because Suriname works with only one administrative layer, instead of three like The Netherlands does. For that time it was rather logical to set the mother country as example. Suriname had been reigned according to Dutch standards for three centuries. Besides, communication facilities were far less developed than nowadays and the access to information was more difficult. Suriname had no other possibility than to follow Dutch example. However, these laws have in Suriname never been amended and domesticated since. Legislation dates from a period and a region in which a strong hierarchy applied on the relation between government and society and in which the idea ruled that everything was malleable. Through the past decades the society got more mature and came to the conclusion that maybe not all processes have to or can be directed by the government. In The Netherlands this has lead to a more collaborative way of spatial planning, in which the government plays a less dominant role and is more like a participating party in the process. This reigning position of the government can be called *governance*. In the next chapter I elaborate the question if a comparable model is appropriate for Suriname. For the development of a Surinamese law on spatial planning, the Dutch law has already been studied. I believe however, that it is more desirable to search for models in countries more similar to Suriname. Countries with perhaps also a colonial background and with comparable physical, societal and cultural characteristics could set a good example for remodelling Suriname's institutional structures of spatial planning.

5.2 Characteristics of a small state

A small state can be defined as a state with a for its region relatively small territory and population size. The limit of 1.000.000 inhabitants is often used to define smallness. Suriname has approximately 480.000 inhabitants and is with a surface of 168.820 km² relatively small for its region. This smallness explains many of Suriname's characteristics as regards culture, politics and economy. These characteristics in their turn influence spatial planning.

Culture

Because of her small population size, Suriname's society is characterised by short communication lines and informal patterns of social interaction. The society is built up from many different ethnic groups, brought to Suriname as slaves or contract workers by the Dutch colonists. These ethnic groups together constitute a society and live mixed nowadays, although they still hold on to the traditions of their ethnic origin. Besides, family relations play an important role in the society. In short, Suriname's society is very personalised and ethnicised. People meet each other in different contexts, both privately and professionally. A consequence of these patterns is that people are judged by who and what they are, rather than on their competences and accomplishments. Universal treatment according to set, common universal criteria and standards is less usual.

Politics

Suriname adopted the massive administrative system of The Netherlands. Suriname's society, and with that the labour force, is much smaller and the demanding administrative model resulted in an excessively large government compared to population size.

Additionally, Suriname is confronted with considerable diseconomies of scale. Even though there is a limited amount of clients for a certain service, the service still has to be provided by the government. Because the administrative model comprehends so many labourers, but at the same time the target population for certain services is very small, government officials and politicians are often engaged in multifunctional positions. Political functions are therefore assigned to single persons, what results in large personal power of the politicians and stimulates non-transparency and incomprehensibility. Besides, the lack of contra-expertise and critical reflection due to too little personnel results in little steering capacity of the government. This elaboration also applies on the operation of ministries regarding spatial planning.

The personalisation of the society also worked its way into politics. Politicians and government officials have direct relations with each other and are addressed by society personally. This personal interaction encourages entanglement of interest and nepotism. Personalisation encourages mobility between politics and other communal sectors. Thereby efficiency, effectiveness, integrity, purposefulness and equal treatment of the government decreases. Personalisation could be a starting point for effective and efficient control, because information flows fast, without distortion to many administrative bodies. In the case of Suriname however, the youthfulness of the republic has resulted in less development of control mechanisms.

The personalisation of politics and the large governmental labour force account for a correlation with politisation of the society. Political influences play a role in several governmental organisations and communal institutions. People get appointed based on, besides ethnical background, political preference, which often is interlinked with ethnical background.

Economy

The economy of Suriname is very isolated because of its smallness. Suriname is both physically and economically situated outside of all important trading routes. The domestic market is small and the international market capacity is limited. Suriname only depends on a few export products, like wood, oil, bauxite and gold, for foreign currency. Furthermore, many of the exporting companies are large multinationals, which remit income directly to foreign economies, whereby Suriname's economy hardly benefits from the activities. These market parties became very bog and powerful, because the government does not have enough resources to combat these opponents. The production structures are very unilateral, due to diseconomies of scale. Financial expenses are severe for supplying goods when the target group is so limited.

Like in politics, personalisation also worked its way into the economy, what results in informal ways of interaction and personally made transactions. The lines between commercial companies mutually and with the government are very short and relations have a high probability to become personal. These relations and networks are structured and organised along family lines, ethnic lines or political lines. The pitfall of these networks is that decisions and transactions are often made according to interest of certain groups, which may be less beneficial for the company.

As well as in politics, personalisation can have a positive influence on effective and efficient policy and management. Information from the market and the society flows easily, fast and without distortion to decision making bodies and vice versa. This can make policy making and implementation less vicious, faster and more adequate. The chance on making decisions based on bad information is smaller. Besides, civilians can carry out significant positive influence on policy, because they can address both economical leaders as political leaders and politicians by person. The step that has to be taken first is to develop appropriate control mechanisms, to examine information and policy and operational developments. Subsequently, the informal ways of social interaction can be used as

lubrication oil to create smooth negotiations on policies and transactions.

