

LBS Village Report:
DC-1.1 (Baucau District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP

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The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

1.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the suku DC-1.1 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, by looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects.

1.2 Summary findings

2. Methodology

2.1 Sampling criteria

The village considered in this study falls into the territory's eastern region, called East, and it encompasses the districts of Lospalos, Viqueque and Baucau. Based on the Qualitative Field Study (QualSF) sampling strategy, the national territory of Timor-Leste has been divided into six regions to ensure regional coverage: Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave.¹ The required sampling criteria for the Eastern region are: level of urbanization and share of veterans in the village. The opposite extremes of both variables are explored (Table 1).

Region	Cases to be selected (4 total)
East	High Veteran and Peri-Urban Low Veteran and Peri-Urban High Veteran and Rural Low Veteran and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Eastern Region

In order to determine the urbanization level of villages in this region, the 2010 Census Fó Fila was reviewed. A dataset outlining the population for each suku was created. Afterwards, the suku population share of the district population was computed. Then a regional average (2.84%) was computed. Given low variance in the suku population share in the dataset, villages that were a quarter standard deviations above the mean (2.84%) were considered as “peri-urban”, while the ones below this benchmark were labeled as rural. After reviewing the Timor-Leste District Atlas (2008), the regional average of suku public institutions was computed (3.66). Villages that were a quarter standard deviations above the mean were labeled as “peri-urban”, while the remaining were placed in the “rural” quadrants of the sampling matrix. Both assigned labels for each village were compared and the final label was assigned on a case-by-case basis.

After obtaining the number of veterans per village from the Secretariat of Veteran Affairs of Timor-Leste², and calculating the share of veterans population in each village, a regional average share of veterans in a village (10.73%) was computed. This figure was then used as a benchmark. Villages, in which the share of veterans is

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP

² Officially known as *Secretariado de Estado para os Assuntos dos Antigos Combatentes da Libertação Nacional*.

10.73% or above were placed in the “High Veterans” quadrant of the sampling matrix, while the remaining ones were placed in the “Low Veterans” quadrant.

A village from a different district was sampled in each quadrant to ensure national coverage. The districts that had the largest share of Phase III villages in each quadrant, were preferred.

Following the sampling method described above, this study will consider villages placed in the rural low veterans quadrant of the sampling matrix. The villages from the Baucau district which fulfill this sampling strategy are DC-1.1 and two other villages.

Additional sampling criteria are also used to narrow the selection. Key informants at the district administrative level are consulted in turn for this purpose. The informants were asked about the different characteristics of the candidate villages to see if there are any interesting features which match a list additional selection criteria.³ For this study, the Baucau district administrator was approached and he suggested that the study should focus on the village DC-1.1. In his opinion this suku would provide interesting insights for the QualBLS because of its economic activity and because of its relationship with its sister suku. However, this suku is also generally monolingual except for another ethnolinguistic group which speaks Makasa’e and make up 10% of the population. This feature coincides with one of the additional selection criteria, namely the variable ethno-linguistic heterogeneity.

2.2 Data collection

The data for this qualitative study were obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the period of May 27th until June 10th of 2014. A total of 44 villagers were interviewed face-to-face in various locations in the village, whether at a meeting place or at a workplaces (village office, market place, church, or rice fields), or at private residences. Some of the interviews were recorded and complemented with hand-written notes. For respondents who declined to have their interviews recorded, the researchers relied only on handwritten notes.

Respondents were selected using three sampling methods: convenience, purposive and snowball. With purposive sampling, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe suku and aldeias) or as having power to affect village level development policies, such as the district administrator. For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend potential individuals whom could be approached to obtain information. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached while they took part in an activity or were at their place of residence.

A number of observations were also conducted. The events observed include a Sunday mass at the local Protestant church, activities at the weekly village market, a meeting by the local veterans group and a regular monthly suku council meeting.

Official village documents were also consulted to obtain additional data. These documents included the suku’s official records on population, council meetings and public projects implemented locally. Some of these documents were posted on the sede suku walls they contained information on population data, village maps, as well as additional information on public projects.

³ PNDS-MEP Concept Note, p. ??

2.3 Sampling of respondents

Invariably, most of the respondents were rice farmers, both subsistent and commercial, even if they hold other important functions in the suku, whether as xefe aldeia or as coordinator of the local veteran's registration. The female respondents who reported that their daily activity mostly revolves around the maintenance of their household also conducts some farming work as a secondary activity. The religious leaders include the local Protestant church pastor and the katekista. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided (Table 3).

		Total
By gender	Male	26
	Female	18
By age	Less than 25	2
	26 – 39	9
	40 – 55	18
	55 – 70	10
	71 – 80	3
	81 and over	2
By profession	Farmers	18
	Suku council members	10
	Housewife	5
	Xefe uma-kain	3
	Religious leaders	2
	Retirees	2
	Teachers	2
	Business	1
	District administrator	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	15
	Snowball	9
	Convenience	20

Table 2. Sample respondents

3. Description of the village

3.1 Location and names of aldeia, village borders

DC-1.1 is located about 145km from Dili and 25km to the south of the district capital, Baucau. The distance to sub-district capital, locally referred to as Postu⁴, is under 10 km according to suku council data. There are four aldeias in DC-1.1: DC-1.1-Aldeia 4, DC-1.1-Aldeia 2, DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 1. Each aldeia is also divided further into smaller administrative areas called uma-kain. The uma-kain has a traditional structure lead a xefe uma-kain and a lia-na'in.

This village is completely divided the middle into two separate regions by another suku, its sister suku Neighboring Suku 1. Furthermore, the two regions are also located quite far from each other (up to 6km in some locations) and in the absence of adequate roads and transportation system, communication between them can be quite difficult. One of the regions is located on the highlands above Neighboring Suku 1 while the other

⁴ Henceforth, the sub-district administrative capital, Venilale, will be referred to as Postu in order to avoid confusion with one of the aldeias in DC-1.1 of the same name.

is located below it. Each region is made up of two aldeias. DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 2, located in the highlands, are collectively known as DC-1.1 highlands while DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, on the other extreme, are jointly called DC-1.1 lowlands. These villages are connected to the main road through a number of secondary roads. Furthermore, due to the different geography, both regions also face different challenges. Being in higher altitude, DC-1.1 highlands has more difficulty accessing water, the sources of which are generally located below it. But roads are generally less durable in DC-1.1 lowlands due to the composition of the soil, which tends to become muddy and easily washed out in the wet season. According to the xefe suku, the roads in DC-1.1 lowlands have also affected the implementation of the electricity project in that region as the contractors struggled to get their equipment to the site.

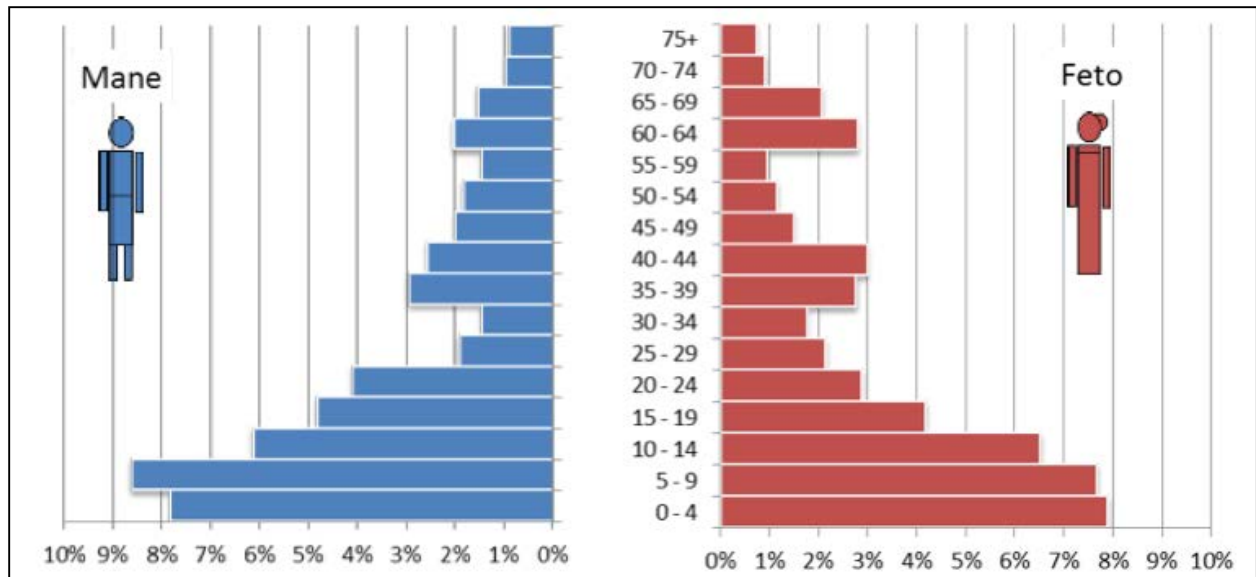
The main road, which connects Baucau and Viqueque, also runs through the middle of Neighboring Suku 1. Only a small section of aldeia DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 meets the main road. DC-1.1's sede suku however is located in Neighboring Suku 1's area by the main road. The main church of both Neighboring Suku 1 and DC-1.1, called Combined suku church, and the Combined suku market are located in the vicinity of the sede suku.

Besides Neighboring Suku 1, DC-1.1 also borders with a number of other sukus and sub-districts. To the north, it shares its borders with the villages of 2 villages, both administered by the neighboring sub-district. The border with these villages are marked by a river. To the east and south it is surrounded by three villages, all part of Venilale sub-district, while another village, part of neighboring sub-district 2, is located to the west. Rice fields are also found in these border areas.

3.2 Population (including aldeia, gender, age disaggregated); ethno-linguistic groups

DC-1.1 is one of the most populous sukus in the sub-district. According to the 2010 census, this village has a total population of about 2,000 people and is distributed throughout 532 households.⁵ (By comparison, its sister suku, Neighboring Suku 1, only has about 1,000 people and 212 households.) Children aged less than 14 years make up 45% of the suku's total population while 7% of the villagers are older than 65 years of age. Of the last group, 42 individuals were actually older than 75 (this village report also interviewed a number of respondents in this category). Women make up slightly less than men at 49% of the population but only heads 12% of the households. Graph 1 provides a disaggregated chart of DC-1.1's population by gender and age.

⁵ The suku council also conducts regular census in the village and the latest data, published in April 2014, suggests that the total population in DC-1.1 is 2,643.



Graph 1. Population distribution of DC-1.1 by age and gender (source: Census F6 Fila)

There is no official reliable data for the aldeia population. The population data provided in the Census 2010 for example is inconsistent and contains irreconcilable errors. However suku council also conducts its own census regularly and the 2013 figures shows that its population has in fact declined slightly since 2010. The current population according to the village's own census is 2,584. The suku council census also shows that the aldeia with the highest population is DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 with DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 having the lowest.

The dominant language in DC-1.1 is Uaimua'a which is spoken by around 85% of the population. Around 10% of the villagers speak Makasa'e. The 2010 census also reports of other languages spoken in the village including Tetum Prasa (4%) Midiki, Adabe and Tetum Terik. However, it was notable during the field work that Tetum Prasa is generally spoken by everyone. The villagers are by and large multilingual, with the ability to communicate in their mother tongue and at least another language, in particular Tetum. During the interviews, only the very elderly respondents had trouble communicating in Tetum.

3.3 Suku profile (poverty or development indicators)

Villagers who live near the main road appear to be more prosperous in comparison to those who live in the more remote parts of the village. In one neighbourhood where many villagers from DC-1.1, the housing are made of more durable materials. By contrast, houses in the more remote parts of the village are made constructed with natural materials obtained locally, in particular bamboo for the walls and palm leaves for roofing. A number of DC-1.1's powerful community members, including members of the suku council, also live along the main road. According to census 2010, the average income is DC-1.1 is \$0.88/day. Most of the population still lives in poverty. One of the suku council members explains there is no significantly wealthy individual in the village. The degree of wealth and poverty in DC-1.1 is not to do with the amount of cash one has but crops produced:

For us here, no one is too wealthy. This is what we are all like. Our wealth is based on our agricultural produce.⁶

⁶ DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 5_WomensRepSukuCouncil (notes).docx, p.4

3.4 Livelihoods/Economic development profile (incomes, industries, products, etc.)

The economy of the DC-1.1 is predominantly agriculture where close to 90% of households are engaged rice production. Other crops include bananas, peanuts, coffee, copra, corn and vegetables. There are also candle nuts and a number of farmers' groups are engaged in its trade. Animal rearing is also prevalent in 92.48% of households. The main stocks include pigs, goats and chickens. Cows and horses are also farmed albeit in smaller proportion. Most people are subsistence farmers and they face many obstacles such as low crop yields and poor irrigation.

3.5 Human development profile (literacy, education, health)

The 2010 census says that 38% of the population aged over 5 never attended schools while 25% never completed. Of those at school, 27 people were enrolled in higher education, in either diploma or university, of which only 6 were women.

The highest education attained by members of the suku council is senior high school. The older members of the suku council completed only primary school during the Portuguese period. One of the women's rep in the suku council only had primary education.

Most of the schools in the suku are operated by the Catholic church. There is only one public pre-secondary school in the Combined suku area. According to the suku council, there are 20 primary school teachers, 4 pre-secondary teachers and 6 secondary-school teachers.

Adult literacy rate is 52% according to Asian Development Bank.⁷ The suku council puts this number at 1,413 people. 50 people have a university degree, 2 with masters' degree and 8 with doctorate.

3.6 Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages

The population of DC-1.1 is very spread out which means that access to some public facilities can be severely limited for many villages.

The four aldeias are connected to the main roads by a number of secondary roads, which are unsealed. There are a couple of roads which link DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 to the main road. One of them, perhaps the most in use, begins near the sede suku and goes DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 and then DC-1.1-Aldeia 3. This road ends at the home of the xefe aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 3.⁸ This road was repaired in 2011 and then in 2012 through SEFOPE's \$3 employment scheme but deteriorates quickly during wet season and becomes difficult to use by most vehicles. Smaller tracks also branch off from this road but they are mostly inaccessible. However these tracks lead to other settlements near the rice fields as well as to another suku also in the sub-district.

A new road was opened late last year which begins from the main road towards Postu and connects DC-1.1-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 respectively. From the two aldeias this road also connects DC-1.1 with neighboring sub-district 2 and continues towards the national road linking Dili, Manatuto and Baucau.

DC-1.1 highlands is also connected to the main road through another secondary road which runs between both aldeias and ends near the sede suku. Villagers in DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 also opened up another road a few years ago in order to facilitate the transportation of construction material for the construction of their uma-lulik. In addition, contractors for the national power grid also opened other roads during the construction of electricity

⁷ Asian Development Bank. (2013).

⁸ Maps produced by suku council suggest that this road in fact continues until the riverbed further down, however this last section is covered with a thick bush and cannot be accessed by vehicles.

towers around the DC-1.1 highlands area. These roads however have deteriorated because of lack of usage and maintenance.

Water connection to DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 have been installed along the main road where public taps are also available. However only the system which runs to DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 is operating. DC-1.1-Aldeia 3's water system failed in the first few weeks after installation and the aldeia remains disconnected. Villagers in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 are collecting their water from wells near their rice fields which are located between 3 to 4km towards the riverbed. Nevertheless, villagers who live away from the main road do not access this facility, whether in DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 or in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3. Respondents complained that the facilities are too far from their homes therefore they continued to collect water from their normal sources.

*If (the authorities) want to connect the water (to the location near us), then do it. If not, that's alright. We will still have food even if the water (tap) is not installed. Our ancestors have always collected their water from the source near the rice field.*⁹

Villager (women at the market) who said that she was being charged a fee (paid with chicken etc.) to connect electricity to her home.¹⁰

3.7 Reoccurring problems (perpetual difficulties on multiple spectrum the village is facing)

Some of the main difficulties in this village relate to poor or inexistent infrastructure such as road and water. Only the main, national road is sealed. The smaller local roads are in poor conditions and difficult to use. These roads become impassable during wet season. As most of the villagers' farms are located far from the main road, the poor roads represent a major challenge to farmers trying to get their produce to the market. Villagers in DC-1.1 lowlands region further adds that the poor roads also make it difficult for ambulance to access their area. Patients needing ambulance service had to be hauled to the main road before they are transported to the hospital.

Access to water also remains difficult in particular for residents in the DC-1.1 highlands region. DC-1.1 highlands is situated at an area higher than the water table. Most of the reliable water sources are located near the main road. There is still no water infrastructure present. Villagers rely on water holes such as one near one inside the rice fields in the DC-1.1 highlands area. During dry season however, they would have to travel as far as the a natural fountain near the sede suku. The situation is no different to the villagers in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3. Following a failed attempt to install a public water facility, residents have now resorted to what they have always done to collect their water. In the dry season, villagers would walk up to 3km downhill towards the river to collect their water.

Violence among the youths is also a common recurrence. The violence is usually related to alcohol as a number of respondents explained.

3.8 Historic profile (major events, changes, policies, etc.)

DC-1.1 and Neighboring Suku 1 were part of a village that was split into two during the Portuguese period. No one seems to remember exactly when or for what purpose. It has always had two sukus as well as two heads of village. In the 1980s the sede of DC-1.1 was relocated to the current location. According to the former xefe

⁹ DC-1.1_20140604_Respondent 38_farmer (notes).docx, p. 2

¹⁰ DC-1.1_20140530_Respondent 17_Businesswoman (notes).docx, p. 2

suku of the time, relocation came about in order to increase the chances of a combined suku in winning a village competition.

During the Indonesian invasion, some villagers run to the Matebian ranges while others ran to another suku. When they returned, some were resettled away from their homes. Population from villages around the region also resettled in DC-1.1.

There were violent clashes in 2007 following the announcement of the formation of a new government. Villagers blocked the road around village center and casualties were also reported.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of social cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

There are a number of ways villagers identify themselves in DC-1.1. The identities can be based on a number of groupings: by administrative division, by ethno-linguistic groupings, by geographic location, by party affiliation, and by religion.

By administrative division, identity based on membership of a uma-kain is the most basic. In the aldeia DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, the uma-kain are formed along the ethno-linguistic groupings where and of the existing 8 four are speakers of Uaima'a and the other four, Makasa'e. Membership of uma-kain also allows villagers to coalesce and form community groups such as the Bairo 3 farmers' group in the aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 1.

Aldeias form the next level of identity. Sporting competition such as football matches in the suku also pit one aldeia against another. There is also profound solidarity between villagers of the same aldeia uniting them in opposition against villagers from other aldeias. This example is most notable during a violent clash in 2013 between youths from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 following a dispute that arose during a football match.

Villagers in each aldeia also negotiate separately with other communities to access resources such as water. DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 negotiated their water with land owners from an aldeia from Neighboring suku 1 after an earlier negotiation to obtain water to DC-1.1 lowlands failed. Both places are located in Neighboring Suku 1. And when the water to DC-1.1 lowlands stopped, villagers in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 could not make another connection through DC-1.1-Aldeia 4's pipes because of opposition by villagers from the latter. According to the village secretary, who is from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, the DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 villagers were worried that their water supply would be affected if they shared the resources with DC-1.1-Aldeia 3. Besides as other villagers pointed out, the agreement was made between DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 and the resource owners. Sharing this resource with DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 villagers would require a new agreement.

The water's owner said that their water was only for (DC-1.1-Aldeia 4). If we were to pipe it from (DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 to us), (the DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 villagers) must speak with the water owner. We will need to give some payment as well.¹¹

As DC-1.1 is divided in half into two regions, villagers also tend to use this division a means to identify their place in the village. Villagers point to these two regions, DC-1.1 highlands or DC-1.1 lowlands, as their place of origin rather than their particular aldeias. Some aldeia meetings are also conducted conjointly between aldeias of the same region. Provision of public facilities is also made according to this grouping, for example the two

¹¹DC-1.1_20140605_Respondent 39_farmer (notes).docx, p.

health posts (CISCa) in DC-1.1 are each located in DC-1.1 highlands and DC-1.1 lowlands; there is also one chapel for each region.

Finally the villagers' identification with the suku is mostly evoked when contrasting with their sister suku, Neighboring Suku 1. Neighboring Suku 1 and DC-1.1 form a collective identity as members of a greater village called Combined suku. In fact, the villagers of both DC-1.1 and Neighboring suku 1 regard historic combined suku as their village. This has allowed community members to work together towards specific village projects, such as the renovation of main church. Furthermore, many DC-1.1 villagers also live along the main road which belongs to Neighboring Suku 1, including a number of the suku council members. Villagers say that the population of both DC-1.1 and Neighboring Suku 1 are closer to each other in comparison to others. Other observers captures the closeness between the two sukus as follows:

*There are two sukus. Their traditional customs and cultures are are. Only their administrative structure is different.*¹²

Villagers also identify themselves by their maternal language, namely Makasa'e and Uaima'a. The Makasa'e speakers are centred in the aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, in particular around four uma-kain that make it up. Villagers from DC-1.1 lowlands are more likely to understand or even speak Makasa'e and Uaima'a than those in DC-1.1 highlands. In one household in DC-1.1-Aldeia 4, the family communicate with each other with both languages. The family is Makasa'e speaker while the daughter in law who is from DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 is a Uaima'a speaker. The suku council members are different language groups. The xefe suku, the PAAS and the xefe aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 are Makasa'e speakers are all from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3. The ansiaun who comes from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 is a Uaima'a speaker. One of the women's representatives in suku council is from Lospalos but is married to a Uaima'a speaker from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3. She speaks Uaima'a herself and understand Makasa'e. Despite the different mother tongues, they all understand or even speak the other local language. The other xefe aldeias are all Uaima'a speakers being the heads of aldeias which speak this language.

Villagers in DC-1.1 are also overwhelmingly Catholic. Respondents say that there is no other religious practice in their village although a Protestant chapel exists. The suku council also registers at least 16 individuals as Protestants. The Catholic church however maintains a form of control over the villager faithful from cooperating with other religions. The senior katekista from the combined DC-1.1 and Neighboring suku 1 administrative unit says that when other religions try to assist Catholics, in particular through the provision of aid to the poor, they must first seek permission from the Catholic church. The Catholic church, through the parish priest, must be informed before such cooperation can take place.¹³

However, Protestantism is also recognized and accepted locally as a form of religious identity. By all accounts, however, the household of the local protestant leader, Pastor Abel Respondent 7, makes up the only Protestant family the villagers. The Catholics and the Protestants have worked together to prevent other religions from setting up locally.

Membership of political parties also forms another basis of identification. The group which competed in the suku council election in 2010 was formed along party lines although. Some villagers also formed farmers' groups along party identity.

¹² DC-1.1_20140606_ObservationsAtMonthlySCMeeting (obs).docx, p. 1

¹³ DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 10_Catechist (notes).docx, p. ??

4.1.2 Power and vulnerability

The members of the suku council, in particular the xefe suku, are regarded as powerful because their power is legitimized by the people through elections. As such, they can make decisions on behalf of the village community.¹⁴ They are also expected to maintain order in the community including ensuring community members' participation in village activities.¹⁵ Villagers also see them as their advocates, providing a link between them and the central government. As one villager in DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 says:

*The people can provide ideas to the local leaders and the local leaders take these ideas to the government. The people cannot go to the government directly because the people have their own representatives.*¹⁶

Powerful members of the community also include individuals who have played part in the resistance against the Indonesian occupation. Former combatants and clandestine operators occupy importance positions in the suku governance, including the suku council, community groups as well as the veterans' organisation. The xefe suku for example is a former combatant who has 6 years of armed participation in the resistance. The ansiaun is also a former combatant albeit the government is yet to officially recognize his participation. The suku council has a number of former *klandestina* members including one three of the xefe aldeias, and one of the women's representatives. Respondent 15, a former combatant, together with the xefe suku, is involved in the registration and verification of claims for recognition of participation in the armed resistance in DC-1.1.

Former xefe suku are also regarded with great respect by the community. The most prominent among the former xefe suku is 70 year old Respondent 44. The suku council continues to involve him in suku activities because of his past services for the village. Respondent 16, another septuagenarian, has been appointed to lead the church renovation project by the xefe suku for similar reason. Belo was the last xefe suku of DC-1.1 before the Indonesian invasion.

Villagers who are considered to have *vizaun nitoan* (a little foresight beyond ordinary villagers), are also powerful. According to the xefe suku, these individuals include anyone who is literate, have strong personality and has experience in community organization.¹⁷ These individuals play an important role in their communities to the extent that they also become the de facto local representatives. The xefe aldeia and the xefe suku always appoint them to represent their local communities in meetings where sometimes decisions which affect their communities are made, for example the selection of suku development priorities. The xefe aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 explains:

*I appoint villagers who have vision, who are open minded, who have secondary formal education and a some character, to participate in trainings or suku activities so that they can come back and share that information with the community.*¹⁸

Villagers also regard them as important community members because of their ability to solve problems. One such person is the local protestant pastor who has *vizaun di'ak* according to a villager:

¹⁴ DC-1.1_20140606_Respondent 42_farmer (notes).docx, p. 1

¹⁵ DC-1.1_20140607_Respondent 43_FetoRepSukuCouncil (notes).docx, p. 2

¹⁶ DC-1.1_20140606_Respondent 42_farmer (notes).docx, p. 3

¹⁷ DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 2_XefeSuku (notes).docx, p. 3

¹⁸ DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 4_XAOssoGuigui (notes).docx, p. 3

I consider him (as an important community member) because he has very good vision. When we have problems, he is always involved in mediation, giving us advice and peace.¹⁹

Traditional power structures no longer play a role in the suku governance, however some villagers still point to the connection to the *liurai* lineage as a legitimate source of authority. The last *liurai* of combined suku (DC1.1 and neighboring suku 1) was the father of Respondent 16. That *liurai* was credited with the founding of the combined suku church. When asked why some individuals are considered as powerful, a respondent said:

Respondent 44 because he is the son of an ancient customary leader. The xefe suku is also a descendant of the house of the Dom. He comes from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 but according to the family tree, he came from DC-1.1-Aldeia 1.²⁰

Describe familial linkages of powerful community members

Generally familial linkages are not a significant factor in attaining power. Although villagers tend to find a familial linkage between disparate individuals when pressed, these linkages are mostly formed through the traditional system of marriages and exchanges, referred to locally as *jetosaa-umane*. There is no obvious or significant family connection between members of the suku council or between leaders of other institutions. The only obvious case of a familial linkage encountered is that between Respondent 16 and one of his younger brothers who leads a village group in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3.

However, some community members maintain that family connections plays a role in deciding who should benefit from government assistance. A housewife was adamant that the reason she is rarely invited to participate in village activities by the suku council is because of favouritism based on family connection:

Obviously this is a system run on nepotism. When any assistance comes from the government, then they would all be inside already.²¹

A local term used frequently to refer to this practice is called *familiarista*, a word which stems from the Tetum word for *família*.

There are various groups in the community which are not normally included in village activities. The most marginalized include the elderly and the disabled. The xefe aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 said that the elderly should not be included in village activities because they don't have the energy like everybody else.²² Farmers also avoid including the elderly in their activities for the same reason:

If we drag an old man to the rice field, they can collapse and it can be a big problem. They should just stay at home so that we can ask them for their insights ... but to take them to the rice field, they can die inside the rice field.²³

Some of the elderly villagers also know about their limitations and chose not to join these farming groups.²⁴ And according to a couple of elderly villagers in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, who are partially blind, the reason they have

¹⁹ DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 13_farmer (notes).docx, p. 1

²⁰ DC-1.1_20140601_Respondent 19_Farmer (notes).docx, p. 2; *Tenente Koronél* is a title given to traditional chiefs by the Portuguese colonial power.

²¹ DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 8_housewife (notes).docx, p. 2

²² DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 4_XAOssoGuigui (notes).docx, p. ?

²³ DC-1.1_20140530_Respondent 19_Farmer (Notes).docx, p.1

²⁴ DC-1.1_20140602_Observations_Market (obs).docx, p. 1

never been invited to participate in village activities such as public meetings is because they are blind.²⁵ Another elderly respondent in DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 said that her husband, who had been invited by the xefe aldeia to participate in the 20th of May ceremony at the sede suku, was sent home instead by the xefe suku because he was, according to the xefe suku, too old.²⁶

Community members who live far from decision-making centres are also marginalized. Villagers in the neighborhood of Bairro 1 say that they are frequently ignored by the suku council. They feel that they are cut off from the rest of the village that's why they are often excluded from community activities.

The xefe aldeia (of DC-1.1-Aldeia 1) never comes to invite to participate in activities because we live quite separately (from the rest of the community).²⁷

Additionally, there are community members who are marginalized because their choices are limited by various factors. Elderly villagers may be invited to participate in community meetings but chose not to be involved because of the difficulty they face in trying to get to these events.²⁸ These cases bear specific relation to the elderly members of the community.

We walk with walking sticks. If we went and we fell along the way, then we would be down on the floor for good.²⁹

In addition to the long travel distance along difficult slopes is the fact that the roads are also in poor condition. A housewife in her 20s from DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 for example said that she never participated in community events because the roads are very difficult to traverse.³⁰

Others chose not to participate in community activities because they don't have a positive view of the mainstream community. The Protestant pastor who lives in Bairro 1 avoids participating in the community activities because he feels that the villagers do not pay him with due consideration he deserves because he is the leader of a religious community.³¹

Another form of rejectionism is espoused by the followers of the CPD-RDTL, an organization which completely rejects formal authority both at local or national level. They chose not to participate in village activity because they do not recognize the existence of formal village institutions. The extreme views supported by this organization also creates tension between them and the mainstream village community. According to the xefe suku, members of this organization are viewed with suspicion.³² Local government services also refuses to provide assistance to members of this organization. A young man who came from a household which supported CPD-RDTL was refused medical assistance after he had an accident and broke his arm. The village secretary had to tell the ambulance service that the young man was a member of her family before the ambulance changed its mind:

²⁵ DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 12_Disability (notes).docx, p. 3

²⁶ DC-1.1_20140604_Respondent 38_farmer (notes).docx, p. 1

²⁷ DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 6_housewife (notes).docx, p. 2

²⁸ DC-1.1_20140604_Respondent 38_farmer (notes).docx, p. 1;

²⁹ DC-1.1_20140601_Respondent 23_farmer (notes).docx, p. 2

³⁰ DC-1.1_20140604_Respondent 34_housewife (notes).docx, p. 1

³¹ DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 7_PastorProtestant (notes).docx, p. 4

³² DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 2_XefeSuku (notes).docx, p. 4

*(Victim's family) contacted the ambulance, but the ambulance refused to come because they said he was the child of a CPD(-RDTL) person. Then I told them that he was a member of my family, that's when they came.*³³

Vulnerable community members are not included in much of village activities except during events where villagers are required to make donations.³⁴ One villager who feels that every community members should have equal treatment in the village described his place in the community in the following terms:

*Everyone has rights, but these rights are not the same for everyone.*³⁵

4.1.3 Conflict and conflict mediation

Some of the most common types of conflict in the village relate to youth violence, domestic violence and land disputes. Youth violence is being fueled by alcohol abuse and unemployment. Cases of domestic violence are sometimes caused by suspicion between couples. Land disputes however can arise from conflicts which began several generations ago.

There is a formal procedure for conflict resolution which is used in the village. Conflict mediation begins with the xefe uma-kain. If the conflict remains unresolved, then the case is taken to the xefe aldeia and then to the xefe suku. The suku council discourages villagers to bypass this procedure, specially when actors external to the village are involved. For example, there was a case involving a villager whose house had been damaged by contractors during the installation of electricity in the region of DC-1.1 lowlands.³⁶ The villager, or the victim, then called the sub-district administrator to report the incidence and demanded compensation. It was not a normal procedure so the xefe suku urged the xefe aldeias to remind their constituents about it, that actors outside of the formal village institutions should not be sought before having the case heard by local leaders.

However, there are also different institutions within the village tasked with conflict resolution. In DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 for example, within each uma kain, there are two lia-na'in called *majór* who are responsible for mediating and resolving non-criminal cases, and sometimes criminal cases as well when parties decide to settle it out of the formal system. It's a practice which has been around for generations.³⁷

For criminal cases such as physical assaults, formal authorities, in particular the police, are always involved but local authorities are also informed and sometimes invited to help with mediation.³⁸ The suku council's ansiaun who also provides mediation says that he would try to have criminal cases resolved between the parties first, a case which was also observed during this field research.³⁹ Victims and perpetrators can also agree to have their case settled informally through inter-family dialogue.

Mediation of cases of violence, in tandem with formal procedures, are also subjected to communal process. Community-lead mediation process can be taxing against both parties involved in the conflict. There are costs

³³ DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 3_PAAS (notes).docx, p. 3

³⁴ DC-1.1_20140606_Respondent 42_farmer (notes).docx; DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 8_housewife (notes).docx; DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 5_WomensRepSukuCouncil (notes).docx

³⁵ DC-1.1_20140606_Respondent 42_farmer (notes).docx, p. 3

³⁶ DC-1.1_20140606_ObservationsAtMonthlySCMeeting (obs).docx, p. 3

³⁷ DC-1.1_20140601_Respondent 19_Farmer (notes).docx, p. 2

³⁸ DC-1.1_20140602_Respondent 25_XA DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 (notes).docx, p. 4

³⁹ Researchers observed a case of domestic violence which had received intervention by the police. The parties involved in the conflict had been brought to the police station at Postu. The ansiaun was called by the police to help with mediation. He then convinced all parties involved to have the case resolved at home instead. See also DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 7_PastorProtestant (notes).docx, p. 3

involved in the mediation process. According to one of the female representatives, when parties seek mediation at the uma-kain level, they are required to pay a fee of \$10, a bottle of alcohol and cigarettes. At aldeia level, the cost is \$15 and at suku level it becomes \$25 plus alcohol and cigarettes. On top of this, parties would also have to prepare food and drinks to accompany the mediation process. According to the same suku council representative, this process has been set up in such a way to discourage and reduce incidence of physical conflicts:

*The (incidence of) domestic violence has declined since 2010 because both the wives and husbands who report their case also receive sanctions. If they want justice, then they everyone must contribute money.*⁴⁰

Sanctions also accompany the resolution and payments can range from chickens to buffaloes depending on the scale of the violence and the number of people affected. The sanctions however are not paid to the victim but are instead spent during the mediation process. Animals paid through sanctions are slaughtered to provide a feast for everyone involved in the mediation process. This was the case when groups of young men from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 entered into conflict because of disagreement during a football match. After the police arrested the perpetrators, a communal process was also organized put in place to offer mediation. Buffaloes and pigs were slaughtered and their skulls displayed in public space (in front of the sede suku) for everyone to see. The size of the sanctions also serve as deterrence for future conflicts and discourage potential offenders.

*If you go back and (repeat the offence) against your brother, against your wife, you will slaughter this many goats. So that they can be (discouraged from further conflicts).*⁴¹

Not everyone is supportive of this process. The Protestant pastor for example is very critical of type of mediation because he sees it as a form of exploitation. He is not in favour of the traditional mediation process because it involves a lot of money:

*We fought against exploitation and for independence. We should not do this. ... The xefe suku and the xefe aldeia are receiving a salary but they don't solve the people's problems. When they are involved in finding solutions to problems, they make the people cook meat, and pay money. It's the same system used long ago in the Portuguese time.*⁴²

4.1.4 Development priorities

There is a general consensus among the villagers regarding development priorities. Villagers mostly mention roads and water. Although there are roads connecting the four aldeias, these roads are unsealed. Villagers want to see the roads repaired and sealed in order to facilitate their daily activities.

Villagers in DC-1.1 highlands and DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 mostly say that water is their main priority right now. A number of villagers pointed out towards the need to finally have a proper building for their health post (CISCa).⁴³ In DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, the main priority is access to water. Some villagers also mention the condition of the local school as a possible area where future development projects should focus.

⁴⁰ DC-1.1_20140607_Respondent 43_FetoRepSukuCouncil (notes).docx, p. 3

⁴¹ DC-1.1_20140530_Respondent 14_AnsiaunSukuCouncil (notes).docx, p. 4

⁴² DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 7_PastorProtestant (notes).docx, p. 3

⁴³ DC-1.1_20140603_Respondent 29_teacher (notes).docx; DC-1.1_20140606_Respondent 42_farmer (notes).docx

Powerful members of the community such as the xefe suku, prioritize housing for the poor. Another villager however wants to see more public schools because they offer free education as opposed to the Catholic schools which charge students \$1/month.

There are also more specific prioritizations by other community members. The village secretary for example prioritizes office equipment. The local protestant pastor wants the government to assist local farmers with agricultural machineries. The pastor also wants to see the practice of local customs, or *adat*, curbed by legal means. The xefe suku on the other hand mentioned that the combined suku church renovation as a priority. The completion of this project is of particular importance to the village because Catholicism provides the community with a moral compass which helps to create peace among the villagers:

*We hold on to the Church because the Church can truly (teach) individuals to be moral. We (the formal authority) can govern the people but (the church) deepens the sense of respect and care for each other. ... (The Church) turns the community towards the good.*⁴⁴

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 Powerful community members

Respondent 2, XS

Respondent 2 is the xefe suku of DC-1.1. He is 56 and is married with three children. He lives in the neighbourhood of Bairro 1. He is originally from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, from a uma-kain there. He speaks both Makasa'e and Uaima'a. He has been elected as xefe suku twice by the villages. He would like to compete for another term although he thinks the law may not let him.

*For me, it depends on the community's wishes. It's not my decision but it depends on the community. But the law says that for community leaders, for the xefe suku, there can only be two mandates only. So it won't go for three mandates. ... If the community wants it, then I am ready. But the law does not allow it.*⁴⁵

However, not all villagers approve of his performance. A villager in the neighbourhood of Bairro 1 feels that it's time for the xefe suku to be replaced by someone else. The protestant pastor, another villager, says that the local formal authorities are out of step with the suku's needs and are exploiting community members who come to them for assistance.

Respondent 2 is also a former combatant and is active in the veterans' activities in his suku. He has been contracted by the government to manage registration and validation of former combatants. He is responsible for the veterans' issues in his suku.

He used to be a member of the FRETILIN party. But in the last election he campaigned as independente. Some villagers say that he is in fact the coordinator of the local FRETILIN party however he had switched side and joined the CNRT party, the governing party.

He and the xefe aldeias have the power to appoint people to important meetings in the suku. He tells the xefe aldeia to only chose people who are considered as switched-on and are able to discuss and then inform the rest of the community about any outcomes from the meeting.

⁴⁴ DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 2_XefeSuku (notes).docx, p. 11

⁴⁵ DC-1.1_20140528_Respondent 2_XefeSuku (notes).docx, p. 1

As xefe suku, he also leads the suku council meetings. At the meeting, he would use his authority to pressure others to come to agreements or to accept a particular view. Suku council meeting schedules are also controlled by him. When he is absent in the village, the suku council meetings are also postponed. He normally informs the suku council members and other community leaders about these meetings.

Respondent 15 also takes part in a number of village groups holding key positions in the structure. He is the treasurer of the village's credit/savings group MOHO, the general coordinator in the mother's group Grupu Suporta Inan, and the coordinator for the suku's disaster response committee. He also leads the committee to renovate the Combined suku church, a position he shares with the xefe suku of Neighboring Suku 1. In his formal role as the xefe suku, he also controls projects which are implemented by the suku council such as the renovation of the sede suku, as well as having the authority to negotiate with other groups on behalf of the village.

His development priorities include roads, water connection, housing for the vulnerable community members, electricity in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 and the renovation of the Combined suku church.

Respondent 15

Respondent 15 one of the veteran who contracted by the government to work for the current veterans registration in sub-district office.

He identified himself as an indigenous of DC-1.1 because he was born here and grows up in this suku. In other side, he holds important positions in several groups and committee, e.g. aside from responsible for the veteran registration, he is also the coordinator for the agriculture group called Robomutu furthermore he is committee coordinator for DC-1.1 lowlands chapel renovation.

He is not part of suku council but he always be invited in suku council meeting and part of the decision making. He was invited by xefe suku to attend the meeting on the celebration of Timor-Leste Independence Day on last 20 May.

Aside from suku council as powerful, he also recognizes himself as powerful because he also involves in mediation on the problem which occurred between political parties in the sub district . He used to a Fretilin but he has been retired in order to accumulate all political party within the communities. There are four which exist in suku DC-1.1 mainly Fretilin as majority followed by next CNRT, PD and Mudanca.

As a coordinator of grupu he keeps all groups resources mainly hand tractor, drilling machine for the rice paddy and the group cash, even thou the group also has a treasurer.

Regarding vulnerable and marginalize people, he said that for those who lost their family when fighting against indonesian, they are consider as vulnerable for more marginalize and vulnerable are Respondent 12 and her son both are blind and weak, live alone. In other side these vulnerable people mention his name as a powerful in the village .

He is the coordinator of church rehabilitation project in DC-1.1 lowlands, this meeting was participated by suku council, community, catechist, xefe uma kain and functionaries. He said that he is one of the other two candidates who win to be a coordinator in the voting process.

He said that the most priority in the village is electricity, road and water supply

Respondent 5

Respondent 5, women's representative in the suku council since 2005, Treasurer of cooperative group MOHO), representative of ADE to the sub-district administration to discuss sub-district public projects, responsible for the mother group and secretary for the committee of chapel renovation

As a former clandestine operative for OPMT, She does a lot of advocacy for her villagers. Her main responsibility in suku council is watch over the woman and children in the suku, she has submitted the proposal for the animal nurturing because the community always raise aspiration to her through the Sisca meeting. She is responsible for getting a CISCa post to DC-1.1 lowlands where she also volunteers her time. Since then, she always submitted the proposal about SISCa by raising communities' aspiration in Suku Council monthly meeting in sede suku. She was inspired by communities' concern and finally the proposal was approved and built SISCa post.

Politically she is a member of FRETILIN as a majority party. However she is not discriminating other woman in difference. When World vision appeared at suku office in 2011 to presenting their program to establish a mother group in DC-1.1 lowlands. Suku council delegates her to responsible for the mother group, the mother group in DC-1.1 lowlands divided into four bairo but still under her supervision. The principal activities of this group is on women farming. The world vision support them with seed of vegetables and teach the woman on how to farm and this woman group also promotes maternal and child health.

She also part of a group which was established by CRS, most of the member from the suku council member and ordinary community. The main activities of this group is involving in candle nut trade.

As a woman's representative, she complaint about *incentivo* the XA earn U\$\$ 125.00 but for her only U\$\$45.00. This issue she has been raised to the minister of ESTATAL and some parliamentary who came to suku office

Her development priorities are the roads, specially the sealing of roads to her aldeia, water connection and electricity.

4.2.2 Marginalized community members

Respondent 12

Respondent 12, 80s. Respondent 12 is a housewife, who moved to settle in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 when she got married with her husband. Originally, she speaks Makasae and used to learn Uaima'a after moving to DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, as well as understands a little bit of tetun prasa. She has 2 daughters and 10 sons, but 11 children have died and only a son calls Eduardo who is blind since his childhood is still alive and cheers her. He is the fifth of 12 siblings. Respondent 12 also has been having blind for nine years after getting older. Now she lives with her son in a very small house which is placed in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 near to her relative's house. However, her husband has passed away.

With their blinds, they live alone without any other relatives. They cook by themselves and feeding the animals at their house, such as kitchen, pigs and dog. Every day they work in the garden around their house for planting cassava, coconut, corn and other plants. When they clean the rice, they just test it by mouth.

They are members of vulnerability who have limited participation in the aldeia and suku activities. They never attend any meeting at aldeia and suku level after getting blind because no one comes to their house to inform. Village leaders told them that they are blind so they don't know anything. Only the villagers who have physically normal know everything. Furthermore, they are never informed by community leaders to participate in the rehabilitation of road to DC-1.1 lowlands and the ceremony of 20th May every year in sede suku as well. The

only elections for independence in 1999 and elections for suku council were invited at home. If someone brings them to attend the activities in sede suku or chapel, then they have to pay the villager who carries them \$5 per villager.

However, when there is a community contribution, the village leaders always come to their house for asking the grant. They have contributed once for the water system \$2, \$1 each villager. Nevertheless, they rejected to contribute to the renovation of the chapel in DC-1.1 lowlands and the ceremony about Nossa Senhora at the chapel. They said that, government has offered us the money, no now we are going to help God, then what would we use for buying the meals?

When they get sick, no one gives them the assistance. They have many relatives, in particularly, her husband's relatives who live nearby them but never bring them to the hospital. Only one Respondent 12's relative in Baucau come to their house to get them to the hospital in Baucau.

There was an NGO which came to their house for taking their identity and has promised for them that the NGO would come back to transport them to Dili for treating their eyes.

She and her son get the idozus pension which is received \$180 every six months. Usually they receive their pension in sede suku which is too far from their place. Owing to the distance, they cannot be able to go to receive their pension directly in sede suku. Instead, they hire the relatives \$5 per person who receives their money. They use their money for buying the oil, rice and meats when the villagers kill their animals.

Meals and materials were also provided by the government. The assistances such as rice, soap, so klin and mie were distributed through combined suku church. Besides, house roofing was delivered through an NGO from District Administrator. Although they got the roofing, but no one helps them to renovate their house. The roofing have already broken, however, still be kept by them.

For them, the powerful villagers from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 are Respondent 15 and another veteran in the village because used to work for kaixa to fight for independence.

She and her family's primarily needs are meals and water supply. The water system has supplied to nearby her house but the water has stopped. Usually they hire the children from her husband's relatives \$1 per 2 masa to catch the water for them. If the children do not catch the water for them, then they just use the rainy and coconut water for cook the meals.

Nowadays, they are accessing to the power which is supplied to DC-1.1 lowlands. The electricity was installed by the company in 2014.

Respondent 40

Respondent 40, 22 is housewife and is pregnant for her second baby after her first baby died. She speaks Uaima'a, tetun prasa and understands Makasae.

Basically, she and her husband come from Badu Mori. However, her husband and his families have been staying in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 after Indonesian occupation until now. She has moved to DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 after getting married with her husband in 2012. She is living with her parents in law but her husband is living in Dili as a driver of taxi.

She lives among Makasa'e speaking households. When asked about which uma-kain her household belonged to, she mentioned the name of a uma-kain which did not belong to DC-1.1-Aldeia 3.

She doesn't know the meeting about the water project and aldeia priorities because they were in Dili but her parents in law did. Her parents in law were told by xefe aldeia to attend the meeting in aldeia. She and her vicinity wanted the water to be piped to an area near her house. But they were told by local leaders that this could not happen immediately. She also did not participate in the work for supplying the water. But her parents in law participated. They worked voluntarily to carry the sands for the construction.

When the water stopped coming, she and her husband ever contributed cash once for the fund to resolve the water issue. This fund was supposed to be used to buy back water from another source. Whereas, she has given up about the contribution for water project because the water only worked for a few weeks.

Besides, she and her parents in law did not involve in \$3 program for cleaning the road from DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 to an aldeia in another suku. Even though they wanted to participate but they were told by some villagers that only the villagers who have listed by xefe aldeia could participate in the work. However, some villagers said that you should just turn up for the work. Xefe aldeia also told her that she could not be involved in the road project. Only for the adults or ferik and katuas could involve. She was confused about how the system of recruitment works for public works such as road rehabilitation project.

She did not work on this project because she and her family's names were not registered. They were confused about how to register their names. And they didn't want to end up working for free.

Apart of the road accessibility, she and her families have just accessed to the electricity. Nevertheless, the power has been off since 26th May. She was really disappointed that the power has stopped. She also heard the rumors that power may never resume and is being switched off permanently. She said that this is not fair because the villagers including her family have cut down all the crop trees such as candle nut and coconut to give way for the electrical posts and cables but now the power does not come.

With regards to the power stoppage, she said that a number of villagers are planning a protest action against sub-district authorities, in particular EDTL. A local man was leading this planning for this protest action. But EDTL heard about this and promptly reconnected power to her area.

Respondent 7

Respondent 7 is the leader of the local Protestant church. His father was from Baguia and his mother was from combined suku area. He speaks both Makasa'e and Uaima'a. He is in 60s and is married with a grandchild. He lives in the neighbourhood of Bairo 1. He used to be a practicing Catholic and at one stage studied to become a priest at the seminary. However he converted later to Protestantism. He is now the leader of a congregation, most of whom live in areas outside of DC-1.1.

He is very active in his community, in particular in the Bairo 1 neighbourhood. He has helped villagers to set up agricultural groups as well as writing proposals to the government to obtain agricultural assistance. However some villagers are skeptical of his good will and claim that he tends to hoard the materials donated by the government, making it hard for the villagers to access. Nevertheless, villagers also come to him to seek his help with mediation.

Respondent 7 feels that he, and by extension, his Protestant community, are not being given the consideration he and his community deserve. He points out that during community gatherings, such as public meetings, he is never invited to lead the prayer. The prayers are instead lead by the catechist or an ordinary villager. He feels that he and the Catholic priest have the same level of religious authority so that he should be given the honour to lead communal prayers. And when a Catholic priest is present, the task of leading the prayer should be shared by both him and the priest, that one of them would do the opening prayer while the other do the closing.

Because of this lack of consideration, Respondent 7 has withdrawn himself from participating in community events.

However, Respondent 7 says that he has also worked together with the parish priest to keep other religions from establishing themselves in the village. A parish priest once told him to keep an eye out for the combined suku region lest people from other religions try to set foot in the village. He says that the priest also told him that the former would organize youths to arrest those who try to proselytize the villagers.

Respondent 7 is also critical of the traditional mediation process. He sees it as a form of exploitation because people are being forced to pay for a service which is supposed to be free. The xefe suku and the xefe aldeia are after all receiving a salary from the government.

He further thinks that the formal village authority are not treating the people fairly. When there is a state assistance, the xefe suku is only giving it out to select group of people, and some people who already had enough were given even more. He says that the current leaders are not doing a good job in looking after the villagers:

The current (village) government is not satisfactory in my view. The leaders are not competent and are not seeing things (the way they should).⁴⁶

His development priorities include the provision of agricultural machineries to the local farmers and the elimination of parts of the traditional customs.

5. Institutions and power

5.1 Formation of village groups

5.1.1 Leadership, power and decision making process

Many of the SC members hold in leadership positions including as heads of organizations. The xefe suku in particular is in charge of a number of groups. He is also the general coordinator for a mothers' group called Grupu Suporta Inan, the suku's emergency response organization, the committee tasked with renovating the church and the registration and validation of former combatants. The ansiaun leads a farmers' group in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3. The structure of the MOHO savings/credit group is lead by the xefe aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 while the xefe suku holds position of treasurer. Respondent 5, women's rep in the SC, she is also the convener of the CISCa group, has an agricultural group, a secretary in MOHO, as well as secretary in the committee to rehabilitate chapel in DC-1.1 lowlands.

Other powerful Individuals such as former combatants also occupy leadership positions in other community groups, including. Respondent 15 leads the president of the committee in charge of managing the repair of the DC-1.1 lowlands chapel. He also leads his agricultural group, and is in charge of the veteran's registration for the sub-district. Respondent 16, is the president of the committee to renovate the combined suku church.

In most community groups, leadership position tends to fall into the hands of individuals who initiated the group's formation. Villagers like Respondent 18, a farmer and a carpenter, leads the group called Uaituka which he created. Respondent 15 and the suku council ansiaun, Respondent 14, also initiated the creation of their agricultural groups. Abel Respondent 7 on the other hand maintains a certain degree of control over the group

⁴⁶ DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 7_PastorProtestant (notes).docx, p. 2

he helps found by keeping the group's assets at his residence and as well as having the ability to decide how and when these assets, such as agricultural machineries, should be used.

Women also participate in the group's structure however they rarely hold higher positions such as president or coordinator. They occupy lesser positions such as secretary or treasurer, even when these women are considered as powerful such as Respondent 5. Groups which have specific activities that focus on women, such as the Grupu Suporta Inan, also have male leaders at the top of the structure. But women do try to occupy the positions nevertheless, they don't seem to receive sufficient community support. In the case of the formation of the committee to coordinate the repairs for the DC-1.1 lowlands chapel, a woman competed for the top job but she was voted down in favour of a male candidate. Only the senior katekista in the suku is a woman.

Describe village group leadership styles (participatory vs. exclusive)

Respondent 15 is one of the veteran in the village, he often invited by suku council to for the suku activities and meeting. He is a coordinator of Robomutu, he almost control all group resources mainly group hand tractor and drilling machine for rice paddy and even the cash that supposed to keep with the treasurer.

Respondent 5 is doing a lot of advocacy for woman and children she is also responsible for the mother group in the aldeias and offers her volunteer community health activities in the aldeias

Respondent 2, the xefe suku and treasurer of the MOHO, during his tenure he has many activities for the community

Describe how leaders obtain positions of power in the village, and how members join

Leaders are usually considered as people with *vizãun*, vocal, with experience and active participation in the community. These individuals usually initiate the group's creation and are voted to the leadership structure. Participation in the resistance also considered as important.

- How members join:
 - Those who live nearby, e.g. Uaituka
 - Party affiliation, also Uaituka
 - People who cultivate rice in the same area
 - People who work already work together, e.g. SC members
 - But group initiators also invites other villagers to join, e.g. Respondent 14 ansiaun's group.
 - Some groups are set up with the sole objective of obtaining hand tractor according Respondent 25, the XA of DC-1.1-Aldeia 1. They only include names of family members.
 - Vulnerable and marginalized individuals are not invited to join groups because, for example the elderly, they have no energy to participate in group activities, or because they live too far from the group's centre.

Describe how group leaders are accountable

- In community groups, group leaders don't have a term limit.
- With MOHO for example, members don't know how much cash the group holds. Other members have no idea what the group's activities are, e.g. woman who lives behind the Protesta church, Respondent 19.

Describe how is power used/misused in village groups

- Group leaders write proposals to the government to ask for assistance, e.g. Protestant pastor, Respondent 7
- Lead meetings and synthesize group's opinions into decisions – e.g. achieve consensus (not tested)

- A local farmer complained that Respondent 5 (womans rep) and XS's wife swindled funds off water training program

Describe how village groups make decisions

- Usually by consensus

5.1.2 Financial Management

Describe primary source of village group's resources

- Get hand tractor from the government, most of the farmers' groups
- Membership contribution, towards maintenance of equipment such as hand tractor
- Payment towards hire of group's machinery, e.g. hand tractor
- Membership contribution, e.g. MOHO and Uaituka (Respondent 18)
- Funding from other organizations such as Alola towards Grupu Suporta Inan; World Vision towards ELOS; Timor Global towards farmers in DC-1.1 highlands
- Appeal for community contribution towards group's activity, e.g. Grupu Suporta Inan; water maintenance groups
- Most groups don't have much in terms of financial resources.

Describe the planning process of financial resources

- In tractor owning farmers' groups, expenditure to do with the purchase of parts towards tractor repairs are planned by the treasurer and the tractor operator.
- MOHO: group decides on what interest rate to set for the loans
- Respondent 18' carpentry group,

Describe who usually administers these resources

- Treasurers usually administer the financial resources
- Tractor operators administer the tractors

Describe where these resources are stored

- Cash is stored at home
- Tractors also stored at home, usually at the operators' house or as in the case of the group Laletak Rai Mean, the tractor is kept at the coordinators' home. But this tractor has been idle for sometime.

Describe how other members obtain information about group expenditures

- MOHO: members don't know about the group's state of finances. One member says... [QUOTE] Members told us to ask the treasurer (XS) about the details of the group's finances.

5.1.3 Collective action among groups

Describe instances in which village groups cooperate

- Uatubai lends tractor to Bairo 3 group, which then lends the tractor to villagers
- Respondent 15's farmers' group lends tractor to farmers in bairo 2
- Villagers from different suku own ricefields in the same area also cooperate, e.g. to form farmers' groups and obtain hand tractors

Describe how group cooperation is planned and supervised

Describe why groups cooperate/ not-cooperate with others

- MOHO doesn't cooperate with other groups because its activity is very specific – financial
- Each aldeia has its own groups, so concentrate on each activity

Describe how the community cooperates with government institutions

- Groups are formed and request hand tractors from the government, thorough MAF
- Villagers also contacts sub-district administrator to complain about damages resulting from the installation of electrical cables
- SASS conducts training on water maintenance for DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 3
- Police is based in Postu and can be called to respond to conflicts in the suku
- Veterans registration and validation from Baucau district
- One of the vice ministers visited a farmers group and informed them about the need to incorporate their organization.
- STAE held meeting in the suku to inform about voter registration
- SEFOPE and \$3 employment scheme
- Villagers who do not benefit from public facilities, such as water taps, do not contribute towards maintenance

Describe the main constraint to collective action

- Villagers won't do community work if there is no payment or some kind of direct benefit to them.

People would only do general clean up if they are paid. ... If they're not told that they would be paid, no one would come.⁴⁷

- Bairo 3 and Uatuba'i are located very far from each other, yet there is not constraint. Hand tractor transported from the two locations.
- CPD-RDTL groups – because they do not recognize formal institutions
- Villagers won't participate in collective actions if it doesn't involve payment
- Villagers won't make contributions to church related projects because of a sense that the church has enough resources of its own in comparison to the villagers.

5.1.4 Communication strategies

Describe how groups introduce their activities to the community

- GSI: *sosializasaun*, or speak to individuals about their activities in order to solicit cash contributions
- Groups are usually small, comprising at most 25 people. To socialize their activities, groups usually have meetings. Some groups have monthly meetings to discuss their activities. These groups include MOHO and the ansiaun's farmers' group.

⁴⁷ DC-1.1_20140607_Respondent 44_exXS (notes).docx, p. 3

5.1.5 *Creation and termination of groups*

Describe why and how new groups are created

- Farmers' group, formed to obtain tractors from government
- GSI, to help pregnant women access support, provide training
- To start business activity, e.g. candle nut trade
- Loans/savings, e.g. MOHO, to facilitate credit because banks are too far
- MOHO – groups started by individuals who work together, e.g. SC. Farmers group, formed by farmers who cultivate rice in the same area, regardless of suku. Groups also use family as well as political party connection to form.

Describe why and how groups terminated

- Not achieve its aim, e.g. hand tractor from the government. Group then dissolved.
- GSI: Alola Foundation stopped funding their activities.
- Timor Global: severed relations with partner company because of irregular payment towards their crops.
- Members stopped participating in activities.
- Dispute over the use of group resources, e.g. one group in DC-1.1 highlands on the group's tractor

5.2 *Explanatory cases (Village groups)*

5.2.1 *MOHO (Moris Obin Habu Organisasi)*

MOHO is a credit/savings group. It was established by members of the suku council including the xefe suku.

5.2.2 *DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 water committee*

DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 water maintenance committee was established through the assistance of SAS, the government's water and sanitation branch. The group was established following a workshop conducted by SAS at the sede suku. The workshop, which went for 6 days, trained a select community members on how to manage and maintain the water system. At the end of the workshop, a leadership structure was also elected.

5.3 *Constellation of Local Governance*

5.4 *Formation of village governance*

5.4.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision Making Process*

Who are in the leadership positions in the village governance?

Basically, the suku council members are the leadership of the village governance. They are engaged in the multi of the village governance. Xefe suku who heads the suku council used to involve in commission of registration for veterans in Postu and also takes part as coordinator for the commissions for the sede suku and church rehabilitation. Furthermore, Respondent 5, a women representative, takes the responsibility for SISCAs program and was engaged in the DC-1.1 lowlands chapel committee as secretary.

At aldeia level, xefe aldeia, xefe uma kain and lia nain are the leaders of the village. The xefe aldeia who is a member of suku council with the assistance from xefe uma kain and lia nain lead the villagers in the aldeia. The

aldeia authorities are normally the villagers who have experience and elder or senior in a uma kain. Except, xefe aldeias who are young but they were elected during suku election in a package of suku council.

Furthermore, veterans and former xefe suku are usually engaged in the village governance. For example, Respondent 15, veteran's coordinator; and Respondent 16, a former xefe suku and a member of veteran were engaged in multi of the village governance. They were selected to responsible for the veterans registration and also been elected to involve in the committee of the rehabilitation of the church. Respondent 16 was in charged as coordinator for the committee for renovation of combined suku church. While, Respondent 15 is taking responsibility for the rehabilitation of chapel in DC-1.1 lowlands.

Majority village governances are headed by male. Only Combined suku church which is lead by katekista Respondent 10 and SISCA in DC-1.1 lowlands where is coordinate and responsible by Respondent 5.

Describe their leadership styles

In the suku council, the xefe suku forces participants towards consensus. But if there is no consensus, then a decision a vote is also taken.

For the meeting at suku level and/or activities, suku council appointed the villagers to deliberative meetings and some activities in suku. Regularly, xefe aldeia and xefe uma kain are in charged to select the people in aldeia. Villagers who are considered as having no vizaun are habitually excluded.

In a meeting, the leaders who organizes the meeting usually accumulates various opinions and blend them into one overarching opinion which captures everyone's suggestion. Since there in no objection of the decision in the meeting, the consensus building decision making is preferred by the village leaders to use. However, when there is a long discuss and debate, the organizer of the meeting such as xefe suku interrupts for cutting the discussion with the decision he has accumulated. Xefe suku imposes his will on others. He says he needs to do it so that discussions do not drag on for too long.

Describe election process of the village council and other governance institutions

Generally, there are a couple of decision making processes used by the governance institutions in DC-1.1. If there is no any opposition among the members during the discussion then the decision is just made by consensus, otherwise, when there is a deadlock in the debates the decision might be made through an election.

For suku council, the members conduct an open discussion and debates among the members to reach up a consensus decision making. Voting also can be used if there is a deadlock. As what was observed in suku council monthly meeting, the members debated and agreed on a decision. Sometimes, xefe suku also made choices and let the member to choose if there were some members who did not agree on the decision. (See suku documents which record how suku council votes).

However, at aldeia level, aldeia authorities such as xefe aldeia and xefe uma kain have power to appoint the villagers who have vizaun, experience and capacity to attend the meeting at suku level. There were even no voting or consensus on the decision making process. Usually, the elderly villagers are selected to be the represent to go to the suku meeting. Except in the case of Ansiaun's uma-kain, where a younger person was appointed to the position.

How are power holders accountable to the suku/aldeia population?

In the case of suku council, villagers can vote members of suku council out in suku elections. The villagers voted for the council out at sede suku in 2010. The veterans' registration group was appointed by the veterans'

organization in the district level or district veteran committee. For example, Respondent 15, xefe suku and Respondent 16 were appointed by the district veteran's committee to register the veterans in postu.

There is also not limited the villagers to contact directly with the sub-district authorities. Villagers can report to the sub-district administrator about the issue the villagers face. Sub-district was contacted by a villager from DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 about the company which was in charged to implement the power installation to DC-1.1 lowlands. The villager complaint regarding the trees which was cut and damaged his house.

What legitimizes their power in the local governance structure?

Suku council was established through a public voting in suku election. The council was voted by the villagers in the suku of DC-1.1. According to the villagers, they were elected because they involved in the FRETILIN political party and elected in a package of the candidate. However, the veteran was formed based on the villagers who involve in the struggle for the independence. Respondent 15 was elected by district association of veterans because he involved in the fighting for the independence during the resistance.

The elderly villagers with experience on handling traditional procedures and the people who have vizaun normally also appointed by the villagers to be the leader. For instance, lia nain and xefe uma kain were selected by the villagers. Moreover, there is also customary legitimize in the village structures. Villagers who have their antecedents lead the institution also usually engage in the structure. Respondent 10 was appointed to be the katekista of combined suku church by xefe suku and parish priest because her uncle had worked for the church before die.

How is power in local governance structures is used/misused in the village?

Xefe suku, xefe aldeia and xefe uma kain have the power to appoint the villagers to take part in the deliberative meeting. When there is a meeting in sede suku, xefe suku just inform the xefe aldeias for attending the meeting. According to the suco council hierarchy, this is the xefe aldeia's role for mobilizing the village at aldeia level. With the xefe uma kain, they appointed the representatives of aldeia to the suku. Xefe aldeia also makes the announcement and registers the villagers name for work in public projects, e.g. xefe aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 register the villagers name to participate in the rehabilitation of road to DC-1.1-Aldeia 3.

A part of that, the xefe uma kain, lia nain and ansiaun are used to conduct the dispute and/or conflict mediation. If there is civil clash or disputes in the village, usually the villagers go to the xefe uma kain and lia nain to mediate before xefe aldeia and xefe suku. Otherwise, if the villagers notify the dispute to the xefe aldeia and xefe suku, then they would be sent back to be mediated by xefe uma kain and lia nain.

Respondent 5, a women representative and xefe suku's wife have engaged for money handling for the training about the water maintenance activities from SAS. Before conducting the training, villagers such as Respondent 8 heard that the money would spend for paying the villagers who participate in the training \$80 each participant. Nevertheless, after the training conducted, there was no money for distributing to the participants.

Who makes decisions in the village

Normally, the people with disability and other marginalized members such as poor people, villagers who live so far away are excluded in the decision making process, e.g. Respondent 12 and her husband who are blind never involved by local leaders. Villager's participation in decision making process limited to individuals appointed by formal community leaders. Only people who have vizaun are invited to participate, however, villagers who are illiterate are excluded. Respondent 41 is a lia nain of one of the uma kain in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 is always excluded in decision making process because of his illiterate. As well as at suku council meeting, only the members of suku council can vote.

Describe what and how often decisions are made in the village council

Suku council has a monthly meeting but sometimes the meeting is conducted twice in a month. It depends on the activities and programs from the heads of the government. The meetings are organized to decide on village issues and activities in a month, e.g. our observation of village council monthly meeting out at sede suku. There are rounds of collection to assist local football team. (Check suku documents for a record of decisions they made)

How are these decisions made?

In case of suku council, the decision is often made by consensus building. Everyone participates in the meeting discuss to share their opinion. Xefe suku accumulates the opinions to be a single decision which is everyone agrees on. But voting is also reserved in cases of deadlock. Suku documents show of how decisions are made by suku council.

How transparent is the decision making process?

Suku council meetings are held openly. Villagers are not limited to join observing or sharing the opinions. For example, last suku council monthly meeting that was observed by us was opened for the villagers to participate. This was not in our plan to observe but we were allowed by xefe suku to participate the meeting. There were also some villagers and UNTL (Universidade Nasional Timor Lorosa'e) students who estajiu in the village attended this meeting.

This council does not have a set date for monthly meeting. Only xefe suku decides when to hold the reunion according to his availability. During the meeting, xefe suku controls the meeting with PAAS or secretary of suku council as his assistant. Based on the law, PAAS is not supposed to participate in the discussion. She just allows controlling the meeting and writing the notes. After the meeting, xefe aldeia supposed to inform villagers in his aldeia about the outcome of the meetings.

5.4.2 Financial Management

Describe primary sources of funding for the village governance

- Get the money from the government, e.g. rehabilitation of sede suku
- Receive money from CRS, contribution towards building of temporary housing for villagers affected by disaster
- Suku council members and community members contribution. E.g. Collect the contribution from the community and SC members to buy the water for the youth who are playing the foot ball for *desportu komunitaria*.

Who is charge of managing the village funding?

- SEFOPE \$3, paid directly by SEFOPE
- PAAS activities - \$240/year from government (Estatal) – kept by XS
- 20th May- last year UAU received \$300. This year \$800 for the whole sub-district. – XS controls the money
- Incentives to SC members: per month \$85 for XS, \$30 for everyone else. XS collect the cash once every 3 month at Estatal in Baucau and distributes it to the rest of the members.
- Some activities are managed by two women reps. “Respondent 5 and Respondent 43”. E.g. The fund for rehabilitation Sede Suku was managed by Respondent 5 and Respondent 43 but under XS control.

How does the village plan its expenditure?

- Planed during monthly meeting (from suku documents)

Where are the funds stored?

- XS keeps the money at his house. But usually funds come in small amounts and are specific towards what it can be spent on.
- Dezastré natural – XS and Respondent 5 keep the cash at their homes.

What are the primary expenditures of the local governance structure?

- SC: office supplies, provide snacks during SC meeting; construction and renovation of sede suku
- Celebration of national days, e.g. 20th of May

How are these expenditures monitored?

- Suku council meetings
- XS provides report about the expenses
- Official village documents, accessed primarily by members of SC

How do other villagers know about these expenditures?

- The SC does not provide information for the villages about their expenditures. Only provide information during SC meetings. XAs are expected to tell the villagers about it. But villagers don't know anything about these expenditures.

5.4.3 *Collective action among groups*

What village institutions does the local governance cooperate with?

- Church: Combined suku church rehabilitation
- Church: DC-1.1 lowlands chapel repairs
- Youth groups, through football activities
- Ex XS, teachers, health workers, veterans, katekista are invited to participate in monthly meetings and can also raise issues during the meeting
 - E.g. teacher from DC-1.1 highlands

Describe the planning and implementation of collective action within the village

- Suku council meetings, representatives are invited, have discussion, and then actions are taken.

Why do villagers cooperate/ not cooperate?

- Limpeza jerál – no participation
- Villagers not involved in keeping the sede suku clean
- Not-cooperate, because it doesn't involve payment, live too far from facility, are not included/invited to participate (vulnerable, marginalized, those in Bairro 1)
- Not involved in construction activities because the XS contracted people to work on it

How do village council and community groups interact with sub-district/ district institutions?

- XS participates in monthly meeting in district and sub-district
- Women in the suku council participate in meetings (organized by TAF) at Postu

- Veterans registration and validation conducted at Postu
- PAAS participates in meeting in District

Describe main constraints to collective action

- CPD-RDTL not invited to participate because of their anti-establishment activities
- SC exclude individuals by choice, in particular the elderly, those without enough education or knowledge (without *vizauun uitoan*)
- The elitist system used in the village governance excludes certain groups in the suku

5.4.4 Communication strategies

Describe methods of socializing village decisions

- SC decisions are socialized through local authorities, e.g. through XA or xefe uma-kain
- Participants to village meetings where decisions are made are expected to inform their own local communities about decisions (this is why the emphasis on participants who have *vizauun uitoan*)
- Some information are also posted on sede suku walls

Describe main information bottlenecks

- XA may not inform everyone
- Xefe uma-kain may not inform everyone as is the case with a woman in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 who doesn't belong to any of the existing uma-kain
- Governance structure at the uma-kain level is based on families and clans or uma-lisan. So villagers who moved in and settled there may not be informed by the xefe uma-kain.
- Xefe uma-kain usually informs heads of households who may not inform other members of his household, e.g. the elderly, etc.

Describe the villagers satisfaction with the village governance institutions

- Generally villagers say nice things about the SC. Villagers in Bairo 1 feel otherwise.
- Some villagers also feel that they should be involved in village activities, be consulted at least. A villager in DC-1.1 highlands says that decisions need to be a bottom-up process, not top-down.

6. Public goods

6.1 Formation of Infrastructure Projects

Four projects are selected for analysis in this section: two government owned water projects implemented by private contractors, one construction project implemented by the suku council to renovate the sede suku, and one community project implemented by the Catholic church to renovate the ailing local church. An additional community project to open a village road is also used to complement the analysis. The other projects will also be used as part of the analysis.

Of the five projects, three of them were completed while the other two encountered problems along the way and therefore remained incomplete during at the time of the fieldwork. The projects also attracted varying degree of participation from the community but are simplified into high and low participation to facilitate the analysis.

These projects are as follows:

Project	Type	Implementing agency	Participation	Outcome
Aldeia DC-1.1-Aldeia 4's water project	Community	Government	High	completed
Combined suku church project	Group	Community	Low	incomplete
DC-1.1 lowlands water project	Community	Government	High	incomplete
Sede Suku renovation	Group (Local Governance Institution)	Government	Low	completed
DC-1.1 highlands road construction in aldeia DC-1.1-Aldeia 1	Community	Government	High	completed

6.1.1 *Project selection and decision-making process*

Describe how villagers identify the need for projects

Community wide projects, such as roads and water systems, are identified through high community participation. The identification arose from general community necessity to access a particular facility gaining therefore wide support among community members.

For government projects, the process involves public consultation at village meetings open to everyone. These meetings are announced by the local authorities such as xefe aldeia and xefe uma-kain who would visit households to inform their constituents about these events. The water projects in DC-1.1 lowlands and DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 were identified this way.

Historically the villagers never had any water system installed in their area. They have always collected water from far away, sometimes walking up to 4km. Vulnerable villagers relied on rainwater or other natural sources because they are not physically capable of collecting water. Access to water has always been a priority for the villagers. One of the respondents in DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, a farmer, for example explained that water was his highest priority for the village.⁴⁸

Informally the villagers have always talked about the lack of water and have brought up the issue with village authorities such as the xefe aldeia and the xefe suku. After the new village structure was elected in 2009, villagers were also required to select development priorities for the next five years through a program called PDS (*Programa Desenvolvimento Suku*). As part of the PDS process, public meetings were held in all aldeias to allow villagers to discuss and select their development needs. Although this meeting was open to everyone, not all villagers could participate for different reasons. The schedule of the meeting was announced by the xefe aldeia and the xefe uma-kain by visiting every household in their aldeia. The xefe uma-kain usually conducts this process as they live closest to their village community however the xefe aldeia also helps in this process with some households such that of an elderly couple in DC-1.1-Aldeia 4.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the more vulnerable

⁴⁸DC-1.1_20140605_Respondent 39_farmer (notes).docx, p. 3

⁴⁹DC-1.1_20140604_Respondent 38_farmer (notes).docx, p. 1

members of the community are left out as is the case of Respondent 12, an elderly villager of DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 who is partially blind. According to Respondent 12, her blindness stops her from being included in village activities:

We are blind so they never inform us about anything.⁵⁰

Other villagers however did not participate in this meeting for personal reasons. Respondent 38 for example was one of those villagers who did not take place because she had to stay back to look after her house. Instead, her husband represented her at the meeting.

The opening of a road in DC-1.1 highlands also involved wide community participation in its process. The villagers identified this project because they needed a road to transport materials for the construction of their uma-lulik.

Projects which had limited benefit to villagers were identified by the leaders and excluded community participation. With the renovation projects for the sede suku and the Combined suku church, group leaders initiated the plans. The Combined suku church which needed community wide support in terms of funding made public announcement of this plan during mass services. However, the suku council did not make any public announcement of their plans as the funding came from the government through *Estatál* (Ministry of State Administration).

Describe the decision making process for such projects

Community wide projects, such as roads and water systems, generally selected by the villagers in an open meeting. Community arose their priorities and conducted an open discussion to talk about the important of the needs.

For government projects, the project selection begins at aldeia level through a public meeting which is organized by local leaders such as xefe aldeia and xefe uma-kain. Villagers who have informed about the reunion and participated in the meeting were involved in the decision making process. The decisions were made through the discussion among the villagers and decided by a consensus building which was everyone agreed on. There was no show of hand decision making.

Furthermore, local leaders including xefe aldeia and xefe uma-kain appointed the representatives to attend the meeting at suku level. The villagers those who were vocal point and have *viçuan* were appointed to be the aldeia representatives. According to the villagers, only 20 villagers each aldeia were selected by community leaders to attend the process at suku which called *Paralelizmo* meeting. Most community members were not included in the suku meeting. The decision making was used a show of hands to select the projects. Everyone participated in *Paralelizmo* was involved in the decision making process for more than 20 projects.

However, for community group project, the decision making was only conducted once at aldeia level. The villagers who have uma lulik and have informed about the reunion participated in the decision making process. According to a xefe uma kain in DC-1.1 highlands, everyone should agree on the decision.

Everybody should agree on that because we all have uma lulik in this area.⁵¹

⁵⁰DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 12_Disability (notes).docx, p. 3

⁵¹DC-1.1_20140529_Respondent 27_FarmerXefeUmaKain (notes).docx, p. 1

Local government project, for instance the rehabilitation of sede suku, the decision making was made only by the local leaders during the regular meeting. Every member of suku council who participated in the ordinary group meeting was engaged in the decision making process. The decision was made by show of hands. There was no involvement of the villagers in the decision making process.

With the group project, such as Combined suku church, the decision making was made by the local leaders and church leaders as well as the government group project. Nevertheless, there was no voting or show of hands in the decision making process. Only consensus was used by the leaders who participated in the meeting.

Describe how villagers cooperate with external actors in the project selection process

Generally, the government projects in large scale such as water systems and community group project, e.g. Combined suku church, the local leaders cooperated well with external actors. Community leaders collaborated with the villagers from outside on getting the sources.

Government projects, community leaders such as xefe suku, xefe aldeia and lia nain negotiated with the xefe suku and villagers from Neighboring Suku 1 to access the water resources. For instance, the water system to DC-1.1 lowlands, community heads made an agreement with the xefe suku of Neighboring Suku 1 on water source from an aldeia in neighboring suku 1 to access. Moreover, the village heads with xefe suku Neighboring Suku 1 coordinated with the source owner to pipe a section of the source below the main source. Besides, the main source had been given to the Catholic mission in Neighboring Suku 1. Though, the village leaders did not negotiate with the catholic priest from the mission who has piped the water to the location of the mission.

Church group project, the church heads cooperated with the suku council members and elderly villagers for planning the rehabilitation of Combined suku church. Suku authorities and elderly villager were engaged through a committee for renovation. Local heads such as xefe aldeia and xefe uma kain were in charged to collect the grant contribution from the community. A part of that, Combined suku church leaders had a good coordination with DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 parish priest as well for managing of the grants. – **Respondent 16**

6.1.2 Project planning

How do villagers plan the construction process?

Community spacious projects, basically, community were caught up in the construction work. Xefe aldeia and xefe uma kain mobilized the villagers to participate. Community also voluntarily brought their own tools for the manufactures.

For government projects, the contractors was hired by the government for implement the projects. The government selected the contractors through the company tenderization. The company which won the process could be hired. Furthermore, the contractors hired the workers for constructing the projects. Companies also invited the villagers to participate in the manufactures. Whereas, there was no payment involved for the community participation in the construction works. Only those that benefited from the facility participated. The villagers were too happy to help on the work. However, the villagers those did not advantage would only participate if they were paid.

Villagers' project, such as road to DC-1.1 highlands, community who had *uma lulik* in Bairo 3 participated voluntarily in the work. No payment was involved during the construction as well. Although, only villagers those had *uma lulik* participated in the work.

Group projects, the projects were implemented through a committee of the construction. The committee was only involved the village leaders, except for the committee of renovation of Combined suku church which was headed by an elderly villager.

For government group project, the committee was headed by xefe suku and two women representatives were engaged to be the treasurers. The workers were appointed by sefe suku and xefe aldeia to be hired for the construction. The recruitment was not transparent for the villagers because did not involve the villagers in the recruitment process. According to a village leader, some community members were disappointed of the system of recruitment for the workers due to the recruitment that not involved everyone to participate. Only hired builders were involved in the construction as well as the renovation of Combined suku church. – **Respondent 25**

“Villagers usually talk about their behavior but their faces were as already covered with buffalo skins so they never they are like the deaf”.

How are financial resources managed?

Generally, for government projects, the funds came from the government. Government funded the projects through the writing proposals which were written by suku authorities.

For the infrastructures in large scale, the government granted more than \$100.000 each project such as the water systems in DC-1.1 lowlands and DC-1.1-Aldeia 4. The government offered the funds for the construction through the contractor which was hired to implement the project. The money handling was also directly managed by the company. The company managed the expenditure for supplying the materials and hiring the workers. However, for the small scale construction, the project was granted less than \$5.000. The government offered the funds to the suku council to handle such as the village authorities who involved in the committee for the construction. The commission was in charged to manage the expenses. The funds were kept by the Xefe suku and managed by the treasurers. Only the village leaders aware about the grants of the project. Villagers did not know how much money spent for the government projects -**Respondent 18**

Besides, there were no funds from the government for the community projects. For the village projects which was financial included, such as church groups’ project, the funds came from the community contribution. The donation was collected through the circulated letter which was written by xefe suku. The money contributions were \$5 per households, \$1 per youth and \$20 per public servant. The donation was kept by the sub-district parish priest because Combined suku church was under of parish administration. The church leader, such as catechist managed the spending. -**Respondent 16**

In contrary, there was no money involved in the community infrastructure project. For instance, villagers opened new road to Bairro 3 without any fund for the construction. The villagers brought their own food, materials and tools for work.

How do villagers obtain necessary construction materials?

Community spacious projects, villagers were organized by the local leaders such as xefe aldeia and xefe uma-kain to contribute voluntarily their materials for the infrastructure. Villagers brought their materials to the place of the project.

For government projects, contractors supplied non local materials from district and sub-district level, as well as local materials which were transported from far away, such as sands. Villagers those were benefited by the facility supplied the local materials such as stones and wood for the manufactures. Villagers who stayed far

away from the facility did not participate in contributing the objects. However, for community project, no one from external actor helped on providing the materials. Only community itself supplied the objects. -

Respondent 27

For groups' projects, such as sede suku and Combined suku church, the materials were not obtained from the villagers. For sede suku, the builders were in charged to organize the objects. According to a local leader, the only workers knew the necessary materials for the renovation. Besides, for Combined suku church, the objects were ordered by the village and church leader such as xefe suku and *ministru*.

How do villagers coordinate to complete the projects?

Community wide projects, community was coordinate to involve in the construction works. Aldeia heads such as xefe aldeia and xefe uma-kain were taken part to synchronize the villagers.

Government projects, such as water systems, the aldeia representatives proposed the villagers' needs to the suku authorities for the further selection. Apart of that, the villagers those who live near to the facility were negotiated to offer their properties such as land for pipes to gone through and plants to cut. Villagers were also mobilized to participate in the works of construction.

However, community project, such as road to DC-1.1 highlands, villagers who have *uma lulik* in Bairo 3 proposed their priority to aldeia authorities. Local leaders mobilized the villagers to participate in the construction. Not everyone participated in the manufacture. The elderly villagers and the villagers who did not have *uma lulik* did not participate.

According to the interviewer, the workers were recruited by the xefe suku and xefe aldeia to work for the group projects. The builders came from the village and hired to construct the buildings. There was no involvement of any part of the community in the group's projects, except for Combined suku church. Villagers were involved in money contribution for the rehabilitation of church.

Describe how villagers cooperate with external actors in the project implementation process

There were diverse ways used by the implementers of the projects to work with the villagers during the implementation of the government projects. Local leaders were an important indicator to mobilize the villagers to help the implementers and contractors.

The infrastructure projects, such as water systems, the contractors contacted community leaders such as xefe aldeia to synchronize the villagers to participate in the manufacture. The villagers who were not benefited by the facility did not take part in the construction. The villagers worked for the construction without any part of the payment. However, the villagers who worked for building the tank for water system to DC-1.1 lowlands got paid by the company. They were paid \$200 each water tank. The tank was built by the villagers in the group by 6 to 10 members.

Whereas, suku authorities only coordinated with the specific workers to build the government groups' project. The workers were from the village and two workers each aldeia. They were hired by suku council. There was no one from other site intended for suku council to coordinate with.

The builders worked with the builders from Neighboring Suku 1 to renovate the church of Combined suku. They were hired directly by sub-district parish priest due to the mission management which was under sub-

district parish. Xefe suku and *ministru* also coordinate with CARITAS Baucau to order the objects of construction. CARITAS Baucau is associated with the Diocese of Baucau.

What are the primary constraint to the construction process?

Generally, there were no constraints occurred towards the projects during the construction in the village. Villagers were too happy to cooperate with the leaders and contractors to implement the projects.

- Land dispute in DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 during the construction of DC-1.1 highlands to another suku road
- Not enough funds
- Risk of damage to private properties during construction

6.1.3 Project implementation (Recruitment, logistics, financial reporting, problems)

How the villagers recruit necessary workers;

Sede suku renovation-worker hire by suku council

Combined suku church repair-worker hire by priest

Water system to DC-1.1 lowlands and DC-1.1-Aldeia 4-community involve in the project without pay

Road repair to DC-1.1 lowlands-communities were informed by xefealdeia for \$.3 project

6.1.4 Resource management

How are the construction materials stored?

