



Territorial rights and biocultural diversity conservation in Amazonia: a case on demarcation and titling of indigenous and maroon territories in Brazil, Ecuador, and Suriname

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies have highlighted the crucial role of indigenous peoples and traditional communities in environmental conservation and sustainable management in the context of the climate crisis, shedding light on what indigenous and maroon organizations have been advocating for decades. This article seeks to understand what measures should accompany the demarcation and titling of indigenous and maroon lands to ensure the effective conservation of biocultural diversity in the Pan-Amazonia region. To achieve this, it focuses on three case studies representing different stages of the territorial rights acquisition process: indigenous territories in Yasuní, Ecuador; the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory in Brazil; and the territory claimed by the Saamaka maroons in Suriname. By analyzing the main threats and actors involved in each case, this work aims to highlight successful solutions and recommend possible innovations that should accompany the recognition and implementation of territorial rights to ensure the conservation of biocultural diversity in these territories.

Keywords: territorial rights; biocultural diversity, indigenous peoples, maroon communities, Pan-Amazonia.

Introduction

During the last two United Nations climate conferences, held in Glasgow (COP 26, Scotland) in 2021 and in Sharm El Sheikh (COP 27, Egypt) in 2022, the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (2021) emphasized that “there is no solution to the climate crisis without Indigenous Lands and Peoples.” Alongside the Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) and the Black Coalition for Rights in Brazil, these delegations underscored the importance of delimiting and demarcating indigenous and maroon territories for reducing deforestation and conserving the environment.

In an unprecedented initiative, the Report of the Scientific Panel for the Amazon, launched at COP 26 in 2021, brought together over 200 experts from various fields within the region with the purpose of assessing the current situation of the Amazon Basin, home to more than 47 million inhabitants, in dialogue with indigenous peoples and local communities. By situating the Pan-Amazonia as a regional entity within the planetary system, the report focuses on socioecological transformations over the last 50 years and highlights the need to find solutions and define future paths for the sustainable development of the region and its peoples (Nobre et al. 2021).

Two main conclusions emerge from its more than 1200 pages. The first is the assertion that the region is closer than ever to its tipping point, meaning the irreversibility of degradation to the extent that it can no longer recover. The second is the recognition that the acknowledgment and exercise of territorial rights of indigenous peoples and traditional communities in the Amazonia constitute a fundamental mechanism for the conservation of the region’s biocultural diversity (Nobre et al. 2021, chapters 10, 13, and 31). Expanding the concept of sociobiodiversity, the notion of biocultural diversity stems from the inseparable relationship between cultural and biological diversity (including nature, territory, knowledge, languages, ways of life, and governance), such that the conservation of the former goes hand in hand with the conservation of the latter (Athayde et al. 2021). Furthermore, the scientific panel also highlighted the profound gap between constitutional recognition and the operationalization in practice of ethnic and territorial rights of indigenous peoples and traditional communities (Berling & Vanhulst 2015).

Therefore, the main objective of this work is to investigate which measures should accompany the demarcation and titling of territories to ensure the conservation of biocultural diversity in the Pan-Amazonia region. To address this issue, this article focuses on three case studies representing different stages of

territorial rights recognition and implementation processes: indigenous territories in Yasuní, Ecuador; the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory in Brazil; and the territory claimed by the Saamaka maroons in Suriname (Figure 1). By analyzing and comparing the main threats and challenges faced in each case study, as well as the key actors involved, this article aims to highlight successful solutions and suggest possible innovations that should accompany the process of recognizing and implementing territorial rights to ensure the conservation of biocultural diversity in the Amazon in a context marked by the climate emergency. While most of the solutions were generated by indigenous peoples and maroon communities themselves throughout their paths of struggle, the innovations aim to be original contributions from the authors of this research (Alencar 2022) based on the experiences learned from each case study, in dialogue with specialized literature and the demands of social movements.



Figure 1 Indigenous Peoples and Maroon Communities in the Pan-Amazonia. A: Location of Indigenous territories in different stages of demarcation (Raisg 2020), delimited quilombola territories in Brazil and those under claim in Suriname (Brazil: Incra; Suriname: Planatlas 1988; ACT 2001), and conservation areas. The available information on maroon territories in Brazil is scattered and not up-to-date, as in 2022, there were more than 1,000 quilombola communities in the Brazilian Amazon, and at least half of them were still waiting the demarcation process (Fundação Cultural Palmares 2022). B: Waorani People (Source: www.amazonfrontlines.org). C: Apolima-Arara People (Source: Blog Lindomar Padilha). D: Saamaka People (Source: Waterkant.net).

Despite there being a vast legal framework regarding the recognition of territorial rights and the demarcation and titling of indigenous and traditional community territories at the international level, what we witness at the national level, especially in countries within the Pan-Amazonia region, is that these rights are still not fully utilized by these populations, either due to the lack of legal provisions in domestic legislation or the non-application of existing laws. It is worth noting that the case studies analyzed in each country have different territorial demarcation and/or titling processes. On one hand, demarcation refers to the official process of defining and recognizing the geographic boundaries of indigenous territories in Brazil. This process is referred to as "delimitation" in Ecuador, which in Brazil specifically applies to maroon territories. On the other hand, titling refers to the legal mechanism for regularizing the occupation of public lands after the delimitation of territories traditionally inhabited by quilombolas and maroons, respectively in the contexts of Brazil and Suriname.

According to International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989, Articles 14 and 15), the property and possession rights of indigenous and tribal peoples over the lands they traditionally inhabit should be recognized, and governments should take the necessary measures to determine these lands and ensure the effective protection of such rights. Additionally, the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples over the natural resources existing in their lands should be specially protected, including the right to participate in the utilization, management, and conservation of these resources.

It is important to highlight that Brazil and Ecuador are signatories of Convention 169, ratified by their respective parliaments, and therefore, its provisions are already part of national legislation. Suriname, however, has not yet acceded to this Convention. In Ecuador, the Waorani Indigenous Territory in Yasuní was recognized and established in 1990, encompassing an area that was part of Yasuní National Park, created in 1979 and recognized as a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve in 1989, though subject to ongoing redelimitation (Crespo Plaza 2007). Considered one of the most progressive constitutions in Latin America, Ecuador's 2008 Constitution recognized the rights of nature (Article 71) and the collective right to "live in a healthy and ecologically balanced environment, which guarantees sustainability and *buen vivir*, *sumak kawsay*" (good living). It also declared as a public interest "the preservation of the environment, the conservation of ecosystems, biodiversity, and the integrity of the country's genetic heritage, the prevention of environmental damage, and the recovery of degraded natural spaces" (Article 14). The Ecuadorian Constitution also recognizes and

guarantees various collective rights to communes, communities, indigenous peoples, and nationalities, including the maintenance of possession of ancestral lands and territories and the obtaining of their free adjudication (Article 57, No. 5), the preservation and development of their own forms of coexistence and social organization, as well as the generation and exercise of authority in their legally recognized territories and ancestral communal lands (No. 9).