5.3 Spatial planning

Spatial planning achieved a small success in Suriname by the establishment of the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management in September 2005. For the first time in history physical planning was covered by a ministerial sub-directorate. This establishment is a big step in concretising the complex of spatial planning and forms the basis for further developments. However, spatial planning in Suriname knew much struggle preceding to 2005 and with the establishment of the ministry alone these problems will not be solved. Suriname knows laws giving directions for spatial development, but these are focussed on urbanism and plan development, rather than on spatial planning. Furthermore, these laws dictate the making of structure and development plans, but these have never officially been made. The Surinamese government misses a vision on spatial planning and there are no legal policy documents to which spatial developments can be counted up against. As a consequence, spatial developments occur randomly. Although the Ministry of PLFM is supposed to take care of a substantial spatial planning, the ministry is legally not authorised to make structure and development plans. Legislation prescribes that the Planning Service is responsible for the development of those documents and that the Planning Service is part of the Ministry of Public Works. The legislation has never been amended, not even at the establishment of the Ministry of PLFM. Besides legislative restraints, the sub-directorate of physical planning is subject to organisational malfunctions. First, there are no coordinating or controlling bodies. No coordination exists between the different ministries and ministerial entries on spatial development. The ministries and the entries operate individually, without reconciling their policy and activities on each other. This development stands in the way of an integral approach of spatial planning. Spatial development is currently very fragmented. The operations are subsequently not controlled. Legislation at least dictates the presence of controlling boards for the Plan Office, but these are not staffed. Besides, the ministries barely provide comprehensibility or transparency in their operation. In the previous paragraph I have already described the consequences of personalisation in politics, also for comprehensibility and transparency, which also apply on the ministries regarding spatial planning. Second, the activities are too much focussed on benefitting ego's and particular groups of interest and do not put first public interest. The ethnical and related political compartmentalisation result in evaluation of actions of politicians and administrators according to interest of certain groups and not only based on formal frameworks of profession, common interest or universal principles.

Prospects and possibilities

Continuing on the elaboration above, a few first recommendations for spatial planning structures can easily be made. However, these recommendations have to be made consciously of Surinamese formal, but maybe even more importantly of her informal institutions. The adaptations have to result in a workable situation for Suriname. Suriname is looking for change though. This can be concluded from political discussions and reports in the local newspapers. In the epilogue I will further discuss the future and the modelling of the spatial planning system in Suriname, but in this paragraph I will draw conclusions from the case study and give practical recommendations I believe are desirable and appreciated in Suriname. I recommend the first step to be the adaptation of spatial legislation, like already pointed out in paragraph 5.1. A law on spatial planning should be established and the operational tasks should be clustered in one directorate. With the establishment of a law on spatial planning can be indicated what Suriname understands by spatial planning

can policy instruments be given a new tendency. Structure plans and development plans like they are currently defined in Surinamese legislation, are suitable for a rather hierarchical situation in which the government has a dominant role and the society desires strongly directed structures and frameworks. Suriname's culture is very informal and extrovert and feels no desire to dictate every possible development though. Structure and development plans like prescribed by law do not fit within this atmosphere. The presence of structure and development plans in essence is suitable, only the tendency of the documents should be transformed. The documents should be transformed into concept plans, which give general directives for land destination. These concept plans should bring cohesion and should be made according to the principle of *people, planet, profit*, by which sustainability for all three elements is warranted. All of Suriname's territory should be included in concept plans, but with a distinction between the urban coastal zone and the inland. The inland territory, where no large scale economic activities take place, being the territory of the rain forest and the Indians and the maroons, should be left alone and undergo a natural development, but this should be secured in a concept plan. By natural development I understand a natural procession of affairs. Nature should be given the opportunity to go its own way, with the presence of the traditional Indian and maroon tribes, but without human disturbance. In the inland territory, where large scale economic activities like logging and mining do take place, a strict distinction should be made between these activities and nature conservation. With this focus, a possibility for spatial planning to cooperate with forest and nature conservation entries and tourist organisations and to bring cohesion is exposed. In the urban coastal zone, zoning and cohesion must be brought between residential, industrial, agricultural, other economical, recreational and nature conservation activities. The government does not have to give directives for every spatial development, but has to indicate zones in which a particular activity can be carried out sustainably, without disturbance to other activities. In paragraph 5.1 I elaborated the clustering of the Plan Office and the Planning Service into one directorate, operating in dialogue with the Ministry of RD. This formation would be able to develop concept plans and in dialogue with other ministerial entries such as forest and nature conservation and tourism, spatial planning can be approached integrally.

The second step to be taken I recommend to be the direction of investment flows. The balance sheets of the Ministry of PLFM, the Plan Office and the Planning Department are sufficient, but it is not clear how this money flows and is spend on operations. Physically nothing happened in the field of spatial planning, appraised money did not reach its purposes. The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) is very active in financing projects in Suriname and one aspect of their strategy is to focus on environmentally sustainable development. The Ministry of PLFM does not essentially have to be supported financially, but IDB could fulfil an advising and controlling position. The ministry has to set up, in consensus with IDB, an investment plan and IDB can control the money flows. This proposal directly leads to a third condition that requires elaboration. In order for IDB, or whatever body, to be able to fulfil any controlling purpose, the Surinamese government shall have to provide comprehensibility and transparency. In order to do so, public interest has to be put first, before personal interest of interest of a particular group. Convincing politicians and administrators to put first public interest in a severely compartmentalised society with very dynamic politics is difficult. One way to achieve the awareness of the importance of public interest is to educate professional ethics, with a focus on the importance of public interest. The Anton de Kom University in Paramaribo can play a crucial role in this, by making professional ethics part of their fresh master course on Urban Planning. In a few years the first graduates will start to put up the struggle to gain a respectful position within the government. The Ministry of PLFM should be eager to employ experts on planning, of which it lacks at the moment. The hierarchical pattern between the elder and experienced and the freshmen needs to be broken through though. This will not be accomplished within a few years, but will take up to decades, when several new generations are employed. A

valuable task can in the meanwhile be assigned to all the foreign consultants giving input in several governmental projects. This input should be focused more on the process of projects, rather than on the product. Most of the input foreigners are giving currently is input on the content of projects. Surinamese government and professionals have a lot of knowledge about and experience with the structures and dynamics of their own country though and are capable of filling in projects content-wise. However, project and process management tends to fail more often. Causes of failing are the absence of a general vision on spatial planning, little cooperation between entries, lack of knowledge on policy instruments and the putting first of interests other than public interest. Coaching on these aspects can be useful in the development of a more effective and efficient spatial planning system. Foreign consultants can teach Suriname on how to open up communication, on effective and efficient courses of social interaction and on project approach. Process and project management can be taught and supervised upon by foreign consultants, which can be a valuable contribution to administration in general and in the field of spatial planning as well, while Surinamese professionals keep responsible for the content of projects and the appropriateness and domestication of the results.