- Sedesuku renovation – materials are left at the construction site
- DC-1.1 highlands chapel – materials placed at the church
- Electrical posts left on the side of the road
- Pipes for the construction of the water system also placed around the site

How are they distributed?

- Sede Suku renovation-suku council coordinate with the worker and worker purchase the materials
- DC-1.1 highlands chapel – communities contribute stones for the construction
- Electricity - Company hire local villager to dig the hole for electric post and concreted the post
- Water system to DC-1.1-Aldeia 4-company hire the villager to construct the tank
- Water system to DC-1.1 lowlands-company tell to xefealdeia and xefealdeia tell to xefeumakain and community to participate in the construction

How are they used or reused?

- Sedesuku repair-around \$.400 leave over, the suku council use refer money for the construction of suku kitchen
- Materials in the water system (pipes) looted after water stopped running, but the metal tanks seem to be untouched although not in use.

6.1.5 *Development outcomes*

What other factors commonly constrain the equity, efficiency, and impact of local public goods and services?

- Distance to facilities, which affects access, participation
- Electricity not reaching some households who do not live near the posts
- Villagers who live near the main roads enjoy most of the associated economic and social benefits, e.g. access to the local market, running businesses
- Villagers who live far from the main road cannot access services such as ambulance
- Disabled

Why do projects fail/succeed?

The district administrator of Baucau said during his interview that projects which normally encounter problems are those that are implemented by the central government. Projects which are initiated and implemented by villagers don't usually encounter problems.⁵²

Why they fail

- Lack community support because the project is not inline with actual community's development priority. In the case of the Combined suku church, the community of both sukus (DC-1.1 and Neighboring Suku 1) made insufficient contribution towards the construction.
- Problem identification of resources (low participation) – water to DC-1.1 lowlands.
- Poor coordination with other players such as the Catholic mission in an aldeia of neighboring suku 1 in the case of the DC-1.1 lowlands water project. The suku council also may not feel empowered enough in the face of other more powerful external actors such as the Catholic mission in an aldeia in neighboring suku 1.

Why they succeed

- Greater inclusiveness, which leads to higher participation and community's willingness to contribute to the successful completion of the project.
- Projects are determined based on the community's actual needs, or at least based on the needs of the key stakeholders (e.g. the sede suku renovation).

What is the quality of existing development projects?

- Sede suku is completed and there was cash left over which was used to add an extension (a kitchen) at the back
- Roads need to be sealed as they deteriorate after sometime, mainly due to rain
- Renovation of Combined suku chapel remains to be completed, awaiting further funding

What are the main inefficiencies and leakages in these projects?

- Farmers form groups to obtain trucks, which villagers say end up being privatized
- A farmers' group used names family members to form group in order to apply for hand tractors
- Groups form along political party line in order to facilitate request for government assistance

⁵²DC-1.1_20140527_AntonioAparicioGuterres_DABaucau (notes).docx, p. 2

- Recruitment of workers not transparent, in particular of projects owned by the Catholic church
- Construction materials in danger of being looted or destroyed

6.2 Explanatory cases

6.2.1 *Water system to DC-1.1 lowlands – failed*

This is a government funded project which has been identified as priority by the stakeholders. Community participation in identifying this priority was high. This project however encountered problems and failed to deliver.

The community in DC-1.1 lowlands never had any water system connected to their village. Historically they have been collecting water from natural sources far from their homes. During dry season, some villagers had to walk between 3 and 4km in difficult terrain to access water. The need for an accessible water system in the village is felt by every villager. Villagers have talked about this need informally with their local leaders, in particular the xefe aldeia and the xefe suku. When the villagers were given the opportunity to select their suku's development priorities for the next five years, the communities in DC-1.1-Aldeia 4 and DC-1.1-Aldeia 3 chose water among other projects.

In DC-1.1-Aldeia 3, the xefe suku communicated with the xefe aldeia to hold a public in his aldeia so villagers can put forward their ideas about what should be their development priorities for the next five years. Xefe aldeia and xefe uma-kain informed the villagers about this meeting which was held at the local Catholic school. The xefe uma-kain went house to house to inform households about this meeting. However not everyone received a visit from neither the xefe aldeia or the xefe uma-kain. During the meeting, villagers selected water, electricity and roads. These priorities were then sent to the suku level government for further consideration. This project will included in the overall suku priority to be decided at a meeting in the sede suku.

The suku meeting to select the village's priority is called Paralelismo. According to the xefe suku, this system was introduced to the village by Ministry of State Administration.

This suku meeting was not open to every villager. Instead, each aldeia sent a delegation consisting of 20 representatives. The representatives were appointed by the xefe aldeia through xefe uma-kain. Only villagers deemed to be vocal and are able to represent the aldeia's interest were appointed.

At the suku meeting, the representatives listed all their priorities. There were 21 projects in all. A number of them, such as water, electricity and roads, were sponsored by all four aldeias. Representatives compared all projects in pairs. The project which received most votes was listed as having higher priority. Representatives used show-of-hands to select the projects. The water project came at number 8 in the order of priority after road repair and maintenance, community centres, electricity, community training and tarabandu.

The xefe suku then sends all the priorities to the sub-district administration for further consideration. The projects are listed in the order of priority as decided at the suku meeting. A few months later the government approved the water project and construction began October and finished in December of 2010.

The central government hired the contractors. The contractors managed the implementation of the project. Workers and construction materials were arranged by the contractor. The contractor also managed the project's funds.

Prior to the implementation of the project, the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias of DC-1.1 lowlands negotiated with the owners of the water in an aldeia, which is part of suku Neighboring Suku 1. The xefe suku of

Neighboring Suku 1 also participated in the negotiation. The source of the water was selected by the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias.

However part of the water had already been given to the Catholic mission in an aldeia in Neighboring suku 1. The DC-1.1 lowlands water project was granted some of the water from the spring. A traditional ceremony was also conducted. The villagers also promised to pay the owners with one buffalo.

During the construction of the water system, the contractors also invited the villagers to provide assistance. The contractors asked the xefe aldeias to mobilise their villagers to help with parts of the construction.

The xefe uma-kain invited the household members. But not everyone received an invitation. Elderly community members were not approached because they are not fit enough to take part.

The villagers helped carry construction materials such as water pipes to the site. They also brought other materials such as stones to be used in the construction. Others dug the ground to bury the pipes. The villagers did not receive any payment for their work.

The company also hired other villagers to build water tanks. The materials were supplied by the contractor. The villagers offered only labour and were paid \$200 per tank. Each group was formed between 6 and 10 people.

But not every villager wanted to participate in the construction unless they were paid, especially those who lived far from the facility. They would only participate if they were paid because they said they won't be using the facility.

This project was completed. The villagers also formed a water maintenance committee to maintain the system. Government agency, SAS (water and sanitation services), provided training to the group.

But the water stopped about one month later. The head of the Catholic mission school in neighboring suku 1 paid the water owner with eight buffaloes in order to completely secure access to the water. The water canals were concreted, sealing off water towards DC-1.1 lowlands. When the water stopped, some villagers bore holes in some of the pipes hoping to draw water from it. Water pipes were also looted. The tanks are abandoned and are covered with grass.

6.2.2 Renovation of sede suku – completed

This project was funded by the government and implemented by the suku council. The project was identified and selected by the suku council.

Members of the suku council identified this project because parts of the sede suku building was crumbling and a tree near the building fell on top of it causing some damages. The PAAS added that the building could no longer protect suku documents and office equipment.

The decision to renovate the building was adopted at a meeting by suku council members during the council's monthly meeting. The members of the suku council discussed about this project and voted in favour of the renovation.

Then the suku council also appointed a group of people, drawn from the council membership, to manage the implementation process. The appointment was made through consensus. The xefe suku became the coordinator and the two women's representatives became treasurers. The treasurers managed the project's funds and its expenditure.

The xefe suku then wrote a proposal to the government. The government approved the proposal and provided a grant between \$3,000 and \$5,000. The xefe suku received the money and kept the money at his house.

The renovation project was controlled by the suku council and there was no participation by members of the public.

The xefe suku then informed the xefe aldeias to recruit workers from their aldeias. Each aldeia was to send two people to participate in the works. The xefe aldeias appointed the workers based on their previous experiences. Some villagers were disappointed with the recruitment process but the xefe aldeia of DC-1.1-Aldeia 1 explained that there were not enough funds to hire more people.

After the workers have been selected, the suku council held a meeting with them to discuss and decide on what materials to purchase. The workers were in charge of the purchase of the materials which are decided at the meeting.

Only the hired workers were involved in the construction. The female youth rep participated in the construction process by preparing meals for the workers.

This project did not encounter any problems during the implementation. After the completion, around \$400 remained and the suku council members decided to use it to build a small extension behind the sede suku.

LBS Village Report:
DC-1.2 (Lautem District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

Programa Nasionál de Dezenvolvimentu Village (PNDS) is Timor-Leste's nationwide community-driven development program (CDD) that will provide annual grants to fund small-scale infrastructure projects at village level. These grants seek to empower communities and provide them with opportunities to directly plan and implement priority village infrastructures in order to accelerate community development in line with the goals of the Government's National Strategic Development Plan. To achieve this, PNDS will work through and seek to improve local governance mechanisms. Hence by looking at specific villages, this report seeks to determine the following questions: what is the current state of the local governance? How have the villagers dealt with government projects in the past? This report will focus on DC-1.2, a peri urban mountainous village in the district of Lautem, to provide some of the answers.

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the village of DC-1.2 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects. The conclusion of this report will contribute towards the overall baseline assessment which will seek to answer the following questions: how will PNDS fit into the local governance context? What are the characteristics of the local institutions which PNDS might engage with? How will the engagement between PNDS and local institutions be conducted? What role will other village development projects play in the implementation of PNDS?

1. Methodology

The village considered in this study falls into the territory's eastern region, called East, and it encompasses the districts of Lautem, Viqueque and Baucau. Based on the Qualitative Field Study (QualSF) sampling strategy, the national territory of Timor-Leste has been divided into six regions to ensure regional coverage: Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave.¹ The required sampling criteria for the Eastern region are: level of urbanization and share of veterans in the village. The opposite extremes of both variables are explored (Table 1).

Region	Cases to be selected (4 total)
East	High Veteran and Peri-Urban Low Veteran and Peri-Urban High Veteran and Rural Low Veteran and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Eastern Region

In order to determine the urbanization level of villages in this region, the 2010 Census Fó Fila was reviewed. A dataset outlining the population for each village was created. Afterwards, the village population share of the district population was computed. Then a regional average (2.84%) was

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP

computed. Given low variance in the village population share in the dataset, villages that were a quarter standard deviations above the mean (2.84%) were considered as “peri-urban”, while the ones below this benchmark were labeled as rural. After reviewing the Timor-Leste District Atlas (2008), **the regional average of village public institutions was computed (3.66)**. Villages that were a quarter standard deviations above the mean were labeled as “peri-urban”, while the remaining were placed in the “rural” quadrants of the sampling matrix. Both assigned labels for each village were compared and the final label was assigned on a case-by-case basis.

After obtaining the number of veterans per village from the Secretariat of Veteran Affairs of Timor-Leste², and calculating the share of veterans population in each village, a regional average share of veterans in a village (10.73%) was computed. This figure was then used as a benchmark. Villages, in which the shares of veterans is 10.73% or above were placed in the “High Veterans” quadrant of the sampling matrix, while the remaining ones were placed in the “Low Veterans” quadrant.

A village from a different district was sampled in each quadrant to ensure national coverage. The districts that had the largest share of Phase III villages in each quadrant were preferred.

Following the sampling method described above, this study will consider villages placed in the peri urban low veterans quadrant of the sampling matrix. The villages from the Lautem district which fulfill this sampling strategy are DC-1.2 and two other villages.

Additional sampling criteria are also used to narrow the selection. Key informants at the district administrative level are consulted in turn for this purpose. The informants were asked about the different characteristics of the candidate villages to see if there are any interesting features which match list additional selection criteria.³ For this study, the Lautem district administrator, Mr. Zeferino S SequDC-2.1-Aldeia 2, was approached and he suggested that the study should focus on the village of DC-1.2. An additional sampling criterion that was used to determine DC-1.2 as the study village was the majority of the populations are catholic. However, this village is also generally monolingual except for another ethno-linguistic group which speaks Makasa’e and make up 12% of the population. This feature coincides with one of the additional selection criteria, namely the variable ethno-linguistic heterogeneity.

2.1. Data collection

The data for this qualitative study were obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the period of May 27th until June 7th of 2014. A total of 36 villagers were interviewed face-to-face in various locations in the village, whether at a meeting place or at a workplaces (village office, school office or church), or at private residences. Some of the interviews were recorded and complemented with hand-written notes. For respondents who declined to have their interviews recorded or simply the interview was inform and was not recording done, the researchers relied only on handwritten notes.

Respondents were selected using three sampling methods: convenience, purposive and snowball. With purposive sampling, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe village and aldeias) or as having power to affect village level development policies, such as the district administrator. For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend potential individuals whom could be approached to obtain information. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. The individuals in this

² Officially known as *Secretariado de Estado para os Assuntos dos Antigos Combatentes da Libertação Nacional*.

³ PNDS-MEP Concept Note, p. ??

sampling group included people whom researchers approached while they took part in an activity or were at their place of residence.

A number of observations were also conducted. The events observed include a Virgin Marry procession, village council meeting with community, observing community building water tank, mother group feeding school children and youth working in their volley ball court. Researchers also used official village documents to obtain additional data. Some of the documents included the village's official records on population, village council meetings, public projects. Other documents were posted on the interior office walls or on noticeboards outside and they included population data, village maps and information on public projects.

2.2. Sampling of respondents

Majority of respondent are people who's daily occupation is farming, even a civil servant who work as teacher or police have farming activities in their spare time, therefore the details respondent by occupation in the table below does not reflect the idea that people who are working as teacher only do teaching however the separation of profession is aim to draw the picture of difference perspective is covered during the sample selection. (Table 3).

Total respondent interviewed for this study were 36 people and the duration of the study was 9 days excluding travel time and one day debrief. This figure means that in average three researchers conduct four interview per day. 55% of the respondents were male and female was only 45% interviewed. The respondents are dominated by male in the interview because majority of purposive and snowballing sample are male respondents.

This figure does show that female representation is less in proportion compare to population data however 5% difference is believe that will not have significant impact of the result of the analysis.

By Gender	Male	20	Profession	Farmers	17
	Female	16		Village council members	9
By Age	< 25	4		Retirees	2
	26-39	9		Teachers	3
	40-54	12		Business	1
	55-70	8		Sub District Administration	1
	71-80	2		Student	2
	>80	1		District administrator	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	12			
	Snowball	10			
	Convenience	14			

Table 2. Sample respondents

3. Description of the village⁴

3.1. Village profile

Base on the sapling method it was identify that district of Lautem has a village that fit into the sampling criteria of low veteran and peri urban. Lautem is located in the eastern part of the Timor-Leste Island with area size of 1,813 square km. The population of the district is registered to be 60,218 inhabitants and consider being one of the least populated districts in Timor-Leste. DC-1.2 was among the three villages that was suggested by Lautem district administrator to be consider for the study, later using additional sampling criteria DC-1.2 was selected as the village to explore for the study.

DC-1.2 is located in the southern part of the sub district capital with area size of 27.25 square km. The village is sharing the borders with three villages. In the northeast, DC-1.2 village share border with Neighboring suku 1, Neighboring suku 2 is in the West and in southeast border with Neighboring suku 3, one of village of sub district (see figure1). DC-1.2 has four hamlets or Aldeia namely DC-1.2-Aldeia 3, DC-1.2-Aldeia 2, DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 4.

Communities living this village are all living along the road. Distance between Aldeia are varied, DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 separated by main road going into both Aldeias. The village office is located in DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 which is very close to communities in DC-1.2-Aldeia 1. The other two Aldeias, DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 are living 5km and 9km away respectively. DC-1.2 is about minutes drive to the capital of Sub District and about 20 minutes away from District Capital by car.

Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 is administratively seats under the rule of DC-1.2 village because the Aldeia is geographically part of DC-1.2 however primary school that operates in DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 is administer under central school of Neighboring suku 3 village. This separation was done in 2004 as part of the new policy to make primary school reporting to central school administratively. Central School is the school that led by a director who manages more than one primary school.

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, data for this report is sourced from the government's 2010 population census.

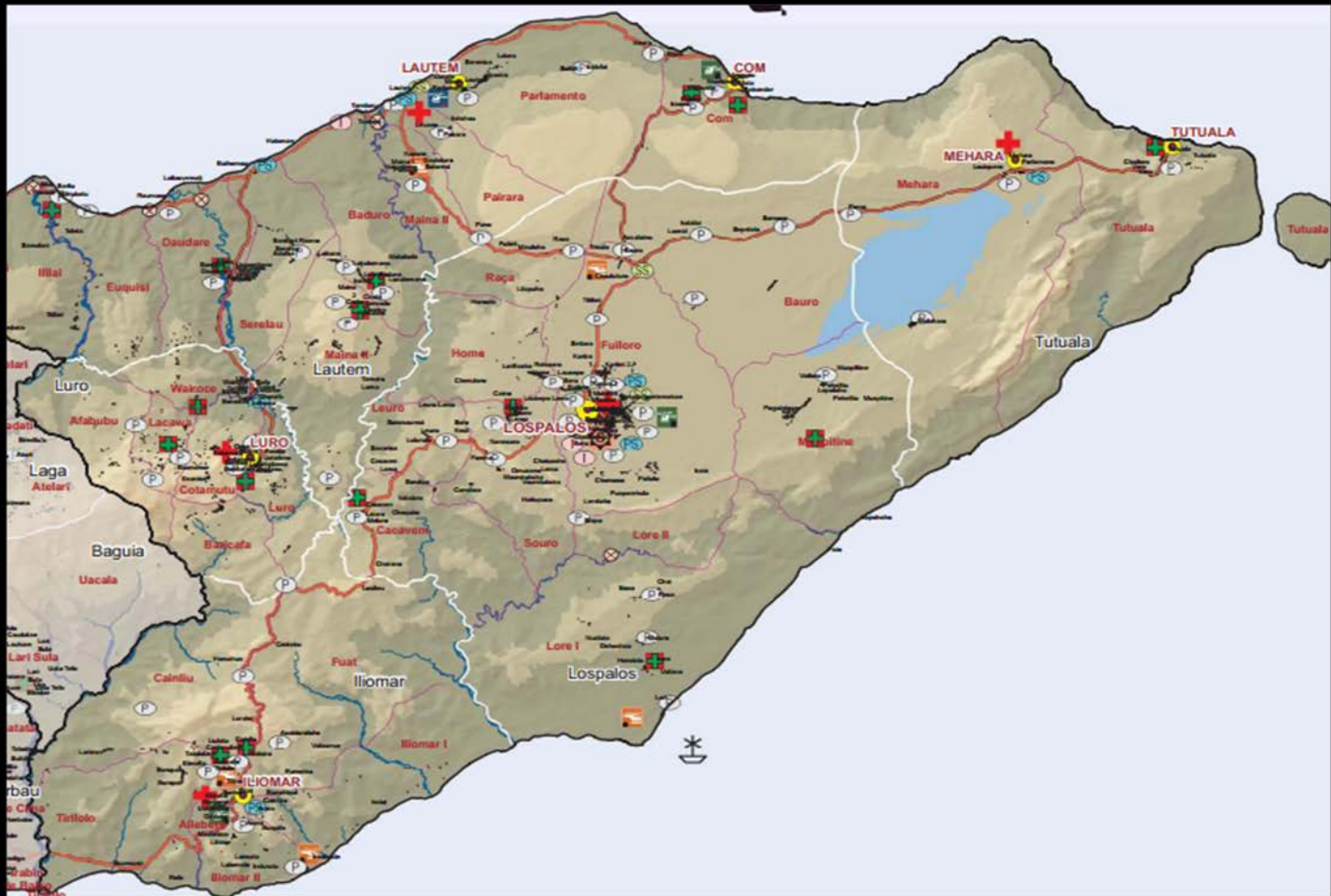


Figure 1. Map of Village DC-1.2. Source: Timor-Leste District Atlas version 02, August 2008, UNMIT

3.2. Population

Total population of DC-1.2 village based on census report is about 2000 inhabitants that organized in 326 households. The ratio between male and female is accounted for 1.3% of female population higher than male. This study identifies two discrepancies in the population data. First, the total census population by village does not add up to sum of Aldeia population and second was that number of population collected from field is higher compare to census data and this is due to the time difference. Populations of DC-1.2 were 2257 inhabitant at the time of the study (8th June 2014) or have increased by 19% in four years. This figures shows that the population growth in this village is significantly high with 4.75% per annum or 1.25% higher compare to national population growth. Figure 2 shows population by district and gender using census 2010 report.

People in DC-1.2 predominately speaks Fatuluku in their daily communication among them with significant number of them understand and speaks Tetum Prasa. There is two other dialects that is spoken by community in the village and those are Makasae and Bekais. This data is based on census report however study did not able to find a villager who can provide more information about the dialect. Below figures illustrate percentage of dialect in DC-1.2

3.3. Development and Livelihoods profile

The literacy rate for people aged between 15 and 24 in Iliheu is 85% which is higher than Manatuto district and national rate of 74.76% and 79.09% respectively. Adult literacy rate is less than 60% and has about the same rate with district and national rate. Enrolment rate of DC-1.2 village is slightly higher than district and national rate, village enrolment is 47% where district is 40% and nationwide is 37%.

Government plan is to have 100% literacy rate for age group 15-24 years old and 70% target for adult age over 15 years old by 2015 and enrolment rate target of 80% nationwide. There was not data available in the village to when the field visit was conducted however respondents include village chief indicate that there are only few people enroll at higher education level. Census report show that about 5% of the village resident is enrolling in higher education.

The above figures show more effort needed by all party in working toward the national targets. At the village level, authorities are taken education as one of the development priority and have engaged with development partners such as donors, non government organization and central government to improve education infrastructure in the village as well as encourage parents to contribute in assisting their children attendance.

Health service in DC-1.2 is based on monthly visit by SISCAs mobile units for a day. Other normal day for health service need is attended by Lautem Health center which is about 10 minutes drive. Midwife assistance is 25.2% which is slightly lower compare to District and about 8% lower to national service. The village use to have health post under Indonesian administration but it was destroyed prior to independent.

National rate for infant mortality is 44 died in 1000 birth where maternal mortality rate is 557 in 100,000 mothers given birth. In national level infant mortality has achieved its target of less than 53 in 1000 birth where maternal mortality is still way behind the target which is 252 in 100,000 mothers given birth. There was no data available both in village and national reports on infant and

maternal mortality rate for DC-1.2 village. It was informed by village chief that they have experience no infant and maternal mortality problem under his nine years of leadership⁵.

Other infrastructure such as water, elasticity and road are relatively very good. Clean water is accessible by majority of the villagers; it was accounted for over 80% of the people living in the village have access to clean water. Observation during the field study shows that every five household in three Aldeia serve by one water point or people only walk less than 50 meters to access clean water. DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 is the only Aldeia in the village that currently still working on its clean water project which is estimate to be completed by the end of this year⁶.

Electricity project was completed in 2012 with installation of electricity for lighting to every house under 30 meters distance and Road was constructed under Indonesian time and is till useable with minor repairs in some parts of the road. There are still some household yet to access to electricity however effort from local authority have progressed and is expected to be resolved soon⁷. There is no information about the road and the village council has indicated that road is an urgent item to look at. Sanitation is consider to be better at about little less than 60% which is very close to national target of 60% by 2020.

Housing situation in this village is significantly better-off compare to national housing condition. Houses using concrete for wall is only half of national target which is 40% by 2015 but over 80% of the houses in the village have used zinc for roofing. The zinc roofing for houses has exceeded national target of 60% by 2015.

Possession of luxury item by the villagers of DC-1.2 is not very far behind both district and national. DC-1.2 villagers are very high in term of possession of mobile phone which is 66.9% compare to only 54.31% in national level.

Villagers admit that gap between the rich and poor is very small however unemployment in the village is 60.96% or 7% higher than national unemployment rate for the productive age of 15-59 years old. This also mean that the village employment rate is less than 34% so there is a challenge for this village to upgrade its employment rate to 65% in 2030.

Villagers of DC-1.2 are subsystem formers with the main products are maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and pumpkin. Coconut trees are occupied the majority of area in DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 with small portion of coconut trees grow in the other three Aldeias. Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 1, DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 are mountain areas with lots of rocks that affect the fertility of the soil. This situation is conforming by the report that only 55.99% of the people are doing farming in the village.

During the field study villagers have indicated that there are shortages of food every year due to lower food production rate in the village⁸. On the other hand this villagers have more livestock accounted for 81.28% compare to district that is 81.28% and 76.63% nationwide. This situation of livestock could compensate the challenge of food shortage issue in the village.

⁵ Note: DC-1.2_140607_Briefing_Village Chief_Obs_Revisit

⁶ Note: DC-1.2_14-06-02_Respondent 20_XA DC-1.2-Aldeia 3_Note

⁷ Note: DC-1.2 14-06-04-Respondent 27_ Notes

⁸ DC-1.2_14-06-31-Respondent 17-community member,Note.docx

3.4. Historic profile

There is no data on when and how the village name came to be, but there is an area about one kilometre from the village office to the east that called “Nari” which was occupied by people way before Portuguese arrival. People who live in Nari are called “Nari Lata” which many of their descendent are currently living in DC-1.2.

DC-1.2 today was driven by the movement of people during the occupation in 1975 where people were asked to move from their original land to live along the road for better monitoring by the army. This was the reason why people from Nari was moved to this village include some people from different part of Lautem.

One of the oldest clans in the village influences the life of the people in this village for many years now. Looking back to the last two decade alone this village have been lead from individual who come from the dominant clan as village chief since 1988 as well as in the important position in the village and Aldeia. From 1988 to 1998 this village was lead by representative from the dominant clan who manage to protect people from challenges associated with the presence of Indonesian army⁹.

During the violence that followed the 1999 referendum, most of the villager were out of danger with few facilities were burned or destroyed. Many villagers flee to the mountains for their safety and some were forced to leave the village and taken to Indonesia. After the independence this village is the stronghold of Fretilin Party that dominate the politic of the village. Fretilin won the 2001 and 2007 with overwhelming majority for general election. This domination was also reflected in the local government that was lead by leader of Fretilin party in the village.

The village is now more development oriented society since 2005 elections. Community leaders as well as political party leaders have come together to agreed on the idea of outing aside the differences and work together for the better life of people. This change was articulated into 30 years vision for better life of people in education, health, and housing.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1. Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1. Identity

In general, villagers are identifying themselves with the Suku through history, marriage, clan ‘uma lulik’ and administrative registration. Refer to the historic profile of the Suku, people who originally from Nari are calling themselves or people refer to them as ‘*Nari Lata*’ or Nari people. ‘Nari Lata’ also recognized as the owner of DC-1.2 especially for the aldeia of DC-1.2-Aldeia 1, DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 3. The spring water used as the sources that are distributing throughout the two aldeias DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 as well as other spring water which is going to use in aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 are belong to the Nari Lata. The Suku Councils with Xefe Suku and Xefe

⁹ DC-1.2_Village Meeting_Audio Checked by_Edio da Costa 14-6-14

aldeias were asking the Nari for allowing suku to manage the water for public use through the clean water project. The Nari Lata led a traditional ceremony as permission for the public to access the water¹⁰. This is explained the reason Nari Lata as the owner of the place. The changed of their living location does not change the identity of whom and where they were.

In the other hand, marriage has an influencing to the identity of people in DC-1.2. When a DC-1.2 man married to a woman outside the Suku and bring her in to the Suku, automatically the woman will become a DC-1.2 and there are also if a man from other Suku that married to a DC-1.2 woman and decided to leave in DC-1.2 for very long time will become people of DC-1.2 including the children¹¹. Despite some people are identifying themselves by history and marriage, there is also clan '*uma lulik*' that become most specification term people use to explain themselves. Clan '*uma lulik*' is explaining the origin of a family. Clan '*uma lulik*' has its structure and position in the society. The Uma Lulik's roles in the society are very strong due to the strengths of culture and costume bound. *Uma* is *House* and *Lulik* is *sacred*, between each sacred house has regulations that make them respect one and another. One of the six clans in the village for generations are the biggest clan living in DC-1.2. People have a tendency to categorize themselves using the clan they belong to. However, not all the generations can tell the story of their *uma lulik* because of its sacred that only the elder man in the *uma lulik* could tell or because it is sacred people afraid to talk about especially about the *uma lulik* Clan 2¹².

Hence, above of all administratively all citizen has registration identification that legally identify people's identity. Those who register in Suku DC-1.2 become the suku population including those who physically not living in the suku. They are still the population of DC-1.2 and in every occasion they will be inviting or ask to be contributing to suku when needed. As the PAAS, Xefe aldeias and Xefe Suku mentioned that they were collected contribution from the population that registered as DC-1.2 people for the inauguration of the clean water project completion. The suku administration knows how many of their population are living outside the suku.

Besides that, people also categorize themselves with religion where a hundred percents of the community are Catholic and baptized. So, from the church side, those are baptized become the community of church and called '*sarani*'. This categorization is very strong in the society and considers as conservative where they cannot accept something new in terms of religion except Catholic. There when the catechist announces in the church after mass that a new religion called '*Yahwe*' has been entered the suku and that about 40 people of '*sarani*' have been joined. This make community does not happy and angry. They consider those followed the new religion has been selling their faith as Catholic¹³.

Affiliation to a political party or a social group even though not as strong as the other categories but it is exists in the suku DC-1.2. Political party is the most social group that got maximum participation from the community. There are 4 parties exist such as Fritilin, CNRT, Fretili Mudanca and PD. People especially the suku council members are openly declare themselves as member of political party. The affiliation to the political party has no impact to the roles and responsibility of the member as local authorities. Besides, the activities of political party in the community is only when the election is coming, for example the suku election and the national election.

Specifically in aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 4, since they have the most productive land for farming they were called '*Lakeru*' or '*Pumpkin*'. It is because the majorities pumpkin production is in DC-1.2-

¹⁰ DC-1.2 14-05-28-Respondent 5_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 Aldeia Chief_Note.docx

¹¹ DC-1.2 14-06-02-Respondent 20_ Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3_Note.docx

¹² Respondent 17;s note.docx

¹³ DC-1.2 14-06-07-Respondent 22 Lopes_Updated_Quotes_Note.docx, pg.6

Aldeia 4. While they grow in farm for self consumption, they also sell it. That is the reason why people from other three aldeias named them pumpkin.

4.1.2. Power and Vulnerability

There are five main characteristics of powerful community members defining in Suku DC-1.2. The characters are based on traditional connection, experiences, external connection, and proactive as well as outspoken. As a women represent in Suku Council, Respondent 22 stated;

'Community prefer leaders that has capacity, braveness, accountability and experience'¹⁴ (Track 140607-003 69:15)"

These characters are what population see from the powerful community members where happen to be the current Xefe Suku, the ex-Xefe Suku in Indonesian time and the woman represent in Suku Council.

For over twenty years (from 1988 to 2014) the Xefe Suku of DC-1.2 were coming from the same clan '*uma lulik*' Clan 1. As a clan that have the biggest represent community in Suku DC-1.2 they have affected the nomination and selection for the Suku leader. They were considering as they are '*Ratu/Liurai*' or King Generation from Clan 1 but that is not the main character needed. The community has been learning to select who is deserved and what requirement should be in that person. Because, even though a person coming from the biggest clan, affiliated to biggest party and older, community also require a proactive and outspoken person who have ability to become a leader as well as has an expanding experiences and good external connection. Communities were concern more about the external relationship that a leader should have to support the external work and coordination¹⁵.

The communities of Suku DC-1.2 traditionally have a very strong culture. Just like most of the people in Timor Leste, the communities of suku DC-1.2 are very loyal to their clan or *uma lulik*. It is reflected from the result of the powerful people as the leader in the suku. They all were coming from the same *uma lulik* of Clan 1 while the majority of DC-1.2 populations are Clan 1. It basically the same where people from each *uma lulik* other than Clan 1 will wants their people to become their leader. It indicate that one source of power in the village is Clan '*uma lulik*'. In the other hand, the others primary sources of power in the village are elected to the formal position and affiliated to a political party. The most powerful position in the Suku is Xefe Suku who is elected and formally swearing in and under Law. The affiliation to the political party and become a coordinator is very influencing in Suku DC-1.2.

The current DC-1.2's Xefe Suku is the owner for the idea of planting as many as possible teak wood/trees. He is doing the nursery for these economic trees and convinces the communities to plant it. It has been doing for over six years and almost all the agriculture land in DC-1.2 has planted with teak wood and some mahogany. It is to support his vision of developing the sustainability economic and food security for the people of DC-1.2 in 20-30 years coming¹⁶. The decision affected to the community where they are willingly doing what he asks.

¹⁴ Quotes 14-06-07-Note.docx, 6.Leadership, pg.1

¹⁵ DC-1.2 -14-06-03 -Respondent 21, Youth Rep, Note.docx, pg.1

¹⁶ Xefe Suku's Note.docx, pg.2

The powerful people also got the control on youth through the position in the political party. The youth who majority from the biggest party in DC-1.2 (Fretilin) are respect the decision of the leader. They are become the controller of some certain things such as; decision on dividing government support, on resolve problem and controlling some activities in the Suku.

Most of those who have power in the village are involving in the suku structure as Xefe Suku, Xefe aldeia, and suku council's members. These people also provide consultancy and advisory support to the community. Ideas, concerns and some specific issues from the community will be brought for discussion in the suku council meeting. Women in the suku are coming to the woman represent for consulting their problems or otherwise. Suku council mostly discusses and debates the priority needs of the community. They are representing formally and legally which gives them power to do so.

All clan 'uma lulik' culturally has its linkage with each other. Clan 1, Clan 2, and the four other clans in the village have family connection with each other. The relationship specified through marriage line. Marriage line is known as '*feto-san and uma-mane*'¹⁷ where a feto-san is the groom's family and the uma-mane is the bride's brothers and the family. The bride and the groom could be coming from any uma lulik. The culture line between both families where the groom will bring cow and the bride will prepare pig and '*Tais*' the traditional clothe in return at any culture or 'adat' ceremony. The ceremony could be marriage known as 'Lia Moris' and death known as 'lia mate'. Each clan 'uma lulik' will prepare things to bring based on who they are stand for. Adding to that, the family who bring cow is forbidden to eat the meat/beef. They can only eat pig's meat and it also applied to the family who bring pig is only allowed to eat beef.

The powerful members can be seen in the culture ceremony when they eat the same sacred beef/meat.

There are no intentionally or unintentionally people have been marginalized in suku DC-1.2. Only when a new religion called 'Yahwe' enters the suku and recruiting new followers. It caused strong reaction from church and the community. The catechist openly announces in the church the people who joined the new religion will be excluded from the church registration and the Catholic list and they are not allowed to issue the birth certificate for themselves and their children¹⁸. From the reaction of the community and the church who are angry as well as the Xefe Suku¹⁹ that was not inform when the new activity held in the suku. There is potential risk of conflict in the community and these people will be marginalized sooner or later. Besides the new religion issue, there are vulnerable people in the suku in term of participation consideration. The vulnerable people are those who are not able to actively engaging in any discussion or decision making in aldeia level and or suku level. Physically these people participate in the meeting. They are coming to the meeting to hear the announcement of something or discussion as a decision making process.

4.1.3. Formal and informal community rules (norms)

The community and the suku authorities are under Law and the Constitution as the formal rules that implementing in Timor Leste. Normally, the communities are suggested to apply for Law and Police intervention when the problem could not resolved in Suku. Usually the problems that

¹⁷ Respondent 24's note.docx, pg.3

¹⁸ Audio recording - catechist

¹⁹ Audio check – XS debrief

involved Law physical conflict between youth that result crime. However, in Suku DC-1.2 the type of conflict rarely exist and almost all that happened can be resolve in Suku level.

The elections Law is one of the written Law that affected directly in the suku besides the order and security Law. The suku authorities are working under the election Law, for instance the suku council members are the only people that can vote in order to make a decision. Moreover there are some norms and the informal or traditional rules in the community.

The practice that is now become customs in the community is the resolution for livestock that destroys people's farms. There is a rule, an unwritten rule, to resolve livestock problem in the community. It helps community to come up to an agreement between two parties who involved. Usually, the case is the community's un- cage livestock destroying a farm. There will be a penalty for the livestock owner. The penalty will be depending on the damage size so the problem can be solved. Everyone in the community knows the process and the rule.

'Tarabandu' as a traditional customs has a very strong rules in the community. This is type of tradition that bound and avoids people to commit the contrast thing. Tarabandu is a type of informal rules and has very strong consequences when people break it. For instance people will get sick or die if they cutting trees and destroy plants or the environments. After doing the Tarabandu ceremony, the land and or the plants are under protection naturally. There were also a land in aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 that known as sacred land. The sacred land and the tarabandu system are an inheritance from the ancestors to the community. That land had never been using until now. The community has tried to stay and live in that land once. The consequences people faced that the family got sick from a strange symptoms and experienced nightmares all the time²⁰. Community just abandoned the land since it is useless. The land located close to the community's area and it looks like a good agriculture land even though it is sacred and forbidden. Until because of the strong consequences from Tarabandu, the suku council has decided to not implement tarabandu in DC-1.2.

Similar to the sacred land the 'uma lulik' or clan Clan 2 is sacred to tell the stories by common people or even those from the clan itself. Community rejected to talk about the uma lulik Clan 2 because the consequences are also strong as community believed. The story of that clan is not to tell as a common story. A community with very serious expression has said '*the story of the uma lulik is not for you to play around with*'²¹. Hence we could understand that there are few things that uncommon in the community when it comes to culture and uma lulik.

The traditional culture powers are still existing and strong in this community. Traditional ceremony is a must if you want to implement an activity. The ceremonies are for marriage, funerals, naming children, harvesting (sau batar), tarabandu and for seeking ancestor's blessings.

Marriages traditional ceremony in relation with 'Feto-san and Uma-mane' is a tradition of 'Barlake' or bride price. Every bride has a different price based on their traditional social structure in the community²². Because it is a tradition it has its own consequence that gives no other choice but to do it. People are afraid of the consequences behind it. As for funerals the tradition rules are to do the Feto-san and Uma-mane things.

For naming children intention is to give a traditional name after the great great-grandparent's to the new born babies. The ceremony name is "ne'e tamu"²³. The name is using up until the baby gets

²⁰ Check-Respondent 30's note

²¹ Ibid, Respondent 17

²² Ibid, Respondent 24, pg.2, social structure & bride price

²³ Ibid, Respondent 24, pg.3, naming children

baptized. The traditional name is a name that explains the clan identification to the child. However, there were very limit information on this ritual. It does not explain if the community in DC-1.2 are doing the same as it has to be, or it have been hardly done since some parents nowadays decided to give a modern name to their child rather than a traditional name.

Seek the ancestor blessings through slaughtering a goat, pig or a chicken become the community's custom. This is another customs that the ancestors have inherited to the community in DC-1.2. Community believed that to have the ancestor's blessing the slaughtering specific animal ritual is a must. For example before the implementation of the water project community were doing the ritual. The ritual is to get the blessings so that the water source is not going to dry in whatever season.

Another ceremony is harvesting ceremony or '*sau batar*'. However, it has no details information on how people do it in DC-1.2. As a common knowledge this is seasonal ceremony that happens only when it is time for harvesting the corn. Each uma lulik will hold the ceremony for their people. This ceremony is more like a thanksgiving for the good farming production.

Between the norms, rules and customs in the community there is also taboo where people avoided talking about²⁴. The cases usually about unacceptable behavior in a family, for example the sexual abuses to a child.

4.1.4. Conflict and conflict mediation

Generally, Suku DC-1.2 is a secure and calm place yet very friendly. There were conflicts but no big conflicts that have been registered in the suku. The various conflict registered are conflicts that involve physical, domestic violence and livestock. Mostly in the aldeia level is the livestock problem that happened. The issue had become the topics in every suku council meeting and in the community meeting in the aldeia and suku level. Xefe suku, suku council members and the xefe aldeias are repeatedly reminding the community to take a good care of their livestock. They asked the community to build fences for the animals. Few have done it and some are still letting free the animal. These free animals are the one destroy community's farming. It is supposed to become very simple because based on the customs rule that the livestock owner will be paying the damage. The xefe suku and his committee keep announcing it every time in meeting.

The domestic violence in the other hand is happened in very length of period. It is not happen every time. Each suku seems to have the domestic violence case. The last cases were resolved in the suku level. There was no agreement done between the couple that led to separation or divorce.

There were two cases of conflict that involving physics that needs Police's intervention. One of the cases has been registered in the district court²⁵. The case was between youth of Suku DC-1.2 and Youth from Suku Neighboring suku 2. It started from a party in Neighboring suku 2 that lasted with conflict that resulted one youth got stub. The case resolved in the suku level, and the Police have been release all the youth arrested in the fighting.

The other case was between relatives who beating each other that resulted both got grave injuries²⁶. The problem has not been resolved since the other suspect as well as victim recently unavailable. No one has mentioned about this case except the victim's wife. Besides these two conflicts was another conflict between youth in sport. Youth will be fighting against each other to

²⁴ DC-1.2-14-30-05-Respondent 13 - Community Member, Note

²⁵ DC-1.2-06-03-14-Respondent 21, Note.docx, pg. 2

²⁶ DC-1.2 14-05-31-Respondent 16_Notes, pg.2

an unfair play in the sport field. This kind of conflict resolved immediately where youth will be going to receive each other back.

Basically, the main causes of the conflict in the Suku were alcohol, livestock, disagreement in the family and lack of understanding. For the conflict between youth usually because of drunk and lack of understanding where every time they drunk in a party then there will be trouble and when they emotionally uncontrolled to see the fair game of sport. Livestock also takes part in the causing conflict between communities. Local authorities know it very well and repeatedly asked community to make fence for the animal as one way to avoid problem. As in the family was between spouses that found out the family harmony could not be defending. Infidelity and disagreement to that behavior has caused conflict in the family.

To keep the Suku in harmony and peace are the responsible of the local authorities including solving problem in the community. In aldeia level the mediation process to a conflict was trough xefe aldeia. The xefe aldeia will be informed about the problem either by the community or the parties involved. Xefe aldeia are going to approach and facilitate the discussion process of both parties. And if xefe aldeia failed to found a solution or consensus in the process, the case will be bring to la nain as the problem solved responsible in the suku. The lia nain is going to mediate and found a solution but usually the lia nain will just encourage them with a wise explanation to open their mind to see the problem from other side of perception²⁷. The mediation process will be presented by the Xefe Suku and xefe aldeia at the suku but sometimes at the both parties house. This mediation process is based on the traditional family linkage. With the power of culture and family relationship in the Suku, community usually can be convinced. Problem solving for the livestock that destroy farm is started differently. Two parties will resolve the problem without include the xefe aldeia, but it depends on the agreement they and if they could fulfill it. For instance, the livestock owner was agree to pay for the damage has done either with cash or corn but at the end it does not happen then it will be bring to xefe aldeia.

In the other hand mediation for youth will be doing by the Lia nain, Xefe suku, the youth represent and the community represent. The community represent is Respondent 12 who has influence over youth. The mediation process is based on traditional relationship or family relationship. Respondent 12 with Xefe Suku, Lia nain and the youth represent as well as the authorities from other suku (Neighboring suku 2) will sit together and discuss. Youth will be asked to forgive and received each other back and will continue with a simple traditional ceremony. The ceremony is simple where they all will drink traditional wine together as the final part of the resolution process. However, the law process can be continuing in the police and the court if the victim wants to. The legal process was only between the two; victim and the suspect. The mediation more to terminate problem between youth that not supposed to happen.

The process mediation for domestic violence conflict was facilitating first by the woman represent who will provide consultation and advice. The Lia nain and the family of both parties will be involved when there was no solution. However, for this case the decision is in the couple's hand and the families. Both families will consider the traditional culture of bride price that had been given to the woman's family²⁸. The bride price will be given back to the man's family if the woman decided to divorce and the man is the one wants to divorce his family is going to give it doubled. Or otherwise the families decided not to consider the bride price to be given back or to double.

The effect of conflict on community's life is family. Effect for the family is mostly on their honor, when it comes to the domestic violence problem. Negative actions of a family member that causing

²⁷ Lia Nain note.docx???

²⁸ Respondent 20, notes

family's involvement can be greatly affects to the family's honor and the position in the community. People will be always talking and refer to the cases that brings family's name.

4.1.5. Development Priorities

Based on the Suku development priorities DC-1.2 has twenty one priorities which are listed in the suku's Priorities book. Some of the priorities as the basic needs of community have been implemented²⁹. They are all public goods such as; clean water, electricity, road and the sanitation in this case is the toilets for community as well as the vulnerable houses.

It seems to need times to reach the objective of implementation of all priorities in the suku as part of suku development process. The xefe suku and his team as well as with all community have been working to execute the priority through projects to address the suku needs. So far, the local authorities manage to do the cooperation with NGOs and Government. The NGOs has a good connection with the suku. A local authority seems to have more confident to propose the NGO for project implementation. Referring to the long bureaucracy procedure in the Government and failure in two years row in PDID project selection has affected suku's perception to the Government support. As Respondent 35 as an ex member of suku council and a veteran said;

"Xefe Aldeias and Xefe Suku are very active however, the government support are very limited (Track 140606-003 13:3)³⁰"

It shows the local authority lack of the support from government in terms of the suku development. To implement all the development priorities, the local authorities need the support from family, community and the government.

The most development priorities need to be done in the suku are the Health Post, Sede Aldeia, School extension, community housing and economic development and food security. There is no health post in the suku and the distance people have to go for treatment is far. The communities are going to the clinic or hospital in sub district for health service and not to mention that the transportation is one of the issue as well. There is a mobile health service program from Ministry of Health called SISCA that visiting the aldeia and suku once a month.

Sede aldeia is needed in DC-1.2-Aldeia 4. Usually community are using the school facility (room), church or under a tamarind tree to hold a meeting. This situation has been going for longtime and that the local authorities put it as a priority to have one in the aldeia. For the school extension, the suku's concern is that the school room facilities are not sufficient due to the high number of students. The other concerns of the powerful members are that to have a good housing condition to the community that needed and the sustainability economic and the food security for community.

Although the communities have all access to the public goods available in the Suku there are some still left out of it. Some household have no access to the electricity due to the house distance from the electricity center. They also have no access to clean water. On the other hand they are also having high expenses on food, traditional activities and the children school's needs. Economically they are unable to afford the expenses. The basic needs for them are the access to the public goods

²⁹ Xefe suku's note

³⁰ Quote, note.docx

as water and the electricity as well as the food and the school expenses. The elder people in communities need to be access to the government subsidies (Bolsa da Familia, Vulneravel and Idosos).

4.2. Conceptualizations of people and power

The following sections are the profile of powerful and the marginalize community members in the suku.

4.2.1. Profiles of powerful community members

Respondent 19, 46 years old and hold a position in the community as Xefe do Suku for two periods (2005-2015). He lives in aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 with his family. Traditionally he is from uma lulik Clan 1. He is trusted because of his experiences, connection and personality as a proactive and outspoken person. Despite from those qualifications he has a very clear vision to the development of suku DC-1.2. As his stated; "By 2030 population of DC-1.2 will have better life, shelter, economy, school, health, sufficient food and convenience living".

He has high self confidence when it comes to the decision for the suku development. He can make any decision with or without consultation with the community in the first hand when he believes that it is going to benefit the community. He at some point has all the control over the suku. Community is trusted the decision he made and the activities he is doing even though sometimes he gets protested from his community.

Aside from his activities and the position as xefe suku, Respondent 19 is very pro active in sport. He encourages and motivated youth in the community by forming sport team. There is a sports club name "Sport Union" which he formed as umbrella for the soccer and volley ball groups in every aldeia of suku DC-1.2. He wants to socialize the sport in the community and make the sport growing in the community. Nowadays, children and youth are involving in the soccer and volley ball activities such as training, friendly matches between aldeia and outside the suku.

Respondent 19 also has another interest in agriculture where he starting make nursery of the tick wood (Indonesian and Philippine tick wood). He prepares the seed himself by asking his connection outside the suku. After that he will gives it all the community to plan it in their agriculture land. He believes that this economic wood will be benefit in twelve to fifteen years time. It is one of the way to for economic growth.

His priority for the suku development is to have Health Clinic, Medical doctor residence, Aldeia Office, Rehabilitation of school building, Soccer and volley ball court and construct wall around heroes' cemetery.

Respondent 12, 56 years old and a farmer. He was leading the Suku for one period from 1999 – 2005. He is Clan 1 and affiliate with a biggest historical political party (Fritilin). He is also the coordinator of the Party that somehow he has an expand experiences to lead. The party also the biggest one in DC-1.2 and has influence in the Suku.

Respondent 12 has influences in the suku and community trusted him to solve their problem in the suku or to talk to the youth when they got in to trouble.

For the suku development, Respondent 12 has the same priorities as the xefe suku since he is the reserve xefe suku in package and is working together with suku council members. He also

represent the community in any suku council meeting to take part in the discussion even though he could not vote in the decision making process.

Respondent 22, 46 years old. Her position in the suku is woman represent in the suku council. She was elected with the others on 2009. She is representing from Fretilin Mudansa. In sub district level she is the Fretilin Mudansa's coordinator.

Her roles and responsibility as woman representative in suku are monitoring and consultation as well as resolved domestic violence issues. Usually, as woman represent, she is presented the women's concerns in the monthly meeting. The monthly meeting also discuss on developing plan and to make a decision.

Her priorities for the suku especially for the woman development Priorities is Improving family's economy; Training the specific training such as; skill training, agriculture, sport, arts, health, business, environment and social activities. She is very active person who involve in the suku activities and very responsive to the woman issues. She is trusted by the community to voice out their priority need.

4.2.2. Profiles of marginalized community members

Respondent 25 is 46 years old female and a victim of the natural disaster that occurred in DC-1.2 in 2013. She has no access to clean water and water as other villagers due to the fact that she has moved and new place far away from the other community in the village. She has eight children with no regular source of income to support them. She has to children studying at a technical school and Dili and live with distance families, also has one living relatives in Lautem and goes to a high school in Lautem.

When the researchers asked about education, she replied with tears that she found it very hard; her life has been very difficult because no livestock or nothing to sell to get money to support her children. She only get crops which her husband grow near and around her house for food and sometime it is not enough to feed the family. She does not want her children to go to school because of this difficulty but the children demand to attend school and it becomes a big responsibility for her. She listed clean water; electricity and scholarship for her children are her top priorities for the family to survive. In additions she has extension of school building and construction of a health post building is her top priorities for the village.

Respondent 10 is 82 years old female and is one of the 14 recipient of Ministry of Social Solidarity vulnerable house program to the vulnerable people in suku. She is a widow with three children who are already married and have their own families. She did not have proper house to live when village chief did the recipient registration. The government built the house for Respondent 10 in 2011. She has no resource of income but she did recently receive the subsidies Respondent 10 is a farmer and she still working on a small farming for her need.

She is actively participate in the community meeting even though she just there for hearing what the leader is about to say or decide.

5. Institutions and power

5.1. Constellation of Suku Groups

There are five major village groups found in DC-1.2 namely economic, agriculture sports, and political and social groups. These groups have various objectives. The economic and agriculture are formed to improve the livelihood of the community, however, the political groups are formed to run for power and the church group is represent by individual catechist in the village to widened and maintain catholic doctrine in the village. Majority of these groups are structured around president, secretary and treasurer to lead the group, however there are groups such as church and microcredit groups are not structured as the other groups.

Kaisala Lori group is the only structured economic group exists in the village and headed by a local woman. This group was established by an external NGO in 2010 to develop village group's activities to improve the economic condition for women. The group's membership, 16 in total, includes women from Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 with a council member, the women's representative in particular. The group's principal objective is to make tradition cloths and sell them to community members and other NGO's. The group's main source of income is from membership contribution where members need to contribute \$2.00 per person to start the group. The group has earned profit from selling its products and now has savings of more than \$320. The main problem is that the influential person in the group was killed in natural disaster and the group now still in mourning.

The village also has individual community members which take loans from money lender (Moris Rasik, Tuba Rai Metin and BNCTL) organizations, where they borrow up to 1000 dollars to start their business activities. However, did not have a structured group in the village. The members of these organizations have expressed their satisfaction during the interview.

5.1.1. Agriculture

There are two agricultural groups in DC-1.2. One called DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 Moko in DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 and the other in DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 called Grupu Integrado. The group DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 Moko was established in 2009 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The group started with 15 members but majority of the members have been excluded from the group because inactive in group activities. Currently, the group is led by a male villager and has four active members which are all his family members, cousins, brothers and sisters. The Grupu Integrado or Integrated Group in Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 was established and lead by Romaldo; however, the group has stopped functioning in the village due to mismanagement of the group funds.

5.1.2. Sports

There exists union sport group called Union Star and headed by the xefe suku. The group was established in 2009 to promote peace and stability among youth through sporting activities. The group functions as an umbrella for other three sport clubs, LeDC-2.1-Aldeia 2 Star in DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and Power Love in DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 and Rasa Moko in DC-1.2-Aldeia 4. There exist three coaches each based in the Aldeia. The group has up to hundreds members starting from 8 – 15 for children

and 16 above for adults. The group has regular soccer and volley ball activities in the village and takes part in friendly matches within Aldeia, with other surrounding villages, Neighboring Suku 2, Neighboring suku 3, and Neighboring Suku 1. The group also takes part in volley ball and soccer competition in sub district, district levels in Lautem and national in Dili.

5.1.3. Political Parties

All of the major political parties who won sit in parliament and the opposition has branches in DC-1.2. The dominant party in DC-1.2 is the opposition party FRETILIN and lead by Respondent 12, the former xefe suku, the current alternate for the village chief and community representative in the village council. The CNRT, Democratic Party; and FRENTE MUDANSA are led by local farmers. These political parties currently have no activities in the village as the election is still few years to go. Therefore, after these periods the political groups have no activity to do in the village. Except that the majority political party, FRETILIN has an office in the village and thus youths sometimes gather to occupy the building for leisure.

5.1.4. Social groups

Grupu Inan Voluntariu or Voluntary mothers group is the parents group exists in the village. The group was formed in 2010 and headed by Respondent 9 as the leader of the group. The group members are from mothers who have under five year sold children in the village. The group has 35 members and divided into seven groups to prepare food for their children. The group has positive impact on the community as the parents are able to send their children to attend kindergarten school in their early age.

Grupu AFNET is the other social group that was formed in 2010 to make fit latrines to the community. The group has 20 members and the structure was formed after they attend two to three days trainings led by Japanese Agency or JICA. The objective of the group was to produce fit latrine locally and sell them to the community. Nevertheless, for vulnerable and incapacity community members who are unable to build a toilet themselves the group was there to assist and help build toilets for them. The group is not active anymore because all households have got fit latrine toilet to use³¹.

5.2. Formation of village groups

5.2.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

The president or the coordinator, as the leader of the group, holds most of the power and dominates the overall leadership of the group including the group resources. However, in DC-1.2 there is a group function with their president but the group's cash is with treasurer of the group. Leadership positions in the village groups tend to be filled by both village council and community

³¹ DC-1.2 -14-29-05 -Respondent 6- PAS, Note.docx.p.1

members include both men and women are in the leadership positions. However, there is variation in types of groups lead by men and women. Economic and social groups are lead by women and political are mainly lead by male villagers.

There are three ways for potential leaders to gain power in DC-1.2 village groups. A person becomes powerful when elected by raise hands where majority of the group members support him or her. Moreover, a person can also becomes powerful if appointed by community, local leaders or external organization such as NGO, sub district or district department to administer village activities. Lastly, a person can become powerful in the group if he or she is older in age compared to other group members and has been chosen through a meeting by group members³². Members can join groups through invitation to attend meetings led by group leader, external organization and xefe suku. During the meeting the individuals will be selected and appointed to become members of the groups if they agreed to join in.

The leaders of these village groups tend to demonstrate a participatory leadership style where they use meetings as their way of leading to consult the group members. Kaisala Lori³³ and DC-1.2-Aldeia 4Moko for instance, group meetings are usually conducted to hear members' opinions and ideas for conducting the group's activities. Since majority of the group leaders demonstrate participatory style of leadership, the group members are consulted when a decision is made. The members are allowed to raise concerns, protest and critique their leaders if they did not agree with some decisions made by their leaders. The leaders usually resolve the issue or respond to the needs of the group members through meetings to justified their decisions and resolve the problems; however, not all problems solved in this manner. However, not all groups use the mentioned leadership style. There has been a case where group members are not consulted and leaders are reluctant and defensive on their decisions which have led to withdrawals of village group members and prevent the village groups from functioning³⁴. The livestock nursery group in Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 is an example of these.

Power of the village groups is legitimized in three ways. First and the most important legitimacy of power are through election where a group leader is chosen by group members through a meeting by raising hands. The other power legitimacy is where a person is chosen purposefully by local leaders or development partners to lead a group. This fashion is seen to be prominent in DC-1.2 where majority of village leaders are chosen or appointed by a formal leader in and or outside the village and members just agreed on it. Nevertheless, there was group which chose their leader based on age and the fact that the members agreed to have her as their leader legitimate her power in the group. A female community member in particular was chosen by Kaisala Lori group members to become the president of the group in 2010.

In DC-1.2 village groups, the village leaders used their power to make groups decisions to conduct group meetings, consult group members, monitor and ensure implementation of group projects and resolve group conflicts. However, in Kaisala Lori group the group decisions were mainly made by a main driver and influential group members and the president and other members just agreed on it. This individual member is also a member of the village council and thus members allowed her to make decisions for the group. Although majority of the village group leaders used their power to make the above mentioned activities, there are still some group leaders have misused their power and has prevent groups from function in the village. There has been indication of corruption in one of the village group where some funds did not reach the group treasures as it was intended to. As a

³² DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 11_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1_Note.docx,p.1

³³ DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 11_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1_Note.docx,p.2

³⁴ DC-1.2 -14-06-03 -Respondent 21, Youth Rep, Note.docx,p.2

consequence, the treasure raised his concerns in a meeting to discuss but could not resolve the group problems and withdraw from the group and the group has stopped conducting their activities in the village. There were no actions from either local or national government to monitor and resolve the case. The main of making group decision is unanimous where the leader or the most influential person proposes a decision and members just agreed on it.

5.2.2. Financial Management

There are four main sources of funds to facilitate day to day groups' activities. The first and the largest source of fund are from national government through the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. This ministry has financed multiple groups in DC-1.2 cost up to \$5000 for each group to do activities; such farming livestock nursery to improve the livelihood of the community^{35'36}. Despite the project cost large amount of money, the group activities were not monitored, supervised and controlled by the ministry itself and some of these have stopped doing their activity in the village³⁷. The second largest fund that goes into the village is that those individual villagers borrowed \$100 – \$1000 from money lenders (BNCTL, and Moris Rasik) to conduct their business activities in the village. There community members using this funds to open small kiosk to sell household basic needs. The last and the smallest source of fund are from community contribution. The veterans received regular monthly payment from the government and thus they have taken the initiative to contribute five dollars to support family expenditures for funerals of family members who passed away in the village³⁸. There also exist community members contribute to form groups to do economic activities to improve their livelihoods. The Kaisala Lori group for instance, was formed using members' contribution of two dollars each to buy cotton and other materials to make traditional cloths in the village³⁹.

The group used multiple ways to plan their finance based on group activities. In many instances, the group members met with their treasurers and president to discuss on how to spend the money, for example, DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 Moko and Kaisala Lori group, members and leaders met to spend the funds to buy livestock, seeds and for the latter to buy cottons. For school feeding program groups however, the financial planning made around buying milk, green beans, vegetables and meat to feed the children. It is planned that one student will consume 0.15 dollars per day at the school. Also the fund also planned to pay the person who cooks for the children, \$50 per month. DC-1.2 village used both individual and group representative to administer group's finance. For those individuals who take loans from money lender organizations, they administer the money themselves to repay the loan, the money is stored in their house. Group money is managed by treasurer of the group and stored in the treasurer house. There is no existent banking system in DC-1.2.

The community funding group only group members know about their expenditures through a meetings held by the group leaders. A verbal report is given to the group members through the group meeting. This report includes the amount he or she spent and outlines the remaining funds. Other villagers are only aware of the group's expenditure when the group members told them too in informal conversation as non groups are not involved in the meetings held by the group. Public funding groups such as the integrated groups are supposed to accountable for the public, however, this was not the case in DC-1.2 as some respondents we interviewed did not aware of their existence in the village. Community members aware of their failures in expending the state funds as

³⁵DC-1.2 -14-06-03 -Respondent 21, Youth Rep, Note.docx, p.2

³⁶ DC-1.2_140606_Intergared Program_Obs.pdf,p.1

³⁷ DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 14_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1_Note.docx,p.2

³⁸ DC-1.2 14-06-06-Respondent 35_DC-1.2-Aldeia 4_Note.docx,p.2

³⁹DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 11_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1_Note.docx,p.1

well as concern about the lack of monitoring, supervising and controlling from the national government.

5.2.3. Collective action among groups

There are four instances in DC-1.2 where the groups cooperate with one another. First of all the groups cooperate with other group to seek support. For example, Kaisala Lori group cooperates with local government with intention to get help from the village council as the village council is considered to be the highest group in the village⁴⁰. Secondly, the groups cooperate based on public events such as government official visit or visited by religious leaders. During the research we observed that the village council members, the xefe Aldeia of DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 in particular and the church representative, catechist work together to celebrate Virgin Mary's day in March. The Virgin Mary statue was put in the village council and community came to gather in a community house nearby to cook and prepare food for this event. The third instance, the village groups cooperate is to promote peace and stability among youth. For example, sport group cooperates with other sport group in other villages to have friendly matches to improve peace and stability among them. Further, this group also took part in competition in sub-district, district and in Dili. Internally, there clubs from one Aldeia compete with the other in the village in friendly matches. The micro credit borrowers coordinate with the women representatives and other members of the village council to help and solve the problem in repayment of the loans⁴¹. The women representative has helped these individual members to solve their problems by encouraging the members to sell livestock or crops to repay the loans.

There hardly supervision done for group cooperation, however, the groups' activities are monitored and supervised by local authorities, non-governmental organizations, and government representatives to provide support to the group⁴². The integrated groups are supervised by government public servant who is based in district Lautem, Tais groups is supervised by external NGOs and Plan international to give support to the group. Internally, the village council members and the village chief supervise the village sport clubs to have friendly matches in the village and with other villages surrounding DC-1.2.

Moreover, the village groups which were established by the government ministries cooperate with government through the district officers. However, groups which are established by NGO cooperate with NGO representatives and the other groups cooperate with local government, sub district, district and the church. DC-1.2 village groups cooperate for three reasons. First of all groups are cooperate to solve problems that may arise in the group. For example, financial difficulties faced by a member of micro credit borrowers were brought to village council to solve where other borrowers helped to pay the loan. The other is to promote peace and stability among villagers. Cooperation between sport clubs in the village and with other villages is the example of these. The last reason is the faith based cooperation. Church group cooperate with the community members to have Virgin Mary visit the community from house to house because majority of the community is catholic. However, the church representative in the village is not really cooperate with the village chief in his Aldeia as there is a building that was built by community, but it has been used only by the catechist to celebrate mass in it. As a consequent the village chief and the Aldeia chief of DC-1.2-

⁴⁰ DC-1.2 14-05-30-Obs on Virgin Mary's Statue.docx,p.1

⁴¹ DC-1.2 14-06-03-Respondent 22_DC-1.2-Aldeia 4_Note.docx,p.2

⁴² DC-1.2 14-05-30-Obs on Virgin Mary's Statue.docx, p.2

Aldeia 4 prefer to have community meetings under a tamarind tree instead of using the building that was built by community themselves⁴³.

However, the groups have different activities and different objectives prevent them from working together. For example, Kaisala Lori is doing traditional cloths and DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 Moko is doing farming and livestock nursing hardly need for them to cooperate. The other reason is that the groups have different source of funding some from members contributions and some from government this can constrain cooperation. The other reason is that there groups more organized than others. Sport and voluntary women groups are well organized and have daily activities, but Kaisala Lori group is not well organized in the time of research due to a member was killed in a natural disaster last year. DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 Moko is the groups which members are made up of all family members.

5.2.4. Communication strategies

Community groups meets when there is a need to involve all group members to discuss a given issue or activity. The president or the leader of the group goes from house to house to announce and invite group members to come for meeting conducted in the village. The meeting usually held in both leader and members' house to discuss. For Aldeia based groups, the members and leader of the group do not live far from each other and thus distance is not a constrain for them to meet. There also groups communicate their activities to other community members in the village and externally to others as there have been sign posts around and near the groups locations and visited by many organization including the government ministries⁴⁴. There is no detail information on groups are available to community to access as a consequence of no regular system in place for the group to provide. Group members and community are passives and lack of capacity to understand information available and to raise concerns in public if they do not agree with certain decisions⁴⁵.

5.2.5. Creation and termination of groups

The village used multiple ways in forming groups. The most notable group formation is that individuals come together to form groups in the village to apply for government funds. The integrated groups are formed in this manner. The other way of forming groups is that external organizations such as NGO and international Aid program approach the local government to explain their activity to gain interest from the community. There usually multiple meetings held in the village to disseminate the information. Afterwards, the community comes together and with the assistance of local authorities they form the group⁴⁶. Kaisala Lori or Tais group was formed by NGO. The other group which is large with more members was formed by the current xefe suku based on his experience as sport man to unite the youth and promote sport in the village. He gathers his council members and youths in meetings to form the group. Groups are terminated due to misused of funds by group leaders and discourage members to stay in the group. The other cause is that the activity which the group intended to do has finalized or completed, AFNET was formed to produce fit latrine but it has stopped because every household in the village has got fit latrine for toilet. There are groups where majority of group members have been excluded but the group is still functioning with less members with no termination of the group.

⁴³ DC-1.2 14-06-04-Respondent 27_Xefe Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 4- Notes.pdf,p.3

⁴⁴ DC-1.2_140606_Intergared Program_ DC-1.2-Aldeia 4-Obs.pdf, p.1

⁴⁵ DC-1.2 14-06-04-Respondent 27_Xefe Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 4- Notes.pdf,p.1

⁴⁶ DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 11_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1_Note.docx,p.1

5.3. Explanatory case (Village Groups)

Kaisalori group is creative and members of the group have made some profit for their benefits. The group members gather to do traditional cloth for both male and female. One male tais is cost \$60 and female tais cost 40 when they sell them to community members and NGOs. Profit from these Tais were received and stored with the treasurer of the group Respondent 11, the fund was about \$500. 00. Once they had this amount of money last year, the influential member of the group consult the leader to distribute some amount of money to group members for their personal expenditure.

To implement the idea, the influential member together with the leader of the group walk house to house of individual members to announce and invite the group members for a meeting. A meeting was held and attended by all 16 group members last year. In the meeting they discussed and informed each other about the amount they had and the influential members propose an idea that they should divide some amount of the money to use for personal expenses and keep some for the group. She proposed that one person would get the sum of \$10 for their own expenditure. When the proposal was placed on the table there were no objections from other members of the groups and it was unanimously considered that all members agreed to receive \$10 dollars and keep the rest to continue the groups' activities. Through this meeting all 16 members received \$10 for personal expenses and kept the rest \$320.00 for the group to buy cloth making materials. After this distribution, the influential member was killed in a terrific natural disaster in the village and the leader together with other members of the group in a meeting decided to have mourning for one year before the activity re-start again in November, 2014.

5.4. Constellation of Local Governance

5.4.1. Local governance profiles

The village council is the major and formal local government institution in DC-1.2. The council is headed by the xefe suku and consists of 11 members include a PAAS⁴⁷ or the village secretary, representatives of social groups and all the xefe aldeias. The representatives of the social groups include two women representatives, a male and a female youth representative, an elder or *ansiaun*, and a lia-na'in.

The village council was elected during suku election which is organized nationwide every five years in 2010. Since that year, the members of the village council are elected as part of a *pakote*⁴⁸ with candidates for the various positions in the council, including xefe aldeias, elected as a group on a single pakote. The suku council is the highest formal authority and has the power to make decision for the suku and to maintain community welfare in DC-1.2.

The xefe suku is the head of the suku council and represents the village as a whole. With the assistance of the xefe aldeias, he is in charge of the welfare of the villagers, including managing responses to local natural disasters, community needs and conflict mediation process. He also presides over community activities and manages government projects implemented locally by the

⁴⁷ PASS defined as Suku Administration Officer

⁴⁸ *Pakote* means a group of people join together to fill in positions in village governance to compete in community leader's election.

villagers⁴⁹. The PAAS or village secretary is an employee of the Ministry of State Administration (MSA). This position was not part of the electoral packet but it was appointed through normal recruitment process used for public servants. The PAAS role is to assist the suku council perform its administrative roles, such as drafting proposals and communication letters, filing of village documents, handling suku administration finance and registration of public projects being undertaken locally to send to sub district and district administrations.

The social representatives have different roles in the council. The youth and women's representatives advocate for the welfare of their groups including organizing activities specific to their constituents and monitor activities implemented by their groups⁵⁰. The anciaun, or the council elder, and the lia-na'in, primarily focus on counseling and problem solving in the village.

Each Aldeia is lead by a xefe Aldeia. The xefe aldeias role is to attend to the welfare of the villagers in his area, including mediating conflicts and helping villagers address issues such as natural disasters. The xefe aldeia also provides a conduit between the aldeia and the suku and often acts as the local community organizer, convening community meetings, making door-to-door announcements, and rallying community members to participate in collective actions whether at aldeia or at village level⁵¹.

Also, there exists a water management group called, GMF⁵² (Grupu Maneja Facilidade Be Mos). The group is headed by Respondent 18 and assisted by the former xefe suku as the group's advisor. The group coordinator is tasked to look after the water facilities, including tanks and taps, monitor the operation of the water (release and close the water from the water source) organize community and group members to plant trees or plants around the tap areas, monitor water management rules and manage water maintenance contribution from the community. The group advisor is tasked to provide advice and support to the group for the group to effectively maintain the water facilities. The group originally formed by the xefe suku, the sub district representatives and community with 12 members however, only four members are active in the group to do the group's work. The group also faces difficulties with enforcement of group's rules, community contributions and consequently the group leader wanted to resign. This issue has been raised to the village chief during a community meeting in the village to look for options to replace⁵³.

The village also has a health group called SHIO⁵⁴ formed by ALOLA Foundation in and lead by xefe suku as general coordinator. There the xefe suku, there exist coordinator and deputy coordinator and Aldeia coordinator based in each Aldeia. Interestingly, all members of the suku council formal positions in this group along with some community members in the Aldeia levels. The structured of the group is shown below:

Moreover, the village has two local primary schools run by government, one located in DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 and one in DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 2. Administratively the school in DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 is under the Ministry of State Administration as it geographically located in DC-1.2 village. However, the Ministry of Education included this school as the other branch from Neighboring suku 3 due to distance (closest village to the school) and this unclear administration between ministries prevents the school from improving its infrastructure. There was one instance where a proposal was approved by the sub district authorities to extend one classroom for this school however the main branch wanted to use the approved proposal to build in Neighboring suku 3 instead.

⁴⁹ DC-1.2 14-05-28-Respondent 5_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 Aldeia Chief_Note.docx,p.2

⁵⁰ DC-1.2 -14-06-03 -Respondent 21, Youth Rep, Note.docx, p.1

⁵¹ DC-1.2 14-06-02-Respondent 20_ DC-1.2-Aldeia 3_Note.docx,p.1

⁵² GMF means Clean Water Facilities Maintenance Group

⁵³ DC-1.2_Village Meeting_Obs.docx,p.2

⁵⁴ SHIO means village loves mother and babies

Informally, the Catholic Church also has its own local structure headed by Katekista who is based in the village. The Catechist leads prayers during community events or public meetings, registers children to baptize and first communion as well as run seminars for couples wanting to get married. The catechist also assists mass services and administers Holy Communion in place of the priest during mass. The catechist also involved in decisions about local Catholic Church activities and speaks on behalf of the faithful during masses and public meetings⁵⁵. The catechist also mobilizes community members to do religious related collective action in the village, such as reception of Virgin Mary's statue.

5.5. Formation of village governance

5.5.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process.

As mentioned previously, the village three major local governance groups. The village council is the only local government institution which formed by the government and the other two are formed by community and NGO to govern the village of DC-1.2. Nevertheless, Respondent 19, the village chief is the leader of village council and SHIO. Respondent 18 is the leader of the GMF group to maintain water facilities and manage water maintenance contributions from community.

These leaders use multiple of leadership styles to govern the village. The most notable style is participatory where members of the community and groups are consulted and included in the decision making processes. At the same time however, these leaders also exercise autocratic styles of leadership in the village. This more notable in the formal governance structure where the village chief often makes decisions with no consultations to his council members as well as the community. The involuntary enforcement of labor in village projects is a consequent of this type of leadership in the village. The last and the least typo of leadership in the village is leisure where leaders of groups often reluctant to take initiative to manage groups and have no confidence to consult groups members and make a group decision. Instead hoping to get help from other individuals or organization representatives outside of the group, GMF group has this type of leadership style.

Election process for village council takes place nationwide every five years. The individual candidate will form a package to register candidates and register as a package to run for power in the village. Then, run village and Aldeia level campaigns to inform the community about their programs and promises for the next five years. When the majority of the community voted form a particular package the leader of the package becomes the village chief. However, in the 2010 election in DC-1.2, the package was formed by a powerful leader of a political party, FRETILIN, but had a consensus to involve all other political parties in the package and an independent villager, the current village as village chief. This was done due to capacity of the current xefe suku as he had extensive experience and good connection with government officials and NGO's to develop the village. As the package consists of individuals from different political backgrounds, members of the council have been repeatedly resigned from their post. Nevertheless, if a member of the council is trying to resign, the village chief takes initiative to approach him or her to stay in the council and if he or she disagreed he or she would be asked by the village chief to write a letter of resignation to formally resign from the council. Once the letter is received by the village chief, he would conduct a meeting with the village council to inform and discuss to replace with his or her alternates or choose a new person from the community.

However, for other village institution the approach is different. For example, the GMF group leaders were chosen only by a community meeting which was participated by some community members,

⁵⁵ DC-1.2_140607_Wedding Mass_Obs_Revisit.pdf, p.1

village council members and assisted by sub district water and sanitation officer to choose. There was no campaign and no package was formed. The other group (SHIO) leader was appointed by NGO and local authority to govern the group. There was no consultation with the community. The leaders of these groups appear to report back to the villagers using verbal reports during group and community meetings to inform the Aldeia and suku population. For the village council, the village chief has three monthly meetings with Aldeia population and a monthly meeting with the village council members to inform. In Aldeia level however, the xefe Aldeia has regular meeting with their community to inform decisions made by the village council. In addition, the village chief and Aldeia chiefs are responsive to community demands to clarify decisions and obtain critiques from community during community meetings.

Moreover, the power of these leaders is legitimate for three reasons. First off all, power is gained through election where a leader is elected and it's by law it is legitimate. Secondly, power is legitimate when a person is chosen by a community leader or organization's representatives to govern certain groups in the village. Lastly, power is legitimate due to family relationship or uma lulik or clan, Clan 1 is a source of legitimacy in DC-1.2.

As there multiple source of legitimacy, power is used to make local governance and community decisions on behalf of the members as well as village and Aldeia community as a whole. Next, power is used to mobilize community to implement community, government and donor projects in the village to improve village infrastructures and the livelihood of the village residents. However, power also has been misused by community leaders in DC-1.2. There have been funds managed by community leaders and allegation has appeared that the fund was not properly used to do what was intended to do so as a respondent in particular stated:

"The money goes to some other places that we do not know about".

It appears that decisions in DC-1.2 are made in three ways. First and the common decision are made by unanimous. In this decision making process, the village chief will propose a decision to the council, states reasons behind to open for discuss and debate; and after all this process there appear no objections from the members the decision is made. The second common way is they use a system called *Paraleleismo* where two things are compared for example water and electricity. The participants will raise hands to express their reasons to state their agreement on it. The other decision making process is when a XA or village council members request a proposal to discuss and xefe suku agrees to put into agenda to discuss. After discussion a democratic process will follow where they choose the proposal by raise hands. If majority agreed the proposal is approved and can be implemented⁵⁶. Meetings intended to make village council's decisions are mainly attended by council members and council members' alternates. However meetings which are held to make community decisions, all households in the village is informed to attend to raise concerns in public before a decision is made. Nevertheless, in our observation, majority of the community members who participate in the village chief's three monthly meeting in Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 are passive participants. This was due to a severe lack of capacity to express themselves in public as stated by an interviewee in the village.

"To do farming you need to be trained to do that, similarly community will need training to be able to express their views and ideas on development. I do not know who is able to train them"

⁵⁶ DC-1.2-14-30-05-Respondent 12- Influential person, Note.docx,p.3

In addition, there is also a lack of transparency in the village as the village council is not usually give a detail report to the village and the information on public decisions and infrastructure are not freely available for community to access.

5.5.2. Financial Management

The suku council receives funding from the government in two ways. First the village receives monthly subsidies for the work they do as village, Aldeia chiefs and members of the village council and the village administration. The other is funds to finance government projects which are implemented locally by the village council. In DC-1.2 the village chief and treasurer or PASS is primarily in charge of managing the project funds. The xefe suku receives the fund on behalf of the village council, keeps and manages it expenditures. Decision about expenditure is made in consultation with other council members, in particular with the member representing the social group for which the project is targeting. There is no detail information provided to the suku and Aldeia community on this expenditure. During community there only verbal reports are given to the community. The village administration fund is managed only by PAAS to facilitate village council meetings, community meetings and to use for transportation and communication cost for the village chief. For this expenditure, regular report is given to the village council in monthly council meetings⁵⁷.

GMF group receives funding from community contributions. The leader and the treasure of the groups are responsible to administer the fund. They both go to community houses to collect \$0.25 from community members and \$1.00 from public servants and store with treasurer of the group. This money is used to buy water taps and other water facility equipment to maintain water facilities. Decision on disbursement is made through consultation of the group members but not all members are consulted nor informed. SHIO has no major sources from others but also has community contribution to manage to support mothers or other villagers who are incapacity for health access. The coordinator, xefe Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 in particular and treasurer of the group are responsible to manage the fund. Transparency issues also exist in this group as there have been concerns from the community about the sum of \$37.00 collected from the community. The money was collected to facilitate transportation cost for those who are in need; however, when it was asked the answer was that there was no money. In our observation, despite the village chief stated that they have not used and the money was still with the treasurer of the group⁵⁸ the money was not showed or counted in front of the community.

5.5.3. Collective action among groups

Externally, the village council cooperates with other surrounding villages to promote sport activities as well as conflict mediation process. This cooperation is usually planned by visiting other villages by xefe suku and youth representative to inform about the soccer activities. Also, the village council cooperates with sub district and district administration as well as local and

⁵⁷ DC-1.2 -14-29-05 -Respondent 6- PAS, Note.docx,p.4

⁵⁸ DC-1.2_Village Meeting_Audio Checked, Obs.docx,p.2

international Non Governmental organizations to improve the village infrastructures. This cooperation is usually unplanned but the external organization actually visiting the village to explain their programs to seek interest from the community and establish the working group in the village and aldeias⁵⁹.

Internally, the village council working together with group established by ALOLA Foundation, SHIO on regular basis. This cooperation strengthened due to the fact that majority of the village council members also hold positions in SHIO and lead the activities in the village. The village chief, the female youth representative and all xefe Aldeia hold positions as coordinators in the village and aldeias. The village council also cooperates with GMF to solve enforcement problems faced by the group as described in explanatory case in the next chapter. Next the xefe Aldeia of DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 cooperate with the catechist to prepare for the reception of Virgin Mary's statue in the village. The xefe suku and xefe Aldeia also cooperate with other village groups to give them support to improve their group activities as described in the beginning of this chapter. Lastly the village council cooperates with the community by having three monthly meeting with the community to give information and receive community as DC-2.1-Aldeia 2tions. Despite Village council has good cooperation both externally and internally, some community members are not participating due to health conditions⁶⁰ and different perceptions towards the local government⁶¹. The Catholic Church's representative in DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 also is not cooperating with the Aldeia and village chiefs due to s overlapping claims of a public building in the area.

5.5.4. Communication strategies

The village council regularly communicates with the community using loudspeaker for those who live near the main road⁶² and door to door visits for those who live further away⁶³. Almost all household members are invited to attend meetings in the village. Village council decision is also socialize and disseminate through meetings in the village. The village council has weekly and tri-monthly meetings in Aldeia lead by Aldeia and village chief for community participate. In addition, there exist intellectual and need based meetings for community members to participate. Hence, DC-1.2 has a high participation from the community in village and Aldeia meetings. Nevertheless, not all community members participate in the meetings; some households send only their representatives to these meetings and inform other household members later on⁶⁴. The other village governance group use door to door visit to invite community and group members to attend meetings in the village. This group only has needed based meetings compared to the meetings that held by the village council.

However, there are certain constrains for community to actively participate in these meetings. There exists a lack of capacity in the community to participate actively in the meetings as a

⁵⁹ DC-1.2 14-05-29-Respondent 9_DC-1.2-Aldeia 2_Note.docx,p.1

⁶⁰ DC-1.2 14-05-31-Respondent 16_Notes.docx,p.1

⁶¹ DC-1.2 -14-31-05-Respondent 17-Community Member, Note.docx,p.1

⁶² DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 11_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 Aldeia_Note.docx,p.2

⁶³ DC-1.2 -6-4-14-Respondent 26-Community Member, Note.docx,p.1

⁶⁴ DC-1.2 14-06-06-Respondent 35_DC-1.2-Aldeia 4_Note.docx,p.2

consequent the community members come to meetings but majority are passive participants and only come to receive information. The information bottleneck is that the village is actually chooses who to invite to attend his meetings. Mostly, public servants, university students and veterans are invited to attend need based and intellectual meetings conducted by him in the village⁶⁵.

Majority of the community members interviewed in the state their positive perspective to the local government because they are also invited, consulted and included in village meetings and given opportunity to express themselves regarding process and mechanism occurring in the village⁶⁶. Public goods, such as clean water, electricity, and road are now available for community to utilize. The village chief leads DC-1.2 community by example. He nurses teak wood and distribute to community to plan to improve their livelihoods. On the other hand, community concerns about the involuntary labor enforcement to public project as the community has worked voluntarily for contractors, NGO and donor projects for long years. There has been information spread about the electricity fees and some community members have raised concerns that they so not have regular income to pay the electricity fees. The lack regular income, the villagers also find difficulties in contributing to the water maintenance contribution in the village.

5.6. Explanatory cases (Village governance)

GMF was formed with 12 members and the leader of the group was elected by village council and some community members through a meeting in the village office which was assisted by officers from sub district water and sanitation department. In these meeting they also set community contribution and water usage rules that were supposed to implement in the village. The households which have no members working as public servant are tasked to contribute \$0.25 per month, while those who are public servants, such as police and army officers, school teachers, and council members are tasked to contribute \$1.00. During the process of deciding the amount there was disagreement among the participants. The representatives of public servant households disagreed to contribute \$1.00; however, the village chief used his power that they have to contribute the amount. Consequently, the public servants contribute just agreed on xefe suku's decision⁶⁷. To collect this contribution the leader and the treasurer of the group walk door to door to each community house, however, some community members did not or found it difficult to contribute as they did not have regular monthly income to contribute. There some community members who sell fire food to contribute and if the fire wood does not get sold he has no other sources of income to contribute.