In the Brazilian Amazonia, the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory was one of the 13 Indigenous Territories in the final stages of the demarcation process identified to be homologated according to the Final Report of the Technical Group for Indigenous Peoples of the Transitional Government in 2022. This means that the requirements set forth by Decree No. 1,775, dated January 8, 1996, which establishes the administrative procedure for demarcating Indigenous Territories, had already been fully met, in accordance with the Statute of the Indian (Law No. 6,001/1973) and Article 231 of the Brazilian Constitution. It's worth mentioning that in a previous ruling on the Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Territories, the Brazilian Supreme Federal Court established the so-called "institutional safeguards," which became "new" requirements for Indigenous Territories demarcations, as a result of an interpretation of Article 231 of the Brazilian Constitution. In the ongoing deliberation of the Marco Temporal bill, it is yet to be determined whether these new rules will have a general impact and replace the requirements of Decree No. 1,775/1996. The Marco Temporal bill (PL 490/2007) only recognizes indigenous claims to lands that were provenly occupied and used by them for their physical and cultural production and reproduction at the time of the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution. In May 2023, the Marco Temporal bill was approved in the Chamber of Deputies. The vote took place with urgency, in response to the interests of deputies associated with the ruralist caucus and the mining and exploitation lobby within these territories. Despite the strong resistance and mobilization of indigenous organizations and peoples, the bill is currently in the Senate. If approved, the consequences for their struggle for territorial rights could be devastating.

Lastly, the Surinamese Constitution does not even provide for the recognition, demarcation, or titling of indigenous or tribal lands. However, as a member of the Organization of American States (OAS), Suriname is subject to the Inter-American Human Rights System and has thus been the subject of legal proceedings before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, as in the Case of Saramaka vs. Suriname in 2007. In the verdict of this case, the Court ruled that the State of Suriname must repeal or amend legal provisions that hinder

the protection of property rights of the Saamaka¹ people and, through prior, effective, and fully informed consultations with the Saamaka people, adopt the legislative and administrative measures necessary to recognize, protect, ensure, and legally enforce the Saamaka people's right to collective titling of the territory they traditionally use and occupy. This verdict included both the lands and the natural resources necessary for their social, cultural, and economic survival, as well as those necessary to effectively manage, distribute, and control the territory in accordance with their customary laws and traditional collective land tenure system, without prejudice to other tribal and indigenous communities. Even after more than a decade, Suriname has not amended its policies or legislation. In other words, Suriname has not taken measures to ensure the collective rights of indigenous and traditional communities in line with the decision/precedent of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (Koorndijk 2019).

In the last fifty years, in Latin America, the demand for recognition of collective rights by indigenous peoples and traditional communities has transformed, gradually shifting from the legal sphere of land rights to the political arena of the struggle for territorial rights (Porto-Gonçalves 2002; Arruti 2022). Although "territory" is a polysemic concept with plural ontologies and multiple interpretations, in general terms, it can be defined as a multidimensional space to which different meanings (legal, political, economic, cultural, etc.) are attributed by the human groups that collectively experience, delimit, appropriate, and/or exert power over it through their relationships. In this sense, the guarantee and protection of territory have emerged as a demand of indigenous peoples and traditional communities to ensure the (re)creation of their ecological, economic, and cultural practices and the (re)production of their environmental knowledge and biocultural diversity – which has been managed by indigenous peoples in the Amazonia for over 12,000 years (cf. Escobar 2010; Neves 2022). As Leff (2021) eloquently stated, territory is at the heart of Latin American political ecology.

The delimitation of territories and national borders during the creation of most Amazonian nation-states in the 19th and 20th centuries was a highly violent process, driven by the capitalist expansion of commodity frontiers in the region, such as rubber, gold, oil, among others, and by their ruthless global economic cycles. The Western perception of the Amazonia as a virgin and empty territory to be occupied and as an unlimited repository of wild resources to be tamed and exploited still prevails today. Furthermore, this Eurocentric percep-

1. How they self-identify.

tion clashes with the worldviews of most indigenous peoples – and traditional communities – in the Amazon, for whom territory is the “fundamental element” around which all aspects of their ways of life, culture, and collective identity are articulated (High 2020; Scazza & Nenquimo 2021). Their relationship with it “is not one of ownership, exploitation, and appropriation, but of respect and management of a common good” that serves all humans and non-humans (Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil 2021).

Case studies

Indigenous territories in Yasuní, Ecuador

Located in the northeastern part of the Ecuadorian Amazon (Figure 2A), Yasuní is one of the most biodiverse forests per square kilometer (UNESCO 2018). Recognized as a biosphere reserve by UNESCO in 1989, the area covers a surface of 2.7 million hectares. Its core area, the Yasuní National Park (PNY), spans over 1 million hectares. Yasuní is home to more than 20,000 inhabitants, including indigenous peoples such as the Waorani, who number over 3,000 individuals (CONFENAIE n.d.). Within this group, the Tagaeri-Taromenane (TT) clan is among the last known indigenous peoples living in voluntary isolation and initial contact (PIACI).

It is estimated that about 20% of Ecuador’s total oil reserves are located underground, along with a significant quantity of various types of commercially valuable timber. These resources have made this area vulnerable to the expansion of intensive extractive practices, reshaping the region as an extractive frontier, similar to other Amazonian countries (cf. Cardoso de Mello & Van Melkebeke 2019; Coy *et al.* 2017). Due to the involvement of external actors in this area and its significance to the national economy, the Yasuni has been a disputed territory. This is primarily due to the expansion of state and private oil interests, which not only threaten access to land and the territorial rights of indigenous peoples (Finer *et al.* 2009) but also their traditional practices of mobility, semi-nomadism, and forest management (Mena *et al.* 2000).

Regarding recognition and territorial demarcation, from a historical perspective, their struggle for territory reveals an intersection of different actors, the power exerted by the State and private companies, and interests related to conservation (Figure MC1). The first traces of the Waorani presence and conflicts with invaders were detected in the early years of the 20th century (Figure MC1). Later, in the 1940s, the oil giant Shell began its extraction operations in Waorani territory. Up to that point, the state’s presence in the Ecuadorian Amazon was

quite marginal, ignoring indigenous occupation and considering the region as empty land. From the mid-20th century onwards, there was increasing contact between the Waorani and North American evangelical missionaries. These intrusions into their territory led to hostilities against oil industry workers and missionaries, as well as interethnic and interclan conflicts, and changes in their mobility patterns.

The first conservation initiatives led to the establishment of the Yasuní National Park (PNY) in 1979. A year later, the oil company Texaco built infrastructure and a road in Waorani territory, known as Block 31. Since then, the Ecuadorian state has modified the boundaries and size of the park more than once, favoring oil extraction. It was only in 1983 that the first Waorani reserve was recognized and titled, and the Waorani Ethnic Reserve would be created in 1990. With the recognition of the TT as the last indigenous peoples to live in isolation, the Ecuadorian state established the Intangible Zone (ZITT) in 1999, although without defined borders. This area would only be demarcated in 2007, disregarding the occupation and consultation of the PIACI, and aligning with the demands of the oil industry (Lu et al. 2017).

In the 2000s, oil companies with interests in the area included Occidental Petroleum, Texaco, and Petrobras; meanwhile, illegal logging was also on the rise in the ZITT. This scenario of threats escalated conflicts and worsened the socio-environmental situation, leading to strong protests by the Waorani, which prompted the government to halt the construction of the road in the area and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to issue precautionary measures.

With the rise of progressive left-wing leadership in power, the Ecuadorian state created the Yasuní-ITT² Initiative in 2007 to leave the oil underground in exchange for carbon payments, positioning the area at the center of the fight against climate change. Additionally, in 2008, a new constitution was approved, innovatively incorporating the indigenous worldview regarding *Pacha Mama* (Mother Earth). Thus, the Constitution granted rights to nature, recognized communal land ownership, and ancestral territories of indigenous peoples, and prohibited any intensive extractive activities in the territories of the PIACI. However, the Yasuní-ITT Initiative failed in 2013. Through a constitutional exception to the Declaration of National Interest (DNI), the state legalized oil extraction in the PNY, changing its environmental stance and justifying oil activities with discourses based on resource distribution and poverty eradication. The state's

2. Ishpingo-Tambococha-Tiputini (ITT) refers to the oil field that gives its name to the Yasuní-ITT initiative.

commitment to the extractivist model involves the creation of “sacrifice spaces” (cf. Silveira et al. 2017), where territorial reorganization favors oil zones, marginalizes local populations, and threatens their rights. The Yasuní-ITT Initiative and the opening of the oil frontier led the Waorani to reorganize and expand their territorial defense, particularly from 2010 onwards, seeking international support to make the conflict visible to the world. It is worth noting that the Waorani’s struggle combined ethnic elements and the central leadership role of Waorani women (Blasco 2020), demonstrating that the fight for territorial rights is strategically political (Cardwell 2023).