At the end of this chapter I want to make a final note. Suriname has been an independent country for only 35 years now and in those 35 years the country was confronted disastrous affairs. Suriname has suffered from a seven year destructive military regime, a civil war and a head of state that plundered the complete exchequer. Suriname finds itself in more smooth waters for only a period of ten years, since the resignation of president Wijdenbosch. Organising spatial planning is not a country's first priority when recovering from such devastating events. Besides, the period of time since becoming independent is not large at all. The development of formal and informal national and governmental mechanisms requires time. Now that Suriname seems to be recovering, this time may have come.



Chapter 6

Epilogue

This epilogue is the final chapter of this thesis. The conclusions of the research are already formulated in the previous chapter, but yet I want to share more speculative thoughts on the future of spatial planning in Suriname and the relation between planning and the two theoretical concepts of institutional transplantation and small states. The results from the case study on spatial planning in Suriname will be elaborated from the perspective of the theoretical framework. The aspects of the theories of institutional transplantation and small states which were useful for helping understand the development of spatial planning in Suriname will be addressed, as well as the aspects that did not show resemblance with the results from practice, i.e. a critical reflection on both the findings and the theoretical concepts will be given. Furthermore I will give a critical reflection on the chosen research methods and recommendations for further research.

6.1 Discussing institutional transplantation

The parliamentary, legal and administrative institutions and therefore the institutions around spatial planning in Suriname are transplanted from The Netherlands. According to my point of view, this process is a classical example of institutional transplantation. Like many other states which underwent institutional transplantations, Suriname was a colony adopting institutions from its colonial ruler. From my elaboration in paragraph 2.1 and from the publication of De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis (2002) can be concluded that the purpose of bringing improvement and the presence of compatibility between the donor and the host country are two fundamental elements of the concept of institutional transplantation. I want to discuss the application of these elements on the construction of the formal institutions in Suriname. Suriname has for the most part of her existence been The Netherlands. Suriname has not actually been something of its own before it became colonised by Europeans. Suriname's society has been created by bringing in slaves from other continents and cultures, the presence of native Surinamese inhabitants is negligible for the development of Suriname's society. The reason why the complete institutional complex was created in Suriname was because it had none of its own and because Dutch institutions were applicable for Suriname as being part of the Dutch kingdom. Probably the Dutch believed their model would also bring improvement to the new society. It can be interesting to think about the statement that nowadays maybe the whole problem concerning the institutional context of spatial planning in Suriname is accurately the lack of institutional transplantation.

Suriname is a former Dutch colony. The first significant settlement in Suriname was made by colonists (although by the English and not the Dutch). Before being colonised, Suriname had only scattered small tribal Indian societies, but no national validated complex of institutions. At rough estimation, an amount of 60.000 or 70.000 Indians populated the territory of Suriname at times of the beginning of European colonisation

(Dalhuisen, Hassankhan and Steegh). The indigenous population was not on large scale exterminated, like in other parts of America, the colonists and the Indians associated rather friendly. Still, their amount decreased rapidly, because the indigenous were not resistant to European diseases. Besides, a fair amount of their population avoided contact with alien populations and migrated to more remote areas. Indian traditions did not have much influence on the establishment of the complex of both informal and formal institutions in Suriname. According to the national census survey of 2004, Suriname counts around 18.000 indigenous, of which 6700 live in the urban areas and the remaining part in tribal inland villages (Dalhuisen, Hassankhan and Steegh).

Suriname first received an autonomous status for two decades before becoming independent in 1975. The institutions concerning the parliamentary, legal and administrative system of Suriname are clearly examples of borrowings. During the colonial period Suriname was administrated by The Netherlands and Dutch jurisdiction was applicable on Suriname. During the period of autonomy, Suriname administrated itself and developed her own laws. Although Suriname was autonomous, officially it was still part of The Netherlands. Legal and administrative institutions were developed according to Dutch example, with slight adaptations to make it more appropriate for the characteristics of the Surinamese society. Many of the laws developed those days are currently still valid and were never further domesticated. The reasons why Suriname followed Dutch example can be various. The institutions can be forced by The Netherlands, both in intrusive as in good intended kind of way. Another reason can be that Suriname considered the Dutch example easier and faster applicable than developing a new model, or achievable at lower costs. Suriname can also have considered The Netherlands as utopia and wanted to have chance at resembling success and power. Finally, I can imagine a lack of knowledge and experience within the Suriname policy-makers, not considering the search for options beyond the Dutch model, or not knowing how to execute a certain implementation. I believe the main reasons why the Dutch institutional models were adopted is a combination of all of the above. Suriname first became autonomous and later on independent and was a little too hasty in accomplishing these statuses. The Netherlands had a model available, being easy, fast and relatively inexpensive to adopt and besides, this model had proven its success. Additionally, Suriname has been part of The Netherlands for three centuries and lack of knowledge and naivety about what it would be like to function independently and about the fundamental differences between the countries, contributed to blindly adoption. A final remark on these arguments is that the institutionalisation in Suriname occurred before the era of significant globalisation. Suriname did not have the same opportunities to look around for models or to exchange experiences with similar countries as it would have had today.