Moreover, water usage rules and penalties are in place to implement by the group. The rules include: do not bring animals near to the water tank, do not wash clothes near or on the water tap, clean the water tap area every Friday. The penalties are: \$5.00 fine for those who bring animal to the water tank, or tap and or based on the type of materials that are broken or destroyed⁶⁸. For those who are absent on Fridays, they would work five days on the water tank, to clean, open and close the water for community to use. However, these rules are not implemented yet because there was no sufficient interest from the village and Aldeia chief to enforce them. The GMF members

⁶⁵ DC-1.2_140607_Briefing_Village Chief_Obs_Revisit.pdf,p.2

⁶⁶ DC-1.2_Village Meeting_Obs.docx, p. 2

⁶⁷ DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 11_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 Aldeia_Note.docx,p.2

⁶⁸ DC-1.2_140607_Briefing_Village Chief_Obs_Revisit.pdf,p.1

tried to implement the rules but there was no cooperation from the community. Apart from these two problems, the group members conduct voluntary work for almost with no attention from the sub district administration. Consequently, majority of group members in active and leave the group with only four active members, including the leader, treasurer, a technician and logistic person.

As these three factors faced enforcement problems and lack of cooperation from the community, the GMF leaders decided to bring them to the village council and community meeting to solve. The leader consults the xefe Aldeia of DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 to bring the case xefe suku to put into agenda. Xefe suku agreed and the issue was one of the agenda in the tri-monthly community meeting we observed. The meeting participated by community members approximately 100 people, village council and two sub district's water and sanitation officers. During the meeting there were very interactive debates and discussion among community and the representatives of the village governance for three hours with no solution. During the meeting the group leader also decides to resign from his post as the position was a voluntary post and request xefe Aldeia and xefe suku to replace or choose someone from the community. There was none of the community members who were present in the meeting to take up the position. However, xefe suku made a decision to give opportunity to those were present in the meeting to report to him if they want to take up the position in two days. Xefe suku also decides that there would be another meeting to discuss the issue and replace the GMF leader⁶⁹ and if none from community members willing to become the group leader in this meeting the xefe Aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 and DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 should take the position and manage the water facilities and community contributions.

6. Public goods

6.1. Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

There are twelve projects registered and was implemented in DC-1.2 village. Most of the projects were implemented between 2005 until 2014 where the current village council is in-charge. Some of the projects are supported by non government organization where other are supported by donors and government. Some of the more significant projects include the following:

- **Clean Water Project:** The project was aim to provide clean water to every household in the village. The target was that by the end of the project every villager will only need less than 50 kilometers to access to clean water. Traditionally villagers have to walk for over one hour to go to the nearest water source. Prior to the implementation of water project there was a latrine project financed by Japanese government as pilot project that was aim to train locals to understand how to produce latrine and sale them local community. Later there was project to build common toilet for community however because toilet need water and there were not enough water for villager to wash the toilet, it become problem in the village with the very bad smell created.

Village chief approached Japanese government as donor of the latrine project to consider problem created by the project and suggested to finance water project to make water available for the for community to maximizing the use of the common toilet and provide clean water for community daily need. It was agreed by the Japanese Government which later finance water project in the village. The project was costing US\$80.000 to buy construction materials that are not available locally, machinery and pay skill labor to construct the water tank and do the

⁶⁹ DC-1.2_Village Meeting_obs.docx,p.1

pipings to bring the water to center point of five houses. Local authority and the project it was agreed that communities will provide free labor and local material such as stones and woods.

History of this clean water project was more of supply driven project approach however clean water is one of the village priority identified by community together with local authorities few years in the past. This project is benefiting over 750 people or 388 households living in the two Aldeias.

Clean water project involves sub district water authority (SAS) to provide technical assistance for the maintenance of the project. SAS organizes community to establish water maintenance group with main responsibility to manage the distribution of the water, maintenance of clean water facilities, become the enforcement body to ensure community abide by the local rules that was agreed by the community and facilitate community contribution through regular collection of funds.

- **Volley Ball Court:** Sporting is one of the priorities in the village that was established as part of the village prioritization. The volleyball court project was implemented in the Aldeia of DC-1.2- Aldeia 3 to facilitate young people in the Aldeia as well as two neighboring Aldeias of DC-1.2 to access it. Young people are encouraged and supported to be active in sporting activities to promote peace and unity in the village as well as outside the village. This project was a community finance project from contribution of village council members and communities. Project construction was led by Aldeia chief with less than one week work from preparing the material to project completion.

Project was commenced in mid May 2014 where QualFS team was in the village for the field study. A total fund for the project was not specified but observing the work and seen the construction material used in the project indicates that the cost of the project was minimum.

- **Kindergarten Class Room:** This project was an initiative from NGO called Fraterna that suggested the idea to run preprimary class in the village to start preparing children under six years old to learn some basic school subject and school norms. This project consists of two components, one is the construction of a class room and the second component is to run school session for first and second year of pre primary.

The class room was built in 2012 with local material and later in the beginning of 2014 it was decided by the NGO to upgrade the building to be stronger using concrete bricks. Construction work is organized through a voluntary work with five groups established which is responsible once a week to assist with the construction work. Community groups provide labor and some local material where NGO provides construction material that is not available locally such as sands, cements etc.

The second component of the project is to have two volunteers to assist the children in the school sessions. One volunteer responsible for first grade and the other responsible for the second grade with 2-3 time sessions in a week. The other side of this component is to prepare food for children, this is similar and consistent with government program to ensure children have better nutrition. Food is prepared by children's parents who are organized in seven groups to work every day for five days a week in rotation.

- **Youth Center/DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 Aldeia Office:** To facilitate youth activities in the village especially Aldeia of DC-1.2-Aldeia 3, government through secretary of state for youth⁷⁰ provide funds to build youth center in 2012. This project is aim to provide venue for young people in the village to meet and socialize among them. Project was cost US\$3000 that uses to buy construction material and pay skill labor. Unskilled labor and construction material that are available locally were provided by the community in the Aldeia.

The funds was all disbursed and given to youth representative in the village council to manage. She was given training on the financial management and reporting prior to given the responsibility to handle the cash. There was no detail information about how the finance was managed because the main person who handles the funds was sick and was not able to be interviewed. There was a protest by a member of youth and alleged that there is potential miss used of funds however the issue was taken over by a team from Secretary of State for youth and it was confirm that the suspicion was not proven.

Youth center is currently used by the young people in the village for meetings and other activities include storing sport material and other items belong to the village. To maximize the use of the youth center, village council and youth in the village have agreed to make the building as Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 office. This decision is aim to facilitate Aldeai Chief to have office to perform his task in assisting community as well to allow community to be attended in the Aldeia.

The remaining projects are listed in the following table:

Name of project	Location	Date	Project type	Objectives	Status
Village Office	Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 2	2008	Building Construction	Village office	Completed
Vulnerable houses	All Aldeia	2009	Building Construction	Shelter for vulnerable people	Completed
Electricity project	All Aldeia	2012	Installation of electrical post and wires	To supply power to community	Completed
Road repair	Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 4	2014	Repair road that damaged by landslide	Transportation	Completed
Road	Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 to Neighboring suku	2012	Open new road	Transportation	Completed

⁷⁰ The official name is Secretary of State for Promotion of Youth and Sport

	2				
Road	Aldeia DC-1.2- Aldeia 1 to sub- district	2012	Open new road	Transportation and accessibility	Completed
Mini Market	Aldeia DC-1.2- Aldeia 4	?	Construction	Access to market	Completed
Classroom Extension	Aldeia DC-1.2- Aldeia 1	2008	Construction	Better student attendance and teaching	Completed
Volleyball Court	Aldeia DC-1.2- Aldeia 3	2012	Construction	Sporting Activity	Completed
Latrine project	All Aldeia	2010	Training and Production	Provide skill to youth and common build toilet	Completed

6.2. Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1. Project selection and decision-making process

Selection process for public projects is open and participatory. The process for selecting village development priorities began at the aldeia level. The xefe aldeia calls the community meeting and invites the villagers to participate. At the aldeia meeting, the villagers are invited to put forward their suggestions about the development priorities and these priorities taken to village council meeting to decide using a system called “Paralelismo”. Paralelismo is a system to compare one priority with the other and decide which one is more important and urgent. In the village council meeting, the decision was through voting and or unanimously agreed. Voting on these priorities can be through show of hands.

In DC-1.2, village priorities was decided when local authority was elected in 2005. There was a requirement from every village to produce priority for the village as the reference for development in the next five years. This was the bases for DC-1.2 to define its 21⁷¹ village priorities and used when development activities comes to the village.

Every development agencies that coming to the village or authority looking for project funding will be decided by village chief of village council using priority list. Once the decision is made, village authority will inform community to explain the project include how community will involve in the project and obtain community confirmation. In many cases community agreed with the decision because it was part of the village priority. There are cases where project implement without consensus so village chief insist to go ahead with the project and later it was supported because the project provide benefit to the people in the village.

Decision process around who can involve or benefit from the projects is normally facilitated by Aldeia chief through community meeting and announcement. Community will be inform about how they can involve and community will discuss and decide among them. E.g. when building water tank in Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3, Aldeia chief call for a meeting and explain that the project is financed by Plan International but community have to contribute labor and local material to support the project. Once it is announce in the meeting, villager will decided to involve and will start organizing themselves in how to contribute to implement the project.

Some people said that it is not time to do voluntary work anymore but I said if you do not want to do voluntary work you can just seat and watch because I will do the work myself together with my village council members. DC-1.2 village chief.

⁷¹ DC-1.2 14-06-01-Respondent 19_Notes (The priority was mentioned by village chief however the list was not provided).

In another project to build village office, decision to hire skilled labor and invite community to provide voluntary labor was done by village chief. In this particular case, the decision driven by village chief with the full support of the council so when community do not help council member will build the work themselves.⁷²

The government through relevant ministries also select projects to be implemented locally and the villagers are only included in its implementation. Electricity was one of the projects that were decided by the central government and community together with local authority was involved in the implementation. The other example was “Programa Integrado” from ministry of agriculture⁷³ that was decided by the ministry and a group of 15 members was given cash to start the activities⁷⁴.

6.3. Project planning

Government and nongovernmental organization are the primary sources in financing projects coming into the village of DC-1.2. Projects that are decided by central government will have its own plan ready prior to the implementation. At this level community and local authority do not have influence in the planning processes. Vulnerable house for example was financed by central government which did not required to get input from villagers in the planning stage.

Projects that are financed by the NGOs normally allow community and local authority to be part of the planning. People from the NGO will coordinate with Aldeia chief to plan for the project, although NGO will take more initiatives to drive the planning activities, decision for the planning will have community participation. Planning started with the identification of the need by community followed by decision from villagers on how and when the project is going to be implemented.

Financial resources of government and NGOs project are mostly managed by the contractor. For those projects, the financial planning was not involving community members and information is not available as the projects are all completed and the companies are no longer in the village. There are some projects that community manage the funds however the financial planning process information was not available as well because the treasurer of the project have passed away and the treasurer of a group that manage the other funds was sick and unable to interview.

6.3.1. Project implementation

Community involvements in the project are started from the beginning until the completion of the project. Projects that are manage by community normally lead by local authority such as village chief or Aldeia Chief depending on where the project is implemented. If the project is implemented in an Aldeia, normally Aldeia chief will coordinate the work and inform village chief on the progress. There is no formal process in place to report progress of a project instead the progress of the project is updated by phone or by oral to Village Chief. The update will be given as well to the village council in the monthly meeting during the project implementation.

Project that are managed by contractor are more independent in its implementation and regular update is done through village chief which is later forward to village council by village chief. At the end of each project, the contractor will need to fill up project book called “Livru C.1” in the village

⁷² DC-1.2_Respondent 19_Audio Checked by_Edio da Costa 17-6-14

⁷³ Official name is Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

⁷⁴ DC-1.2 14-06-04-Respondent 27_ Notes

office. There are also cases where contractors leave the village without providing information to the village include do not register at the village office⁷⁵.

Recruitment of labors for project that are managed by companies is done by the company in collaboration with village and Aldeia chief. Community are called for meeting and informed about the project then they will approach the company to attend the recruitment process. Project that manages by local authority is following similar process where communities are invited to a meeting to be informed and to discuss how to implement the project.

Majority of the project implemented in this village for the last nine years were implement using voluntary labor. Community is divided into groups of women and man with their own specific tasks. Female groups are normally in charge of collecting stone, taking sands and preparing food where male groups are doing the actual construction work. A system of rotation is used in for some of the works in the village. This system is applied throughout the whole village whether suku or aldeia projects. For suku projects, such as the Kindergarten class room construction, workers are grouped around their aldeias and would work every other day of each group⁷⁶.

Community group leaders handling the implementation of the projects make the decision on how the project's finances are managed. They consult with each other and decide on the materials to be purchased for the project. With local constructions, inputs such as rocks, clay and woods are sourced locally. Community members, especially those who live near the source or own the material are engaged in the process of collecting the materials. Transportation of the material is the only cost involved. Materials obtained beyond the village borders are organized by the group leaders in charge of procurement, in particular the treasurer. In the case of the clean water construction in Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3, treasurer of the project would buy the materials in sub-district centers and then present the receipt to the group⁷⁷.

6.3.2. Resource management

Material use for the project that are collect locally are manage in the way to collect only enough for the project to avoid ravage of the resources such as cutting trees for timber etc. Materials that are not need to be protected from rain, sun or thief are normally placed closure to the project site where other material that need to be store are kept in the closest community house. The owner of the house will be asked to pay the role in looking after the material store in his/her house with assistance by the Aldeia chief.

If the project is close to village office or youth center the material will be stored in those places with the holder of the office key is in charge in managing the flow of the project material. Project leader is supervising the uses of the project material and decide on how to use the resources. In some project the implementation is lead by community members who are elected by the community based on the person experience and skill in managing a project.

6.3.3. Development outcomes

Communities in the village have been so grateful with the developments that have taking place in the village. The villagers now have one of the best clean water supplies in the district and benefiting

⁷⁵ DC-1.2 -14-29-05 -Respondent 6- PAS, Note

⁷⁶ DC-1.2 14-05-28-Respondent 5_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 Aldeia Chief_Note.docx

⁷⁷ DC-1.2 14-06-02-Respondent 20_ DC-1.2-Aldeia 3_Note.docx

from electricity project that have coming into the village⁷⁸. Despite the good thing created by the project there are still fraction of the community who do not have access to the clean water and electricity. The reason of those who cannot benefit from the project is because of the project role and an event beyond project and community control.

Some community members do not have access to electricity due to the distance between their house and the electricity point. Base on the project role, installation of the electricity to the houses are only to those houses that are located with less than 30 meters distance therefore houses that located more than 30 meter distance will need to pay for the additional material use for the installation to reach their house.

Somewhat, in the case of clean water access there are few household who do not benefit from this project because they were moved from their original location to a safer place to avoid risk of natural disaster. Five household who were relocated have experienced natural disaster or those live the location that has potential treats to the natural disaster such as landslide⁷⁹.

Projects that are implemented in DC-1.2 are considered to be successful, clean water project for example is very high notice by community and local authority with all the other project are along the same status as successful. There are several factor contribute the success of the project are community need, community consultation and participation, availability of the resources, local authority involvement and organization of the project.

It is natural to see that activities are moving because communities are engage with the project. The engagement come as reflection of the need of the community from what the project will provide once it is done. The interest of the community is driving individual to bring the best of their ability to make sure the project is completed. They put in their time, effort, equipments, local material and food to support the success of the project. Building volley ball court for example; initiative comes from young people who want to start working on their volley ball court as they need to have it so that they utilize it.

Another element that makes the project successful is community consultation and participation. Community consultation will allow them to know what they want, what can they offer and how will they involve. Consultation will open the possibility of community to participate as they know about the project benefit and understand the best ways to be part of the project. Participation has been the key to bring in resources such as labor, material and ideas in making the project is progressing. Opening new road from Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 to sub-district centre was one good example to show the important of participation of the community to make the project succeed. This project was consulted and the participation was in big number.

One project was to open new road from Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 to Neighboring Suku 2, the project was completed but the road cannot be use few months later. The main reason was that the land owner closes the road and uses it for farming. There was not enough data on whether consultation was the causes of the problem as the land owner was away. It was clear from the interview with Aldeia chief that there was a consultation conducted before the project initiated but the owner who were not involve decided to occupied the land⁸⁰.

⁷⁸ DC-1.2 14-05-30-Respondent 11_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 Aldeia_Note

⁷⁹ DC-1.2 -6-4-14-Respondent 25 -Community Member, Note

⁸⁰ DC-1.2 14-06-02-Respondent 20_ Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 3_Note

Although this is beyond the control of the community and has not create big problem but availability of resources such as funds and or building materials have contributed to the delay of project if not to make the project fail. Kindergarten class room in DC-1.2-Aldeia 2 is the example of the project that was delayed due to the availability the construction material. Groups that are assign to work o the project were standby but they cannot work because to material to use. It wasn't sure about what was the cause of the delay as there was not representative of an external NGO to confirm the issue.

Local authority involvement and organization of the project is the last factor that the researchers identify as the contributor to the project success. Project implementation, especially projects that are implemented by community will need direction and leader form the local authority. In every project implemented in DC-1.2 village involve Aldeia Chief or Village chief one way or another. Local authority involvement will initiate and support the organization of the work within the groups and among the groups involve in the project⁸¹.

Researchers visited projects sites and observe the village office, water tank, vulnerable houses and kindergarten class room that was built in DC-1.2. The buildings were built in good quality with very strong construction work and good architecture. Material used such as timber, zinc, doors and window, pump for the water and many other element of the construction are good in quality.

6.4. Explanatory cases

Clean Water Project for DC-1.2 Village: This project was completed in 2013 with the funding support from Japanese government through an external NGO and Construction company. Project was supported by community through providing voluntary work and local material. The project implementation approach of providing voluntary labor and local material was part of the condition that was stipulated in the agreement signed by the village chief.

Clean water is a need of community which form part of the 21 village priorities for development of DC-1.2. The need to the clean water was presented by community in the meeting with Aldeia back in 2005⁸². The proposal was then taken to the village council meeting and approved as one of the priority. It wasn't clear how the decision was make at the Aldeia level for this particular need of clean water however Aldeai chief indicate that most of the decision was unanimous as community agreed with the idea of clean water.

Village council later received proposal from Aldeia and set a meeting to discuss and decided using Paralelismo system. This is a system that compares one priority with another and lets the council members vote for what they believe is the most priority. The decision on the priorities for the village development later presented to the community in the quarterly village chief meeting with villagers. Clean water has been set as priority therefore when donors come to the village, village chief make decision on behalf of the community to agree with the funding and signed the MOU.

This project was managed by a construction company in collaboration with community through Aldeia chief to plan and implement the project. Community was called for a meeting to discuss how

⁸¹ DC-1.2 14-05-28-Respondent 5_DC-1.2-Aldeia 1 Aldeia Chief_Note_Revisit

⁸² Village chief did not mention about the year because he did not remember however he says right after the election of his first term as village chief. DC-1.2 14-06-01-Respondent 19_Notes

to implement the project and who should be involved. In this meeting company representative explained that the following will need to be done:

- i) Water sources need to be identified and agreed by the owner to use. There was a traditional ceremony conducted to ask for the license from the ancestors to give blessing to the project. The ceremony involved all stakeholders for few hours with main stage were to slaughter a goat and everybody eat together as a sign that the ceremony has completed.
- ii) Decide who will work in the project site for voluntary bases and people will be divided into groups of male and female with their own tasks.
- iii) The first stage of the work to collect local material such as stone and woods to be put closer to the project site. This work is the responsibility of female group. Company responsibility at this stage is to purchase all other material and stored near the project site.
- iv) Site cleaning and measuring the water tank and start building the tank using male group rotation
- v) During the progress of the construction work, water maintenance group will established to take over the clean water facilities once it is handed over from the company. The implementation was closely monitored and supervises by the company technical staff for the technical work where organization and group mobilization was supervised by Aldeia Chief. Each of female group members will communicate to each other and decide who will bring rice, maize, vegetable, water and firewood to prepare food for everybody during the life of the project.

Youth Center/DC-1.2-Aldeia 3 Aldeia Office: Initially the youth center was build for young people to use as a center for them to meeting and carry out their activities, later village council decided to use the center as Aldeia office to facilitate community activities in the Aldeia. Youth center was government project under Secretary of State for Youth and Sport (SEDJ) with the aim to assist youth in every village.

The idea was provided to the village chief and it was agreed to proceed by the youth and village council. Decision about the location was decided in the village council meeting to build the youth center in Aldeai DC-1.2-Aldeia 3. The reason for this is to have youth center be used as Aldeia office. This means that by the time the center operate then only Aldeia DC-1.2-Aldeia 4 is the only one that does not have office.

Once decision made SEDJ office organized training on financial management and reporting which was attended by female youth representative of the village. The training was focus on procurement process of construction material and financial report. Project only started once the training for the financial focal point completed.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

The following are several factors that may have both positive and negative impacts on PNDS. The positive impacts include Clan 1 clan which is the largest clan in DC-1.2 and persons from this clan have occupied leadership position in the village for many years. Therefore, the involvement of this clan may need to be considered by PNDS to monitor and control projects in the village. Secondly, the Respondent 19, the current xefe suku and Respondent 12, the former xefe suku are the

powerful in the village in making public decisions. Despite consultation and inclusion of community members which has high participation of community in decision making processes, they are the ones that make ultimate decisions. They have the power to direct community to contribute, mobilized community to work on public projects and lobby government and NGO institutions to come to the village to improve the livelihood of DC-1.2 community. There are community participations but this participation is passive due to the lack of experience and capacity to express opinions and ideas in public regarding the village development that should take place. The PNDS should have special attention on capacity building for those who are in the PNDS process and mechanisms in the village. There is a high possibility that PNDS funds directed to the village will be used to build a health post and Aldeia office in the village as these infrastructures are not available in the time of research but have been identified as the top priorities for the village.

The presence of Catholic Church in DC-1.2 is not that important as the church has no role in public decision making process in the village. The Catholic Church may have the principles of sharing public projects but this does not take place in DC-1.2. In the last of day of debrief with the village chief he made it clear that the church and village council work and should work separately. Nevertheless, there is a change for the powerful persons in local governance may want to interchange projects between government and the Catholic Church. Therefore, monitoring of the management of PNDS project should take this aspect into consideration while conducting monitoring and evaluation process in DC-1.2 as political faith based project are not allowed by PNDS.

Women participation is lack in both leadership and decision making processes in DC-1.2. Despite that the women are included, consulted, and invited to meetings; there are passive participants in meetings. Statistically women are more compared to men (1.3% to men; however, the leaderships positions in local governance institutions are mostly dominated by men.

Research limitations

The researchers spent very limited time in the village. Therefore, the dynamics of processes and mechanisms that may use in the village to village decision are not fully observed.

Researcher's personal experience and believes

The researcher has personal interest in promoting community participation in all stages of development in Timor Leste. He often takes part in community discussion and policy debates in both village and national levels in the country. He has a personal believe that community needs to be involved in all stages of development processes and is the answer to the successful implementation of PNDS.

LBS Village Report:
DC-1.3 (Viqueque District), Rural
World Bank, PNDS-REP

Olivio de Deus, Monica do Rosario da Costa Moreira

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

The goal of this study is to give an overview of the existing system of governance within the suku of DC-1.3 and also to explore the experience of how the villager's were handling the projects of development. The aim is also to provide a map of the local institutional structures which will include the people, the organisations and also the community rules. It will also provide a view of the cohesion within the community, by looking and exploring the conflicts and mediation skills, the identity, the priorities of development, the sources of power and also the vulnerability, the welfare, and the processes of selection and management of the local development projects.

2. Methodology

2.1. Sampling Criteria

The village which is being considered in this study is within the eastern region territory, which is called East, and it comprises the districts of Viqueque, Lospalos, and Baucau. Based on the sampling strategy of the Qualitative Field Study (QuasISF) the national territory of Timor-Leste has been partitioned into six regions in order to ensure the coverage of the regional areas: Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave.¹ The means that are required for the sampling criteria of the Eastern regions are: the level of urbanization and also the share of the veterans within the village. The opposite extremes of both variables are explored (Table1)

Region	Cases to be selected (4 total)
East	High Veteran and Peri-Urban Low Veteran and Peri-Urban High Veteran and Rural Low Veteran and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Eastern Region

In order to be able to determine the level of urbanization within the villages of this region the Census of Fo' Fila carried out in the 2010 census was reviewed. A data base was created in order to outline the population of each suku, after which the suku population was computed a share in the district's population. Then a regional average of (2.84%) was computed. Given the low difference of the suku's population's

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-REP

share in the database, the villages that comprised only a quarter of the standard deviations and were above the means of (2.84%) were considered as “peri-urban”, whereas those below this benchmark were considered as rural.

After the review of the Timor-Leste’s District Atlas (2008), the regional average of the public institutions of the Suku was computed at (3.66%). Because of the quarter standard deviations of some Villages that were above the means were labeled as “peri-urban”, the rest were put in the “rural” quadrant of the sampling matrix. The assigned labels for both parts of the villages were compared and then the final label for each one was done case by case.

Through the Secretariat of Veteran Affairs of Timor-Leste,² the number of veterans was obtained for each village and then by calculating the share of the population of veterans in each village, a regional average share of the veterans of (10.73%) was computed. This figure then became a benchmark for future reference. The Villages which had the veterans share of (10.73%) or higher were placed in the “High Veteran’s” quadrant of the sampling matrix, while the rest were placed in the “Lower Veterans” quadrant.

In order to ensure the national coverage there was a sample of a village from another district from each quadrant. Therefore the preference went to the districts that had the largest share of Phase III.

In following the sampling methods which have been described above, this study will consider the Villages which have been placed in the rural low veterans quadrant of the sampling matrix. The Villages which have reached the fulfillment of the sampling strategy of the district of Viqueque are: DC-1.3 along with two other villages.

In order to narrow down the selection process, other sampling criteria’s have been used, with the consent of the Key Informants at the Administrative level. The Informants were consulted about the different characteristics of the candidate villages to see if there were any outstanding features of interest which would match a list of additional selection criteria’s³. For this study, the administrator of the district of Viqueque, was approached, and his suggestion was to focus the study on the village of DC-1.3, because in his opinion he felt that this suku would reveal interesting insights for the QualBLS, due to its economic and development activities. This suku however is also generally monolingual with the exception that it has another ethno linguistic group which speaks Makasa’e and is made up of 85% of the population. This particular feature is also one of the selection criteria’s, namely the variable ethno-linguistic heterogeneity.

² Officially known as *Secretariado de Estado para os Assuntos dos Antigos Combatentes da Libertação Nacional*.

³ PNDS-MEP Concept Note

2.3. Data collection

In order to obtain data for this qualitative study, semi-structured interviews were carried out throughout the period from the 27th.of May till the 10th. of June 2014. In total 33 Villagers were approached, and the interviews were done face to face, in various locations such as: a meeting place, or a workplace (village, office, markets, church, rice fields.) or at private residences. Some of the interviews were recorded and complemented with hand written notes, whereas for others who did not want their interviews to be recorded the researchers had to rely on the hand written information.

Three sampling methods, convenience, purpose and snow ball were used for selecting the respondents. With purposive sampling the researchers identified individuals who had a certain influence in the village (e.g the xefe suku and the aldeias) or as having a reasonable influence and power to influence the village's development policy, such as the district Administrator.

For the snowball sampling, the researchers, in order to know whom they could approach to obtain information, asked purposively sampled individuals to identify these individuals. And finally the researchers selected the individuals out of convenience, who were encountered either during an activity or at their place of residence.

The official documents of the village were also consulted in order to obtain more data, and they were the suku's official records on its population, council meetings and public projects which were implemented locally. Some of these documents were also displayed on the sede suku walls as they contained information data on its population, and also additional information of it public projects.

2.4. Sampling of respondents

Most of the respondents were rice farmers, who were both subsistent and commercial, even though they held other important functions in the suku either as xefe aldeia or as a coordinator of the local veteran's registrar. The female respondents on the other hand reported that although most of their daily activities revolved around the maintenance of their households they also conducted some farming work as a secondary activity. The Religious leaders included are from the Protestant church and the katekista. A breakdown of all the respondents interviewed for this village report can be found in (table3).

		Total
By gender	Male	23
	Female	10
	0-25	2
By age	26 – 39	6

	40 – 55	13
	56 – 70	9
	71-80	1
By profession	Farmers	17
	Local Governance	7
	Government Employer	6
	Business owners	1
	Church	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	10
	Snowball	12
	Convenience	10

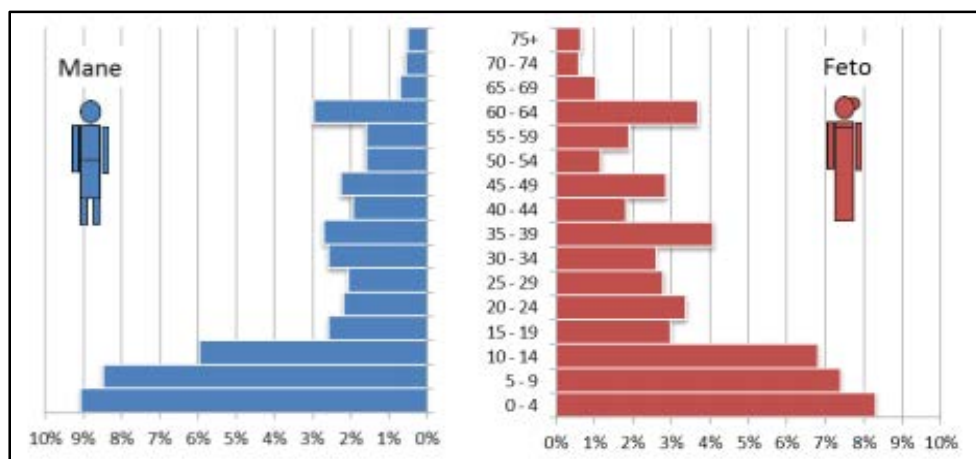
Table 3. Characteristics of respondents

3. Description of the village

3.1. Location and Names of aldeia, village borders

Unlike the description of the other two sukus, DC-1.3 is not part of the same Sub district. It belongs rather to another sub-district together with another 8 suku's which constitute this administrative region. Because of its location, it shares borders with the neighboring village of Neighboring Suku 1, Regional Center in the north and with Neighboring Suku 2 in the east. Among all the other villages that are described here, DC-1.3 is the only suku that faces the Timor Sea to the South.

From the Census taken in 2010, the total population in DC-1.3 is about 2000, which comprises of 396 households. A detailed breakdown of the various groups, by age in DC-1.3, is shown in the Graph 1, below:



Graph 1. Breakdown of village population by age and gender (source: Census 2010)

There is no official data of the Census which provides a further breakdown of the population at the aldeia level, but the village administration carries out its own yearly census and of the census of 2013 the results are shown in Table 4. This suku census therefore provides more details of the population data at the aldeia level.

The Census of Fo Fila Fali carried out in 2010, shows that over 80% of the DC-1.3 population speak Makasai with the Naueti coming second at nearly 20%. There are those who also speak Tetun Prasa, but they are a very small portion of the entire population.

The village itself is further divided into 8 Aldeias: DC-1.3-Aldeia 1, DC-1.3-Aldeia 2, DC-1.3-Aldeia 3, DC-1.3-Aldeia 4, DC-1.3-Aldeia 5, DC-1.3-Aldeia 6, DC-1.3-Aldeia 7 and DC-1.3-Aldeia 8. The language that is spoken in the community is Makasae in Majority followed by small Naueti speakers.

3.4 Livelihoods/Economic development profile (incomes, industries, products, etc.)

Among the villagers of DC-1.3, 72.44% of the households are involved in agricultural activities, and they produce around 70% respectively of , corn, cassava and rice, while the second production is coconut which is about 65%. Among all the other agricultural products, coffee is the only one that is less cultivated and the figure is round about 23% only. The rearing of animals is also prevalent in DC-1.3 and chickens are the highest number which is around 80%, followed by pigs, which are around 75%. The rearing of sheep is much less as it accounts for only 10%. Apart from these, there are also goats, horses and buffalos who are round about the 10 to 20%.

The village has market twice a week on Monday and Thursday where the neighbouring villages such as Neighboring Suku 2, Neighboring Suku 3 and Neighboring Suku 1 also come over.

3.5 Human development profile (literacy, education, health)

The Literacy rate among the young people aged between 15 and 24 is about 60.81%, for males, and 66.33 for females. About a little more than half of the population in the suku of DC-1.3 have never attended any form of education. Those who had the opportunity to attend a school were able to reach only to the primary grades and the figure being slightly higher than 30% while those who completed their pre secondary and secondary school was much lower with a figure round about 5% respectively.

Concerning the health issues, the percentage of mothers who deliver their babies with assistance of a qualified nurse is only 10.4%, which is relatively lower, compared to the low district level figures of 30.5%.⁴

3.6. Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages

In DC-1.3, the population are very much *scattered around* from one place to the other, for this reason, it can be very difficult for some villages to access to some public facilities. Location of the water tanks in Village center consisting of six aldeia (further – Village center), are not located according to Aldeia because in Village Center people live mix together. It is distributed according to the need of the population, like who needs the most. If a certain location have already got their water source like a well, the tank has to be put in an area where people are still lack of water. If an area does not have water, the tank is located in the middle so that people living nearby can have the same access to it.

The land of sede suku was donated by Respondent 32. Respondent 32 said the building is for the community so that is fine. The Place for school building, health post, and all the football field were donated by Respondent 32. He has his farm in Regional Center already during the Portuguese time.⁵

Sede Suku was constructed in 2007. There were three meetings held before building it. We decided to do it because our Suku building was very old already and we had to welcome our visitors from government in that old and building. Money for the construction was given by the state. They had three times meeting of conselho suku before the work started. In the meeting Xefe suku said the budget is \$7000.00 USD for building the sede. He was not sure if the suku got the money because there was proposal from the suku to build it. The three meetings were held here in sede suku.⁶

3.7. Reoccurring problems

DC-1.3 has serious problem with basic sanitation just like most the villages in Viqueque district. The proportion of households with access to improved sanitation system such as the use of pit latrine with

⁴ Unless otherwise stated, data for this report is sourced from the government's 2010 population census.

⁵ DC-1.3_2014067_Respondent 32_FARMER(notes).docx, p. 1

⁶ DC-1.3_20140506_Respondent 8_farmer_builder(NOT).docx, p. 1

ventilation falls within the bottom range at around 0 to 19% . Improved water system like use of water pipe to canalize water into houses or use of manual water pump is within the range of 20 to 39% . This figure is a huge contrast in comparison to the neighboring villages of the same sub district such as Neighboring Suku 1 and Regional center that fall within the range of 80 to 100% .

4. Social Cohesion

4.1. Formal of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

Some villages identify themselves as members of either uma-lulik or uma-lisan. They tend to use often uma-lulik or uma-lisan at any point of their conversation when they talk about their origins, or where they come from as well as geographically. They also use location for their uma-lisan of origin, as this could mean aldeia. Their identification is normally associated with a place of origin or where their parents or grandparents came from. The people who are living in DC-1.3 continue to identify themselves as belonging to their village of origin even though they and their parents were born in the current location. They identify themselves coming from a distant suku when they introduce themselves, and their uma-lulik or uma-lisan are in Baucau district. Besides that, villagers also tend to identify themselves by the Suku where their residence is officially registered. Even though they have moved away to another village they continue to seek help and support from the Suku chief of their original village. Often the original suku chief and aldeia chief are invited to help mediate in their conflicts or problems. They would also vote in that village's election. *For example*, in Respondent 3 case, he considers himself from Suku DC-1.3 because that is where he was born, lives and registered. He was born in DC-1.3-Aldeia 5 further to the north side of DC-1.3. He also considered himself from a suku in Baucau where his ancestors originally from. He also said that most of the people in DC-1.3 are from this suku.

4.1.2. Power and Vulnerability

At the local level the main powers are the Xefe Suku, the Xefe Aldeia and the traditional elders. They are the very central figures. The fact that they are very powerful due to they are members of the suku council, voted by the people through formal elections. When they speak they tend to overpower the others during the meeting. They are very influential when they talk and express their opinions or ideas. Another powerful people are the veterans. They fought for independence and have regular income. They are respected and trusted as well as they gained trust through personal sacrifice. *For example*, in the case of Respondent 5 is

a veteran and his father was a resistance martyr.⁷

The traditional elders or Lian Nain are also powerful, for *example* Respondent 3 is main task is to collaborate with Suku Leadership such as Xefe Suku or Xefe Aldeias to help solving disputes or conflict in the suku or between his own suku and another.⁸ Teachers are also play powerful important role in the community. *For example*, like Respondent 13 is considered as *Intellectual Suku* and invited regularly to attend Suku Council meetings for consultation despite not being member of the council.⁹

The public servant is another important powerful people in the Suku, like Respondent 4 is a powerful and is normally invited to participate in meetings of the village council. *For example*, for the xefe Suku and xefe aldeia are very crucial point for the relationship between inside and outside, between the local level and the government. Usually the Xefe suku and the Xefe aldeia are invited to the Government or NGO meetings to discuss about the infrastructure, clean water, sanitation, etc.

They are then supposed to report back to their Suku council and the rest of the community members. The relationship between the village and Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeia is very close, as the village chief represents the 'exit' to the outside world for the community. Everything that comes from the outside goes through him. The traditional elder is rather traditional powers that rule at the very local level. The main power or duty of the elders is in conflict solution, as many of them are from the traditional political powers or at least in close connection with them. Suku council has the power because they were elected by the community in order to speak and make decision on behalf of the villagers. Because they are part of the formal government system, also gives the Suku council members with powers as government is seen as the institutions with the highest authority over the country and the village.¹⁰ Women coordinators, like Respondent 27 also hold some power, in especially over women in the village. They are expected to lead the women in village activities: such as organize women's in the villages to take part in the meetings and cooking and decoration when there is a village's celebration or independence day celebration.¹¹

The Xefe suku and suku aldeia have the power to postions or to include in public works. A part of that they also involved and organized Conselho Policiamento Komunitario (KPK) activity is to solve conflict prevention and resolution. They became the mediators and counselling or advising peoples who are involved in conflict disputes. For this reason, they are called upon to help settle the problem or conflict in the village.

⁷ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 5-KPK Veteran(NOT) doxc, p. 1

⁸ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 3_LIA NAIN SUKU (NOT) doxc. p. 1

⁹ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 13_Teacher(NOT) doxc, p. 1

¹⁰ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT) doxc, p. 1

¹¹ DC-1.3_2014065_ RESPONDENT 27_YOUNTHFEMALE(notes)doxc, p.2

Another task, they set up council activities such as verifying veteran's data, clean water facility construction, animal keeping and looking after the school condition. Xefe Suku and xefe aldeia call community meetings and decide who to invite and include in the meetings. They become link between village and central government, by making proposals on behalf the community. They make a decision on behalf of the community e.g. negotiate with other sukus to get water to the village. To make it sure that their community members should be accepted to take part in any construction work in the village in order to make some money. ¹²

The vulnerable people in the villages are including: women, orphans, widows, people with disabilities and the poorer member in the community defined as to those who have no decent house, and those who are isolated from the rest of the community because the distances, and not being able to access to the services that are available in the community or villages such as public transportation, school and hospital, toilet and clean water. These are people who considered as vulnerable due to their condition and situation prevents them from being sufficiently independent or being part of community activities.

For women who have no children or never conceived, or have children but moved away or they pass away are also considered as vulnerable because they have no social network to support them when where are in crisis or facing the problem. Another vulnerable people are in the women, they are voices when comes to the decision making process. Most often women are neglected and ignored and their opinions and voices are cast aside. However, women's involvement is normally restricted to traditional role that associated with them, for example cooking, prepare the table, host the guests, and decoration in preparation for the community celebrations. *For example, Respondent 20 never attended any meeting of the Suku, she only learns about it from people passing by in the street in front of my house.* She does not attend because she is not taking part in the Suku council structure.

People who have less opportunity to participate in community/suku/ aldeia activities, decision making process due to the distance where they live is far from the rest of the community. Not being invited to come to the meeting. Often these people do not participate in decision making. Their participation is more limited. Women in the villages attended also the meeting however, as usual do not voice their opinion much. Normally women do not speak a lot, even those who are part of Suku Council like Respondent 7 for example. They only speak when the conversation is about women's traditional role like meal preparation and welcoming visitors. Other than that they barely speak at all. ¹³

4.1.3. Formal and informal community rules (norms)

¹² DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT) doxc, p. 1

¹³ DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 7_(notes) doxc. p.2

Big trees considered as the supernatural beings that protect the village and take care of its prosperity. Some sacred trees in villages are places where rain ceremonies are conducted and are regarded as the protectors of the village and the seat of the ancestors. Sacred objects like big trees tend to be ancestral heirlooms, especially significant objects from oral history of interaction with Sky God, Mother Earth, or battles with the Lord of the Sea. For the community sacred trees are not just gifts in the ordinary sense; rather, they are channels connecting the worshipper with the object or person worshipped. Big tree also considered as sacred trees are often used for asking of a favour is for the whole community and not only for the welfare/health/benefit of the individual person and/or his family. Therefore it should not be cut.¹⁴

The construction of Uma Lisan is another traditional custom. For people in the village it is part of their tradition to build Uma Lisan close to where community lived and it is very important to do so. Before the construction started, everyone in the village will be invited to discuss about building the Uma Lisan once all agreed and the construction will start. There will be a contribution made together and all the contribution will be spent according to their need. The money will be spent mostly to buy food and drinks to feed everyone during the construction process. It is a volunteer work so nobody is paid for helping in doing this construction. All the construction materials were free and sourced locally from the areas nearby. Materials used were bamboo, wood and some special grass for the construction. It will take nearly one or two months in order to complete this construction. They have to build their Uma Lisan because it has been a tradition since their ancestors to build one, otherwise bad things will happen to their family and they need to build next to where their community lives.¹⁵

Animal blood rituals to bless a construction project.

In general, before the construction is built, prior to the placing the main structural posts in the ground, people will have a ceremony. The leaders like, Xefe Suku, xefe aldeia and lia Nain from DC-1.3, all sacred houses are to be present and to say a special blessing in traditional way. They will be assisted by men and women dressed in traditional custom. With traditional ritual like using chicken's blood dripped into the holes where the poles will be placed as well as distributing betel-nut to be chewed by everyone. After the ceremony everyone will be invited to take part in the community meal and to drink white wine (*tua mutin*), where pigs and cows are killed and cooked to serve the community.

Village cleaning

Regarding the general cleaning, people normally come out on the street to cut grass on the roadsides using machete all the way to Be Sia. Now there is a program to do Friday cleaning around Sede Suku. There are

¹⁴ DC-1.3_20140528_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.3

¹⁵ DC-1.3_20140506_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT),doxc.p.1

two ways of informed the village about the cleaning one Xefe aldeia shouts in the street for ever body to hear and the other way is sometimes Xefe Suku and Xefe aldeia informs the people in their house.

Animal keeping

Animal keeping is one of formal rules in order not to let animals go into someone else's farm and destroy plants. Also to avoid the situations where some farmers demand too much money that does not really reflect the damage. However, sometimes when they ask for a lot of money because they really got so much damage to their farms.¹⁶

Water Maintenance Contributions (GMF)

Water maintain contributions, for the maintenance purpose, each of the households that use the water will have to contribute 0.50 cent, health post contributes 1 dolar and the school contributes 2 dollars. The contribution will start once the water starts running but it is not the case yet. Under GMF (*Grupo Manega Facilidade*) there will be a group called GUF (Grupo Uza Facilidade) that will collect the money from users for maintenance purposes. If the collection is not enough GMF will make proposal to SAS (Servisu Agua no Sanemento Distrito). GMF has not had any meeting yet. Once the water project is completed the group will invite the community to have a meeting to inform them about its existence and rules related to money collection and water facility maintenance. The rules were made with the help of SAS (Servisu Agua no Sanemento Distrito).¹⁷

4.1.4. Conflict and conflict mediation

Generally, conflicts in the village revolve around land disputes, arguments, fighting, stone throwing, and domestic violence. Land disputes are more common during planting season when demand for farmland increases. The boundaries between farmlands are often unclear and have overlapping claims. Conflict over right to access farmlands also results in violence with domestic disputes. Domestic violence is another types of violence occurred both village and aldeia levels, is often involves questions of infidelity between couples which can sometimes turn violent and result in physical assaults.

Alcoholism is a common cause for conflict. It is serious problem also among the youth in the Suku. "They sometimes drink and behave in an uncontrolled way after having *Tua Mutin*" - local palm wine. Another common problem is from tensions between families. These tensions are somehow overwhelming and they affect the whole village, because there are no fences between houses, and animals like buffalos, cows and

¹⁶ DC-1.3_20140528_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.1

¹⁷ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT) doxc, p. 1

pigs, walk and run freely across the roads and can destroy crops and farms of neighbors.¹⁸

The last dispute that the council dealt with was in May this year about land between landowner and a villager. The villager wants to use tractor to take some soil to be used for the construction of Central River Bridge but he was stopped by landowner. They had fierce argument and swearing on one another but there was no physical clash. Council managed to solve the problem through meeting at village council where both sides involved.¹⁹

Another common problem that is when animals go into someone else's farm and destroy plants. Besides, when comes to the situations where some farmers demand too much money that does not really reflect the damage. However, sometimes when they ask for a lot of money because they really got so much damage to their farms. Conflict mediation usually involves the aldeia lia-na'in, the aldeia chief and the suku chief, and the police representing formal legal procedure. For disputes involving low-level violence or less, including minor physical assaults, the local lia-na'in and the aldeia chief are called in to mediate. Higher village authorities such as suku chief or the suku council are involved when the conflict becomes complex and when there is a threat that it may escalate further and turn violent. When the case is brought to Lia Nain by the victim and his/ her family. To solve the problem, Lia Nain first asked the victim

"do you want the case to be taken to court or you want to be settled just here?".²⁰

Martial Art groups related violence, DC-1.3 has not experienced any fight between these groups even though there are some of them like korka, Kera Sakti and Padjajaran do exist in the village. Kera Sakti is led by a villager who lives in the village with around 40 members. This is the biggest group. The other groups are very small so their presence is virtually unnoticeable. Their activity became literally inexistent since the government issued a ban on their it.²¹ In relation to the last part, conflict prevention according to Respondent 10, during the 2012 election process, he played an important role to calm down some of the village youth who involved in intimidating minority party in the village like CNRT party members and PD. Most of the youth who involved in the incident were from the majority Fretilin party.²²

Fretilin is the party with the biggest number of followers in DC-1.3. Fretilin coordinator in the village was Respondent 4, PD is led by a local villager and CNRT is headed by Respondent 23 leading the second largest political party in the village. What happen was members and leading figures of these minority party

¹⁸ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 3_LIA NAIN SUKU (NOT) doxc. p. 2

¹⁹ DC-1.3_20140528_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.2

²⁰ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 3_LIA NAIN SUKU (NOT) doxc. p. 2

²¹ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 3_LIA NAIN SUKU (NOT) doxc. p. 2

²² DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 10_Suplente Juventude Mane(NOT)doxc. p.1

got their house stoned by Fretilin youth during the night.²³ According to Respondent 23, In 2009 Respondent 23 tried to form his own package (pakote) to run for Xefe Suku position but decided to drop his ambition due to intimidation. Another pakote was supported by Fretilin Party. He recounted that prior to election he tried to gather supporters to support his package but there was constant intimidation on him and his supporters. His house was stoned at night and people walking in the street in front of his house carrying machete while swearing at him and his family. Some of his family members and his supporters ran away to live in the bush for several nights fearing for their lives.²⁴

4.1.4 Development Priorities

Development priorities of both group are very similar in DC-1.3. The need of powerful community members is primarily for the development of priorities like to clean water, rural roads, housing and sanitation. Secondly it is for construction. For these people are the important components of the village. The need of marginalized community members for primarily development priorities is to have clean water, rural roads, housing and sanitation. The Secondary development priority is to be able to take part in the community activities and to be informed about what is going on in the suku.

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 powerful community members

The first three profiles are those of individuals who hold power and influence in the village:

Xefe Suku Respondent 2: The Xefe Suku, Respondent 2, has 64 years old. He was elected to the position in 2005 after defeating Respondent 3 (is now leader of local CNRT Party and has joined the current village council as Lia nain Suku) in Xefe Suku election.

As xefe suku, he usually presides over community meetings, welcoming guests, thanking organizers, as speaking on behalf of the community. Outsiders who move in to settle in the suku always report to him and seeks his approval. Furthermore, visitors, including companies implementing local construction projects, and NGOs, also consult with him prior to carrying out their work in the village. He is also, through the suku council, responsible for implementing and managing village projects, in particular projects sponsored by external organizations including the central government and the NGOs. He controls the project's cash and the participation of other community members process, including members of the suku council. The project he is part of control over is flood defences in Central River in this year 2014. Respondent 2 organised the suku council hold meetings once a month but when needed it could be more than one meeting a month. The

²³ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_Teacher (notes) doxc, p. 2

²⁴ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_localCNRT coordinator(NOT)doxc. p. 1

last council meeting was on Friday 23 of May, the discussion was about:

- Animal keeping
- Clean Water
- Village cleaning
- Sanitation
- Tractor to work on farmland
- Road opening to lekrae and samalare

Respondent 2 also is a coordinator of KPK (Komisaun Policia Komunitaria) where they got their training provided by police officer coming from Viqueque. Besides, Respondent 2 also is a member of the Church group. As member of Suku council one of his job is to deal and solve conflict within his Suku. As Xefe Sukus his list of priority are includes: Clean water, improving the school building, irrigation for the farmland. For more info, Xefe Suku recommended the REP Team to talk to Respondent 3 - the Lia Nain Suku, The Xefe Aldeias and their Lia Nain, Respondent 23 (Segundo vice KPK and former Ansiao of the village in 2005) and Respondent 15²⁵

Respondent 4 : Respondent 4, 38 years old, from aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 3 and teaches Mathematic in The Village Center Primary School. He is also a resistance veteran. He had received payment of \$ 170.00 US Dolar as recognition for his contribution to the fight for independence. He is within the category of 4-7 which means, as he explains, his involvement in the resistance is between 4 to 7 years and for that he is entitled to receive one-time payment only of \$170.00 US Dollar. Respondent 4 is considered as *Intellectual Suku* and invited regularly to attend Suku Council meetings for consultation despite not being member of the council. For him, being Suku Intellectual means “someone who would contribute actively with positive ideas to solve the problems of the village”. He also supported the pakote of the current council in 2009 election.

Respondent 4 was given responsibility by Village Council to lead a group called GMF (Grupo Maneja Facilidade) which was established by the Village Council with the help of SAS (Servisu Agua no Sanemento Distrito). In its structure, GMF has a leader, two vices, two treasurers and two secretaries. The main mission of GMF is to do maintenance of the village water system once the clean water project that is being constructed by external construction company is completed. GMF is a voluntary group.

Respondent 4 is the leader of the commission. The main responsibility of the Komisaun is to make sure that the necessity of The Village Center School such as the need for teachers or teaching materials are met in

²⁵ DC-1.3_20140528_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.1

order to guarantee education for the pupils. Respondent 4 further gave example that if the school has lack of teacher it could be closed down and the victims would be the students. Therefore there has to be a Komissaun that help the school fulfil its needs in order to avoid such a thing happening. Priority of DC-1.3 according to Respondent 4 is improving the school, better sanitation such as use of latrine for everyone, water installation into each household in the village and road improvement.²⁶

Respondent 10: Respondent 10 has 46 years old from Aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 3. He is part of the Suku Council since 2009 as Suplente (substitute) for Anacleto for the position of male youth representative. Respondent 10 claimed that despite being suplente he is the one doing most of the work for this position.

Being youth representative according to Respondent 10, his responsibility is basically to organize the youth to participate in the village activity such as sport activity like training of volley ball and football, organize matches with the neighbouring villages, a invite the youth to participate in the villages activities like cleaning of Sede Suku, approach the youth and advise them to avoid conflict.

Respondent 10 said among members of the village council, he is the one that the Xefe Suku trust the most because even he does not get any salary he always work for the Suku. Xefe Suku does not know how to ride motorcycle so Respondent 10 keeps his motorbike and drive him everywhere. Respondent 10 added, another reason that Xefe Suku trust him so much is the fact that they are cousin (their fathers are brothers). When it comes to motorbike maintenance he needs to get the money from Xefe suku and return the receipt to the Xefe Suku before Xefe Suku hands it over to Village Secretary, Respondent 6, who keeps the Suku money. In relation to the last part, conflict prevention according to Respondent 10, during the 2012 election process, he played an important role to calm down some of the village youth who involved in intimidating minority party in the village like CNRT party members and PD. Respondent 10 said he was elected to become member of Suku Council through election as part of the Pakote of the current XefeSuku but he does not receive any salary or incentive.

Development Priority Rural road to help the community takes their produce from their farm to market it wherever they want, clean water, housing for the vulnerable people and ditch construction to avoid flooding during rainy season.²⁷

4.2.2 Marginalized Community Members

The next section will consider the profiles of three individuals considered as vulnerable and marginalized:

²⁶ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_Teacher (notes) doxc,

²⁷ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 10_Suplente Juventude Mane(NOT)doxc.

Respondent 24: Respondent 24 is twenty years old, a divorced mother with one child. She works on a farm. She lives with her mother who is also divorced, as her father re-married and is living in the same village. She raises livestock and grows crops and sells them at the Market. She goes to the market in DC-1.3, Neighboring Suku 1 and Baucau to sell the vegetables, pigs and chickens. After selling her vegetables, pigs and chickens she would use the money that she has to buy oil, rice, coffee and clothes.

She is not a member of any agricultural group which is set up in aldeia and her participation in the village activities is limited because most of her time is spent either on the farm or at the market. However, she has taken part in xefesuku election. Her family of origin came from another village but they have settled in DC-1.3 for many years, even before she was born. She continues to identify herself as belonging to the distant village mainly because that's where her uma-lulik is located. However she also continues to be registered in her former village and sometimes would invite her former xefe aldeia to help resolve problems. She goes regularly to health clinic in DC-1.3 for her medical check-ups. For Respondent 24, repairing the roads and building bridges are very important because it gives the people in the village mobility, to move about more freely from one village to another.²⁸

Respondent 16 is 60 years old, a widow and a mother of 4 children, 3 girls and 1 boy. She is a farmer who raises livestock and grows beans, corns and rice in order to pay her children school fees. Her older daughter has borrowed her friend's money, the amount of \$ 36.00 USD to pay for her school's fees and books. Now she needs to work harder to save the money in order to pay back her daughter's friend. This year Respondent 16 had a financial problem and she hopes that her daughter will finish her high school soon, so she can then help her to bring money to the family as well, so that they can save enough to provide for her daughter's future study at University.

Respondent 16 collects corns in three sacks and brings to the market to sell. It cost her \$ 25.00 USD for the transportation to reach the market. She can only sell her corn during the dry season. As a widow she does not receive any financial support from the government. If she could ask the government for assistance to help her and her village, she would ask the amount necessary to cover the expenses for her food and her children school fees.

She is a member of a farmer's group. The group is involved in corn, rice and cassava cultivations. She joined the group because it provides members with tractor to dig the soil for them to grow their crops. In the past they used to have tractor to plough the land now there is no tractor so each member need to work on the field and dig the soil for themselves.

She often cannot attend the meeting in the suku because she works full time in her farm. She also works for other people's farm and they pay her the amount of \$ 2.50 – 3.00 USD per day, so she can pay her children

²⁸ DC-1.3_20142014064_Respondent 24_Vulnerable(notes)doxc.

school fees. She only works in the farm during the dry season. Recently, Respondent 16 went to Viqueque district to collect the material to build her house which was given by the government. She hired the transportation to carry the material but she has not yet paid the transportation that she hired because she cannot afford it. Respondent 16 received a sack of cement and other material to build her house, but it seems that they are not enough to build a house. She still needs more money, however, decided not to ask for help from the Suku because she cannot afford to pay for the person who will be dealing on her behalf in regards to this house building matter. Respondent 16 is originally from another village and her husband from Viqueque. She was part of klanestine group and work for the falentil people in the bush. Her husband went to jail in Atauro. She has not received the money as a veteran because her paper work was not yet completed. As a woman she is not able to participate in the project because the project is only for men therefore she does not know the salary of the workers. Respondent 16 is coming from an external village and her tradition is from that location, she is not familiar with tradition in her current place. She does not know whether there is no conflict in the village because she spends most of the time working in the farms. Respondent 16's daughter used to receive money from the government when she was in primary school; an amount of \$ 40.00 USD. When she reached to secondary school age she was no longer entitled to this support. Respondent 16 was upset and told Xefe Suku not to come to collect her children names because the government is no longer supports her children financially. In this community whether people are happy or not she had no idea. Everyone minds their business. The community needs are includes: road, clean water and school. ²⁹

Respondent 32 is 55 years old and is a farmer. A part from being as a farmer, his role in the village also is to be a mediator of the conflict in regards to land dispute and relationship dispute between the couples. Respondent 32 became a mediator of the conflict since 1981 and he used his own house as place where the individual, couple and community come to solve their conflict.

As a mediator Respondent 32 used his skill of mediator according to the traditional and custom of this place. As a part of mediator role, Respondent 32 is normally recommended to individual or both parties to provide animal like chicken and cow or pig to bring in and offer to each other as a sign of reconciliation. After that, these animal are going to be kill and cook for all the participant be eat and to be witnesses of this reconciliation. However, according Respondent 32 if the conflict or the issue goes beyond his capacities or it involved harm to themselves or others then Respondent 32 will make referral to the police or the court for further investigation.

Respondent 32 does not received salary for doing this job. His voluntary doing this job and because he was

²⁹ DC-1.3_2014062_RESPONDENT 16_Vulnerable(notes)docx

elected by the people in the village to do this job, therefore he is proud and willingly to do it. Respondent 32 said that he has learned this skill from his own grandfather. He used to sit besides his grandfather and listen to him carefully of what was saying to the people in conflict and watching him play a role as a mediator.

Respondent 32 said that he has own a big land which was given by his grandparent. The Portuguese and Indonesia government used my land to build Xucu Council office, school, clinic and soccer field without giving him the money, now the same thing happen again with new government even though we are already independent. Respondent 32 feels is facing a big dilemma; he cannot ask the money because most of suku council members are his own family and he has being told not to ask for money because they are his family he can only ask the money from Government. Respondent 32 said he had been discussed this matter with Xefe Suku and the school principle see if they could help him by bring this matter to the government, but until now they have done nothing about it. Respondent 32 had been told that he cannot ask for money just as it is because the school, hospital and suku council office were built for the community and their our children future and the government do not have money to pay for used of these building. He also being told not to make a complaint about this matter, otherwise the government will close the school and hospital and everyone in the community would be remaining disadvantages. Respondent 32 said his priority for this village would be a tractor to plough their land, right now so many farmers in the village are behind with their job in farm because they need a tractor.³⁰

5. Institutions and Power

5.1 Constellation of village groups

5.1.1 Local Governance Profile

The local government institution in the village is primary based in The Village Center. The xefe suku is normally the head of the council includes the village secretary, representatives of social groups and all the xefe aldeias.

Within the representative of social group there are also two women representative, a male and a female youth representative, an elder or ansiaun, and a lia-na'in.³¹

The election for the village council is in every five years. The members of the village council are elected as part of a *pakote* with candidates for the various positions in the council, including xefe aldeias, elected as a group on a single ticket since 2009. Since the suku council holds the highest formal authority in the village, they play important role in making decision for the suku as well as to maintain the community

³⁰ DC-1.3_2014067_RESPONDENT 32_Vulnerable(notes)doxc

³¹ DC-1.3_20140528_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.1

welfare.

The xefe suku is the head of the suku council as well as the representative of the village. In collaborate with the xefe aldeai, the xefe suku is responsible for the welfare of his village, including managing responses to conflict mediation process as well as local disaster that occur in his village. Besides, xefe suku also organize the community activities and manage government projects implemented locally by the villagers. The PAAS or village secretary is an employee of the Ministry of State Administration (*Estatal*). This position was not part of the electoral ticket however it was appointed through normal recruitment process used for public servants. The PAAS role is to assist the suku council perform its administrative roles, such as drafting proposals and communication letters, filing of village documents, and registration of public projects being undertaken locally. Each individual of council member has their own roles. The youth and women's representatives advocate for the welfare of their groups including organizing activities to specific to their constituents. Whereas the ansiaun, or the council elder, and the lia-na'in, primarily focus on conflict mediation and counseling.

Within the suku there are divided into eight aldeais. Xefe aldeia is the head of the aldeia in assisted by a lia'in. the role of xefe aldeia is to managing the welfare of his vilages within his area that includes, assisting the villages address the problem such as natural disaster and mediating the conflict. One of the xefe aldeia's role is provides a conduit or channel between the suku and aldeia and he often acts as the local community organizer, where he organizing community meetings, making door-to-door announcements, and gathering community members to participate in collective actions whether at aldeia or at village level. The role of the lia-nain adat helps the xefe aldeia mainly in conflict mediation and handles the traditional processes of the mediation.

The FDC fund was provided by district level. DC-1.3 got 10.000 US dollars. Xefe Suku and suplentejuventude who went to get the Money from Viqueque. After receiving the money, Xefe Suku distributed it to all the 8 Xefe Aldeias, each got 1000 dollars. Xefe Suku was the one keeping the money and he himself distributed it to Xefe Aldeias. That money was spent by each aldeia to buy cows. Each aldeia organize itself in groups to distribute one cow per group. Once a cow delivers baby, the first who receives the cow keeps the baby and the mother is passed on to next member of the group. Xefe Suku said, after the money is distributed, the only thing he heard back from aldeias was that all the cows bought using FDC money were already dead due to diseases. None of the Xefe aldeia presented Xefe Suku any receipt on how the money was spent. Distributing 1000 to each Aldeia, He decided to keep 1000 dollar for using on Suku needs. He said from the 1000 dollars, 300 was spent for market opening ceremony in DC-1.3 to buy food and drink and 700 is still with him, kept in his house. He said that he decided to keep it in his house in order to serve village activity. When the next Xefe suku comes in, it will be given to the next XefeSuku. We need

that money so that if the Suku money is not enough for our activity we can use that money as well.³²

The church like Protestant Church also has its own structure and catechist/ katekista and ketua dewan are in charge of it. Their task is to lead the prayer during the community services, community events or public meetings. Besides, they also prepare couples to get married in the church. Whereas, ketua dewan is running meeting and organise activities within the church. They also involve in decision making process in regards to the local Protestant Church activities and dealing on behalf of the faithful during public meetings.³³

Youth group: Most of the youth of the village take part in a Club called KAKATUA. The club was founded in 1995. Respondent 10 said he is the person currently leading the group from the male side while Respondent 27 is the one leading the female side. The group organize frequently friendly matches with other club or sports group in neighbouring villages such as Neighboring Suku 1. Recently Club Kakatua just had a match with Neighboring Suku 1 Pre-secondary school which DC-1.3 won in men's football and lost in women's volleyball. The Club does not have any permanent source of finance except some contribution from the members like 50 cent to 1 dollar to buy water and some snack when they train or when they participate in matches. Respondent 7 is the Club's treasurer. During meeting in Suku Council the spending of the Club is read out to everyone. In 2014 the Secretary of State of Youth and Sport had a programme to distribute Jersey, Voley Ball, Football, nets to all the villages in East Timor. For DC-1.3, Xefe Suku and Respondent 10 went to Viqueque to get theirs. It is the equipment that KAKATUA is currently using whenever they train or have a match. During meeting in Viqueque where they got their equipment Respondent 10 said he raised the issue to Secretary of t State to help DC-1.3 building a basketball and volleyball court but he was told that there was no budget for that.³⁴

5.1.2 Suku Group Profiles

The agriculture groups mainly represented by farmers and has been formed in all aldeias with varying success. The structure of these groups follow a common pattern with a president who leads the group, a treasurer who is responsible for the group's finances, and a secretary who assists the president in managing group's activities. The Suku council works closely with all the agriculture groups to organize tractors to work on their farms. All the 8 aldeias, each has one group. Xefe suku said it was important to have it organized so the farmers would not fight for it and everyone just have to wait for their turn³⁵.

³² DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.2

³³ DC-1.3_20140603_Respondent 19_Catechist(Notes)doxc, p.2

³⁴ DC-1.3_2014065_RESPONDENT 27(notes)doxc,p.2

³⁵ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.5

Lekarae Group (Respondent 21)

The group was formed in 2007. The name of the group is Lekera. The group was initiated by a group leader called Respondent 21. The group has 25 members. The objective of the group is to have a tractor coming to dig the soil so the members can grow the crops. The group still continues up till now. The group is supported by the ministry of agriculture. The group activities such as organising the members to cultivations corn, beans, and vegetables. The group also organised meeting where everyone can take part: They discussed about: working cooperatively, how to share the goods among ourselves and looking after those who have less than us in Aldeia and how to look after the farm. The Lekarae group is working together with the local government. Recently each member contributed \$ 1.00 and put together the amount to buy food for all of us when we attend the meeting in Baucau. They spoke to Xefe Suku to work cooperatively but he refused. ³⁶

Laliu de Baixo

The group has 30 members. Xefe Suku and Xefe are also members of this group. The group was formed to ask the government to provide them with tractor to dig the soil so that they could grow their crops. The leader said that, in the past they used to have tractor coming so often to do the job for them. For some reason the Government no longer sent them a tractor.

Laliu de Cima Group

Currently the member has 4 people. The group is involved in the cultivation of corn, rice and cassava. She joined the group because it provides a member with a tractor to dig the soil for them in order to grow their crops. In the past they used to have tractor coming to dig and prepare the soil while now there is no tractor so each member needs to work on their field and dig the soil without the help of a tractor. ³⁷

5.2 Formation of village groups*5.2.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

Xefe suku task is to provide link between the higher level government authorities and the villagers. He is the one control the government projects implemented in the village. ³⁸ He and his council together, they assist the community when there is a local natural disaster as well as mediate conflicts when there is a need arises. Besides, he also passing on the information to the community through a word of mouth and placing the news on the community notice board at the suku office in regards to the government program, pensions,

³⁶ DC-1.3_2014063_RESPONDENT 21_Xefe Lekera(notes)docx. p. 1

³⁷ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 13_Teacher(NOT)docx. P. 1

³⁸ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 10_Suplente Juventude Mane(NOT)docx p.5

and public events. For example, he places the list of names of pensioners eligible for benefit payment. Together with his suku council they take control and keep on eye the movement of the population in and out of the village, this can be either the settlers or visitors. For instance, if there is an information session conducted by either from government level or NGO in the village then xefe suku and his council are required to be present and get involved in the process. As a head of the suku council xefe suku is speaks on its behalf and represents it at community events, public meetings, and official government meetings at the sub-district or district offices. Usually, decision process is made by the suku council. The community is welcome to participate and give their opinions or ideas. However, the members of the suku council are the one have the right to vote by raised their hand. However, if there is an important decision which affect the whole community, then the council is also considered to involve the community in the process.³⁹ Xefe suku is hold the most powerful position within the suku council. The process of his promotion to the current role of leadership both of the council and of the community began with suku election when he was positioned as the leading candidate in the *pakote*. As the head of the village, community members often refer to him instead of the suku council when they speak of village governance.⁴⁰ Of all the members of the suku council, only the xefe suku and to some extent, the xefe aldeia, is included in the category of people referred to as the *ema-boot* or big, important people.⁴¹ These facts provide the xefe suku with incredible power over the other council members. As such, the xefe suku controls most of the council activities including control over implementation of government projects and key decisions. The xefe suku can also make decision without consultation with the other council members or decide who to include in a particular process.⁴²

5.2.2 Financial Management

Usually xefe suku is the one receives and managing the funding from the government to pay for government sponsored projects implemented locally by the villagers. Through this type of funding, xefe suku is primarily in charge of managing the project's cash. He received the cash on behalf of the suku council, he keeps it, and manages its disbursement. In regards to decision about disbursement is made in consultation with other council members, particularly he deals with the member representing the social group in which the project is targeting. In this case, sometimes not all council members are involved in this process nor are they informed about it. However, Xefe suku and his secretary informed the community about the expenses that suku council has done in relation to suku activities. The expenses items was read aloud and everyone listened to it and agreed. For some groups like Fretilin Party or Youth group have some level of

³⁹ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc,p.5

⁴⁰ DC-1.3_2014065_RESPONDENT 27(notes)doxc,p.1

⁴¹ DC-1.3_2014066_RESPONDENT 31_Farmer(notes)doxc, p. 1

⁴² DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc,p.1

accountability to its members or donators by providing report or receipt or reading out their expenditure during meetings. Where as, in some groups in the end of the activities expenditure are read out to its members with receipts like the sport groups but it is not happen very often due to the size of their budget and report writing is common with Political party groups because there is requirement from higher structure to do so but in most cases that does not happen at all.⁴³

The FDC is one of the examples, where the fund was provided by district level. DC-1.3 got 10,000 US dollars. XefeSuku and suplente juventude who went to get the Money from Viqueque. After receiving the money, XefeSuku distributed it to all the 8 XefeAldeias, each got 1000 dollars. XefeSuku was the one keeping the money and he himself distributed it to XefeAldeias. That money was spent by each aldeia to buy cows. Each aldeia organize itself in groups to distribute one cow per group. Once a cow delivers baby, the first who receives the cow keeps the baby and the mother is passed on to next member of the group. XefeSuku said, after the money is distributed, the only thing he heard back from aldeias was that all the cows bought using FDC money were already dead due to diseases. None of the Xefealdeia presented XefeSuku any receipt on how the money was spent. Distributing 1000 to each Aldeia, He decided to keep 1000 dollar for using on Suku needs. He said from the 1000 dollars, 300 was spent for market opening ceremony in DC-1.3 to buy food and drink and 700 is still with him, kept in his house. He said that he decided to keep it in his house in order to serve village activity. When the next Xefesuku comes in, it will be given to the next Xefe Suku. The community needs that money so that if the Suku money is not enough for our activity we can use that money as well. The market was open before next to a river, but then it was transferred to the center in 2012 because of constant flooding. With the Market opening there was sporting activity held such as volley ball and football so the money was also used for buying presents for the winners. He said that the community knows about the money and know on what is spent because Respondent 6 informing people about the spending in Village meetings. He added that, everyone agreed because the money is spent on village needs. In relation to independence party in Viqueque, XS explained that the sub district only provided 50 dollars for each Suku for the XefeSuku and his members could go to attend the celebration in Viqueque. He went to Viqueque with six other people from DC-1.3 in three motorbikes. Those people were chosen to go because they have motor bikes. The 50 dollars were used for fuel, cigarette and food for six of them. He gave 10 dollars for each motorbikes owner for fuel. 10 dollars was used for buying food and 20 dollars are kept by him for buying food later in the village whenever they have meeting.⁴⁴

⁴³ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.1

⁴⁴ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),doxc.p.2

5.2.3 Collective action among groups

The suku council collaborates with other suku. With regard to groups there are few groups such as KPK which is Community Policing Commission. Its members got their training provided by police officer coming from sub-district. Xefe Suku himself is the coordinator and a policeman, is the vice coordinator. There also agriculture groups that were helped established by an extensionista from sub-district. Each aldeia has one group so 8 agriculture groups in total. Church group is led by Respondent 13, *ketuadewan*. Xefe Suku himself, Respondent 5 and Respondent 15 are all member of the Church group. Even though, collective action among groups in DC-1.3 does not happen very often. However, in case of Youth Club, they organize sports matches with neighboring villages' teams. In case of sport groups planning consists of training, letter writing to inform the opponent, welcoming visitors or travelling to the opponent's base for the matches. Sports group: to know people and enhance friendship. Club Kakatua works really closely with village council in terms of small funding and sporting equipment. Agriculture groups works closely with District Agriculture Directorate for its establishment and on provision of tractors for ploughing their land. In terms of mobile villagers to perform work in the neighboring suku, sometimes this does not happen due to the distance or group commitment does not allow the members to take part in this events.⁴⁵

5.2.4 Communication strategies

Usually communication between the suku council and the community conducted through door-to-door visit. The xefe aldeia and their assistant are responsible for contacting community members in their own aldeias. However these door-to-door visits are employed only when the council plans to hold community meetings or when inviting households to participate in a village activity or to remind villagers about such activity. Announcements of village decisions are also made during community meetings. Furthermore, the suku council also posts notices on a notice board at the suku office to announce new rules (such as eligibility for military draft) or community events (such as community meeting to discuss STDs among men). Also announcement of the village can also deliver in the Sunday mass in the church or through the word of mouth by the *geladores*. Spite of this, some people like women especially in the remote area still do not receive the information, e.g Respondent 26 and some other women.⁴⁶

5.2.5 Creation and termination of groups

⁴⁵ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE Suku (NOT),doxc.p.4

⁴⁶ DC-1.3_2014065_RESPONDENT 26_Farmer(notes)doxc p.2

Most of the new groups created in the village with the following purposes; for example, sport club, was created to channel the interest of the community members into sports. Agriculture group is another new group, was created to have government's tractors coming to plough their land. Church group also created in order for the community to have Sunday mass, organize choir to sing during the mass and to receive visit. However, these groups can only active when there are activities related to their existence.

One example of group initiative by the government level was in 2014 the Secretary of State of Youth and Sport had a program to distribute Jersey, Voley Ball, Football, nets to all the villages in East Timor. For DC-1.3, it is distribute in sub-district so xefe Suku went to get theirs. It is the equipment that sports group is currently using whenever they train or have a match. During meeting in Viqueque where they got their equipment xefe suku said the raised the issue to Secretary of State to help DC-1.3 building a basketball and volleyball court but he was told that there was no budget for that. It is very difficult to say that the groups mentioned has been terminated because they could be active again if there is an activity related to the group (example: local political parties are active when there is election).⁴⁷

Another example of group initiative by the government was Laliu de Baixo Group was started because there was a plan coming from the Ministry of Agriculture to provide tractors to help working the farmers land but for that to happen farmers were told to organize themselves in group. Farmers got that assistance in 2008 and 2009 only; there has not been any assistance in this regard since then. Soon members of the group became unmotivated because there was no more tractors assistance from the government and they could not find market for their product because governments stop buying it. During the group meeting the members were told that, "Farmers plant, government buy" but such thing did not happen regularly. The farms also has no proper fences so animals frequently cross into them and damage the plants⁴⁸

5.3.Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

The Kakatua club

The Kakatua club women and men group are involved and organised netball game between the suku. Both men and women groups have been play netball against anothersuku as well as another district. The group also want to play on the national level but they have been told that they do not have a budget for this kind of activity. Spite of this, the group has their own initiative, they organised each one donated money \$ 0.50 cent to put together in order to buy drinks when they play the game. When there is not enough money they

⁴⁷ DC-1.3_2014065_RESPONDENT 27(notes)docx,p.2

⁴⁸ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 13_Teacher(NOT)docx. P. 1

will ask xefe Suku to assist them with some money and they said that xefe suku always willing to contribute toward this need so that they can buy the drinks and other small things for the group. In the group they elected someone to collect the money and also taken care of group need as they do not have a budget for this sport. When they organise the games, they often use their own transportation, like the motor cycle and for those who do not have transportation they just walk on foot from one suku to another. The Kakatua group has been in existence for long time. It is one of the oldest groups in our Village. The first members are old now and they are the younger generation who are carrying on this group said the group leader. They group received the uniform which was donated by the minister of the sport. Even though they have two groups separated in the group, they try to work together towards the same goal. When there is an invitation to play against another group in another suku, this group always comes together to organise and prepare the young people in suku for training and accompany them to the games. Recently they prepared young people in the suku to play against the secondary students in Neighboring Suku 1. They organised the training and they accompanied the young people to Neighboring Suku 1 to play with the secondary students. The men group won the games but the women did not win the game.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ DC-1.3_2014065_RESPONDENT 27(notes)doxc,p.2

5.4. Formation of Village Governance

5.4.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

The highest leadership position in DC-1.3 is held by the Xefe Suku, Respondent 2. Together with his Suku Council members they are responsible for the village governance. Apart of being Xefe Suku, Respondent 2 is also leading other village organizations affiliated to the council such as the Community Policing Commission (KPK) and Commission for the Protection of The Village Center School (Komisaun Proteje Eskola)⁵⁰. Apart from the Xefe Suku, there are figures that play also important leadership role behind the scene such as Respondent 4 and Respondent 10. Respondent 4 is a teacher at The Village Center Primary school and is considered as suku intellectual⁵¹ while Respondent 10 is member of the council and the alternate of the male village youth representative.⁵² A more detail explanation about these two person and the Xefe Suku is provided later in the explanatory cases.

With regard to the leadership style, there are decision that Xefe Suku just decides on his own without further consultation with his council members or the wider community. A prime example of it was the decision to take out one thousand dollars of the total ten thousand Community Development Fund (FDC) destined for the Aldeias and diverted it to what he call as “administrative needs of the Suku”⁵³. However, in relation to issues that community participation is crucial for the success such as village cleaning or animal keeping, here his approach is more participatory.

In relation to suku elections, in the previous system, to run for Xefe Suku someone has to do it through party. Having party support is crucial. In 2005 the current Xefe Suku ran for Fretilin party and won it⁵⁴. In 2009 the system was changed, a candidate has to form a *pakote* (a list) where within the pakote he or she should have a complete list of people who would occupy position in the structure of the village council from Suku to the Aldeia level if elected. Unable to form the pakote can be disqualified from the process. That was the case with one of the potential candidate who decided to drop his pakote due to inability to form his pakote⁵⁵. According to him that was partly due to intimidation that some of his supposed Xefe Aldeia candidate afraid to join his pakote and run for the election⁵⁶.

A village election commission was also set up to organize the process. In 2009 in DC-1.3, it was

⁵⁰ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁵¹ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

⁵² DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁵⁶ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT),

Respondent 4 who led the commission but interestingly enough the commission also was the one choosing everyone to fill the pakote of the current Xefe Suku⁵⁷. There was also training held for the voters on how to choose their preferred candidates⁵⁸.

In relation to groups affiliated to Suku Council like KPK or GMF, how the structure is appointed is different. In the case of KPK, Xefe Suku automatically became the coordinator of the group because that is the rule coming from the Ministry of Defence and Security⁵⁹. It also has representatives of veterans, business people and farmer in the structure. The members are not elected but appointed. According to one of the respondent who represents the veterans in KPK, he was appointed to the position because he has experience of problem solving since the resistance time⁶⁰.

*“I was appointed to sit in the KPK because I am competent and because I have experience tracing back to the resistance time”.*⁶¹

Regarding the GMF, it is a group that was helped established by district water directorate (District SAS). It is also affiliated to Suku Council. Unlike KPK, Xefe Suku is not the coordinator of GMF but Respondent 4, an influential primary school teacher, who was appointed for the position⁶².

Those at leadership position seem to have legitimacy to lead from various sources. That can be due to the fact that the person is elected, active involvement during the resistance era or the activities that they have completed in the past. With regard to Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeias many respondents say that it is the election that legitimize their power⁶³.

*“...we follow the Xefe Suku because we elected him to the position, so if we would not follow and listen to him, who else would?”*⁶⁴

With Xefe Suku specifically many also mentioned the fact that he was leading the community of DC-1.3 in Mount Matebian during Indonesia invasion and stayed with his people during the time they were exiled in Atauro⁶⁵.

In terms of decision making process, in DC-1.3 many of the decisions are made by a restricted group of people constituted normally by some members of the Suku Council including Xefe Suku,

⁵⁷ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁵⁸ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 20_Housewife and Farmer (NOT)

⁵⁹ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 5_KPK Veteran (NOT)

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

⁶³ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 3_LIA NAIN SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 5_KPK Veteran (NOT), DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 16_Farmer (NOT).docx

⁶⁴ DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 16_Farmer (NOT).docx

⁶⁵ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 3_LIA NAIN SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 5_KPK Veteran (NOT)

the suku intellectuals and some veterans⁶⁶. They together identify a problem such as lack of water or lack of health facility that the village faces and act upon it, normally by writing proposal to ask for assistance from the government⁶⁷. Community wide participation in decision making process is not really happening even though there are claims that the community is often consulted in the decision making process.

5.4.2. Financial management

The primary source of funding of the village council is the administrative fund provided by the government in the amount of one hundred dollars per month. The money is given once in every six month⁶⁸. In DC-1.3 officially the village secretary is the person who handle the fund. According to the village secretary, he just keep the money in his house and use it whenever Suku requires anything with Xefe Suku's approval such as buying food and drinks to welcome visitors, buying papers for administrative purposes, spending on church activities, lulik rituals, fuel for Suku motorbike and things related⁶⁹. The Village Secretary also said that he keeps all the receipt of the spending⁷⁰.

In relation to transparency and accountability, one of the respondents, who is very critical of Suku Council, claims that he participates regularly in Suku meetings⁷¹. However he cannot recall of any instances where the Suku Council inform the people about their spending at all⁷². He added that he could question them on any other topic but he did not feel comfortable himself to talk only about money⁷³.

*"I never questioned them about the spending. Who would go to the meeting and question about it? People would think that I was jealous and I was after money only"*⁷⁴

This kind of mindset could help perpetuating lack of transparency and accountability in the village.

Apart of the fund given by the government, the Suku also get some income from cockfighting. It has an arena made of wooden fences that holds cockfighting twice a week in the market days in the afternoon⁷⁵. Whoever won should pay 1 dollar for the arena. Whenever there is a game, it is a teacher who is responsible for collecting the money from the winner⁷⁶.

⁶⁶ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁶⁹ DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

⁷⁰ DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁷¹ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT)

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ DC-1.3_20140528_Observation note (NOT)

⁷⁵ DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

⁷⁶ Ibid

Occasionally the suku also receives some money to be spent on specific government projects. Example of it is the ten thousand dollars FDC Fund⁷⁷ and seven thousand dollars budget for building the Sede Suku⁷⁸. In relation to the FDC Fund, Xefe Suku was the one who handle the money and distributed it himself one thousand dollars per aldeia⁷⁹. He also decided to keep some amount in his house without any consultation⁸⁰. According to him, that money is used for Suku administration because the one hundred dollars a month destined for that purpose is not enough⁸¹.

Normally every year, there is specific budget given by sub district government for Independence Day celebration in the village⁸². For the last celebration the money given was only 50 dollars, not to hold celebration in the village but to participate in the one held at the sub district office in Viqueque⁸³. Xefe suku went there in a convoy of six people in three motorbikes they spent thirty dollars for fuel and food, the rest of it he brought back and keeps in his house⁸⁴.

In terms of the salary, Xefe Suku receives 128 dollars per month, Xefe Aldeias receives 83 dollars and other elected members of the council receives 40 dollars per month. However the salary is received once every six months⁸⁵. Every positions in the structure of the village council has a *suplente* or basically a substitute or alternate who would feel the vacuum if the main person is unavailable⁸⁶. These people do not receive any salary. One of the respondent who is suplente for the male youth representative position showed his dissatisfaction in this regard⁸⁷.

*"I do not know about suplentes in other suku but in DC-1.3 suplentes work very hard. Unfortunately we are not rewarded with any salary at all.... This is unfair. It is government's policy."*⁸⁸

In some cases the suplente get some money from the main person that occupy that position. This is the case with Xefe Aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 6 who said he gives some money to his suplente whenever he receives it because he is illiterate and the suplente does all the paperwork⁸⁹.

⁷⁷ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 9_XA DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT), DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 14_XA DC-1.3-Aldeia 6 (Voic), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁷⁸ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder(NOT)

⁷⁹ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 10_Suplente Juventude Mane (Voice)

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 14_XA DC-1.3-Aldeia 6 (NOT)

“...we divide our work, he does the writing and I do the talking.”⁹⁰

The same is the case with suplente of aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 4 who receives some money from his Xefe Aldeia due to the same reason previously mentioned. He calls that money “osan sigaru nian” (cigaretts money)⁹¹. One of the respondent also said that the male youth representative shares half of his salary with his suplente because the suplente does all the work⁹².

In relation to groups affiliated to the Suku Council such as KPK and GMF both group are still new and have not got any specific funding yet. However with regard to KPK once operational the funding will come from the government in the amount of five hundred dollars every six month for operational and administrative cost⁹³. With regard to GMF because it is related to maintenance of the ongoing clean water project, therefore the project is completed all the community members who have access to water will contribute 1 dollar per month for maintenance purposes of the clean water system.⁹⁴

5.4.3. Collective action among group

In terms of cooperation with village institution, the local governance structure cooperate very closely with groups like the Club Kakatua, KPK, GMF and the agriculture groups.