While the left-wing government had established rules for oil extraction, the right-wing party in power continued the extractive policy that promotes the expansion of the oil frontier. The current government announced the auction of an oil block in the heart of the PNY (Orozco 2023), despite the 12-month oil moratorium agreed upon in September 2022 on leasing new oil fields (Koenig 2022). Furthermore, a change in the boundaries of the PNY, which also affects the boundaries of the Waorani Reserve and the ZITT, has been ongoing since 2019 and is still pending resolution due to the contestation of various actors, including oil companies. In August 2022, the IACHR held a historic public hearing in Brasília regarding the ongoing violations of the rights of the PIACI by the State (Land is Life 2022). Recently, by means of a popular consultation in August 2023, it was decided to indefinitely keep the crude oil from Block 43 in Yasuni underground, a request that had been made for over ten years by various civil organizations and local populations (Geografía Crítica Ecuador 2023). Nevertheless, environmental organizations and indigenous peoples are still concerned about the implementation of this popular decision and fear possible governmental noncompliances.

Therefore, regardless of the type of government and existing legislation regarding territorial recognition and delimitation, Yasuní and the indigenous peoples, especially the PIACI, still face various threats. These threats range from the country’s excessive dependence on the commodity market, which leads public policies and environmental legislation to favor the extractive interests of private and state-owned oil companies at the expense of nature conservation and biocultural diversity, to illegal logging, particularly in the ZITT, and the successive changes in border demarcation by the state in both the Waorani Reserve and the ZITT to accommodate the interests of the oil industry (Lu et al. 2017). These constant overlaps and changes in the delimitation of indigenous territories and their areas for hunting, gathering, and resource collection within the PNY also contribute to the growing interethnic conflicts between the Waorani and the PIACI (Rivas 2017). These factors are further exacerbated by the state’s lack of

knowledge about the ancestral occupation of indigenous peoples and their mobility patterns (Cabodevilla 2010).

Faced with these external threats and internal pressures, the indigenous peoples of Yasuní organized themselves politically and actively mobilized for the recognition and exercise of their territorial rights. They sought political and environmental education and training to better prevent and resist changes in border demarcations that greatly affect their ways of life. They strengthened their support networks among stakeholders and indigenous leaders, especially women, both at the national and international levels, to gain more visibility for their cause. This visibility strategy also included communication campaigns, international press coverage (cf. Korn 2018), and collective actions by citizens, especially in urban areas (Rivas 2017).

At the same time, the Yasuní case study demonstrates the importance of establishing legally-backed conservation strategies, such as national parks. These protected areas have the potential to further support conservation efforts in indigenous territories, and vice versa. As long as these measures are well implemented, the national park and its buffer zones can protect native populations and their lands from oil extraction. Furthermore, thanks to their traditional ecological practices and use of natural resources, indigenous peoples have played a decisive role in conserving biocultural diversity and regenerating natural cycles (Pohle 2008). This interdependence with nature extends beyond differentiated land management practices, ways of life, and governance, and in the case of Ecuador, it has also been incorporated into the country's *Magna Carta*.

The Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory in Acre, Brazil

At the end of 2022, the indigenous movement in Brazil formed the Technical Group of Indigenous Peoples in the Transition Government of the newly elected president, Lula da Silva. The final report of the Group provides a brief critical assessment of the dismantling of indigenous policies in Brazil during the tenure of former President Jair Bolsonaro and suggests some priorities for emergency actions by the new Lula government. These suggestions included the repeal of normative acts, such as the Temporal Framework, the creation of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples, the end of mining in Indigenous Territories (TIs), and the demarcation of 13 TIs within the first 30 days of the government (Technical Group of Indigenous Peoples 2022). These lands were selected because they were in the final stage of the territorial demarcation process, thus symbolizing affirmative action for indigenous rights after four years of neglect and attacks by the Bolsonaro government.

Located in the state of Acre, in the southwestern region between the Brazilian Amazonia and the Peruvian Amazonia, the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory (TI) was one of these 13 prioritized TIs for demarcation (Figure 2B). The territory covers 20,764 hectares and is inhabited by approximately 400 indigenous people, divided into roughly 80 families belonging to five groups: Novo Destino, Hilda Siqueira, Txaná, Nova Esperança, and Nova Morada (pers. comm. 2023)³. The name Apolima-Arara originates from the mixture of indigenous peoples from the Txama (Conibo), Amawaka, Santa Rosa, Arara, and Kaxinawá ethnicities (Aquino 2010). Apolima refers to a locality in Peru where their first ancestors resided. The majority of Apolima-Arara speak their mother tongue, and despite the prevalence of the Pano language, some also speak Portuguese, Spanish, and Ashaninka (Aruak), with whom the Apolima-Arara coexisted (Silva & Aguiar 2011).

The struggle for the demarcation of the Apolima-Arara territory dates back to the end of the last century (1999). The main milestones of this struggle are highlighted in the timeline illustrated in the Supplementary Material (Figure MC2). However, the people's ancestral territory struggle dates back even further and is strongly associated with the beginning of the rubber extraction cycle in Acre since the late 19th century when the first explorers reached the border of Brazil and Peru. This process was marked by violent "raids," which involved the expulsion and dispersal of indigenous populations from their territories, as well as the capture of women and children who were taken as rewards for their work by rubber tappers (Iglesias & Aquino 2005).

The largest population of Apolima-Arara people traditionally occupied the banks of the Amônia River, in areas that partially overlap with the territory of the Extractive Reserve (RESEX) of the Upper Juruá on the right bank and the Settlement Project of Incra, known as PA Amônia, on the left bank. Overlapping⁴ these areas and a small extent of the southern boundary of the Serra do Divisor National Park (PNSD), the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory was identified by Funai in September 2008 (Aquino 2010) and declared a year later by the indigenous agency through Ordinance 2,986. The main milestones of this struggle are highlighted in the timeline illustrated in the Supplementary Material (Figure MC2).

Concerning the network of actors and/or institutions working with the Apolima-Arara, it's worth mentioning the Indigenous Missionary Council (Cimi), an

3. Personal communication between co-author Marcos Catelli Rocha and the agroforestry agent of the Apolima-Arara people, José Ângelo, Rio Branco/AC, Feb 8, 2023.

4. For a more detailed analysis of the overlap between Indigenous Territory and conservation units, with a focus on the Apolima-Arara case, see Arruda 2014; Rezende & Postigo 2013; Costa 2012.

organization affiliated with the Catholic Church that has supported the struggle for the demarcation of their territory, as well as ICMBio, the NGO Commission Pro-Índio do Acre (CPI-Acre), and other indigenous peoples such as the Kampa (Amônia River) and the Ashaninka, as represented in the actor map (Figure MC2).