Although Suriname has gone through a process of institutionalisation, by applying Dutch institutions on Suriname, I want to discuss one characteristic of this transplantation. There has never been discussion of replacement of a domestic institutional model, either formally or informally, because widely spread domestic institutional models have simply never been there before the colonists arrived. There also has never been discussion of application of an institutional model on a domestic society. Suriname's society did not develop traditionally, but is a more or less artificial creation by mixing originally African slaves, Asian contract workers and European colonists. This phenomenon also has its response on the correlation between formal and informal institutions. As elaborated in the theoretical framework, informal institutions are the social practices and rituals of a society, based on underlying cultural norms and values. The informal institutions of Suriname's society, however, are a mix of African, Asian and Dutch norms and values. Even the African and Asian institutions are not uniform, because people were brought from different countries on the continents. Suriname's common cultural norms and values are relatively new. Up till today, after being an independent country for almost 35 years, one

can not speak of a concrete complex of Surinamese informal institutions. This might take some more decades. Formal institutions tend to be based on informal institutions. But how to base formal institutions on informal when is not even clear what the complex of informal institutions looks like? The answer on this question is probably that such resting simply did not happen. Suriname's formal institutions are adopted from The Netherlands, with slight adaptations to fit administratively. Suriname's formal institutions are based on Dutch informal institutions. This course of affairs is a warrant for misfit. The most important condition for successful institutional transplantation is compatibility between the host and the donor country. The complex of formal institutions was applied in Suriname, but over time the complex of informal institutions developed into a unique set of norms and values according to different ethnical backgrounds. Assuming that the institutionalisation of spatial planning in Suriname is indeed a Dutch borrowing, because leading laws for this field were made before Suriname became independent and show high similarity to Dutch legislation, I state that spatial planning is currently subject to a lack of institutional transplantation. Suriname fundamentally differs from The Netherlands considering populations size, demography, land surface, landscape and culture. Blindly taking over an institutional model can in this situation not simply be justified according to my theoretical elaboration. Renewed institutional transplantation can bring a solution. When Suriname starts looking around for best practices in countries with similar characteristics, lessons can be learned on making their system more efficient and effective. In chapter 2 I have described the two possible concepts for institutional transplantation according to De Jong, Mamadouh and Lalenis (2002). The 'actors pulling in' concept assumes that institutions are man-made designs that can be framed according to one's likings and expectations. Policy actors should constantly be searching for opportunities to reframe dominant institutional models according to their likings, by exploring examples and best practices from other institutional contexts. The 'goodness of fit' concept assumes that institutions, though man-made, are static evolutionary originated constructions, limitedly capable of dealing with structural alterations. Institutional transplants integrate within their new context like it has always been there, or is rejected and will never make a good fit. I want to commend on both concepts. Institutions develop over time, according to a society's characteristics, and when such a model is adopted it depends on the similarities between the host and the donor country if the model is accepted. If the model turns out to be significantly not fitting, it takes too much effort to transform it into a suitable one. Not everything man made is malleable into every desired construction at any desired time and I believe this is the pitfall of the 'actors pulling in' concept. However, I do not think that an institutional model is so static, like the 'goodness of fit' concept assumes, that policy makers can not make small adaptations once a model is implemented, in order to improve it and make it more suitable for the host country. Best practices from other institutional contexts can inspire adaptations to improve a model and can definitely be used for learning which developments to avoid, but these alterations can not be too thorough. Ultimately, I advocate the concept of 'goodness of fit' though. Once a model does fit, it will function till the end of days and once a model does not fit, it will always be a struggle to overcome the irregularities. Although it is difficult to find an alien model completely appropriate and to assess its suitability, transplantations have the highest probability to fit when the transplantation occurs within 'families of nations'. For Suriname this implies that the available spatial planning models of countries with similar legal, political, administrative and cultural backgrounds should be explored.

6.2 Discussing small states theory

When reading paragraph 2.2 on small states theory, although completely build up from literature, it feels like if reading the life story of Suriname. More or less all characteristics of small states apply on Suriname. The theory of small states is therefore very helpful for explaining why spatial planning in Suriname functions like it does. I will now first discuss the general elements of small states theory in relation to the case of Suriname.

Suriname has a for her region relatively small land surface of 163.820 km² and has a small population of approximately 480.000 inhabitants in 2009¹⁶. Suriname is a country on the mainland, but extremely isolated because of her geography and geomorphology. The 30 percent of the south of the country is inaccessible over land on account of the presence of mountains and impenetrable forest. The country can only be accessed by air and by boat and by one road entry on both the north-west and the north-east side of the country. Additionally, Suriname lies outside of all important trading routes and far away from the important international economical centres. Suriname suffers from major diseconomies of scale. In combination with a very demanding governmental administrative model, a small domestic market and mismanagement of the exportation of natural resources, Suriname's expense and revenue model is very imbalanced. The costs per head of the population for governmental services are high and because of the limited market Suriname depends on only a few export products, like bauxite, wood, crude oil and gold, for foreign currency.

The elements elaborated above are, however, not directly interesting when it concerns spatial planning. Diseconomies of scale namely also work into the accumulation of knowledge. Because of the small population size, the labour force is also small. Like in every society, only a part of the labour force is highly educated. Because of Suriname's governmental model, taken over from The Netherlands, her bureaucracy is excessively large. The limited amount of highly educated labourers, also within the government, limits the capacity of the government. This especially is the case for the governmental departments concerning spatial planning. The explicit field of spatial planning is rather new and like described in chapter 4 the Ministry of PLFM does not employ any educated planners. The senior administrators in the planning departments of the different ministries involved, suffer under large pressure. Together with the lack of available technology, caused both by physical absence as by the absence of financial resources, and information, the lack of knowledge causes inability to solve problems and to exploit all possibilities of manoeuvre. A spot of light, however, is that it seems that the flow of highly educated people out of Suriname is decreasing and that increasingly more Surinamese educated abroad turn back to Suriname. At the same time spatial planning is confronted with diseconomies of scale in its management. The distances in Suriname are large and policy capacity is limited, what makes it financially and physically difficult to carry out maintenance and control over spatial developments.