With the Club Kakatua, although it is a club that was created in the 90s and is supposed to be an independent of the Suku Council however the conduct of its activities relies on suku council funding and sports equipment such as jerseys, balls, nets etc. The equipment that the Suku got from the Secretary of State for Youth and Sport is used by the club⁹⁵. Whenever the club participate in any match, it is the council that provide funding for buying water, snack and bubble gum for the team. The suplente of the male youth representative of the Suku Council is the leader of the male team of the club while the female side of it has Respondent 27 as the coordinator who also represents female youth in the Suku⁹⁶.

In relation to KPK and GMF, the KPK works side by side with the council and the Xefe Suku himself is the coordinator of the KPK as required by law. Many members of the council also take part at in the KPK. GMF is also established as an affiliate of the council with the help of district water directorate (SAS)⁹⁷.

Apart from those that are already mentioned, the Suku Council also cooperates with the village groups. Whenever the government provide tractors to help ploughing the farms the village groups

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 18_Supl Xefe Aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 4 (NOT)

⁹² DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT)

⁹³ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 2_OPS Village (NOT)

⁹⁴ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

⁹⁵ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 10_Suplente Juventude Mane (NOT)

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

work closely with the council and agriculture *Estensionista* (official) to organize the work⁹⁸. The Estensionista helped established those groups. His name is living in Viqueque and works for the District Agriculture Directorate⁹⁹.

The village council also interact regularly with external actors such as the sub district or district office, private companies, neighbouring suku and the Ministries.

With sub district or district level the interaction is more frequent through regular meetings that Xefe Suku attends in sub-district every Monday or frequent sending of proposals to the sub-district authorities to ask for assistance. Regarding private company, any company coming to the village should notify the Xefe Suku before start implementing their activity¹⁰⁰. With the neighbouring Suku for example with Neighboring Suku 1, the two have met in the past to solve a problem related to animals from Neighboring Suku 1 going into farms in DC-1.3 and damage the crops. The two villages established a joint team to verify what happen and decide the compensation to be paid¹⁰¹. Some government official like the Minster of State Administration and the Vice Minister of Health have also visited the village in the past where the villagers used the opportunity to ask for construction of the Sede Suku and Health Post respectively¹⁰².

5.4.4. *Communication Strategies*

The village communicate with the community in various ways including house to house visits, shouting through the neighbourhood or the word-of-mouth. It is the Xefe Aldeias the ones who are tasked to inform the community on any village decisions or invitations to attend certain meetings at Sede Suku. However the suplente of the male youth representative also claims that he is the most trusted and reliable man of the Xefe Suku, therefore sometimes it is him who deliver information to the villagers.¹⁰³ He said also that normally contact from the outside like from sub district or district about any event the information passes through him before it gets to Xefe Suku because Xefe Suku does not have mobile phone of his own¹⁰⁴.

Many members of the council claim that normally the information is delivered from door to door however there are respondents who say that sometimes Xefe Aldeia just shouts through the neighbourhood to deliver information and others hear about it from word-of-mouth¹⁰⁵.

There are aldeias that are too far away from the centre like DC-1.3-Aldeia 7 and DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 that literally exist within other villages of Neighboring Suku 3 and Neighboring Suku 2. It is hard for the information to spread quickly until there just through word-of-mouth. If the Xefe

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT

¹⁰⁰ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT

¹⁰¹ DC-1.3_20140529_RESPONDENT 3_LIA NAIN SUKU (NOT)

¹⁰² DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁰³ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 10_Suplente Juventude Mane (NOT))

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 20_Housewife and Farmer (NOT)

Aldeia does not turn up in the meeting of the council, it is very unlikely that those people would get any information¹⁰⁶.

6. Public Goods

6.1. Constellation of Village Infrastructure Projects

Suku DC-1.3 has several infrastructure project that spread around The Village Center, the centre of the Village. There are some also located in the aldeias of DC-1.3-Aldeia 7 and DC-1.3-Aldeia 8. Following is a list of infrastructure project identified during the 12 days visit to DC-1.3:

#	Project Name	Location	Type	Objectives
1	Uma Lisan	DC-1.3-Aldeia 8	Community Project	Maintain traditions and avoid bad thing from happening
2	Health Post	The Village Center	Government	Serving community's health need
3	Clean Water Complex	Spread around The Village Center	Government	Supplying clean water to the community
4	Central river Retention wall	Central river. Crossing point to Neighboring Suku 1	Government	Landslide prevention, protection of Lugasa bridge and secure transportation rout between Viqueque and two Sub districts to the east
5	The Village Center school	The Village Center	Government	Education infrastructure
6	Village Office	The Village Center	Government	For Suku administration center
7	Water tank of Colega da Paz	The Village Center Center	NGO/Community	
8	Fisherman Center			
9	Catholic Chapel			

¹⁰⁶ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 28_Farmer DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

10	Protestant Chapel			
11	Blue Bridge			
12	Community wells			
13	Electricity post			

The listing above is not exhaustive and further projects that were found during the field visit can be found in the DC-1.3 Data Management System.

6.2. Formation of Infrastructure Projects (Explanations that have passed tests and quotes)

6.2.1 Project Selection and Decision making process

Project identification in DC-1.3 is done depending on the type of the projects, whether government or community projects. In relation to government projects, although there are claims of wide community participation in the process, looking at the answers of many respondents, can be interpreted clearly that the processes are done more within a circle of people who are close to or trusted the most by Xefe Suku whose opinions and ideas are sought upon the most. This circle is constituted by some members of the Suku Council, some veterans and the village intellectuals¹⁰⁷. They sometimes meet to discuss about the village needs, identify the priorities and writing proposals to the government asking for assistance. The prime example of these can be the health post, water complex and the retention wall over Central river.

In DC-1.3 there are very few cases of community based infrastructure project. Within this typology, the construction of an Uma Lisan in Aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 the decision making process is done in a very simplified way. Since the project is conducted by a group of seven families, related to that particular Uma Lisan, it is the oldest and the most respected member of the families who speaks and decide on what to do while the others just follow¹⁰⁸.

Since in either typology, projects are usually selected by a limited number of people, voting or hands raising is not a common practice in the Suku decision making process. Furthermore, the participation of women in project identification is also very limited.

The cooperation with external actors in this regard depends on the type of the projects. With government project normally cooperation is only at the level of sending proposals to relevant government departments to request for assistance¹⁰⁹. While community based project like the

¹⁰⁷ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

¹⁰⁸ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁰⁹ DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

previously mentioned Uma Lisan in DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 external cooperation is nearly inexistent¹¹⁰.

6.2.2. Project planning

In government projects, usually villagers, including the members of the Suku Council do not involve in financial planning of the projects. In very rare cases like the construction of the Sede Suku (Village office), the money is provided directly by the government to the Suku Council to decide on project planning and implementation such recruitment of workers, tasks assignment and decision on salaries as well as expenditure throughout the life of the project¹¹¹. Another case that can be highlighted is the construction of the water complex in The Village Center where the contracted company decides to further subcontract certain part of the project like tank construction to local builders, in that case the person who responsible for the tank decides on who to recruit, how many people needed and how much salary to be paid to each element of the team¹¹².

In relation to community project, with the Uma Lisan case, there us voluntary contribution by each member of the Uma Lisan to spend on food consumption during construction process. The main source of income of that small community is farming and selling of their farm produce to the sub-district or just in front of their houses¹¹³. Money earned from this is contributed to the construction of the Uma Lulik.

Material wise, putting aside the case of Uma Lisan were all the materials are sourced just in the village¹¹⁴, more sophisticated projects like water complex or retaining walls, materials, including sands and stones, are all brought from other places¹¹⁵. Normally when a government project comes to the village, the contracted companies inform Xefe Suku about their intention as well having discussions on workers. Usually the demand from the village side to the company is that when a project is implemented in the village their people should be allowed to get involved in other to get some financial benefit from it¹¹⁶. The Xefe Aldeias are, in some cases, tasked with finding workers at Aldeia level to work during the projects.¹¹⁷

There are constraints that normally affect planning process in the village such as land issue¹¹⁸,

¹¹⁰ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹¹¹ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder(NOT)

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

¹¹⁶ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

¹¹⁷ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 14_XA DC-1.3-Aldeia 6 (NOT), DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

¹¹⁸ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 32_Farmer_Landowner (NOT)

budget insufficiencies¹¹⁹, materials are sourced far away from the village¹²⁰ and skills of workers¹²¹ in many of the government projects. With regard to land issue, construction of the health post faced serious obstacle in this regard¹²². The landowner was reluctant to give away his land for free but he was later convinced to do it because he was told that if the village did not provide land, the health post would be moved to Neighboring Suku 2¹²³. The same landowner has donated his land to many public infrastructure projects such as Sede Suku, School and Football field¹²⁴. With regards to budget inefficiencies, a prime example of this issue is when the idea of supplying water from a natural spring was dropped in the planning process in favour of water well perforation because the option is cheaper¹²⁵.

6.2.3. Project implementation

In terms of recruitment of workers, with the government projects, whenever a company notify Xefe Suku about project implementation his village, he asks the company to include his community members to work in the project as a way of creating job opportunities and income for his people¹²⁶. Recruitment is done in various ways. Through Suku structure, it is done by having the Xefe Suku informed the Xefe Aldeias to further inform the community who are interested to join the work¹²⁷. In other cases like the nine water tanks construction around The Village Center, nine skilled builder get subcontract for one tank each from the company, he then recruits workers according to his needs and decides on how much money to pay to each worker in his group once the payment is made by the company after the completion of work¹²⁸, the similar system was used in Central river project of having a group leader looking after his members to handle certain part of the construction and pay them accordingly¹²⁹.

In relation to the way workers organized, in the case of health post construction, the unskilled labours work in a rotation system according to aldeias while skilled ones work permanently throughout the life of the project¹³⁰. On the other hand, with Central river Retaining walls, workers are organized into groups of ten people each, with a team leader who receives the payment from

¹¹⁹ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder (NOT), DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

¹²² DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 32_Farmer_Landowner (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

¹²³ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 32_Farmer_Landowner (NOT),

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

¹²⁶ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 14_XA DC-1.3-Aldeia 6 (NOT)

¹²⁷ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

¹²⁸ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder (NOT)

¹²⁹ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 29_S Xefe Suku's alternate (NOT)

¹³⁰ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

the company and further pays his group members¹³¹. This way is similar to the mentioned water project. In all the three projects mentioned, security guards are organized consistently in a rotation system within certain period of time according to aldeias¹³². In community project like the case of Uma Lisan DC-1.3-Aldeia 8, workers involve with little supervision¹³³.

Regarding cooperation with external actors for the implementation, in government projects it is more about sourcing of workers and provision of securities to work in the project sites during the life of the projects.¹³⁴

During implementation, in government projects, one of the major constraints is budget limitations from the company's side¹³⁵. This fact sometimes leads to various delays either on sourcing of construction materials for the project or irregularity in paying workers' salary. In addition more delay is due to the fact that all the construction materials are sourced out of DC-1.3 even as far away as Indonesia like the case of Water complex project¹³⁶. These could be the reasons why many of the constructions did not meet their supposed completion date.

6.2.4. Resource management

With regard to resource management, in government projects, in most cases, a storage facility is built next to the construction site to keep all the materials and supply the project whenever needed. The place is guarded by security guards, normally working in rotation system according to aldeias. In one of the rare cases related to the construction of the Sede Suku all the materials are kept in the house of the Village secretary which is around 200 meters away from the construction site¹³⁷. Whenever needed, a trolley is used to transport the materials to the construction site. According to one of the builders, the vice team leader, after the completion of the project there was still some left over material like cement, wood and iron in the house which he did not know to what it was reused for what latter on¹³⁸.

6.2.5. Development outcomes

The existing government development projects in the village are not all in the same conditions. There are project that are still relatively new like the recently completed Central river Retaining Wall, the water tanks, the health post, the new school building and the Sede Suku that was built in

¹³¹ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 29_Xefe Suku's alternate (NOT)

¹³² DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder (NOT)

¹³³ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹³⁴ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

¹³⁵ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT), DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT), DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

¹³⁶ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT),

¹³⁷ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder (NOT)

¹³⁸ Ibid

2007¹³⁹. All these are already in use except the water tanks that still await connection to the main water supply¹⁴⁰.

Other than those, most part of the school buildings look quite old. The floor, walls and roofs are in poor condition. One of the respondent called it “worse than *Fahi-Luhan*” (pigs fencing)¹⁴¹. The protestant chapel is built of concrete and zinced roofing but the current state is very poor with no doors and windows. The catholic chapel is located in a small hill overlooking the west side of The Village Center. This building is made mostly of wooden and palm related materials and with zinced roof. The conditions is not good either. Furthermore, apart from very few nice houses available most of the houses in The Village Center are temporary, flimsy looking houses¹⁴². A water well that was constructed by an NGO is also not working and it has been incorporated into the ongoing water well construction as an integral part of the complex¹⁴³.

With regard to community project, the Uma Lisan in DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 is entirely made of materials sourced locally. It was built in 2003 but the condition still looks good. According to one of the respondents, if one day it is not in good condition, a new one will be built¹⁴⁴.

In relation to inefficiencies and leakages of those projects. The government ones, an issue that can be identified in DC-1.3 is the fact the community has very little involvement in the selection and decision making process. Most of the government projects are planned and budgeted away from the community of the targeted village. Once at the village the community involvement is at the level of workers provision only¹⁴⁵.

Some of the projects has basic transparency issue such as having no information board at the project site mentioning the name of the company responsible, owner of the project, completion date and the total budget. Like the water project, it does have information board at the village but no information on the total budget of the project¹⁴⁶. Health post project according to one of the respondent does not have any project information board at all¹⁴⁷. The only project observed that has all the information exposed to the wider public to see is the Central river Retaining Wall with total budget of a little more than half a million dollars¹⁴⁸.

In terms of leakage, there is not much information in this regard on the government projects since most of the processes are handled by outsiders. However in relation to the construction of the Sede

¹³⁹ DC-1.3_20140528_Observation note (NOT)

¹⁴⁰ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

¹⁴¹ DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 16_Farmer (NOT).docx

¹⁴² DC-1.3_20140528_Observation note (NOT)

¹⁴³ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

¹⁴⁴ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁴⁵ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁴⁶ DC-1.3_20140528_Observation note (NOT).docx

¹⁴⁷ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁴⁸ DC-1.3_20140528_Observation note (NOT).docx

Suku where Suku itself was given money to source the materials, the only respondent who spoke at length about it said that at the completion of the project some of the construction materials were still left in the house of the village secretary at that time. How these material are used afterwards there is still unknown¹⁴⁹.

In the community project, the only case observed in DC-1.3-Aldeia 8, all the process was based on informality and after the Uma Lulik constructed there was nothing about financial report or even spending tracking during the process what so ever¹⁵⁰.

6.3. *Explanatory cases*

Uma Lisan in DC-1.3-Aldeia 8

Uma Lisan in DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 is located in a neighbourhood near is part of DC-1.3-Aldeia 8. One of the primary reasons why the Uma Lisan was built is the fact that the previous one was burnt to the ground in 1999 during Indonesian pull out of the country¹⁵¹. Another reasons also are the belief that if the Uma Lisan remain unbuilt bad things could happen and also due to the necessity of keeping the tradition left by the ancestors¹⁵². The original Uma Lisan in DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 is not the one burnt but in another sub-district. It still exists there with the same name. One of the respondents said, Respondent 30, said although there are two Uma Lisan, it is considered as one only. In addition, Respondent 30 and his relatives still have more relatives in the neighboring sub-district¹⁵³.

The idea of rebuilding the Uma Lisan came from Respondent 30, who is the oldest member of that small community of seven relatives¹⁵⁴. According to one of the respondent, Respondent 30 is also the Lianain of the Uma Lisan¹⁵⁵. After having the initiative, he went to some of his relatives house to inform them about it and ask to pass on the information to *Tur-Hamutuk* (having a meeting) at his house¹⁵⁶. The meeting was participated by all the seven relatives living in that neighbourhood and everybody just agreed to rebuild the Uma Lisan as well as contributing for spending on food and drink during the construction process. According to Respondent 30 everyone just agreed to what he says.

“...among all of us I am the oldest. Everything I say they just agree. They all trust me as their

¹⁴⁹ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder (NOT)

¹⁵⁰ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁵¹ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

oldest brother”, said Respondent 30¹⁵⁷.

One of the Respondent 30’s brother interviewed seem to share this thought as well.

*“Here we all trust our oldest brother, he lives next door”*¹⁵⁸.

The strong element of trust towards the oldest brother seems to simplify or accelerates the decision making process without having to pass through long discussions.

With regard to contribution, aside of giving food such as rice, vegetable and cassava from their farms, the total amount of money contributed was 500 US Dollars. Respondent 30 was the one kept the money and disburse it mainly for buying food and drink to consume during construction process¹⁵⁹. They all farmers and earn their money from selling farm products either in district capital or just along the street near their houses. The money for contribution comes from that selling and based on the ability of each person. All the spending were not tracked and there was no any sort of evaluation at the end of the construction to review the process and their spending¹⁶⁰. Everything is done in informal way.

For construction process, two of the relatives from Uma Lisan in DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 from the neighboring sub-district were invited to help with the construction. One of the brothers went all the way to the neighboring sub-district to inform about it using his own money¹⁶¹. This fact can be seen, to some extent, as cooperation with external actors for the project since the two even though they share the same Uma Lisan, they are not from that community but coming from neighboring sub-district.

The task distribution is not very elaborated. The basic is that women do the cooking while men do the construction. However according to Respondent 30, some women participated also in carrying construction materials that are less heavy such Bamboo and palm leaves from the nearby area¹⁶². The work also flows in a less supervised way although Respondent 30 is somewhat in charge of the process. Material are sourced continuously throughout the process. Whenever materials run out, for instance, people just take initiative to go back to the woods to bring more. All the materials are free of charge, sourced in the nearby area and are stored in Respondent 30’s yard. People work in the project without pay¹⁶³.

At the beginning of construction, before the four pillar are put into the ground a traditional ritual

¹⁵⁷ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT), DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (Voice Recording)

¹⁵⁸ DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 28_Farmer DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁵⁹ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁶² Ibid

¹⁶³ Ibid

takes place by using the blood of pigs to bless the site¹⁶⁴.

The construction took only one month to be completed. In the end before going back to everyone's routine another traditional ritual was made to restore the traditional artefacts that were rescued from the previous Uma Lisan. Betel nut was also shared as part of the inauguration ceremony¹⁶⁵.

The project succeeded could be due to one of the following reasons. The first is the fact that there is a respected *katuas* (old man) who everyone listens to and simplify decision making process. The community is with strong family ties and strong voluntarism who contribute with the little money they have for food and drink consumed during construction. All the materials were sourced just in the nearby area and free of charge. High participation of both men and women. Strong determination to keep the traditions and a belief that having an Uma Lisan is to avoid bad things from happening.

According to Respondent 30, they can use the Uma Lisan also to keep rice and corn¹⁶⁶. In the harvesting seasons a ceremony also takes place in the Uma Lisan to thank the God and ancestor's souls for the blessing¹⁶⁷. Moreover Respondent 30 said that whoever gets married to their sons become members of the Uma Lisan while for daughters, if they marry to someone of a different Uma Lisan they belong to the Uma Lisan of the husbands¹⁶⁸.

Health Post Project

Health post project is an idea that was first raised in a meeting called by Xefe Suku and attended by some members of the Suku Council, veterans and suku intellectuals prior to the visit of the Vice Minister of Health, Madalena Hanjan to DC-1.3 in 2009¹⁶⁹. A villager from DC-1.3 and also member of the PNTL who first talked about it during the meeting¹⁷⁰. According to Respondent 11, this villager is also an intellectual suku. His point was, DC-1.3, since Timor Leste became independent, never had a health post. The villagers had to walk to the neighbouring village to get medicine or deliver babies. Furthermore, due to the fact that DC-1.3 had a nurse that served another community of another village. Therefore, having a health post was considered important. Everyone just agreed with him because DC-1.3 was really lacking a health facility.¹⁷¹

On the day of the visit, the issue was raised by Xefe Suku and got a positive response from the Vice Minister herself, however the Vice Minister said that it was important to follow it up with a

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

¹⁶⁵ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁶⁶ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁶⁷ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁶⁸ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT)

¹⁶⁹ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

written proposa¹⁷². Xefe Suku called for another meeting attended by the same people who were at the previous meeting to discuss about writing the proposal. Respondent 11, the nurse, said he was also at the meeting. After having some discussion about it, they agreed to write the proposal but two additional requests, water and electricity were also included in their list¹⁷³.

In 2010 a company called from district capital came to the village to inform Xefe Suku that it would be responsible for the construction of the health post and asked also if a piece of land could be provided to build the post.¹⁷⁴ Xefe Suku said that it is important to take the local community to work in the project which the company accepted¹⁷⁵. Xefe Suku told his Xefe Aldeias to inform the community and a Landowner called Respondent 32 to have a meeting about the issue¹⁷⁶.

Xefe Aldeia informed their community from house to house but there are also claims that Xefe Aldeia just shout through their neighbourhood to inform people about meetings¹⁷⁷. The meeting was held and agreement was reached with the Company regarding the number of workers and working rotation however the land owner did not show up in the meeting so the another meeting was called with the landowner¹⁷⁸. Xefe Aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 1 was tasked with informing the landowner. In the meeting landowner did not want to give away his land without payment because he had given many of his land for free for other projects in DC-1.3 such as, Sede Suku, football playground, and the school¹⁷⁹. However he was told that it is not for private use but to build a health post for the whole community and if no land given another village would take the health post. In the end Luis gave away his land by signing a handover letter with Xefe Suku and some members of the Suku Council to give away his land for the construction¹⁸⁰.

“I have given many lands, so this time I should receive some money even if it is for the community. This is how people do things in other places, like in Dili, why it is not the case here” said Luis¹⁸¹.

After getting the land, sooner after a storage facility was built near to the site and the materials were brought. All the material were not sourced in DC-1.3, including sands and stones. Storage facility was guarded by two securities from Aldeias who worked in one month rotation. Construction also started immediately¹⁸².

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁷⁵ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),

¹⁷⁶ DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT), DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁷⁷ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 20_Housewife and Farmer (NOT)

¹⁷⁸ DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT),

¹⁷⁹ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 32_Farmer_Landowner (NOT)

¹⁸⁰ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),

¹⁸¹ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 32_Farmer_Landowner (NOT)

¹⁸² DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

In terms of workers, 2 workers were from 5 aldeias of The Village Center and 3 from DC-1.3-Aldeia 1 because it has more population¹⁸³. None came from aldeias DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 and DC-1.3-Aldeia 7¹⁸⁴. 2 workers of each aldeia work in one week rotation system. Paid 5 dollars per day each¹⁸⁵. Skilled builders were not recruited through Suku and they work permanently throughout the process. Those are paid 10 dollars per day each¹⁸⁶. The work supervised by a technician originally from the Philippines¹⁸⁷.

The project was not about the health post only. It was package with the residence of health staffs, bathroom, kitchen, water well perforation and provision of furniture. After the building erected materials for electrical installation took almost three months to arrive and the main technician went to work in another project in the Neighboring Suku 1 village because he waited too long. The technician return to resume work after electrical installation materials were taken to the village¹⁸⁸.

The project was just abandoned by the contracted company in 2011 without completing it with well perforation, provision of furniture and construction of walkways that connects the residence and the health post. According to Respondent 11, the local nurse, the company ran out of cash and went bankrupt¹⁸⁹.

“The company has gone bankrupt so the project failed”, said Respondent 11¹⁹⁰.

Prior to that, Xefe Suku invited the Company to the village to ask about the state of the project and a statement was signed between the company, the community leaders and the Respondent 11 as well saying that some of the equipment of the company will be kept by Suku until the company resume its work. He kept one generator and one concrete mixer.

The concrete mixer was later asked back by the company to be sold to another company that was constructing the school building in order to pay the security guards' wages that were late. Respondent 11 said he allowed that because the intention was to pay the guards¹⁹¹. Delays in payment happened very often with this project according to the village secretary. Sometime the workers wait for two to three month but nothing violent happen due that¹⁹².

Despite the project is not one hundred percent completed, according to Respondent 11, the

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer_DC-1.3-Aldeia 8 (NOT), DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT), DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

¹⁸⁵ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid

¹⁹² DC-1.3_20140530_RESPONDENT 6_Village Secretary (NOT)

community is still happy with the result because the building itself is already erected and the community is currently using it.¹⁹³ For the maintenance, it is the district health directorate is the one look after it. Respondent 11 just need to send proposal asking for what is lacking.¹⁹⁴ The health post already got a midwife and a doctor working in it apart of Respondent 11 himself as nurse. Equipment for delivering babies are also recently installed.¹⁹⁵

The Central river Retaining Wall

Over the Central river there has been a bridge built during Indonesian time. Heavy rain and flood provoked landslides along the river, threatened to damage the bridge and consequently cut off the transport connection between Viqueque and the two sub districts to the east of Central river, namely, Neighboring sub-districts. The community of DC-1.3 also frequently travel to the other side of the river for weekly market in the Neighboring Suku 1.

Seeing what happen, some community members alerted the Xefe Suku who went over to see what happened together with some members of his council. He later alerted some of his close circles like some Xefe Aldeias, suku intellectuals and veterans to meet in his house to discuss the issue and alert the sub district about it. Decision was made immediately without any voting. The village secretary was the one writing the proposal and was signed by many council members. What happened in the river was also covered in the news by Timorese National television (RTTL). Later the Secretary of State for Public Work also visited the site and met with Xefe Suku of DC-1.3 and Xefe Suku of Neighboring Suku 1 at the site to see it himself.

The project itself has a total budget of a little more than half a million dollar according to project information board at the project site¹⁹⁶.

A consortium was selected by the government to do the project. The consortium is comprised of four companies with one of them from DC-1.3 owned by a veteran called Manuel¹⁹⁷. The consortium informed Xefe Suku about it and ask for Suku to provide security guards to look after the materials at storage facility¹⁹⁸.

Xefe Suku informed Xefe Aldeias to have a meeting at the Sede Suku to talk about it. Xefe Aldeias went from house to house to invite the community. However there are claims that Xefe Aldeias sometimes just shout through the neighbourhood to inform people¹⁹⁹. Community members who were interested attended the meeting and were informed about a need for security, two persons

¹⁹³ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ DC-1.3_20140528_Observation note (NOT).docx

¹⁹⁷ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 29_Xefe Suku's alternate (NOT)

¹⁹⁸ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

¹⁹⁹ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 20_Housewife and Farmer (NOT)

from each Aldeia to work in a rotation of one month²⁰⁰. None of the workers were from Aldeia DC-1.3-Aldeia 7 and DC-1.3-Aldeia 8. Those that are chosen had to give their electorate card to Xefe Suku to register their names before going to the site²⁰¹.

Skilled builders and their assistants were not recruited through Xefe Suku. Builders were recruited into groups of 10 assistants each led by one skilled builders. DC-1.3 got three groups, the others from Neighboring Suku 1²⁰².

All the Materials were sourced out of DC-1.3. Sands and stones are from a riverbed in Viqueque²⁰³. A storage facility was built in the the Village Center side of the river guarded by security personnel²⁰⁴.

Delays on payment of the guards wages led to a brawl instigated by the Security personnel, damaged the storage house and beaten up one of the consortium staffs from Indonesia. Construction was interrupted until the leader of the Consortium visited the site to regularize the situation and move the storage facility to the Neighboring Suku 1 side of the River²⁰⁵.

After resuming the work for some time the Consortium was asked by ADN to correct the construction due to inconsistency with the technical design. Instead of correcting what is wrong the consortium decided to subcontract the project to another company from Dili belongs to an Indonesian Chinese due to financial insufficiencies²⁰⁶. Dili-based company took over the project from the Consortium and there was another interruption in January after the takeover due to one month heavy rain²⁰⁷.

The project was completed in May 2014. The last payment of workers salary was done on the third of June at the project site²⁰⁸. Xefe Suku said up to know no one has come to him complaining about the quality of the project²⁰⁹.

In terms of payment, according to the Secretary of a company (member of Vibaque Consortium) after receiving payment from the government, the Dili-based company will pay the consortium and to his company that will pay him²¹⁰. He has been working for this company without receiving any salary what so ever but he said he is fine with it so far and consider it as a form of contribution

²⁰⁰ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),

²⁰¹ Ibid

²⁰² DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 29_Xefe Suku's alternate (NOT)

²⁰³ Ibid

²⁰⁴ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT)

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),

²⁰⁷ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 29_Xefe Suku's alternate (NOT)

²⁰⁸ Ibid

²⁰⁹ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT),

²¹⁰ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 29_Xefe Suku's alternate (NOT)

to the development of the country. However he expects to start receiving salary after the company has a solid finance²¹¹.

*“...if we want to contribute to the development our country we should not think only about money. I am not paid either for doing the job for Suku and being the alternate of the Xefe Suku”.*²¹²

Clean Water Project

Lack of Clean water has always been the problem of DC-1.3. Community normally rely on the two rivers to get their water supply. In rainy season water becomes muddy and left the community with no supply²¹³. Considering all these problem in 2005, soon after got elected Xefe Suku ask his Secretary to write a proposal to the government in order to ask for water²¹⁴.

In 2009 when another proposal was to be sent to ask for Health Post, Xefe Suku and his closest circle such as some of the council members, intellectual suku and veterans decided to include again request for water as part of their proposal together with electricity and health post²¹⁵.

A team from district water directorate (SAS Distrito) was sent to DC-1.3 to see the locations²¹⁶. Xefe Suku guided the team to look around and a natural spring in the north side of The Village Center was also surveyed to be the source of water for the whole water system once completed²¹⁷.

After that visit inform the Xefe Suku about another visit to the village to further discuss the issue. Xefe Suku asked his Xefe Aldeias to inform the community to participate in the meeting at the Sede Suku²¹⁸. Xefe Aldeias inform the villagers by going from house to house. However there are claim that sometimes the message is delivered only by shouting through the neighbourhood²¹⁹.

A three days meeting were held, SAS team said that there is a change in the initial plan because having the water system connected to a natural spring is too expensive. As an alternative, two water well perforation will be done to be the source of water to the village. Community was against the idea due to the fact that many perforation attempt in the past failed to provide water. However the community was finally convinced to accept new offer by the argument that the

²¹¹ Ibid

²¹² Ibid

²¹³ DC-1.3_20140602_RESPONDENT 16_Farmer (NOT)

²¹⁴ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

²¹⁵ DC-1.3_20140531_RESPONDENT 11_Local Nurse (NOT)

²¹⁶ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

²¹⁷ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT), DC-1.3_20140605_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer_Builder(NOT)

²¹⁸ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

²¹⁹ DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 20_Housewife and Farmer (NOT)

perforation will be done using machine, therefore the chance of getting water is higher and also if the community refuse it, they have to wait even longer²²⁰.

After everyone agreed, SAS team helped Suku Council to set up a group tasked with maintenance of the water facility once the construction finished. The group is called GMF (Grupo Maneja Facilidade). Respondent 4 was appointed without any voting to coordinate the group. After setting up the GMF Respondent 4 guided the SAS team to show around about the possible locations of the tanks around The Village Center.²²¹ There are voices of dissatisfaction regarding the distribution of tanks like the one presented by one of the villagers who said that most of the tanks are located in DC-1.3-Aldeia 3,²²² the aldeia of the Xefe Suku and Respondent 4. Respondent 4 said he did not indicate the locations for the tanks according to Aldeias but according to the need of the people. The tanks according to him were placed in points where community around it could have access to without much problem²²³. Xefe Suku Respondent 2 also said the same thing as Respondent 4, arguing also that in DC-1.3, people from different aldeias live mixed together everywhere²²⁴.

In June 2013 a Company from Neighboring Suku 3 was assigned with the task to start the project. The company informed XS about it and Xefe Suku asked his Xefe Aldeias to organize workers. Nine Skilled builders were selected to receive subcontract from the company to build the nine tanks at previously selected places. An instruction paper was also provided about how to build the tanks. Each tank cost 400 Us Dollars and is paid directly to each of the skilled builders selected. The skilled builders chose their own assistance and pay them once he got paid from the company at the completion of the project. In the case of one of the builders from DC-1.3-Aldeia 3, he recruited two assistants and a lady to cook for them during construction. He said he recruited these people because they are very close to him and he does not feel good if he has to call other people to work with him instead. The money he got was used to pay his assistants and the rest of it he utilized to buy insecticides to use in his farm.

In relation to water well perforation, the Company hired another company from Dili to do the perforation. Of the two wells perforated, one was successful but the second one failed because after going over 60 meters there was still no water found. The hired company decided to abandon the project²²⁵.

Apart from the failed perforation, the company also ran out of the materials to keep the work going²²⁶. According to Respondent 4, the project supposed to be completed in a period of six

²²⁰ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² DC-1.3_20140604_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer_local CNRT coordinator (NOT)

²²³ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

²²⁴ DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

²²⁵ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT), DC-1.3_20140607_RESPONDENT 2_XEFE SUKU (NOT)

²²⁶ Ibid

months but it has been staling for some time already. He demanded the company for explanation, the answer given is that the materials are still being sourced from Indonesia²²⁷.

²²⁷ DC-1.3_20140606_RESPONDENT 4_TEACHER (NOT)

LBS Village Report:
DC-2.1 (Liquica District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP
Olivio de Deus, Henrique Ximenes

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

Programa Nasional de Dezenvolvimentu Suku (PNDS) is Timor-Leste's nationwide community-driven development program (CDD) that will provide annual grant to fund small-scale infrastructure projects at suku level. These grants seek to empower communities and provide them with opportunities to directly plan and implement priority village infrastructures in order to accelerate community development in line with the goals of the Government's National Strategic Development Plan. To achieve this, PNDS will work through and seek to improve local governance mechanisms.

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the suku of DC-2.1 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects is the main principle aim of the study. It will map the social cohesion, by looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare. In other side, picturing the local institutional structures, including the people, organizations, and explores the processes for selecting and managing local development projects in the village of DC-2.1.

The main findings in this village report for DC-2.1 is the commitment, transparency and accountability of the village governance with cooperation of the villagers either for the funded project nor community project. Regarding the funded project village council assure with the quality then personal interest to the fund, they prefer to be more quality then according to the BoQ. In this instances, the commitment of the community also collaborative and participative to the project implementation. Thus, there was no experience of failing project and no complaint from the villagers regarding village council handling villager project fund and the quality of existence infrastructure and project.

2. Methodology

2.1. Sampling criteria for village;

To ensure national coverage, the territory of Timor-Leste is divided in to 6 regions including Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave. The village considered in this study is located in the central region. The required sampling criteria for the central region include level of violence and urbanization. The village of DC-2.1 will be featured in this report. DC-2.1 is high-violence and has low incident of violence. The cases to be considered for this region are outlined in Table 1.

Region	Cases
Dili	High Violence and Peri-Urban Low Violence and Peri-Urban Low Violence and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for central Region

After interviewing with the district administrator, researchers note that it does not have any additional sampling as the district administrator said only DC-2.1 have not got PNDS phase socialization and election while other suku has been implemented the socialization and election. Furthermore, DA stated there is also violence, low number of veteran and considered to be rural are as far from district and sub district level.¹

¹ DC-2.1_20140624_RESPONDENT 1_Liquica District Administrator (NOT)

2.2. Data collection;

The data for this qualitative study were obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the 24th to the 5th of July 2014. All interviews were conducted face-to-face at various locations, including at meeting places, residence, and workplaces (village office, ritual place and while collecting firewood). Some of the interviews were recorded and were complemented with hand-written notes. For the respondents who declined that their interview be recorded, the researchers relied only on handwritten notes. Observations of relevant village life and community project were also taken. In selecting interview respondents, researchers used the following sampling methods: convenience, purposive and snowball. With purposive sampling method, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe suku and aldeias) or as having power to affect village level development policies, like the District Administrator. For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend other potential individuals whom the researchers could approach for interviews. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached as they were taking part in either community meetings, doing their work (e.g. while collecting firewood).²

2.3. Sampling of respondents;

Invariably, most of the respondents were coffee farmers with mangos teen and other crops farming both subsistent and commercial, even if they hold other important functions in the suku, whether as xefe aldeia or as coordinator of the local groups. The teachers, veterans and catechist. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided (Table 3).

Total		
By gender	Male	23
	Female	11
By age	Less than 25	2
	26 – 39	12
	40 – 55	13
	55 – 70	5
	71 – 80	1
	81 and over	1
By profession	Farmers	10
	Suku council members	8
	Housewife	4
	Student	1
	Religious leaders	1
	Retirees	2
	Teachers	3
	Business	3
	District administrator	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	9
	Snowball	8
	Convenience	17

² DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 17_Farmer (NOT). P.1.

3. Description of the village

Geographically, DC-2.1 is closer to Neighboring sub-district 1, take 1.30 hour to drive from Dili and almost take 3 hours to drive using the road of its' district and sub-district. Hence, they usually trade their local product at Neighboring sub-district 1 market, Neighboring suku 1 and Neighboring suku 2. This suku seems to be remote for its own district and sub-district but could be consider as urban are when coming from Neighboring sub-district 1 road, as there is a lot visitation for comparison study at an agricultural association in the suku. DC-2.1 border to Neighboring suku 1 and Neighboring Suku 1 at the eastern side, this area called Eastern DC-2.1 and people are mix but mostly reside by the villagers of aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 and some of DC-2.1-Aldeia 3, at the southern side border to Neighboring suku 3 and Neighboring sub-district 2 which is dwelled by the villagers of DC-2.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 as well, at the western side border to Neighboring suku 4 which reside by the villagers of aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 and part of northern side border to Neighboring suku 5 is reside by people of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 as well.

DC-2.1 is part of sub district that has nine sukus including DC-2.1. According to “*sensus populasoun fo fila fali 2010*” there was total population of about 1000, 174 households with 87 % of Mambae speaking, 9% speak of tetum prasa and other insignificant dialect.³ However, significant populations are being increase within the fallowing years. Village population report in 2013 is in the following table;

Aldeia	Male	Female	Total	Households
DC-2.1-Aldeia 1	237	231	468	83
DC-2.1-Aldeia 3	215	227	442	73
DC-2.1-Aldeia 2	246	239	485	77
TOTAL	698	697	1.395	233

Table; Village population report 2013

Economically, the villager depend on the crops of coffee, mangos teen, corn, cassava coconut, banana, orange, evocate and rice. Through an economic association (further – Association 1) there is a group for small industry to produce tepung tapioca to make bread. Furthermore, the following description of the livelihoods are based on *sensus fo fila fali 2010*; the animal cultivation according to percentage; chicken 83 %, pig 79%, sheep 2%, goat 30%, horse 7%, buffalo 35%, and water buffalo 10 % with total of 68.21 % animal cultivation throughout DC-2.1. 39.82 was employed and there are total of 19.54% where work for farm and etc. The table below are the indication of the level of education based on the following level of percentage; pre-primary 1.5%, Primary 11%, Pre-secondary 1.7%, Secondary 3%, polytechnic 0.1%, University 3.5%, non-formal 0.1% and unattended or never to school 75%.

Level of Education in DC-2.1							
Total	Pre-primary	Primary	Pre-secondary	Secondary	Diploma	University	Non-formal
198	19	96	60	21	1	1	-
M 116	11	54	33	17	-	1	-
F 82	8	42	27	4	1	-	-

Picture:Timor-Leste Census 2010, Volume 4

³ Sensus fo fila fali 2010,

In comparison with the census 2010, Most of the children are now attending the kindergarten schools at Eastern DC-2.1 and DC-2.1 tuan, and attendance of primary schools also high and for those who lives in the uphill attend pre secondary schools at sub-district center and for those who live in Eastern DC-2.1 they prefer to attend the pre-secondary or secondary schools at Neighboring sub-district 1 and some of them prefer to study in Dili for secondary and university degree. The villagers also have health post near to the suku office and regular treatment to the patient at the health post and through SISCA which is under a commission led by xefe suku including teachers, catechist and other local authorities.

There are two pre-primary schools, one in Eastern DC-2.1 at *sede* and other one in the DC-2.1 tuan up in the hill, three primary schools in Eastern DC-2.1 , heath post, potable water and group center. However all this facilitates are based in suku center only, while the villager in DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 are far from suku with impassable road and there is no any physical project that exit in this aldeia. Most importantly, all suku around DC-2.1 but they still remain with using kerosene and solar power at night.

Road access are the main problem in raining season, mud and slippery are main difficulties for student and businesses to access transport and good road either come to district and sub-district or to Neighboring sub-district 1. The road also be dusty in dry season which is make children ill.

Historically, during the Portuguese time the *sede* of DC-2.1 was beside the hill in between suku Neighboring suku 4 and Neighboring suku 3. Current community center in Eastern DC-2.1 was wilderness for wild animal and in Indonesian time as hiding place Timor-Leste freedom fighter against Indonesian. In Indonesian time, DC-2.1 was claimed by two sukus at the month of February 1998.⁴ A number of villagers from Neighboring suku 3 assault the villagers of DC-2.1 intend to seize the northern side hill of DC-2.1 which was resulted one Neighboring suku 3 dead⁵ and the same assault also coming from Neighboring suku 5 group with the intention to have the land of Eastern DC-2.1 .⁶ However, Neighboring suku 5 was defeated during their settlement by customary means. Additionally, in time of independence there was some local authority offer the abandoned land to the PNTL institution for the training base. However, the communities and leaders disagree to remove the sign of first corner stone.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1. Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1. Identity

There are a number of ways villagers identify themselves in DC-2.1. The identities can be based on a number of groupings: by administrative division, by geographic location, by party affiliation, by *uma lisan* and by *Bairu*.

By administrative division, people live mixed from all the three aldeias in DC-2.1 but the identity based on membership of aldeia is the most basic and Few villagers who live in the jurisdiction of the sub-district also part of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2. Powerful people identified themselves with the political party to

⁴ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT) p.2

⁵ Ibid

⁶ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT) p.9

run for the elections.⁷ A number of villager that live in on the hill around the uma lisan Clan 1 identify themselves as a family of one uma lisan and aside from aldeia administration, villagers that live in the same jurisdiction identify themselves by *bairo* with their gang leader that similar to xefe aldeia.

Generally, catholic are their most identity. However, there is insignificant number of Protestant member but there has being exit recently, as have moved away to live in Neighboring suku 1. Members of the Catholic Church involved in Centro Pastoral DC-2.1 and The Chapel Construction Commission.

Members of Association 1 through its various groups either agriculture groups, credit union or small industry group for tapioca flour production, Association 1 is like an Umbrella organization for most of the village groups ranging from agriculture to finance and small industry. In other hand, women involve in a members of APCTL in suku which is funded by national APCTL based in Dili facilitated by German Aid Agency and UN Women. This group is for women empowerment through involvement in the rice business and short term planning for farming of pineapple. Generally, most powerful people identify with the political party of Fretilin led by current xefe suku, CNRT led by current coordinator of PD led by a local villager. Frente Mundanca led by the current catechist, PDN led by João and ASDT led by Marcelino who was defeated during the last suku election. One group related to the uma lisan Clan 1 which live on the hill affiliated to the members of CPD-RDTL and KRM, their name signed as Maubere foho leten and there were martial arts group training activities before government resolution to cease their movement mainly Kera Sakti and PSHT. In order to accelerated health activities in suku, Komissaun Jestaun Programa Suku DC-2.1 - KJPS (Related to inter-sectoral cooperation for implementing programs related to health, coordinated by the local nurse. Sectors involved are Education, Village governance and Church through the catechist) it also has volunteers who work as Family Health Promoter (PSF).

Generally, the villagers identify themselves as people of DC-2.1. However, there are some villager who have been lived for long in DC-2.1 still identify themselves with their place of origin and their original uma lisan where came from such as Ainaro, Same, Ermera, Maliana and Atambua. Normally, the villager identify themselves according to their profession as farmer are majority and minority villager identify according to their previous leadership background and being a veteran. In other side, some community identified themselves with the current post such as skill builder, teacher, nurse and catechist. Some powerful people mentioned about the several post that they hold within the suku.

4.1.2. Power and Vulnerability

The members of the suku council, in particular the xefe suku, are regarded as powerful because their power is legitimized by the people through elections. As such, they can make decisions on behalf of the village community. They are also expected to maintain order in the community including ensuring community members' participation in village activities through xefe aldeia informed his villagers. A woman in RT II said:

⁷ DC-2.1_140627_RESPONDENT 8_Xefe Association 1 (NOT) p.7

*“Many people like current xefe suku, he is good, if he is bad character then we would not vote for him in the next election (17:05). . . . when there is a meeting XA always inform us through mouth to mouth and house to house by shouting through megaphone, even at night and raining the XA still come to our house (19:10)”.*⁸

Powerful members of the community also include individuals who have played part in the resistance against the Indonesian occupation. Respondent 23 one of former combatants who actively his important role to involve in any suku activities. Current xefe suku and lian nain being involved in clandestine operators was competing for xefe suku in 2004/2005. Respondent 8 was defeated. As one of the clandestine Respondent 8 continued to empower his group of OHCA which is now become larger Association 1. Aside from coordinator of Association 1 he also hold important role as lia nain and suku council. Furthermore, he is the temporary committee of chapel construction.

Meanwhile, as a xefe suku also holds important in Association 1 as an adviser and as coordinator of Komissaun Jestaun Programa Suku DC-2.1 - KJPS (Related to inter-sectorial cooperation for implementing programs related to health which being coordinated by the local nurse. Sectors involved are Education, Village governance and Church through the catechist, it also has volunteers who work as Family Health Promoter (PSF). Another suku Ansiaun is one of the former xefe suku during Indonesian time for three periods; he has proven record of defending the integrity of DC-2.1's jurisdiction against attempt expansion from the neighboring villages of suku Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring suku 3. This 78 years old man has been played his role as Ansiaun since 2000 until present date, besides controlling suku council activities he also controlling any company that implement the project in the suku and settlement of problem in the suku.

Teacher Respondent 11 recognized himself that he was the one who initiated the primary school in Eastern DC-2.1. Aside from that, he is the xefe centru pastoral and teacher Respondent 7 is the vise xefe. Their main role is to activate construction of the chapel as well, church procession activities for saint Marry, remaining youth for regular devotion, inform parish to confess when there is priest came to village, identify disable parish and the elders to inform priest for blessing at their home, informing the parish using the microphone and remain everyone to transmitted the information.

Aside from the being elected to hold positions in the village council as sources of power in the village, being appointed by wining package to hold position in village council (Lia Nain) also being considered. Moreover, Respondent 22 having experience of Village governance during the Indonesian time and has good understanding of village history, culture and tradition, Respondent 23 being veterans and xefe suku was one of the skill builders before run for suku election. In other side, Respondent 8 being leader of influential village organization (Association 1) that has been accumulated almost all groups in the suku and being influential party (CNRT). Additionally, Respondent 13 is a catechist of Eastern DC-2.1 and for external link and another local man is for DC-2.1 tuan.

Suku has motorbike and money such as: village patty cash 100 dollars a month, money for pulsa (Xefe Suku), payment for opening a case to be mediated at Aldeia and Village level. At aldeia the payment is 25 dollars. At suku level, through lia-nain, the payment is 50 dollars. Lian nain in suku level said;

⁸DC-2.1_140630_RESPONDENT 17_Farmer (NOT) P.2

"If anyone wants to file a case he or she has to pay for the opening and the second part should pay for the closing, this is the procedures of Tarabandu (28:50)".⁹

Former xefe suku Respondent 22 are also regarded with great respect by the community due to his previous experience and he also being proven record of defending the integrity of DC-2.1's borders against attempt expansion from the neighboring villages of Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring suku 3. Both Villages wanted to divide DC-2.1 half half. The suku council continues to involve him in suku activities because of his knowledge to govern the villagers. Another septuagenarian, has been appointed to lead the church renovation project by the xefe suku for similar reason. He was the last xefe suku of Uma Ana Ulo before the Indonesian invasion. Proven record of job done, xefe suku was an ordinary villager who has skills in building, responsible for the primary school building which was funded by Stromme foundation based in Liquiça town. Xefe Association 1, Respondent 8 has family linkage of one last surname in Timor-Leste and his brother Respondent 23 being recognized as one of the freedom fighter, even though he is being considered as one of the trouble maker. When asked regarding Respondent 23 character, xefe aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 Respondent 22 said;

He has many cases; particularly the case of criminal, some of the case has process in the court(54:15)".¹⁰

Most of the Powerful members of the village are either elected or appointed to become members of the village council. Those who are not part of the village council such as teachers, nurses and catechist are sometimes invited to the meeting depending on the issue in question. Respondent 23 one of the veteran always attend any suku activities whether invited or not. When asked regarding his participation he explains that as a veteran it is my right to participate and to control the road project in the village and any activities in the suku.¹¹

Current xefe Suku, Xefe Aldeia Respondent 9 and the Ansiao Respondent 22 are from the same Aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2.. The three are not blood related however, according to Timorese culture they are still related through family intermarriage or locally called *Umane-Manefoun*. Lian Nain Respondent 8 is the brother of a veteran who is considered by many as troublemaker in the village. The alleged troublemaker has a son and a brother who is member of Liquisa PNTL and Timor Leste Special Police Force respectively. The family still shares the same family relation to Lobato's family who is one of the most important surname in Timorese politics.

Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 has a brother called who is a former XA himself and both have a brother called who ran twice in the past and failed against the current XS. They also have a sister representing women in the Suku Council and leading a women empowerment organization called APCTL. The treasurer of APCTL said Respondent 27 being a coordinator of the group was suggested by xefe aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1, her brother and as members we also agree by consensus.¹²

There are various groups in the community which are not normally included in village activities. The most marginalized include the elderly, widows, poor economic condition women and the disabled due

⁹ DC-2.1_140627_RESPONDENT 8_Xefe Association 1 (NOT) P2

¹⁰ DC-2.1_140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT) P 2

¹¹ DC-2.1_140701_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer (NOT) P 1

¹² DC-2.1_140704_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer. (NOT) P 2

to stroke. And some family live within the jurisdiction of the sub-district and some villagers who lives in DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 because they don't access to road far from the suku movement.

When there is necessary for example meeting on road cleaning program and chapel construction, xefe aldeia invited everybody using door to door method or shouting through Megaphone or word of mouth to participate in the village meeting. Participate in training about seeding and planting administered by Agriculture Estensionista and Participate in meetings with companies on road rehabilitation and the actual rehabilitation itself. Many women participated in project. In the case of Eastern DC-2.1 road, one of the workers said there were more women than man. It is also reflected in our observation right in the first day.

4.1.3. Formal and informal community rules (norms)

Tarabandu is one of the traditional norms in the village besides legal procedure, local leader prefer to apply tarabandu as their customary means that could settle problem easily and restrict than by formal legal procedure that take longer time and the system is too week. We asking regarding his preference either Tarabandu practice or legal procedure practice Lia nain Respondent 8 said;

"It is much better to settle a problem by customary means or Tarabandu way than formal procedure that not restricted (42:10 and 1:17:00)".¹³

Tarabandu norms is the most preference that local leader use to rule the villager and to settle a problem. The contents of Tarabandu are restricted and its contains all the prohibitions and its consequences. There are two ways notification of the Tarabandu regulations such as writing in declaration in order to read in public during the opening ceremony of Tarabandu and stick all prohibited peaches to the branch of a tree or stick at coconut leaves and demonstrateto the villagers during the ceremony.

In most cases, there is a traditional ritual called "halo Tuir" or Husu Lisensa" held prior to constructing things such as school building, Sede Suku, Road rehabilitation and even private house construction. Another ritual is held after the construction have finished. Halo tuir in English is obedience and Husu lisenca in English ask for permission to ancestor to allow the the construction activities without hindrance or accident. During our observation to road rehabilitation at the DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 to sub-district center, one of the ritual lia nain said there was an accident to the bulldozer that constructed the road because the company did not obey the traditional ritual.

Village council decision such as ALFA declaration that contains rules of not dumping garbage and human excrete in open areas around the village.

Tarabandu. In this regard DC-2.1 has written rules on it elaborated by the villagers, XS, Council members by consulting the elders of the village. They said, the rules are related to traditional way of maintaining order in society so consultation with the elders were important. Before it was first implemented in 2004, all the district leader were invited to participate in its inauguration.

4.1.4. Conflict and conflict mediation

¹³ DC-2.1_140627_RESPONDENT 8_Xefe Association 1 (NOT)

External conflict of border dispute and land dispute with Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring suku 3 villages are still unresolved and internal problem of stealing animals, stealing from other people's farm, animal entering to other people's farm, domestic violence, politically related violence with regard to alleged a group called Maubere Foho Leten

Conflict between the villagers of DC-2.1 with neighboring villagers mainly Neighboring suku 3 and Neighboring suku 5 caused by assaulting and provoking from the neighboring villagers wanted to divide DC-2.1 into their two villages. Causes of internal conflict lack incentive to the Kablehan in order to control farms, plantations, animals and other local products therefore stolen case and animal entering the farm being keep continuing in the village.

A dispute or conflict can be solved at two levels. The first level is at Aldeia. At this level, it is the Xefe Aldeia who mediates the conflict and whoever make a complaint has to pay 25 dollars to open the case with Xefe Aldeia. That payment is called "Tuku Loke". Aldeia does not have its own office and lia nain so the case settle at the suku office and Suku's lia nain can be invited to see the proceeding without intervening at Aldeia Level. Once mediation at aldeia level fails to settle the problem the case can be brought to the Suku level and 50 dollars is paid to the Suku Lia Nain in order to open the case at Suku Level. There is also payment to close the case, 25 at Aldeia and 50 dollars at Suku for whoever loses the case.

Some problems also are solve at family level. That does not involve the village authority. It is solved between families only. It is called "Resolve tuir Umane-Manefoun" or "Resolve tuir Uma Laran nian or Maun ho Alin nian deit".

Border dispute between DC-2.1 and its two neighbors, Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring suku 3 is by far the biggest conflict. In 1983 has caused one life of the attacking villagers of Neighboring suku 3. Clashes with Neighboring suku 5 is more often because the status of the border has not been resolved. It caused fear and restriction of people's movement, especially those who have to cross the disputed border to go to their farms. Other than that there cases of domestic issues that affect women and stealing that affect households and farmers. Conflict on community life being continued exist due to lack kablehan to control the farm, animal, plantation and human behavior that has been regulated in the event of Tarabandu.

4.1.5. Development Priorities

Some powerful community members like Xefe suku asking for training center in the village and store room for the children feeding program at pre-primary and primary schools and xefe Association 1 asking for training to the membership and asking for Association office facility and security recruitment to their association due to funds of the credit union is unsaved. Ansiao and the Teacher Respondent 11, they ask for more School in the village. Ansiao asked for Pre-Secondary School while the Teacher asked for an Agriculture School because he said Eastern DC-2.1 is a fertile valley for this kind of activity, xefe Association 1 asking for. However, there are similarities in this regards between powerful and vulnerable people of the village such demand for electricity which unlike the surrounding areas, DC-2.1 has not got electricity yet.

Demand for rural road improvement and the road to DC-2.1-Aldeia 2, some even asking for Asphalt Road because the dusty one does not make any difference in the rainy season. Asking for clean water is almost everybody and houses to the community particularly vulnerable people. Scholarship to children of vulnerable people in order to access the higher education.

Electricity, road access and clean water are principal priority for the village and follow by the need of secondary such as pre-secondary schools and agricultural schools and the training centre whether in the suku or association and other secondary priority is similar to powerful and marginalized priority.

4.2. Conceptualizations of people and power

Powerful Community Members

Respondent 3

Respondent 3 is Xefe Suku DC-2.1. He is 44 years old from Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 3, Suku DC-2.1 since 2005.

Previous to being Xefe Suku he was a builder. In 2004 he was the one who coordinate the work related to the School building financed by an external Foundation. The budget given by the Foundation was 5000 US Dollars. He organized all the process very well and with transparency. He said I think that is why people wanted me to be the Xefe Suku. Many community members wanted him to be Xefe Suku. Individual villagers were very supportive and he was candidate from the Fretilin party versus two others candidate. Teacher Respondent 7 said that Respondent 27 (Women representative) her husband said;

“In first period we candidate him to be xefe suku even thou he has no willing (08:00)”¹⁴

However, not all villagers approve of his performance. A villager said that the villagers have miss elected current xefe suku instead of elected former xefe suku. He added that it is good that the company come to our village to implement the road project otherwise xefe suku doing nothing.

“Xefe suku has married but he still needs married again with another woman (13:10)”¹⁵

He was the appointing suku structure for his first period, the criteria for selecting a person to work with me is I have to see that a person has participated actively in suku's activities in the past. Should be a good person in the family, wise, courageous and knows how to solve problem.

¹⁴ DC-2.1_140703_RESPONDENT 27_Women Rep. (NOT)

¹⁵ DC-2.1_140701_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer (NOT)

As a xefe suku, he is organizing and leading Suku Council meeting once a month. Aside from xefe suku he is a adviser of Association 1 and lead the commission related to health sector called KJPS)

Xefe Suku receives 140 dollars, Xefe Aldeias receive 100 and the village secretary receives 115. Other members of the council only receive 45 dollars. Xefe suku also receives 15 dollars per month for Pulsa and fuel for the village bike. However, lately I do not receive the pulsa money any longer. His village council itself got 100 dollars a month for administrative purposes. The administrative money, it is the village secretary who keeps it.

In relation to PDD and PDL projects, Xefe suku hissuku council just discuss and select a project to propose to the government just on its own without the involvement of the community.

Xefe suku priority for the suku is housing for the vulnerable people, water connection to aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.1-Aldeia 2. Road opening to DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 electricity, youth training center in the village.

Respondent 22

An old man was a former xefe suku for three period during Indonesian time with age of 78 years old who currently now part of village council as an Ansiaun since 2000 in the period of Former xefe suku Respondent 8 (2000-2005) until at the present date. During his leadership in Indonesian time he had being doing a lot of advocacy to defend the integrity of DC-2.1 when two neighboring sukus want to ceased the land of DC-2.1 in to their own suku. If it could be happen then there is no more DC-2.1 or there might be only small piece of land.

Aside from that as an Ansiaun he supervise the activities of suku council members, control any project that implemented within the suku and mediates the problem regarding domestic violence, land disputing. Typically, villagers go to him before going to the xefe suku. He doesn't necessarily seem to want this to happen, but as a matter of course most disputes go to him before going to the sede suku.

Hence forth, he is still considered by many villagers interviewed as the most respected man in the village due to his previous job done and knows very well the history of DC-2.1, he stated that when the settlement of the land dispute with Neighboring suku 5, the villager of come up with the one version of evidence, he came up with the other version of to defend the integrity of DC-2.1 in the court.

The memory of this 78 years old man still remain strong, he always be consistent with his word such as the date, month and the year of two nearest suku attacked DC-2.1. he also still remember the Indonesian criminal penal code to condemned him.

Respondent 8

As one of resistance, he does a lot advocacy for agriculture group known as OHCA. A numbers of villager identify him with the association. His group got lots of aid from several agencies and transforming the group into bigger association in order accumulated all the groups within suku. The association is now call Association 1. Association 1 is a strong Association with good management of credit union system. Almost every district came to visit his association with comparison study, it also

according to our observation. The structure of Association 1 is consist of five division and seven groups which is larger than suku council structutre even xefe suku also part the structure as advisor.

In 2005 election he was not candidate himself for the second round. However, he was appointed by xefe suku to be a Lia nain for suku council after the election conducted. As lia nain at suku council usually he settles the problem at suku level when the case at aldeia could not be settling by xefe aldeia then proceed suku level that will settle by the lia nain. There is a payment of 50 dollars for each when filing a case at suku level; the payment is keep with the lia nain.

Aside from that, he is the committee of ongoing chapel construction in DC-2.1, become a committee through election process. Furthermore, he is coordinator of powerful party called CNRT. Most villagers of DC-2.1 still consider him as powerful and influential one because of he could accumulate all the groups in the suku into his assocation as an umbrella.

Marginalized Community Members

Respondent 19

An old man with age of 85 years old is currently inactive, from DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 and living DC-2.1 tuan as the former *postu* of suku DC-2.1. This place is currently resided by Respondent 19 and his family as their kingdom.

According to the legend of DC-2.1, he is from a *Liurai* Descendant, his grandfather was a customary king who went to study in Kupang and his son went to study in Macau. The one in Macau came back with a priest who baptized a lot of people here in DC-2.1 into Catholicism. The uncle of Respondent 19 was also a *Liurai* to reign in DC-2.1. Respondent 19 does not have any brother because all died during the war in 1975 as result of civil war.

Respondent 19 claimed the land in Eastern DC-2.1 as his uncle was a former *liurai* in portugues time. However, the land has been taken repeatedly for village facilities construction sometimes without his consent, the place in Eastern DC-2.1 where the Sede and other facilities are located is of his family. As coming from elite family, he is seldom to attend the meeting at suku level. However, he still remember the last meeting in Sede suku was three months ago. The meeting was talking about some people from Neighboring suku 3 who lives here in DC-2.1 but work in Neighboring suku 3.

Respondent 17

A disable woman with her husband as farmer, she is works for a farm while her husband collect local white wine. They are consider as vulnerable family that always mentioned by the numerous respondents when we were asking about who is the vulnerable in the suku because their farming produce is subsistence and has flimsy house to stay. Ironically, they have two children that used to depart to school and return home daily which is take for 2 and half hours for each trip.

Her husband does not have blood sister nor brother. He used to have a land with coffee plantation within it but the coffee was seized by their grandfather and diverted to his relatives. They use to live in Eastern DC-2.1 but because of arguing with the neighborhoods therefore they prefer to move in DC-2.1-Aldeia 2. This families do not access to public facilities especially they have not being entitle to elderly nor disable subsidiary since they live in DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 and even they were still reside in Eastern DC-2.1.

She does not participate in the suku council meeting because she said that she has to take care of the children but her husband attended the meeting at suku office when we hear information from xefe aldeia or someone else when it necessary and directly related to them. Her development priority is Houses to the community, water system, sanitation and money to pay our children school fee or scholarship.

Respondent 14 (Disabled)

Respondent 14 is 46 years old as a farmer from Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1. His main activities is farming the crops and animal nurturing for selling at about 50 dollars.

He is partly disabled and limp since he was born and that limits his mobility. he has seven child, 6 at school. The oldest one is already married to someone from Ermera district. One is at senior high school and the last one is still at kinder-garden in Lugasa. All of them are at school except the married daughter.

He said, he also attends the meeting at suku council for sometimes as some information might be of his interests. In other side, he also attend the meeting of Association 1 as he is also member of it. His group is Eastern DC-2.1 Buras, her group already got corn seeds of five drums. Apart of Eastern DC-2.1 Buras he also got involve in UBSP for credit union, saving and loan joint business. He has already saves 135 dollars. Related to the community project, he also gathering stones in the river for road construction. He got to know information about it because he attended a meeting with the company at the Sede Suku which was informed by xefe aldeia using megaphone and motorbike. He is member of Association 1. He does corn seeding.

5. Institutions and power

5.1. Constellation of Suku Groups

Name → Association 1		Type → Civil Society group	Member base → 120 membership DC-2.1
Objective	To empower the life of communities		
Structure	Led by a chief Respondent 8, deputy, adviser, manager, secretary, five division such as agriculture, veterinary, fishers, economy (credit union), and forestry, and there is seven groups these five divisions such as OHCA, Haburas, Moris foun, Eastern DC-2.1 buras, Halibur, Berdasi and Hatrapo		
Activities	Farming, saving and loan, small industry		
Influence	Very high - group constitutes a huge portion of village's civil society		

Name → Chapel commission		Type → Religious	Member base → All parishioners in DC-2.1
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Objective	To build a new Catholic chapel for parishioners in DC-2.1
Structure	Led by a coordinator Respondent 8, secretary, treasurer and followed by each gang leader
Activities	Supervising and coordinating effort related to DC-2.1 Chapel construction and regular collecting money from the parishioners
Influence	Very high as catholic membership is dominant and fanatically believe to the catholic only

Name → Centru Pastoral	Type → Religious	Member base → All parishioners in DC-2.1
Objective	Promoting church activity at village level and strengthening the believe of the parishioners	
Structure	Led by coordinator Respondent 11 Dos Santos, vise coordinator, Catechist, choirs and gang leaders	
Activities	Organizing church activities such as mass, marriage, and first communion	
Influence	Very high as catholic memberships are dominant and fanatically believe to the catholic only	

Name → APCTL DC-2.1	Type → Civil Society group	Member base → In DC-2.1
Objective	Women empowerment	
Structure	Led by coordinator Respondent 27, Secretary, Treasurer and advisers	
Activities	Rice businesses (buy and sell). Deal also with issues related to domestic violence and planning to farm the pineapples	
Influence	Very high as catholic memberships are dominant and fanatically believe to the catholic only	

Name → Kera Sakti and PSHT	Type → Martial art	Member base → In DC-2.1
Objective	Self-defense and improving the membership	
Structure	Kera Sakti led by Respondent 33 and PSHT led by Leonel	
Activities	Martial art training	
Influence	Low influence, only participated by some youths and rarely to create conflict	

Name → Fretilin, CNRT, PD & ASDT	Type → political parties	Member base → In DC-2.1
Objective	Generally to strength the membership at the base in order to compete in the election.	
Structure	Each party has a village level coordinator that controls the entity	
Activities	Program campaign prior to the election and other activities are depend on the national orientation	
Influence	Fretilin is historical while the leadership of the CNRT is consider as resistance leader and PDN membership is low	

Name → Maubere Foho Leten related to CPD-RDTL	Type → Political	Member base → Tuhilu-Leten (up in the hill Lebmeta)
Objective	Unknown but base on general observation is anti-establishment of current government	
Structure	Respondent 24 is leader of Civilian and another villager is the leader of Military	
Activities	Martial art training	
Influence	Only followed by some household in the uphill of DC-2.1-Aldeia 3	

5.2. Formation of village groups (Specific explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

5.2.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

An individual is in several leadership positions or at least part of structure, former xefe suku Respondent 8 was eliminated from suku election 2005. He was appointed by xefe suku in 2010 as lia nain for suku council. Aside from that he is the coordinator of CNRT party and he was elected through voting process as a committee for the ongoing chapel construction, he was appointed by his family related to lead the committee for the previous uma lulik Clan 1 construction. Most importantly, he is chief of Association 1. The coordinator of ASDT party who runs for suku election two times but he did not won versus current xefe suku, holds leadership position in association as a chief of the credit union called UBSP which attached to the association itself. Respondent 27, one of the women representatives at suku council, she also holds leadership position in APCTL is a woman group to empower woman in the suku by selling rice planting of pineapples.

Other people not in position of power but holds leadership position in small scale community groups under Association 1 such as Maria (name changed) leads the small industry group producing Tapioca flour and Geraldo (name changed) leads Eastern DC-2.1 Buras for farming groups.

In other side, as a teacher Respondent 11 hold position in church activities mainly coordinator for Centro Pastoral DC-2.1 and affiliate with PD party as a coordinator, Acasio (name changed) is leading Fretilin, Respondent 33 is leading PDN party and at the same time he leads one martial art group called Kera Sakti and PSHT led by Leonel. There are few group of CPD/CRM on the hill top used to signed their name as Maubere Foho Leten.

In suku council when there is a meeting Xefe suku assigned his xefe aldeia to inform the villagers to attend the meeting Xefe suku also use his power to appoint any one to complete his structure by looking at the diligent of that person and the responsibility. In one case of women group, Respondent 27 appointed people with good management background to attend training and to seat in the structure of APCTL. Respondent 27 the women representative said regarding process of structure selection said;

"The structure was appointed by me because I am the women rep. I appoint them base on their good management and knows how write".

Some leadership are appointed due to their activeness, boldness to speak in front of public and due to their previous leadership and experience. Some leadership also holds several positions in several groups

Position is obtained through election in some groups like Association 1 and the divisions and the groups which are attach to Association like UBSP for the credit union. In other side, Appointment by leader and members due to proven work delivered is a method used in group like APCTL.

"The structure was appointed by me because I am the women rep. I appoint them base on their good management and knows how write".¹⁶

¹⁶ DC-2.1_140703_RESPONDENT 27_Women Rep. (NOT) P. 2

KJPS is one of the health structure which just appoint the xefe suku to coordinate the work of health activities in suku DC-2.1, in suku council xefe suku form his structure by looking at whether a person has participated actively in suku's activities in the past, and should be a good person in the family, wise, courageous and knows how to solve problem¹⁷. In the case of skills builder or worker in suku DC-2.1, in one side the worker come directly to company to ask for work and at the same time xefe suku just recommend. But in other side, suku knows how to recruit the workers that based on previous working certification.¹⁸

Association 1 and Groups affiliated to it, meet regularly once a month to discuss their activities with their members. In the case of UBSP, it is around every May that they distribute the profit among members. The Association also share their report related to agriculture sector with an organization called Seeds for Life which is the main partner of Association 1. The same thing doing in the women groups called APCT, they the money keep in two places, one keeps with the coordinator and some keeps with the treasurer but the treasurer keep updating every month during the meeting time.

These powerful people legitimized by their previous proven record of good work delivered. In other side, Election in some groups or appointment by members consensus in others and fight for the Timor-Leste independence also respected in the village even though they are not part of any group.

Decisions are reached through discussion until achieving consensus but leaders of the groups normally influential in the discussion through their ideas and sometimes if the consensus is not made then forward to election process.

5.2.2. Financial Management

Funding from other organizations such as national APCTL fund for woman groups in the village for their business. There is a temporary committee usually appeal for community contribution towards community project activities, e.g. Committee for ongoing chapel construction and funding for Association group building construction. Most groups don't have much in terms of financial resources.

There are several groups in Association 1, each group they manage their own finance e.g. the group of industrial they produce tapioca and frying the bread for selling. However, there is a division for credit union to save and loan the money, every year at the month of May they share the interest of their saving and loaning. In other case, the APCT group for women they purchase the rice from Ermera and sell it in the village.

Treasurers usually administer the financial resources but some case the money also keep with coordinator in order to accelerate their business or other person that trusted by the treasurer or due to other reason. Example the finance of APCT keeps in two places, half keep with the treasurer for the selling rice and other half keep with the group coordinator for selling rice.

The contribution for the chapel construction was keep with the treasurer but due to far living distance of the treasurer then the money entrusted to secretary to keep. Even though the money could keep with

¹⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT) P. 1

¹⁸ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT) P. 6

anyone else but when purchasing some item they have to attend the meeting or otherwise informing or relating the expenditure expenses.

Most group keep the financial resources at the house. However, the Credit Union UBSP when asked about where the money is kept, Respondent 8's answer was "for security reason we normally just say that the money is kept here in the village without specifying the place". In relation to agriculture groups, the seeds they produce, mostly corn, are kept in close container in the office of the Associacaun. Farming equipment is kept by groups leaders such as hand tractors and hoe.

In APCT group, members are invited during the explanation of the expenditure on monthly either at suku level or sub district level, for the Association 1 they usually have monthly meeting to regarding updating related information and reporting on their finance.

5.2.3. Collective action among groups

The village groups rarely cooperate among them but there are instances where cooperation happens between groups within Association 1 for cleaning each other's farm and making fences around their farms. Planning and supervision for collective action is done only by group's leaders and it is not coordinated through their umbrella organization, the Associacaun. Normally it happens with groups that their farms are closed to one another. Cooperation happens in this regard, for example Ministry of Agriculture helps Association 1 in providing seeds for their farms. Ministry of Commerce and Industry provided training on Tapioca production and Association 1 regularly used computer and printer of the Sede Suku for their administrative needs

APCTL treasurer when asked in this regard said that they have not seen any reason for cooperating with or joining other village groups and they themselves are already too busy with their own activity. Respondent 28 who leads Agriculture Group called Eastern DC-2.1 Buras said their cooperation is limited to building of fences and cleaning of grass in their farms. The sub-district office facilitated training provided by German cooperation and UN Women that was attended by some women from DC-2.1 who later form the APCTL group in the village.

Chapel construction commission works closely with Suku Council. The amount of Community's contribution for chapel construction is displayed in the Suku information board. Meeting in this regard is also held at Suku Council.

The villagers from DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 are located very far from suku and the group center and to be a member of association is need to wait for one year particularly at the month of May is the month registering new membership. CPD-RDTL groups are constrains also because they do not recognize formal institutions.

5.2.4. Communication strategies

With Association 1 the group leaders inform the members by house to houses, phone call and words of mouth is also used for their communication methods. Groups introduce their activities through meetings. With regard to the youth group the youth leader inform his members at football and volleyball field which located in the same place.

The distance and accessibility of one Aldeia (DC-2.1-Aldeia 2) and some house hold who live in jurisdiction of the sub-district. In other side, to be a membership of association need to wait for one year at the month of May in every year after sharing the saving and loaning interest to one another.

5.2.5. Creation and termination of groups

Groups normally founded to serve a purpose, for example the Chapel Commission founded for chapel construction. Chapel commission is founded with close cooperation with the Suku Council. APCTL DC-2.1 is for women empowerment. APCTL DC-2.1 was founded after its members receiving training from APCTL Center (based in Dili) funded by the German Aid and UN Women. Association 1 goals was community empowerment and its creation process started in 2010 with consultation with other groups and working closely with organization Seeds of Life, Estensionista.

There are groups that were created similar to the Chapel commission, just to serve the purpose of constructing certain building and after the building is completed the groups itself cease to exist for example Committee for Strom Foundation funded school building construction, Committee for the Construction of Sede Suku. Other than that, groups like the martial arts group stopped doing its activities such as training in the village due to government nationwide resolution to ban certain martial art group's activities. With the group of Maubere Foho Leten that identify with the CPD RD'TL, the organization was crackdown as government nationwide crackdown on illegal groups in the same time with KRM and CPD RD'TL.

5.3. Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

Association 1

There was several agricultural groups being existed in DC-2.1 since 2003 including Organizasaun Haburas Comunidade Agricultura (OHCA) was led by current leader of Association 1. As result of comparison study in Oequçe, Respondent 8 came back with an idea to transform his group OHCA into bigger association called Association 1 in order to assemble all small groups in DC-2.1. Henceforth, the association created in 2013, with five divisions and seven groups. The groups are mostly from previous lonely exit in the suku.

The Association is by far the most influential in DC-2.1 not least because of the composition of its structures and membership which is including xefe suku, teachers, catechist, health cares and group leaders. The group has cooperated with other cooperatives and groups from other districts to have comparison study almost every day.

The process of executive structure were through the election and communication strategy between group members is through house to house by chief of the association.¹⁹ There are 200s members but only few regularly attend the meeting every month or when needed due to other activities.

The activities of this association is depend on the main focus of each group but most popular now is producing corn, vegetables, developed a program to produce tepung Tapioca and other crops. vegetables

¹⁹ DC-2.1_140626_RESPONDENT 6_Farmer (NOT) P.1

and seeds of corn. Most interestingly, the group has credit union which is under the economic division for the purpose of saving and loaning activities known as UBSP

Generally, the association members do not have contribution and collection at all but they trade their seed of harvest then they share the interest to each other's through consensus among them. But specifically, for the credit union UBSP there is saving money for loaning such as; Membership fee \$. 2 for opening an account, regular fee \$. 3 for monthly contribution and volunteer fee \$. 5 and above (depend). The saving is keep with treasurer of economic division instead of treasurer of the association. The total saving is now reaching 6000 dollars for further loaning. The requirement for loaning money is only use the money for children school fee, house construction or repairing, five dollar penalty for the late deposit and for business only. Only the membership of UBSP is allowed to loan the money, the applicant for loaning money not allow to use the money for the expenditure of traditional activities called *Lia*. Respondent 8 said that we have shared the interested of the group cash according to the percent rate of saving and loaning total. The month of May is the target month in every year to share the interest of the money (*Sisa hasil usaha*) in credit union.²⁰

APCTL DC-2.1 (the women group)

APCTL is a women empowerment group was established at the month of May 2013, when Respondent 27 the woman representative was invited by National APCTL to attend the with other 12 participant in sub district level. There were consisting of six men and six women. This participant was appointed by Respondent 27 as she is the women representative.

Respondent 27 the coordinator who was suggested to be the leader of APCTL by her brother Respondent 22 who is the Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 and the others agree with in consent.²¹ After appointing her to be coordinator of APCTL, she use her power to appoint the other members to complete her structure including her husband and her brother as supervisors of the group. Asking regarding how to select the structure Respondent 27 said;

"The structure was appointed by me because I am the women rep. I appoint them base on their good management and knows how write".²²

The group is funded by national APCTL, they got the money for three phases for the purpose of their business. The money keep at two place one keep with treasurer and some keep with coordinator, this also decided by consensus due to accelerate rice selling in two places as well and the coordinator keep updating to the treasurer when they have meeting at suku level and and sub district level. ²³ the communication method of this group is information reached to the members by leader through door to door or just call via contact numbers. Regarding decision making, usually through meeting lead remark by the coordinator fellow by secretary and treasurer after that continuing with question or suggestion and discussion. They did not work together with APCT in other suku but they could updating to each other on the progress of each group when they have meeting at sub district level or via cellphone.

²⁰ DC-2.1_140627_RESPONDENT 8_Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT) P. 5

²¹ DC-2.1_140704_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer. (NOT) P. 2

²²DC-2.1_140703_RESPONDENT 27_Women Rep. (NOT) P.2

²³ DC-2.1_140704_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer. (NOT) P.1

5.4. Constellation of Local Governance (Structure, Objective, Member base, Activities, Influence)

Suku Council	
Structure	Led by xefe suku, assisted by the village secretary and followed by three xefe aldeia; DC-2.1-Aldeia 2, DC-2.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.1-Aldeia 1, Women representative, Youth leader for male and female, Lia nain, Ansiaun
Objective	Generally to serve the communities and raise the communities need to the government
Member base	All three aldeias
Activities	Regular meeting, attend sub-district/district meeting, conflict resolution, sharing information, identification and decision making to the community needs, facilitate villagers to make declaration so on and on
Influence	Administratively reign all the three aldeias that led by each xefe aldeia.

Youth and Sport Group	
Structure	Led by Respondent 10 the male representative of the Suku Council with adviser by xefe suku, followed by secretary, treasurer, and there are five section such as sport, culture/music, Liturgy, Logistic and security
Objective	Promoting sports and music among the youth
Member base	Exist in all three aldeias
Activities	organizing sport and music activities, matches with teams from other villages
Influence	Attached to council as advised by xefe suku and the membership are both youth males and females in all three aldeias.

KJPS (Komisaun Jestaun Programa Suku)	
Structure	Led by Respondent 10 the male representative of the Suku Council with adviser by xefe suku, followed by secretary, treasurer, and there are five section such as sport, culture/music, Liturgy, Logistic and security
Objective	facilitating the implementation of the village health program
Member base	All the villagers in three aldeias
Activities	Doing the program of SISCA
Influence	A multi-sectorial commission which is led by xefe suku and collective action with education and health sector.

5.5. Formation of village governance (Specific explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

5.5.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Basically, the suku council members are the leadership of the village governance. They are engaged in the multi of the village governance. Xefe suku who heads the suku council used to involve in commission for health called KJPS and as advisor for Association 1. Furthermore, Respondent 27, a women representative, takes the responsibility for APCTL group and was engaged in the committee for cooking

kindergarten children in DC-2.1. Respondent 8 who lead the Association also as serve as lia nain in suku council and Respondent 10 as male youth leader.

At aldeia level, xefe aldeia and xefe bairro are the leader of the village. The xefe aldeia who is a member of suku council and xefe bairro is representing of church structure called centru pastoral in aldeia.

There are several type of leadership style, it is depending on issues in question for example decision making on project identification is made by the village elite like the members of the village council only. With exception with Suku Development Programme (PDS) where the prioritization process start since aldeia all the way up to District level before a project is selected. Suku council also invites villagers to meetings during sub-district administrator's monthly visit. Attendance for these meetings is high, often around 50-60 people. However, the suku council usually does not send out invitations to other meetings. In other side, community related meeting like road cleaning program Suku council invited everybody to attend the meeting on participation of road rehabilitation program and the meeting on the establishment of chapel committee and contribution for chapel construction almost involve every one.

Suku council use the power to use the land for construction without informing ask permission to the land lord and there was no consensus with the land lord during most construction build in Eastern DC-2.1, asking regarding the land local government use for infrastructure project Respondent 19 said;

"I said as long as the land is for the community you can take it but if it is for private use or a company then there has to be payment (28:40)".²⁴

When suku council decided to construct suku office in that land without asking the land lord, the land lord came to xefe suku and asked;

"You guys did not ask me and just built on my land. Is this yours? (28:34)".²⁵

The election process Xefe Suku and the council was organized by STAE and CNE coming from the district. The village only provide polling staff to help with the election process. There was also training or socialization provided for the voters to choose their leaders. In 2005 there were two elections. One election was to elect Xefe Suku and another was for Xefe Aldeia, Xefe Suku had to appoint his member of the council later after he was elected. However, in 2010 the law required candidates to form package before running for the position. Furthermore for Fretilin candidates, an internal election is done to choose who is going forward to run at suku level. Campaigns were held together where each candidate made speech about to the public about their program. In 2005 there were three candidates such as Respondent 3, Respondent 8, and Geraldo (name changed) and there was no problem during election process, the current xefe suku won the others were eliminated.²⁶ In 2010 were two candidates mainly current xefe suku Respondent 3 and the same Geraldo. However, Geraldo was still eliminated.²⁷ The same election did in Association 1, Respondent 8 who eliminated in 2005 suku election compete with the with the same current xefe suku, and won the elections. In the groups like KJPS and Youth and Sport group the leadership is appointed either by Chefe Suku or as required from the top in the case of KJPS. The women group APCTL was appointed with consensus only.

²⁴DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 19_Landowner and Farmer (NOT) P. 1

²⁵ Ibid 2

²⁶ DC-2.1_140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT) P.1

²⁷DC-2.1_140703_RESPONDENT 27_Women Rep. (NOT) P.1

*“XA DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 who is the brother of current group coordinator, XA was recommended his sister to be a coordinator we just agree consensually”.*²⁸

Did not find much evidence of that however there is a case related to 55 hectares land that the community heard that Xefe Suku, Ansiaun and Lia Nain agreed without the community knowledge to give to PNTL to build police training center. The community asked for a meeting with the village council to clarify the issue, the meeting was held with participation of community members, council members, PNTL and a Chinese Timorese who claim ownership of that land. Asking regarding land that almost taking away by the Chinese-Timorese and to PNTL, a farmer Respondent 21 said;

*“We also have another land problem. What happen is that, a Chinese want to take away the land through some community leaders like the Xefe Suku, the Lia Nain and the Ansiaun without letting the community know about it. I asked Xefe Suku to call for a meeting with the community to discuss the issue. The Chinese said that the land belong to his parents. Therefore he asked the three community leaders to support his claim so that he could give the land to Timorese National Police to build a police academy”.*²⁹

Suku council was established through a public voting in suku election. The council was voted by the villagers in the suku of DC-2.1. According to the villagers, they were reelected because they of their previous good performance in previous leadership. In other side, xefe suku was candidated by the villager for the first period due to his previous involvement in the resistance and he was candidate from Fretelin party.³⁰ The former xefe suku, Respondent 8 was appointed by xefe suku to be lia nain at suku council and Ansiaun one of former xefe suku who knows well about the history of DC-2.1 and defend the integrity of DC-2.1 territory during the nearest two suku would like to divided DC-2.1.³¹

Xefe suku and xefe aldeia know their responsibility to inform to the community when there is community related meeting at suku office, the power also used to identify village needs, making proposal to the government , handling village money and manage construction fund in the case of Sede suku and AusAid funded school building. However, suku council members such as Xefe suku, Ansiaun and lia nain misused their power to provide the land almost 55 hectares to the police build PNTL training center without informing the villagers.³² Respondent 8 as lia nain at suku council, he keeps the money 50 dollars for filing a case at suku level and closing the case called payment for “Loke Taka”.