The main threats currently faced by the Apolima-Arara people are related to road construction, illegal logging and forestry concessions, deforestation, oil and gas exploration, mining, and drug trafficking. On the Peruvian side of the border, much of the Amazonia has been divided for some of these ventures. As emphasized by a member of the Apolima-Arara people, many of these impactful activities have not yet been mapped, underscoring the need for participatory mapping (ethnomapping) with the Apolima-Arara to georeference these threats and find ways to combat and prevent them. For instance, according to José Ângelo, Apolima-Arara leader and agroforestry agent, the trail is a very old route that connects the Indigenous Territory to the Peru border and is used for drug trafficking by “strange people, all the wrongdoers, come and go through there” (pers. Comm. 2023). Ângelo points out that the fact that the Indigenous Territory is not demarcated makes it difficult to control this route and the movement of people by the indigenous, who are even facing threats. As he highlights:

The issue of drug trafficking is very complicated because this trail that goes through our land is affecting it greatly. I'm facing many threats, we've already reported it to the police, especially Funai. There are many threats against the leaders, especially me, who live here inside the land, fighting alongside the people.

The opening of new roads and highway branches in the region is aggravated by the indigenous territory's proximity to the municipality. At least two of the road branches are in the vicinity of the TI, one of which connects to the RESEX, where many people are settling. This fact is already known by ICMBio and is an object of concern for the Apolima-Arara people. The other branch goes through the Serra do Divisor National Park (PNSD), which is an Incra's settlement. As José Ângelo states, this branch crosses the TI without the communities' authorization. He criticizes Incra, claiming that the agency “settles people and leaves them there with nothing to do, they have no choice but to invade, so it's a major concern for me. This is a great threat to the land, the people, and our future.” The indigenous leader also highlights the difficult situation in the PNSD because it is “a conservation area where no one can even live inside, and here in our region, they are destroying everything.”

Furthermore, there is another proposal to construct the Nuevo Itália-Porto Breu road, which will connect the Ucayali and Juruá rivers in Peru. Part of the road's route is located on the border with Brazil, in the Kampa do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory. This is a matter of particular concern to the Apolima-Arara people, who have called upon the authorities, especially Funai, to take the necessary measures against the road construction. According to a dossier prepared by indigenous and indigenist organizations from both Brazil and Peru⁵, the road will have severe socio-environmental impacts, as this transnational region includes conservation units and is inhabited by nine indigenous peoples, in addition to traditional communities. Specifically, the project will directly impact at least 34 Peruvian native communities, as well as the Kaxinawá Ashaninka Indigenous Lands on the Breu River, the Kampa on the Amônia River, the Arara on the Amônia River, the Kuntanawa, and the Alto Juruá Extractive Reserve in Brazil.

Another threat is the presence of traditional extractivist residents who currently inhabit the Alto Juruá Extractive Reserve, as some of them refuse to leave the Indigenous Territory and receive the federal government compensation they would be entitled to. As José Ângelo explains: "Many of them stayed in bad faith, and others didn't want to receive their compensation. This kind of people, when they remain within an indigenous land and they have to leave, they go about destroying everything during those moments when they are here." These non-indigenous residents consist of approximately eight families and around 20 individuals who engage in various forms of intrusion into indigenous territory, including illegal fishing, hunting with dogs, and the extraction and sale of processed wood into boards and planks.

In light of all this, the leader José Ângelo emphasizes that the Apolima-Arara people eagerly await the demarcation and formal recognition of their Indigenous Territory (TI). This is not only to exercise their territorial rights and ways of life but also to reclaim and reforest the degraded lands. It's worth mentioning that the upper Juruá River region, where the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory is located, is one of the most biodiverse areas on the planet (Brown & Freitas 2002). It encompasses a mosaic of protected natural areas for the conservation of both its natural resources (National Parks) and the ways of life of indigenous peoples and traditional communities (Indigenous Territories and Extractive Reserves). This mosaic is part of a binational transborder region that borders the state of Acre in Brazil and the Ucayali Department in Peru.

5. Available in: https://apiwtxa.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Dossiê-Estrada-Illegal-Nueva-Italia---Puerto-Breu_ok.pdf. Accessed in 10 fev. 2023.

Regarding the solutions found, this transborder context has allowed for significant collaboration among indigenous, indigenist, and environmental organizations in the region over the past two decades⁶. Another important strategy has been the development of an alliance among the forest peoples, which emerged between the 1980s and 1990s. In recent years, this alliance has facilitated regional meetings and gatherings among indigenous peoples and traditional extractivist communities, aiming to strengthen common objectives for biodiversity management in these protected areas. This work shows great promise, in the words of José Ângelo:

Because this division [of territories] is only about boundaries, we need to implement integrated management, with each side respecting the boundaries of the other. An Extractive Reserve (RESEX) is no different from an Indigenous Territory (TI); the reserve has a usage plan, and the TI has a management plan because both lands are conservation areas. Some of the wrong activities conducted within a reserve are illegal, just as those within a TI are. People may engage in such activities, but there must be consequences; justice must be served. What we want is for people from TIs and Reserves to live within an alliance project, to be involved in this alliance of forest peoples. The problem is these people who are still here inside, and most of them are from the Reserve. There could be conflicts [...]; several meetings have taken place, and the Apolima-Arara people do not accept [their presence].

While the presence of non-indigenous residents continues to be a problem for the Apolima-Arara people in the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory, this case study has demonstrated how the creation of an alliance among forest peoples has led to an improvement in coexisting alongside the traditional extractivist community in the Extractive Reserve (RESEX). It has also identified the need for an integrated territory management approach that reconciles the common demands of the diverse residents without compromising the rights of indigenous peoples and traditional communities. During the writing of this article, the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory was finally officially demarcated by President Lula on April 28, 2023, on the last day of the 19th edition of the Terra Livre Camp in Brasília, organized by the APIB (Articulation of Indigenous

6. More information available at: <https://cpiacre.org.br/dinamicas-transfronteiras/>. Accessed in Feb. 2023.

Peoples of Brazil). This event represents a unique opportunity to assess whether the proposed measures have been successful and/or to identify alternative approaches that should be implemented alongside territorial demarcation to ensure the conservation of biocultural diversity in the Apolima-Arara territory.

The territory claimed by the Saamaka maroons in Suriname

Suriname covers only 2% of the Amazonia rainforest. However, these 2% account for 90% of the country's forested area. Suriname boasts the largest expanse of undisturbed tropical forest in the world and one of the highest levels of biodiversity. Part of the Guiana Shield, the Marowijne Greenstone Belt region consists mainly of highland forests and is rich in minerals, making it the focal point of mining activities in Suriname.

Furthermore, Suriname is the only country in the Americas that has not legally recognized the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples (ITPs) to their traditional territories. In 2006, the Surinamese government was summoned by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) for violating the collective rights of the Saamaka people (Heemskerk 2005; Koorndijk 2019; Price 2018). The Saamaka are a maroon (quilombola) people with a population of over 34,000 inhabitants living in 71 villages along the upper Suriname River, in the districts of Brokopondo and Sipaliwini (see Figure 2C). They are organized into 12 Saamaka clans or Lo's. Traditional authority among the Saamaka is exercised by community leaders known as Kabitens (captains) and Basja's. The paramount chief, or Granman, leads the group and is chosen based on matrilineal lineage. The Saamaka people are organized and represented through the Saamaka Traditional Authorities Association. The Surinamese government recognizes the self-governance of these traditional authorities and provides leaders with a subsidy for their roles and responsibilities in the communities.

The Saamaka were one of the first communities to sign a peace treaty with the colonial government in 1762 (Figure MC3). This treaty included an exclusion clause that stipulated that settlers were not permitted to occupy lands already inhabited by indigenous and maroon communities (Price 2018; Santokhi 2021; Smith 2019). The exclusion clause was one of the reasons why the populations living in the interior remained "undisturbed" for centuries, in addition to the fact that development primarily concentrated along the Surinamese coast and in the capital city, Paramaribo.