Another very influential factor on spatial planning in Suriname is the combination of personalisation and ethnitisation of the society and the government. Suriname's society is built up from a mix of (mainly) Creole, Javanese, Hindustanis and Chinese. The establishment of political parties was rooted on ethnical backgrounds. Although nowadays people not strictly vote according to ethnicity in the urban areas, outside of these areas one can exactly determine the composition of the population according to the electoral flags spread over the country. The interest of ethnical groups is still very important, also in politics. Ministries are divided over the political parties and so over ethnical groups. When a ministry suffers loss of face, a political party is affected and also the corresponding ethnical

¹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency (2009), *The World Factbook*. Washinton D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2119.html#>. (Last viewed 10-12-2009).

group suffers loss of face. This can be translated to the Ministry of PLFM and its managing Javanese political party PL and the other ministries and political parties concerning spatial planning. The Ministry of PLFM should take care of appropriate spatial planning and is responsible for land allocation. The Ministry of OW is managed by the Hindustan political party VHP and is charged with the Planning Department and issuing of construction licenses. For the functioning of the complete spatial planning system it would be beneficial to accommodate the Planning Department, land allocation and construction license issuing under one ministry. However, one ministry has to let go then of one of its (very lucrative) entries. Both the Ministry of PLFM as the Ministry of PW hold on to their task description and to their entries. Losing their entry would indicate major loss of face for the ministry, the political party and the ethnical group. Besides this ethnisation, personalisation contributes to the malfunction of spatial planning. All governing power and almost the complete administrative entry is concentrated in Paramaribo. Paramaribo's society is relatively small, considered that this society takes care of almost all administrative tasks in Suriname. Because of the smallness, personal networks are rooted deep into the complete society. The lines between people are very short. People meet each other in different roles and contexts, described as *managing intimacy* by Lowenthal (1987), which increases avoidance of disagreement and activation of networks to accomplish goals. Additionally, the experiencing of family in Suriname is rather extensive. Also family members that are hardly blood relatives anymore are still considered as family. In combination with the ethnisation, personalisation inflicts nepotism, favouritism and entanglement of interest based on social and family relations and ethnical background. This works into the labour force of the Ministry of PLFM, containing no professional planners, and into the land allocation. Local newspapers are filled with accusation of the ministry providing land randomly.

A benefit that should come about through short lines within personal networks in theory is a more effective and efficient control. Important appearances are indeed approached personally on both negative and positive developments. However, two other important conditions for control are comprehensibility and transparency. In chapter 4 I have elaborated that these factors are missing within the administrative system of spatial planning in Suriname.

Linking small states theory with institutional transplantation

In literature small states theory and theory on institutional transplantation have not been directly linked. I believe however that these two theories complement each other perfectly. Institutional transplantation is often applicable on former colonies and small states have often been colonies. Institutional transplantation is concerned with the compatibility between a donor and a host country. Small states theories analyse the characteristics of small states and how they function. Small states theories can be used in assessing the suitability of a model for a particular country. Sevic (2001) states in his article on politico-administrative relationships in small states that governance in former colonies often is taken over from their colonial rulers. This phenomenon has occurred with the establishment of the governmental model in Suriname. Sevic indicates that Western countries, the most common rulers of colonial states, consider permanent, neutral and efficient provision of services the ideal model for bureaucracy, exactly the idea of the in The Netherlands applied Westminster model. The Westminster model is focused on a constitutional government, with a distinction between politics and government services. When transferring this model to Suriname, a technical scale reduction was made by creating only one administrative layer instead of three and by combining top positions. The still differentiated and voluminous government model, however, could not be accommodated by Suriname's labour force and the strongly hierarchical and formalised bureaucracy did not fit within the personal and ethical character of the society. This application without taking the specific characters of a

state in account is exactly the core of theory on institutional transplantation.

Institutional transplantation can bring hopeful prospects for spatial planning in Suriname. In paragraph 6.1 I elaborated that when Suriname starts looking around for best practices in countries with similar characteristics, lessons can be learned in making their system more suitable. These similar characteristics are related to smallness. In the search for best practices, population size, size of bureaucracy and the course of social interaction, also in politics, are important indicators. Furthermore, a resembling parliamentary and administrative system of the donor country is a requisite, although this is not related to smallness. Two interesting states to examine on suitability of their spatial planning system for Suriname are Barbados and Bahrain, both listed, like Suriname, as Small Island Developing States by United Nations. Barbados is a parliamentary monarchy and a former English colony in the Caribbean. It is an island covering 431 km² and populates approximately 282.000 inhabitants¹⁷. Bahrain is a constitutional monarchy in the Persian Gulf. Although the country always remained independent, Bahrain has been administrated by England between 1861-1871. This island covers 665 km² and populates approximately 718.000 inhabitants¹⁸. The surface of both countries' territories is much smaller than the territory of Suriname, but all three countries know a small population size. Therefore, Barbados and Bahrain have a high probability for a relatively large bureaucracy and informal courses of social interaction, both in society, economy and politics. Additionally, the constitutions of both countries are constructed according to the Westminster model. The similarities between the three countries shed an interesting light on the possibilities for institutional transplantation. It is worth assessing the suitability of their spatial planning models or elements of the model, in order to find possible improvements for the planning model of Suriname. However, I want to make a short comment on the probability of finding possibilities for improvement. Both Barbados and Bahrain, as being small island developing states, are confronted with issues developing states are facing in general. Spatial planning often does not have a high priority when other policy fields, like economy and education, require attention as well. The probability of finding useful results for spatial planning may therefore be limited. However, there are many further developed small states as well, like Cyprus. Cyprus is an island in the Mediterranean Sea. This republic is a former English colony and populates almost 800.000 inhabitants¹⁹. By being small, Cyprus has a high probability for the discussed accessory characteristics of smallness. The fact that Cyprus is more prosperous indicates that the country found a way to deal with informal courses of social interaction and has a better control over entanglement of interest and nepotism. By examining the model of a state like Cyprus, Suriname can develop a set of conditions and tools for domestic institutional alterations.

Concluding, the theories of institutional transplantation and small states have contributes to the understanding of why spatial planning in Suriname became the way it is and what can be done in the future for improvement of the model. Suriname's formal institutions are adopted from The Netherlands, by which Suriname probably assumed this model would bring the same success as it did to The Netherlands. Besides in those days, the possibility for exploration of models of other countries was limited. The model, however, does not fit, because Suriname's complex of informal institutions and geographical characteristics differ too much from the Dutch foundation. Suriname is a small country, with accessory characteristics of smallness. By taking these characteristics into account, a more suitable model in former days should have, but nowadays can be developed. One way to do so is to examine institutional models of spatial planning from elsewhere and transplant them to Suriname.