*“all the money will keep with lia nain, because even the mediation at aldeia level aslo because we have no proper place settle the problem so we have to go to suku office and at the same time we give directly the money to the lia nain (35:50)”.*³³

Respondent 27 said as a suku women representative and the leader of the APCITL, the entire member is under her supervision and she appointed to be a part a structure should base on good management background.

²⁸ DC-2.1_140704_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer. (NOT) P.2

²⁹ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT) P. 1

³⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT) P. 1

³¹ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT) P.1

³² IBID

³³ DC-2.1_140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT) P. 2

“The structure was appointed by me because I am the women rep. I appoint them base on their good management and knows how write”.³⁴

Road rehabilitation project was exclude for veteran, public servant and student and children under age. However, Respondent 23 is one of the resistance freedom fighter, use his power as veteran to control road cleaning project. He also consider as a trouble maker in the village that always complaint by suku council such as xefe suku, Ansiaun and Xefe aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1;

“ Respondent 23 is one of the veteran but he has no conscience and still participate in the project”³⁵

Suku council members such as Xefe Suku, Lia nain and Ansiaun are influential in decision making. Ansiaun the Former Indonesian xefe suku also invited to decide for the sake of DC-2.1 villagers. For example Ansiaun was representative of suku DC-2.1 to decide and promise to the national administration on the project of suku office. Representatives of Sectors like health (nurse), education (school coordinator) and church (catheqist) can also be influential depending on issues in question.

In one meeting that the REP Team observed about the road project a lot of community members participate and asking question about how the work organized and the payment of workers and both powerful people and the villagers agree with consensus.³⁶ Decision on the project or suku priority identification are mostly taken by suku council only and suku council just inform to the villager when the project is ready to implement and how to involved participation. However ordinary villager rarely involve in the decision making unless it is related issue like road rehabilitation project.

Decisions are made through discussion and reaching consensus and most of it is done only by the village council. Before meeting the community, village council members normally meet among them beforehand. But voting is also reserved in cases of deadlock. Suku council meetings are held openly. Villagers are not limited to join and observing or sharing the opinions. But community rarely attended the meeting due to personal activities, lack of incentives and living far away from the suku. However, particular villagers also attending the event did not receive any invitations.

In the case of finance at suku level, PAAS said it is not necessary for the community to know the expenditure for suku activities.³⁷ The money for filing case and closing “Loke-Taka” also keep with the lia nain to use for the purpose of the suku activities. However, it is not necessary for the community to know on the expenditure and the report.

5.5.2. Financial Management

Primary sources of fund suku council are 100 dollars a month patty cash received twice a year and the salaries of the council members also are paid once in six months. Apart of it, council also get some money from conflict mediation through Xefe Aldeia. It is 25 dollars to report a case for mediation at aldeia level and 50 dollar at suku level with the Lia nain Suku and Suku council get the money from the government, e.g. rehabilitation of sede suku

³⁴ DC-2.1_140703_RESPONDENT 27_Women Rep. (NOT) P. 2

³⁵ DC-2.1_140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT) P. 1

³⁶DC-2.1_140701_OBSERVATION ROAD PROJECT (Obs) P. 1

³⁷ DC-2.1_140626_RESPONDENT 4_Paas (NOT) P. 1

Village secretary called PAAS is the one handle the village patty cash and pay the salaries of the council members. However, money that is paid to Xefe Aldeia and Lia nain to mediate conflict remain with them without forwarding it further to the village secretary because the decision was made to keep the money with lia nain and xefe aldeia before the secretary being recruited. Funding form the National APCTL for women empowerment in the village was keep at two places, some with the women representatives and some keep with the treasurer of APCTL.³⁸

The money for suku council, expenditure is made based on the spending plan made in meeting between the council members, either about office inventory, preparation to receive visitors and so on. The money of Taka Loke on filing a case at aldeia level and suku level that is keep with suku lia nain and xefe aldeia house and when there is suku activities then use that for the purpose. When asking regarding how to spend the money for suku activities Lia nain said;

*” I did not bring the money with me to suku office but when needed then I came back home to take the money to buy the necessary things (1:50:10)”.*³⁹

The money for suku council is stored in Village Secretary’s house and others money on conflict mediation at aldeia level and suku level is stored at Xefe Aldeias and Lia Nain’s house respectively.⁴⁰ The monthly cash for suku council is use for office inventory such as papers, board mark, folders and also snack and coffee for meetings. And the money that keep with lia nain and xefe aldeia for purpose of some activities at suku office such snack for the guest or other related activities.

Every six month for suku council and the PAAS send report to the national administration called DNA before receiving salary and village patty cash, there has to be a detail report on the spending, including all the receipt and attending list of village meeting otherwise next chunk of Money is put on hold by the sub district until everything is completed. The money that keep at lia nain depend on the situation when there is activity suku council decide to use refer money and expenditure cost are listed.⁴¹

There is regular reporting to the sub district regarding all the village spending. That is all a requirement to get disbursement of village patty cash and salary for council members. The same regular reporting from women group to the National APCTL at sub district level.

The villagers are not necessary to be informed regarding the fund for the suku council activities and fund for woman group is only the membership could access the information during the meeting among their group and even at sub-district level.⁴²

5.5.3. Collective action among groups

There are some village institutions that does the local governance structure cooperate with are Komisaun Jestaun Planeamentu Saude (KJPS), Association 1, youth commission, Ongoing Church Construction Commission, Centro Pastoral DC-2.1 and Associasaun Pacific de Timor-Leste (APCTL).

³⁸ DC-2.1_140704_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer. (NOT) P. 1

³⁹ DC-2.1_140627_RESPONDENT 8_Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT)

⁴⁰ DC-2.1_140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT) P. 2

⁴¹ DC-2.1_140627_RESPONDENT 8_Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT) P. 2

⁴² DC-2.1_140626_RESPONDENT 4_Paas (NOT) P.1

Due to the lack of office facility at the Association 1 then the sharing of office equipment such as computer and printer between Suku council and Association 1.⁴³Multi sector cooperation for dissemination of health program called KJPS that leaded by xefe suku , Coordination for church construction and its contributions for church construction is displayed at village office information board and the meeting also held at the suku office, Cooperation on church activities between Centru Pastoral group, suku council and liaise with sub district in relation to training for APCTL members and villager also invited for the discussion on some issue like community road project that even participated by the villagers from the nearest suku mainly Neighboring suku 3 and Neighboring suku 4, it is also according to our observation during the first day of road rehabilitation project in DC-2.1..⁴⁴Friendship football player between and the youth of DC-2.1 and the youth of Neighboring suku 5 and cooperation among the youth for the cleaning program around suku office.⁴⁵

Villages cooperation and not cooperation are depending the need, regular meeting for suku council at the suku office is not involve the villagers, because it is part of the suku council members daily activities particularly in their administrative matters. However, villagers are cooperative when the needs is for everyone in the village e.g. community cooperate to contribute money for their chapel construction and cooperate to control existing project implementation in the suku.

Regular meeting of Xefe Suku with sub-district and district office and needs to inform back to the community if the issues is related to the community. Suku council elaborated a proposal sending to sub district and district, Visiting from sub district and district administrator or representative to participate any activities in the suku. Agricultural Estensionista from sub district provide training to the community on farming technique in the village and from our observation, using of phone call was very common to communicate from sub district and district level to local leader in the village.

Some villager not participate in the meeting because of their personal activities and some because of there is no road access to their aldeias. Some community live in the jurisdiction of other suku so information are rarely difficult for them to hear. CPD-RDTL not to participate because of their anti-establishment activities and local governance. SC exclude individuals by choice, in particular the elderly, those without enough education or knowledge.

5.5.4. Communication strategies

The communication methods are xefe aldeias going from house to house to inform the villagers, shouting using megaphone by walk or using motorbike, words of mouth through their children who study at near the suku office or through their neighboring villager, sometimes using of phone calls, next meeting can be decided during the meetings. In other side, some information are also posted on sede suku walls for those seek information to suku office.

The distance and inaccessibility of some aldeias mainly DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 and for those who live in the jurisdiction of other suku and heavy reliance on one Xefe Aldeia (DC-2.1-Aldeia 2) to inform

⁴³ DC-2.1_140627_RESPONDENT 8_Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT) P. 2

⁴⁴DC-2.1_140701_OBSERVATION ROAD PROJECT (Obs) P. 1

⁴⁵DC-2.1_140705_RESPONDENT 34_Student. (NOT) P. 1

community but the other xefe aldeias inform through house to house due to only one megaphone available for announcement purposes that may not inform everybody.

In general community, they are satisfied with the village governance particularly in communication methods that could reach to all the villagers but there are voices of dissatisfaction like the one expressed by Respondent 21 with regard to what he considered as secret deal between Xefe Suku, Ansiao and Lia nain to give a big land of 55 hectares to PNTL for building of Police training center. In other side, xefe suku and suku council use the land for the local infrastructure e.g. they use the land of Respondent 19 for the construction of sede suku, primary school building and health post even though they are aware that the land belongs to Respondent 19. A youth named Respondent 12 showed his dissatisfaction on the way regarding the road project implementation was organized is still at the same place instead of cleaning program can be conducted in different road. In other side, some villagers said suku has to do something regarding some community from Neighboring suku 3 who live in DC-2.1 but do their activities in Neighboring suku 3.

5.6. Explanatory cases (Village governance)

Suku Council

Suku Council meets once a month. Sometimes it is more depending on the need. We do not have any predefined date to meet but we just look at the time we have, if there is time we just call for meetings.

Normally when we plan to have a meeting XAs are tasked with spreading the invitation just by going from house to house, phone calls or word of mouth. It is the XA DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 the one announcing the people with a megaphone along the road in a motorbike about the village meetings. The community does come to the meetings but not everybody. In a household normally just one person that attends. In meetings sometimes just the men who come but others both men and women participate for example as the ongoing road rehabilitation, both men and women work side by side.

XS receives 140 dollars, XAs receive 100 and the village secretary receives 115. Other members of the council only receive 45 dollars. It is monthly wages but paid only once every six months. For members of the council, if they do not participate in any village meeting without plausible justification that 45 dollars could be cut. That is what the law says. For XA and XS apart from the wages we also have 25 dollars per month called *Cena de Presenca*, if any of us do not show up in village meeting without plausible explanation that 25 dollars is also cut but only for that specific month. So far in DC-2.1 we have not had any case like that.

Youth and Sport group

Respondent 10 from DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 is the leader of youth and sport group. The total membership are around 40 members' men and women.

This group organized many sport activities such as football for men and volleyball for women. And they are starting also musical group. On the sport side, their youth also have played some matches against Neighboring suku 5 and other villages in their ground and also in DC-2.1.

The football team is divided into two teams. Those from 10 to 16 years old and the ones from 17 onwards. This is the same for the Volleyball team as well. In 2014 the Secretary of State for Youth and Sport came to Liquisa and distributed jerseys, balls and volleyball nets. That was a nationwide

programme. In terms of members contribution to the sport group so far what we have done was contribution to buy new balls. The group has done that twice. Each member contributed 10 to 50 cent, we got twenty dollars and spent 15 dollars for the ball. Up to now we do not get any other source of fund beyond the small member's contribution as I just said.

The Music group is just created also after I took over. It has 10 members altogether, led by Respondent 12. The group has many members but we only have 10 guitars. We are thinking of getting more instruments but have not done anything about it yet.

“As youth leader, it is our role to help the youth channeling their talents thorough activities like sports and music.” (37:00)

They also organize the women's group because the female youth representative lives very far and she rarely participate in the activities. When it comes to contribution both men and women contribute. No separation in this regard.

6. Public goods

6.1. Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

No	Project Name	Location	Type	Objectives
1.	Uma Lulik Clan 1	Clan 1, DC-2.1-Aldeia 3	Community Project	Maintaining traditions and avoiding bad luck
2.	Sede suku	Eastern DC-2.1	Government	Village Office
3.	Water tap system by CVTL	DC-2.1-Aldeia 1, DC-2.1-Aldeia 3 and Eastern DC-2.1	National Red Cross	Water Supply
4.	Private water tap system	Eastern DC-2.1	Community	Water Source
5.	1 st Primary school project funded by Stromme foundation	Eastern DC-2.1	NGO project	Education Facility
6.	2 nd Primary School project funded by Ausaid	Eastern DC-2.1	Development Agency	Education Facility
7.	3 rd Primary school project funded by government	Eastern DC-2.1	Government Project	Education Facility
8.	Association 1 building	Eastern DC-2.1	Local Village Group Project	Seeds Storage and Office
9.	Toilet - ALFA	Eastern DC-2.1	Local NGO	Sanitation
10.	Kindergarten school project implement by the nuns	Old DC-2.1	Church	School Facility
11.	Health post	Eastern DC-2.1	Government	Health facility
12.	Community wide road rehabilitation program	All DC-2.1 Roads	ILO – ERA Project	Enhancing Rural Access
13.	Catholic Chapel (under construction)	Eastern DC-2.1	Suku Project	Praying Facility
14.	Retaining wall and dyke		UNDP Project	Flood Control and Land Retention

15.	Bridge funded by ILO-SEFOPE		ILO - SEFOPE	Enhancing Rural Access
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6.2. Formation of Infrastructure projects (Explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

6.2.1. Project selection and decision-making process

In terms of project identification for the village, there are two approaches identified, bottom up and top down. At the bottom up processes, some projects start either as an idea of an individual person or idea that comes up in private conversations and later it is taken to meetings to be decided, sometimes, just within the village. This is the case with, for example, the DC-2.1 Chapel construction⁴⁶ and construction of Uma Lisan Clan 1⁴⁷. However some projects proposals, after filtered in the Suku, are forwarded further to the sub district and district level before a final decision is made⁴⁸. At Suku council normally decisions are made by the members of the Council only through consensual approach⁴⁹. However, people used to experience a process called *paralelismo* in some government projects which basically means selecting projects by doing logical comparison of all the proposals submitted, one by one to see which ones should be dealt with first. In *paralelismo* there was a process of identification and prioritization of projects proposal with participation of the wide community at Aldeias level and the projects that are voted by the people as their priorities are forwarded to Suku for more selection before the successful ones going further to the Sub District and then District level for final decision⁵⁰. Xefe Suku has to take the village selected priorities to the Sub district to argue for acceptance by the forum, competing against proposals from other Sukus before it can be taken further to the higher levels⁵¹.

With community project of Uma Lulik Clan 1, the identification and decision making process does not involve external actors⁵². The process is more family based where close family and relatives involved in it and the voice of the oldest member of the Uma Lisan was highly influential in the decision making process⁵³.

“...as the oldest member of the uma lisan my opinion is highly regarded in making decision...”, said Respondent 24⁵⁴.

On the other hand, the top-down process, the projects are decided not by Suku as the processes previously described but the selection or decision making is made at the top and the village just have to implement it. This can be seen in the case of Sede Suku construction in 2007⁵⁵ or with the ILO's road

⁴⁶DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

⁴⁷DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

⁴⁸ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁴⁹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx

⁵⁰DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

⁵³DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

rehabilitation project⁵⁶. Regarding the Sede Suku Construction, it is a nationwide project of the Ministry of State Administration to build village office in the whole country. The ILO's one is part of the agency's program on enhancing rural access. Therefore the villagers do not involve in the project identification phase.

6.2.2. Project planning

In terms of planning for the construction, there are projects that are planned in the village while others the involvement of the villagers is limited or even inexistent. For the locally planned ones, the budget is given directly to Suku to decide on the material sourcing and recruitment of workers, for example, the Sede Suku construction funded by the Government, AusAid funded primary school building and Strome funded school building. However there are some other government funded projects that the village involvement is very limited such as the construction of a primary school building in Eastern DC-2.1 in 2013 or the health post construction in 2007. In both cases, it is the contracted companies that plan all the process.

Apart of some of the projects previously mentioned, the projects that all the source of funding is local like the construction of Uma Lisan Clan 1 and the Chapel construction projects, all the planning is done locally.

In terms of budgeting, projects that are planned and implemented by construction companies, the villager's involvement is inexistent⁵⁷. However the locally planned ones like the primary school project funded by Ausaid, Sede Suku construction and Strome funded building the budget is given to the Suku to handle⁵⁸. In these cases, normally a committee is set up with a treasurer also appointed to handle the budget. In practice, sometimes the coordinator of the committee also keeps some or all the money while the spending planning is still made at the meetings of the committee⁵⁹. In the case of the Sede Suku, before deciding on how much financial resources to spend, firstly the prices of construction materials were checked in the shops in Dili and later a meeting was held in the village to decide on how much money to spend, on what and how much to pay for the workers' wages⁶⁰.

"...we checked the prices first so that we can better calculate our spending..." Xefe Suku on Sede Suku construction⁶¹.

With regard to community project like Uma Lisan Clan 1 and chapel construction, financial resources entirely relied on people's contribution. In the Chapel one, contribution since 2009 was only enough to

⁵⁶DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

⁵⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 18_Nurse (NOT).docx

⁵⁸ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

⁵⁹ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

⁶⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

⁶¹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

construct the foundation of the building. The project is currently stalled because of lack of money⁶². More community's contribution is decisive for its completion. Budget in this project is handled by treasurer and spent on construction materials only⁶³. Labors just work for free⁶⁴. With Uma Lisan construction, contribution was given to the leader of the commission and spent primarily on buying food and paying the two skilled builders recruited⁶⁵. Another round of contribution in this regards was made at the end of the construction process mainly for food consumption for the inauguration ceremony⁶⁶.

Material wise, for village infrastructure projects, usually comes from the outside. Material comes mostly from Dili and only sands and stones that are usually brought from a River near neighboring sub-district 1⁶⁷. However, for Sede Suku and Association 1 building, wood were sourced locally for free⁶⁸. The only payment made in this regards was for buying fuel for the chainsaw⁶⁹. In the case of Uma Lulik Clan 1 all the materials were sourced locally due to the type of materials used such as wood and grass⁷⁰. Wood were cut in the nearby area and grass were taken from Eastern DC-2.1. All the materials were free⁷¹.

Coordination wise, it is a standard practice in the village to create a committee to manage the projects that are planned and implemented locally. This can be seen across virtually all the typology of the projects. With the Uma Lisan Clan 1 there was a committee established to handle the process⁷². It was the same with Sede Suku construction, Strome funded school building construction and the Chapel construction⁷³. Members of those committee are normally appointed based on their experience and good work delivered in the past⁷⁴. In the case of Sede Suku construction the committee had to be led by the Xefe Suku himself as per requirement from the top⁷⁵.

"...here we usually form committees to organize works. That makes things easier because people know their responsibilities..." said Respondent 8⁷⁶.

Aside of setting up committees as previously mentioned, in many of the projects, the actual construction of the building is divided into various parcels or *halo rabun* to be subcontracted further to the workers

⁶² DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx,

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁶⁸ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx

⁷³ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx

who are organized in groups, each coordinated by a leader⁷⁷. These groups are to dig the foundation, build the walls, covering the roof and filling sands into the interior part of the buildings⁷⁸. Each of the parts is paid differently and normally the skilled builders are the ones trusted to handle most of the process and are paid higher than the rest⁷⁹.

“...in many constructions here, we break down the work to different parts (halo rabun) and subcontract them two groups interested in doing it...” said Xefe Suku⁸⁰.

In some of the projects that the local government involved, the three Xefe Aldeias play an important role in coordinating the work with the community. This can be seen with the ILO funded road project where the Xefe Aldeias inform his community to work in the project, registering names of those interested and even contacted the neighboring village to participate because DC-2.1 has shortage of labor⁸¹. The same is verified in the case of chapel construction, each of the Xefe Aldeias leads their people to work in a rotation system of two days each from Monday to Saturday⁸².

With Uma Lulik Clan 1, a commission was established, divided into to three parts. One is for material collection, one is for looking after food consumption and the last one is for information dissemination⁸³. The information section is seen as important because the relatives of this Uma Lisan live all over the places like Neighboring suku 3, Neighboring Suku 4 and Neighboring sub-district 1⁸⁴. Therefore they need a section that would be responsible to travel around informing everybody to participate in the inauguration ceremony⁸⁵.

“...Uma Lisan Clan 1 has family and relatives spread everywhere, so we need a section that would go around informing people to come for inauguration...” said Respondent 8⁸⁶.

In relation to cooperation with external actors during project planning process, in some of the projects implemented by the contracted companies like the health post construction or the government funded school building, the cooperation with the village is very limited to informing the Xefe Suku about the project and asking for provision of land by the Suku to construct the facilities⁸⁷. With health post

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

⁸⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁸¹DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 9_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx

⁸² DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx

⁸³ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT).docx

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT).docx

⁸⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 18_Nurse (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

construction the company even came with its own workers from the outside to do the job⁸⁸. It is similar to the school building project but in this case the company does take some villagers to join the work⁸⁹.

In the case of road rehabilitation project, based on the observation of the REP team, there was multilateral meeting held before project was implemented, the meeting was attended by representative of the Suku council such as Lia Nian and Xefe Aldeia, the Company's representatives, ILO-ERA as project funder and the communities⁹⁰. The main agenda was about the work itself, workers and payment system. The community members were actively participating and asking questions about the project. With regard to this project, because the company's demand for workers was high and DC-2.1 cannot supply enough, Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 contacted the neighboring village of Neighboring Suku 4 to send workers as well⁹¹. Some of these outside workers new about the project from the words of mouth⁹².

In relation to constraints to the projects, construction planning in the village sometimes faces difficulties. One of the issue that happens frequently is the land issue. There is one person called Respondent 19 that has repeatedly donated his land for village projects such as school buildings, Sede Suku, health post and the chapel⁹³. Sometimes the land is taken even without consultation with the landowner in the case of the construction of the Sede Suku.⁹⁴

"...most of the village facilities in DC-2.1 are built on my land. Sometimes I was not inform about it that made me angry..." Said Respondent 19.

Another constraint is the la lack of budget. This is what happen with the catholic chapel construction. The budget is based on the followers' contribution, however it is not big enough to carry out the project smoothly until the end. The contribution started in 2009 and only in 2013 that the budget was enough to start the construction but only went as far as the foundation of the building.⁹⁵ Therefore external source of funding should be considered.⁹⁶ Sometimes when the villagers look for outside source of funding, does not mean that the money is provided readily. For example with the externally funded school building it was after some time that the NGO responded with budget provision.⁹⁷

⁸⁸DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 18_Nurse (NOT).docx

⁸⁹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁹⁰ DC-2.1_20140701_OBSERVATION ROAD PROJECT (Obs).docx

⁹¹ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx

⁹² DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁹³DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 19_Landowner and Farmer (NOT).docx,

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

⁹⁶DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx

⁹⁷DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx.

“...looking at the pace of thing, I was not sure whether I would be living long enough to see the chapel project completed...” Respondent 11 commented on the chapel construction process⁹⁸.

6.2.3. Project implementation

When it comes to project implementation, with government projects, the ones implemented by the contracted companies such as the health post construction and the government funded primary school building, it is the company themselves that directly recruit the labors with very little involvement of the Suku Council⁹⁹. They normally come to the village with workers of their own and take very few people from the village¹⁰⁰. Despite this, neither community nor the village council take this as serious issue and just conform to it¹⁰¹. There is no attempt from the community or the Suku authority to prevent outsiders to work in their village¹⁰². Some of them said that the most important is to have some facilities built in the village¹⁰³.

“...why should we stop outsiders to work here? They do something for our village...” said Xefe Suku¹⁰⁴.

In projects such as Sede Suku and some of the school buildings where Suku deals directly with planning and implementation, XS and XAs know their skilled builders in the suku and recruit them for those projects¹⁰⁵. A builder called Respondent 33 involved in most of the construction in the village¹⁰⁶. Apart of the skilled builders that normally invited by the village authority to do the work, the recruitment process for the paid works usually is not done in a way that guarantee a wider or a more diverse workers participation. It depends on who wants to show up at project site asking for job, that person can be taken¹⁰⁷.

“...normally when there is a project in the village, people just show up at the project site asking for work by talking directly to the project supervisors...” said Xefe Suku¹⁰⁸.

In relation to the catholic chapel project, workers are mainly the religious followers from the aldeias. The three Xefe aldeias lead their community in a work rotation of two days per aldeia from Monday to Saturday¹⁰⁹. People work for free and believe that they do the work for God therefore wages

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 18_Nurse (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Ibid

¹⁰³DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 18_Nurse (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹⁰⁴ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁰⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

compensation is seen as unnecessary because the reward is in the afterlife¹¹⁰. In Uma Lisan case, workers are just families and relatives part of the Uma Lisan and they also work for free except the two skilled builders who are recruited to supervise the entire process¹¹¹.

Concerning the cooperation with external actors during project implementation, with the ILO funded road project, due to shortage of labor in DC-2.1, some of the Xefe Aldeias contacted people from the Neighboring suku 3 and Neighboring Suku 4 to participate in the work¹¹². These workers, like everyone else, have to register their names with Xefe Aldeias before taking part in the process¹¹³. Moreover, in one of the road rehabilitation ceremonies attended by the REP team, the Lia Nain of Neighboring Suku 4 together with Lia Nain of DC-2.1 prayed or *hamulak* together to the *souls* asking for blessing before the project started¹¹⁴.

Cooperation is also verified through reporting and project monitoring. With the AusAid funded project, a monitoring mission came to the village to observe the progress and left some written recommendations to be considered by Xefe Suku¹¹⁵. Regular reporting from Suku is also needed in the case of the construction of externally funded school and the Sede Suku as a condition prior to the release of the follow up funding for each construction phase¹¹⁶.

There are constraints identified in some of the projects implemented in the village. For instance, in relation to the chapel construction, budget remains the biggest issue, both in the planning process and during the implementation itself¹¹⁷. The building only got its foundation constructed and in order to continue further there has to be more financial contribution from the followers while the contribution itself is not big enough to guarantee a smooth construction process¹¹⁸. The project is currently stalled¹¹⁹.

Apart of it, in the case of the government funded school construction there were delays on worker's payment and attempt by the contracted company to deviate from the project design in order to allegedly spend less money as referred by Xefe Suku¹²⁰. In this case, as Xefe Suku said, the foundation was not wide and deep enough. However the Xefe Suku who is also an experienced builder asked to see the design, discovered the anomalies and told the supervisor of the project to rectify them¹²¹.

In some projects, land was an issue both during planning implementation process. For instance, with the Sede Suku construction, the landowner, Respondent 19, showed up at the project site and talked

¹¹⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

¹¹¹ DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

¹¹² DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ DC-2.1_20140701_OBSERVATION ROAD PROJECT (Obs).docx

¹¹⁵ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹²¹ Ibid.

angrily to the Xefe Suku when he discovered that the construction has started on his land without his authorization,¹²² contrary to the Xefe Suku's claim in his interview that all the constructions on Respondent 19's land were authorized by the owner right from the beginning.¹²³

6.2.4. Resource management

In terms of storage, normally materials are stored in temporary storage facility. This is the case with the government projects and the chapel construction while in the the Uma lisan one, they are kept just in the open near to the project site. With the chapel and the Uma Lisan there were no guards to look after the material full time¹²⁴. In relation to sourcing of the materials, normally they are purchased in Dili and brought over using hired trucks. Sands and Stone are usually coming from River at the border with neighboring sub-district 1. Regarding wood for construction sometimes, like in the case of the Sede Association 1 or the Sede Suku, it is sourced locally¹²⁵.

Concerning the left over materials, with the AusAid funded project there were some materials left in the end of the process and were transferred to be reused in the chapel construction¹²⁶.

There was only one confirmed case of misappropriation of materials, and it happened after the project was completed. It was related to the CVTL clean water project¹²⁷. During the dry season, as the water supply shrank, some people stole water pipes from the water project and rerouted them to their own homes, meaning people living further from the central tank were without water¹²⁸. The group reportedly included a Xefe Aldeia and as such was never confronted by the village authorities¹²⁹. Other villagers told interviewers that they responded to the theft of the pipes by doing the same; if they did not alter the system, they said, no water would make it past the site of the original re-engineering of the waterworks, and none would make it to their neighborhoods¹³⁰.

"...people had stolen the pipelines prevented water to reach us so what was the point of living the rest of the pipelines on the ground serving nothing. I took some of it to connect to a smaller spring near my house for my daily need..." said Respondent 12¹³¹.

¹²² DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 19_Landowner and Farmer (NOT).docx

¹²³DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx,

¹²⁴DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

¹²⁵ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹²⁶ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹²⁷DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer and PSF Staff (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx,

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer and PSF Staff (NOT).docx

6.2.5. Development outcomes

In terms of the development outcomes, some of the public facilities constructed in the village have made the access of the community to certain services much easier. For example many people interviewed said that they have been to the health post to check their condition and get medicine¹³². In the education sector, many send their children to primary school just in Eastern DC-2.1 instead of having to walk many miles to the other sukus that have already got schools.¹³³

However, there are issues in the village that can be identified as common constraining factors to the equity, efficiency and impact of local public goods and services. To start with, in terms of access, poor road condition make it difficult for the community to easily take their product to the market. Some community members interviewed identified it as one of the main problems and many suggested that the solution has to be a longer lasting one by putting asphalt on the roads¹³⁴. Otherwise in the rainy season DC-2.1 is hard to access by cars¹³⁵. The issue is even worse in the case of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 because this aldeia has not got any road yet and in some cases, villagers who want to construct their houses have to carry the materials on their shoulder for long distance¹³⁶. The Ansiaun said during the Indonesian time when he was Xefe Suku he attempted to open the road to the Aldeia but he finally gave up due to fact that many landowner would only allow it to happen if there was compensation for their land¹³⁷.

“...I wanted at that time to build the road but people did not want to cooperate. Everybody was asking for compensation so me alone I was not able to do anything...” said the Ansiaun¹³⁸.

In terms of success and failure of the projects, the success could be determined by a number of factors. Common to most of the village's projects were a committed village leadership, committed external financial backing, and strong technical backing. In the absence of some of these elements sometimes led to failure. For instance with church construction, the stalling is due to lack of budget because the financial contribution made is not big enough to guarantee a regular supply of the materials to avoid delays¹³⁹. On the contrary, some projects like Sede Suku construction, NGO Funded Building and AusAid funded one were successful partly due to better funding from external actors, careful budget planning by experience builder from the village itself and strong determination of the village leadership to complete the projects.

¹³²DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 15_Farmer and Housewife (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 14_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 5_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140704_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer. (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140703_RESPONDENT 29_Business (NOT).docx

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ DC-2.1_20140703_RESPONDENT 28_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 16_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

¹³⁷ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx

Talking about determination of the leader, AusAid funded school construction could be a good example. When the money and BoQ was given to Suku, it was for constructing a semi temporary building or half concrete and half wooden wall because the budget was considered by the funder as too small¹⁴⁰. However Xefe Suku recalculated everything and came to conclusion that a permanent, whole concrete wall building could be built with that fund, partly by reducing the wages of the workers. Therefore he told his builders to build a permanent building instead¹⁴¹. When the monitoring mission came to see the building was almost done. They were worried that the budget was not enough to get all the materials but Xefe Suku said they have calculated and bought everything needed to finish the building. Xefe Suku then showed the REP team some recommendations written in English by the monitoring mission if Suku wanted to carry on with what they were doing. However the tips was never followed because no one understood English¹⁴². The building was completed in 2013 and is currently serving its purpose.

“...we are not a Company to go after profit only. We just want to build something proper for our children to study...” said Xefe Suku¹⁴³.

The water project was completed, but failed later due to a lack of control over installed equipment¹⁴⁴. Researchers did not observe any other failed projects in the village, which had an above average track record with respect to public works projects. In relation to the road project the 3 Km handled by a construction company in Eastern DC-2.1 was completed within 7 days only and no serious issues appeared to have emerged during the course of the project.¹⁴⁵

Quality wise, most of the existing development projects in the village are still in good condition with exception of some of them such as the stalling chapel construction due to budget limitation, the CVTL funded water project that the pipelines have gone missing and two public toilets that have no water. The other village facilities are well looked after and well maintained¹⁴⁶.

In terms of inefficiencies and leakages, with the CVTL water supply project. The people appointed to oversee the completed project's maintenance did their job on voluntary basis without any financial incentives and over time abandoned their duties¹⁴⁷. Therefore, when people began stealing and rerouting water pipes, nothing was done to stop them.

In the case of company implemented school building, there was attempt of deviation from the original design and Bill of Quantities (BoQ) to reduce the cost of construction but the Xefe Suku, who himself is an experienced builder, prevented it when he saw that the construction did not follow design.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx,

¹⁴¹ DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁴² DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx,

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer and PSF Staff (NOT).docx

¹⁴⁵ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

¹⁴⁶ DC-2.1_20140625_Observation Note (OBS).docx

¹⁴⁷ DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx

¹⁴⁸ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

“...I am a builder myself so I know how these things work...” said Xefe Suku¹⁴⁹.

6.3. Explanatory cases

Sede Suku Construction

Prior to the construction, DC-2.1 had a Sede Suku that made only of flimsy and temporary materials¹⁵⁰. In 2007, the Ministry of State Administration plan a nationwide project to build Sede Suku in all the villages with a budget of 7000 US Dollars for each Suku¹⁵¹. To implement the plan, Xefe Suku DC-2.1 received an invitation letter from the Sub district administrator to come for meetings in sub-district level to discuss about it¹⁵². There were three meetings held. In the first one, the sub district administrator inform the village representatives about the project and the amount of the budget that was going to be disbursed to each Suku. The village representatives were asked also to prepare a piece land in each suku to build the project and teams to carry out the task¹⁵³. The teams should be led by Xefe Suku themselves¹⁵⁴.

There were disagreement on the size of the budget during the first meeting, raised by Suku representatives saying that it was too small¹⁵⁵. Therefore another meeting was further schedule to discuss the budget. In the second meeting in sub-district, the Ansiaun of DC-2.1 said that DC-2.1 accepted the offer. At the beginning the Xefe Suku of DC-2.1 was surprised with his Lia Nain's statement but later other village representatives also ended up accepting the offer¹⁵⁶. After the budget was agreed. At the end of the meeting, the district administrator ask the village representatives to come back in another occasion in a team of three people each village to receive the first chunk of the budget¹⁵⁷.

Upon their return to DC-2.1, Xefe Suku called for Suku Council meeting to form a team to deal with the Project¹⁵⁸. All the Xefe Aldeias preferred Xefe Suku to lead the team based on his skill and experience as builder. On top of that the Sub District administrator himself have said that Xefe Suku should lead the process. The treasurer is the Secretary of the Suku at that time (female)¹⁵⁹.

In the third meeting in the sub-district level the Xefe Suku, Ansiaun and Xefe Aldeia Respondent 21 of DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 went to receive the budget, the design and the BoQ (Bill of Quantity) for the building¹⁶⁰.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹⁵² DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx,

¹⁵³ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹⁵⁴ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx,

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

The budget received was 3500 for the first phase out of the total of 7000. After receiving the BoQ and the design, the three, Ansiaun, Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeia, went straight to Dili to check the prices of the materials in the shops. Came back to the village with the money and it was given to the village secretary to keep¹⁶¹. Two meetings were called in the old Sede Suku to discuss the project and budgeting¹⁶². First meeting was communitywide, second was with the builders only¹⁶³. The meeting with the community was only to inform the villagers about the provision of certain amount of fund to build Sede Suku¹⁶⁴. In the meeting with the builders, the construction process and budgeting were discussed. The Xefe Aldeias were the ones tasked with informing the community and the builders by going from house to house and shouting along the streets for them to come to the meetings¹⁶⁵.

During meeting with the builders, Xefe Suku and Respondent 33 were the ones deciding most of the budgeting due to their background and experience as skilled builders¹⁶⁶. Workers were organized per group with their respective leaders. In terms of wages, 200 dollars for foundation digging, 500 dollars for paying the builders, 40 dollars for filling the interior part of the building with sands. 160 dollars for traditional ritual at the beginning and at the end of the construction. The rest of the money is for buying materials based on the price checking list previously made¹⁶⁷.

Prior to the construction, materials were sourced¹⁶⁸. Most of them were bought in Dili. Concrete Blocks were from Neighboring suku 1. Sands and Stones were from a local River. Wood was sourced locally in DC-2.1¹⁶⁹. Once in the village, the materials were kept in the old Suku office and the current kindergarten building which at that time was just an empty building. Respondent 22, the current Ansiaun, and some youth were the one watching over it once in a while because their houses were close to the site¹⁷⁰. Material sourcing happens three times during the process after receiving each chunk of budget allocation from sub district¹⁷¹. The first allocation was 2500 dollar spent primarily on buying materials needed for initial construction process such as sands, stone and metal bars¹⁷².

At the beginning of the construction, a traditional ritual called *halo-tuir* or *busu-lisensa* was held to ask for permission to the souls¹⁷³. Before construction started, except the experience builder previously invited,

¹⁶¹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁶² DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁶⁶ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁶⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁶⁸ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹⁷¹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

other people interested in the work showed up asking to join the work as well¹⁷⁴. Workers were all from the village. 8 Builders were invited by Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeias at their respective houses to handle the project¹⁷⁵. The lead builder Respondent 33 was invited by Xefe Suku himself in his house¹⁷⁶.

In terms of task distribution, Respondent 8 led a team of around ten people to dig the foundation. It took about one and a half day to complete. This team was paid 200 dollars to share between them once their part was completed¹⁷⁷. Respondent 33 led a team of 8 Builders to construct the building and supervise all the construction work¹⁷⁸. The builders' team receive 500 dollars in total¹⁷⁹. A local builder led a team to fill the interior part of the building with sands and was paid 40 dollars in total¹⁸⁰.

Cooperation with external actors in this case is with Sub district administration during planning process, right at the beginning to discuss the amount of the budget and village preparation to receive the project and also during implementation in terms of reporting and subsequent disbursement of each chunk of the budget¹⁸¹. The 7000 budget was allocated three times during the process depending on the project progress report sent from the Suku¹⁸². Every project report was followed by an inspection team from sub district who would verify the work before money for the next phase was given¹⁸³.

At some point during the construction the Landowner, Respondent 19 showed up at the project site talking angrily to Xefe Suku and the builders because according to him he was not told or asked about using his land for Sede Suku construction¹⁸⁴. Xefe Suku did not answer the same way but said only that the building was for the community¹⁸⁵. The landowner said he was fine if it was for the community but at least he should be informed beforehand because the land had an owner¹⁸⁶. Despite this incident the process continued¹⁸⁷.

The project was completed in 70 days¹⁸⁸. When completed, another traditional ritual was held to thank the souls. Some animals were sacrificed and 15 dollar coins called *mean ho mutin* were buried in the ground

¹⁷⁴ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁷⁷ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁷⁸ DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁸¹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹⁸² DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁸³ DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx

¹⁸⁴ DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 19_Landowner and Farmer (NOT).docx

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

near to the site as part of the ritual¹⁸⁹. When the project completed there were 200 hundred dollars still left behind¹⁹⁰. Xefe Suku decided himself to spend the money on buying some furniture like table and chair for the new village office¹⁹¹. The current state of the building is still fine and well looked after¹⁹². It host many village meetings and activities regularly¹⁹³.

ILO funded Road Project (International Agency)

Before the intervention, DC-2.1 roads have holes everywhere and in some parts, grass growing wildly on both sides of the road¹⁹⁴. The International Labor Organization (ILO), Timor Leste branch, identified and included these roads in its program about Enhancing Rural Access (ERA).¹⁹⁵ Prior to it, Suku council also originally decided on proposal for road to another location¹⁹⁶. XS submitted the proposal to the district government¹⁹⁷. Therefore when the project was introduced Xefe Suku thought it was related to the proposal.¹⁹⁸ However, ILO wanted to redo road in Eastern DC-2.1 as part of larger project, so project selection was changed¹⁹⁹.

After identifying the project, ILO open tenderization process for companies interested in it. Prior to submitting the proposals, the companies had to get the project documents from ILO office in Dili to learn more about it²⁰⁰. More than ten companies from Liquisa submitted their proposal to bid for the projects²⁰¹. One of the requirement for the companies to participate in the tenderization process is to have, at least, one of its staffs attended management course provided by SEFOPE (Secretary of State for Professional Training and Employment)²⁰².

When the winning companies were announced, it was six companies altogether who got the projects in DC-2.1. Each company was responsible for certain kilometers of road²⁰³. The company responsible for roads around Eastern DC-2.1 is called Company 1, has 3 kilometers to cover²⁰⁴.

¹⁸⁹ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁹⁰ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² DC-2.1_20140625_Obsrvation Note (OBS).docx

¹⁹³ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

¹⁹⁴ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

¹⁹⁵ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 20_Construction Company Manager (NOT).docx

¹⁹⁶ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 20_Construction Company Manager (NOT).docx

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

Before project implementation, the winning companies came to have a meeting in the village office to discuss about the project implementation and villagers participation in it²⁰⁵. Aside of the companies representatives, the meeting was participated also by the representatives of ILO, community and the Suku leader²⁰⁶.

Villagers were invited by Xefe Aldeias to participate in the projects²⁰⁷. The Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 used the village Megaphone to call people and walk also to his aldeia to ask who wants to work²⁰⁸. Because the village only has one megaphone kept by Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2²⁰⁹, The Xefe Aldeias of DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.1-Aldeia 3 just walked from house to house to inform their respective community about it²¹⁰.

In the discussion, the Company 1 offer a subcontract of 6000 dollars to the villagers for three kilometers road²¹¹. The villagers have to organize themselves to finish the work and once completed, the six thousand dollars is given to be distributed among them depending on how the community organize the work²¹².

The villagers on the contrary wanted what they call as *selu per kotak* or pay per meter which basically means that the road is divided into area of 8 meters wide to the sides of the road and 5 meters long to the front²¹³. Once a person or a group finish one of these boxes they are entitled to be paid US\$ 4.50, have their names written down on supervisor's list and move on to the next box²¹⁴. Therefore all the 3 kilometers road has to be divided like this. Many villagers preferred this because people are paid according to what they deliver and saying that this method could prevent free-riders because some people just register their names, do not do their work but in the end want to be paid because their names are already on the list²¹⁵. Only one respondent interviewed that prefer the subcontract system²¹⁶.

In terms of labor sourcing, each company ask for around 60 people. DC-2.1 does not have enough people to do the work so community from other suku like Neighboring suku 3, Neighboring Suku 4 and Neighboring suku 5 were also invited to participate in the project²¹⁷. Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.1-Aldeia

²⁰⁵ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer and PSF Staff (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

²⁰⁸ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 9_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx

²¹¹ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer and PSF Staff (NOT).docx

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer and PSF Staff (NOT).docx

²¹⁴ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

²¹⁵ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

²¹⁶ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 12_Farmer and PSF Staff (NOT).docx

²¹⁷ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx

1 coordinated the work with the neighboring Xefe Aldeias of another Sukus to participate as well²¹⁸. Some Xefe Aldeias just sent the information through word of mouth to ask people to join the work²¹⁹. However the priority is for people of DC-2.1²²⁰. Whoever wants to work should register their names with the Xefe Aldeias²²¹. Workers are both men and women²²².

Material wise, different from the other projects analyzed previously, all the materials needed in this case are shovel, hoe and trolleys²²³. Nothing else. It is distributed to people by the companies and return at the end when the project is completed²²⁴.

The total length of the road is divided into a smaller division of 8 meters wide and 5 meters long²²⁵. Once a group or a person complete one of these divisions should report their names to the supervisor who is called “gang leader” and then the company representatives verify the result and the person’s name is listed for 4.50 dollar payment before moving on to the next ones²²⁶.

Before the process starts a traditional ritual is carried out to ask permission or *busu lisensa* to the souls²²⁷. Equipment were received and given back to the company at the end of each day and recover back in the next day continue working²²⁸. No “real materials” used in road project, just tools for work²²⁹. People tried their best to finish quickly each parcel of the road in order to move faster to the next ones after the supervisors check the quality of their work²³⁰. In seven days, three kilometers of the road in Eastern DC-2.1 was repaired²³¹.

The community was happy with the project because so many people could involve in the same time and compete for the road boxes²³². However the solution is temporary only because the project is about covering the road holes and cleaning the wild grass so in the rainy season if there is no asphalt on the road the problem is very likely to recur.

²¹⁸ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx

²¹⁹ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

²²⁰ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² DC-2.1_20140625_Obsrvation Note (OBS).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

²²³ DC-2.1_20140703_RESPONDENT 28_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_Obsrvation Note (OBS).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

²²⁴ DC-2.1_20140703_RESPONDENT 28_Farmer (NOT).docx

²²⁵ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

²²⁸ DC-2.1_20140703_RESPONDENT 28_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_Obsrvation Note (OBS).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

²²⁹ DC-2.1_20140703_RESPONDENT 28_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_Obsrvation Note (OBS).docx

²³⁰ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx

²³¹ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 10_Male Youth Leader (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140625_Obsrvation Note (OBS).docx

²³² DC-2.1_20140625_RESPONDENT 2_Ansiaun (NOT).docx

Uma Lisan Clan 1

The previous Uma Lisan Clan 1 was burnt down during Indonesian invasion in 1975²³³. Respondent 24, the oldest man of the Uma Lisan came up with the idea to rebuild it²³⁴. Respondent 24 asked his 5 brothers who lives just nearby to inform his cousins from house to house for a meeting in his house in order to discuss the idea²³⁵. Some of his cousins are the leader of Association 1 and Respondent 23, the veteran of the resistance²³⁶.

In the meeting, Respondent 24 inform his relatives about the Uma Lisan and everybody agreed to his idea²³⁷. Respondent 8 also said that now the country have already got independence therefore Uma Lisan can be built without fearing the enemy burning it down as the previous one²³⁸.

Respondent 8 proposed creation of a committee for the project, everybody agreed and he was then appointed to lead it based on his experience in organization²³⁹. Within the committee there were still three sections²⁴⁰. One was for gathering material, another section was for disseminating information and the last section was to look after food consumption led by female clan member²⁴¹. Members of the commission were appointed by consensus based on their previous work done and not by any voting²⁴².

The plan was first, to start with material collection led by male clan member and his team. Skilled builders had to be recruited to supervise the whole process including selection of materials to be used. Second phase was the actual construction of the Uma Lisan, kicked off with a traditional ritual, until finish. Third phase was to inform all the *umane-manefoun* (all the relatives from both wife's and husbands sides) and close friends from many different places to come for inauguration²⁴³. The Information section was the one responsible for informing people. Since many people would come for the inaguration, it was the time where the food consumption section was also activated to serve people²⁴⁴. All the planning of the project was done internally²⁴⁵.

A money contribution was made in the beginning mainly for food consumption during the construction process²⁴⁶. The source of money was from families. Every family contributed around 10 to 20 dollars.

²³³DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 25_Housewife (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

²⁴⁶DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT).docx

The money was given directly to Respondent 8 who kept it²⁴⁷. It was a total of about 500 dollars for meal and paying the builders. Some families contributed food instead like corn and cassava²⁴⁸.

Before Material gathering started, two builders were recruited. The two asked for 500 dollars payment but later accepted 250 dollars with additional two goats for each of them²⁴⁹. Materials were free²⁵⁰. All the assistants were from the family that are directly part of the Uma Lisan or traditionally called as *Uma-Laran* also worked for free because the Uma Lisan was their own²⁵¹.

Due to the type of materials used for Uma Lisan such as wood and grass, all were collected just in DC-2.1²⁵². Woods were cut just in Respondent 24 yard near to the Uma Lisan. Grass was collected in Eastern DC-2.1. There was a car helping with carrying the grass and some heavy woods from Eastern DC-2.1 to the project site just for free. It belongs to one of the sons of the Uma Lisan. All the materials were kept just in the open at the project site²⁵³. During the process, women were tasked with preparing meals during the whole process²⁵⁴.

After all the materials were brought to the project site, the construction process started²⁵⁵. A traditional ritual called *busu lisensa* or ask for permission from the souls were done before the pillars of the Uma Lisan were put on the ground to mark the beginning of the construction²⁵⁶. There was no problem happening during the process. After two months, the construction completed²⁵⁷. Some days before the process ended the information section started informing all the *Umane* and *Manefoun* from house to house wherever they live such as Neighboring Suku 4, Neighboring suku 3, DC-2.1 and Dili to participate in the inauguration ceremony²⁵⁸. Inauguration was marked by a ceremony called *Hasae Ai Manu*, which was to put a specific wooden material on the top of the roof of the Uma Lisan to mark the end of the construction process and the completion of the project²⁵⁹. Some other items considered sacred were also put inside the Uma Lisan after Ai manu was put on the roof such as *sacred stone, sacred sword, sacred arrow and a water container made of Bamboo*²⁶⁰.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 25_Housewife (NOT).docx

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Association 1 (NOT).docx

²⁵⁹ DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 8_Lia Nain Suku and Xefe Associasaun Association 1 (NOT).docx

²⁶⁰ DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

The condition of the Uma Lisan looks fine and every year on corn harvesting season some ritual is held at the Uma Lisan to thank the souls²⁶¹.

Chapel construction (Suku Project)

DC-2.1 has an old chapel made of flimsy wooden materials and looks slightly leaning to one side already²⁶². The idea of building a new chapel in DC-2.1 came up during private conversation between Respondent 7 a primary school teacher and Respondent 8, the Village Lia Nain²⁶³. Respondent 7 Later told the Xefe Suku who is his close friend in another private occasion in 2005²⁶⁴. The newly elected Xefe Suku at the time liked the idea and said he wanted to make it a priority²⁶⁵. However only in 2009 that a serious step was taken about it²⁶⁶. Xefe Suku called for a meeting at Sede Suku to talk about building a new chapel and ask Xefe Aldeias to inform the community to participate in the meeting²⁶⁷. All The three Xefe Aldeias went from door to door to inform people to come to the meeting. Some of the villagers heard it from word of mouth²⁶⁸. At that time there was no village megaphone yet as in the recent years to call people²⁶⁹. A meeting was held in Sede Suku with participation of many community members. Xefe Suku communicated the plan and said also that the budget for the chapel construction should come from the community's contribution. The villagers were very supportive about it²⁷⁰.

Committee was set up to lead the process²⁷¹. It was formed through an election where three people ran for it. Respondent 8 the Lian, and one of the two catechists of the village. After the result was counted, Respondent 8 had most of the vote therefore he became the Leader of the Committee, Respondent 28 came second so he became the secretary and a local villager was in the third position, became the treasurer²⁷². There were also three guys appointed to be responsible for collecting money from the community to build the chapel²⁷³. An architect from DC-2.1 who lived in Dili was contacted by Xefe Suco to designed the chapel and calculate the Bill of Quantity (BoQ)²⁷⁴. When receiving the design and BoQ, Xefe Suku presented it to the community. Respondent 11 who was a teacher in Eastern DC-2.1 primary school considered the designed too ambitious for a chapel in small village that relied entirely on contribution from the community²⁷⁵. Therefore Xefe Suco and his lead builder Respondent 33 simplified

²⁶¹DC-2.1_20140702_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer (NOT).docx

²⁶²DC-2.1_20140625_Obsrvation Note (OBS).docx

²⁶³DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 5_Farmer (NOT).docx

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

²⁷⁰ DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 5_Farmer (NOT).docx

²⁷¹Ibid.

²⁷²Ibid.

²⁷³ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx

²⁷⁴ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

²⁷⁵ DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

the design and reduce the BoQ to make it more reasonable²⁷⁶. Land was donated by Respondent 19 whose land was used for construction many other village facilities such as Sede Suku and Schools²⁷⁷.

After reducing the design money collection started. The plan was first to raise the fund from followers contribution and once budget was enough the construction could start²⁷⁸. Three people were assigned for collecting the money from all the three aldeias of DC-2.1 including Eastern DC-2.1. They did it from house to house. The treasurer was the one handling the money but at some point it was the Secretary who kept the money, not the treasurer because he lived too far from the village centre²⁷⁹.

There was allegation that the three collectors were not transparent enough so all the contribution from 2009 onward are displayed at the information board at the village council so that everybody can see the amount of money they have got for the chapel²⁸⁰. In terms of the contribution itself, one household contributes 25 dollars, public servant 50 dollars, veterans 50 dollars, Civil Security officer 30 dollars²⁸¹. The amount stated for each contribution is not monthly but for one year so for example in one year a household contribute 25 dollars only and can be given along the year until the total 25 dollars is reached²⁸². The decision on this was made in meeting by consensus²⁸³.

Contribution in 2009 was 703.50 USD²⁸⁴. In 2010 there was no contribution because some community complaint about lack of transparency and misuse of the fund by the collectors²⁸⁵. However after verification was made the allegation turn out to be wrong so from that time decision was made to display all the amount of the contribution in an information board at the village office²⁸⁶. In 2011 contribution resumed so by the end of the year an amount of 928 dollars was put together. Therefore joining both 2009 and contribution and the 2011 one it was 1631.50 US Dollars in total so decision was made to start buying some materials to build the foundation of the chapel²⁸⁷.

Material were bought from Dili and Neighboring suku 2. Up to now the budget was spent on metal bars, cement, stones and sands to build the foundation. Materials were kept in an empty house near the chapel. No one looks after it.

After buying the material, decision was made during meeting at Sede Suku to create a rotation system where people from each of the three aldeias worked for two consecutive days. Each Aldeia had two

²⁷⁶ DC-2.1_20140705_RESPONDENT 33_Farmer and Builder (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

²⁷⁷ DC-2.1_20140630_RESPONDENT 19_Landowner and Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx

²⁷⁸ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

²⁷⁹ DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 5_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 3_XS DC-2.1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

²⁸² DC-2.1_20140626_RESPONDENT 7_Teacher (NOT).docx

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

groups, so in total, DC-2.1 had 6 groups altogether to work for the chapel construction. Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 worked on Monday and Tuesday, DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 on Wednesday and Thursday, DC-2.1-Aldeia 3 on Friday and Saturday. The Lead buider was a villager caller Respondent 33 who involved also in many other construction projects in the suku. Everybody just worked for free.

“We build our chapel. We work for God so we just work for free” said Respondent 7²⁸⁸.

Some followers missed to come to help with the construction, the Xefe Suku had already thought of giving penalty in the form of money or food for those who did not participate in the construction²⁸⁹.

After the building foundation was built the project is currently in delay²⁹⁰. Budget remain the main problem²⁹¹. It took three years to wait until the money contributed was enough just to build the foundation. The next phase still depends on further community contribution. In another meeting in 2014 about the chapel, the catechist said that children should also contribute 1 dollar, given by their parents, in order to create some sense of ownership of the chapel already at their early age²⁹². Some people, Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 and Teacher Respondent 11, have already thought of asking budget contribution from external actors because they said if it continues like this it will take very long time to finish the chapel²⁹³. The project has not completed yet. Process continuation depends on more community contribution so the project is currently stalled.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

To the ground of this study the writers describe the finding according to three main aspects such as social cohesion, institution and public goods that may have a potential impact to the implementation of PNDS are:

Social cohesion; An individual also claim the potential land at Eastern DC-2.1 as his possession. The land lord used to complaint regarding the land that use for the public infrastructure and project without consulting the owner. The disputes have already had an effect on construction of local public facilities such as the Eastern DC-2.1 health post and the primary school.

Institution; Participation and information are the main constrains for the people of DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 and numbers of households where live in the jurisdiction of the sub-district to participation in village activities may not inform. The constraints are caused by a number of factors. Many villagers in DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 live far from suku office with no road access making communication difficult and disinteresting of suku facilitator to share information regularly. However, some communities when interviewed state that xefe aldeia used to visited them by the method of house to house and shouting through the megaphone regarding the suku activities or related meeting.

Public works; There might be demand for the compensation, in this particular regarding to the case of road construction to DC-2.1-Aldeia 2. The demand have already had an effect on

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 5_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 13_Cathecist (NOT).docx

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² DC-2.1_20140627_RESPONDENT 5_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 13_Cathecist (NOT).docx

²⁹³ DC-2.1_20140701_RESPONDENT 2_Xefe Aldeia DC-2.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx, DC-2.1_20140628_RESPONDENT 11_Teacher (NOT).docx,

construction of road to DC-2.1-Aldeia 2, it ceased due to the company construct the road to compensate the plantation prior to construct new road. Hence, the project has to stop in the middle. In other side, it is difficult to transport or carry the material to DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 for any community project implementation.

Limitations of the study;

Time limit of only 12 days in the field was not enough to have a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the village. In addition, due to inaccessible road to DC-2.1-Aldeia 2, the researchers only got three respondents and only got 11 women from 34 respondents was not enough to balance gender and age classification of respondent. Furthermore, there is no information at all from the few villagers that live in the jurisdiction of The sub-district and a number of Neighboring suku 3 people who a costume to work with villager of DC-2.1 as there is no either road nor foot print to guide the researcher direction to reach these villagers.

Researchers personal experience, beliefs regarding the topic

Basically, most respondent are hospitable and collaborative with researchers. Regarding the topic, the researchers have a longstanding interest to the commitment of local authority in transparency and accountability to the community project. Most villagers aware of their role in the implementation of the community project is for their village development. Furthermore, when the researchers also visited a numbers of household in DC-2.1-Aldeia 2 which could not access to the transport and others facilities and as part of the retrospective observation interview regarding the involvement of the community from far distance to the previous physical project researchers believe that the commitment and accountability of the communities will be one of the keys that positively impact to achieving the aims of PNDS.

LBS Village Report:
DC-2.2 (Manatuto District), Urban
World Bank, PNDS-REP

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

1.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the suku of DC-2.2 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, by looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects.

1.2 Summary findings

2. Methodology

2.1 Sampling criteria

The village considered in this study falls into the country's central region, called Central, and it encompasses the districts of Liquiça, Manatuto, and Manufahi. Based on the Qualitative Field Study (QualFS) sampling strategy, the national territory of Timor-Leste has been divided into six regions to ensure regional coverage: Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave.¹ The required sampling criteria for the Central region are: level of urbanization and level of violence. The opposite extremes of both variables are explored (Table 1).

Region	Cases to be selected (3 total)
Central	High Violence and Peri-Urban High Violence and Rural Low Violence and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Central Region

In order to determine the urbanization level of villages in this region, the 2010 Census Fó Fila Fali was reviewed. Incidence of violent crime per capita according to data provided by the Timor-Leste National Police (PNTL)² was used to measure levels of violence in sukus. Sukus were sorted into the following four quadrants based on whether they fell above or below a quarter deviation above the mean in urbanization and violence:

Following the sampling method described above, this study will consider villages placed in the peri-urban, high violence quadrant of the sampling matrix. The villages from the Manatuto district which fulfill this sampling strategy are Neighboring Suku 1 and DC-2.2, which in the previous half of 2014 are estimated to have respectively 139.86 and 111.66 violent incidents per 10,000 people.³

Additional sampling criteria are also used to narrow the selection. Key informants at the district administrative level are consulted in turn for this purpose. The informants were asked about the different characteristics of the candidate villages to see if there are any interesting features which match a list additional selection criteria.⁴

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP

² Known formally as the Polícia Nacional de Timor-Leste.

³ Conversations with the suku administration revealed that the suku populations for Neighboring Suku 1 and DC-2.2 were substantially underreported in the 2010 census. However, even after adjusting the per capita violent crime data toward the actual estimated populations, Neighboring Suku 1 and DC-2.2 are both still in the peri-urban, high-violence quadrant.

⁴ PNDS-MEP Concept Note, p. ??

For this study, the sub-district administrator (S-DA) was approached and he suggested that the study should focus on DC-2.2. The S-DA explained that DC-2.2 would provide for an interesting fieldwork because it the largest suku in sub-district and is headed by one of the best xefe suku in Manatuto. This suku is also very spread out with villagers living both on the coast, which is part of the urban area, and in the rural area or *foho*. Furthermore, S-DA's also informed the researchers about the existing government projects within this suku, namely PDD (decentralized development program) which for the purpose of this study, fulfills additional selection criteria, with particular concern towards the community's development experience: villages already having received specific types of infrastructure projects.⁵

2.2 Data collection

The data for this qualitative study were obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the period of June 24th until July 5th of 2014. A total of 53 villagers were interviewed, including a small number of from the neighbouring suku, in particular Neighboring Suku 1, Neighboring Suku 2 and DC-4.2. Respondents were encountered in various locations including at the sede suku and community centres, private residences at the rice fields. Encounters in these locations also allow researchers to make direct observations of respondents' ordinary activities.

Most of the interviews were electronically recorded and complemented with handwritten notes. For respondents who declined to have their interviews recorded, researchers had to rely only on handwritten notes. Hand-written notes were also used for short interviews conducted with the purpose of confirming statements made by other respondents.

Three sampling methods were used to select the respondents: convenience, purposive and snowball. With purposive sampling, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefesuku and aldeias) or as having power to affect village level development policies, such as the district or the sub-district administrator. For snowball sampling, researchers asked the purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend individuals whom could be approached in order to obtain information. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience sampling. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached while they took part in an activity or happen to be in their vicinity. Respondents in this group were selected to triangulate the data obtained from village elites, and include mostly marginalized community members.

A number of observations were also conducted. The events observed include a suku council meeting, a mediation process held at the sede suku, a Sunday mass service, and construction activity at the site of a government project.

Official village documents were also consulted to obtain additional data. These documents included the suku's official records on population and on public projects implemented locally. Some of these documents were posted on the sede suku walls. The government's official census publications, the *Sensus F6 Fila Fali*, was also consulted in the process.

With regards to the population data, government's census of 2010 provides conflicting reports over DC-2.2' population. Volume 2 (*Population Distribution by Administrative Areas*) of the official publication puts the number at 2,905 whereas Volume 4 (*Suco Report*), the figure provided was 806, a difference of over 2,000. Data from Volume 2 is also reflected Sensus F6 Fila Fali. DC-2.2 also received its own copy of the Sensus F6 Fila Fali which the local suku government regards as erroneous. During a suku council meeting for example, discussions

⁵ Additional selection criteria no. 9: Community Development Experience. PNDS-MEP Concept Note, p. ??

also touched on this error which according to the council representatives could harm the suku's prospects in obtaining government assistance.⁶

The latest SC census⁷ however places the current population at 3,240, a more agreeable figure with that given by Volume 2 of the official publication. Nevertheless, the SC numbers are also flawed. The sum of the disaggregated distribution of the population by gender and age groups do not agree with the total number of population given in the same table by 110 people. For the purpose of this report, the figures provided in Volume 2 will be used alongside the SC data..

2.3 Sampling of respondents

The respondents were overwhelmingly male comprising 68% of the total number of villagers interviewed. Nearly 80% of the respondents were aged between 26 and 55.

Many of the respondents (38%) were rice farmers or fishers, both subsistent and commercial. Of the members of the local government, 9 out of 11 of the suku council (SC) were interviewed. Government officials, made up predominantly of teachers, were also included in the sampling. In this group, the 8 respondents also included the PAAS (village secretary who is a staff of the Ministry of State Administration) and the sub-district administrator. Other professional groups interviewed for this study include business owners, 7 respondents, housewife or domestic workers (including 2 elderly widows on government pension), 5, and a student. In the "Other" category, respondents included the unemployed (2 respondents) and a manager at the local Red Cross branch office. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided (Table 1).

		Total
By gender	Male	36
	Female	17
By age	Less than 25	1
	26 – 39	20
	40 – 55	22
	56 – 70	9
	71 – 80	1
By profession	Farmers and fishers	20
	Member of local government	9
	Government officials	8
	Business owner	7
	Housewife/domestic worker	5
	Students	1
	Others	3
By Sampling method	Purposive	11
	Snowball	10
	Convenience	32

Table 2. Sample respondents

⁶ DC-2.2_20140627_SukuCouncilMonthlyMeeting (obs).doxx

⁷ This data is posted on the sede suku wall and figures purport to have been collected or updated in May of 2014.

3. Description of the village

3.1 Location and names of aldeia and village borders

It is one of the largest sukus by area and by population in the district of Manatuto, and the largest by both accounts in its own sub-district. This suku stretches from the coastline in the north into the island's hilly interior to the south with around 15km in between the two extremities. The social and economic dynamics of the suku vary significantly between the more urbanized coastal area and the more rural interior.

The village of DC-2.2 has four aldeias: DC-2.2-Aldeia 4, DC-2.2-Aldeia 1, DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 are located in the coastal, urban area. DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 is located in the outer perimeter of the urban zone, while DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 is located in the most remote southern part of the village. DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 is located around 5KM from the sede suku while DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 is nearly 8KM away and is separated from the rest of the village by a River. DC-2.2 is surrounded by suku Neighboring Suku 2 and Neighboring Suku 1 to the west, Neighboring Suku 4 to the south and Neighboring Suku 3 and the sub-district of Neighboring Sub-district 1 to the east.

Although maps tend to show the suku of DC-2.2 as an administrative entity with clear borders, the reality on the ground is less clear cut. Pockets of DC-2.2' populations exist within neighboring sukus, creating sporadic enclaves which can be difficult to map. There are neighbourhoods located within the borders of suku Neighboring Suku 3, for example, and villagers from Neighboring Suku 1 and DC-4.2 form their own enclaves within the borders of the DC-2.2' aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Similar issues exist between aldeias within DC-2.2: the aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 4, for example, has regions located near DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, an area quite far the aldeia's population centre. DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 also administers areas within other aldeias, in particular DC-2.2-Aldeia 1. Finally, at a larger scale, DC-2.2's borders also overlap with neighbouring sukus. Neighboring Suku 3, for example, is wedged between DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 1, and Neighboring Suku 1 separates DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 from the coastal aldeias.

Large swathes of the village are dominated by rice fields. There are at least two zones where rice is cultivated on a large scale. One is near the coast, primarily in Location 2, and the other lies to the south of the village and covers much of the aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3.

3.2 Population (inc.aldeia, gender, age disaggregated); Ethno-linguistic groups;

According to Volume 2 of the official census publication, 59.9% of the villagers live in the urban area of DC-2.2, namely in the aldeias of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 4. DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 has the largest share of the population. Male residents slightly outnumber the female and villagers are distributed into 460 households (Table 1).

Aldeia	Total	Male	Female	Households
DC-2.2-Aldeia 1	1,191	598	593	172
DC-2.2-Aldeia 2	812	422	390	134
DC-2.2-Aldeia 3	354	186	168	63
DC-2.2-Aldeia 4	548	289	259	91

TOTAL	2,905	1,495	1,410	460
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Table 3. Population and household distribution at aldeia level

The SC's population data shows that 62% of the population are aged between 17 to 60, more or less within the productive age. Thirty-three percent of the population is less than 16 years of age.

Although the Sensus Fó Fila Fali contained errors, observations generally agree with the data on ethno-linguistic make-up of DC-2.2. This publication shows that 80% of the population speaks Galole, the dominant language in Manatuto district. Other languages with significant speakers in the suku include Tetum Prasa, spoken by more than 35%, and Mambae and Makasa'e. However, Tetum Prasa is also spoken by almost everyone as the lingua franca. During the field work, researchers did not encounter anyone who declined to be interviewed in Tetum Prasa.

3.3 Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile (incomes, industries, products, etc)

DC-2.2' economy is relatively urbanized and developed, although incomes and predominant forms of economic activity vary widely across the suku. In the urban areas closer to the coast, many people engage in small business, and a few work in professional capacities as teachers or government administrators.

According to the SC, a vast majority of the working population is engaged in agriculture for their primary source of income. The SC data shows that 727, or 38% of the working age population is engaged in farming and only 35 or 2% in fishery. Sixty-five percent of the farmers live in the urban area of the suku. DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 having the least number of farmers at 11%. Most of the fishers, 86%, live in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 while there are none in the rural part of the suku.

The public sector employs 7% of the working age population. According to the SC, of 134 individuals in the government payroll, 26 are in the military. Most of the public servants live in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 (64 people), DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 (40) and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 (23). DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 registers only 7 individuals, who are mainly teachers at the local school. In the private sector, there are 12 businesses and 5 retailers. Some of the businesses are engaged in government contracts.⁸ In the retail sector, the largest installation is owned by a couple who live in aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 and by the main road.

Villagers also report having secondary occupations to supplement their income. Those who live by the coast are involved in collecting seaweed for sale in the local market. There are also villagers who are involved in the production of salt where a vast salt plain exists next to the rice field. However, salt production is generally seasonal and takes place after the rice harvest. Furthermore, this activity also involves immense energy and some farmers don't find it as productive.⁹

Many families in both fishing and farming areas also keep animals. The census data says that about 70% of households have at least one chicken, and 70% have at least one pig.

3.4 Social/Human Development Profile (literacy, health, education, etc);

DC-2.2' educational situation is slightly stronger than the national average, with 20% of residents having completed secondary school as opposed to 13% nationally. The literacy rate is 77.99%, just above the national average of 74.76%. There appears to be some gap, however, between the more developed urban areas and the

⁸ E.g. Respondent 37s (interviewed 2 July 2014) and Respondent 41 (interviewed 3 July 2014)

⁹ DC-2.2_20140705_Respondent 52_farmer (notes).docx

rural aldeias. SC data suggests aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 has the highest proportion of illiteracy at 13% followed by DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 at 5%. In contrast, the urban aldeias only have 2% illiteracy rate.

The health situation is also somewhat above average, with 39.5% of people reporting having access to professional medical care. (The national figure is 33.5%).¹⁰ Villagers in the urban aldeias have access to facilities such as hospital and clinics, provided as part of urban infrastructure. A doctor and a midwife are also posted in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 in addition to the local clinic.

3.5 Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages;

Electricity is now present in all four aldeias as of 2014. Access to water is spottier. Several wells and perforation projects exist across the suku but are in various states of disrepair. The water perforation project near DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 has been out of service for over a year due to a broken valve; another in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 works, but typically only provides water for up to several hours per day and a couple of days a week, although without a regular schedule. The village leadership in conjunction with the central government and several outside organizations is currently training a group of water technicians to address these issues.

Water distribution system is non-existent in several areas although pipes have been laid. Several neighbourhoods in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 do not have access to water even though pipes have been connected to their area. A similar situation also exists in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2. Water supply to the taps in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 is dependent on pump's operation.

Public taps have also been installed in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and is fed by the pump described previously. However the location of the taps and the irregular schedule of the supply create a situation where only villagers who live closest to these facilities enjoyed the maximum benefit. During a field visit to DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, residents who lived closest one of the facilities quickly placed their water containers by the tap to have them filled first to the detriment of other residents. So residents who lived away from these taps who were aware of their disadvantage decided not to use the facility. Instead they continued to rely on their own sources of water such as wells.¹¹

Road access is generally strong, but uneven across the suku. The Sub-district is accessible from Dili by paved road, and transportation infrastructure within the urban areas and near the coast are relatively developed. However, the inland aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 is separated from the rest of the suku by a river, and no bridge or road to DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 currently exists.

DC-2.2 is home to educational institutions covering the range from pre-primary to secondary schools, and sub-district outside DC-2.2 is home to a university (UNDIL). A public Portuguese-language secondary school is currently under construction not far from the DC-2.2 sede suku.

In the rural areas, access to education is more limited, although primary schools exist in all aldeias. There are a kindergarten and a primary school in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. A pilot program for the mother-tongue teaching program, sponsored by UNICEF and directed by the wife of the current prime minister, Mrs Kirsty Sword-Gusmão, is also being implemented in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 for the first grade primary school students. Furthermore, some of the students in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 also attend a Catholic school in the neighbouring DC-4.2 village. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, students have access to the Kayrala school which offers primary as well as secondary education.

¹⁰ Data from 2010 Sensus Fó Fila Fali.

¹¹ The xefe aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, Respondent 18, is one such resident who does not use the public taps for this particular reason.

In the health sphere, the sub-district center is home to a hospital, and DC-2.2 has several aldeia health posts. According to anecdotal data, the hospital faces issues such as frequent medicine shortages and the lack of an ambulance, and some residents stated that they preferred to commute to Dili, approximately an hour and a half by car, for medical care. People in more remote rural parts of DC-2.2 rely on local aldeia health posts. Run by the government, these health posts typically have a trained medical professional on staff and are equipped for routine minor injuries, maternal health issues, and other frequent health issues.

Various types of inefficiencies have presented problems in DC-2.2' public works sector, but a few have emerged repeatedly. Weak coordination between villagers and outside organizations has been involved in the failure of a water project and of the construction of three conflict resolution centers. Geographic disparities are also an issue, with public participation in village decision-making and access to public services both markedly higher in the urban areas.

3.6 Reoccurring problems (perpetual difficulties on multiple spectrums the village is facing);

Domestic disputes seem to be very common in the suku. They range from disputes between couples borne out of mistrust to issues of paternity. Youth unemployment is also prevalent and is sometimes demonstrated by the unruly acts of villagers, mostly youth organized by the local youth leader, who would turn up to project sites to demand work from contractors.

The River's course is a perennial problem. The course is constantly changing, expanding the riverbed on both banks with severe consequences for the nearby rice fields. Many rice fields have already been destroyed during past annual wet seasons, and during each year's wet season, the river swallows more agricultural land on both sides of the bank. Villagers in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 seem to suffer the most from this problem as their rice fields are located right by the side of the bank.

Transport is also very difficult for villagers in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Public transport rarely reaches the centre of the aldeia and usually only come as far as the far side of the bank of Sumasi River. Villagers wanting to travel to the regional center must cross the river to access the vehicles.

In some areas of DC-2.2, in particular DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and some areas of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1, villagers regularly experience flooding. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, floodwater resulting from rain usually follow the village roads and affect all houses on its path. Drainage system on the side of the road exists in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 but have never been maintained and is currently filled up by dirt. No such infrastructure exists in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 1, particularly in an area called Location 1, a number of houses suffer from seasonal flooding.

3.7 Brief Historic Profile (major events, changes, policies, etc.)

During the Indonesian occupation, population movement also occurred. Population is the bairru of Nusarau were moved into present day Kampung Alor by the Indonesian authority in order to build a military facility in that location. Population movement between villagers in Manatuto as well as from other districts also occurred.

There were armed conflicts between the East Timorese resistance fighters and the Indonesian army such an incident around the DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 area.

In 1999, following the Indonesian withdrawal, large part of the suku was destroyed in the ensuing conflict. The chapel in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 was burned to the ground. Villagers in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 came back to find their homes totally destroyed.

After independence, the government reclaimed most of the properties that once belonged to the Indonesian state. Some of them were returned to the villagers including community centres.

The current structure of the village council has been re-elected in the last election.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

The suku of DC-2.2 is organized into smaller administrative divisions, both formal and traditional. Villagers also locate themselves within these division as a means to identify themselves. These divisions include, by hierarchical order, the uma-fukun, ahi-matan, aldeia and the suku. Both uma-fukun and ahi-matan are traditional sub-divisions within the aldeia. In the coastal areas, aldeias are also divided into bairrus or neighbourhoods.

The uma-fukun was only reported in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Each uma-fukun has its own *uma-lisan* or a traditional house where members come together to meet in order to conduct traditional ceremonies, mediations or negotiations. According to xefe suku of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, uma-fukun is composed of closely related family members.

The ahi-matan exists in all four aldeias although not as prominent in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, specially when it comes to organizing village activities. There are seven uma-fukun in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 which are grouped into three ahi-matan. Community activities such as construction projects or cash contributions are organized through the ahi-matan.

During the construction of the DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 chapel, each ahi-matan contributed its own workers to work as a group. The ahi-matan also organized food for the workers. A similar system was also observed in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 in relation to the construction of their chapel. Collection to fund community projects or events is also organized at the ahi-matan level. In the aldeias of DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, the xefe aldeia usually gets in touch with the head of each ahi-matan who in turn collects the contribution.

In the other aldeias however this form of identification is less useful or significant. Villagers don't seem to be fully aware of their ahi-matan membership in comparison to, say, villagers in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Although the xefe aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 named seven different ahi-matan, respondents are unable to name even one.¹² Instead, villagers in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 organize their community members according to neighbourhoods for example to take part in community construction projects or during clean up activities around their area. Identification with uma-fukun, in the case of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, and ahi-matan, is inherited through the father and is not exchangeable.

According to traditional customs, each aldeia has its own role in the village governance system.¹³ DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 holds the traditional authority including all the *lulik* ceremonies. When sub-district's irrigation system was completed, elders from DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 conducted the traditional ceremonies to bless it. In the past, elders from DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 also act as a parliament which ratifies local government decisions, in particular during the appointment of village leaders. For example when a new xefe suku is elected, whether appointed by the colonial government or elected popularly, elders in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 are required to give their blessing. DC-2.2-

¹² For example: DC-2.2_20140626_Respondent 19_farmers (notes)

¹³ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes).docx; DC-2.2_20140705_AldeiaDC-2.2-Aldeia 3 (obs).docx

Aldeia 3 also produces the traditional liurais with authority for all of DC-2.2.¹⁴ Villagers in the other aldeias also originated from DC-2.2-Aldeia 3.

DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 is in charge of maintaining DC-2.2' resources including lands and forests, as well as its land borders. DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 is the seat of the formal authority and provide the link between DC-2.2 and the government. The seat of the formal leadership is within this two aldeias.

In the everyday activity, villagers in each aldeia also have the priority over recruitment for public projects in their area. For example when a contractor implements a project within the area of an aldeia, the contractor would speak to the xefe aldeia in order to inform villagers about recruitment. Management of local infrastructures is also given to the corresponding aldeia villager regardless of any impracticality that could arise from such system of appointment. For example, the manager of DC-2.2-Aldeia 4's water pump located near DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 actually lives in DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 despite the distance between his residence and the facility. Villagers in each aldeia are also involved in organizing events as a group to represent it. This year for example, DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 is tasked with hosting the festivity for the Santo Antonio, Manatuto's patron saint. In conflict mediation, villagers in each aldeia also seek their own xefe aldeia for assistance.

Villagers in DC-2.2 hold a special place of their suku in the sub-district. According to one of the villagers,¹⁵ the sub-district originated from DC-2.2.

For women, marriage can also change her suku membership although and her identification. When a woman is married to a man from a different suku, she immediately withdraws her official membership of her current suku to be registered in her husband's even if her husband moved in to live with her in her suku. In the event of her husband's death, she can re-register herself in her original suku.¹⁶ This mode of identification also has practical implication, in particular when it comes to recruitment. A woman in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1, who is married to a man from Neighboring Suku 1 was prevented by the xefe suku from participating in the \$3 project because of her changed status. The xefe suku also told her to go with her husband as she has already been "taken away" by him.

*I tried to take part in the \$3 clean up project as a member of suku DC-2.2 but the xefe suku did not allow me to. I was disallowed because I have already followed my husband. If I want to take part in the clean up project, I must do so through Neighboring Suku 1 village. So I must go see the xefe suku of Neighboring Suku 1.*¹⁷

Identification with the aldeia or the suku is quite strong among the villagers, again with practical implications. Villagers from one aldeia who have moved to other aldeias continue to maintain their relationship with their former residence both for identification or for administrative purposes. When a Quant team from the World Bank's PNDS-REP researchers wanted to speak with DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 residents living in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1, they were accompanied by the xefe aldeia of the former. Such strong attachment has also prompted shifts in aldeia borders throughout, not just within DC-2.2, but within the sub-district, at least within the neighbouring sukus. The xefe aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 boasts that he looks after villagers from his aldeia as far as an area (a bairru) in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 called bairo 1. DC-2.2-Aldeia 4's villagers also live in various areas of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1. At the suku level the situation is not much different. Nusarau, a neighbourhood supposedly within the jurisdiction of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 has been described by various respondents as belonging to suku Neighboring Suku 3 and

¹⁴ DC-2.2_20140629_Respondent 25_teacher (notes), DC-2.2_20140705_AldeiaDC-2.2-Aldeia 3 (obs).docx

¹⁵ DC-2.2_20140629_Respondent 25_teacher (notes), DC-2.2_20140705_AldeiaDC-2.2-Aldeia 3 (obs).docx

¹⁶ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 3_Farmer (notes)

¹⁷ DC-2.2_20140702_Respondent 36_Housewife (notes).docx, p. 1

DC-2.2. This is perhaps due to the presence of a few tens of DC-2.2 households in this area living next to Neighboring Suku 3 households. The DC-2.2 residents continue to maintain administrative links and identification with their suku. On the other hand, in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, residents from Neighboring Suku 1, Neighboring Suku 2 and DC-4.2 also live side-by-side with DC-2.2 villagers. Where households from these neighbouring sukus live, the area is designated as part of that suku.

The villagers can also be divided into their individual geographical areas which affect their livelihoods. Coastal villagers mainly engage in fishing for example. Further inland, villagers tend to engage in rice cultivation. There is overlap however between the fishers and the farmers, in particular in the regions closer to the coast. Some villagers engage in both fishing and farming. This form of identity also allows them to organize community groups based on their activity, such as fishers' or farmers' groups. Between the coastal and the inland regions are also the more urban and professional villagers who are more likely to be involved services such trades (carpentry), retail, construction, or public service.

Religious affiliation also forms an avenue for identification. The Catholics, being the main religious group, are able to mobilize villagers thorough church-related activities including festivities or construction projects. Under the guidance of the local parish church, the Catholics, in particular in the DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 area, also tried to stop other religious groups from establishing itself in the village. There is also a small number of Protestants in DC-2.2 (20 individuals according to SC). In the past, some members of this religious group have also become the targets of harassment, which were violent at times.¹⁸

Other groups which also inspire collective identification are the martial arts groups (MAG). Members of local MAGs also participate in village activities as a collective. The Kera Sakti group also organizes its members to participate in construction activities such as during the construction of the perimeter wall for the local parish church. And when members of their group encounter problems, such as a death in the family, other members would donate cash as a form of assistance. Identification with the MAGs are also demonstrated through graffiti arts tagged on various locations around the village, in particular in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 paintings of the Kera Sakti symbol were visible in a number of prominent places. According to the SC's male youth representative, most of the youths in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 follow Kera Sakti. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, the PSHT group is more noticeable with the group's symbols either painted in walls around the village or taped around doors.

4.1.2 Power and Vulnerability

Describe the main characteristics of powerful community members;

Powerful members of the community have a number of defying characteristics. They are involved in the village council as members, leaders of the traditional system of governance, part of the educated elite, possess specific skills not widely available in the community, have history of participation in the struggle against Indonesian occupation, lead local martial arts groups (MAGs), represent national political parties at the local level, own farm lands. These powerful individuals are overwhelmingly male and are sometimes characterized by multiple

Respondents say that members of the village council, in particular the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias, have power and influence because they have been voted to that position.¹⁹ However the xefes' reliability and ability to respond to villagers' problems are also considered as a source of their power. When asked why a particular

¹⁸ Domingos Soares and Respondent 44, interviewed 4 July 2014

¹⁹ DC-2.2_20140626_Respondent 19_farmers (notes), p. 5

xefe aldeia was considered as powerful, a respondent replied that the xefe aldeia always attended to people's problems whenever they're needed.²⁰

These xefes are expected to have answer to everything in the suku because they are the villagers' representatives. A respondent in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 directed the researchers towards the xefe suku for answers about why a particular project in this aldeia failed. According to the same respondent, it's the xefe suku's responsibility to know about the construction process for particular project.²¹

Members of the village council, in particular the xefes, control important resources in the suku including formal village administration. Villagers who move to other sukus or are moving into DC-2.2 require the xefe suku to sign their papers to formalize the process.²² Xefe suku and members of the village council also control distribution of assistance, from government or from NGOs, to members of the community. Villagers see the xefes participation in this distribution as a kind act and praise them for it. As one villager puts it,

(Members of village council) takes good care of people. ... When the government provides (assistance), they invite everyone (to share).²³

Furthermore villagers also expect the formal leaders to provide guidance and take the lead in community activities. The ordinary people are only followers.

We, the people, will do the work, whether to go up or down. But if (the local authorities) don't make a move, how are we (going to do the work)? If a goat is to eat, the goat herder needs to lead the goats to look for pasture. (The village leaders) need to be careful. What is the people to do?²⁴

The xefe suku presides over mediation process when cases are brought to the village council. His presence is also required for important village meetings including those related to PNDS implementation. The PNDS socialization in the suku was postponed a number of times because of the xefe suku's absence. Furthermore the xefe suku also heads

However, the xefes can make decision without consultation with anyone, including members of the village council. These decisions include the use community resources. The xefe aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 decided to use food stock left behind by WFP to feed villagers who were taking part in the construction of the local chapel. According to the xefe aldeia, he had a right to employ those resources for the community project.