In 1954, Queen Juliana of the Netherlands visited the Saamaka village of Kadju to announce the construction of a dam on Saamaka territory. As a result of

the construction of this dam, a significant portion of Saamaka territory was flooded, and the Saamaka people were displaced. Families were separated and forced to relocate, some to Sipaliwini, while others were transferred to transmigration villages in Brownsveg (Brokopondo). In 1964, the Surinamese division of Alcoa, a U.S.-based aluminum company, completed the construction of a dam on Saamaka territory to generate electricity for bauxite refining. Nieuw Koffiekamp, a village that had to be relocated after the floods, is currently situated in the midst of one of the most prosperous and mineral-rich veins of the Greenstone Belt.

In June 1982, land tenure decrees, commonly known as L-Decrees, were formulated to regulate land use and ownership by Surinamese citizens (Decreet Beginselen Grondbeleid – De Nationale Assemblée n.d.). These laws addressed individual land tenure rights such as ownership, grants, leasing, and land rentals in Suriname. Nevertheless, the integrity of the Saamaka territory was increasingly threatened by numerous land concessions to multinational companies, albeit not without resistance. In 2007, the international appeal made by the Saamaka Traditional Authorities Association to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR) was finally upheld, and the Surinamese government was ordered to recognize the collective rights of the Saamaka people. The government was required to support the Saamaka people with territorial demarcation projects, among other obligations, and was fined SRD 600,000 (approximately US\$ 200,000 in 2006), which was to be invested in Saamaka community projects.

The Ministry of Regional Development, which was involved in implementing the IACHR decree, organized a land rights conference in October 2011, but the event ended abruptly. A representative of indigenous and tribal peoples read a statement claiming ownership of both above-ground and below-ground resources. This meant that revenues from gold mining, bauxite, and timber exploitation would belong exclusively to indigenous and tribal peoples. The government disagreed, as it considered these resources to be of “national interest” – as in the case examined in Ecuador – meaning they should be allocated for the economic development of the entire country. The government argued that, according to the 1987 Constitution, Suriname’s land was one and indivisible. According to Smith (2019), this turned the issue of land rights into a conflict between the government and indigenous and tribal peoples.

In 2012, the State appointed a commission composed of representatives from various government agencies and indigenous and tribal peoples to develop a strategic plan to address the issue of land rights. The result was a bill on collective property rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, which included

territorial rights. This bill was presented to the National Assembly in 2019 but did not proceed with its approval. In 2020, the new government also prioritized land rights on its political agenda.

For the first time, a maroon was appointed as vice-president of the country. Two presidential commissions were established to work on the land titling for indigenous and maroon peoples. The first presidential commission was formed in September 2020 to address land conversion and the modification of land policies. This commission consisted of lawyers, notaries, and tax officials, with the primary goal of amending the existing L-Decrees from 1982, which focused on individual land ownership. The second presidential commission, composed of government representatives and civil society organizations, was established in November 2020 to address the collective land rights of indigenous and tribal peoples and find effective ways to implement them. Another bill was presented to the National Assembly in June 2021. As of 2023, indigenous and tribal peoples were still awaiting the approval of these laws.

One of the main threats to the recognition of Saamaka land rights is gold mining and its effects on deforestation (Baldewsingh 2022) and the loss of traditional lands and livelihoods (Figure MC3). High gold prices, combined with the lack of land use regulation and employment opportunities for local communities, have led to a boom in the mining industry in Suriname. Between 2000 and 2014, gold mining in Suriname increased by 893%, with the majority of small-scale miners coming from local communities. Over 14 years, the average deforestation rate resulting from mining increased from 3,000 hectares to 5,713 hectares (DGR Colorado Plateau 2015). Suriname's annual gold production per land area ranks it as the 10th country in the global market for gold export commodities. Much of the gold mining in Suriname, both small-scale and industrial, occurs within the boundaries of traditional territories of local communities, and most small-scale miners are either maroon or Brazilian prospectors.

The American company Newmont Corporation is the world's largest gold mining company, with active gold mines in the Saamaka region. While the company has recruited members of the Saamaka people, enticing them into industrial mining activities, maroon and small-scale foreign prospectors also operate in the region. According to a study conducted by De Theije & Heemskerk (2009), the current vice-president of Suriname is said to have invited the first Brazilian prospectors to work on dredges, which would later be confiscated from the Government's Department of Geology and Mining (GMD) when he was the leader of the Jungle Commando, a guerrilla group during the civil war (1989-1992). Therefore, the actor map for the Suriname case study reflects a complex scenario in which traditional

Saamaka territory is exploited by Surinamese concessionaires and Brazilian and maroon prospectors, including individuals from the Saamaka community.

The release of mercury in the mining process and the impact of this neurotoxin on the region's populations pose a significant threat to the Saamaka people. Recent studies have shown that mercury levels in rivers cause neurological impairments in children exposed during the prenatal and postnatal phases (Baldewsingh 2022). The consumption of fish and wild game is one of the main ways mercury is ingested. In addition to families relying on income from mining activities, they are forced to develop their ways of life in a contaminated environment (Baldewsingh 2022; Heemskerk & Kooye 2003). Similarly, the increase in malaria cases resulting from mining activities – due to the creation of large stagnant water pools (Baldewsingh 2022; De Theije & Heemskerk 2009; Heemskerk 2005) – has a significant impact on Saamaka communities.

Also situated within the Saamaka territory is Brownsberg Nature Park. Created in 1969, this tourist and research destination, with its 14,000 hectares, used to be a mining zone – its name originates from mining pioneer John Brown. Unfortunately, since 1999, small-scale illegal mining has also increased in this protected area and its vicinity. It's a rather complex scenario in which the small-scale mining activities of the Saamaka communities coexist with illegal mining, directly impacting the struggle for the recognition of collective land rights.

Another threat that the Saamaka people face is logging. Although their land rights are not recognized by national legislation, the Surinamese government designated the so-called "community forest" for local tribal and indigenous communities. These communities are allowed to use the surrounding forests for economic activities to ensure their subsistence. However, there are cases where community leaders have invited timber companies to extract tropical wood, while non-indigenous/maroon individuals have also applied for and received government concessions to exploit these communal lands. Consequently, the management of these community forests has led to internal conflicts between community members and leaders regarding the allocation and distribution of revenues, which eventually reached the Ministry of Regional Development.

Finally, the lack of institutional and interpersonal trust between local communities and the government can be considered another challenge to the advancement of the Saamaka people's collective land rights (De Theije & Heemskerk 2009; Heemskerk et al. 2015). Although previous governments have attempted to regulate the mining sector by establishing government oversight bodies, the involvement of some government officials in mining activities within Saamaka territories has also hindered their struggle for collective land rights.