¹⁷ United Nations (2008), <http://www.unohrrls.org/en/orphan/63/>. (Last viewed 22-05-2010).

¹⁸ United Nations (2008), <http://www.unohrrls.org/en/orphan/366/>. (Last viewed 22-05-2010).

¹⁹ Central Intelligence Agency (2010), *The World Factbook*. Washinton D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2119.html#>. (Last viewed 22-05-2010).

6.3 The future of spatial planning in Suriname

In the previous chapter I have given recommendations for practice of spatial planning in Suriname. In this paragraph I want to add some thoughts to the heritage about spatial planning. The Netherlands developed a more collaborative spatial planning, in which the government plays a less dominant role and is more like a participating party in the process. This reigning position of the government can be called *governance*. Concepts like *environment planning* and *area development* entered the field of spatial planning. I question if comparable models are appropriate for Suriname. Suriname is from no perspective comparable to The Netherlands. Suriname differs significantly in terms of size, population, society and culture. According to my experiences, I believe a model of governance would not instantly work, due to too informal ways of interaction between government and society. The concept of governance is built on the ability of the government to cooperate with other governmental institutions and private parties, in order to develop a joint plan (Spit and Zoete, 2009). Governance leans on informal agreement between the parties involved and commitment of all parties is required. However, commitment requires a significant level of trust and the putting first of public interest. In Suriname, government officials are approached personally and very informally by society. Furthermore, Suriname has a very powerful private sector, dominated by large multinationals. This sector has a great deal of knowledge and financial resources at its disposal. Although the already informal character of social interaction smoothens communication, the authority of the government has a high probability of becoming overruled by the resources of the private parties, damaging the prerequisite of trust. Besides, putting first public interest is a difficult discussion in Suriname, like elaborated on regularly in this thesis. The functioning of a model like governance would probably be completely undermined. A more structuring model than governance, but a less hierarchical than Suriname knows currently would be desirable. The formal way of planning as determined by current legislation has proved to be not as effective and efficient as foreseen. The discrepancy between the hierarchical structure of the government and the informal courses of interaction between government and society needs to be taken into account in the development of a proper management model. A model I consider rather appropriate is a more sociocratic model, in which the government has an initiating, guiding and financing position, but the community is granted the possibility to more participation in policy and plan development.

The specialism of spatial planning comprises the process of searching for spatial setting of a changing society and the making of choices on how and where functions stand out well (Spit and Zoete, 2009). This spatial planning is committed to context. There exists a profound relation between developments in society and the way in which spatial planning attempts to steer or guide spatial developments (Spit and Zoete, 2009). Context is subject to constant change however. As elaborated in chapter 4, Surinamese spatial legislation is established almost 40 years ago, was never amended since and therefore did not gear with contextual change. The working area of spatial planning comprises the systematic preparation of policy-constituting and operational acts, focused on the conscious intervention in spatial setting and on organising those interventions (Spit and Zoete, 2009). The term 'systematic' presumes correlation and substantiation of the to be developed policy. This policy development and resulting operation is often subject to conflicting interests, like nature and infrastructure. The appreciation of the results depends on the perspective of the reviewer. Differences in perspectives clarify the different critics on the Ministry of PLFM. Perspectives are, however, also subject to context and to contextual change. The Surinamese government has to eliminate the discrepancy between planning practice, the current shape of society and current perspectives on spatial planning. Currently, Surinamese planning practice and the form of intervention by the government

can be considered as technocratic. The concept of technocracy assumes a strong role for authorities in affairs concerning public purposes and a considerable say is granted to experts (Faludi and van der Valk, 1994). The centralisation of decisions is great and the presence of a plan as a product of the project is important. Although Suriname lacks spatial plan documents, the emphasis is on the end result of spatial developments. The concept of technocracy is very suitable for the general attitude of the time period in which Surinamese legislation on spatial planning was established. The role of the government in society was very dominant and the idea ruled that everything was malleable. Suriname's society, however, may currently demand a more sociocratic approach. Sociocratic planning pays attention to the views of others. Authorities would no longer be the only ones able to act in terms of public interest and are granted a more horizontal position in relation to other actors (Faludi and van der Valk, 1993). The centralisation of decisions is smaller and effectiveness is measured by performance instead of the presence of a plan in the end. A sociocratic approach would be easier able to cope with context and contextual change.

Spatial planning has a profound relation with societal developments. When meeting regularly with the community to interact on both desires and objectives, the government can develop profound insight in societal interest and policy and plan development can be geared with that community. Furthermore, social participation initiates better control of the government. When the planning process becomes more open and transparent, irregularities are recognised in earlier phases. Additionally, such a model can stimulate the putting first of public interest by the government. By increasing participation the government gets more involved with the community and steps down from the so-called hierarchical throne. However, the government should keep up to financing responsibility itself and not get involved too hastily in participation constructions with private parties. As elaborated above, the multinationals from the private sector in Suriname are much too powerful and would probably completely overrule and undermine the authority of the government with their knowledge and financial resources.

Currently, spatial developments are initiated by the government. Although spatial plan documents do not exist, spatial developments do take place. These developments are not initiated by the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management, but often by the Ministry of Planning and Development Cooperation. Project initiation should stay responsibility of the government. Public and private parties should become involved already in the initiation phase though. When encouraging participation of the community, the government must become accessible for that community. With the current administrative system, with more or less all power centralised in Paramaribo, accessibility of the government is not accurate. A way to increase the accessibility and at the same time the controllability of the government is to decentralise the government. The first ideas on decentralisation are developed in Suriname itself as well. Currently, all districts have a district commissioner, who is supposed to administrate the district, but in reality Paramaribo pulls the strings. In the situation I would construct decentralisation, the central government in Paramaribo would develop general policy and give directives to the district boards, which in their turn become responsible for detailed completion of policy and plans. For spatial planning this would imply that district boards can organise participation meetings and develop spatial policy and plan documents, complementary of in Paramaribo made concept plans. Additional benefit of a construction like this is that by creating a new administrative layer, the possibility for internal control increases significantly. The two administrative layers can control each other, because of their interdependence on operational level.