You can call it corruption. But this is my right. I had to keep everything that was left behind (by WFP). But they didn't know about my plans. In fact I was planning to use the aid goods towards the construction of the chapel.²⁵

On the other hand, the xefe suku decided to keep materials donated by a local company at his home. He controls the use of these machines, which include a computer and a photocopier.²⁶

The xefe uma-kain is also considered as powerful and influential. Individuals who hold this position derive their power from customary sources.

²⁰ DC-2.2_20140626_Respondent 19_farmers (notes), p. 5

²¹ DC-2.2_20140703_Respondent 38_farmer (notes), p. 1; see also DC-2.2_20140703_Respondent 38_farmer (notes), p. 1

²² DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes) - Alex

²³ DC-2.2_20140626_Respondent 9_FisherHouseWife (notes), p. 2

²⁴ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 6_farmer (notes), p. 3

²⁵ DC-2.2_20140629_AldeiaDC-2.2-Aldeia 3 (obs), p. 1

²⁶ DC-2.2_20140627_SukuCouncilMonthlyMeeting (obs), p. 5

Traditional leaders such as xefe uma-kain

Part of the educated elite

They have a particular skill which other villagers lack, e.g. ability to maintain agricultural machinery

Participated in the struggle against Indonesian occupation and received state recognition

Local leaders of martial arts groups

They represent national political parties locally

They own lands where other farmers are farming

Males

Powerful members of the community are sought by villagers to help solve their problems. Some of the individuals included in this group include the members of the suku council, in particular the lia-na'in, the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias, and the veterans.

The powerful community members also have connection to political parties either in the government or in the opposition. The xefe suku is said to be a member of FRETILIN and according to one respondent, he is the local party coordinator. The xefe aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and one of the women's representative in the SC are also members of FRETILIN. One of the suku council's women's representative is the district coordinator of Partido Democratico's (PD) women's group. The xefe aldeias of DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 are also members of PD while the xefe aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 is with CNRT.

- Villagers ask them for assistance, specially during the election period. They have the link to the national leadership who have the potential to lead the government.²⁷

Powerful community members also have history of participation in the struggle against Indonesian occupation. One of the women's rep in the SC is registered as a veteran. She has been active in village leadership since the year 2000. Other veterans are involved in business activities. Respondent 37's company was for example awarded a large contract to install electricity in the aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 3.²⁸ Veterans are play a role as community leaders whose assistance are sought in conflict mediations. The MAG Kera Sakti for example appointed a veteran as their adviser whose main responsibility is to defuse tension and prevent conflicts before they take place. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 1, the xefe aldeia has also sought the assistance of a veteran to conduct mediation. Veterans also provide leadership in forming community groups such as the Location 2 farmers' group.

People who have good connections with other institutions outside of the village. For example, villagers who had good connections with the church and other institutions or groups can go to them to ask for assistance. Eg. Respondent 25 and the construction of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3's chapel.

Some of the powerful community members also have connections with the MAGs. The male youth representative of the SC is part of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1's Kera Sakti leadership structure. One of the local leaders of FRETILIN is involved in the PSHT MAG.

²⁷ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes) - Alex, p. 9

²⁸ Respondent 37s

- They are sought by the villagers as advisers, mediators and decision makers because of their influence in the community and villagers listen to them.
 - MAG Kera Sakti and local PST leaders
 - XA helped to mediate the conflicts in the village. He is a former combatant and an elder in the village.
 - Xefe joven in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 organize men to control worksites, in particular, hiring of workers. The xefe joven has influence over the youth in the aldeia.
 - Veterans leader acts as informal mediator²⁹
 - Get invited to participate in mediation process
 - Landowners
 - They get elected to lead farmer's groups because they have the most important stake in the activity, eg. Land
 - Farmers want individuals who knows how to maintain machineries to keep their tractors.

*Eleisaun ne'e mak monu fali ba ema ida ne'enbe' mak la kuidadu, ne'e hanesan de'it. Ne'e duni ami sei haree duni ema ne'ebé mak hatene tau matan ba trator mak sei bili.*³⁰

- They initiate and lead community groups
 - Agricultural
 - XA of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 with the cow farm project, established through government assistance
 - XA DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 makes decision and everyone in his uma-kain just agrees, e.g. he appointed people to be part of a group:

*Buat maka ne'e ona. Xefe, ó halo loos ona. Buat ne'ebé ó hatete, ami prontu. Naran katak la'o ho di'ak.*³¹

- Fishery
 - PST leader and his fishery group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
 - Katekista and husband with fishery group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- Youth leaders control recruitment of workers in public projects within their areas

Describe primary sources of power in the village (traditional, customary, formal, other)

- Formal power, e.g. the suku council members, power legitimized through elections
 - Local political party leaders, e.g. CNRT leader Respondent 8
- Traditional power, e.g. because of their age or their connection to traditional practices, to political parties
 - Xefe ahi-matan
- Customary power
 - Veterans, due to their participation in the struggle against the Indonesian occupation
 - Respondent 37 – informal role in governance, close with XS, dispute resolution and occasional reluctant security functions

²⁹ DC-2.2_20140704_ConflictMediationSedeSuku (obs), p. 1

³⁰ DC-2.2_20140705_Respondent 52_farmer (notes), p. 3

³¹ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3 (notes), p. 2

- “Cris” with the Location 2 farmers’ group
 - Respondent 7 of PST, a veteran
 - Veterans involved in the suku council mediation process (observed)
- Youth leaders
 - De facto leaders, became leaders because they are active in organizing activities around the bairru
- Ahi-matan leaders
 - His ahi-matan is called Karen. The leader of this ahi-matan died 3 months ago. Now need to select another one. The selection criteria: the individual must be someone who knows how to speak (during adat negotiations, etc.) and with knowledge of local customs or adat and lisan.³²

Describe the resources (physical and abstract) powerful community members control;

- Youth leaders, XA
 - Control information about public projects in their area
 - Influence over selection of public projects (villagers usually first go to XAs with requests)
 - Control recruitment of workers
- Youth leaders usually control the negotiation between workers and government contractors, e.g. DC-2.2-Aldeia 2’s Beadi bridge project.XS
 - Ability to allocate government budget (to some extent PAAS as well)
 - Related – connections with higher levels of government
 - Some degree of respect and legitimacy for office
- Church
 - Ability to mobilize people
 - Can add legitimacy
- Veterans
 - Can add legitimacy

Describe how are powerful villagers integrated into local governance structures;

- Powerful villagers are involved in conflict mediation
 - E.g. KPK
 - Powerful people included in conflict mediation hearings
- They are sought by companies implementing projects in the suku
 - For public work, elites are the link between demand (villagers) and supply (companies and government)
- Informal consultation by XS and other leadership on many decisions
- Leaders are expected to lead and make decisions

Guidance needs to come from the local authorities, from the leaders. The people, whether to go up or down, we are ready to do the work. But (the leaders) don’t move, then how are we (going to work)? If a goat is to eat, the goat herder needs to take the goat to look for pasture. The goat herder needs to keep an eye out. But what are we the people to do?³³

³² DC-2.2_20140628_Respondent 25_teacher (notes)

³³ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 6_farmer (notes), p. 5

Describe the familial linkages of powerful community members;

DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 xefe aldeia and suku council women's representative Respondent 33 are brother and sister.

Describe who are marginalized in the community; How are they marginalized?

- Women
 - They are expected to perform roles traditionally assigned to women.
 - We asked the teachers whether some of the cooks were male. They laughed off at the question. They seem to suggest that cooking is exclusively a woman's role. "Mane ne'e ida ne'ebé mak hakarak te'in?", he said.³⁴
- Members of minority religious groups
 - Respondent 43, member of VisãoCristã, and his wife
 - How – story about resistance to new Protestant community center
 - Protestants feel nervous about using community governance and dispute resolution structures
- Elderly members of the community
 - Don't participate in community activities
 - They tend to work harder, e.g. the elderly in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1. Some encounter difficulties in accessing government subsidies (an elderly man came to sedesuku to query the XS about his pension payment.)
- Community in the aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3
 - They live far from public facilities, e.g. market place – don't hear about meetings, and hard to earn income at marketplace
 - There is no road which connects to the village
- Villagers from other suku who settled in DC-2.2 or has changed suku due to marriage
 - A family who lives near Respondent 30's house (women's rep in suku council)
 - There was flooding and they didn't receive any assistance from the authorities
 - Women who married to a man from another suku. She will be registered in the husband's suku although the husband moves in with her.

*The xefe suku doesn't even include me in the \$3 clean up activity. The xefes don't allow me to take part because I have already joined (the man's family). If I wanted to join the clean up activity, I have to join in Neighboring Suku 1. So I have to go and speak to the suku of Neighboring Suku 1.*³⁵

- Villagers with less education feel that they are getting treated differently as compared to the educated and powerful

They said the fine is \$500. We know that violations are punishable with \$500 and 5 slabs of beer. Because it's tarabandu, it must be paid with \$500, a slab of beer and a buffalo. Because this has already been agreed to. But recently when they caught someone over there, they stopped (applying the fines). Because the tarabandu is all lies. They lied to us so that the less educated among us are prevented from entering that area. Only the educated ones can go in to that place. We are afraid to go in there that's why we never entered that place. The educated ones have been inside that place. They go in there regularly because they do so in secret. ... When they got in there, they just catch

³⁴ DC-2.2_20140705_Respondent 49_teachers (notes), p. 2

³⁵ DC-2.2_20140702_Respondent 36_Housewife (notes), p. 1

*the fish and what are we to do? We are too afraid because we are ignorant. We cannot go in there because we are afraid. We can't even catch the fish.*³⁶

- Villagers without familial linkage to the members of village council

*Problema hanesan ne'e. Kegiatan hanesan osan nian, balu nia la pake ema sira ne'e. Kegiatan desa-desa ne'e bolu fali ema ba' ona. Atu servisu \$3 ne'e nia bolu husi tiba nia familia fali. Ema seluk sira la hili fali. Kuandu kegiatan iba desa fali nia bolu ema ba' ona. Ne'e mak ema protes nia ne'e. Tanba osan ne'e nia sistim familia ona. Se osan laiha entaun nia bolu ema. Hanesan kegiatan desa ne'e nia bolu ema ona. Ema la ba' mos nia konvida ema ona. Mas hanesan osan, entaun nia husi familia ninia de'it. Buat osan ne'e. Osan mak vale liu kan nia sistim familia de'it. Uluk sistim \$3 ne'e familia ninian tama dala rua dala tolu mos bele botu. Tanba ne'e mak atu kegiatan ruma iba desa ne'e, bolu ema la ba' ida. Sistim familia fali ne'e. Iba desa DC-2.2 ne'e mak ne'e. Mas desa Neighboring Suku 1 laiha.*³⁷

- Villagers in far flung areas such as DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. The estensionista doesn't give the farmers the same attention as given to those in urban DC-2.2. A villager explained that the tarabandu is only put in place against the small people like him. The educated, or the ema matenek continue to access the site but unaffected by the tarabandu:

*Estensionista suku nian iba duni. Momentu ne'e iba 2005 nia aprezena an iba suku deban nia estensionista suku nian. To'o agora nia la mai to'o iba aldeia. Ikus mai mak sira jo'hatene fali ba'u deban ida ne'e nia kona-ba DC-4.2 nian, ne'e estensionista DC-4.2 nian, maibe tanba nia area besik ho DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, entaun nia mak tau matan mos iba ami ne'e. ... Ha'u la hatene. Sira ba' ne'eba' ne'e sira ko'alia mos tentang aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 ka lae. Ne'e be ida-idak ninia servisu ka lae. Selama ne'e nia mos la servisu ho ami ida. Ne'e mak nia servisu hamutuk ho ba'u duni mas ladun ativu.*³⁸

Describe how do vulnerable members of the community integrated into local governance structures; How are they consulted?

- Public works projects – may be brought in as labor, although people with connections might get there first
- Village decisions and meetings generally aren't communicated well to distant aldeias, especially DC-2.2-Aldeia 3
- Villagers usually go to the xefealdeia with issues and count on him to address them at the suku council
- But, few vulnerable are directly included in decision-making and governance

4.1.3 Formal and informal community rules (norms)

Describe village taboos, norms, customs;

- The aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 holds traditional power, including to perform ceremonies to bless public projects upon completion. In the past, DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 also ratified appointments of local leaders in traditional ceremonies.

³⁶ DC-2.2_20140626_Respondent 19_farmers (notes), p. 2

³⁷ DC-2.2_20140702_Respondent 36_Housewife (notes), p. 2

³⁸ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3 (notes), p. 6

- Tarabandu which affect the coastal villagers in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- Women expected to perform roles traditionally assigned to them, such as serving food and beverages during meetings, hosting guests, preparing meals, etc.
- Division of labour the rice field. Men built paddocks, cleared water canals; women planted rice.³⁹

Describe traditions in the village;

- Men usually moves in with the women's family after marriage but continue to be registered in their original village. His whole family, including his wife, will also be registered in his suku after marriage. When the man dies, his wife and family can be registered again in her suku.
- Marriage between cousins, specifically between brother's daughter and sister's son, is allowed (the *luananga* system). The rest is forbidden because such marriage conflicts with the dowry system called *barlake*. In a *barlake*, the man pays a dowry to the woman's family. Fathers have paid dowries when they marry their wives. If the children of two brothers were to marry each other, it would mean that one of the fathers will have paid dowry twice, one when he married his wife, two, when his son marries.

Describe main formal rules that affect the village;

- Suku council decisions, from both meetings and arbitrations
- MAP rules for fishers and farmers
- National law of Timor-Leste
- Law no. 3 of 2004 which governs suku governance
- Tarabandu at an estuary near DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- Criminal law
 - Criminal cases must be reported to the authorities, in particular the police

4.1.4 Conflict and conflict mediation

Describe types of conflict and violence on the village and aldeia levels;

- There are no major violence or conflicts according to most respondents. But for the
- Other conflicts include
 - Paternity issues
 - Domestic violence
 - Land disputes
 - E.g. between government (MAF), DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 community, and family who acquired the land in Portuguese times
 - Alcohol-related youth conflicts
 - Accusations of voodoo practices
 - Attack against minorities, specially of other religious groups
 - E.g. Respondent 43
 - Parish priest tried to oppose construction of a training centre sponsored by a different religious group

Describe the most common causes for conflict;

³⁹ DC-2.2_20140626_Respondent 19_farmers (notes), p. 4

- Lack of trust and suspicions of infidelity
- Alcohol abuse, in particular among the youths
- Unclear definition of land borders, overlapping claims
- Group rivalry, specially between Catholics and Protestants
 - Catholic parish priest tried to stop a Protestant group from building a training centre in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1

Describe the conflict mediation processes in the village and aldeia;

- For criminal cases, specially if it involves physical assaults or worse, the police is immediately called.
- There is a formal process for civil cases. First, report to xefe ahi-matan, then XA if not resolved. Ultimately, case is resolved in suku council, council members provide mediation. If case is too complicated, then KPK is involved. If the suku's arbitration does not resolve the dispute, the case is forwarded to a tribunal in Dili.
- There are also community centres where mediation process take place, including *uma ahi-matan*, Clan 1 and the sedesuku.
 - At the ahi-matan, the cases are heard and resolved in the uma ahi-matan. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, all the uma ahi-matan are built among the dwellings.
 - At the aldeia level, the villagers have been using the *Clan 1* as a venue for conflict mediation. The case involving harassment against members of the minority VisãoCristã church was mediated at the house of Clan 1.
 - At the suku level, mediation takes place in the sedesuku
- At suku level, mediation can follow a number of stages. After the first round of mediation, parties are urged to go home and try to resolve the issues between families, using traditional mediation.
- If mediation successful, parties and witnesses sign agreement.
- MAGs such as KeraSakti involve local leaders, specially veterans, in their group to prevent conflicts from taking place. Former combatants also invited to help in the mediation process, specially if the party involves members of the armed forces, F-FDTL. The veterans' leader stated that he doesn't like to "halo polícia," but he did say that as a community figure he sometimes suggests ideas for dispute resolution.
- Individuals like Respondent 43, member of minority religious group VisãoCristã, do not report conflicts or problems to the local authorities. Respondent 43 and his wife won't even contact their local pastor. Instead they just pray and hope for God to solve the conflicts.

Describe the effects of conflicts on community life? Who does it affect most?

- Conflicts such as accusations of voodoo practices can destroy relationship between families. In principle anyone can accuse someone else of voodoo.
 - A family moved house away from another family which it suspected of practicing voodoo.
 - Accusations of voodoo practices also forced members of two families not to speak to one another.
- The family of the minority VisãoCristã continues to suffer harassment from other villagers.
- The family of Respondent 26 do not maintain close relationship with their neighbours in order to avoid conflicts. (elaborate on DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 road case)
- Marital disputes have negative effect on village cohesion (and, obviously, family life)
- Border disputes can lead to marginalization for people living in disputed areas

4.1.5 *Development Priorities*

Describe the needs of powerful community members;

- Better community facilities such as community centres to organize community meetings
- Better roads for the rural areas
- Water to a some neighbourhoods
- Improved access to health care

Describe primary and secondary development priorities for powerful community members;

- Roads in the aldeias
- Water, in particular to a number of neighbourhoods in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- Town planning in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2
- Community centres in all aldeias
- Upgrading the sedesuku

Describe the needs of marginalized community members;

- Improved access to clean water
- Roads to remote areas, especially in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and parts of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- Tractors, pesticides, and irrigation, for rice farmers
- Boats and nets, for fishers
- Support for housing for the most vulnerable

Describe primary and secondary development priorities for marginalized community members.

- Housing
- Furniture and other household inventories
- Nets and boats for coastal communities
- Hand tractors

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 *3 profiles of powerful community members*

(Positions, role in the community, impact on development projects, their development priorities)

Respondent 18, XA DC-2.2-Aldeia 3

Respondent 37, Veteran leader

Respondent 45, XS

4.2.2 *3 profiles of marginalized community members*

Positions, role in the community, impact on development projects, their development priorities)

Respondent 15, elderly and vulnerable from DC-2.2-Aldeia 1

Respondent 43, member of a minority religious community

Respondent 51 farmer from DC-2.2-Aldeia 3

5. Institutions and power

5.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

MAF was formed by the government in 2012 to receive fiber glass, boat and motor equipment. MAF was an organization that came to be developed in the fishing area and they were from America and Indonesia, and together with 4 chief suku's and Lian Nian did make some improvements in such a way as to produce a lot of fish so that the fishermen could catch enough fish for themselves and for the market. Since for fishermen, fishing is one of their main incomes.⁴⁰

5.1.1 Political Parties

There are three political parties that are active in DC-2.2:

- FRETILIN
- CNRT
- PD

Besides, PDC (Christian Democrats), is led by Tomas (name changed), and lives near sede suku. The XS has been handling his case because he abandoned his family. He has sent the PDC leaders case to the police and public prosecution on the basis that he abandoned his family.

*Agora, nia partidu duni mak dehan Katóliku. Agora nia maka abandona fila fali nia família.
Ha'u labatene ita ko'aia an saida. ... Agora nia mak kontra fali rejimentu be kona-ba ninia
partidu ninian ne'e.*

- PST (Socialist)

5.1.2 Martial Art groups

In suku DC-2.2 they used to have an artmarsiais group and they were: PSHT, SEVEN, KERAKSAKTI but they no longer exist since the government banded them. The group's activities stopped completely when government imposed a law to band their existence. These groups never got involved in any conflict or violence. They have many local supporters. Even before the law was passed, the MAG's had stopped their violent activities already.

- PSHT, led by Respondent 41 from DC-2.2 but he lives in Neighboring Suku 3. He is well known in Neighboring Suku 3. They have many branches. It is one of the biggest groups around the suku that has many more followers as well as members.
- KORKA, is led by a villager from Malerahun, Neighboring Suku 3.
- Perisai Diri (PD), is led by a villager, who lives near sede suku

⁴⁰ DC-2.2_2014071_Respondent 31_PAAS(notes).P.3

There is also a martial group connected to the Catholic Church. The leader of this group is called Jose (name changed), who lives near the sede suku. Many youths are involved in the MAGs but only the young adults, and not children.⁴¹

5.1.3 Catholic Church groups (faith based)

Chapel Construction Committee: This committee is headed by the xefe suku as president and the village secretary as the committee secretary. The leadership was elected during a community meeting in 2012 and their mandate is set to be completed this year 2014. The committee is also working with the parish church to receive more assistance and the parish church has agreed to it, but it hasn't given any money towards the project recently. Its main activity therefore revolves around fundraising and construction. Membership of this group is open to all community members of the Catholic faith. Implementation of the group's project involves the mobilization of the entire village community whether in the construction or in cash and material contribution. Private companies constructing local government projects have also been engaged in contributing to the construction of the chapel. It was built through community's cash contribution and donations by the government, the church and businesses. Construction stopped in September 2013 because they had run out of money. But the building is nearly completed although not yet in use. Samuel Mendonça, secretary of state for community development, visited the site of the church and later on brought 100 sacks of cement. This took place after the XA approached Xanana during his visit to Manatuto.⁴²

5.1.4 Protestant Groups (Visão Cristã and Evangelical Church).

The church is building a training centre. Part of the building is completed and training is being offered for English language and computing. Extensions to the main building however are continuing. The Catholic Church however opposed the construction of this facility. The then parish priest said that the project could draw his parishioners towards the Protestant church ending in conversion. But according to the XS, he intervened in favour of the project and told the priest that by law, the Catholic Church would be in the wrong.

The protestan groups is lead by a villager, but he lives in Neighboring Suku 1. Connected to the construction of training centre in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1. There are around 20 followers of this church in DC-2.2.⁴³

5.1.5 Feto ba Futuru

The objective of the group is to assist women in the district in the areas of economy as well as the promotion of women's rights. The group started in 2009 with no funds, then, after that the group wrote a proposal to CPI and received help such as a computer and access to the internet and also for help with their farms in order to improve their economy. The proposal was coming from the member's ideas.

The group is still in existence.

The following is the group's structure:

- President
- Treasurer

⁴¹ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes.)P.5

⁴² DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3(notes.)P.9

⁴³ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes.)P.13

- Membership consists of a group of 6 women. The group also receives support such as money from the European Union.

The group uses the money to buy the ingredients to bake the cakes for selling in the market and the money they have saved in the bank so far is \$ 700.00 USD.⁴⁴

5.1.6 *Agricultural group*

The farmers' group will be formed around the water canal. Each canal will have its own group. The farmers will receive training about farming rice, e.g. how to plant the rice in rows instead of just distributing the seeds around the field. How the group will be formed has already been discussed but it needs more information about who should join (e.g. whose rice field is being fed from which water canal). It began with a meeting with the sponsors (JICA) and individuals were appointed by the farmland owners (natar na'in) to lead this *ad hoc* group. The *ad hoc* group leaders will organise people around their water canal into groups. There were 20 people present in this meeting. JICA informed estensionista, and the estensionista coordinated with him. Respondent 18 is a coordinator, he informed the local leaders of the other farmers, who are from other suku such as DC-4.2, Neighboring Suku 1. He lead them. He informed these local leaders and they informed their own farmers about this meeting, which was held near his house.⁴⁵

Railakan

Group rai lakan is led by Respondent 5. The group received the money in 2007 and they bought the cow and they divided it equally among the members and each one took care of the cow, the result was satisfied and they are still doing it.⁴⁶

Farmers' group

The Group formed very recently (a few days ago and we saw the group meeting near the rice field where they also elected their group leaders). Group's Activity are as follows:

- To clean the water canals which feed the rice field
- Group will have another meeting on 9 July
- To discuss group activities

Establish rules for membership including fines for those who don't participate in group activities. Says that it's important for the group to agree on the penalties:

*Tensér tuur hamutuk para hanoin buat ida denda ne'e*⁴⁷

He doesn't think it's a good idea for the penalties to be paid for in cash because people can afford it, especially if it's only around \$5, etc., and will continue to violate group's rules. It's better for the violator to be banned from farming his field during the season. Discuss proposals to request for government hand tractor.

Group leaders were elected during an election with everyone having a vote. Three candidates were first selected and then members would write their names on a piece of paper and placed them in a box. The candidate who

⁴⁴ DC-2.2_2014071_Respondent 31_PAAS(notes).P.2

⁴⁵ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3(notes).P.3

⁴⁶ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 5_XABeuac(notes).P.1

⁴⁷ Respondent 52, 5 July 2014

received the most votes gets to become the coordinator. The next most voted, the secretary and the least voted, treasurer.

The three candidates are farm owners. The rest of group members are farmers who are working on leased fields. Respondent 52 is only renting the farmland.⁴⁸

Moris Rasik

Moris Rasik is a business-oriented group. The group was formed for “any kind of business” but their current activities are operating for a short time and providing loans to members. There are 8 members, and the group has been active for 8 years. It sometimes competes with wines made by similar groups in other villages.⁴⁹

5.1.7 Fishing groups

Ai Mori group

It's a fishery group formed in 2012 and was formed by wives of fishermen. It has 10 members. Some women have left the group because they say they have too much work to do and don't have time for group activities.

A female is the coordinator, she is also the treasurer and keeps the money. She was elected to these posts.

- She and others participated in a meeting at her house and elected her.
- They received training from individuals who worked for MAP. A *malae* woman also came with them.
- Learned to make fishballs, run restaurants, make fish soup. Basically how to run a small business using fishing products.
- Also learned how to fix nets
- The trainers contacted them through the XS. The XS rounded her and her friends to take part in the training.

Group activity:

- Group runs a savings/loans services to invest their cash
- Group activities take place at the leader's house

Finances

- She doesn't know how much money the group has in savings
- Group's cash is kept at the leader's house
- Only members can borrow money from the group. The interest is \$2 for every \$10 loan.
- She likes the group because she can get loans from it.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ DC-2.2_20140705_Respondent 52_farmernotes.P.2

⁴⁹

⁵⁰ DC-2.2_20140626_Respondent 9_FisherHouseWife(notes).P.1

We mina

We Mina is a group which is led by Respondent 40, The group was formed to grow the seaweed in the sea. The members of the group are made up of 6 females and 5 males. The group also has a treasurer.

Group activity:

Members grow the seaweed in the sea and this project was initiated by Germany NGO. The group participates in the training and learns how to grow the seaweed and sell it in the market. The training was organised by Germany NGO staff.

5.1.8 Business groups

Business Group 1

The group started in 2004 and was initiated by NGO World Vision for 4 years. Initially, the group started with 40 members but then it was reduced to 12 members, and because of lack of funding and material so many left. After so many left, Respondent 33 and her companions took over the group and are running it till now. The members in the group are 12 people. Respondent 33 is the group leader and Respondent 43 is the treasurer.

The Group's objective is to make the traditional flower pot and the traditional oven.

The group does not have funds. The NGO only provided the group with training and materials, but apart from that the group itself was the one to find ways to get the money in order to carry on the group's activities. The group sells the vegetables and doing other business. Together the group saved \$ 500.00 USD cash and from this money they bought some plastic chairs and lend it to other people for business. The group is also selling the traditional oven and vase and pot to the Alola Foundation in Dili.

Besides this, the group received training from Alola Foundation and they learnt how to save the money and how to lend the money to others with interest.

The group was supported by Respondent 33's brother but he is now dead and her together with the group treasurer were the one to continue carrying this group till now. The group sells the traditional oven and flower pot 3 a year each cost \$ 4.00 USD. The group is also engaged in credit/savings.⁵¹

5.1.9 Youth groups

Most of the youth groups are based on sports groups and they are in DC-2.2. There are also sports groups in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Only groups in these two aldeias have original members of each aldeia. In the urban aldeias, sports groups have mixed membership, including those from other suku such as Sau and Neighboring Suku 3. There is a music group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, which received assistance from CJITL (TL youth council). This group used to be based in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 but has now moved to DC-2.2-Aldeia 2. They always represent their suku in competitions. The group was based previously in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 but now moved to DC-2.2-Aldeia 2. They also participated in suku competitions (and represented Manatuto at a TVTL music show)⁵²

⁵¹ DC-2.2_2014071_Respondent 33_SukuCouncilWomenRep(notes).P.1

⁵² DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes).P.5

5.1.10 Veterans group

Leaders include a villager from DC-2.2, and holds position as the deputy coordinator. President or coordinator is Respondent 37, also from DC-2.2. The xefe suku of Neighboring Suku 3 is a veteran (also represents the veterans in the KPK).⁵³

5.1.11 KPK

KPK (Konsellu Polisiamentu Komunitária) Community police, formed by 4 sukus: DC-2.2, Neighboring Suku 1, Sau and Neighboring Suku 3. XS of DC-2.2 is the president. The leadership structure includes the PNTL district and sub-district commanders. The district police commander is president of KDD (*Komisaun Diretiva Distritál*). District administrator is first deputy president. Second vice president is the deputy PNTL commander. KPK is below this structure.

Objective

- To provide a visible presence of the police in the community
- To facilitate cooperation between suku authorities and the police
- For the police to have closer links with the youth
- The police to maintain closer contact with the problems which affect the community, to investigate, and create good relations between the community and the police

There is also a community police officer for the DC-2.2 village. Large problems (*problema grave hanesan paternidade*) can be referred to the KPK. Otherwise, it can be resolved at the suku level.

At the KPK, all the 4 XS and lia-na'in, plus the xefe aldeias of all the villages, come together to resolve. If the problem is unable to be resolved, then it is referred to the police.

Prior to the formation of the KPK, members of the suku council from all 4 councils participated in a workshop, organized by The Asia Foundation. The workshop lasted 2 weeks.

The KPK was formed immediately after the workshop. The xefe suku was voted by the participants to be the president of the council. The XS of Neighboring suku 2 was voted for the position of secretary. 20 people involved in the structure, including reps from

Business community, to look into workplace related cases Veterans, to look into issues that the veterans face.

Case in church involving incest among cousins where their fathers are brothers. For example, a couple got married in secret, but it was discovered that their fathers are brothers. The XS sought the church's help to invalidate the marriage because it was proving to be a difficulty within the traditional marriage system of exchange. Women's group, students' group - provide information on cases of sexual abuse, and Martial arts group.

The KPK structure is not functioning well today because there is no money. Everyone is working as volunteers. All suku council members are part of the KPK's structure

Ami servisu ba KPK ne'e hanesan mós ami servisu ba konsellu du suku

⁵³ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes.)P.6

According to XS, KPK has been successful in providing solution to conflicts in the area because it includes a number of local authorities in the process. After the KPK was established, incidents also reduced. KPK helps public prosecution by reducing the amount of cases referred to it.

*For example, in my village, in the past three months, I have seven cases. This is only from one suku, I haven't included the cases from the other three sukus, or the 448 sukus (all over Timor-Leste). If we refer all these small cases to the judiciary, then the judiciary would die. ... There are many cases still pending (at the public prosecution). If we keep adding to it, (the judiciary) won't be able to handle it.*⁵⁴

5.1.12 PPS

PPS (Polisia Postu Suku) is Part of the KPK initiative. It was established between 2011 and 2012

Similar to Indonesia's Bimpolda and it is based in the sub-district police station (not in DC-2.2)⁵⁵

5.2 Formation of village groups (Specific explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

5.2.1 5.2.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

The xefe suku is the head of the suku council as well as the village representative. He is responsible for the welfare of the villagers in collaboration with xefe Aldeais. His task includes, being a conflict mediator processor as well as responses to local disaster. Besides this, his task is to provide a link between the higher level government authorities and the villagers. He manages government projects implemented locally by the villagers and also control over villagers activities. He controls information about the public projects in their area and he has an influence over selection of public projects. Normally, villagers first go to him with requests. He also has control over recruitment of workers. Besides this, he also passes on the information to the community through a word of mouth and placing the news on the community noticeboard at the suku office in regards to the government program, pensions, and public events.

He Leads the KPK and also negotiated with a businessman to provide him with office equipment (computer and printer) he represents the suku in meetings at sub-district and district level

Together with his suku council they took control and kept an eye on the movement of the population in and out of the village, this can be either the settlers or visitors. For instance, if there is an information session conducted by either the government level or NGO in the village then xefe suku and his council are required to be present and get involved in the process.

As a head of the suku council xefe suku speaks on its behalf and represents it at community events, public meetings, and official government meetings at the sub-district or district offices. Usually, decision process is made by the suku council. The community is welcome to participate and give their opinions or ideas. However, the members of the suku council are the ones who have the right to vote by raising their hand. However, if there is an important decision which affect the whole community, then the council is also considered to involve the community in the process. Xefe suku is holding the most powerful position within the suku council.

⁵⁴ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes.)P.7

⁵⁵ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes.)P.7

The process of his promotion to the current role of leadership both of the council and of the community began with suku election when he was positioned as the leading candidate in the *pakote*.

As the head of the village, community members often refer to him instead of the suku council when they speak of village governance. Of all the members of the suku council, only the xefe suku and to some extent, the xefe aldeia, is included in the category of people referred to as the *ema-boot* or big, important people. These facts provide the xefe suku with incredible power over the other council members.

As such, the xefe suku controls most of the council activities including control over implementation of government projects and key decisions. The xefe suku can also make decision without consultation with the other council members or decide who to include in a particular process.

When there is funding coming from the government, Council members receive *insentivu* or incentives for their work. Government funding is used to purchase administrative material, such as papers. These funds come together with the *insentivu*.

The fund for administrative support is already marked out when they come. The funds also cover maintenance costs of the XS's government supplied motorbikes. For central government activities in the suku, e.g. a visit by a minister or the president, then the respective departments would provide funds to make the preparations for the related activities. The suku is not involved in paying for this type of cost.

Se karik iba programa, Prezidente mai vizita ami-nia suku, entaun ne'e husi gabinete nian mak mai koordena iba ne'e, ho orsamentu atu te'in, atu halo buat sira ne'e ne'e. ... Ami somente halo koordinasi de'it, atu haree ba comunidade sira ne'ebé atu te'in, ... ne'e de'it. Orsamentu rasik seidaunk iba.

Current sede suku building was constructed in the early 2000s through the CEP (Community Empowerment Program, funded by World Bank).

- Cost around \$33,000
- He was still a xefe aldeia then

It was renovated during the IV Constitutional Government with funds from the Ministry of State Administration (Estatal), during Arcângelo Leite's tenure as minister

Students from UNPAZ also conducted some work on the building as part of their field work (*estájiu*). They provided new paint.

- Students used their own money
- Also provided a map of the suku.

The suku map is very important to prepare for the deconcentration phase and the eventual establishment of the municipality. The map will be useful also to planning for infrastructure development in the suku.⁵⁶

The suku council secretary is an employee of the Ministry of State Administration (Estatal). The position is appointed through normal recruitment process used for public servants. It was not part of the electoral ticket. The role of secretary is to assist the suku council perform its administrative roles which includes, communication letters, filling village documents, drafting proposal, registration of public projects being undertaken locally. Each individual suku council members have their own roles to play.

⁵⁶ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSuku (notes.)P.4

The youth men's and women's representative also play important roles in dealing on behalf of the young men's and women's welfare such as organizing activities to specific events according to their constituents. The council elder and the ansiaun and the lia-nian, roles are to focus on counselling and helping out sort out conflict. They also lead negotiations for marriages such as *barlake* and lead traditional ceremonies, e.g. the blessing of the Manatuto's irrigation system constructed by JICA

In regards to leadership styles for example: in larger-scale organizations, sometimes with ties to government such as KPK, Catholic Church, political parties, and veterans. They are more top-down leadership style, often with authorities outside suku. Whereas, grassroots organizations, such as agricultural, fishing and women's groups are more consensus-based style. Leaders selected by elections at local level, and meetings tend to include everyone.

It seems that the leadership style is a mix between participatory and non-participatory roles. For example: village cleaning and animal keeping in the village and the approach was participatory. On the other hand, in the infrastructure project it is more about sending the chefe aldeias to organize their own workers. The xefe suku invites people to meetings at his own discretion. Generally, people are invited if they are involved in the issue being discussed at the meeting. For example, women's groups reported receiving invitations to meetings about women's role in the economy and domestic violence. However, participation appeared to vary significantly by aldeia and the neighborhood. Few people in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, the most distant, rural aldeia, reported having attended a suku council meeting, while the proportion was noticeably higher in the urban aldeias.

The leaders obtain positions of power in the village, and how members join for example is the case like Respondent 18 and farmers' group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, supported by JICA. He was appointing by ad hoc leaders, who then organized other people to join by informing them about the formation of the group.

"Cris" group in Location 2. They have meetings to elect leadership. Farmland owners are elected as leaders because they own the rice paddock.

Group initiators become leaders like

- Fishing groups in coastal DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- XAs of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 1's cattle group

Appointed by members through discussion until reaching consensus and discuss together before hand. With MAG, leaders must move up the training level. The highest level appointed leader.

By experience and education

- Veterans leaders, participation in the struggle against Indonesian occupation
- CNRT rep in Manatuto, studying at UNTL
- PAAS, studying at UNTL

The group makes decision through both ways of consensus and voting. For example, the Location 2 group – but here, candidates only include owners of the rice field. Members elect individuals to leadership position by writing names of the candidates and dropping them in a box. Candidates with the highest number of votes become coordinator, next highest, secretary, and then treasurer.

Another example is in the Water maintenance group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 whose members voted for the candidates to fill the positions

It varies a lot within groups, some groups are very inclusive and use voting or consensus, others consult a few specific people like smaller agricultural and fishing groups who tend to be more inclusive than larger organizations like veterans group or KPK.

The power is used to mainly support activities like village cleaning, animal keeping, organize work rotation for infrastructure project, identifying village needs to support and act upon it.

Sometimes power is also misused by putting aside government funds that are supposed to be used to specific projects, with little transparency about the subsequent expenditures cases like:

- Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 kept WFP's left over aid materials and used it for the construction of the DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 temporary chapel
- Xefe Sucu kept materials donated to the suku by a company
- Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and xefe Aldeai of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 taking control of government assistance project to raise cattle in their aldeias. At the termination of the project in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, the Xefe Aldeia became involved in a dispute with one of the group members
- Xefe joven leading local men to take control of construction processes of local projects, e.g. in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2
- Catholic church's attempt to stop other religious groups' activities, e.g. in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- XA of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1's involvement in the construction process of the Clan 1

Xefe suco and his council members as well as the *intellectual* suku members are responsible for decision making in the village governance structures. Before making decisions, the xefe suco will often involve other major actors such as the veterans and the Church. Some decisions about public works, actually came from outside the village, as was the case for several implemented by the district or central governments. Other public works projects such as the chapel in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, for example it was organized mostly by the local people with a minimal of government roles.

Often decisions are made in the village council depending on the needs, for example, issues including security, public works projects, women's issues, and many others that have all reportedly been the topics of meetings. Sucu council members claim that meetings are held once a month.

5.2.2 Financial Management

Xefe suco is the one who collects and manages the funding from the government, he then pays the government sponsored projects which are implemented locally by the villagers. He is the main person in charge of managing the project's cash. He keeps the cash and manages its disbursement. He consults the sucu council in regards to this matter, especially when it comes to deal with the members representing the social group in which the project is targeted.

He then together with his secretary informed the community about the expenses that sucu council had done in relation to the sucu activities. The expenses items was read aloud and everyone listened to it and agreed.

Some groups like Xefe Sucu and Xefe Aldeia, Party or Youth, women's group have some level of accountability to its members or donators by providing reports or receipts or reading out their expenditure during meetings.

Church groups also provide reports to the community about their activities. The Xefe Sucu showed to the community a report for the activities to construct parish church fence for DC-2.2 villagers.

The aldeia of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 preparing for a village meeting to report on the activities. Aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 was responsible for organizing the suku's celebration of Saint Anthony's day.

Farmers group and fishing, no cash contribution. They expect government to provide assistance. For Groups which have collective farm machinery, members provide the contribution to repair their machinery. Government has also provided agricultural assistance. Hand tractors to farmers and cash to purchase cows (e.g. XA DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 and XA DC-2.2-Aldeia 3.)

Some have received assistance from NGOs (Respondent 7's fishing group and FetobaFuturo)

Credit groups such as Respondent 9's group. Members pay monthly contribution

Church group's contribution provided by households provides contribution and villagers also provide contribution.

Martial arts group contribution, from PSHT, members provided contribution which has \$6,000 at the moment. Group members also make contributions to help other members, e.g. when relatives pass away.

Can make money from own operations (Business Group 1's clay pots, or FetobaFuturo's cakes)

However, most groups do not appear to have a formal budget processes. The Budget may depend on support from government, NGO, community contributions, etc. First by raising fund and later deciding on what to spend depending on the size of the budget. For example, MAG – contributions are not set, based on willingness.

The Church groups' contribution is set by the committee for example construction of perimeter wall around Manatuto's parish church:

- Community household contributions
 - a. Public servants- \$10
 - b. Farmers- \$5
- Each suku constructs 50 metres of the wall every year
- Villagers have asked NGOs and the government for assistance
- DC-2.2 has completed its share of 50 metres. Next year it will be the turn of Neighboring Suku 3.

There are four sukus who rotate on a yearly basis.

- DC-2.2 contributed around \$9,000 (in cash and material)
- Contribution came from community members, NGOs, businesses, as well as DC-2.2 villagers who live in Dili
- Some villagers contributed up to \$50 and \$100

Tanba haree ba ekonomia iha suku ne'e hanesan ami-nia frakeza. ... tanba igreja halo ne'e, tenke depende ba ita, depende ba sarani. Nia la tama ba iha PDD. PDD kecuai ami ba iha enkontru ami husu dehan eskola misaun ninian ne'e presiza tan alunas barak. Ne'e foin lalais halo eskola ida. Ne'e tama iha PDD. Maibe atu ba buat sira be hadi'a ne'e, tenke osan husi sarani sira.

There is a committee which manages DC-2.2' contribution for this project

- XS and the committee president sign the papers.
- President
- Adviser- XS
- Treasurer (keeps the money)
- Secretary

Contribution collection - *seksaun kobransa*

- A team in Dili
- A team in Manatuto

The Veterans group also do not set a budget, but many contributions are made at annual convention, and budget planning follows convention.

Usually the cash is stored at home and the treasurer keeps the cash and other funds come on a needs basis.

The primary expenditures of the local governance structure are as follows:

- Food and drinks whenever there is a meeting
- Maintenance of XS's motorbike
- Telephone calls, trips, lunches during trips
- Cleaning, church activities, Independence Day celebrations, lulik celebrations, etc. They also allocate some money to projects

Other villagers do not know about expenditures. There is no transparency in this regard. Reports are made to the suku council each month, but are not communicated outside the council. During our observation of the suku council meeting, financial reporting was not made part of the agenda nor was it discussed.

5.2.3 Collective action among groups

There are collective actions among groups and especially, the women's and youth groups seem to work in a collective action among themselves especially when they have activities like sports matches with neighboring aldeai or suku teams, workshop, and preparation for celebration of Kornel Santo Antonio in Manatuto Church. Martial arts groups also cooperate with the Church: one martial arts group is actually affiliated with the Church, and another (PSHT) volunteered to raise money to build a new fence at the Santo Antonio Church.

The Santo Antonio festival is undertaken by groups of several sukus, and each year one suku serves on a rotating term as the lead coordinator. That suku's administration coordinates the various church, women's, youth and other groups involved in the festival. A similar system of rotation between six sukus governs the fence construction project to which the martial arts group PSHT has assisted.

KPK from all of the village council members are part of the structure, and participate in the meetings.

Agriculture groups like XAs of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 lead the farmers' groups, e.g. the cattle farming group.

Groups cooperate for their common interests. Sometimes to receive benefits (tractors, security, etc.), sometimes to make sure certain interest groups have a role in community activities (women, youth), and to get support from the group as well as each other and enhance friendship and sense of belonging to the group. Much of the cooperation between groups in DC-2.2 is centered on the Catholic

Church, which seems to have a strong ability to unite different groups and serve as the community's focal point.

- DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 women's group Ai mori work very closely with the government (MAF) in order to received training on how to run the small business, cook, sewing fishing nets.
- Fishing group who work with the government received a fibre glass boat and motors.
- Some agricultural groups have received tractors from the government.

- A rotation of suku governments leads the Santo Antonio festival (see above).
- The KPK includes representatives from the business community, the veterans' group, the Church, youth groups, women's groups, and martial arts groups, since some cases presented to the KPK may involve those groups. Some respondents indicated that police cooperation with veterans and martial arts groups on security issues is particularly close.
- A veteran's group representative usually attends suku council dispute resolution hearings, and per conversations with some community members, veterans play an informal but active role in the overall dispute resolution process.
- The suku administration often has trouble tracking births and deaths in the suku, as births especially are often not initially registered with the government. The suku deals with this issue by cooperating with Church leaders, who share information on baptisms and funerals.

Village council and community groups interact with sub-district/district institutions through various events and activities including:

- Receiving visitors like PM and other ministers from national level
- Writing proposal to ask for assistance to relevant government agencies
- Regular meetings of Chefesuco with sub district
- Sub-district administrator attends suku council meetings
- Cooperation with police through KPK
- Cooperation with district agriculture department for farm tractors and fishing boat and motor.

The main constraints to collective action

- Lack of initiatives and interests
- As well as of lack of communication between the suku administration and people in more distant areas.

5.2.4 *Communication strategies*

The way the groups introduce their activities to the community are through:

If backing of government or NGOs: backing government and/or suku administration may help to communicate with villagers. If group starts autonomously in village or by word of mouth.

Before meetings: Send letters of invitation, XS go door to door sound the aldeai gong DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, send village guard to deliver information. After meetings: meeting participants may privately communicate meeting outcomes. No formal mechanism for public communication appears to exist.

Communication also happen between the suku council and the community when it is conducted through door-to-door visits. The xefe aldeia and their assistants are responsible for contacting community members in their own aldeias. However these door-to-door visits are employed only when the council plans to hold community meetings or when inviting households to participate in a village activity or to remind villagers about such an activity. Announcements of village decisions are also made during community meetings.

However, *the* distance of some aldeias that are far away, the information cannot not reach them because of many reasons, for example: some xefe suku only inform them by shouting information and this could not possibly be heard by everybody. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, community meetings are called by ringing the village bell. It is possible that kabreinu doesn't cover every household when he distributes information. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 for example, some households never received a visit by the kabreinu who rides

a pushbike to get around. Suku government is more proactive about telling people when projects start than when they finish. When recruiting people to work on projects, xefe aldeia in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 reportedly goes to family and friends first. Communities who live in distant areas may not hear about many groups. Also, many groups are based in a certain neighborhood, and information about them stays local. People well-connected with members of the suku council or other influential people typically have more access to information about group activities.

The village satisfaction with the village governance institutions are as follows:

- Members of the suku council could be used as satisfaction with village governance
- Most members of the community speak positively of the xefesuku, although one person did express concerns that he only directly works with an inner circle of people. He is seen as committed and a hard worker. People seem to accept a certain lack of transparency in government so long as outcomes are generally positive.
- Women's rep, Respondent 30, talked about collusion within some members of the suku council, in particular the XS, when it comes to projects involving money
- XA DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 was involved in conflict with members of his farming group

There are possible reasons why and how new groups are created;

Why:

- Women's groups were created to help members how to run a small business, to improve their economy.
- Agriculture group were created to receive government's assistant like, motor, fishing boat and tractor.
- Church group was created to organise activities like Sunday mass, choir and receiving visits.
- There are different reason why groups terminate, it could be that they run out of funds, the members cannot work together, when the activity no longer exists and it could be active again if there is activity related to the group like political parties are active when there is election or campaign. Few instances of group termination were observed.

5.2.5 Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 women's group

The group started in 2004 and was initiated by NGO World Vision for 4 years. Initially, the group started with 40 members then it reduced to 12 members, and because of lack of funding and materials so many left. After so many left, Respondent 33 and her companions took over the group and are running it till now. The members of the group are 12 people. Respondent 33 is the group leader and Respondent 17 is a treasurer.

The Group's objective is to make the traditional flower pot and traditional oven.

The group does not have funds. NGO only provided the group with training and material, and apart from that the group itself was the one who found ways to get the money in order to carry on the group's activity. The group sell the vegetables and are doing other business. Together the group saved \$ 500.00 usd cash and from this money they bought some plastic chairs and lend it to other people for business. The group is also selling the traditional oven and vas and pot to the Alola Foundation in Dili.

Besides, the group received training from Alola Foundation and they learnt how to save the money and how to lend the money to others with interest.

The group was supported by Respondent 33's brother who is now dead and her together with the group's treasurer were the ones who continued carrying this group till now. The group sells the traditional oven and flower pot 3 a year each cost \$ 4.00 usd. The group is engaged in credit/savings.

Church group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3

The repairs to the chapel was started in 2012. It was initiated by 10 families who put together their money about \$ 100 and together they collected the total money of \$ 200. Chefe aldeai was the one who kept the money. They did not receive any money or support from the government to repair the chapel. The chapel has not yet finished repairs because the community is now focusing work on the rice fields. Also the owner of the land on which the chapel was built died and now his daughter came to claim the land back so the work cannot carry on because of this matter.

The villagers, under XA leadership, then built another one. One of his relatives brought a Cristo Rei statue and the existing chapel was not in good condition. So he organised DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 villagers, including those in Dili, to set up a committee.

According to the XA, the church has played an important role in the struggle for independence.

Land belongs to the community, but originally it belonged to his family. His family felt that no one else had land to offer so the family offered theirs.

Construction started in 2012. The Walls were built in 2013. The Roof in December 2013. It has been planned to be completed this year. On September 2012, foundations of the building were erected as well as materials collected such as rocks, sand, etc.

There is already some foundations for the building, constructed but an engineer who designed a new foundation. An engineer estimated the building would cost around \$30,000

But so far only \$3,000 has been spent because a lot of materials have been donated.

Parish church donated 100 sheets of roofing material (see more below).

Villagers also used some materials which they already had (e.g. WFP left over rice and oil was used toward the construction of a smaller chapel next door).

A brick company also contributed \$1,000 worth of bricks

Roofing was completed in 18 December 2013 then construction stopped because the materials had run out.

The XA is now trying to negotiate with other people to ask for materials. He has also approached Kirsty-Gusmao the wife of PM for assistance. But nothing came of it.

Now they are using a temporary chapel behind the chapel for their activities

Financial management. From August to December 2013, the community contributed up to \$2,500 \$25/hh for that period and around 200 HH contributed, including households from DC-4.2 and Neighboring Suku 1.

This amount was used to buy steel, rocks, sands.

XA also continued to ask companies for donations, including door frames from a furniture company, window frames from MSS, who also donated 20 sacks of cement, timber, doors, etc.

Atu ko'alia loos, ami-nia osan sira ne'e la to'o. Ne'e ami busu de'it. Tane liman de'it. Ha'u sai loja ida, tama loja ida. Ha'u sai ona sira (villagers) telefona tuituir, 'iha ka lae?' Ha'u bá

kompañia sira ne'e. Ha'u sai ona husi enkontru laran sira telefone tuituir, 'iha ona ka lae? Tanba ami hein hela simentu ne'e.' Ha'u dehan 'seidank iha. Imi tenke rezza maka'as iha ne'ebá para ba'u bele betan. Sorte be ba'u hasoru katuas Primeiru Ministru be haruka katuas be mosu mós bo simentu uitoan, sira fó simentu saka 100, mai ami hodi halo remata tiha, taka tan bo kaleen ne'e. Sasán ne'e tane liman mak barak liu. Ha'u husu mak barak liu.

Normally each family would contribute \$5/month. Public servants, \$10/month. DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 community members in Dili also contributed. Currently villagers' contribution has stopped because of the rice season. After the harvest, the collection will start again.

They Elected a committee to oversee construction in 2012

- There was a meeting on 20th of August 2012
- Respondent 25, a teacher – coordinator
- Respondent 39 – adviser
- Joanico (name changed) – secretary

Construction has currently stopped because the materials ran out. Villagers are also working in their rice fields and contribution will resume again after harvest. Construction activity depends on the availability of material, which depends on the community's contributions. Contributions usually begin after the rice harvest.

The committee is also working with the parish church to receive more assistance and the parish church has agreed to it but it hasn't given any money towards the project recently.

5.3 Constellation of Local Governance

5.3.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Formal governance

Xefe suku

Most of the suku council members are in leadership position and also are part of the leadership government structure. Persons incline to reside in leadership positions in several groups such as veterans' leaders and catechist. For instance, the xefe suku of Neighboring Suku 3 is a veteran also represents the veterans in the KPK. XS of DC-2.2 is the president of KPK. XS of DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 is adviser of the construction of perimeter wall around sub-district parish church⁵⁷. Agricultural group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 lead by XA ⁵⁸Respondent 18 and the group now inactive. XS negotiated with a businessman to provide him with office equipment (computer and printer). He has been buying the ink to be used in the printer and has kept all the receipts. XS also represents the suku in meetings at sub-district and district level.

XS also signed an agreement with PyD and facilitated the SC members' participation in the training.

Xefe aldeia

Xefe Aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 3

Planning for the wrap up of the organising committee to be held at the sede suku

PNDS in DC-2.2 is on Third Phase, which will be held in September. Wants SC to organise this better and control the PNDS staff.

⁵⁷ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_XefeSukunotes

⁵⁸ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3notes

Raises the problem with water in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Project completed in 2012 but never worked properly. The pump supplies 7 public taps but many still don't have access to water.
Need adequate housing for the two resident health workers. The health post for example, which also houses the midwife, has faulty doors and can't protect neither the resident nor the medical equipment inside⁵⁹.

Xefe Aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 1

Water issues in his aldeia and has been telling the Sucu Council every year. There are 2 pipes installed but none is working and there continues to be no water. That part of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 has never had water since the Indonesian times.

Hand tractors- they are no longer used for their original purpose. A lot of people are questioning it. Why are they not being used in farms? These tractors used to be given to farmers' groups.

Farmers also complaining about lack of fertilizers.

It's difficult to get population data⁶⁰.

Xefe Aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 2

The government's department of the environment has done mapping of the DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 area. But the map still needs to be reviewed. DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 doesn't have its own water canals (*kamu*). The canals belong to other *sukus* or aldeias. They have rice farms but they don't have water canal.

Population data- only provides report when there's death or births. Assumes population to be static when these two are not present⁶¹.

Representatives of community groups in the suku council

Lia-na'in

Lia nain suku was not elected but appointed instead by the elected members of the suku council after the single pakote lead by Chefe Suco won the election in 2009 without any competition. For example:

Ahi-Matan

There are 3 ahi-matan in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, spread into 7 uma-fukun. They are led by *amlait*, or lia-na'in for the aldeia. Clan 2, the most senior, or *uma boot*

Clan 2

Lead by *lia-na'in boot* or the most senior lia-na'in. He is helped by other lia-na'in who represent each uma-fukun. When a family member dies, the corpse or the casket is kept at the uma-fukun. The oldest male member of the family is usually the head of the uma-fukun.

Women's representative

Women's representative ⁶²is a Respondent 33(women's rep in Sucu) women's group in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, (engaged in credit/savings). The other women's rep is a Respondent 30. She wants the district administration to remove the thrash from her bairro. But according to the S-DA, there's no road to get to her bairro. She wants assistance to the suku council in form of a computer. Members of the SC have been taking part in computer courses offered by Paz y Desarrollo (Spanish NGO).

⁵⁹ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3notes

⁶⁰ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 5_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 1(notes)

⁶¹ DC-2.2_20140628_Respondent 19_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 2(notes)

⁶² DC-2.2_2014071_Respondent 33_SukuCouncilWomen Rep(notes)

Youth representative

Male youth rep has links to and organise the xefe joven in the bairrus, e.g. in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1. Their task is to organise community sporting events and most are sports based groups. For example: There are sports groups based in DC-2.2. There are also sports groups in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Only groups in these two aldeias have original members of each aldeia. In the urban aldeias, sports groups have mixed membership, including from other suku such as Sau and Neighboring Suku 3.

Traditional or non-formal governance

Xefeuma-kain, operates under the xefe aldeia

His task is to organise community projects, both at aldeia and suku level. Besides, he recruit workers, e.g. for the construction of centre Information in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. He also organise workers, e.g. to take turn in construction activities such as for the DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 chapel.

Xefe joven task includes: to do operates at bairru level. Also to organise and recruit workers to work at government projects, e.g. Beadi river project in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2.

Amlait (elders) their task is to leads the uma-lisan. A part of that, they also leads negotiations for marriages such as *barlake* and also leads traditional ceremonies, e.g. the blessing of the Manatuto's irrigation system constructed by JICA.

Kabreinu is roles is to assists the xefe aldeia, goes house to house to make announcements, in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, the kabreinu is also the substitute member for their XAs, also known as *RK* (er-ka), by its former Indonesian name and DC-2.2-Aldeia 1's kabreinu also works for the sedesuku for a salary paid for through donations by members of the suku council.

The Catholic church including, parish priest, katekista, dewan paroki (pastoral council) and geladora.

What are their leadership styles? (participatory vs. non-participatory)

Mix between participatory and non-participatory. For example village cleaning and animal keeping in the village the approach is participatory. On the other hand, in infrastructure project is more about sending the chefe aldeias to organize their own worker. The xefe suku invites people to meetings at his own discretion. Generally, people are invited if they are involved in the issue being discussed at the meeting. For example, women's groups reported receiving invitations to meetings about women's role in the economy and domestic violence. However, participation appeared to vary significantly by aldeia and neighborhood. Few people in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, the most distant, rural aldeia, reported having attended a suku council meeting, while the proportion was noticeably higher in the urban aldeias.

Describe the election process of the village council and other governance institutions;

XS holds the most powerful position within the suku council. The process for his promotion to the current leadership role, both of the council and of the community, began with suku election when he was positioned as the leading candidate in the *pakote*. Community members often refer to him as the head of the village instead of the suku council when they speak of village governance. Of all the members of the suku council, only the xefe suku and to some extent, the xefe aldeia, is included in the category of people referred to as the *ema-boot* or big, important people. Because of these facts provide the XS with remarkable power over the other council. As such, the xefe suku controls most of the council activities including control over implementation of

government projects and key decisions. The xefe suku can also make decision without consultation with the other council members or decide who to include in a particular process.

What legitimizes their power in the local governance structures?

- Election, participation in the struggle

How power in local governance structures is used/ misused in the village?

The power is used to mainly for support on activities like village cleaning, animal keeping, organize work rotation for infrastructure project, identifying village needs to support and act upon it.

Sometimes power is also misused by putting aside government funds that are supposed to be used to specific projects, with little transparency about the subsequent expenditures.⁶³ XA of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 kept WFP's left over aid materials and used it for the construction of the DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 temporary chapel. XS kept materials donated to the suku by a company. XAs of DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 taking control of government assistance project to raise cattle in their aldeias. At the termination of the project in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, the XA became involved in a dispute with one of the group members. Xefe joven leading local men to take control of construction processes of local projects, e.g. in DC-2.2-Aldeia 2. Catholic church's attempt to stop other religious groups' activities, e.g. in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1. XA of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1's involvement in the construction process of the sacred house for Clan 1

Who makes what decisions in the village? (Describe who participates and who doesn't)

Xefe suco and his council members as well as the *intellectual* suku members are responsible for decision making in the village governance structures. Before making decisions, the chefe suco will often involve other major actors such as the veterans and the Church. Some decisions about public works actually come from outside the village, as was the case for several implemented by the district or central governments. Other public works projects—the chapel in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3, for example—were organized mostly by local people with a minimal government role

Depending on the needs issues including security, public works projects, women's issues, and many others have all reportedly been the topics of meetings. Sucu council members claim that meetings are held one a month

Discussion and consensus

The consultation and decision-making processes take place through meetings organized by the Village Council. Everyone participates and gives their opinion. Ideas are noted during the meeting and, on the grounds of these notes, the council will make last decision where the final decision is taken. XS, xefe aldeia hold most power, but seek the advice of other influential community members before making decisions

Seems like consultation with wide community is rarely happening. The politics of decision-making are not usually discussed openly in the community.

⁶³ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3notes

5.3.2 Financial Management

Describe primary sources of funding for the village council;

- Government for its operational costs

(See PAAS' interview). Mostly salaries and appearance fees for council members; small budget (<\$100 per month) for supplies and administration. It comes from central government through process described in "planning expenditures" process below. Other government agencies. Provide funding to prepare for visits by related government official.

Who is in charge of managing the village funding?

The Secretary and Chefe Sucu.

Church funding, for example ⁶⁴in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 chapel the funding was managed by Respondent 40 who was the president of the commission. He managed to collect the money from each family, and asked for a contribution of \$ 10.00 usd, and from widow's or pensioner a contribution of \$ 5.00 usd. Together he collected about \$ 1200.00 usd. Other materials like rocks and sand were donated by the Canossian sister of Manatuto, cement was donated by the Bishop. The money was given to our treasurer to look after and manage and he kept the money in his house. The construction began in November 2012.

How does the village plan their expenditures?

Process per PAAS – receipts provided, then written report, XS approval, letter to sub-district, approval forwarded to district, district sends check to bank in DC-2.2, PAAS picks up money and sends report to national government

Where are the funds stored?

Kept by PAAS. Other funds come on a needs basis. (See interview with PAAS)

What are primary expenditures of the local governance structure;

Food and drinks whenever there is a meeting, maintenance of XS's motorbike, telephone calls, trips, lunches during trips. Cleaning, church activities, Independence Day celebrations, lulik celebrations, etc. They also allocate some money to projects

How are these expenditures monitored?

Suku council meetings, XS provides report about the expenses. Official village documents, accessed primarily by members of SC

How do other villagers know about these expenditures?

No transparency in this regard – reports are made to the suku council each month, but are not communicated outside the council. During our observation of the suku council meeting, financial reporting was not made part of the agenda nor was it discussed. However, Church funds are announced during Sunday mass.

5.3.3 Collective action among groups

The XS sucu and the local council lead a committee in charge of the preparation of the feast of St. Anthony in collaboration with lia-na'in heads. Each community in the village gather together with their contribution both

⁶⁴ DC-2.2_20140629_Respondent 40 (notes)

money and food and collect firewood and water to cook and eat together to accompany the family in the village. The decision was made by the community from each aldeias including together with their catechist. Each community was invited by their catechist to take part in this celebration.

The community usually working together with local authorities including XS and XA. The priest and the catechist and pastoral council in Manatuto are working with the suco council in the village⁶⁵.

The suco council cooperates with the church in different activities. For example,⁶⁶ the church organized church cleaning, cooking, decoration and build the tent in preparation for the feast of St. Anthony where involved youth women and whole community members participate on that event. This cooperation is further facilitated by the fact that a number of suku council members also lead local Church committees implementing Church projects.

The community where informed about everything that needed to be done by XS and his council. For instant, the XA is involved in recruiting local unskilled workers. When companies implement projects in a particular aldeia, they would first approach the xefe suku and the xefe suku tells the xefe aldeias during the suku council's monthly meeting.

Youth group (men and women). Male youth representative cooperates with local sports group to provide them with sports uniform during competitions.

Describe the planning and implementation of collective action within the village

Youth groups – youth reps on suku council.

KPK (Konsellu Polisiamentu Komunitária) – xefe suku is leader of KPK, and many village leaders are involved as well (see “groups” section)

Agricultural groups, suku council involved in distribution of tractors. XA of DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 says he never took part in this project since he became XA in 2004. XAs concerned about this project and discussed it at the suku council meeting. Women's group women's representative and PAAS. Church no formal representation, but coordination is frequent, especially for Santo Antonio festival

Why do villagers cooperate/ not cooperate?

Group cooperates for their common interests. Sometimes to receive benefits (tractors, security, etc.). Sometimes to make sure certain interest groups have a role in community activities (women, youth)

How do village council and community groups interact with sub-district/ district institutions?

There are some occasions where village council and community group interact with sub- district/district institutions. For example, ⁶⁷the suco receiving visitors like PM and other minsters from national level. The suku writing proposal to ask for assistance to relevant government agencies. They regular meetings of Chefe suco with sub district Sub-district administrator attends suku council meetings. Cooperation with police through KPK. Cooperation with district agriculture department for farm tractors and fishing boat and motor.

⁶⁵ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_Xefe Suku notes

⁶⁶ DC-2.2_2014071_Respondent 32_Xa DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 (notes)

⁶⁷ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3notes

Describe main constraints to collective action;

- Lack of communication with distant aldeias and residents

5.3.4 Communication strategies

Describe methods of socializing village decisions;

Before meetings: Send letters of invitation, Xefe Aldeia go door to door, sound the aldeia gong (DC-2.2-Aldeia 2), send village guard to deliver information. After meetings: meeting participants may privately communicate meeting outcomes. No formal mechanism for public communication appears to exist.

Describe main information bottlenecks;

Distance of some aldeias that are far away. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, community meetings are called by ringing village bell. Possible that kabreinu doesn't cover every household when he distributes information. In DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 for example, some households never received a visit by the kabreinu who rides a pushbike to get around. Suku government is more proactive about telling people when projects start than when they finish. When recruiting people to work on projects, xefealdeia in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 reportedly goes to family and friends first⁶⁸.

Describe the village satisfaction with the village governance institutions

Members of the suku council could be used about satisfaction with village governance. Most members of the community speak positively of the xefesuku, although one person did express concerns that he only directly works with an inner circle of people. He is seen as committed and a hard worker. People seem to accept a certain lack of transparency in government so long as outcomes are generally positive.

Women's rep, Respondent 30⁶⁹, talked about collusion within some members of the suku council, in particular the XS, when it comes to projects involving money. XA DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 involved in conflict with members of his farming group.

5.3.5 Explanatory cases (Village governance)

Aldeia DC-2.2-Aldeia 3

DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 is the centre of traditional power. Ahi-matan Clan 2 is the most senior of all ahi-matan in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. When JICA finished the construction of an irrigation system for the sub-district, Clan 2 conducted the traditional ceremony to bless the infrastructure. DC-2.2, and the rest of the sub-district, have roots in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. The village of DC-2.2 is used to be based in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3. Then some villagers moved to DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 4 in order to receive command from the colonial government, or the government in general. Each aldeia has its own place in the village power structure. DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 - in charge of approving or ratifying the appointment of village leaders. This is a traditional process involving lulik ceremonies conducted by DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 elders.

-

⁶⁸ DC-2.2_2014072_AneglinaSoares_Housewife(notes)

⁶⁹ DC-2.2_20140629_PascoelaSoares_SukuCouncilWomensRep(notes)

- **Status of services in the village**

Electricity: DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 has electricity as of 2014. See “public works” section for project details.

Water: village has water pump.

- **Development priorities (services needing improvement)**

Sanitation and better toilets

- **Public works projects in the village (list, plus descriptions)**

Electricity: the DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 electricity project was finished a month or two ago and was built by a company. The company brought workers in from Indonesia.

The project started when Tomas Cabal, who works for the Ministeriu Estatal in Manatuto, made a visit to his home aldeia in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and listened to villagers’ suggestions for public works projects. He took the suggestions back to Estatal, and the electricity and water projects came as a result.

Water: Like the electricity project, the water pump project in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 started with Tomas Cabal. The xefe aldeia handled the planning of the construction process and day-to-day dealings with the construction company.

Chapel, DC-2.2-Aldeia 3: Each ahi matan contributes to the construction effort through \$5 donations and by contributing labor as part of a monthly rotation between the ahi matan⁷⁰.

KPK

KPK (Konsellu Polisiamentu Komunitária)

Community police, formed by 4 suku: DC-2.2, Neighboring Suku 1, Neighboring Suku 2 and Neighboring Suku 3. XS of DC-2.2 is the president. The leadership structure includes the PNTL district and sub-district commanders. The district police commander is president of KDD (*Komisaun Diretiva Distritál*). District administrator is first deputy president. Second vice president is the deputy PNTL commander. KPK is below this structure.

The objective are as follows: to provide a visible presence of the police in the community, to facilitate cooperation between suku authorities and the police, for the police to have closer links with the youth, the police to maintain closer contact with the problems which affect the community, to investigate, and create good relations between the community and the police.

There is also a community police officer for the DC-2.2 village. Large problems (*problema grave hanesan paternidade*) can be referred to the KPK. Otherwise, it can be resolved at the suku level. At the KPK, all the 4 XS and lia-na’in, plus the xefe aldeias of all the villages, come together to resolve. If the problems is unsolved, then it is referred to the police.

Prior to the formation of the KPK, members of the suku council from all 4 participated in a workshop, organized by The Asia Foundation. The workshop lasted 2 weeks.

The KPK was formed immediately after the workshop. The xefe suku was voted by the participants to be the president of the council. The XS of Sau was voted for the position of secretary. There are 20 people involved

⁷⁰ DC-2.2_20140627_Respondent 18_XADC-2.2-Aldeia 3notes

in the structure, including reps from business community, to look into workplace related cases. Veterans, to look into issues that the veterans face.

Church, e.g. involving incest among cousins where their fathers are brothers.

For example, a couple got married in secret, but it was discovered that their fathers are brothers. The XS sought the church's help to invalidate the marriage because it was proving to be a difficulty within the traditional marriage system of exchange.

Women's group, Students' group - provide information on cases of sexual abuse.

The KPK structure is not functioning well today because there is no money. Everyone is working as volunteers. All suku council members are part of the KPK's structure

"We are going to work for KPK as if we are working for suku council".

According to XS, KPK has been successful in providing solution to conflicts in the area because it includes a number of local authorities in the process. After the KPK was established, incidents also reduced. KPK helps public prosecution by reducing the amount of cases referred to it.

For example, in my village, in the past three months, I have seven cases. This is only from one suku, I haven't included the cases from the other three sukus, or the 448 sukus (all over Timor-Leste). If we refer all these small cases to the judiciary, then the judiciary would die. ... There are many cases still pending (at the public prosecution). If we keep adding to it, (the judiciary) won't be able to handle it⁷¹.

6. Public goods

6.1 Formation of Infrastructure projects (Explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

6.1.1 Project selection and decision-making process

Describe how villagers identify the need for projects;

- NGO or aid agency – NGO decides (GTZ)
- Community-driven projects – private citizens come up with idea (chapels)
- Gov – community goes to XA with idea

Describe the decision making process for such projects;

- NGO – NGO decides (GTZ)
- Community-driven – community organizes a committee to allocate responsibilities, coordinate effort (chapels)
- Gov – community goes to XA, who takes idea to SC, who forwards idea to sub-district, then to district, then to central gov (retaining wall, bridge in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1)
 - Beginning of term – paralelismo
 - Emergency project – new bridge
 - Participation tends to be lower for gov projects, especially if don't start with a community proposal

Describe how villagers cooperate with external actors in the project selection process;

- Special case, DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 water and electricity – went to relative with SAS

⁷¹ DC-2.2_20140625_Respondent 45_Xefe Suku notes

- Special case – fence around church, started with Church and suku and communities all involved from there
- Projects that start with NGO or gov, but that villagers join in later – GTZ, for example

6.1.2 Project planning (Financial planning, Logistical planning, Coordination, etc.)

How do the villagers plan the construction process?

- NGO – NGO makes plans
- Community-driven – usually, villagers set up a committee or other coordinating body
- Government – xefes organize at village level, with some planning (blueprints, other high-level things) potentially happening at district or central government level

How are financial resources budgeted?

- NGO and government – consult an engineer, get estimate, budget comes from funding entity, most planning done ahead of time
- Community effort – more driven by amount of donations available (“pay as you go”)

How do villagers obtain necessary construction materials?

- NGO, aid agency, government – usually provided by the outside entity or a contracting company
 - Usually happened on publicly owned land
- Community – materials sometimes donated (both chapels), found locally (chapels), sometimes purchased with own collections within the community, sometimes purchased with cash donations from outside (church wall)
 - Community contributes land (DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 chapel used committee leader’s land)

How do villagers coordinate to complete the projects?

- Community-driven projects
 - Typically less technical, so xefealdeia or youth leader often organize local workers
 - Pay for workers – often voluntary or food only due to shortage of funds
 - Labor rotation by ahi-matan
- NGO/aid (GTZ example)
 - Like community projects in that XA or youth leader organizes local labor
 - Pay for workers – varies – food only in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2, but workers in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 expected pay
 - Labor rotation by ahi-matan (DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 only); labor rotation by bairru in DC-2.2-Aldeia 1
- Some more technical projects, usually government-funded – contracting company brings in people (electricity, water perforation, bridge)

Describe how villagers cooperate with external actors in the project planning process;

- GTZ – interacted through contractor (Respondent 35)
- Community projects
 - Church – parish helped with church-related projects, as did government (often)
- Government projects
 - Several cases – contracting company coordinated with suku government after being hired by central government

What are the main constraints in the planning process?

- NGO/aid
 - Planning doesn’t involve community, in one instance had a negative impact on participation (DC-2.2-Aldeia 1)
 - Outside village, so less in touch with village’s needs

- Community
 - Less access to engineers, professional builders, etc.
 - Planning has to be done piecemeal due to lack of funding – plan whatever have money for immediately, and leave rest for next round of collections
- Government
 - Like NGO/aid in that planning often done by people outside village
 - Community input often limited
- Rural
 - Requires extra coordination to get materials to DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 (UNESCO classroom)

6.1.3 *Project implementation (Recruitment, Logistics, Financial reporting, Problems)*

How do villagers recruit necessary workers;

- More technical – contracting company brings in technicians (water, electricity)
- Less technical – XA or youth leader organize local labor (most projects)

Describe how the construction process is planned and implemented;

- NGO/aid – outside agency does most planning, community participates in actual construction labor and implementation of project once operational
 - Financial reporting – all done internally at GTZ, XA just handled small amounts (exception of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1)
- Community-driven – most or all planning and implementation happens w/in community, often done by local committee
 - Exception – wall around parish church, because involved other sukus
 - Financial reporting – formal reports based on receipts for church wall, possibly chapels as well?
- Government – mostly done by government
 - Villages sometimes involved in construction labor
 - Financial reporting – government handles budget

Describe how villagers cooperate with external actors in the project implementation process;

- NGO/aid – GTZ brings materials and money, village provides labor
 - Often using contractor as go-between
- Community-driven
 - Some cooperation with Parish during construction in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 2
 - Church promotes participation, continued fundraising, labor, etc.
- Government
 - May check in on projects after company finishes a stage of construction or finishes whole project – retaining wall (ADN), water (after contracting company left), electricity (after contracting company left)
 - Villager involvement with contracting companies usually lower, except in case of retaining wall

What are the primary constraints to the construction process?

1. High participation projects – farming and building compete for people's time
1. Workers have power in labor negotiations, materials sourcing (real problem w/ retaining wall)
2. Worker motivation – retaining wall defective
3. Management motivation – questions about XA caused DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 conflict resolution center to stall
2. Community-driven projects – funding shortages
3. GTZ – dependent on outside agency, and agency ended program...

6.1.4 Resource management

How are the constructions materials stored, distributed and/or reused?

- NGO/aid – Dili, to contractor’s warehouse, to people’s houses near aldeia sites
 - Some damage to materials due to improper storage in people’s houses
 - DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 XA and contractor “reused” some materials
- Community – usually stored locally, at someone’s house near site or house of person associated with project
 - NGO/aid and community are really similar in terms of storage – material spoilage is a risk in both settings
- Government
 - Retaining wall – on-site
 - Others – contracting company handled

6.1.5 Development outcomes

What other factors commonly constrain the equity, efficiency, and impact of local public goods and services?

- Equity – projects tend to cluster around population centers (community-driven churches, for example, or water taps in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3) – disadvantage to people living further away
- Impact and efficiency – infrastructure for maintenance
 - Water pumps – little incentive for people with keys to regularly start pumps, and access to spare parts limited
 - Could become issue for electricity in DC-2.2-Aldeia 3?
- Equity – correlation between higher participation and higher equity
 - Chapels were more community-driven, and benefit more people
 - Lower participation projects like dispute resolution center have less direct impact

Why do projects fail/succeed?

- Funding (tougher for community projects)
- Reliance on external funding or materials (GTZ, potentially government projects as well)
- High participation helps with completion, especially when local labor used (DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 case)
- Government backing – higher percentage of projects are completed
 - May partially be because of funding, reason #1
 - May also be because government can bring in good contractors
- Land disputes – DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 chapel, GTZ not in DC-2.2-Aldeia 4

What is the quality of existing development projects

- Community – high participation, but mostly not finished
 - Do respond to community demands (chapels)
- Government – mostly finished, of higher quality
 - More useful
 - But some maintenance issues
- NGO/aid – mostly not finished (really just GTZ)
 - DC-2.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 ahead of DC-2.2-Aldeia 1 – useable, if not finished
 - Responsive more to village leader’s needs than to villagers (community centers not as much a priority for villagers)
- Access to services better in urban areas – have had many services there for a long time, while DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 has no road and just got electricity

What are the main inefficiencies and leakages in these projects

- Funding shortages

- Questionable conduct by people in power – XA and contractor in GTZ case
 - Possibly involving both cash and materials
- Equity between population centers and more remote areas
- Materials going bad in storage (GTZ)

LBS Village Report:
DC-2.3 (Manufahi District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP
Maria Reis, Geraldo Ximenes

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

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1. Summary introduction

Programa Nasionál de Dezenvolvimentu Suku (PNDS) is Timor-Leste's nationwide community-driven development program (CDD) that will provide annual grants to fund small-scale infrastructure projects at the suku level. These grants seek to empower communities and provide them with opportunities to directly plan and implement priority village infrastructures in order to accelerate community development in line with the goals of the Government's National Strategic Development Plan. To achieve this, PNDS will evaluate and seek to improve local governance mechanisms. By looking at DC-2.3, this report seeks to respond the following questions: what is the current state of the local governance and how have the villagers dealt with government projects in the past. This report will focus on DC-2.3, a remote mountainous village in the district of Manufahi.

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of the existing governance system in DC-2.3 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects. The conclusion of this report will contribute towards the overall baseline assessment, which will seek to answer the following questions: how will PNDS fit into the local governance context? What are the characteristics of the local institutions, which PNDS might engage with? How will the engagement between PNDS and local institutions be conducted? What role will other village development projects play in the implementation of PNDS?

Some of the main findings in this village report for DC-2.3 include:

- Villagers are actively engaged in groups that have formed in every Aldeia with the objective to help each other with agriculture and social activities. The group members contribute money and or animals to help the group members in need. Although there are often more than one group in each Aldeia, they rarely collaborate or cooperate due to lack of activities of the group. Every group focuses on their own activities that are not related to the other groups. Besides helping each other, the group also organizes activities to help other people such as widows, widowers and other vulnerable residents with activities such as building their house or harvesting their crops. Their participation in social activities could impact the process of project implementation.
- There were no representative from DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 in the elected package that is currently leading the village. All the xefe aldeia and the suku council members are coming from DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. However communities are accepted with the situation because the leaders are elected. This situation shows that the communities comply with the result of the election and cooperate with them. It could be a good sign for the PNDS implementation process by their compliance and the cooperation; however it could also have a negative impact as conflict of interest in the decision making process of PNDS
- Community's participation in local projects is high. Members contribute physical energy and cash. It shows from the implementation of the bumps flattening project in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. The project took three years to be completed however; there were always participation from the communities.

2. Methodology

The REP Concept Note divides the country into six distinct regions to ensure regional coverage. The village sampled for this report is located in the mountains region (defined as encompassing Aileu, Ainaro, Ermera and Same). The required sampling criteria focused on aspects that correlate to: the presence or absence of the state, the level of violence and presence of veterans. For this report, the sampled village is rural and has low violence incidence. On the sub-district level, the average proportion of violence incidence in each village is 0%. Additional sampling criteria concerns the village's ethno-Linguistic Heterogeneity that has one ethno group over 90%. Three potential sites were selected prior to fieldwork, all located in the the same sub-district in Manufahi. Through discussions with key informants at the District level (the DA and the Sub District PNTL) the researchers narrowed down the choices to the village of DC-2.1.

The data for this qualitative study was obtained using semi-structured interviews that were conducted between the 24th of June and 5th of July. All interviews were conducted face-to-face at various locations, including at meeting places, residence, and workplaces (village office). Some of the interviews were recorded and were complemented with hand-written notes. For some respondents, their interview could only be recorded due to their living area; thus the researchers relied only on the recorder. Observations of relevant village life and activities were also taken. In selecting interview respondents, researchers used the following sampling methods: purposive snowball and convenience. With purposive sampling method, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe suku, aldeias and other village council as well as the PAAS). For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend other potential individuals whom the researchers could approach for interviews. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached as they were taking part in either a community working group, doing their work (e.g. harvesting coffee and red beans), or identified by the researchers as vulnerable.

Invariably, most of the respondents are farmers who either own a small plot near their house or run large coffee farms. Farming provides an important source of income for the respondents. A number of the respondents are on the government payroll including all of the suku council members. Other respondents include teachers. A total of 32 people were interviewed over a 10-day period. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided in Table 1 (below):

		Total
By gender	Male	21
	Female	11
By age	18 – 25	6
	26 – 39	8
	40 - 55	11
	55 - 70	5

	70 - 80	2
By profession	Farmers	17
	Suku council members	11
	Public servants	3
	Katekista	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	10
	Snowball	10
	Convenience	12

Table 1. Characteristics of respondents

3. Description of the village

3.1 Location and Names of aldeia, village borders

The DC-2.3 is quite remote. Located on the north is Neighboring suku 1, to the east are two villages, to the south are Neighboring suku 2 and another villages and to the west is Neighboring Suku 3 village. This suku is about an hour drive from Neighboring Suku 3 village as the centre of sub district. DC-2.3 has three aldeias such as; DC-2.3-Aldeia 1, DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3, all extend throughout the mountainside. DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 become centre of the village located at more strategic area that is easily accessible by the surrounding villages. This aldeia hosts the suku office, the community centre, youth centre and the local school (*eskola basica filial DC-2.3*). The area is also known as *Bairo 1*, which is the name of the bairo. *Bairo 1* is located at the main road that goes through the Neighboring Suku 1 and connects to the aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 is separated with Neighboring suku 2 by a mountain called *hobe* and suku Neighboring Suku 3 by a river called *fatumutin*. The DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 is located at the base of the mountains Lesoho and Ai salmata that separated the aldeia and Neighboring Suku 1. DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 in the other hand is located at the downside of the mountain and away from the main road. A major river called *Fatumutin* also divided the village with a small bairo that is part of DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 called *Bairo 2*. Bairo 2 is a bairo of DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 which is located on the south and a little bit outside the village and fairly far away from the other three aldeias in the village.