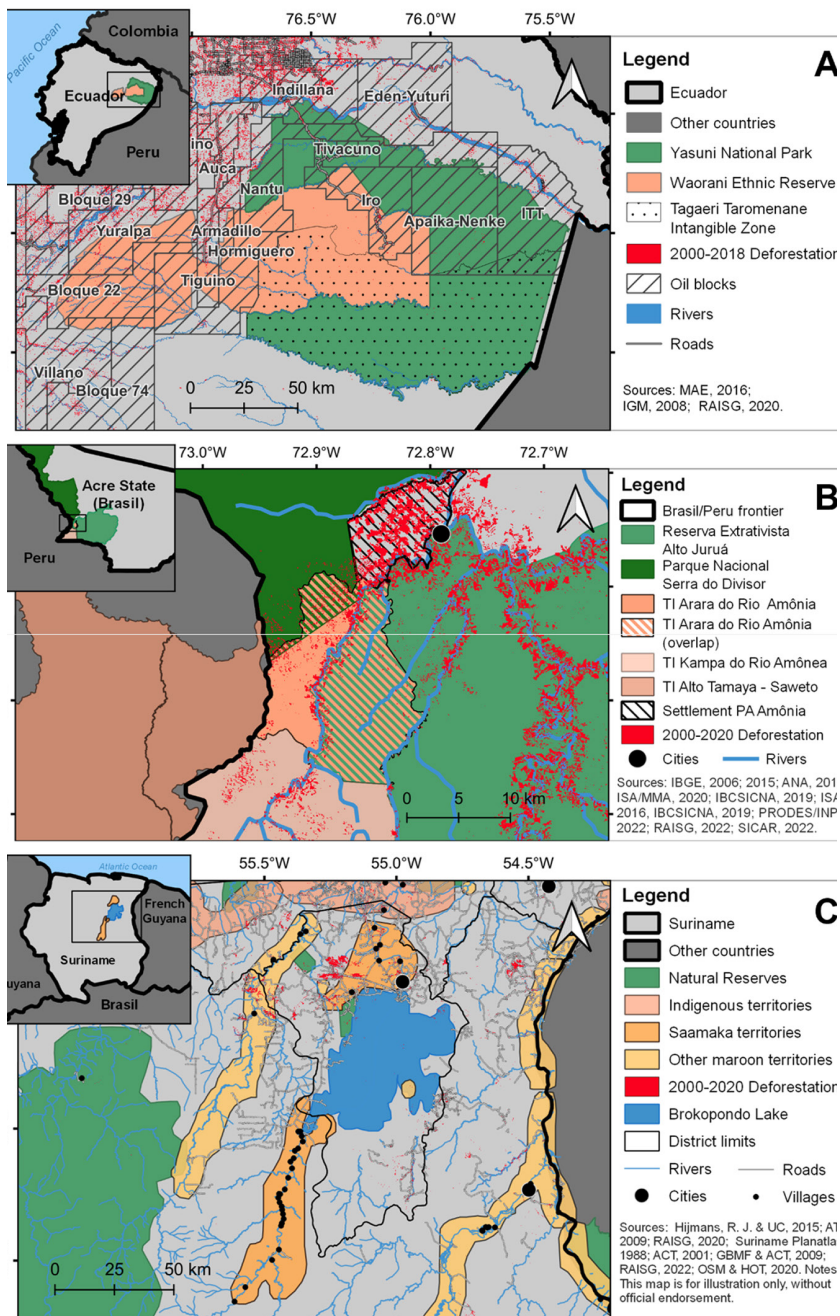


Figure 2 Geographic Location of the Indigenous and Maroon Territories Studied. A: Waorani Territory and ZITT, Ecuador. B: Arara Territory, Brazil. C: Saamaka Territories, Suriname. All maps are based on the SIRGAS 2000 Geographic Coordinate System Datum.

In 2007, Suriname signed the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which recognizes their right “to the lands, territories, and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied, or otherwise used or acquired,” as well as the right “to maintain and strengthen their own spiritual relationship” with the territory (UN 2007, articles 26 and 25). Since then, the Surinamese government has felt pressure to initiate various legislative projects, as well as territorial demarcation and communication projects related to “grondenrechten” (land rights) to the public. Participatory mapping projects with indigenous communities supported by the Amazon Conservation Team have opened up space for new negotiations on the delineation of territories. The bill focuses on three fundamental collective rights of indigenous and tribal peoples (ITP) in Suriname. Firstly, the legal recognition of collective property rights over traditionally occupied areas of ITP and the natural resources traditionally used. Secondly, the recognition of traditional authority/governance structures of ITP, granting official status to traditional leaders. Lastly, free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) in all decisions that may impact the territories and ways of life of ITP. Nevertheless, considering the complexity of various actors and stakeholders, the effective implementation of Saamaka’s territorial rights has not yet been achieved.

Learned solutions and recommended innovations

The analysis of the three case studies has shown that, although the recognition and demarcation of territorial rights are essential for environmental conservation in Amazonia, these measures have not been sufficient to effectively ensure the conservation of biocultural diversity – including nature and traditional ways of life and knowledge – as the territories analyzed in the three studies continue to face serious threats, despite having been officially recognized and/or demarcated. Therefore, this section brings together the different experiences of the indigenous Apolima-Arara and Waorani peoples in Brazil and Ecuador, respectively, and the Saamaka maroon communities in Suriname, to recommend innovations that should accompany the processes of recognizing territorial rights and demarcation so that they can effectively contribute to the conservation of biocultural diversity in their territories.

Based on the theoretical approach proposed by Alencar (2022) regarding the need to consider “renewed” innovations for the effective reduction of deforestation in line with the demands of indigenous and maroon organizations, the sixteen innovations recommended here have been organized into four categories: Autonomy, self-governance, and political participation; Law enforcement,

monitoring, and sanctioning; Conservation and promotion of traditional knowledge; and Community-based and sustainable economic sovereignty:

I. Autonomy, self-governance, and political participation	II. Law enforcement, monitoring and sanctioning
1. Legally recognize the rights of nature, in accordance with indigenous worldviews (such as <i>sumak kawsay</i>/living well), so that nature can also be considered an active actor in territorial disputes, territory demarcation, and socio-environmental policies. 2. Promote and strengthen local and cross-cutting alliances (cross-border, women's, rural-urban), not only to reinforce social resistance against market pressures but also to address conflicting interests and common agendas of indigenous peoples and traditional communities, without compromising their collective rights and the rights of nature. 3. Implement indigenous environmental paradiplomacy, through which different stakeholders at the subnational level (indigenous peoples, traditional communities, scientists, representatives of social movements, industrial sector representatives, etc.) actively participate in the process of discussing and resolving environmental issues, and whose deliberations can be legally binding (instruments of hard law or soft law, such as protocols, agreements on good conduct practices, decrees, and laws) 4. Promote participatory mapping and demarcation of traditionally occupied territories (including resource gathering areas and sacred sites) as an important tool to serve as a basis for project planning and negotiation, as well as for conflict resolution with other stakeholders, and for monitoring and preventing deforestation and other illegal activities. 5. Ensure political, territorial, and religious autonomy by recognizing traditional decision-making processes, supporting community authority, and protecting community leaders.	6. Implement laws to prohibit the allocation of traditionally occupied lands to private companies and ban non-traditional extractive activities in demarcated and titled indigenous/maroon territories when they do not exist. 7. Strengthen indigenous and environmental public bodies to ensure law enforcement, surveillance, and sanctions, as well as to prevent conflicts of interest or exploitation by capital and facilitate the demarcation and titling processes of the territory. 8. Enforce the prohibition of intensive extractive activities (such as mining and logging) in demarcated and titled territories through effectively coordinated monitoring and alert mechanisms to prevent, intercept, and penalize any illegal activities or land grabbing in these territories. 9. In cases of overlapping indigenous or maroon territories and conservation areas (including extractive reserves or protected natural reserves and conservation units), public policies and legislation should interpret traditional territory and resource management as beneficial (rather than antagonistic) to biodiversity conservation, and vice versa. 10. Integrate and intersectoralize socio-environmental public policies and territorial information – the latter being particularly urgent for maroon territories in the Pan-Amazonia – to improve the coordination of surveillance and sanction measures, as well as the development and enforcement of the law.
III. Conservation and promotion of traditional knowledge	IV. Community-based and sustainable economic sovereignty
11. Promote access to education and/or political, legal, and environmental training to help community members and leaders resolve economic and interest-related conflicts. 12. Implement means for differentiated intercultural education to valorize traditional knowledge, languages, and ways of life and enhance higher education and vocational training in biodiversity conservation and management. 13. Foster the creation of platforms for creative development and artistic expression (such as arts and crafts, cinema, hip-hop, graphic arts, gastronomy), not only to channel and highlight the demands, resistance, and struggle of indigenous and quilombola peoples but also to celebrate their knowledge, ethnicities, and cultures, creating alternative opportunities, especially for the youth.	14. Develop a fair economic system in which the Global North and large transnational corporations take responsibility for their direct impact on climate change and its effects on countries in the Global South, especially in biodiversity-rich regions. 15. Officially recognize, learn from, and promote the traditional management of territories and their resource use practices, with the aim of systematically applying this knowledge as an effective tool to regenerate degraded lands and develop sustainable economic activities in the Amazonia. 16. Support and financially incentivize community agroforestry economies and sustainable agroecological production chains as alternatives to reduce their economic vulnerability and exposure to illegal and environmentally harmful activities (such as mining and drug trafficking).