The planning concept I have elaborated above is something different than the participatory concepts of *environment planning* and *area development*. These concepts presume a governmental model like governance. However, both concepts have elements which could be useful for Suriname's planning practice. Environment planning covers

the enlarged field of on the physical environment focused planning domain. Disciplines like environmental and water management, nature and landscape policy, infrastructural policy and spatial-economic policy are covered in the same concept. The integral focus of environment planning would benefit spatial organisation in Suriname, because Suriname knows very conflicting spatial activities, like nature conservation versus very demanding economic activities like logging and mining. An integral focus can support the gearing of policies on one another, resulting in more public support and clearer spatial structures. Area development focuses on a specific area, being the core topic of a spatial project instead of just the destination of a particular plan. The strengthening of the spatial dynamics and structures of that specific area is the main purpose of an area development. This approach creates the opportunity to decentralise administrative tasks and to contact and activate relevant planning actors, according to prior elaborations two options which are in need for consideration. Still, a proposed planning model for Suriname looks slightly different, due to the different role of the government within spatial developments. Currently Suriname uses the word 'verkavelen', meaning something like allotting, for spatial planning. A new concept, in which the government has a less hierarchical position, the community is allowed to take part in the conversation and in which a larger focus than on parcel level is achieved, needs a new name. Words I associate with my elaboration are *integral*, *participation* and *concept*. A term that covers the load of the model and suitable for Suriname I believe would be *participative concept planning*. A spatial plan concept can be considered as a document with a strong communicative function, offering a perspective and possibilities to connect objective and measures in the design and policy making phase of spatial planning (Spit and Zoete, 2009). Suriname's informal culture does not compare with strict and detailed directives and constraints, like dictated by development plans. A more indicative instrument would be more appropriate for a more informal culture. Plan concepts relate with indicative approaches. Surinamese plan concepts should make intentions visible and negotiable. It bridges the opening between objective and problem statement on one hand and instruments and measures on the other. The central government should develop the concept plans, also consulting the community, whereby she gives directions to desirable developments and essential operations and gives shape to a desired future. An example of a concept can be the destination of the Surinamese inland. Nature should be given the opportunity to go its own way, with the presence of the traditional Indian and maroon tribes, but without human disturbance. The district boards complement these concept plans by developing regional plan elaborations, with a high participative role for the community. These plan elaborations state more concrete and detailed destinations and take away the abstraction of the more indicative concept plans. This makes these plan elaborations more suitable for steering and examination purposes.

6.4 Research methods

Reflection on the research methods

The research approach used for this thesis is based on a combination of theoretical concepts and empirical information. This research is an example of a 'qualitative' inquiry. Data gathered through literature study, the case study and interviews are critically analysed and relevant information about the historical and institutional development of spatial planning in Suriname is extracted. The findings from the different sources are triangulated. Like Creswell (2003) prescribes for qualitative research, a 'theoretical lens or perspective' is used for guiding this study. Theories help to look at practice with a particular focus and provide the ability to take context into account. Based on the theoretical material analysed during the literature study, a theoretical framework was formulated which accounted for

the foundation for this research. Later on, the gathered empirical data were elaborated and explained according to this framework.

The analysis of the case study was based on literature study and on in-depth interviews. The interviewees were free to tell their own stories, although I had a list of topics and questions I wanted to interact on. It depended on the background and experiences of the interviewee to what degree his or her knowledge resembled with this list, but the main focus of the interviews was on the knowledge of the interviewees. By using the interviewees' opinions the case study was further explored. The elaborated theories were useful to look at knowledge about practice that was derived from the interviews and literature study.

When looking at the results of this research, some issues that have influence on the value and interpretation of the results need to be considered.

- This research highly depended on context. Hardly any quantitative research methods or data were used for this research. Context is not universal, it is different for every case. Context influences the results of a research. The conclusions of this research therefore are based on this specific case of spatial planning in Suriname and do not provide a generally applicable theory. The results are not to be interpreted as hard, scientific proven theories.
- The results of the research are influenced by the selection of interviewees, the selection of opinions worked into the research and by personal interpretation. The objective of this research is to present an as unbiased and fair description of the case as possible. However, relevant and critical opinions can and did form contradictions. Although through interviews required information may account for contradictions, this type of information is considered valuable to reveal knowledge and to stimulate reflections.
- Spatial planning in Suriname is a complicated and extensive complex. To see through this complex in detail is difficult to do within the scope of a six months during research. Inevitably, the complex comprises many more aspects than elaborated on in this research. When interpreting the results the scope of this research should be taken into account.
- This research has been carried out during the final months of the year 2009 and the first months of 2010. A lot has been said about the Ministry of Physical Planning, Land and Forest Management. However, on May 25th 2010 new parliamentary elections take place in Suriname and the political context may change drastically. It is plausible that after these elections the Ministry of PLFM disappears. A certain development could shine a completely different light on issues elaborated in this research. The results must be regarded with the political situation as it was before the elections of 2010 in mind.
- During the research is reasoned which adaptations could improve the performance of the spatial planning system. However, no attention was paid to the technical-juridical possibilities of adapting the law system and the tasks and authorities of government organs.
- One of the aimed research method for this thesis was to analyse policy documents on spatial planning and use the findings for triangulation. However, the availability and accessibility of policy documents in Suriname is limited. Empirical data on spatial planning, gathered through interviews and literature study on jurisdiction, could not be underpinned by policy documents.
- This research contains several times the statement that Suriname should look for best practice concerning spatial planning in similar countries. Which countries use suitable models is not elaborated though in this research. This did not fit within the scope of this research.
- Although elaborated in this research, the question on to what degree spatial planning is desirable in Suriname is left not completely answered. The researcher is limited by her personal and educational Dutch background. Despite all good intentions, it is difficult to

assess to what degree Suriname wants to be regulated and the results of this research are subject to the researcher's interpretation.