Figure 1

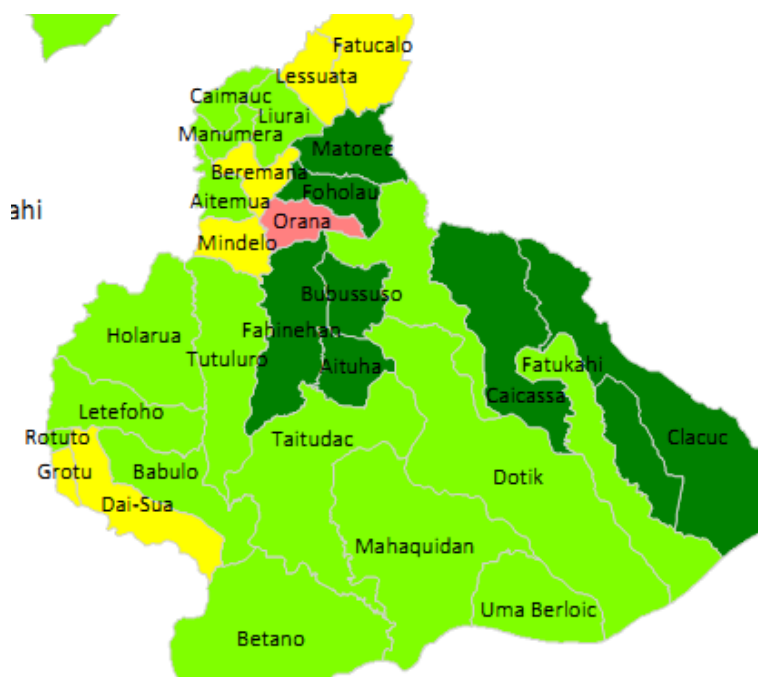
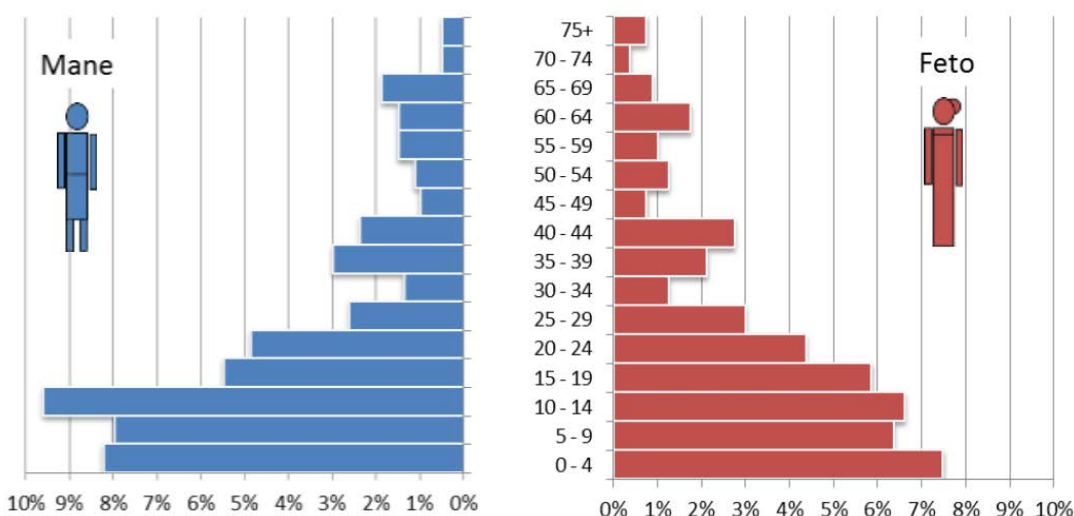


Figure 2

3.2 Population, Ethno-linguistic groups

Almost 45% of the suku's population is between the ages of 10 and 14 years old. A more detailed breakdown of the various age groups in DC-2.3 is provided in Graph 1 below.



Graph 1. Breakdown of village population by age and gender (source: Census 2010)

There is no official census data that provides a further breakdown of the population at the aldeia level. However, the village administration also carries out its own yearly census. The results of their 2013 census are provided in Table 2. This suku census provides further details of population data at aldeia level.

Aldeia	Households	Male	Female	Total
DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	89	247	273	520
DC-2.3-Aldeia 3	26	80	71	151
DC-2.3-Aldeia 2	42	109	107	216
TOTAL	157	436	451	887

Table 2. 2013 suku population census, prepared by suku council

The 2010 Census also says that more than 91% of the population in DC-2.3 speaks Mambai with Tetun Prasa coming second at around 8%. Isni is spoken by only 1% of population.

3.3 Suku Profile

DC-2.3 is the village name and according to the 2010 Census the total population of DC-2.3 is about 800 people; majority male, which are divided into 107 households. However as it show in the Table 2 above that until 2013 the population has been increased to 887 people from all three aldeias. These population lives in low living standard in terms of household income, housing, education and accessibility. Accessibility becomes the biggest issue in the rural area as DC-2.3 with all the conditions. They live with very limit access to the information, to the market, to the education and all the public goods. Besides Education, Public goods are basic needs that could support people to improve their daily life.

3.4 Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile

Around 85% of households in DC-2.3 are involved in agriculture, producing corn (~87% of households), cassava (~83%) and coffee (~87%). A large proportion of the households also cultivate fruits and vegetables. Livestock is raised by around 69% of households; around 69% have pigs, 49% chickens and horses, 20% goats, and less than 15% have cows¹.

Because of its mountainous topography, there is minimal rice cultivation in DC-2.3. Over 50% of households are involved in the coffee industry; the harvest is mainly sold to a company called National Cooperative Business Association (NCBA). This company is a big coffee buyer in Timor Leste who bought coffee in all districts that produce coffee. Even though it is not mentioned in the census fo fila falí but majority of communities in DC-2.3 also producing red beans. The red beans become the second industry however the harvest mostly sold to the nearest market outside village or to neighboring sub district 1 and to Dili. Coffee and the red beans become the household's source of income. Not only coffee and red beans the community also sell other crops in the sub-district center and Dili. Mostly they do business in the district center.

Besides farming, there are also retail activities in the village with kiosks being the most common. For example the xefe suku of DC-2.3 has a kiosk that selling groceries and other basic needs. A small number of the population are employed as public servants- serving as teachers, agricultural technicians, and members of suku council. DC-2.3 has an employment rate of 0.00% compared to the national rate of 4.82%.

3.5 Social/Human Development Profile

The literacy rate for people aged between 15 and 24 is 78.79% with 77.11% for males and 80.49% for females. Census Fo Fila² (2010) estimates that over 49% of the population in DC-2.3 never attended school, 32% are attended school and 19% is drop out. From those who attended school only 10% are in senior high school, 12% are in junior high and 20% are in primary school³. People are sending their children to school mostly up until completed primary school due to the village has a primary school that easy access.

SISCA (Sistema Integrado Saude Comunitaria), the Ministry of Health mobile clinic program, visits the sukus once a month to provide health assistance to the community⁴. This service usually done in the DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 as the village centre and have never done in other two aldeias due to the distance and the road condition. However; the SISca facilitator in the village share the schedule with the xefe aldeias thus these two aldeias did informed regarding the SISca activity in the village. SISCA is the only health program in the area. There were only 2.6% of births are assisted by the healthcare professionals⁵ while most women deliver at home aided by traditional midwives.⁶

¹ manufahi-DC-2.3-fo-fila-fali-tetum-FINAL

² Booklets containing census data specific to sukus and respectively distributed.

³ Ibid

⁴ DC-2.3-06.28.14-Respondent 23, Note.docx. p.1

⁵ 2010 census fo fila falí

⁶ DC-2.3-07.01.14-Respondent 12, Woman Rep, Note.docx, p. 1

People from DC-2.3 have difficulties in access to the health care due to there were no nearest clinic in the area. Usually they go to the hospital at sub district level; Neighboring Suku 3 and another village as urban village and the centre of sub district. Otherwise they just use traditional treatment⁷.

3.6 Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages

DC-2.3 is a rural suku where there is very limited access to electricity, clean water or sanitation. Construction of an electricity network to this village was just started in 2013, and the electricity post just reaches the DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. According to the 2010 census only 0.93% of households have access to electricity. Use of solar cells was observed in a number of households; however their service is generally limited to powering mobile telephones. The solar cells were given to the households that live far from the road (main road and aldeia road) or more than 30 metres from the electricity post. Most of the households from Bairo 2, a bairo of DC-2.3-Aldeia 1, received a solar cell from the government. Some households in three aldeias received it from a Political party called Partido Socialista de Timor (PST).

Water is the largest issue in DC-2.3. People have to travel one or two hours to get water from the river. Majority of household has a horse to carry water from river. There are only 4 households with access to source of drinking water. The majority of the 107 household's still rely on natural sources of water such as springs, rivers or creeks.

The majority of houses in DC-2.3 are very simple and are constructed with the use of local materials. Almost all of the houses have walls made from bamboo and clay floors. However, most of the houses are covered with corrugated iron. The walls are not the same as concrete walls as they are easily broken and unsecure from other outside elements.

Several of the households have good condition of sanitation with a shared facility and half of households have facilities that are not shared. Most of the households use a hanging toilet/latrine while the rest of the population have no access to a toilet facility and practice open defecation.

Almost 95% of households use firewood as their source of energy and 5% use other sources.

3.7 Reoccurring problems

The village has the same issue with clean water and road to access to each aldeias. The aldeias road become a difficulty for the communities due to its road could facilitate people and transportation for doing business, children to school and most important is to access to health facility. Clean water and sanitation are also basic needs to improve health to prevent people from disease however it is very difficult to find in the village. In their social life, they really lack of information due to limited access.

⁷ DC-2.3-07.01.14-Respondent 12, Woman Rep, Note.docx

3.8 Brief Historic Profile

The name DC-2.3 comes from local term, which means ‘the son of uma lisan Clan 1’⁸. Clan 1 is the biggest uma lisan in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 with the biggest number of families. There are three large uma lisans in the suku; Clan 1, Clan 2 and Clan 3. However, there is also one other uma lisan in the village called Clan 4.

Besides the original people of DC-2.3 those who married with DC-2.3 people and are living in DC-2.3 have been administratively registered as the people of the village.

Most of the population of the DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 come from the old Bairro 2. Due to the fact that the bairro was located in a very remote geographic location across a river, the population moved to the current location. Bairro 2 was also a base for the guerrilla resistance during the time of Indonesian occupation. Those guerrillas were coming from different district and stayed at the place for certain period before moved to another secure place.

During the violence that followed the 1999 referendum people went back to Bairro 2. Since independence, the community have moved back to their current location in order to gain access to public facilities such as; roads, schools and markets. During the Indonesian time, there was only one xefe suku who led the suku for 24 years until independence. Since independence there have been two xefe sukus who have been formally elected. The first was in 2005 and the second in 2010. The next suku election is set to take place in 2015.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

The population of DC-2.3 can be identified in five ways: by their uma lulik, the Aldeia that they live in and are officially registered in, marriages, religion and political party affiliation. The uma lulik has a very strong impact on the community due to the fact that is how household origins are identified. There are four uma lulik in DC-2.3: Clan 1, Clan 2, Clan 4 and Clan 3 and community members who belong to them identify themselves accordingly. The community identified that Clan 1 is the largest uma lulik in the village and is where a majority of suku population originate⁹. The uma lisan explains family linkages through the feto-sa’a and Umane system in the village. The male uma lisan, which takes the wife, is called Feto –Sa’a (wife taker) while, the uma lisan of the wife which gives the wife is called uma mane (umane) or wife giver. In marriages in DC-2.3, the family of the female gives their daughters to live with their husbands and husband’s family to automatically become a member of the male uma lisan.

Also, community members identified themselves according to the Aldeia they live in or come from. The village is divided into three aldeias: DC-2.3-Aldeia 1, DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. People who come from these three aldeias that live outside of the village still consider themselves and are considered by others as community of DC-2.3¹⁰. Next, the villagers also identified themselves according to marriages¹¹. For

⁸ DC-2.3 - Respondent 11- Community Member- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 –Note, p.2

⁹DC-2.3 -06-27-14-Respondent 21 - Farmer and 24 years XefeSuku-Note .docx,p.3

¹⁰DC-2.3 -06-04-14-Respondent 21- Founder of local school and teacher, note.docx,p.1

¹¹DC-2.3-06.28.14-Respondent 22, Note.docx,p.1

example, a male person from DC-2.3 who marries a female from another village in the region will bring his wife to his village and she will automatically become a member of the DC-2.3 community.

Next, the community members identified themselves by their membership of Catholic Church, as the majority of the community was baptized in the church. At the same time, however, these community members still believe in their ancestral lineage through their *uma lulik*, as mentioned above. The communities still commit to do ritual and traditional celebration such as building *uma lulik* and *Feto sa'a umane* activities in the village.

Lastly, political parties do not have a large impact on community lives in DC-2.3, although some of the respondents identified themselves as belonging to certain political parties or hold a political position in the village¹². There are six political parties, CNRT, PD, FRETILIN, UDT, PST, PDN and ASDT present in the village and people from CNRT are holding important roles in the village council-the Xefe suku and PAAS were both from this party¹³.

4.1.2 Power & Vulnerability

Generally, there are six main characteristics defining powerful villagers in DC-2.3. Important characteristics of powerful villagers in DC-2.3 include: being active in village activities, able to express himself or herself being outspoken, have experience in governing people, having a good attitude, being influential and being a person that is trusted by the community¹⁴. The current xefe suku was viewed as the person who has most the aforementioned characteristic, but while he is in power, most communities do not trust him that much¹⁵.

The other powerful villagers in DC-2.3 are those who hold positions in formal structures, such as the village council, xefe suku and xefe Aldeia, those who hold positions in the Catholic Church, like the catechist, or are teachers at the local school. Also, people who hold positions as village leaders still hold a lot of power in the village. For instance, Respondent 2, the former village chief, still holds powers as the *lia nain* and is a member of the village council even though he lost the community authorities' election in 2009¹⁶. Also, he is influential because he is the head of community group that organizes funerals and different projects together and he participates actively in the conflict mediation process in the village. Lastly, people who have worked in or established village groups, live in the village and provide a lot of support to village groups also have a lot of impact on villagers' everyday life. For instance, a representative from the NGO Concern established most of village groups and provided villagers with a lot of support to do farming activities and spent three years with the community to teach them how to use new materials to improve farming methods.

Having experience, participation in village activities, affiliation to political parties, or being appointed or elected through a formal election are the major sources of power in DC-2.3. People who hold powerful positions in the hierarchy of suku structure can appoint a villager to hold power in the village. For instance,

¹²DC-2.3-07.04.14-Respondent 30, Note.docx,p.2

¹³DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not.docx,p.4

¹⁴DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 10 of a village group and farmer, aldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 1- NOT.docx,p.2

¹⁵ DC-2.3 - Respondent 11- Community Member- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -Note - Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

¹⁶DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx,p.1

there female youth representative married to a male outside the suku and moved away, the xefe suku appointed a female youth to become the youth representative in the village council¹⁷.

The powerful villagers tend to control resources that are directed to the village based on positions they hold and roles they play in the community. The xefe suku and xefe Aldeia are responsible for the decision and registration of people to get government pensions and subsidies for powerless and vulnerable people as well as their access to government scholarships provided by the Ministry of Social Solidarity¹⁸. The xefe aldeias make a list of recipients from their Aldeia to give to the xefe suku in order to contact relevant government departments to respond to the community needs. Once the need is responded to, the xefe aldeias choose people to come to the village center to get their materials or subsidies. The xefe suku and xefe aldeia also monitor those who receive construction materials to build houses in the village and if they are not complying, the materials can be directed to other villagers¹⁹.

Moreover, village administration officer (PASS²⁰) controls and makes a list of the village council members to receive their monthly salaries and subsidies given by the government²¹. The lia nain controls decisions over conflict resolution in the village. For example, he holds power to make decisions over land, coffee plantation disputes and other conflicts that may occur in the village²². The powerful communities own large coffee plantation, and stores to sell basic household need to other communities in the village. The current xefe suku for instance own a store and buys coffee to resell it to large companies in the sub district. Lastly, the village leadership responsible and decide how the suku conflict resolution fee is spent. The village council has implemented \$20.00 - \$100.00 to open cases in the suku and they are the persons who decide how to spend the money in the village.

Communities who do not come from DC-2.3 are often excluded from decision process in the village and youths do not have many opportunities to access to information and services due to its geographical location and distance to district and national level. People with disabilities, women, elderly, widows, and widowers are considered to be vulnerable due to the fact that they need a lot of assistance from local and national government²³. The government assists them by providing pensions and subsidies through the Ministry Social Solidarity (MSS²⁴). Also, these community members are unable to express their ideas in public due to the lack of education and knowledge and thus they only agree with what leaders have said for whatever decisions are made in the village²⁵.

Ordinary community members also rarely come to meetings when the village council organizes them. They participate only if they receive house materials for natural disaster and food subsidies during hard times²⁶. They do not participate either because they do not receive information or they are engaged in other activities, such as harvesting coffee and red beans. Women in particular, never participated in village meetings because

¹⁷DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx,p.1

¹⁸DC-2.3 - 07-02-14-Respondent 17, vulnerable, aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 – Not.docx, p.1

¹⁹DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 8 -XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -NOT - Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx

²⁰ PAAS means Pessoal Apoio Administraun Suku or Village Administration Officer

²¹ DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 3, PAAS, Note.docx

²² DC-2.3 - 07-02-14-Respondent 17, vulnerable, aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 – Not.docx

²³ DC-2.3 -07-01-14-Respondent 14- Catechist- NOT.docx

²⁴ MSS means Ministry of Social Solidarity

²⁵ DC-2.3 -06-04-14-Respondent 21- Founder of local school and teacher, DC-2.3,-NOT.docx

²⁶DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note.docx,p.3

they are busy taking care of children and their households; except women and youth female reps as they are members of the village council. Also, women do not usually participate in village activities because there are no activities directed to woman in the village, as stated by a respondent²⁷.

“Women are important for the development of suku or even in national level but there has been no activities directed to them to improve their capacity; for example, no activities on cooking weaving and sewing in the village”.

4.1.3 Formal & Informal Community Rules

The most notable formal rules in DC-2.3 are the suku election law, Tarabandu, and suku conflict mediation rules. The suku election law is the legal law, which was implemented and is followed by the community in DC-2.3. The community follows the suku election law in accordance with the national law that requires a nationwide election for suku authority every five years. Every five years the communities in the village can form independent or political parties package with completed suku governance structure compete in the nationwide suku election which held in the village. The last election was held in 2009 and the next will be in 2015. Secondly, the suku has Tarabandu which is implemented by the sub district administration. Tarabandu is a process where certain activities are banned in the community came from the sub district administrator who decided to implement it in the village²⁸. The decision on this Tarabandu was made in sub district level and implemented by the village council in the village.

The community has a Tarabandu against cutting down trees, not letting animals roam free and on not starting fires in forest of the village. Another formal rule that is currently being discussed by the sub district is to ban community members from slaughtering more than one cow for a funeral. The communities spent more money and slaughter more cows during funerals instead of sending their children to school. Therefore, the sub district administrator identifies the need to prevent communities from slaughtering more than one cow during funerals but need to concentrate more on their children’s education. This has been discussed with the village council, but has not been implemented in the village.

The next formal rule in the village is the conflict mediation rule that is implemented by the village council to prevent villagers from committing crime or starting conflict in the village. The village council sets \$20 – 100 fee for victims to open a case in the suku with mediation from the xefe suku and this only happens when the lia nain and or xefe Aldeia unable to resolve conflict²⁹. A divorce case was not solved by xefe Aldeia and lia nain and brought to the suku and this rule was applied. The high cost has prevented community members from opening cases for mediation. Therefore, conflict cases brought to the village level are usually solved without implementing the aforementioned rule that is supposed to regulate the community.

Besides these formal rules, there are other informal rules (norms and customs) practiced by the community. One such rule is that if an animal enters a farm and destroys crops, the farm owner usually reminds the animal owner to keep the animal on a leash or in cage. However, if animals repeatedly enter the farm and

²⁷DC-2.3 – Respondent 11- Community Member- AldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -Note – docx, p.6

²⁸ DC-2.3 -06-27-14 – Respondent 5 - University student- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 - Not-Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx

²⁹DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note-1.docx

destroy crops on the farm, the farmer needs to slaughter the animal as a way of compensation to the crops that have been destroyed.

Second, coffee plantation and land borders have been decided once upon generation where trees or stones are placed to identify the borders³⁰. Ancestors in DC-2.3 use stones and trees to decide the borders between coffee plantations and lands in the village and passed into their generations. These stones cannot be removed or placed in another location and trees cannot be cut or destroyed otherwise there will be conflict over coffee plantation land or border disputes in the village. The punishment can be either slaughter a cow, pig, and goat with sac of rice and beer to feed communities and these may cause economic burden to households in the village.

Third, the DC-2.3 community still follows traditional rules established by their ancestors through marriages, funerals and uma lulik or scared houses. If someone gets married in the village, the families of the couples meet to discuss the bride price. For instance, the men's family will be asked to give some amount of money, cows, goats and horses to the wife's parents. The numbers will be determined by the woman's family. The reason for asking is because the woman will go to work for the husband's family³¹. Therefore, before she goes, the husband will give the money as to respect the woman's parents who have raise their daughter. In return, the woman's family will give a pig and Tais (the traditional clothes) to the man's family. This is the same with Funerals where the feto-sa'a will bring cows and money and the umane will prepare the pig. The umane will eat cow meats and the feto-sa'a will only eat the pig meats prepared by the umane. These strong traditional practices prevent conflicts among people from feto-sa'a and umane.

*"Persons from Feto Sa'a (males' family) side cannot have conflict with umane (female or wife's family) and if he or she does the person will pay money and give goat, horse and cows. Also, persons from umane side cannot have conflict with feto-sa'a if he or she does, the person will give pigs and traditional cloths to their feto-sa'a"*³².

Another community custom that prominent in DC-2.3 is the seeking of blessings from ancestors to give them water, god crops and life successes through slaughtering a dog, goat, pig or a chicken in the village. This is one of the customs that has been established by ancestors in DC-2.3 for the community to follow. The community believes that to have the ancestor's blessing specific animals must be slaughtered for this ritual³³. For example, before the implementation of the bump-flattening project the community performed rituals. They do this because they believed that the bump was sacred and they may face difficulties such as bad sickness or even deaths after the bumps were destroyed. The community planned for the implementing company to buy livestock to slaughter to implement ritual before the start of a community water project but the company did not comply. Some community members believed that this was one of the reasons the water was not connected to the local school and communities in the village.

The last custom that the village has is that they hold a once a year ceremony called "Sau batar"³⁴. In the corn harvesting season, people from the same uma lulik come together and they bring young corn and local

³⁰DC-2.3-06.27.14-Respondent 6, Ansiaun, Note.docx,p. 2

³¹ DC-2.3-06-27-14-Respondent 7, XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 3, Note.docx, p. 2-3

³²DC-2.3 -06-04-14-Respondent 21- Founder of local school and teacher, DC-2.3,-NOT.docx

³³DC-2.3 -06-04-14-Respondent 21- Founder of local school and teacher, DC-2.3,-NOT.docxp.2

³⁴DC-2.3-06.28.14-Respondent 22, Note.docx,p.1

chickens to give praise to their ancestor through their uma lulik. This is a thanks-giving ceremony for the good production of crops in that year and every uma lulik does this activity for their community in DC-2.3. The community believes that if they do not do this ceremony, strong wind, heavy rain or mice will destroy their corn crops. The community unable to consume the harvest before the Saubatar ceremony was held and has become a tradition for generations³⁵ as stated by a respondent.

“There is annual ceremony for the harvesting or before the harvest called ‘Sau Batar’ which to bring the maize or other crop to put it first in the uma adat/lulik before eat the crops and before harvesting as to thank the uma lulik/adat”

4.1.4 Conflict and Conflict Mediation

DC-2.3 does not have any larger conflicts that have been registered in the suku or in the sub district. Only minor conflicts are noted in this study, including: verbal disputes over land borders, inheritance of coffee plantations and youth violence in the suku^{36,37}. Family disputes over and domestic is the next type of conflict found in the village where lia nain and xefe Aldeia are involve in the resolution process in the village. The last conflict was the physical confrontation between youth groups, members of Nossa Senhora de Aitara and PSHT, in the village and Police were involved. This conflict also involved weapons used by the youths and thus the xefe Aldeia and lia nain were unable to mediate the problem³⁸. Therefore, the community called the sub district police to come and stop the conflict and brought both victims and suspects to the sub district to intervene. This conflict led to termination of Nossa Senhora de Aitara group. However, this incident was not registered in the PNTL office in sub-district.

Any verbal disputes over land borders or coffee plantations are solved through a mediation process held by the xefe Aldeia and lia nain³⁹. Usually, the victim informs his or her xefe Aldeia about the problem that he or she faces. The lia nain and xefe Aldeia then called both the victim and perpetrator together to listen to their perspectives. Both sides are given the opportunity to raise their concerns and based on the stated concerns the lia nain and xefe Aldeia mediate the problem by proposing a solution. If the problem requires a witness to clarify or prove a claim to solve the conflict; a witness will be called by the lia nain and xefe Aldeia⁴⁰. This witness is usually someone who knows more about land borders and has more information on the source of the conflict. The xefe Aldeia and lia nain than propose a solution and seek agreement from the two sides, if the two sides agreed on the resolution a fine or sanction will be decided by the lia nain celebrate the resolution⁴¹. The fine normally includes a sack of rice, slaughtering an animal or local wines but it varies depending on the severity of the problem and capacity of the perpetrators to provide the amount required to feed the families of both sides and local authorities⁴². There are no standard values or fine amounts for the problems from different categories in the village.

³⁵ DC-2.3-06-27-14-Respondent 7, XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 3, Note.docx, p.2

³⁶Respondent 14, Catechist, Tract 140701_004

³⁷DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx,p.2

³⁸DC-2.3-06.27.14-Respondent 6, Ansiaun, Note.docx,p.2

³⁹DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 27, Note.docx,p.3

⁴⁰DC-2.3-06.27.14-Respondent 6, Ansiaun, Note.docx,p.2

⁴¹DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- DC-2.3-Aldeia 3– Not.docx

⁴²DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 32, Note.docx, p.3

If fine is not decided upon, paid by the perpetrator or one of the opposing sides wants to have the case further evaluated⁴³, the case can be brought further to the suku level⁴⁴. In this case, higher members of the suku hierarchy like the xefe suku and anciaun with the presence of lia nain and the xefe aldeias will solve the conflict. The xefe suku will ask both victims and perpetrators to explain their reasons and based on their reasons the xefe suku and other members discuss them to balance and find a solution to solve the problem. The Xefe suku is the highest authority in the village to solve conflicts in the village; however, if the problem is more complex and does not reach an agreement from the two sides, the problem will be brought forward to the sub district level to solve. Problems that involve the higher suku hierarchy and sub district administrations are not that common in DC-2.3.

For conflicts involving youth violence or weapons, the villagers contact the police directly to intervene and solve the problem⁴⁵. The police was informed stop the confrontation between youth from Nossa Senhora de Aitara and PSHT members and solve the problem in the PNTL office in sub-district level⁴⁶. In the process, both sides are asked by the police to provide their opinions and their agreement in solving the problem. If they agree to solve the problem, the police will solve the problem in the office in sub-district.

Despite the fact that DC-2.3 has had a low level of conflicts; past conflicts have affected community lives in the following ways. Farmers are affected very negatively from animal and land border issues since the majority of the community livelihoods rely heavily on land or farm production. In addition, conflicts create tension among youth between groups who are involved in acts of conflict and violence⁴⁷. Such conflicts can prevent young school children from traveling to school as they may be threatened by the older youths. For instance, in 2013 the local school children were unable to go school because the older wanted to beat them if they are related to members of Nossa Senhora de Aitara group.

4.1.5 Development Priorities

In terms of development priorities, both the powerful and average villagers have similar development priorities. Both powerful and average villagers identified three main priorities for the village. Clean water is their top priority because in the dry season they have to use horses and motorbikes to collect water from a nearby river for cooking and bathing. Secondly, they identified electricity as a priority because if power was available in the village, it could help villagers pump water tanks in the school to supply to communities who live in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3, which currently do not have access to water. Electricity also enables students to study at night. Thirdly, roads are important to the village as they can facilitate the transportation of their crops such as coffee and red beans to sell at markets in other places in the region.

⁴³DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note.docx, p.2

⁴⁴DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx,p.1

⁴⁵DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 3– Not.docx

⁴⁶ DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 - Not-Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

⁴⁷ DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 - Not-Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

The powerful and average villagers identified health clinic, prayer chapel, sport facilities and capacity building for youth as their secondary priorities for the village. They indicated that the construction of a health post is important because currently there is no health post in the village and health professionals from sub-district only visits the community once a month. Therefore, woman who are about to give birth and need assistance from health professionals have to call an ambulance from sub-district. The ambulance is not always available as it also serves 10 other villages as well. In the worst cases, the villagers use a wheel chair or bamboo to carry women who are in labor or sick people to sub-district to get treatment. Also construction of a local chapel is important because currently community members have to walk an hour to participate in church mass in sub-district. However, those who cannot walk only stay at home and there is no place for them to pray because the only village chapel which was built by Indonesians has collapsed two years ago. Lastly respondents indicated that there is a high unemployment rate among youth in the village and thus capacity building and sport facilities are necessary for the youth in the village.

The vulnerable community members, on the other hand, have different perspectives. They identified food and construction materials as their top priorities and roads and a health post as their secondary priorities for the village. These priorities were identified according to the location where they and most of the vulnerable community members live, which is downhill and far from the village center. Also, the members of the vulnerable populations live in remote areas and close to water sources in the Aldeia. For instance, Respondent 17, a vulnerable woman lives very far away from the village center but has a well nearby her house and the same situation applied to Respondent 18 another vulnerable person who lives in Bairro 2, the farthest Bairro.

4.2 Conceptualization of People and Power

The followings are the profiles of powerful and vulnerable community members in DC-2.3.

4.2.1 *Profiles of powerful community members*

Respondent 1 is the current xefe suku of DC-2.3. He was elected in the 2010 nationwide suku authorities' election, where he defeated his two competitors from the other two aldeias (DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3)⁴⁸ to become the head of the village. Previously, he worked for East Timor Coffee Cooperative (CCT) and National Cooperative of Business Association (NCBA) in the sub-district and was chosen by the community to form a package from DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 by which he won the election. As xefe suku, he has the regular income from the government of \$140 per month and he has control over the operational money for the village that is provided by the government. He also owns a kiosk, which is located next to the village office in the village center.

A part from these, he receives a veteran pension from the Ministry of Social Solidarity for his participation in resistance activities during the Indonesian occupation. Lastly, as the village chief he has control over village decisions on the distribution of subsidies such natural disaster aid and pensions from government⁴⁹. He has to decide which households should get construction materials for natural disasters based on recommendations or names that have been given by the Xefe Aldeia. He also decides whom to

⁴⁸DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not.docx,p.1

⁴⁹DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note.docx,p.1

recommend from the village to receive their elderly pensions from the government. He is the sole decision maker in the village.

He identified lean water, school buildings and health clinic as his main priorities followed by road access to aldeia, sport facilities and capacity buildings for the youths of DC-2.3 are his secondary priorities for DC-2.3 development infrastructures.

Respondent 2 is the former xefe suku (2005 – 2009) of DC-2.3. He was also a candidate from DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 to compete in the 2010 election and lost to the new xefe suku in that year. However, due to his experience, he was asked by the elected xefe suku to take part in a separate election to become the lianain of the suku. An election was held in the suku to choose one of the three candidates to become the lianain. He was elected by majority vote to become the lia nain of the suku. Despite being a member of the group, he is very concern about the way the current xefe suku's package was formed in the 2009 election where everyone from one Aldeia formed a package to compete. The current xefe aldeias are all from one aldeia, the largest and populated DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and govern other two Aldeia, DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. In his opinion, the stated the most effective way of governing is a package that brings members from all aldeias together so that once a package wins in the election a person can be based and lead communities in their respective aldeias. He lists health clinic and road access to Aldeia as his main priorities and clean water access as his secondary priority for the development of DC-2.3.

Respondent 12 is a member of village council (the women's representative) and was elected in the package of the current xefe suku. She is also an active member of the village prayer group of the Catholic Church. Moreover, she was previously a leader of a small business group for women in the village but she decided to end the group due to the fact it was not making any profit. Lastly, she is a traditional birth attendant, or Dayan, and helps women to deliver babies. She is the person that villagers will go to with their health issues, as there is no health post, qualified nurses or midwives in the suku. She has gained experience with child delivery during Indonesian times, when she worked with midwives that were posted in the suku to help and deliver babies.

4.2.2 Profiles of vulnerable or marginalized community members

Respondent 18 is a 70-year-old man who is completely blind and lives in Bairo 2, the farthest and inaccessible Bairo of DC-2.3-Aldeia 1, DC-2.3. As he is blind he cannot walk out of the house by himself and thus his only son has to help him to go outside every day. The majority of his family (brothers, sister and parents) died in the war against Indonesia starting in 1975; he and one sister survived. Although, his brother fought in a high military class during the war and was killed by Indonesian forces, Respondent 18 does not receive any compensation for his brother's death because he is blind and cannot afford to go and register his family names with the Secretary State of Veteran Affairs in Dili.

He hopes to see a doctor or to be visited by health professionals for his blindness, as he has been blind for many years and none has visited him or brought him to a health facility in the region or in Dili. He has no horses to bring coffee and beans to sell in markets, so his son has to carry the crops. Lastly, this year he has no surplus of coffee products to be sold to the market, only enough to cover household subsistence. However, he has received some money due to his age from the government and

construction materials from the government through the Ministry of Social Solidarity. He used this money to buy food and the materials to build his house in the village.

Respondent 17 is 65 years old, a widow who lives in a remote area in Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. Her house is the farthest house in Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 and separated by river and a coffee plantation from the rest of the houses in the Aldeia. Her house was destroyed by strong winds two years ago, but she has not received any construction materials for repairs. She is unable to walk to other places, as she is very old so she chooses to stay at home and looks after her farm. She also has no livestock, such as a horse to help her only son to carry the coffee and red beans to market. Therefore, the son has to carry the crops on his shoulder and climb up the hill to sell in the village. She has received the elderly pension from the government to buy food and other goods for sustenance. Food and housing materials are her priorities.

Respondent 24 is a 46 year old and female head household who lives in DC-2.3-Aldeia 2, DC-2.3. Her husband has abandoned her with their children in the village. Out of this, one studying in junior high school in sub-district and the other three are studying in the local primary school in DC-2.3. She is the victim of the village council member, in particular, the lia nain Suku. Respondent 24 has unresolved conflict with the lia nain suku regarding coffee plantation border in the village. The Lia nain was trying to manipulate the border and has moved the border sign to occupy half of the coffee plantation belongs to Respondent 24. Respondent 24 had tried to inform him directly, but she was beaten by the lia nain in returned. Respondent 24 could not bring the case to the next level because of the cost. She believes that she would not win the case. She said she has no family members present in the current village council who could help her to solve the conflict.

She has informed the xefe aldeia about the problem and xefe aldeia convinced her to resolve it internally as a family, but the problem is unresolved due to false story made and witness called by the lia nain. She has no courage to come to the suku to open the case since she has paid the penalty once in the past. The lia nain also told her he and his family will beat her up if she brings the case to the police.

Apart from these conflicts, she is one of the recipients of the construction materials for natural disasters, elderly pension from government. Her xefe Aldeia visited her house and listed her name to become one of the recipients in the village. She identified clean water, health clinic and road as her main priorities and her secondary priorities are scholarships for her children and find a way to solve her problem with the lia nain suku.

5. Institutions and Power

5.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

The following describe the types and profiles of village groups that are present in the suku. It should be noted that these groups are considered as village groups because the group members do not make decisions that affect the whole population of DC-2.3. Instead, decisions they made only affect the members of the respective groups listed below.

1. Agriculture and social groups

These groups are formed by NGO's and the community themselves with different success. The groups are based mainly in the two aldeias, DC-2.3 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. These groups are structured around a president or leader to take care the group activities, a treasurer to take care of the group's finances and a secretary to assist the leader to manage the group activities. This structure comes from both chosen by members of the group and the NGO itself.

a. Haburas Domin

The group haburas domin was established by NGO Concern in 2003 with a membership base of 12. The group's members only consist of males coming from DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and are led by Respondent 8, the current xefe Aldeia of DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. The group members are all farmers they do farms and build houses together. The group receives its' financial income from membership contributions of \$20 as the group's petty cash, which is managed by the group leader and treasurer. The group loans this money to its members with a 50% profit and the group currently has \$800 to support the group's activities in the village. The group is hoping for their saving to reach \$1000. They want to write a proposal to government to seek extra funds to open a large kiosk in the village to sell basic goods to other community members. The main problem they face is to increase their profit to more than 1000 to open a kiosk because they also use their money for funerals and school fees for children of the group members.

b. SUSU MESAK

The group Susu mesak originated from a group called Aulara formed by NGO Concern to do farming activities such as planting coffee and red beans. However, when the NGO left the group, Susu mesak was formed as social group and led by Respondent 2, the former xefe suku and the current lia nain. The group has 14 members who come from all three aldeias in the suku with different professional backgrounds including public servants. The main objective of this group is to help each other during difficult times. The group does activities such as working on community infrastructure projects such as building houses which belong to group members or contributing \$40 per members during funeral of family members of the group. For those who are unable to pay, the \$40 can be replaced with pig or goat that the member has. The group has a treasurer that collects the money and a secretary to assist the group leader to manage the group activities. Recently, in 2014 for the first time, the group collected contributions of \$40 per person to pay for the school fees for children of group members to be sent to Indonesia to study at a university⁵⁰. Decisions were made through meetings organized by the leader of the group.

⁵⁰DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx,p.3

c. *RAN IDA*

The group Ran Ida was formed in 2010 and led by Luis (name changed) as the leader of the group. The group has 14 members and all come from the same Aldeia, DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. The group has a leader, secretary, and group informant to walk from house to house of group members to inform about group activities, though the group does not really follow the roles. Other group members could also inform each other to do the group's activities in the village. The main objective of this is to help each other in the village. The members of this group work together to build houses and physical work such as digging and leveling lands belong to group members in the village. Also, the members contribute \$5 to \$20 for funerals of group members. The contributions are usually managed by the leader and secretary of the group. The group is still active.

d. *Hakfodak*

This group is named Hakfodak and was realized because there have been other groups formed in other areas of the village that did the same activity with some success. The group leader, Joao (name changed), a youth and community member came up with the idea to form Hakfodak in Bairro 2 in 2013 to help each other build houses that belonged to the group. Despite the group having no financial resources, the group is structured with a leader, treasurer and secretary. The group is currently inactive in the village⁵¹. The group members wanted to store coffee and beans into markets in Dili, but they have not found a way to do it. Therefore, the group ceases when there are no activities to do in the village.

e. *Hali Laran*

NGO Concern established Hali laran in 2003 to improve livelihoods through agricultural activities. The group has 14 members and all come from DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. This group is similar to Aulara which becomes Susu Mesak, but it only based in DC-2.3, the populated DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. The group main activities are: planting teak wood, Mahoney, coffee tree nurseries, and helping each other to work during coffee and red bean harvesting seasons. The group has a leader, secretary and treasurer and the group has need-based meetings to share information.

2. Youth groups

a. *KCSB (Klibur Comunidade DC-2.3)*

KCSB group was established by DC-2.3 youths who are studying in Dili in 2013. The group has an estimate of 50 youths who come from all three Aldeias of DC-2.3. The objective of this group is to share information and build capacity of the youth who are living in the village. To achieve these objectives, the group has run a three-month English course to teach youth in the village in 2013. However, this activity stopped due to a certification problem. The group could not get any donors or an NGO to legalize the certificates of attendance of the students.

The group has financial resources from membership contributions. In 2013, the group members contributed \$0.25 to buy ink and the group's stamp. The decision on this contribution was made during a meeting held last year. After the money was collected, there was a meeting held for the group treasurer to

⁵¹ DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 10 of a village group and farmer, DC-2.3-Aldeia 1- NOT.docx, p.3

report back to the group members⁵². The group is lead by Respondent 5, a university student, and structured with a treasurer, secretary and three community relations based in all three aldeias. Parents and the xefe suku are in the group as counselors to advise the group. The group was still active in the village. Access the right NGO or organization to support their activities in the village was their main concern.

b. JAFDAH

Grupu JAFDAH or Grupu Juventude Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 ⁵³was formed by Respondent 11 in 2014 and he was the leader of the group. Informally, he is the leader of the group in DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. The membership includes only young males from DC-2.3-Aldeia 2. The group has the same objective as other social groups described above, to help each other in the village. The group provides water and firewood during funerals and builds houses for vulnerable and powerless community members in the Aldeia. The group is currently active in DC-2.3-Aldeia 2.

3. Women's group

No name was found during our research. However, the women's group consists of 10 members and the group was formed in 2003 by NGO Concern in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. The group has small financial resources from membership contributions and was supported by NGO, Concern to open small kiosks to sell basic goods to other villagers⁵⁴. Respondent 12, one of the women's reps in the village council is the group leader and is assisted by a treasurer and secretary. The group is inactive or has been terminated in the time of research in the village.

4. Martial art and Ritual groups

Members of martial groups such as KORK, Kera Sakti and PSHT are present in the village with varying numbers. The group used to have their training activities. However, it has ceased since it was banned by the government last year. All these groups are based in Dili and their members are still living in the village. There are two ritual groups, Kolimau and Nossa senhora de Aitara. However, Kolimau has no structure in the village and only individual members are present in the village. Grupu Nossa Senhora de Aitara is the other ritual group in the village. The group consists of family members such as brothers, sister, parents and grandparents. The main activities of the group are praying and treating sick people using traditional medicines⁵⁵. The group had an instance of physical violence with a PSHT group in the village, which was solved by the sub district police. Consequently, the group has been terminated when this research was undertaken in the village.

5. Catholic Church Group

Grupu Apostolado Orasaun, or "prayer group" is the only church group that is based in the village. The group has 20 members and comes from all the three aldeias. The group was established a long time ago and is headed by the suku Catechist, Respondent 14. The group's activities are mainly related to church and thus they take part in mass held in the village and in the sub-district, leading prayer during funeral services and monthly rosaries in the village. Lastly, they also mobilize for the reception of the Virgin and Jesus Christ statues when these statues are brought by the catechist and the group to visit communities in DC-2.3. The

⁵²DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- AldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 3– Not.docx,p.1

⁵³Grupu JAFDAH means group of youth of AldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 2

⁵⁴DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not.docx,p.3

⁵⁵DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- AldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 3– Not.docx,p.3

group is currently active in the village and collects money from the communities for church activities in the village.

6. POLITICAL PARTIES

Both the large and small political parties have their branch in DC-2.3 ⁵⁶. Respondent 1, the current xefe suku, heads the local CNRT party and won 157 votes in the 2012 election. Socialist Party of Timor (PST) is the second largest political party, which had 115 votes in 2012 election, and is headed by Geraldo (name changed). Fretilin received 52 votes and is led by Respondent 27. Democratic Party or PD is lead by Olivio (name changed) and had received 35 votes in the village. Respondent 2, the former xefe suku and current lia nain, heads the UDT party and Rui (name changed) leads the PDN party. Both parties had a membership base of less than 10 in the 2012 parliamentary election.

5.2 Formation of village groups

5.2.1 Leadership, power and decision making process

Most of village groups are heavily relied on external entities in the past and structured around leader, secretary, treasurer and its members. These leaderships are legitimate through discussions and debates held in a meeting where a leader is appointed by consensus. The leaders of the group, hold most power, and have responsibility of the group by organizing and directing the group to achieve the group's objectives. The group leaders also control the group decisions as he is the key person who can propose most decisions to seek agreement from the members and often control the group's finances, a responsibility that usually lies in the hand of the treasurers of the group. For instance, Respondent 1, the current xefe suku also holds cash for the school construction committee group and Respondent 8 holds cash belonging to the Haburas Domin group in DC-2.3.

People can become leaders of the village groups when they initiate or coordinate the formation of a group in their Aldeia. Geraldo (name changed)⁵⁷, the leader of the Hakfodak and Respondent 2, and the leader of Susu Mesa group became leaders in this manner. Also, members of the village council can be automatically become leaders of their group when chosen by the group members. The initiator of the group will convene a meeting where attended by potential to choose a leader of the group and the members choose the initiator becomes the leader of the group. The leader of the Hakfodak group was chosen in this manner. Respondent 8 and Respondent 25 are members of the village council and became leaders of Haburas Domin and Hali Laran group in the village when they were chosen by members of these groups. Also, there are group leaders which are appointed by the high hierarchy of the village. For instance, xefe suku, Respondent 1, was appointed by the director of the main primary school in the sub-district to become the leader of the school construction committee to manage the school construction project to meet the deadline in December.

Village groups usually make decisions during meetings organized by group leaders who invite members of the group to take part. In the meeting, the agenda of the meeting is discussed and group member opinions are sought after, though not all groups make decisions on this manner. Once decisions are made in the groups,

⁵⁶DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not. docx,p.4

⁵⁷DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 10 of a village group and farmer, aldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 1- NOT.docx,p.1

the group members communicate to other members through phone calls and house to house visit in the village. However, not all groups communicate their decisions in this manner.

5.2.2 Financial Management

Even though not all village groups have final resources, some village groups received membership contribution⁵⁸, and NGO and Government funds as their financial resources. In order to seek membership contributions, the group leader usually holds a meeting and all members participate to decide. This decision is made by consensus where both group leaders and the members agree. Any group members propose a rate to open the discussion among the group members to decide. For instance, SUSU MESA and RAN IDA group plan their finances for contribution during funerals and school fees in this manner. The source of income is from profit they make from coffee and red bean harvesting seasons⁵⁹.

Also, there are groups that seek contribution through KCB. For instance, the leader of the group had a meeting in 2013 to decide that \$0.25 per youth in the village would be used to buy ink and stamp for the group. The treasurer and secretary collect and administer the group members' contribution for use. After expenditure there is a meeting held by the groups structure where majority members participate. The group leaders do verbal report back to the group members on how they have spent the fund and what they have spent on, for instance, funerals and children's education. Next, there are groups that receive a combination of membership contributions and NGO support to do the group activities. For instance, the women's group which was led by Respondent 12 received the sum of \$50 from NGO to support them to open small business activities in the village. The leader, Respondent 12 holds a meeting with group members to decide to open a kiosk. A consensus was reached among them to open the kiosk however, the kiosk stop due mismanagement by the person who looked after the groups' kiosk in the village⁶⁰.

Lastly, the village council helps collect money for the construction of a church project in the sub-district. The village council receives a letter of acknowledgement from the parish committee consisting of 11 xefe suku to seek out contributions from the community. The farmer community members are required to contribute \$15 and \$30 for public servants who live in the village. The decision on this was made in the parish and thus the village council just implements the decision in the suku. Xefe aldeias and catechists collect the money from the community and will give it to the parish committee to buy construction materials. The only report made by the church on this fund is an announcement in a Sunday mass in the sub-district center on the amount of money that the community of DC-2.3 has received.

The decision of this contribution was made in the sub-district by the parish committee without consulting the communities in DC-2.3. Consequently, this becomes controversial as the requested contribution was perceived as very high for a lot of villagers. This clearly indicates that the villagers were not involved in the decision making process. Below is a statement from a community member⁶¹.

"We only received information that they have had a meeting and decided that community household contribute \$15 dollars, public servants and veterans \$30. It supposed to include every community members to decide but never happened. The decision was made in the parish committee and when it reached the village, the village council members met and decide to ask contribution from the community. I am very concern about this,

⁵⁸DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx,p.3

⁶⁰ DC-2.3-07.01.14-Respondent 12, Woman Rep, Note.docx

⁶¹ DC-2.3 - Respondent 11- Community Member- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -Note - Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

in my perspective there is corruption in it because the economy of the population is very weak. According to survey done by intellectuals that the average people in Timor get 0.50 cents per day and this only for those who do negotiation or business. However, the villagers are difficult to find the amount as we have to rely on land. We only harvest coffee and red beans once in a year”

5.2.3 Collective Action among Groups

There is cooperation among group members in a group to do the group’s activities together such as working in the garden and working and organizing activities during funeral services of group and family members of the group. The group leader usually convenes a meeting in the village where majority of the group members attended to discuss and debate. Once agreement is reached on a given value by consensus or raise hands, the group members would follow. For those who do not have capacity to contribute the given value they can give livestock they have. For instance, the group Susu Mesa and Ran Ida decided \$20 - \$40 contribution for education and funerals, but those members who cannot afford this amount they can replace with pigs and goats.

“The group also has other activities such as contribution for funerals 20 dollars each and if some members’ children go to university they can contribute some money to give it to him/her to continue school in university”⁶²
stated by Respondent 8, a xefe Aldeia and a member of village group.

Externally, some of these groups cooperate with NGO’s in district and national levels as some of these groups have supported by NGO’s to provide them with trainings. For instance, NGO Concern provided a lot of training to communities in Ran Ida and Hali Laran group to improve their farming activities in the village⁶³. Next, they also cooperate with church parish in Remexio to collect contributions from the communities and brought to the parish in Remexio. The prayer groups in the village are examples of this cooperation.

The main reason why the group members do not cooperate is that the villagers have formed their own groups with similar activities and thus they only work in that group⁶⁴. Nevertheless, the village groups are willing to help the community when it is needed. For instance, when there is a request from the other community members who seek help they will be available to help. The village groups indirectly cooperate with the local government because the majority of DC-2.3 group leaders also hold positions in the village council. For instance, the leader of Hali laran, Respondent 25, Susu Mesa, Respondent 2, and Haburas Domin, Respondent 8 are members of the village council elected in 2010.

Most cooperation among village groups is planned through invitations to attend meeting held in the village to discuss common goals which may affect most of the groups in the village. However, this only happens with the local governance in the village. The most notable constraint for the groups to cooperate is that the group members tend to work only in their respective groups and some groups are formed with different objectives. For instance, martial art groups are formed to do sports and physical training activities, social and agricultural

⁶² DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 8 -XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 –NOT.docx, p.6

⁶³

⁶⁴DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 10 of a village group and farmer, aldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 1- NOT.docx,p.1

groups were formed to do farming and supporting each other during funerals and prayer groups were formed to lead prayers in the communities when religious activities are held.

5.2.4 Communication Strategies

The group members meet based on need or on a given issue and there are two ways community groups communicate with one another. The first and most important way of communication is that of the leader, secretary and community relations as the messengers of the groups in DC-2.3. They walk from house to house to inform group members about the group activities. Also, they use mobile phones to call or send text messages to group members who have mobile phones and live in the remote places in the village. For instance, the group Susu Mesa has members living in and outside the village, in the sub-district. The group leader has to communicate with his member through phone calls and text messages to about the group's activities conducted in the village. Alternatively, the groups would send a messenger in particular those who live close to him or close to the groups in the remote area to deliver the information if this area has no network coverage. Once every member receives the information they are asked to participate in meetings held by the group however, if some absent from meeting due to personal and other commitment, he or she will then informed by the leaders and members who attend the meeting on what has been discussed in the meeting held in his or her absence.

Most groups in the village did not necessarily inform the communities about their activities, except the youth group, KCSB informed and involved communities and communities in the group's activities in the village.

"The group leader and those who are studying in Dili through phone calls to those who are in the village and informing the community relations in the village to inform other members and community to attend the group's meetings. The community relation officers walks from house to house to inform and invite members of the group to attend meetings lead by the group leader" statement by Respondent 5, a university student.

5.2.5 Creation and Termination of Groups

There are multiple ways village groups are formed in DC-2.3. First of all, the majority of agricultural groups were formed by NGO's when they come to the village with its own program to improve the livelihood of the community in DC-2.3. Second, social groups are formed by the community themselves to help one another in the village because of geographical difficulties in building houses and to doing other physical works. People tend to form groups when they see the benefit, but those who perceive that there is no benefit for being in a group are preferred to do their own activities in the village. Third, there are groups that are formed by individual villagers who have been living outside and have been part of martial arts and ritual groups that come to the village and establish these groups in the village. For instance, "Nossa Senhora de Aitara" group was brought by a community member who had been living in Dili but went back to the village to establish the group in DC-2.3. Lastly, community members gather together to form their groups based on the successes of other groups in the village. Grupu "Hakfodak" was formed in this manner⁶⁵.

⁶⁵DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 10 of a village group and farmer, DC-2.3-Aldeia 1- NOT.docx,p.1

In addition, the village groups are terminated for three reasons. First, agricultural groups are terminated because the village heavily relied on an external actor after a short program in the village was provided as stated by the current xefe suku.

“Here groups never function properly maybe we need some capacity building I don’t know, when people come to give something to the village the group is functioned however it terminates after people left the village and lack of someone to give direction and training. Xefe Suku of DC-2.3.

Second, the groups terminated because of lack of support⁶⁶ from high hierarchy in the village, which led to the withdrawal of the members and consequently caused the inactivity of the groups. Lastly, village groups also terminated when the members do not benefit from the group activities. The women’s group; for instance, opened a kiosk in the village to benefit the group members, but made no profit led to the termination of the group in the village.

5.3 Explanatory cases

5.3.1 Termination of the women and Nossa Senhora de Aitara group.

The women’s group, Grupu Feto, was established by an NGO in 2003. The group consists of 10 members and the groups’ objective was to improve the livelihood of its members through small business activities in the village. Consequently, the group opened a small kiosk in the village to sell basic goods to other households in the village. However, in the operation of the kiosk, the group did not generate any income, instead, the quantity of goods and money dramatically reduced. These factors led the leader of the group, Respondent 12, to call for a meeting which was attended by all the 10 members⁶⁷. The leader went to house to house of all members of the group to inform about the meeting. The meeting was held in her house where she proposed a decision to terminate the group and divide the remaining goods and funds among the members. The members of the group agreed on the decision and a consensus was reached to terminate the group. The group was inactive when this research was conducted in the village.

In addition, the group Nossa Senhora De Aitara (NSA) is a ritual group that was brought by a villager who had been living outside for some period of time. The villagers went to the village with the groups program and employed all his family members (parents, cousins, and grandparents) in the group. The group does activities such as praying for people who are sick. Therefore, a prayer place was established in the leader’s house and statue of Virgin Mary was placed there. The local leaders, the xefe suku and the xefe Aldeia, were not informed in the beginning by the group leader⁶⁸. However, in late 2013, the group members went into a conflict with members of a martial arts group present in the village and the conflict broke out into youth violence between the groups.

The result of this conflict created tension among youths of different groups and school children were afraid to go to the local school because the elders threatened the school children on their way to school.

⁶⁶DC-2.3 1-06.26.14-Respondent 3, PAAS, Note.docx,p.3

⁶⁷DC-2.3-07.01.14-Respondent 12, Woman Rep, Note.docx, p.1

⁶⁸DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 - Not-Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx,

Consequently, community and local leaders have knowledge of the existence of the group in the village. The community also informed the parish priest in the sub-district regarding the group's activity in the village and told him that conflict that the group faced. The parish priest went to the village to bring the statue that the group used to pray and brought it to the parish in the sub-district. Once the statue was removed, the group stopped conducting their activities in the village⁶⁹ as stated by a member of the group.

"The conflict created tension among youths and children in the village and in Dili as youths from these areas are involved in the two groups. Catechist and the apostolic persons brought the conflict issue to the Parish priest in the sub-district and the parish took the statue which we put in their prayer place in the leader's house to the sub-district and consequently the group stopped their activities in the village"

5.4 Constellation of Local Governance

5.4.1 Village governance Profile.

In contrast to village groups, the following groups listed as village governance because the groups' decisions made past and present can affect every single villager and villagers are asked to express their opinions in the process of the decision making.

a. Village council

The village council is the primary and formal local government institution in DC-2.3. The council is headed by the xefe suku and consists of 11 members include a PAAS⁷⁰, or the village secretary, representatives of social groups and all the xefe aldeias. The representatives of the social groups include two women representatives, two youth representatives, a male and a female, an elder or *ansiaun*, and a lia-na'in.

The xefe suku is the head of the suku council and represents the village as a whole. With the assistance of the xefe aldeias, he is in charge of the welfare of the villagers, including managing responses to the victims of natural disasters, community needs, and conflict mediation process. He also presides over community activities and manages government projects implemented locally by the villagers⁷¹. The PAAS or village secretary is an employee of the Ministry of State Administration (*MSA/MAE*). This position was not part of the electoral packet but it was appointed through a normal recruitment process used for public servants. The PAAS role is to assist the suku council perform its administrative roles, such as drafting proposals and communication letters, filing of village documents, handling suku administrative finance, making lists of presence, taking minutes during village council meetings, and sending them to district and sub district administrations.

The social representatives have different roles in the council. The youth and women's representatives advocate for the welfare of their groups including organizing activities specific to their constituents and directing projects that are implemented by their groups. However, this is not seen in reality, the women and youth reps are passive and only taking part in village council to prepare food⁷². Consequently, there is a lack of women's activities to do in DC-2.3, apart from being a housewife and farmer. The anciaun, or the council

⁶⁹ DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 - Not-Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

⁷⁰PASS defined as Suku Administration Officer

⁷¹DC-2.3 -07-05-14- School construction meeting in DC-2.3-OBS.docx

⁷²DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 25, Youth Rep, Note.docx

elder, and the lia-na'in, primarily focus on counseling and problem solving in the village⁷³. The lia nain was elected in a separate election run by the current xefe based on recommendations from the sub district administration⁷⁴.

Each Aldeia is lead by a xefe Aldeia. The xefe aldeia role is to attend to the welfare of the villagers in his aldeia, including registering victims of natural disaster and bringing it to the suku⁷⁵. Also, with the assistance of the lia nain, xefe aldeia is involved in mediating Aldeia level conflicts in their Aldeia. The xefe aldeia also act as an agent between the aldeia and the suku. The xefe aldeia also acts as the local community organizer by making door-to-door announcements and rallying community members to participate in collective actions in the village.

b. Uma Lisan Clan 1

Traditionally, Uma lisan Clan 1 is very powerful in the village due to the fact that majority of village council members are from this uma lisan. The youth, women reps, anciaun and the lia nain suku are all from uma lisan Clan 1. The communities of DC-2.3 have been governed by people from this uma lisan as xefe suku over a long period of time. Therefore, most village decisions tend to have been influenced by people from the same uma lisan. Since 1975, the communities were governed by Respondent 4 until 1999 and in 200 to 2009; the village was headed by Respondent 2. They both were from uma lisan Clan 1. Only in 2009, the new xefe suku who was from another uma lisan formed his package through CNRT party and was the first person democratically elected to govern the communities in the village.

c. Local school construction committee

A temporary school construction committee group was formed by villagers to meet the requirement from the sub district office in the sub-district. The committee consists of eight members who come from village councils and school teachers. The Xefe suku was appointed by the director of central primary school in the sub-district as the leader of the group to lead the committee. The group is formed to manage the project's budget, \$25,000 to pay the skilled labors and workers to work on the project. The group is also tasked to monitor all stages of the construction process to meet the deadline, December 2nd, 2014. The group has conducted meetings in the village to collect opinions from the communities and members of the group to plan the construction process in the village. The group has two treasurers to hold and manage the budget and two secretaries to help the xefe suku to effectively manage the project to complete before the aforementioned deadline.

5.5 Formation of village governance

5.5.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision Making process*

The community of DC-2.3 is led by three governance institutions, include: village council, Clan 1 uma lisan and construction committee group; and led by all male villagers in the village.

The village council and construction committee were headed by xefe suku, Respondent 1, and the Clan 1 uma lisan headed by the brother of the 24 year xefe suku Respondent 4. The main activities of the village council

⁷³DC-2.3-06.27.14-Respondent 6, Ansiaun, Note.docx

⁷⁴DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not.docx

⁷⁵DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not.docx

include: conducting monthly meetings, assisting meetings held by sub district office in the village, and cleaning the village office and its compound every Friday. The village council was elected during the 2010 suku election, which is organized nationwide every five years. Since that year, the members of the village council are elected as part of a *pakote* with candidates for the various positions in the council, including xefe aldeias, elected as a group on a single pakote formed from DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. All xefe Aldeia are from DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and live in DC-2.3 but they govern the community in Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 as the constituents of the pakote was formed from one Aldeia only. In addition, the main activities of the construction committee group are to manage the construction project to build local school building in the village. Clan 1 uma lisan on the other hand, has ritual activities such as Sau batar where villagers who originate this uma lisan come to attend once in a year. However, this is a liurai uma lisan and people from this uma lisan have made major decisions on village development in the village as they were the ones who govern the village for many years⁷⁶. Currently, majority of the village council members are from this uma lisan.

Leadership in DC-2.3 is legitimated in three ways. Elected in a formal election process is the first source of legitimacy of power in the village, such as elected through suku authorities' election. Power also considered legal or legitimate if a person is appointed or chosen by community leaders in the suku or in the sub district. For instance, Respondent 26 was appointed by xefe suku as the youth rep and the xefe suku was chosen by the sub district education directors were considered legitimate in the village⁷⁷. The other is that when a person is elected by the communities to hold position in the suku. The lia nain suku for instance, was elected in a suku wide election held in the suku to hold power and make conflict decisions in the village⁷⁸.

The leadership style of these leaders is non-participatory where they do not consult the community wide or their members regarding any decisions that will be made in the village. The xefe suku, in particular, form his package only consist of people from his Aldeia, DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and they were elected to all positions in the village council. Though sometime the xefe suku consult his council members, he is the sole decision maker in the village and members just agree⁷⁹. He will make his decisions before hand and inform the village council members after that. He made his own decision to distribute cows to communities in the village without consulting his council members in the village⁸⁰. At the same time, however, this research found the leaders of DC-2.3 also wait for instructions from sub district and district administrators to make decisions and the council members just implement them in the suku.

Also, members of the village council and community members did not demand a report on how and where the fund had been spent. Consequently, some council members were not aware whether or not there was an operational fund in the village to support the village council activities. The Xefe suku also uses his power to choose community members whom he can distribute government's subsidies to. For instance, no council members are aware of how and why the Ministry of Agriculture and fisheries distributed cows to the village; He let youth from his Aldeia get the cows. PASS controls the list of names of the village council and decides who will be receiving their subsidies from government and sends it to the sub district administration.

The formal village council was elected in a nationwide suku authority in 2010. The package was formed from each Aldeia where community members came together to meet to choose their potential xefe suku's candidates from their Aldeia. The candidates then decide and choose who to put in positions in the package

⁷⁶ DC-2.3 -06-27-14-Respondent 21 - Farmer and 24 years Xefe Suku-Note.docx, p.4

⁷⁷ DC-2.3 -07-05-14- School construction meeting in DC-2.3-OBS.docx, p.2

⁷⁸ DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.1

⁷⁹ DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 32, Note.docx, p.2

⁸⁰ DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 8 -XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -NOT.docx, p.3

including anciao, xefe Aldeia, and youth and women reps. The Pakote of the current xefe suku's was formed from DC-2.3-Aldeia 1, which is the largest Aldeia in the village with a higher population compared to the other two aldeias. Consequently, the package won in the election. Below are his quotes:

“I was chosen by the people in the village to become the xefe suku, if we run through Aldeia automatically I have to win because we have majority people and even some people who don't like candidates from their Aldeia also vote for me”.

Apart from being elected through formal election, members of the community can become leaders of the village when they are appointed by high hierarchy of the village or by the people from the sub district and district administration. For instance, the xefe suku can appoint a villager to fill in the positions in the village council when he thinks it is necessary and appropriate. The youth rep⁸¹ was appointed by xefe suku to replace the elected youth rep that had married and moved to another village.

People with flexible, commitment and have their own plans to implement suku are some of the characteristics that community choose them to become leaders in the village. Moreover, persons who are proactive in responding to community needs are the characteristic that community wanted to become leaders in the suku. Below is a statement from a community member in DC-2.3.

I choose a leader because I give him trust. To identify who I can give my trust, through everyday life in the community we know each other very well. I choose people who are flexible, commitment and come with his own plan and activities to implement in the village. He needs to have patriotic and protective attitudes towards his community.

Decisions in DC-2.3 are mainly made in two ways. The most notable one is by consensus where community or villagers agree on a given issue and no objections are raised by any of the members present in the decision making process. The other is that decision is made unanimously where the xefe suku places a solution and seeks no objections from any members of the village council. There is no decision made by voting or raise hands in DC-2.3. Once decisions are made in the suku, xefe Aldeia is the person who walks from house to house to community members to socialize the decisions. However, this research found that the xefe has not been to the farthest Bairro 2 for many months⁸². This shows that not all community members in DC-2.3 receive information about village decisions made by the village council.

Power has been used to make decisions on infrastructure projects, distribution of materials and list people to beneficiaries of the government subsidies. However, some decisions have been as controversial or power has been misused in the village. The xefe suku distributed cows from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF) only to his council members and communities from his Aldeia, DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. The other two Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 did not get any. The xefe suku and xefe Aldeia only choose some of the community members to receive materials and subsidies and left out others in the village. The community leaders also used their power to make unilateral decisions without consulting the whole community in the village⁸³.

⁸¹DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx

⁸²DC-2.3-06-28-14-Respondent 9 -AldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 1, Bairro 2, Farmer – NOT.docx

⁸³ DC-2.3 - Respondent 11- Community Member- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -Note - Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

5.5.2 Financial Management

The village receives its finances from three main sources. First of all, members of the village receive a monthly salary for their roles as part of the village council and monthly subsidies if they take part in any meetings held by the village council. This financial resource stays with the person who receives them. The Xefe suku receives \$145 and XA receive \$125 every month plus additional subsidies of \$25 if they take part in activities held by the suku. Other members of the council, such as women and youth reps, lia nain, and anciaun receive only \$45 if they take part in activities or conducted activities in the village. These members do not have a regular monthly salary given by the government.

The other source of income is the operational fund that is provided by the government to facilitate the suku council activities. The council receives the sum of \$125 for three months to support the council activities. The xefe suku is the head of the village council and administration of the village, the xefe suku is the sole decision maker over the expenditure of the operational fund that is delivered to the village every six months at the same time, the village administration officer assisted him to list the need where the money can be used and receive receipts to report back to the village council. The expenditure of this fund is used by XS/PAAS to buy office materials, snacks during meetings, and to cover transportation costs for XS to visit district and national offices to attend meetings. During village council meetings, the information revealed there is a verbal report. However, not all members are aware of who holds the money and how the money is spent as stated by a current council member⁸⁴.

“I know that there is a subsidy for the suku that the xefe suku himself managing the money, but all the council members do not know clearly about this money because xefe suku has never explained it. There were no snacks prepared in the meetings”

There are also others including the xefe suku himself did not aware or simply denied the existence of the operational fund being taken by PASS every three months and what the operational money has been used for to support the village council activities⁸⁵. Below is statement from xefe DC-2.3:

“The village council has no other financial resources for conducting the activities or to help the community. In the meeting we talk to one another and disperse. Maybe in Dili has some money to support the activities, but no in this village”

Next, the largest source of funds for the village council is the government fund for projects, which are implemented locally by the village council to build small infrastructure projects, such as community, youth centers and schools. The fund could be as high as \$7,000 - \$25,000. For example, the school construction committee was tasked to manage \$25000 from the government to manage to construct a local school building in the village. However, the BOQ of the project states how much money has been allocated to pay skilled labors and workers who work to complete the project. Therefore, the committee lead by the xefe suku is obligated to implement accordingly and give a written report to the government through the sub district office. The secretary of the construction committee prepares the report and sign by the xefe suku before to send to the sub district administration. Only this group in DC-2.3 has a bank account opened by the xefe suku in Dili for the government to transfer money to the group to use for the construction and other construction materials are stored on the construction to ease access by the workers. The decisions on project

⁸⁴DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note

⁸⁵ DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

finances were made in the sub district with no consultation with the community and community leaders in DC-2.3.

In terms of storing finances, funds are store in two ways depending on the location of the fund. First of all, the government project funds are stored in a bank account and later withdraw by the head of the village council or the head of the construction committee formed in the group. However, after the money is withdrawn and brought to the village, it stored with the secretary and leaders of the group in their houses. The small operational money is given in cash in the district and sub district levels and received directly by the PAAS and xefe suku and stored in their houses to manage. This money does not go through a bank account.

5.5.3 Collective Action among Groups (Using diagram to explain cooperation).

The village council cooperates with three external institutions: sub district administrations, sub district parishes, and NGOs. The village council cooperates with sub district administration to manage and control projects that are implemented locally in the village⁸⁶. This cooperation is actually planned by the people in the sub district level and information is delivered to the village council in DC-2.3 to follow. The village manages the construction of community and youth centers through this cooperation. The construction of an emergency school unit is still ongoing and Tarabandu has been implemented in the village⁸⁷.

Also, the village council cooperates with the parish in the sub-district in three ways including construction of the parish church in The sub-district. A letter was sent to the village to start and plan this cooperation among them. The xefe suku, xefe Aldeia and suku catechist went to meetings in The sub-district to discuss the construction process with representatives from other sukus and brought the information back to the village to disseminate to the communities. Next, the parish in The sub-district also holds sports competitions to celebrate the statues of the Virgin Mary and the sacred heart of Jesus Christ that go out to all sukus in The sub-district⁸⁸. Therefore, the youths from all 11 sukus formed their sports groups and came to take part in sports, volley ball, basket ball and soccer competition in The sub-district. In 2013, DC-2.3 was the champion of the competition and won a large statue for the community in the village⁸⁹. A grotto has been built in the village to place this statue as explained in the explanatory case section in the following chapter.

The village council also cooperates with local and international NGOs to improve the village's basic infrastructure and their livelihoods. This cooperation is usually unplanned but the external organization actually visits the village to explain their programs and seek interest from the community to establish the working group in the village and aldeias.

Within the village, the village council cooperates with six institutions within the village: the local Catholic Church, KCSB or the youth group v, local school teachers, victims of natural disaster, and the community as a whole. First of all, the village council cooperates with the local Catholic Church in conducting church or government related activities. The xefe suku and xefe Aldeia plan the cooperation and inform the church representatives so that catechist and prayers group members work together in the village. Also, the village council cooperates with the local Catholic Church during the month of May and June to welcome the statue

⁸⁶DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 25, Youth Rep, Note.docx,p.1

⁸⁷DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 32, Note.docx,p.1

⁸⁸DC-2.3 -07-01-14-Respondent 14- Catechist- NOT.docx,p.2

⁸⁹ DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 25, Youth Rep, Note.docx, p.2

of Virgin Mary and the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ to the village. They work very closely together as there is no difference between community and Christianity as stated by the local catechist⁹⁰.

“We have to give the money to the church because of our soul; we call the community as baptized people, not population of the government”

Moreover, the village council cooperates with other village groups, political parties, and agriculture and youth groups in the village. For instance, the xefe suku is the head of the local CNRT party. Respondent 8, Respondent 25, and Respondent 2 are the leaders of the agricultural groups call Haburas Domin, Hali Laran and Susu Mesa. Respondent 7, another village council member and the xefe Aldeia of DC-2.3-Aldeia 3, are members of the social group called Ran Ida. Nevertheless, the youth group uses village council members as counselors to provide advice and support⁹¹.

Furthermore, the village council cooperates with the local school teachers for school and community projects that may benefit the current and future generation of DC-2.3. They worked together to build local school building in 2014 and level bumps in front of the local school in 2006. This cooperation is planned by the school coordinator to inform the village chief and the parents of the students to work on school related projects⁹². The bumps in front of the local school compound were flattened as a result of this cooperation where the community, village council members, and school teachers worked together and contributed some \$2.00 - \$5.00 to pay an excavator to flatten them⁹³. The compound is now used by the local school students for sports activities.

Lastly, the village council cooperates with the community and the victims of natural disaster, in particular, to list their names and submit them to the sub district and national level to get help from the government⁹⁴. The victims of natural disaster inform the xefe Aldeia about their problems and the xefe Aldeia informs the xefe suku to further bring the problem they face to high government levels. Once the construction materials are delivered the village council monitors the community to ensure they build their houses in the village using the given construction materials to provide them a shelter.

Despite variations in how this cooperation is planned, these institutions cooperate to achieve a common goal that may benefit the community of DC-2.3 as a whole. Nevertheless, people with disability, those who live far away, and elderly and women do not normally participate in these collective actions due to their physical conditions and accessibility. Women in particular are passive and do not participate in the village collective actions due to lack of education and lack of women activity programs are available to them in the village. Also, the traditional Timorese roles attached to them such as caring of children, cooking for their males, and arranging other household needs prevent them from participating and cooperating with the village council⁹⁵.

Women are not usually come to the meeting but males come to attend the meeting we held in the village to receive the information⁹⁶. Xefe DC-2.3

⁹⁰DC-2.3 -07-01-14-Respondent 14- Catechist- NOT.docx,p.1

⁹¹DC-2.3 -06-27-14 - Respondent 5 - University student- AldeiaDC-2.3-Aldeia 3– Not.docx,p.1

⁹²DC-2.3 -06-04-14-Respondent 21- Founder of local school and teacher, DC-2.3,-NOT.docx,p.2

⁹³DC-2.3 -06-27-14-Respondent 21 - Farmer and 24 years Xefe Suku-Note.docx,p.4

⁹⁴DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 31, Note.docx,p.2

⁹⁵ DC-2.3-07.01.14-Respondent 12, Woman Rep, Note.docx

⁹⁶ DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Not audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

The main constraint of the cooperation was that each institution formed from different ministries and thus they follow their own instruction and direction from the national and sub district levels. For instance, the local school is functioning under the ministry of education, but the village council is operating under the ministry of state administration. Secondly, community perception on money involvement in projects awarded by the government is a constraint. People in the village council have to work because they receive money for it.

5.5.4 *Communication Strategy*

The village council communicates with its members and the community in two main ways. First of all, the village council uses phone calls and text messages to contact members who have mobile phones to inform about the village council's activities. Second, the village uses house-to-house visits by its members to deliver the information to the community and its members. However, xefe suku and xefe Aldeia have not really visited Bairro 2 and people from this Bairro are effectively excluded from the village life. .

For meetings that only include village council, the xefe suku inform PAAS about council or other meetings in the village. The PAAS then use phone calls or house to house visits to the member of the village council to inform⁹⁷. PAAS is the person who holds and makes information available for the members or visitors to access. However, in our observation no information on village decisions and projects were available in the village office. There were also inconsistencies in village council meetings minutes and attendance sheet in the village. The lia nain of the suku said he was absent in a meeting in May⁹⁸, but he was listed as being in attendance in the record. On the other hand, for meetings involving the community, PAAS informs the xefe Aldeia and xefe aldeias. They are the main messengers to bring information to the community and invite the community members to come to attend meetings⁹⁹. The xefe aldeias then reported back to xefe suku or village chief after the information is delivered to the community in each aldeia located in the village.

Moreover, the village council also uses alternative ways of communicating with the community such as sending children to inform villagers who live far away, informing the villagers from the farthest Aldeia when they come to market, or selling coffee in the village center to attend meetings held in the village. The other alternative is if the Catholic Church has an activity to do and requires participation from the community. The catechist will inform the village chief and the xefe aldeias to spread the information to the community¹⁰⁰. Inversely, if there is an activity run by the local government that requires participation from the local Catholic Church, the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia will inform the catechist to participate.

Though the village council has both common and alternative ways of communication methods, information is only delivered to some households in the village¹⁰¹. There are two reasons behind these drawbacks. First of all, some of the households had not been visited by their xefe Aldeia for a long time when this research was conducted in the village. Secondly, the remotest and farthest households did not normally receive the information on time due to long distance from xefe Aldeias and community houses. The xefe Aldeia of DC-2.3-Aldeia 3¹⁰² and DC-2.3-Aldeia 2¹⁰³, in particular, live very far away from their community as they both are

⁹⁷DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 3, PAAS, Note.docx,p.2

⁹⁸DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note.docx

⁹⁹DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 27, Note.docx,p.1

¹⁰⁰DC-2.3 -07-01-14-Respondent 14- Catechist- NOT.docx

¹⁰¹DC-2.3-06.28.14-Respondent 23, Note.docx,p.1

¹⁰²DC-2.3-06-27-14-Respondent 7, XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 3, Note.docx.docx,p.1

from and live in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. Some household members may not be at their residence when the xefe Aldeia reach their houses as they are busy working in their red bean and coffee farms far away from their residents. Consequently, only some households received information from the village xefe and xefe Aldeia in the village.

Overall, not majority of the communities in the village were satisfied with the way the local government is functioning. Communities from Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2¹⁰⁴, DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 and Bairro 2¹⁰⁵ were dissatisfied with their current xefe suku and xefe Aldeia as stated by a local school teacher.

"I know my village very well. There were cows to distribute to the community, but he (xefe suku) only gave to CNRT members in the village and others just out of the group. The government gives some money to the village but the xefe suku has it all (XS has all the money). Vulnerable or natural disasters houses are also provided by the Ministry of Social Solidarity, but he gives to his family, some even still very young to get a house but they get houses from the ministry"

5.6 Explanatory cases

In May and June 2013, the parish The sub-district gave the Statue of Virgin Mary and Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ to visit all the villages located in the sub district. Both statues visited each village for a month before the villagers returned to the parish in The sub-district. To make the event more interesting, reflects the Catholicism, and create peace and stability among the community who live under the parish, the parish priest organized sport competitions in the village and youths from all 11 sukus participated¹⁰⁶. Youths from DC-2.3 took part in the competition and became the winner of the competition for volleyball and football. They won a large statue of the Virgin Mary and brought it to the village. In the village, the xefe suku invited the catechist, youth representatives, school teachers, and other village council members to meet and discuss about building a grotto in the village to put up the statue¹⁰⁷. He emphasized that he and the youth of the village have been working really hard in the field and thus the statue could not be placed in the sede suku or in a chapel. The persons who were present at the meeting agreed on his idea and decided to build the grotto in front of the village office. The xefe suku, local school teachers, and community distributed money, cement, and iron to build the grotto¹⁰⁸. Sand was collected from the nearby river and stones were collected from the coffee plantation near the village by the youths to build the grotto. The workers on this grotto were not paid as the youths of the village voluntarily worked on the project to completion. The grotto is now completed, but no statue has been placed yet. There is a plan in August this year to hold an inauguration ceremony and the village council and local catechist will invite the parish priest and sub district administration to this event. The village council, the catechist, and the local school teachers have decided that each household will contribute \$10 to celebrate the inauguration event to place the statue in the grotto¹⁰⁹. The community has received this information from their respective xefe aldeias.

¹⁰³DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 8 -XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 2–NOT.docx,p.1

¹⁰⁴ DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note-1.docx, p.1

¹⁰⁵DC-2.3-06-28-14-Respondent 9 -DC-2.3-Aldeia 1, Bairro 2, Farmer – NOT.docx, p.1

¹⁰⁶DC-2.3 -06-27-14-Respondent 21 - Farmer and 24 years Xefe Suku-Note.docx,p.2

¹⁰⁷DC-2.3 -07-01-14-Respondent 14- Catechist- NOT.docx,p.2

¹⁰⁸DC-2.3 -06-27-14-Respondent 21 - Farmer and 24 years XefeSuku-Note .docx,p.2

¹⁰⁹DC-2.3 -06-27-14-Respondent 21 - Farmer and 24 years Xefe Suku-Note.docx, p.4

6. Public goods

6.1 Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

There are seventeen projects that were registered and implemented in DC-2.3. Most of the projects were implemented between 2003 and 2013 where the current village council was involved directly and indirectly in some projects. Some of the projects are supported by non-government organizations, donors, government, and communities. All the projects are listed as follows;

No	Project Name	Location	Type	Year	Status	Objective
1	Flood Defenses	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Government	2013	Completed	To prevent landslides
2	Road Rehabilitation & maintenance	DC-2.3 – Neighboring suku 1	Government	2012	Completed	To provide good access for the communities of the area
3	Water pipe installation	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	NGO	2001	Uncompleted	Piping water from a water source located in Bairro 3
4	School construction	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Government	2008	Completed	To facilitate the study process of DC-2.3's children
5	Sede suku	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Government	2007	Completed	To facilitate village administration
6	Community center	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Government	2011	Completed	To facilitate community's activities
7	Road project	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Government \$3	2012	Completed	To facilitate transportation of coffee and beans to the market
8	Flattening of bumps	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Community	2006	Completed	To level it and use by student during break time to play sports
9	Clean Water inatallation project	Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2	NGO	2003	Completed	To provide clean water to communities who live in the aldeia
10	Uma Lisan Clan 1 & Clan 2	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	community	2011/2012	Completed	To facilitate traditional celebrations and to be the shelter of the uma lisan's sons
11	Electricity	DC-2.3	Government	2014	The electricity post has been installed	To supply power to the village

					in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 but not completed	
12	Grotto	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Community	2013	Completed	To put statute of Virgin Mary
13	Well in coffee plantation	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	NGO	Unknown	Unknown	To collect water in a tank for community to access
14	Small road	Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2	community	2003	Completed	To facilitate transportation (horses, motorbike and villagers)
15	Water Installation	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3	Government	2010	The project was completed and water was supplied to the local school for a few weeks using a water pump; however, the company took the pump without informing the community or the villagers. Therefore, the school has no water ever since the water pump was removed.	To supply water to the local school and community in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3
16	Chapel	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	Community	Unknown	Unknown	To celebrate mass and other church activities in the village
17	Youth Centre	DC-2.3-Aldeia 1	NGO	Unknown	Completed	To facilitate youth activities

6.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1 *Project selection and decision-making process*

There are three types of implementation leadership of projects in DC-2.3 such as Government, NGO, and Community. In the government project were also divided into two types of implementing partners such as; the project that given to the community and the local leader to manage it themselves and the project that awarded to the company, this type of Government project called Nationwide program and Pakote Referendum. The Government projects that given to the local entities as implementing partner were Sede suku project on 2007, Community centre on 2011, School building on 2008 and the \$3 road project on 2012. The project that awarded to the company was clean water in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 on 2010, electricity on 2014, flood defenses on 2013 and Road rehabilitation and maintenance on 2012. Besides that, the NGO projects that implemented in the village through aldeias were water pipe installation in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 on 2001, clean water installation in aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 on 2003, youth center and water well in coffee plantation in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. Community projects were flattening bumps in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 on 2006, uma lisan Clan 1 and Clan 2 on 2011/2012, Grotto in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 on 2013, small road in aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 on 2003, and chapel in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1.

Following the project leadership types mentioned above, there were some different and similar approaches in the project selection process. Almost all the government projects in DC-2.3 were not through selection and decision process at the village level because government made the selection and decision. It was government's program to provide sede suku and community center for every village. However; for the community center, communities were engaging in the project selection at village level with the local authorities and decided to apply for the project¹¹⁰. In the other hand NGO and community projects were having similar selection process. Community together with the NGO officer identified the need of water in the aldeia in a meeting and consensus with the decision on implementing the water project in the area¹¹¹. Basically a project was selecting because the villagers feel the need and the importance of it e.g. DC-2.3 has very limited supplies of clean water and difficulty in access to the water source.

In DC-2.3, generally a project was identified through discussion in a meeting with local leader like xefe aldeia and Lia nain as well as community. This process was happened in aldeia level before it brought to the meeting at suku level.

*"Xefe aldeias are the ones really closed to the community, they are the ones have to identify the Community needs and bring it to me and PAAS to see and respond and bring it to the sub district level"*¹¹²

Usually xefe aldeia is the one who held meeting with the community in aldeia to discuss about the community needs and difficulties¹¹³ regarding the basic needs such as clean water, electricity, clinic and road. These concerns were brought to the village council meeting to discuss with other village council and the xefe suku. From the meeting were selected some project to be requested from the government e.g. electricity project who have started installing in the suku.

¹¹⁰ DC-2.3 -06.25.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note

¹¹¹ DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note

¹¹² ibid

¹¹³ DC-2.3 -06-30-14-Respondent 8 -XA DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -NOTE

The selection was made in the regular village council meeting and the decision also made there through a consensus and sometimes unanimous. PAAS as the suku secretary will be documenting it. For example the decision on to send a proposal for the community center project and the youth center in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. Not all the project was decided in the village meeting level because some community project was decided in aldeia level in their meeting. The community discusses the idea of opening a small road in aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 which was facilitated by Respondent 2 as the initiator and agreed to the idea without consulting with the village council. However they did inform the local leader for the project¹¹⁴ as Respondent 2 is a village council member. The same thing with uma lisan Clan 1 and Clan 2 project were not through village council and or aldeia meeting. It was decided through a consensus in the family.

In these processes also the villagers were working together or cooperate with other actor through agencies; IOM (International Organization for Migration), UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund), other UN (United Nations) Agency and the Ministry of education to do the consultation regarding the need of school building in DC-2.3¹¹⁵ as one example and for the grotto project community were cooperate with the church in this case was the catechist.

On the other hand, some government projects will only be informed to the local leaders and the communities after awarded. Most of them were the project that awarded to company. The implementing company is going to formally inform the local authorities or the xefe suku regarding their work to get his acknowledgement and cooperation e.g. the flood defenses, clean water project in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and the road rehabilitation and maintenance project. These project were not selected and decided in any community meeting or even in a village council meeting, it was decided in the government level.

6.2.2 *Project Planning*

Similar to the previous section above that in this planning stage had some difference approaches for one project and another. Projects that a company implemented in the village have been planned when awarded to a company. The company itself that knows the project financial and logistical planning, except the coordination process. The company will come to the village for formally inform the xefe suku and coordinate the implementation plan. As one example, the Flood defenses project and or clean water project in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. There have been planned even though they still need to coordinate with the local leaders and the community in terms of implementation. Xefe suku and other local leaders including communities did not involve in their project planning process¹¹⁶.