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Conflict of Interest – The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest related to the publication of this manuscript.

Ethics – This study does not involve human subjects and/or clinical trials that should be approved by the Institutional Ethics Committee.

Supplementary Material

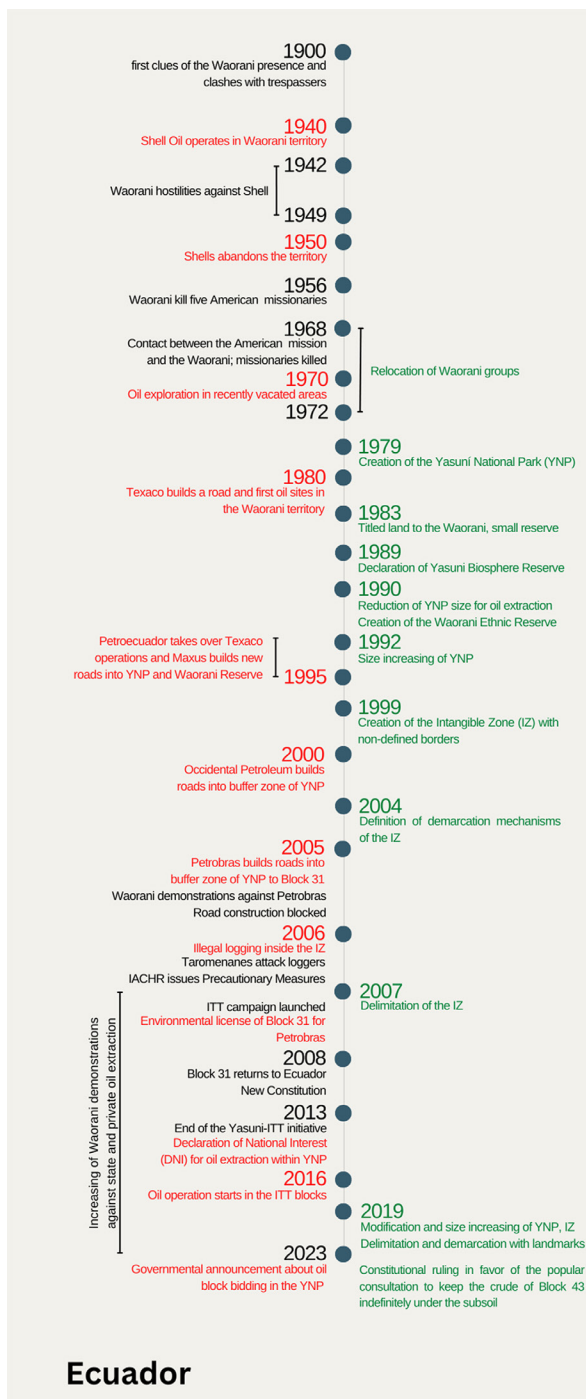


Figure SM 1 Time scale of events associated with the case of the Yasuní Indigenous Territory in Ecuador. In green, the events related to territory demarcation/titling; in red, the threats.

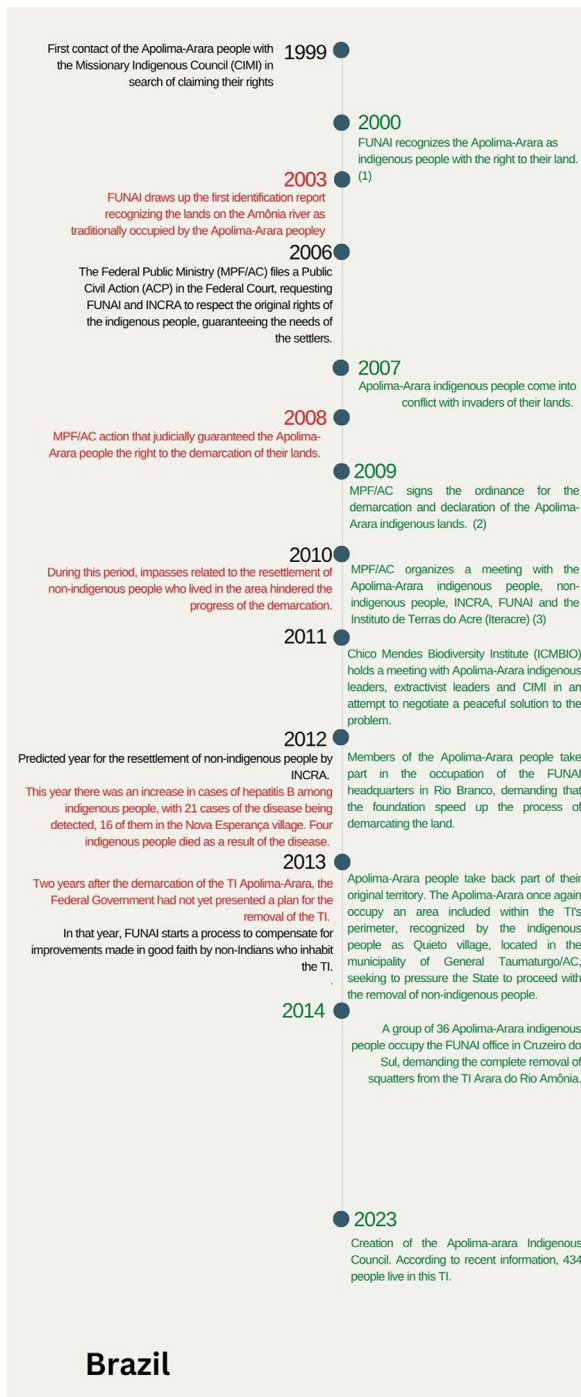


Figure SM 2 Time scale of events associated with the case of the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Territory in Brazil. In green, the events related to territory demarcation/titling; in red, the threats. (1) During this period, the Apolima-Arara population was represented by approximately 135 people, distributed across the towns of Pedreira, Assembly and Jacamim, in addition to others spread across neighboring regions. (2) Ordinance 2,986 - 09/10/2009) Indigenous people occupy the FUNAI building to press for speed in the process. (3) In order to continue the actions related to the definitive demarcation of the Apolima-Arara Indigenous Land. (4) ICMBIO's proposal was for the indigenous people to share the land with residents of the Alto Juruá Extractive Reserve. On that occasion, indigenous people refused to accept the agreement, alleging that federal justice had already, on several occasions, reaffirmed the legitimacy of their territorial claim.