Considering the issues elaborated above, the result of this research is a better insight in the dynamics and structures of spatial planning in Suriname and in its obstacles and possibilities. Furthermore, this research results in insight about the importance of characteristics and institutional context of a country, when considering institutional change.

Recommendations for further research

This research resulted in an elaboration about transformation of the dynamics and structures of spatial planning in Suriname, whether or not by using institutional transplantation. The results of this research may be used by planners and policy makers to set their agenda. When carrying out further research, the results from this thesis on the institutional development of spatial planning in Suriname can be used as reference work, both for researchers on the explicit subject of planning in Suriname, as for researchers in the field of institutional transplantation in general. In case of the latter, further research should be used to test the accuracy and completeness of this inventory under different circumstances. Accordingly, I want to make three suggestions for future research. The results of the research raised further questions to be answered. First, further research should focus on giving solid recommendations on the development of a more efficient and effective spatial planning system in Suriname. With this research I believe I have put my finger on the factors that made spatial planning in Suriname the way it is currently. I have uncovered the strong elements and the pitfalls of the planning system. Although I made a careful and very suggestive attempt to depict a picture of possible improving developments in this epilogue myself, further research can focus on actually developing tools Suriname can engage with and are ready for implementation. Second, adaptations in the structures and dynamics around spatial planning imply technical and juridical adaptation. Further research could focus on giving a representative illustration of the actual adaptations and on elaborating the consequences of such technical and juridical adaptations. A statement, like done in this research, on the need to transform legislation and operation can easily be made, but actual implementation is much more difficult and not without additional consequences. Finally, in the research context, it would be interesting to explore example countries for institutional transplantation. In this thesis much emphasis has been put on the theoretical concept of institutional transplantation and the recommendation is made Suriname should look out for transplants from other, more similar countries. Future research can focus on case studies from other countries and elaborate appropriate models of spatial planning from abroad. The objective should be to provide Suriname with concrete examples from particular countries.

To conclude this chapter and with that this thesis, I want to make a final note. I believe Suriname has a lot of knowledge as regards content. Large steps can be made management wise and expertise in spatial planning requires development, but I spoke to many persons with very substantial and convincing views. Therefore I believe too much foreign influence in the development of Suriname is not desirable. Currently, despite all good intentions, Suriname is an open house to foreign consultants and researchers developing plans and giving directions to the government. But to which extend can people, visiting Suriname for only a relatively short period of time, contribute accurately and operatively. I believe more input in terms of accuracy and operational level should be given by the Surinamese themselves. When necessary, foreign advice can be unquestionably helpful in projects, especially management wise, but projects must indisputably not be carried out on foreign initiative.

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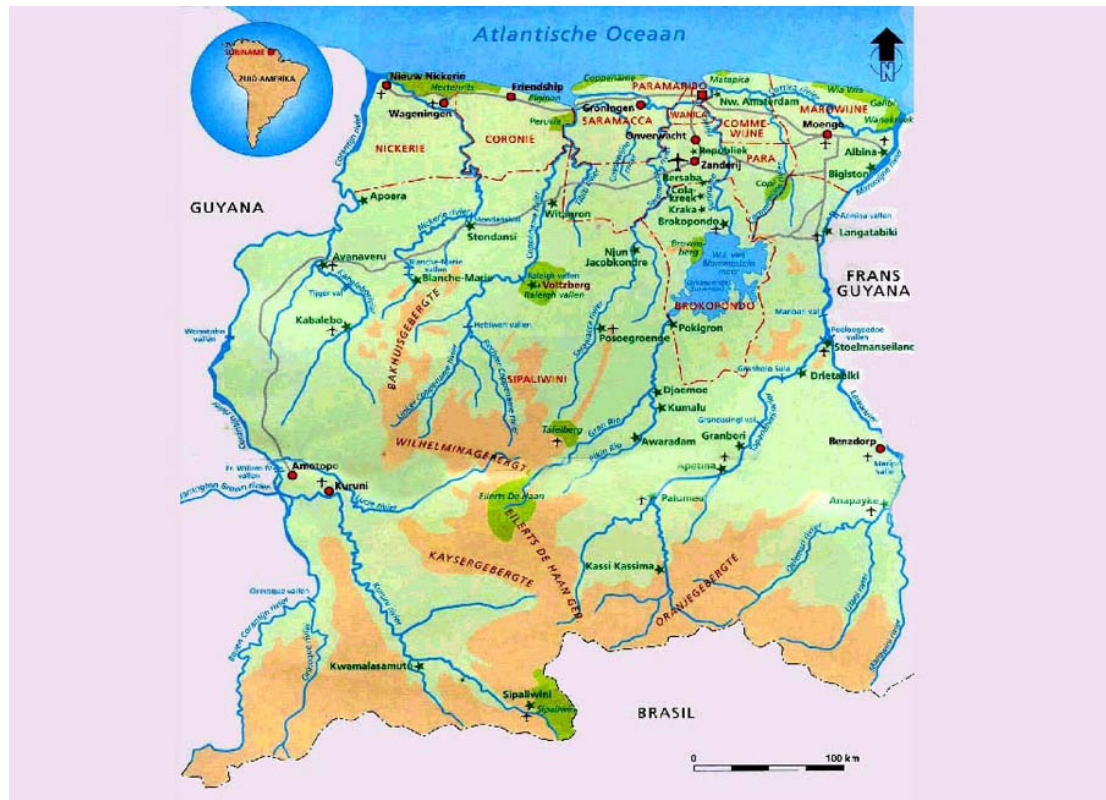
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Annexes

Annex 1. Map of Suriname



Source: Pan American Health Organisation, http://www.paho.org/Images/dd/PED/SurinameMap_large.jpg. (Last viewed 08-05-2010).

Annex 2. List of interviewed persons.

Mr. R. Aluvihare (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening)
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Mr. T. Poeran (Former head Planning Service)
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