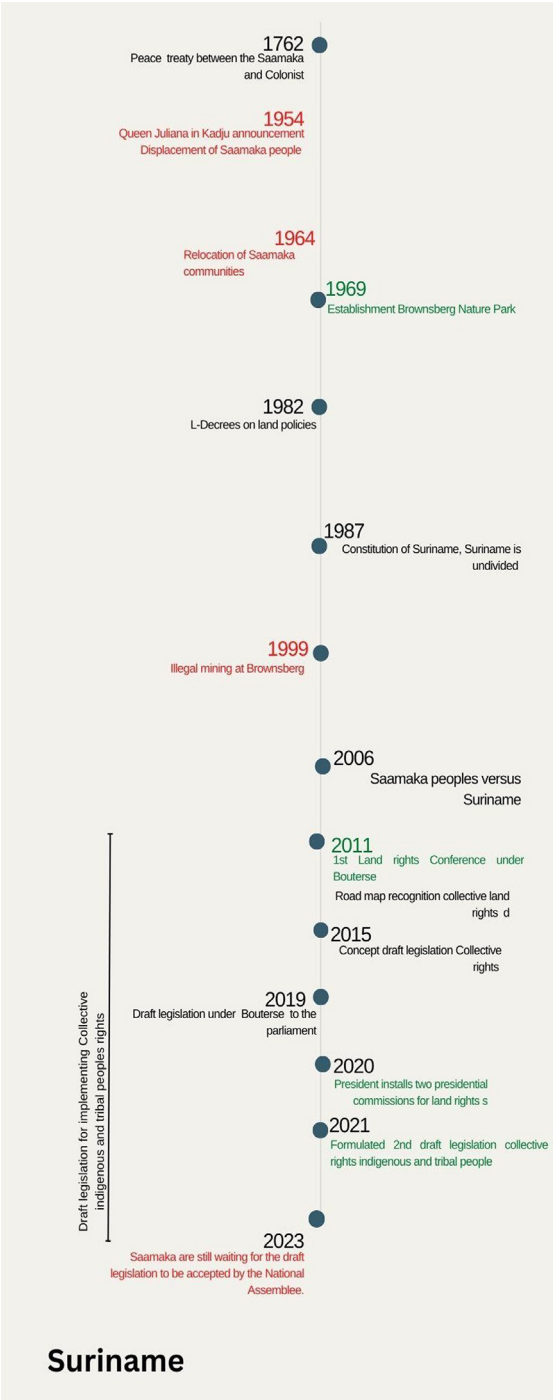


Figure SM 3: Time scale of events associated with the case of the Saamaka maroon people in Suriname. In green, the events related to territory demarcation/ titling; in red, the threats.

Table SM 1 Actors involved in the Yasuní indigenous territory in ecuadorian Amazonia.

Type of actor	Actor's name	Description
State	Ministry of Environment, Water, and Ecological Transition (MAATE)	In charge of the border definition of YNP, the protected area connected to the Waorani people. The last update has been in process since 2018. The pressure of external actors, such as oil companies.
	Local governments	Territorial management. Public work in cities and in the rurality, e.g. roads
	Oil companies: Petroecuador	State oil company. Oil interests that promote extraction in Yasuni.
	Oil companies: Petrobras	Oil company of Brazil. Oil interests in Yasuni.
	Ministry of Agriculture: former IERAC, Office of Lands and Agrarian Reform	Land titling
	Ministry of Justice and Human Rights	Promotion of human rights, including indigenous peoples and PIACI
	Ministry of Energy	Defense of the oil sector
	Police and military forces	Territorial control in the name of the national State
Private	Oil companies: Shell	First Oil company operating in Yasuni
	Oil companies: Texaco	Oil interests that promote extraction in Yasuni.
	Oil companies: Occidental Petroleum	Oil interests that promote extraction in Yasuni.
	Oil companies: Repsol	Oil interests that promote extraction in Yasuni.
	Illegal loggers	Intruders in indigenous territories
Civil society	NAWE	Waorani representative organization
Civil society, International	AMWAE	Representative organization of Waorani women, key leaders defending their rights and the territory
	WWF	ONG. Research and promotion of sustainable projects
Sociedade civil, internacional Communities	WCS	ONG. Research and promotion of sustainable projects
	PIACI	Peoples in Voluntary Isolation. Their territory under threat
Intergovernmental	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights	Hearing about State violations against indigenous rights
	UNESCO	Declaration of biosphere reserve
International cooperation	Development Agency (e.g. Germany)	Financial support of projects and part of the former contributors to Yasuni-ITT Initiative

Table SM 2 Actors involved in the Arara do Rio Amônia indigenous territory in Brazilian Amazonia.

Type of actor	Actor's name	Description
State	Institute for Agrarian Reform (INCRA)	Conflicts over land overlap
	National Indigenous Foundation (FUNAI)	Supported the struggle for land demarcation in TI Arara do Rio Amônia
	Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio)	Management of Nature Conservation Units. History of conflicts involving the demarcation of the Indigenous Land. Currently, the relationship with the indigenous people is advancing
	Extractive Reserve (Resex) of Alto Juruá	Conflicts over land overlap
	Federal Public Ministry	Support in the demarcation process of the Arara do Rio Amônia Indigenous Land
Civil Society	Missionary Indigenous Council (CIMI)	Supported the struggle for land demarcation in TI Arara do Rio Amônia
	Comissão Pró-Índio do Acre (CPI-Acre)	Support in agroecological production initiatives and in articulation with indigenous peoples and partner organizations
Private and State	Legal and Illegal Loggers lobbying	Conflicts and threat that increases the difficulty of indigenous autonomy
	Oil and gas exploration lobbying	Conflicts and threat that increases the difficulty of indigenous autonomy
	Road construction lobbying	Conflicts and threat that increases the difficulty of indigenous autonomy
	Drug trafficking	Conflicts and threat that increases the difficulty of indigenous autonomy
Communities	Alliance of the peoples of the forest	This alliance has favored regional encounters and meetings between indigenous peoples and extractivists in order to strengthen the common agendas for the management of biodiversity in these protected areas
	Ashaninka indigenous peoples	Support in agroecological production initiatives and in articulation with indigenous peoples and partner organizations
	Rubber extractivists	Conflicts and threat that increases the difficulty of indigenous autonomy

Table SM 3 Actors involved in the Saamaka maroon people in Surinamese Amazonia.

Type of actor	Actor's name	Description
State	Ministry of Regional Development and Sport (ROS)	Leading government body for concept law on collective indigenous and marron rights, including land entitlements
	Ministry of Natural Resources (NH)	Government body responsible for allocating an mining natural resources such as gold, timber,
	Ministry of Land policy and Forest Conservation (GBB)	New government body in charge of land rights and entitlements
	Presidential Commission for land rights	Consists of Government officials and representatives of indigenous and marroon communities
	Presidential Commission for reviewing land policy and land conversion	Consists of Notaries, Lawyers, Tax Officers to support the government in conversion of land entitlements
	Landrights bureau	
Civil Society	Traditional Authority; Indigenous and Marron self governance	
	Nature conservation Organization: Stinasu, Brownsberg	Supporting the landrights of Saamaka with demarcation projects
	Amazon Conservation Team (ACT)	Supporting the communities with land demarcation and negotiating land rights
	STAS	Communicating the Conceptlaw to the public
	Association of Saamaka authorities	Leaders in land rights and entitlements for Saamaka
	Association of Indigenous authorities	Leaders in land rights and entitlements for INDigenous
	Stichting A Marron Kompas	Negotiating partner (Njduka)
	Stichting Projecta	
Civil Society International	Forest Peoples Program	Supporting local communities in their collective rights
Civil Society, Private	Tourism organizations	Income generation for Saamaka communities
Private, International	Mining Companies: New Mount	Income for private and government bodies
	Mining Companies: I am Gold	Income for private and government bodies
Private, National, sometimes State	Small Scale miners & Garimpeiros	Private income, also for government officials
Private, National and International, sometimes State	Timber logging companies	Private income, also for government officials
Intergovernmental	Organisation of American States (OAS)	
	IACHR	International legal body for human rights
Communal	Community forests	Income for the communities

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