For other government projects that community and the local leaders as the implementers were provided with a certain budget from the government to be managed e.g. the sede suku project or the community center. Before received the budget the suku was asked to form a committee. The

¹¹⁴ DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note

¹¹⁵ DC-2.3 -06-04-14-Respondent 21- Founder of local school and teacher, DC-2.3,-NOT

¹¹⁶ ibid

committee were composting from the president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. They were together responsible for the project by identifying the needs of the project based on the budget available¹¹⁷. The needs were construction materials, skilled labor, and the site where the project will be built in. The committee then will identify as well the cost of all the project needs mentioned. This committee set up regular meeting for the planning process.

Almost similar, for some NGO and community's projects were planning through meetings to identify how much money needs for the project. Usually after the project selected based on their consensus they will plan through the whole process. Some community project did not need an implementing committee like the government projects e.g. the uma lisan project and grotto project. There will only a coordinator to lead the process from the beginning to the end. For example the uma lisan will be lead by the katuas adat or the elderly man of the uma lisan (Clan 1 and Clan 2) to identify all the construction materials need and the cost of it¹¹⁸. The same thing for the grotto as well as for the bumps flattening in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1. After terminated the total budget or cost need; communities through their coordinator will hold a meeting to discuss on how to get the money and materials for the project implementation. There were ways to get the money such as; through the contribution of the community that could be cash and materials e.g. community contribute \$2-\$10 per households for the grotto and flattening bumps project. The contribution was managed by the coordinator who led the work to pay for some materials or working fees to resolve some issues. Besides the cost of the project there will also the work schedule and the workers. For the workers of community projects were coordinating with the local leaders such as xefe aldeias or someone trusted to organize community¹¹⁹.

Community and the local leaders were always cooperating. The coordination between them in the project plan was through meetings where local leaders took part of it.

The primary constraints of the planning process were the community's participation. They hardly expressed their ideas while it was really need. Most of all women's participation in all activities was very low. The participation here were mostly on the community project, NGO and government that community were managing. However, for the Government project that was awarded to company got lesser participation from communities and the local leaders such as xefe suku, xefe aldeias and the village council members. There were also no good coordination and cooperation between the company and the local leaders. The xefe suku got lack of information and control over the project that a company implemented. For example the company left after project completed however the workers from the village were left unpaid¹²⁰.

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

¹¹⁸ *ibid*

¹¹⁹

¹²⁰ DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note.docx

6.2.3 *Project implementation*

There are some differences on how the project is implemented in the suku. The differences come from the different type of projects. When the Government implemented a project there were some steps in the process that fully engaged the community. For example the construction project such as Community center building and school building in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 were through communication with xefe suku as the head of the village, communities were informed in a meeting, doing recruitment of the workers and start working. Therefore, the community felt an ownership of the project. There was coordination and cooperation between the community, suku councils, and the committee formed. Generally, after the planning stage the project should have been ready to be implemented. In terms of construction project they will do the recruitment of skilled labor, buying all the construction materials and coordinate people to help and support the activities. Besides the physical works and the logistics preparation there were also the committee or the coordinator will need to do the administration thing such as financial report. For the government project the report will send to the government and for the community project the update and report will refer to the communities and the local leaders at the end.

In the implementation, the skilled labor that recruits to work on the project will work under the different agreement. Some skilled labor recruited to work on the government project mostly paid. However; for skilled labor that was working on community project for this instance, grotto project in DC-2.3 were working unpaid because there were no budget for the project. Communities were majority participated in the working implementation voluntarily. The skilled labors were selected from communities in each aldeia by the coordinator or the committee. The communities were divided in groups and worked once a week with tasks that have been clearly divided in the planning stage. Voluntary works became the key center of the entire completed project that was implemented in the suku¹²¹. For the other community project like bumps flattening project contributions was made from \$2-\$15 were collected to pay the excavator to help rushing the work. . The paid laborers were recruited from each aldeia and took turns to work on the project; \$3 per project, Nevertheless, the majority of projects that took place in the village was implemented by contractors. Therefore, they brought their own laborers from other place to come and work on the project until completed.

Skilled laborers were the one lead the work on mixing concrete and building. The communities that worked voluntarily in groups were leading by the coordinator or xefe aldeia if they involved. Communities that have been grouped scheduled to work during the week and they have been tasked like; all the men will work on mixing concrete and carry construction materials from the stored place to the project site¹²². All the women will help the men as well but some of them will be just cooking for the workers so that everyone would do each of their tasks.

¹²¹ DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 25, Youth Rep, Note.docx

DC-2.3 - Respondent 11- Community Member- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -Note - Checked by Geraldo X

DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 2.Note

DC-2.3-06.26.14-Respondent 3, PAAS, Note.docx

¹²²

For projects that was implemented by company e.g. the water project, the primary constraint was the lack of coordination and cooperation with the leaders in the community and the community itself. Lack of support and participation from the community has significant impact on the project. In terms of management, there was a lack of capacity of the company and a limited budget for human resources¹²³. Besides that for the water project implementation were difficult since geographically the project site was hard to do the work on. There were also problems with the logistics: a limitation of the construction materials. Generally for the pure community project was funding limitation¹²⁴. In terms of financial report there was also no clear information whether the report sent to the government or not, for this instance was the community and sede suku project.

6.2.4 Resource management

Construction materials that need to be protected from rain, sun or theft were stored and locked at the sede suku. Materials that do not need to be protected from rain, sun or thief are normally placed closer to the project site or project location to facilitate workers. Considering the topography of the location, it was better to store all the heavy materials such as sand, stone, and water near the site. For some community project like flattening bumps, open the small road in DC-2.3-Aldeia 2, grotto project were required their own manual working tools to work on the project. While the other government project, the company have prepare all the tools including machinery to facilitate works. Other construction materials like sands and stones are collected from a nearby river.

The skilled laborers who led the construction were managing the use of the project material and decide on how to use the resources. In some projects, the implementation is lead by community members who have power and influence in the community like Respondent 2 in DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 for the small road-opening project. The community also can be led by a person who has work experience or skills in managing a project. Respondent 4 was one of the powerful people who led the community to do the Bumps Flattening project together with a school coordinator.

6.2.5 Development outcomes

From seventeen projects implemented in DC-2.3 majority were completed. There were twelve projects completed, one project uncompleted, one is ongoing, and two projects were remaining unknown due to limited information. The twelve completed projects such as three projects from government implemented by company, three projects from the government that community managed, one NGO project and five pure community projects. The uncompleted one is a water installation project from NGO on 2001 and the unknown are two projects and one government project is ongoing.

¹²³ DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note.docx

¹²⁴

Almost all the completed projects in DC-2.3 are in use except a water project that was implemented by a company from the sub-district. This project is completed however the company left the suku brought along the water pump when the project completed¹²⁵. After company left the project outcomes cannot be count because DC-2.3 still does not have water. The other project remain uncompleted was a water installation project in 2001. It was due to limited capacity and materials from the NGO as well as the topography of the location.

For all those projects completed and are in used like bumps flattened that is using as playfield by the students and other communities activities, road in DC-2.3-Aldeia 2, the community center building are now using for community activities as meeting and is using as class due to classroom limitation in school and many others¹²⁶. These completed projects are mostly community projects that benefit the community. The community feels ownership of the projects and completely supports the construction until it is finished.

On the other hand, the water project failed to be used because the water pump that could use to supply the water to the suku was not provided by the company. Now, without the pump, the water project remains unused and there is no water supply in the suku. The public could not access clean water after all. There are also cases where workers left unpaid e.g. for the flood defense project in DC-2.3¹²⁷.

Poor participation and support from the community caused the failure of a project it is also because there was no intervention of the xefe suku as the village leader in the implementation of a project by a company. The xefe suku had the power to interfere and question the work of the company. However, it did not happen in the project construction implementation.

6.3 Explanatory cases

- Clean water project (Failed to supply water to local school and community in DC-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3)

The clean water installation project was a government project called pakote referendum that awarded to a company from The sub-district. The objective of the project is to supply water to the local school in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and to community DC-2.3-Aldeia 3. The total budget of the project was \$20,000. The company came to the village and bring all the materials to the project location, the same side that previous water project did with World Bank funding. The company chose that side

¹²⁵ DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note.docx

¹²⁶

¹²⁷ DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 25, Youth Rep, Note.docx

DC-2.3 - Respondent 11- Community Member- Aldeia DC-2.3-Aldeia 2 -Note

after the company team did the observation in the beginning. They only renovate the old tank that left from WB project. The company did inform the xefe suku regarding their planning on project implementation.

The company brought their own workers and all the materials were stored at the project location. To look after the materials the company hired people from Neighboring Suku 1. The project was implemented however; in the implementation process there were issues that company did not bring water technician or the expert person on water canalization instead he brought a skilled labor that know nothing on how to canalized the water¹²⁸. Even though, the canalization was continue until completed. And for pumping up the water, the company bought a water pump machine or Sanyo. This machine was working well and the water was well distributed to the community in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-2.3-Aldeia 3 as well as the school. During a month the company used people from Neighboring Suku 1 to maintain the water tank and the machine.

The water was supplied for a period of a month using the machine (Sanyo). After a month, the company left the location and brought along the pump machine. They left the village without notification. The xefe suku and the communities left unknown regarding the project. Without the pump machine there were no more water supplied to the village and leaving the school without water.

The project is considered as completed however it is failed to distributing the water to the communities and the students.

- Flattening Bumps in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1¹²⁹

Geographically DC-2.3 is in the mountain where the area is between hills. After the emergency primary school was build in DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 there was a problem because the school has no playing field for the students due to three big bumps were right in front of the school. The teachers leading by Respondent 21 coordinate with the communities to flatten the bumps. The community's representative in the suku was the ex xefe suku of DC-2.3, Respondent 4. The teacher together with Respondent 4 coordinates with the communities (parents of the school children) to plan on the bumps flattening.

Trough meetings with teachers, local leaders (xefe suku, xefe aldeias and the suku council members), and the communities decided that they will work and dig three bumps in the school compound. The students also come to help to flatten the bumps to level it for students to use for sporting activities. In the implementation all work in voluntary bases due to no financial support or budget available for the work. It was on 2006. The communities and the teachers were work manually. Every worker brought their own working tools. After work for a while and there was no significant change on the

¹²⁸ DC-2.3-07.05.14-Respondent 1, XS, Note.docx

¹²⁹ DC-2.3-07.15.14-Respondent 21, Note, Respondent 4, DC-2.3-07.03.14-Respondent 25, Youth Rep, Note.docx

bumps due to manual works that quite slow. The teachers and the community's coordinator held another meeting with communities. The objective of the meeting was to collect contribution from communities to pay for an excavator to help fasten the work.

Communities agreed on the idea and will contribute some money as planned. The contribution was \$2-\$10 per household. It was not compulsory to contribute, it could be less or more depend on how much people afford.

Respondent 4 was the one collected the money and manage it. The money collected was using to pay for fuel and some stipend for the excavator's driver.

The teacher, Respondent 21 has lobbied a person who came to The sub-district with an Excavator to flatten the bumps and the person agreed.

"Therefore, through a meeting with the XS and parents of the children they agreed to distribute some together to flatten the bumps".

There was about \$600.00 collected to pay the excavator. However it was not enough money to pay for fuel and the person. The teacher pays more \$40 for the fuel using his salary.

In the implementation process, there was problem that not all communities come to work on the project especially those from Bairro 2 which is far away from the school location. But for the communities' lives nearby in the three aldeias were always remind by the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias. They came because it was good for the children.

The project is completed and the place is using not only the students but all communities are getting the benefit of the project. They use it as playing field, as market and other ceremonies in the suku. It was a big outcome of the community's project where community feels the need and own the project.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Describe findings that have may have a potential impact on the implementation of PNDS

There are few findings that have potential impact on the implementation of PNDS such as the passivity of the population especially woman, the topography of the area, groups and the leadership group.

Woman in the village are very passive comparing to the men. Their passivity could impact to the implementation of the program due to woman is a group that has potential voice to the process of program implementation. They were given a special portion of the voice in the decision making of project selection process and for that woman need to be more active. They have to be more confident to express their ideas therefore their voice could be hear. On the other hand the topography of the area also becomes issues that have its impact on the implementation of the project. Consider its difficulties to reach each aldeia because of the accessibility could slow the project implementation.

Consider that there are a lot of communities groups exist in the village people could be mix the village interests and the group's interest. If there is any one of the group members represent in the

suku management team it could affect their decision making. It is the same with the leadership group that could possibly coming from one aldeia e.g. DC-2.3-Aldeia 1 because of the population number.

7.2 Limitations of the study

The study was implemented within 10 working days that not quite enough due to there were very difficult location.

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

1.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the suku of DC-2.4 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organizations, as well as community rules. It will also provide a picture of community cohesion by looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare. And lastly, the study will explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects.

1.2 Summary findings

2. Methodology

2.1 Sampling criteria

The village considered in this study falls into the territory's eastern region, called East, and it encompasses the districts of Viqueque, Lautem and Baucau. Based on the Qualitative Field Study (QualSF) sampling strategy, the national territory of Timor-Leste has been divided into six regions to ensure regional coverage: Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Oecusse.¹ The required sampling criteria for the Eastern region are level of urbanization and share of veterans in the village. The opposite extremes of both variables are explored in Table 1.

Region	Cases to be selected (4 total)
East	High Veteran and Peri-Urban
	Low Veteran and Peri-Urban
	High Veteran and Rural
	Low Veteran and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Eastern Region

In order to determine the urbanization level of villages in this region, the 2010 Census Fó Fila Fali was reviewed. A dataset outlining the population for each village was created. Furthermore, the village population share of the district population was computed. Then a regional average (2.84%) was calculated. Given low variance in the village population share in the dataset, villages that were a quarter standard deviations above the mean (2.84%) were considered as “peri-urban,” while the ones below this benchmark were labeled as rural. After reviewing the Timor-Leste District Atlas (2008), the regional average of suku public institutions was computed (3.66). Villages that were a quarter standard deviations above the mean were labeled as “peri-urban,” while the remaining were placed in the “rural” quadrants of the sampling matrix. Both assigned labels for each village were compared and the final label was assigned on a case-by-case basis.

After obtaining the number of veterans per village from the Secretariat of Veteran Affairs of Timor-Leste² and calculating the share of veterans' population in each village, a regional average share of veterans in a village (1.07%) was computed. This figure was then used as a benchmark. Villages in which the share of veterans is 1.07% or above were placed in the “High Veterans” quadrant of the sampling matrix, while the remaining ones were placed in the “Low Veterans” quadrant.

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP

² Officially known as *Secretariado de Estado para os Assuntos dos Antigos Combatentes da Libertação Nacional*.

A village from a different district was sampled in each quadrant to ensure national coverage. The districts that had the largest share of Phase III villages in each quadrant were preferred. Following, the population of DC-2.4 was up 2.84% (2010 census) with 1.99% of veterans. Therefore, the village considered in the Peri-Urban and High veteran.

2.2 Data collection

The data for this qualitative study were obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the period of June 24th- July 5th, 2014. A total of 35 villagers were interviewed face-to-face in various locations. The interviews were conducted in the village at a meeting place, at a workplace (village office, church, or field work), or at a private residence. Most interviews were recorded and complemented with hand-written notes. However, for respondents who rejected to having their interviews recorded, the researchers relied only on handwritten notes.

Respondents were selected using three sampling methods: convenience, purposive and snowball. With convenience sampling, researchers selected respondents by convenience. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached while they took part in an activity or were at their place of residence. For purposive sampling, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. village council members and community police officer) or as having power to affect village-level development policies (e.g. district administrators, district police commanders and company owners). Finally, for snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend potential individuals who could be approached to obtain information.

A number of observations were also conducted. The events observed include an inauguration of youth center, the classmate sporting matches of pre-secondary school a catholic junior high school in DC-2.4, and construction work for water supply in the village.

Official village documents were also consulted to obtain additional data. These documents included the suku's official records on population, village council structure, and village mapping. All of these documents were posted on the wall of the village office. Afterwards, the district administration and Autoridade desenvolvimentu Nasional, (ADN), as known in English National Development Authority's documents were coordinated to attain additional data about public goods.

2.3 Sampling of respondents

Invariably, the majority of respondents worked in various institutions including NGOs, companies, offices and construction. Some of respondents were traders, drivers, and farmers despite holding other important roles in the village such as xefe suku, xefe aldeia, or members of Komisaun Polisiamentu Komunitarian (KPK) or committee of police for community. Female respondents reported that their daily activities mostly revolve around the maintenance of their household. On the other hand, some of them also reported that they were doing teaching, farming, feeding the animals, and company works as their secondary activities. Religious leaders included catechist of protestant church and catechist parish church. Furthermore, Students were members of youth parliament. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided (Table 3).

		Total
By gender	Male	23
	Female	12
By age	Less than 25	2
	26 – 39	14
	40 – 55	10
	56 – 70	7
	71 – 80	1

	81 and over	1
By profession	Farmers	5
	Village council members	8
	Housewife	1
	Red cross staff	1
	Catechist	1
	Retirees	1
	Teachers	4
	Student	1
	Civil servant	2
	Business	1
	District administrator	1
	PNDS staff	1
	PNTL	2
	Workers	3
	Vulnerable	3
By Sampling method	Purposive	16
	Snowball	15
	Convenience	4

Table 3. Sample respondents

3. Description of the village

3.1 Location and names of aldeia, village borders

All the district and sub district administration offices are located in in this suku. There are seven aldeias in DC-2.4: DC-2.4-Aldeia 1, DC-2.4-Aldeia 6, DC-2.4-Aldeia 7, DC-2.4-Aldeia 5, DC-2.4-Aldeia 2, DC-2.4-Aldeia 4 and DC-2.4-Aldeia 3.

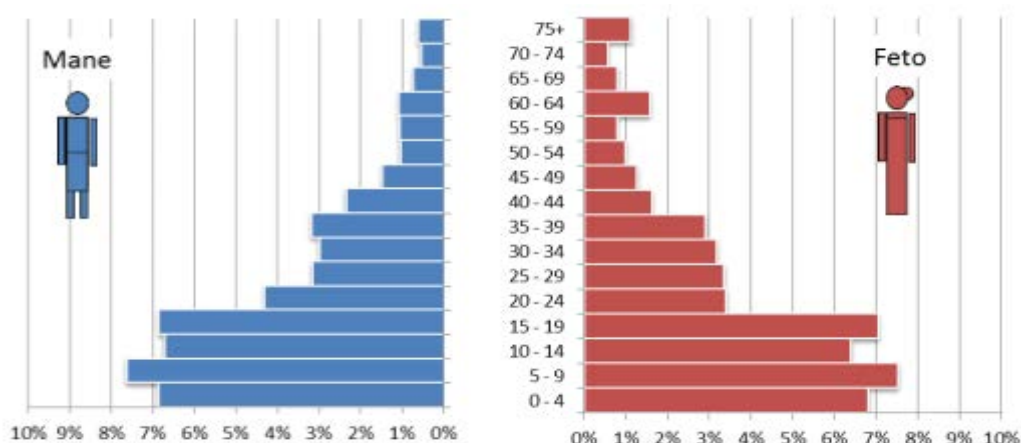
The village is separated by the hills into two big Bairos including Bairo 1 and Bairo 2. Bairo 1 is made up of three aldeias: DC-2.4-Aldeia 6, DC-2.4-Aldeia 7 and DC-2.4-Aldeia 5. On the other hand, Bairo 2 is made up of four aldeias: DC-2.4-Aldeia 1, DC-2.4-Aldeia 2, DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 and DC-2.4-Aldeia 4. The two regions are located close to each other with passable main road and transportation systems. The Bairo 1 region is placed in the east of the village while the Bairo 2 is placed in the west. These villages are connected by the main road and a number of villages roads. However, the borders of each aldeia in the village are still difficult to map out due to the urbanization stage.

Besides aldeia borders, DC-2.4 also share its borders with a number of other villages and sub districts, the village is surrounded by the majority of villages from the the sub district. To the east, it shares the borders with the villages of Neighboring suku 1 and Neighboring suku 2. Neighboring suku 1 is administered by the Neighboring sub-district 1 while Neighboring suku 2 is administered by the Neighboring sub-district 2 sub district. Neighboring suku 3 and two other villages are located south of the village. These three villages are part of the same sub district as DC-2.4. Furthermore, a couple of sub district villages, are located to the west while Neighboring suku 4 and DC-1.3 are placed north of the village. Neighboring suku 4 is part of Neighboring sub-district 2 and DC-1.3 is part of the sub-district.

3.2 Population

DC-2.4 is one of the most populous villages in the sub district. According to the 2010 census, this village has a total of population of about 6,300 people and is distributed throughout about 1000 households. Women make

up slightly less than men at 49.3% of the village population. 175 individual households of the households in the village are headed by women. Graph 1 provides a disaggregated chart of DC-2.4's population by gender and age.



Graph 1. Population distribution of DC-2.4 by age and gender (source: Census Fó Fila)

There is no official reliable data for the aldeia population. For example, the population data provided in the Census 2010 is inconsistent and contains irreconcilable errors. However, the suku council also conducts its own census regularly and the 2013 figures illustrate that its population has, in fact, declined slightly since 2010. The current population according to the village's census is 7,452. The suku council census also shows that the aldeia with the highest population is DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 with DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 having the lowest. The latest population figures from the suku council are presented in Table 4.

No .	Aldeia	Households	Male	Female	Total of Population
1	DC-2.4-Aldeia 1	430	1,377	1,316	2,693
2	DC-2.4-Aldeia 2	57	167	155	322
3	DC-2.4-Aldeia 3	67	205	197	402
4	DC-2.4-Aldeia 4	237	447	373	814
5	DC-2.4-Aldeia 5	83	247	219	466
6	DC-2.4-Aldeia 6	272	843	787	1,630
7	DC-2.4-Aldeia 7	198	556	569	1,125
TOTAL		1,344	3,842	3,616	7,452

Table 4. Population distribution by gender in the aldeias of DC-2.4 (source: Suku Council, 2013)

The majority of villagers in DC-2.4 speak Tetun Terik at about 55%. More than 20% of the villagers speak Tetun prasa. The 2010 Census Fo Fila Fali also shows that other local languages are spoken in the village including Makasae (more than 20%), Kairui (4%), Naueti (3%) and Midiki (1%). Tetun terik is spoken in most

aldeia in the village except for aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 5, where villagers speak Makasae. It was notable during the field research that the villagers are, by and large, multilingual in their ability to communicate with people from other villages. It also noted that most of the villagers use Tetun Prasa to communicate. During the interview, only a very few respondents had trouble communicating in Tetun Prasa.

3.3 Suku profile

As DC-2.4 is a regional capital, the public goods of sub districts and districts are centralized in the village. According to the xefe suku alternative, development in the village started in 1983 during the Indonesian period. They began constructing the schools and roads in the village. Afterwards, the villagers also could access the water, sanitary and electricity systems, which were supplied by the Indonesian government.

Based on the 2010 census, 87.76% still use firewood as their source of energy (in comparison, the sub-district has 94.96% prevalence and nationally 89.59%). Kerosene is used by 4.91%, electricity by 4.51% and gas by 2.31%. Biogas is only used by 0.50% of households in the village.

Water supply is more accessible in contrast to sanitation. Over 80% of households have access to water supplied by piped water, wells, pumped water, and other water sources, which are protectable. However, less than 80% of households in the village have access to sanitation.

Telephones are largely owned by 81.3% of households. Television ownership is the second at 52.2% of households form of access to actual information and entertainment. Around 20% to 38.62% of households own motorbikes, bicycles, refrigerators, and radios. There are only 9.2% of households in the village that own a private car.

3.4 Livelihoods/Economic development profile

The economy of the DC-2.4 is largely comprised of animal rearing, where more than 60% of households are engaged in chicken feeding. Other animals such as pigs, sheep, goats, horses, cows and buffalos are reared by villagers in the village as well. Also, 32.93% of the villagers' employment included trading, public servants and other individual work in NGOs and other companies. Trading is the main employment of villagers in the central village. Also, most villagers in these areas are living with traders. Farming is not done by the majority of villagers due to the freeing of animals in the village. According to the PAAS, only villagers who live in village side are farming. Census Fo Fila Fali illustrates that 23.17% of households are involved in farming. The farming included corn, tapioca, vegetables, coconut, coffee, fruit, and rice.

3.5 Human development profile

The 2010 census says that 48% of the population in the village attended schools while about 33% left schools. Therefore, 19% of village population never attended education. Only a small proportion of the population, roughly 1%, had not yet enrolled in the schools.

More than 30%, the largest proportion of the population aged over 5 years old, attended primary school. About 22% enrolled in secondary school and over 15% were in pre-secondary school. Less than 10% of the population were involved in university, polytechnic, and pre-primary school. The smallest proportion of the population in the village, about 2%, attended a Polytechnic school. Furthermore, about 2% of the population attended a non-formal educational establishment.

The highest educational establishment in the village is university. All universities are operated by individual institutions such as Cristal, UNTAL, IOB and UNDIL.³ However, most primary schools are operated by the government. There is only one catholic primary school and a number of pre-primary schools, which are

³ DC-2.4_20140625_Respondent 2_ViquequeAD(Notes).docx.p.3

managed by the church. There are two public pre-secondary schools and one public secondary school. As well as catholic schools, two pre-secondary and one secondary schools.

A number of health centers also occurred in the village. 74.8% of pregnant women in the village accessed the hospital and gave birth to children with qualified assistance.

3.6 Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages

DC-2.4 is an urban village in the sub district. Therefore, the existence of public goods in the village is quite numerous in contrast with other villages in the sub district. Nevertheless, the villagers are very spread out, which means that access to some public facilities can be severely limited for some aldeias in the villages.

Almost all villagers have access to the electricity. The villagers that live in the center of the village near to the main roads or government residences such as Bairro 1 and Bairro 2 have access to power ever since the Indonesian occupation. However, the villagers who live in villages far from the center have just received access after independence.

The majority of the villagers from seven aldeias have access to main roads by a number of secondary roads, which are diverse in terms of the condition of roads: some roads are concrete but some are insubstantial. The roads connect the bairros in the aldeia to the main road. For instance, the road from DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 to the main road runs through the bairros of DC-2.4-Aldeia 6 or DC-2.4-Aldeia 7. There are several roads from DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 to the main roads. The road from the main road to the general hospital in DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 was constructed early this year. In addition, the other six aldeias are connected by secondary roads. Whereas, many villagers from these aldeias live on the main roads which means these villagers can access main roads without secondary roads. There is also a suspended bridge which facilitates the villagers from aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 2, some of DC-2.4-Aldeia 6, DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 and the students from riverside to main road in Bairro 1.

There are a number of water facilities spread out in the village. Villagers who live by the facility have access to the water system. a major water system which is supplied from Neighboring sub-district 1 with several wells in the village and are consumed by the villagers. There is also a water system which is being supplied by an NGO for the villagers in DC-2.4-Aldeia 2, DC-2.4-Aldeia 6 and some of DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 who are situated in DC-2.4-Aldeia 2. This system is an ongoing project and not yet accessible to villagers. Nevertheless, the villagers who live far away from the facilities only consume the river water near their residence. The rain water also can be consumed by the smallest proportion of village population when the river is flowing swiftly.

Furthermore, there are also a number of public buildings and bridges accessed by the villagers. Youth center is accessed by youths to capacitate them through non-formal training. However, the bridges are used by the villagers for the movement.

3.7 Reoccurring problems

Some of the main difficulties in this village relate to the roads in the village, freeing the animals and flooding every year. As the village is the town of the district, the roads around the village are poor, insubstantial, and impassable during the rainy season. Only the smaller village roads are concrete. As some of the aldeias are situated far from main roads, the insubstantial roads represent a major challenge to get to the market, work sites and schools in the village.

Animal freeing remains difficult for the villagers in the village. It can destroy the villagers' house and public goods by defecating everywhere. The farmers also can be challenged by the animal freeing. It can damage crops and prevent the harvest of crops. Furthermore, finding the animal shits everywhere can wipe out the image of the village as the town of the district.

Lack of access to drainage is also a challenge of the village. Since the larger portion of the village is situated under the hills and by the side of the rivers, the limited of drainage is most affected to the flooding in the village

every year. The flooding can damage the villagers' property and make some villagers live under the flood.

3.8 Historic profile

DC-2.4 is a village which was settled for long time ago in the Portuguese period. No one seems to remember the exact year when the village was established. During the Portuguese occupation, there were very few villagers (less than 40 people) that occupied the village. Around four employees came from outside of the village and worked in DC-2.4. In 1936, the Portuguese military commanders moved the commando and the villagers from Aularan to DC-2.4. At that period, the number of the population in the village slightly increased.⁴

The village population dramatically rose up between 1975 and 1978 during the Indonesian period. The Indonesian military evacuated people from other villages that were concealed in the jungle from the war to the center of DC-2.4 to be easy for the military to control. The evacuated people were from diverse villages including Lacluta, Maubise, Manufahi and other villages in the sub-district. In 1999 after national election for independence, many villagers moved to their original villages. However, many people also remained in the village until now.

The liurai and bahen are still used by the villagers in DC-2.4. The majority of villagers still respect and believe in Liurai. Only the liurai and bahen's descendents can replace the liurai and bahen in an uma kain or aldeia after they pass away.

There were a number of clashes several years back regarding martial arts, before martial arts were closed by the government. The clashes resulted in some youths dying during the clashes.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

The main identity of DC-2.4 is "uma lulik". People identify themselves that they are from DC-2.4 because they have uma lulik which placed in the village. Uma Lulik is a house that built by their ancestors long time ago to shade and unite their descendants. There are many Uma Lulik in the village and these uma lulik can unite the people from same uma lulik. People adore their lulik at their uma lulik. Normally people from same uma lulik are relatives who share their grandparents or ancestors. Furthermore, people can also identify themselves based on the length of staying in the village. Many people came from the other villages such as Neighboring sub-district 1, Neighboring sub-district 2, etc. and recognize themselves as DC-2.4 inhabitants because they have lived there for long time ago. Some villagers moved to the village since their parents or grandparents time. For example, a youth parliament recognize herself as an inhabitant of aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3, village of DC-2.4 because she was born there and her parents moved to the village for long time ago, during Indonesian occupation.

People who own land in the village identify themselves as villagers of the village of DC-2.4. As what have explained in village history section (page 7), majority of villagers migrated from other villages either in Viqueque district or outside of the district to live in the village. These migrants were provided the land by origin people in the village to stay. Some migrants were given the land because they were friends or relatives with land owner. Some people just occupied the land because the land was empty and some people bought the land in the village.

Language and culture of speaking are also identities for villagers who speak Tetun Terik in the village. Majority people from DC-2.4 speak Tetun Terik. However, the dialect or the way they speak Terik is differently with people from other villages. They stated their speaking is very soft rather than the other people.

⁴ DC-2.4_20140703_Respondent 27.XSsubstitute.(notes).docx.p.2

People who married with DC-2.4 villager recognize themselves as village inhabitants. Due to the DC-2.4 that does not have Feto Sa Humane, the son in law or daughter in law are frequently just offered the land by their parents in law to live nearby them in the village. Therefore, they mostly identify themselves as villagers of DC-2.4 rather than from their original village. For example, Respondent 18, she originally from Quelicai and married with his husband who is from Aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 4, Suku DC-2.4. She mostly identifies herself as belongs to DC-2.4 rather than Quelicai because of her marriage.

People from aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 belong to DC-2.4 because they were invited by Dato to live in the village. About one decade ago, a village was dissolved and people who lived in the village decided to go to their own original places. Their leader was asked to come and stay in DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 by his good friend the Dato. They were provided the land by Dato and now they have their own aldeia called DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 and belong to suku of DC-2.4.

Due to DC-2.4 village where located in the center of Viqueque district town, many external people come to DC-2.4 to do business activities and work for diverse institutions including NGO, government or companies. These people have been staying in the village for long time to do their activities therefore they also identify themselves as villager of DC-2.4. Administratively, they belong to DC-2.4 Village and have electoral card from this village.

Villagers identify themselves more rigidly with their religion. Catholic Church is generally stated identity in the village. As the fact, majority people of DC-2.4 are catholic followers, who pray and baptism at the church. Only several villagers including the Xefe Aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 and Bahen of Clan 1 identify themselves as protestant followers.

Aside of religion, villager identify themselves with common Bahen or Uma Kain in the village. Uma Kain or Bahen is a small cluster which forms from several households that live in the same area and share some relatives. Some villagers recognize themselves by shared social status such as veterans. They involved in the resistance to fight for the independence during Indonesian occupation. However, some people recognize themselves with sharing political conviction. Some people stated they are militants of CNRT, some are Fretilin, etc. Some also identify themselves as memberships of CPD-RDTL.

Identification according to economic activities is also common due to the fact that the residents of DC-2.4 do their daily activities differently including trading by opening the kiosk, construction workers, farmers that farm together as a group, animal rearing, public servants and catholic church servers like catechist. Some people identify themselves as local leaders while many people recognize themselves as community in the village.

Moreover, many villagers also identify themselves as relative and descents of Liurai and Dato. For example, the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 7 is Liurai descents therefore he groups himself as Liurai Family in the village.

In terms of self-identification, most of it is related to the each villager's social status or position they occupy in the society. The majority of the village communities consider themselves as *ema kiik* or *ema bainbain*, which means "person who does not have political influence". Some villagers identify themselves as intellectual villagers such as teachers, university students, catechists, etc. These village intellectuals are sometimes invited by the village council to participate in the meeting, especially about village priorities. Farmers are also identified by some respondents including the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 that they are farmers and normally work in the gardens far away from the village. However, traders or businessmen are mentioned by a number of respondents including the village secretary who have daily activities in trading, especially at the kiosk in the village. Most women consider themselves as the housewife in a family. These people usually stay at home to take care of the children as well as do housework. Meanwhile, some villagers also identify themselves as veterans in the village. There are 7 veterans from aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 1.

Furthermore, traditional roles are also another form of villagers in DC-2.4. There are several respondents that recognize themselves as bahen and lia nain of Uma Kain or aldeia. The role of bahen is to assist village councils

on mediating the problems, investigating to identify the problem, organizing rituals or cultural ceremonies, and managing uma kain while the role of lia nain is to participate in conflict resolution. Liurai and Dato are still recognized by villagers in DC-2.4. Some community members including former xefe suku and xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 7 identify themselves as Liurai descendants while a villager called Adom (name changed) is Dato's descent. Dato's role is to hold culture, organize ritual ceremonies in the village, supervise liurai and mediate land disputes with other suku.

4.1.2 Power and Vulnerability

The powerful villagers in DC-2.4 are actual xefe suku, xefe aldeias, Lia nain of the village, liurai and Dato's families such as Adom (name changed), Bahen including Respondent 10, and several public servants.

Village formal leaders such as xefe suku, xefe aldeias and Lia Nain are considered by majority people in the village as influential people because they are associated in village governance to manage the village. Some respondents stated that the xefe suku is considered as influential villager because he has ability to speak in front of the people, has experience in leadership to lead the villagers and he has relationship with the liurai. Xefe aldeias and xefe suku rise up the community priorities to sub-district. Moreover, some specific villagers stated xefe suku always informs villagers about the activity and training in sede suku to participate. The xefe aldeias are considered as powerful villagers because they are honest to the villagers, diligent, interest to their villagers to inform about village activities to villagers such as the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 4. However, the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 is deemed as influential community member because he knows to speak English language, patient and work with NGO such as Belun. Some people consider categorize Lia Nain in the powerful villager because he usually involves in conflict mediation.

Dato and Liurai are the traditional leaders in DC-2.4. Villagers still believe and respect them because since in their ancestor's time, the village was lead by Liurai and Dato. Villagers who did not have relative as Liurai and Dato could not lead the village. In this regard, the villagers still consider them including former xefe suku and Adom (name changed) as influential villagers in the village. A part of Liurai and Dato, bahen are also respected by villagers as traditional leaders in the village. Some certain Bahen such as Respondent 10 is hold some informal leaders such as the president of Grupo Maneja Facilidade (GMF), or Water Monitoring team, president of student parent council at Public Secondary School and involves in political party of Fretilin. The people selected him to hold these informal leaders because he has ability to talk to the people, has strong of self-confidence and always comes up with good ideas in the meetings. Hence, he frequently involved in conflict mediation within the community.

Informal leaders, some public villagers are considered by villagers as influential community members because they assist villagers to sent community needs to the government, who works with district administrator, holding high position in the village such as Geraldo (name changed) who holds position as the chief of Education office in Viqueque district and has good financial management including Olivio (name changed) who works for Agrarian and has managed the money for building his Uma Lulik very well.

We selected him to manage this money because he does everything quickly. –Respondent 15

Liurai and Dato's descendants have customary power attained from their family linkages that they have inherited, which people normally respect and consider as *ema boot* or traditional leaders in the village. In previous village council, the only villagers who have their ancestors as Liurai and Dato were trusted by the people in DC-2.4 to be the xefe suku of the village. The current xefe suku is the one who is not of liurai descent who leads the village, however, he is also from an uma lulik with liurai. Similar cases also happen with bahen that have customary power gained from through inheritance and use this power to lead uma kain or aldeia as bahen.

However, village council members, have formal power gained through democratic village elections that held once in five years. The xefe suku, as the leader of village council is the one who does not have Liurai descent to lead the village. With his experience on leaderships and capability of individual such as able to manage the

people support him won previous village election. Some xefe aldeias including the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 gained the power though his ability on English language and experience on working with the NGOs that uses to motivate youths in the village to develop their skills in English Language.

Furthermore, some villagers are also considered by villagers because of having track-record power that has proved to protect the interests of the community, as what have explained in previous section on informal leaders.

In terms of resources of powerful villager control, village council members normally manage the access to information from top of government, distribute it to the villagers, and include people in meetings, trainings and prioritizations held in the village. Xefe Suku and xefe aldeias use their power to sign proposals from villagers such as proposals from village agriculture group of CBO 1 to ask the assistance to Ministry of agriculture. Xefe suku also use his power to attend sub district and district prioritization at sub district and district levels to defend his village priorities to be implemented in the village. A part of these, village council controls their project as village council project. They decided the labors, who could work for this project, how the labors were paid and where the project was built. For example, village council members decided to build toilet at sede suku and made plans on how and who would build this toilet and the payment for the labor.

Aside from village council, villagers those have customary powerful such as Bahen and Lia Nain used their power to decide who is going to go into the *pakote* of candidate for village election in 2010 and consult villagers before the conflict is brought up to the higher levels such as xefe aldeia, xefe suku. They have the skills to mediate the problems and are traditionally expected to do so. Liurai and Dato Makaifukun (*feto fua no Mane fua*) normally control the able of villagers who move into the village to open a new uma kain and appoint traditional leaderships such as bahen of uma kain and aldeia. Moreover, traditional structure including liurai and dato also play the role as Inan Aman to give land to external people who come into the village.

Powerful village council members such as Xefe suku, xefe aldeias and Lia Na'in typically have formal power, as they are directly involved in formal governance structures through participation in elections. Aside from the village council, they are also involved in the committee of community police or KPK (*Komite Polisiamentu Kuminitarian*) that has been established in the village.

In regard with customary powerful including bahen, Liurai and Dato, village council often involve and consult them during important meetings such as the village prioritization meetings. Furthermore, traditional leaders inherit positions, especially Bahen, are used by formal leadership for communication and conflict resolution, as well as have responsibilities assigned to them to decide all cultural practices in the village. Relating to the track-record powerful villagers, individuals who villagers consider as influential people through their experience in leaderships and assisting community members such as businessman, church representatives, public servants, etc. are involved in village leadership through organizations that directly associated with KPK by representing their sector. They also sometimes invited by village council to participate in the meeting including the meeting about identification of village priorities for Local Development Program, as known in Tetun Prorama Dezenvolvimentu Local (PDL) in 2011.

Regarding family linkages, most influential villagers are related to each other and typically descend from liurai families. The xefe suku is related to liurai and former xefe suku. The current xefe suku and former xefe suku share the same grandparents from their mothers' side. The xefe suku is also the cousin of the former xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 who also assumed the role as the xefe suku's substitute and xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 1. Xefe suku and xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 share the same grandfathers. Moreover, Xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 4 and xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 are relatives. Xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 is the cousin and brother in law of xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 while xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 7 is Liurai's grandchild.

In the case of marginalized people, the older villagers, sick people, the villagers that have many children, widows, single mothers and women are considered as marginalized people in the village. Minority party supporters are always excluded by village leaders from decision making and getting assistance from the government including

the decision making on village projects that implement in the village. They do not receive information about projects and they are rarely consulted on the activities in the village because they have supported a losing political party or *pakote* in village elections. Those unrelated to powerful people and minority party supporters often do not receive vital information of support for flood defenses or illegal land occupation. However, CPD-RDTL members are not provided their electoral cards by village leaders therefore they cannot be hired for construction projects in the village. Veterans that are too old are also excluded and do not receive veterans pensions yet. Thus, neglected veterans asked the researchers to bring their case to the government about receiving state assistance.

In regard with vulnerable villagers' integration into the local governance structure, they are involved through their Bahen of uma-kain, who inform them about activities. However, this works on an individual basis. There is a respondent that said vulnerable members have the possibility to join the meetings if they are invited by village leaders. Basically, it is allowed them to be involved in the meeting and activities in the village because the xefe suku knows how to accumulate the villagers but in reality they are not involved in the activities and meetings.

4.1.3 Formal and informal community rules (norms)

There are about ten community rules that were identified during the study that are held in high regard in the village. They are as follows:

1. *Lori-ida badudu-ida*: If a person causes other villagers to lose an animal, that person will need to pay for it plus one purchase an additional animal. For example: if a villager killed an animal by mistake then he will need to replace that animal and slaughter one more to make peace. Normally, to resolve this type of problem, it will involve both parties involved, families, Bahen and the Aldeia chief. These people will become the witnesses and will be given food and drink during the ceremony.
2. *Lori-lima badudu-lima*: If an animal owner comes from a different customary context then the one who made the mistake will have to follow the other community's tradition. For example: if a Terik villager killed a Makasae cow by mistake, the payment will be four times, the killer has to pay four cows plus kills one cow to have together during the mediation of the conflict.
3. If an animal is killed because of the destroying of the villagers' plantation, the plantation owner will need to advise the animal owner and the plantation owner does not need to pay.
4. *Dada-Liman dada-ain*: If a villager, by mistake, beats a person then he will need to pay about U\$150 (depending how serious the beating is), slaughter a pig to make peace, and give Tais to clean the blood. It is the same condition as point number 2 above.
5. *Taka Kanek*: If a person is seriously injured, the responsible person will need to pay U\$500. Because these days not everyone has animals, the payment is now in cash.
6. *Hasae Biti bo sumasu*: If a wife wants to divorce the family of the wife will need to give animals to the family of the husband. The number of animals will need to be decided by Behan of both parties.
7. *Fase Feto*: If a husband wants to divorce his wife, the husband's family will need to pay the wife and take responsibility for the children. The amount of payment and responsibility for the children will need to be decided by Bahen of both parties. There was an example where a husband had to give \$5000 to the wife, 50% of his monthly salary to look after the children until 27 years of age for girls and 35 years for boys.
8. *Husu bensa inan sarani – lori masin ben*: Before a couple marries, they will need to give one cow to the godmother of the bride. In return, the godmother will pay for the bride's wedding dress.
9. The landowners need to give their consent or provide money if a new member comes in. Construction on others' land is prohibited and in a case of conflict it is reviewed by the XA.
10. People who are coming to live in the Aldeia should have a bahen because they have to be united by it in the aldeia. If there is conflict among them, they can report to their bahen so that bahen can resolve their problem or when there is some activities in the village or information from the government, bahen can be responsible for them to transmit this information to them.

11. Passover ritual – when a person dies and is married to somebody from a different uma-kain, members of this persons original uma kain need to perform a specific ritual during the funeral. If the ritual is not performed the subsequent generations do not belong anymore to the old uma-kain. After 3 generations they have the right to establish a new one.

The main tradition of villagers in DC-2.4 is called Sau batar. Normally, people do this tradition to present their harvest result to their ancestors before they eat the result of their harvest. The blessing of new liurai is also another custom of Sau Batar that is organized by the people in the village to inaugurate new liurai to their role in the community. New uma kain should be established to have *uma lulik* by the villagers from outside to stay in the village after 3 generations. *Uma lulik* is a sacral house that shadows the villagers in an *uma kain in the village*. Usually, people organize ritual ceremonies with *badabur* (a traditional dance) and play *babadok* (drumming) and slaughter animals during building and inaugurating their *uma lulik*. A part of *uma Lulik*, *badabur* and playing *babadok* are also frequently done by the villagers to welcome top leaders, flying the flag such as Independence Day, and play it during organizing ritual ceremony. Females play *babadok* and males hold their hands to make a circle surrounding the females and *badabur*.⁵

In regard with main formal rules that affect villagers in DC-2.4, Tarabandu is the primary formal rule that comes from the state which needs to be organized by the people before harvesting any farming. This rule is usually organized together by the people in the village to kill animals such as buffalo and goats so that everyone can collect the result of their farming at the same time. If someone breaks this rule then he or she has to pay a buffalo to feed the villagers in the village.

In addition, village election rule that only voted by the people that have electoral card affected to the villagers those do not have electoral to participate in the election. CPD-RDITL members are villagers who do not have electoral card, therefore, they could not expressed their choice in the village election.

Some respondents stated that the immigrants had to ask land owners for permission before building or fixing the house. Due to the lack of implementing this rule, the conflict between land owners and emigrants frequently happen and affect people that come from outside of the village because it is difficult to fix and build their houses.

4.1.4 Conflict and conflict mediation

In terms of conflict and violence that exist in DC-2.4, land disputes between villagers in aldeia or with other aldeia and suku are the main conflicts that happen in the village. Physical fighting between families and youth, without or including weapons and stones are also common. Furthermore, martial arts fighting without weapons used to happen several years ago before the government closed these organizations. There was a killing between the members of martial arts in 2012 where a youth was stabbed and died in that conflict. Besides, throwing rocks at other people's houses, damaging people's properties, stopping cars at checkpoints to extort money, and beating people as well as domestic violence or sexual abuse sometimes occur in the village. There was a case of sexual abuse which happened once in 2013 when a man threatened a student of the school to have sexual intercourse when she was on the way to school for tutoring in the afternoon.

The most common cause for conflict is that people from outside of the village occupy land of villagers that are already living there. This case also applies for the people who are already living in the village. Unclear land borders also cause major land disputes within the people in the community. Some problems are caused by the weakness of fences or lack of fences surrounding various properties, allowing animals to eat crops or damage people's properties. These cases can apply for the community members in the village or outside of the village. Besides, alcohol abuse and martial art issues are also common causes of fighting between villagers or youths, including a conflict between youths from aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 and DC-2.4-Aldeia 1. High bride price payments become the reason for conflict between families of bride and groom because of disagreements by

⁵ DC-2.4_20140704_Respondent 33.FormerXS.(notes).docx.p.1

involved families. There was a conflict among relatives in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 4 where a respondent mentioned that rumors about various members about accusations of some villagers that they use witchcraft or *buan* that resulted in the conflict between the accuser and accused. This problem has not been solved yet.

The conflict is normally mediated first by bahen of Uma Kain. If it is not solved then the aldeia bahen attempts to resolve this conflict. If bahen of aldeia also cannot solve this issue then the conflict is sent further to suku bahen or lia nain. The Lia Nain of suku with supported by xefe suku mediate this conflict and if this also cannot be solved by them then the conflict is sent to the tribunal of the district to be mediated. The conflict is sent by village council to sub-district police station, then send to the district police station. Afterwards, district police commandant sends it to the court. –**Respondent 10** However, in certain cases including the cases that involve many people in the conflict, a committee is established that consists of all xefe aldeia and all bahen general to resolve the problem. If the problem is not solved by the committee then it is sent further to the court at district level through police stations.

Civil conflict is normally reported first to the Uma kain Bahen before going to the xefe aldeia or suku but in criminal conflicts the involved parties go directly to the police. Police will ask both parts to solve amicable or go to the court. If they want to be solved amicable then the conflict is sent back to the village to solve conform the process of mediation in the village. However, if the xefe suku is directly consulted by the actors of the conflict to resolve their problem then he is obliged to send the parties back to uma kain bahen first at the uma kain level.

Conflicts are typically resolved using an established conflict resolution procedure. Both sides are asked for the reasons for the conflict, then based on the reasons provided the bahen or other party makes the decision on which party is right and which party is wrong. The wrong party may be asked to apologize by buying drinks and food for everyone that is consumed together by everyone involved in the conflict and conflict mediation. They may be asked to pay the amount of money to the victim. The problem is solved when both parties agree on the proposed solution given by the mediator. Nevertheless, in cases of physical violence or criminal conflicts the involved parties are asked to choose whether they want to resolve the conflict through police (legal process) or their own household by bahen of uma kain. In regards to cases that involve people from different suku, the rules regarding victims are applied where the suspect has to pay the victim either by money or a buffalo. A part of this, suspect also has to kill a buffalo for peace. However, the payment depends on the victim to choose which community's rule is applied for this case.⁶

In terms of impact of the conflicts, some problems like animal trespassing and throwing rocks at other villagers' houses have effects on the people involved as victim by damaging their properties such as crops and houses. Freeing the animals by the owners can damage farmers' crops in the gardens while throwing rocks by people gives the impact to the house owner that is thrown. The house can break because of the throwing of rocks. However, these problems are still not giving significant effect to the community life within the village. There were only few small damages that faced by farmers about animals that damage their crops. However, in regard with throwing rocks at the people house, it was only stated by a respondent that happened once in the aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 4 and broke a roof during throwing rocks.

Related to the fighting cases, youths are highly affected until lost a man who died in the conflict in 2012. The youths were fighting and killed a youth from the village. It's also affected to the victim families that they lost their relative who died during the conflict. Some cases such as sexual abuse and domestic violence, women are mostly affected because they are threatened by their boyfriends or husbands. Women are sometimes forced by men to have sex or sometimes women are tortured by their boyfriend or husband.

Creating a circle of reverence among people involved is always continued by the actors of the conflict to do the same conflict. This conflict affects most bahen or mediators that spend their time mediating the conflict,

⁶ DC-2.4 14-06-28_Respondent 17_CA DC-2.4-Aldeia 4_Notes.docx.p.3

incurring higher costs of mediation.

4.1.5 Development Priorities

The needs of powerful villagers and marginalized community members are quite similar. However, the need of marginalized people is fairly larger than powerful people. The development priorities of powerful community members are the rehabilitation of roads, electricity installation for other villagers who live far away from the capital of the village, youth capacity development centers, and water systems to supply throughout the village. From those priorities, roads are the primary development priority that is mentioned by many respondents, especially powerful villagers because DC-2.4 is the center of the district but the roads are still in poor condition. Therefore, it is most important for them to be rehabilitated as well as opened to the bairros in the village. A part of that includes water systems, which are also important to be supplied after roads.

However, similar to the powerful villagers' needs, the development for marginalized community members are water systems and roads and drainage for the people those often affected by flooding. Furthermore, cash, housing for the community and clothes are also mentioned by some marginalized villagers, including elderly people and poor people who are supported by the government because they are not able to afford these things themselves. In regards to primary and secondary development priorities, houses for community and cash for unemployed mothers who have many children are main needs to be given by the government.

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 Powerful community members

The first three profiles are those of individuals who hold power and influence in the village:

Respondent 23, Xefe Suku. Respondent 23 is a relative of Liurai in DC-2.4 who elected to be the xefe suku of the village in previous village election. He belongs to aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 and he has three children, one daughter and two sons. He lives with his family members in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 nearby the market.

Prior to village election, he also worked to accumulate youths in the village and capacitate them in relevant areas including sport activities. A part of that, he also involve actively in political party such as CNRT in the village. Since that, he was known by people that he is an active villager and as a powerful villager in DC-2.4. Therefore, villagers selected him to participate in village election in 2009 and finally he was elected to be the xefe suku.

As Xefe Suku, he plays his roles to call meetings in the village including regular village council meeting and community meetings relate to the dissemination from the government to villagers. He also uses his power to sign villagers including student's paper works and sign villagers proposal to send to donors for asking assistance such as sign proposal of village group of CBO 1Morins Foun to ask the assistance from Ministry of agriculture. Furthermore, he mediates community conflicts when the conflict is not solve by Bahen and Xefe Aldeia at Aldeia level. As village leader, he has to take care to his villagers throughout the village and ensure the harmonization, security and peace among the community. He assists CPD-RDTL by convincing them to stop their activity so that they could not get punishment or punch from police. Aside of that, he also considered by the companies and NGOs which implement the projects in the village as village leader to give him the notification letter on project implementation, however, not all the companies especially companies those implement national projects are rarely inform the xefe suku.

For Respondent 23, assisting his village in repairing the roads including national roads and village roads in district town is a main priority. Even though DC-2.4 is a regional center, however, roads in the villager are still worst and some are inaccessible during wet season. The aldeias of DC-2.4-Aldeia 5, DC-2.4-Aldeia 6 and DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 frequently difficult to move to village center in rainy season. People from these aldeias cannot come to the market, schools and church because of flood along the way. Even the National road which covers Viqueque district is rude and perforated. Furthermore, youth center is the second priority need to be built in the village. There is district youth center which placed in the village and nearby their Sede Suku but they do not

have good cooperation with district youth team. He said, there is bad management in district team that does not give opportunity for everyone to participate. Thus, he asks to provide the youth center for the village so that the youths can capacitate themselves. Lastly, he wants the government assists his village to build Aldeia center in each Aldeia so that community can directly come to Aldeia center to access the information.

Respondent 10, 53. Respondent 28 is the Bahen of Clan 1 Uma Kain that placed in the aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2. He stays in the aldeia for long time since his antecedents. Prior to becoming Bahen, his father used to Bahen of Clan 1 uma kain and after his father died he becomes Bahen to replace his father.

As Bahen, he provides supports to village council members specially his Xefe Aldeia to disseminate the information from village council to the villagers, mediate the conflict within Uma Kain and represent the villagers in the Uma Kain of Clan 1 to participate the meeting in the village. He also takes part in traditional ceremonies in helping Liurai and Dato to organize the ceremonies.

He is a follower of Protestant in the village and takes part as catechist of protestant to lead prayers in their chapel in the aldeia. He also involves in several organizations such as Fretilin and Associação dos Países do professores (Students Parents Association) at secondary school. He involves in Fretilin as a vocal point while in student parents association as the president of the association. Due to his involving in diverse organizations, the people consider him as a powerful villager who always has good idea to share and mediate the conflict in the village.

As the fact, villagers always involve him in conflict mediation to help other local leaders within the aldeia because he is always wise in conflict mediation, promote openness and fairness and put the community interest first rather than familiarity. Even the wrong part in the conflict is his brother or relative, he always makes the decision rightly that gives fault to his relative. He is also frequently involved by village council in the meeting or workshop at Sede Suku to share the opinions with them. Furthermore, he is elected by villagers in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 6 and DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 to be the president of Grupo Maneja Facilidade, GMF (Water Monitoring Team) for water system that provided by NGO 1 in their Bairro. He tries to influence villagers and the NGO staffs who supply the water to do not put water tap nearby his house. He wants to put it in population center. Regarding with student parent's association, he uses his power to give moral to the students who are naughty and create problem in the school.

According to Respondent 28, the suspension bridge is the main priority to be rehabilitated because it has been old. Some parts of this bridge have broken. The villagers have submitted the proposal about this bridge to the government but it has not been approved and implemented. Instead, the company implements the projects which are not community's needs in the village. Thus, he asks to be provided the assistance to rehabilitate this bridge in the village.

Respondent 32, 28. Respondent 32 is the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 however he stays in Bairro 2 where situated in the area of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2. He assumes this position because he involved in the package of current Xefe Suku in previous village election. He speaks multi local language such as Tetun Terik, Makasae and Naueti. He can also speak international language like English language.

Aside of xefe aldeia, he works with Belun NGO as monitoring staff in Viqueque to monitor the NGO activities in the district. He also used to involve in several institutions such as parish structure (Fosca) in the church of Viqueque as the secretary of the structure. In 2012, he involved in Rede Advocasia that organized by Forum NGO Timor Leste, Fongtil as monitoring staff to collect the data about issues that happen in the village including issues about corruption, the construction with poor quality, etc. to report to the government. Currently, he involves in KPK as the member of the group. His role in this committee is to help the xefe suku and community police to identify the causes of the conflicts and problem in the village.

As Xefe Aldeia, he uses the power to collect population data in his Aldeia to identify elderly people, number of death and birth. The elderly people, he informs them to prepare the documents for receiving the elderly

pension. He plays his role to mediate the conflict and disputes in the Aldeia after Bahen mediates. He serves his community members such as providing declaration letters for villagers, facilitating to send villagers' proposals to top level governance for getting assistance, etc. Moreover, he also plays a big role as partner of companies and NGOs to implement their projects in the village. He helps villagers to transmit the information to villagers about project works in the village so that villagers can turn up to participate in the project activities. He also transmits the information to the youths in the village and encourages them to attend course or training in the village to capacitate themselves. For example, he motivates youths including a youth parliament in the village to attend English course in the village.

He attends village council regular meetings as he is a member of village council in the village. He also calls the meeting at aldeia level such as the meeting about information dissemination to the villagers in the aldeia. He also attends the meeting about identification of village prioritization such as the priority for Local Development Program (PDL, in tetun Abbreviation Programa Desenvolvimento Lokal) that held in 2011. Therefore, he also involved in the identification of village projects at that time.

For Respondent 32, providing English Language, computer and agriculture training in the village is an important priority to capacitate his villagers. Water supply is the second priority of him to be provided because there are many villagers still do not get clean water in dry season. The water that distributed to the villagers in the village is supplied from Neighboring sub-district 1 but it does not enough to cover every villager in the village. This happens because of lack of monitoring from Water and Sanitation Service.

4.2.2 Marginalized community members

The next three profiles are those of individuals who considered as vulnerable and marginalized.

Respondent 15, 100+. Respondent 15 is a widow who has only one daughter. She used to have a son but he died since he was child. She is an elderly villager who is not able to walk, cannot see well and cannot hear clearly because of her blindness and deafness. She lives in a small house in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 with her daughter and her son in law. Her daughter does not have child therefore only three of them live in their house. Her daughter is 70 years old and her son in law is 80s years old. They are farmers and they take care of Respondent 15. When the researchers interviewed, her son in law was not well, cannot walk and just nestled on the bed. The only her daughter feed them every day.

Respondent 15 receives her elderly pension which receives once in six months. Her pension usually received by her daughter in sede suku. She uses her money for buying foods and clothes for her. Due to she cannot walk, her daughter buys the things such as clothes and foods for her. Her name for receiving the elderly pension was registered by former xefe aldeia in previous period of village council.

Respondent 15 and her family members never attend the meetings either in Sede Suku or in the aldeia because xefe aldeia and other members of village council never inform them about the meetings. She also never gets any assistance from the government in this period of village council, in comparison with previous Xefe Aldeia that registered her name to get elderly pension. Even her daughter and son in law are more than 60 years old but no one register their name to get the elderly pension. She said, there are many villagers in Neighboring sub-district 1, another sub district of Viqueque district, receive clothes, rice and other assistance but the people in DC-2.4 receive nothing. No one from government or NGOs comes to her house to ask about her needs. Researchers are the first time coming to her house to ask about her condition of life and priorities.

Her house is located quite far from water tank which placed in the aldeia roadside. Her daughter has to walk every day to get the water for her family members to consume. They are accessing to the electricity because they paid \$40 for registering to install the power. The cables, lamps and gauge are also prepared by themselves. Then, after the power is installed, they buy the electricity pulses every month to recharge. There is a local road which flood and rocks that goes through in front of her house. The road has just been opened to go to the tribunal office up her house.

For her, housing for elderly people, clothes, rice and money are important priorities to be provided by the government. Furthermore, water supply is also needed to be piped to her house because she and her family members have been getting old, therefore, they need to get the water near their house. There is a water facility that provided since Indonesian time in the aldeia, however, they do not have enough money to pay. SAS would only pipe the water to their house if they pay \$50 for registering the facility.

Respondent 16, 70s. Respondent 16 is a widow, mother of 6 children. She used to have 10 children but 4 have passed away and right now she only has 6 children. She is also an elderly villager who is always sick and cannot be able to work for her or her family. One son is living in Kupang with her grandchildren from one of her daughter who moved to Kupang during referendum in 1999. Her daughter had died in Kupang and she did not participate in her daughter's funeral because she does not have money for travel expenses. They have not been meeting each other for long time. However, the other five children stay in DC-2.4.

She lives with two of her sons and her grandchildren in the Bairo 3 in a small house which made from palm leaves. There is only one room and majority parts of the house are just opened and some parts are use as the kitchen to cook. 8 people live in this house. During the raining, the flood is seriously face by her and her families because they stay in a stream side therefore all water flows through the stream and affects to her house. Her house, including inside the house, kitchen and all area around the house are affected by flood. Only their beds are dry, however, lands in the house are all wet because of rain water. The roofing of the house is also getting worst and some palm leaves are already broken.

She used to work for resistance in the jungle for four years in Dilor aldeia of Tasidadula to bring the food for *Falintil* to help Timor Leste Armies to fight towards Indonesian Armies. Nevertheless, she does not get veteran pension because the commission of veteran does not consider her as a veteran. Only the people who used the gun in the resistance are considered as veterans to get its pension. Instead, she receives her elderly pension. She has got this pension since previous package of village council. She was registered by the former xefe aldeia and until now. She has received her pension for four times.

She never attends the meeting at aldeia and suku levels because she cannot walk, in the exception of previous village election that she used to participate. She gets this information from the Xefe Bairo that inform villagers through public announcement in her Bairo. However, she does not know about PDL meeting that held by village council in 2011. She said, they have ever proposed their needs their need such as repair the stream near her house but no one takes interest of their need to implement.

For her, assisting her village in providing the clean water is a main priority. She said, no one supplies the water for them because they do not have money to pay. She and her families normally get the water from the river near their Bairo. However, the water cannot be taken the water during the raining because it's not clean to consume. They just take it before rain. Public toilet and repair the stream are also her priority need to be built. She and her family members just use the stream as their toilet because they do not have their own toilet to use. Furthermore, she wants the government can take the interest to repair the stream behind her house so that her house cannot be affected by flood every wet season. Housing for her is also a priority of her. Her house has ever felt down two years back but she never gets assistance from any agency or government. There was once that CVTL (Red Cross) took the data about her house but she has not got anything until now. The xefe suku and xefe aldeia never come to her house to take the data about it. Even they also never collect the data about flood in her bairo.

Respondent 20, 24. Respondent 20 is a housewife and mother for four children. Originally, she comes from another village, she moved to aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 because she got married with a man from this aldeia. She got married when she was 17 years old. The eldest son is 7 years old now. Her husband is a construction labor and just works when there is construction that needs the labors to work. Therefore, they have a very little income to use for their daily life. Her husband is basically from Lospalos but he was growing up in DC-2.4, aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2. Her father in law was from Lospalos but her mother in law is from DC-2.4, therefore, they lived in DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 and grew up her husband there. His sisters and brother were growing up in

Lospalos. Right now, her husband belongs to aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 and Suku of DC-2.4.

She lives with her husband and their four children in a very simple and small house which is made of palm leaves for roofing and bamboo for wall with only one room. Three elder children only sleep in the living room on a bed which made from bamboo. On the day, this bed is used for sitting. Even there is guest, this bed is normally given to have a sit. The roof of her house is perforated, therefore, during the rain, it goes into the house. There are many cement that given by her mother, they keep it in her house but it is not useable because it has been keeping for over 2 years and it seems already turn into rocks.

She and her family members never attend the meetings neither aldeia nor suku level because they are never invited by village leaders including her xefe aldeia who lives not far from her house. Even, when people rehabilitated the road in front of her house, they were not informed to participate in this work. She is always excluded from the activities that organized within the village. However, she has ever been asked by church authorities to contribute the money. The church authorities came to her house and gave an envelope to her to put the money. She contributed \$2 for the church at the moment the people gave the envelope.

She and her family access to the very limit of public works. They only have power that installed by people from Dili and was not paid. They only pay for the daily use by buying electricity pulses for about \$1 per month.

For Respondent 16, clean water for the community and upgrading the road are the priorities to be implemented in the Aldeia. There is no water, she only get the water from the river but sometimes it's flooding, hence, she just gets the water from the water tank that placed up on the hill where a bit far from her house. She has to walk for long distance to get the clean water. Even this is a main priority but she never raises this issue to the Xefe Aldeia because she feels afraid. Furthermore, the road in front of her house is needed to be upgrade because it's flooding during the wet season.

5. Institutions and power

5.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

Village Institutions	Type
CBO 1	Community group
Student Parent council	Parent association-Community group
Church support group	Informal community group
Zirasol	Cultural group
Foinsae Catholic (FOSCA)	Catholic church youth group
Assembly of God	Protestant prayer group
Martial Art – Kera Sakti	Martial Group
NGO 1	Non Government Organization
Rede Advocasia	NGO-Assosiation
Business 1Unipessoal Lda	Company
CPD-RDTL	Political organization
CNRT	Political party
Fretilin	Political party
PD	Political party
PSD	Political party
ASDT	Political party
Hadia an rasik	Credit cooperative
BNCTL	Banking business

Moris Rasik	Micro Credit Operator
Tuba Rai Metin	Micro Credit Operator

5.2 Formation of village groups

5.2.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

Some village groups in DC-2.4 are led by the members of village council. For instance, an agriculture group called CBO 1 is led by the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 7, the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 involves in the leaderships of Rede Advocasia as Monitoring Staff and also involves in FOSCA as secretary.⁷ The Rede Advocasia is facilitated by Belun NGO while FOSCA is a church group that is established in Viqueque Parish. Furthermore, the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 7 also used to involve in the leadership of a martial arts group.

The religious groups like Church groups and Assembly of God are led by followers of a particular faith while NGO and companies as well as carpenter groups are led by the initiators of the groups themselves.

The Bahen of Uma kain of Clan 1 such as Respondent 10 also lead several groups such as the student parent association which was established at the public senior high school nearby his house. However, there are some groups that are just led by villagers that the members trust in to be the leader. For instance, a relative of the village secretary, is the president of a credit cooperative group called Hadi'a An Rasik (CBO 2) that was established in her bairro.

The political parties are led by militants of each party such as Fretilin is led by a follower in the village. CPD-RDTL is led and CNRT is led by a follower. He controls all members of CPD-RDTL throughout Viqueque District. **-Viqueque PNTL commandant**

In terms of leadership styles, the agriculture village group leaders are normally participatory. In fact, members of the group are always consulted in the meetings by the leadership of the group to discuss the activities to be done as well as discuss on how to share the materials received from donors including NGO's and the Ministry of Agriculture. This case can be seen in farming groups such as CBO 1. The President of the group frequently holds meetings to discuss how to distribute the materials to each other to use for their group.

With Micro credit groups, the groups such as CBO 2 and Moris Rasik are built on strong personal relations. Therefore the leaders organize the regular meetings to discuss the necessary issues regarding the groups and are able to organize the members better and involve them in any activity within the group.

Furthermore, the leaderships of NGOs are participatory. Local leaders and villagers who will be benefited by the facility often consulted to talk about the project that implement in the village. Nevertheless, the companies, the decisions are normally just made by the directors of the Companies. The director of the company who is normally the owner of the company only makes the decision himself and does not involve the members or staffs in the decision making. For example, the director of Business 1 called Domingos (name changed) just makes decision including the decision about paying the labors himself. His wife who is also is financial assistant is not aware on how the decision on labor payment is made. **–Respondent 24**

The leaderships of political village institutions are a little bit non participatory. The members or militants of the party are often informed by the leaders about the decision and activities needed to be organized in the village. The decision making in the party is frequently done by the leaders at National level and just socialize it to the members throughout the village. Hence, militants of the party are rarely involved in the decision making.

With church groups, the leaders are normally non-participatory. The decisions are usually made at parish level by parish priests and other church authorities and just inform to the villagers especially catholic followers to

⁷ DC-2.4_20140704_Respondent 32_XADC-2.4-Aldeia 3.(notes).docx.p.2

participate in the activities that organized in the church. For example, the leaderships decide to build the church and need to ask community donation for church construction. Furthermore, the leaders also decide to involve community members to participate in the construction of the church.

For some village groups including church groups and student parent's council, the members just appoint the people who have the figure of leadership or people who are active in the activities in the village to be the president of the groups. However, there are also some groups such as CBO 1 and CBO 2, those that establish the structure of the group through the election. A show up hands election organized in the meeting to elect the leaderships. Then, the people who had highest vote were selected to be the president of these groups.

On the other hand, the initiators of the company and non-government organizations (NGO) are directly assumed as the director of the company or NGO such as Domingos (name changed) who is the owner of Business 1 assumes the position as the director of this company. Respondent 26 is the initiator of NGO 1 therefore he directly assumes the position as the director of this NGO. There are no other actors needed to select them to be the leaders for these organizations.

In case of the memberships, there are different ways to be involved in the groups. Agriculture group and micro credit groups, the neighborhoods, relatives or friends who have interest in being involved in the groups are able to be members. The religious groups, such as the church, the Assembly of God, political parties, and martial arts groups are settled on their principal followers. For example, catholic followers are involved in church groups that are established in each bairo and protestant followers are involved in Assembly of God. Relation with political parties, the people who interest in these groups can follow the groups; in the exception of Fretilin that majority of followers were involved in the resistance to fight for independence from Indonesia. Furthermore, villagers who want to have training on martial arts involved in this organization. For instance, the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 7 used to involve in an organization of martial arts called Kera Sakti because he likes to be trained about martial arts. Some villagers also want to involve in martial arts because they want to have sport.

In relation to the company, only the owner family members can be the members of the company like the Business 1. Domingos (name changed) is the owner. His wife is the financial assistant and his brothers are technicians of the company. The student parent members are the students with their parents and the teachers are the members of the association.

Certain types of groups have regular reporting of activities and finance to the members like the student parent council and church groups. The student parents' council usually has annual reporting, which is attended by all the student parents and the teachers. Meanwhile, the church groups, the financial report is read out by the catechist of the church during the Sunday masses in the parish church.

Nevertheless, the other village groups have more informal accountability structure where the leadership is not fully established and operates on a case by case basis so that the accountability is not done by the group leaders. The groups that are established based on the family linkages also may affect to accountable to the external people to aware on the group activities. For example, micro credit groups including CBO 2 and Moris Rasik are established based on friendships and relatives in an Uma Kain, therefore, the people from outside of their Uma Kain are not aware about their group activities including financial management.

The president of the farming group such as CBO 1 was elected because he is a xefe aldeia so the members have known him and trusted him to be the leaders in the group. The student parents' council, the president was elected because he has been active in the school activities since Indonesian occupation. He also has ever assumed this position once in Indonesian time when his son studied at the Secondary school. Now, he does not have any child studies at this school but the people still elected him to lead the association.

Meanwhile, the president of CBO 2 is selected through an open election to establish the structure of the group. The church groups, the legitimacy is given by parish priest and catechist based on their actively participate in

the church activities such as masses, prayers at the chapel in the aldeia, help catechist on organizing the prayers, etc. There was not clear information collected by researchers about the legitimacy of political parties and martial arts. The respondents were not aware of this case.

Regarding to the used of power, the director of NGO 1 organized a meeting with the community that live near the facility. Community leaders discuss supplying the water system in their aldeia and establishing the water monitoring group. In addition, the director also supervised and monitored the work to see the quality of projects and construction works. Similar to the Business 1, the director used his power to monitor and supervise the work. Furthermore, the student parent council usually facilitates resolution and manages the school needs such as funds for examination from students, as well as the other village groups such as farming and credit cooperative groups. The leaders normally use their authority to call meetings, mediate the problems within the group, and control group assets such as CBO 1 and CBO 2.

However, these leaders use their power to limit villager involvement in the group works. For instance, villagers that are poor and live away from the facility were not involved in either meeting or construction works by NGO 1. People were not consulted by the company owner and the laborers were not involved in the material supply since directors themselves sourced the materials. The financial assistance is also not involved by director of the company to pay the labors.

There was also an issue regarding CBO 1 where the president had a problem with his members once regarding to the misuse of group equipments that had donated by NGO. The president could not control these equipments and the memberships took these materials to their houses. As the result, the donors lost their trust to the group to be donated and the group was terminated. With this issue, he could not resolve his problem and may involve *bahen of uma kain* to solve his problem. Apart of this, he also keeps the money himself even though Respondent 22 (female) has been elected to be the treasurer of the group.

Decision making by village groups is done by consensus building, where certain community members who involve in the group provide the opinion on group activities that are implemented in the village. Community members are normally consulted by NGO leaders in community meetings to discuss and reach a decision. For example, NGO 1 consulted villagers to provide the land for water system and establish GMF for the system. In addition, the credit cooperative groups always make the decision through discussion in the meetings by the members and group leaders. The leaders usually propose the decision and discuss among the members and agree on a decision that they thing need to be made. Some groups such as CBO 1 and student parent's council sometimes use more formal voting such as a show of hands for decision making where the election is conducted by means of each member votes to make the decision. The highest vote is usually taken as the decision of the group.

Besides, the decision of some groups companies, church groups and political parties is normally made only by leaders of the group and members are informed after the decision is made. The director of Business 1 decides everything regarding the project implementation in the village including labor payment and material supplying. He makes the decision himself on what he wants without any consultation and feedback from staff because he is the owner of the company. The decisions of religion groups are often made by coordinators of the groups themselves. For example, they decided on the community contribution for construction of Viqueque Parish Church then informed villagers, especially catholic followers, to donate some money for this construction. Furthermore, the leaders of the parties make the decision regarding to the activities of the party as have explained in leadership styles' section (**Page 21**)

5.2.2 Financial Management

Member contribution is the primary source of resources, for majority of village groups including: micro credit groups, catholic groups and the student parent association. The Ministry of Agriculture also gives financial support to farming groups.⁸The government also gives financial support to companies that pass company

tenderization or qualification to implement projects in the village. Farming groups are also supported by NGOs such as German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation or GIZ who provide agricultural materials and seeds to the groups. Another NGO group, NGO 1, is supported by Japan Embassy in Timor Leste to supply water for community members.

Community members first organize a meeting to discuss what resources need to be obtained, how to obtain them and how to spend the money that they have. This is the case for the credit cooperatives and farming groups. For instance, CBO 1, a farming group, holds group meetings to discuss what they need to do to receive assistance from the Ministry of Agriculture and NGO.⁹ For some specific groups; only the person who holds the group's money manages financial resources. This was identified in non-governmental organizations (NGO) and companies; only the director of the company or NGO can decide how funds are spent.

In regarding with church groups, the parish priest organizes a meeting with church authorities including catechists, fraters, local leaders and represent of teachers to plan the budget for construction of parish church. Afterwards, they settle plan on how to get the funds such as plan to ask community donation. Furthermore, the student parents' council, the plan is settled every the end of the year to plan the financial resources for the next fiscal year. However, the fund for this council is normally got from the student's contribution.

Some groups including NGO 1 and Business 1, the owner handles the administration, including money management. Group members generally do not know about the entire money management. The Finance Officer of the Business 1 also does not know how the director manages the money for paying the labors for the construction which managed by his company because only the director can understand well the work. Therefore, he just pays the labors himself.

In farming groups like CBO 1, resources are also only administered by the president of the group. Although, the money was distributed to group members from donor, all contributions were then given to the group president for storage and management. Groups' assets or materials such as spoons, hoes, swords, hoses and a 1,000 L water tank and mustard seeds are also handled by the president of the group.

On the other hand, CBO 2 and the student parent council, the treasurer of the group is basically in charge of managing the group money. For instance, Respondent 13 who teaches at secondary school holds the position as the treasurer of the student parent council therefore she handles the money of the council.¹⁰

In most groups, especially credit cooperative groups and the student parent council, the treasurer keeps the group money. For the microcredit group, members often borrow money, so the treasurer just keeps the group's money at her house; and for the student parent council, the treasurer keeps the group money with her at her house. Alternatively, for the CBO 1 group, the president of the group keeps money and materials at his house. In church groups, money is stored and handled by the catechist of Viqueque parish.

For NGOs and companies, money is stored at a bank to be taken by the director as needed. Due to the groups' funds that granted by donors in big amount or up to \$10,000, the bank account of the group is needed to be opened. Hence, the donors just transfer the money to its bank account. The money just can be taken when needed because it is not safe for the institutions to keep the money in big amount in their pockets. It is also sometimes difficult to control the money if the money is just keep with them in big amount. Furthermore, the bank account also need opened so that the donors just transfer to it when needed rather than bring the money to the village to give to the institutions.

Group members normally access information about group spending via reporting from group leaders. The treasurer of the group is normally in charge of making financial reports to the group members at meetings at which all members attend. This practice was identified in microcredit groups, farming groups and the student

⁹ DC-2.4 14-07-01_Respondent 11_Notes.docx.p.2

¹⁰ DC-2.4 14-06-28_Respondent 13 _Notes.docx.p.1

parent council. In case of the church groups, the catechist of parish reports on funding and expenditures during Sunday mass, which is attended by the community members. Company and NGO staffs, as well as villagers, are never informed about expenditures by the group's director. Villagers are completely excluded from accessing information about village group expenditures except those of church group which are reported publically during the mass.

5.2.3 Collective action among groups

Group donation has been an important mechanism by which to encourage the cooperation of village groups with villagers and other donors such as NGOs and the government in order to get funding for group benefits. Farming groups cooperate with the Ministry of Agriculture and GIZ in order to receive in kind or financial assistance for the group.

Church groups cooperate with community members by receiving donations from villagers. Aside of community, these institutions also cooperate with parish church authorities by giving the community donation to the parish authorities to build the church.

The NGO 1 encouraged cooperating with donors by received donations such as received from the Japan Embassy. Furthermore, it cooperates with community members through consulting them about location of water taps and involving them in project construction as workers. With companies, the institutions cooperate with KDD by attending the company qualification that conducted by KDD. Apart of this, companies cooperate with Câmara de Comercio e Industria (CCI) or Chamber of Commerce and Industry. CCI normally informs all companies in the village when there is company qualification in the district by phone calls or message. KDD and ADN are also cooperated to conduct monitoring for the construction of government funded projects in the village that managed by companies. Moreover, the companies also cooperate with the government by receiving funding and with villagers through involving the labors in project construction.

The need for training support is the main motivation for credit cooperative groups, such as CBO 2, to cooperate with Federasaun Hanai Malu.

Generally, village groups need assistance from external players or organizations to determine internal plans, proposals and information for assistance except for local companies, which just adhere to company qualifications held by District Development Commission which commonly known in Tetun as Komisaun Dezenvolvimentu Distritu (KDD) at district level. For example, CBO 1 determined group needs in a meeting and submitted a proposal to the MoA and asked GIZ for materials that they needed. NGO 1 organized meetings with villagers about local water supply and established a water system monitoring group or Grupo Maneja Fasidades (GMF).

With regard to supervision of group cooperation, most groups are not monitored at all. Only the NGO 1, Business 1 and CBO 1 have regular monitoring that is performed by a relevant authority or donor; NGO 1 was regularly monitored by the Japanese Embassy during construction of the water system, the Business 1 is monitored by KDD, and CBO 1 is monitored by GIZ and the MoA.

Several groups such as the credit cooperative groups coordinate with external groups in order to gain assistance for training from groups like Federasaun Hanai Malu. The farming group CBO 1 also cooperates with the MoA and GIZ for training and supervision. NGO 1 and the Business 1 cooperated with donors in order to obtain fund to implement projects in the village and receive monitoring of work during the implementation of the project. Business 1 also cooperates with Autoridade Dezenvolvimentu Nasional (ADN) to be monitored the project implementation in the village.

However, CBO 1 does not cooperate with another village groups in the village because no one of this group is farming group as CBO 1 to work together. The NGO 1 NGO does not cooperate with ADN because the project that NGO 1 managed is not granted by government. Credit groups do not cooperate with farming groups and other institutions exist in the village because they do not have any business to cooperate with these

groups. Even, political parties and martial arts also do not cooperate with the other groups because different activities of the groups. However, there are some members of martial arts that involve in some of other village groups. For example, the president of CBO 1 involves in Kera Sakti as a member.

The community cooperates with village institutions by providing land for water facility, involvement in the water-monitoring group, donation of funds for facility maintenance or is involved in the construction of the water supply system that is managed by NGO 1. Villagers are consulted by NGOs and companies in order to survey their opinion on the implementation their projects in the village. For example, the community cooperated in the construction of projects that are managed by the Business 1. Regarding church groups, catholic community members donate money in order to help the church administration build the church and organize its activities. The student parent council cooperates with the parents of current students in order to receive donations. There are also a number of groups, including credit cooperative groups and farming groups, that the community does not cooperate with.

Even though there are some cooperation between village groups and other external groups; internal cooperation among village institutions in DC-2.4 is rare. Some community members refused to work for water facility managed by NGO 1 because of poor payment, this made it hard for NGO 1 to recruit labors. Similar case also happened with Business 1 that some workers who worked for the construction of Youth Center stopped working because of low payment.

Once, heavy rains prevented farmers from the CBO 1 from planting vegetables, and, as a result, donors and NGOs refused to support the group. The memberships of the group based on the Uma Kain or neighborhoods are also prevented the people from outside of that Uma Kain to involve in the group. With credit groups, the groups are established based on friendships and relatives, hence, the other people are prohibited to involve in the groups. In regard with church groups, the people from different faiths including Protestant followers are not cooperated because they have different religion rather than catholic.

The student parent council, the villagers who do not have child studies at the secondary school are prevented to cooperate with the council. In the exception for the president of the council and teachers who are involved in this council.

Having the different political party also prevents the institutions to cooperate with each other. For instance, Fretilin does not cooperate with CNRT, PD, PSD, etc. because of having different party. Moreover, martial arts, Kera Sakti could not cooperate with CORCA and Setia Hati because they have different organization.

5.2.4 Communication strategies

The president of CBO 1 group informs neighborhoods by visiting the members' houses to promote group involvement to do farming activities together. The group secretary, the president's wife, assists with visiting some neighboring houses who the president does not invite yet, to invite them to partake in the group's activities. Organizations such as NGO 1 introduce their activities by organizing community meetings for villager who live near the facility and those would benefit from the new water facility. NGO 1 is assisted by local leaders like Bahen and xefe aldeia to mobilize the villagers to attend these meetings. The director of the Business 1 contacts the labors by either phone calls or visiting houses to ask them to participate in the construction work that is handled by Business 1.

The student parent council, the information normally socialized through the students by public announcement at the school to inform to their parents about the activities of the council. With this regard, the council normally helped by the teachers to announce to their students. The church groups, the information actually announced by the catechist in the church of Viqueque parish. Sometimes, the information also can be passed through the leaderships of the groups to transmit to their members in the aldeia such as the information on community donation. The president of the group visits catholic followers in the village and brings the envelope to give to them to put the money that they contribute.

Information that is frequently socialized in the church during the mass is always inaccessible for catholic followers who do not turn up to the mass. Organizations such as NGOs that manage construction projects in DC-2.4, only provide information to those who live close to the facility, people who live far from the facility often excluded from the project. Furthermore, the information that only spread out through phone calls and visiting trusted labors house are always blocked for the other experienced builders to participate in the construction works. This situation can be identified with the Business 1 which managed the construction of District Youth Center in the village.

For CBO 2 group, the memberships that need to store the money to the group, the people who are unemployed and have lack of income are never invited to involve in the group. Moreover, CBO 1 group, people those live outside of Uma Kain is never be informed about the establishing of the group.

5.2.5 *Creation and termination of groups*

Gaining assistance from donors is the major objective for establishing a farming group, NGO or company in DC-2.4. All groups hope to be received donations for projects from either the government or a representative of any other country. Church groups are created to assist the church authorities like catechists and priests on mobilizing funding for building the parish church and organizing local Catholics to pray during rosary periods. The credit cooperative was established because it is too expensive to pay the interest that formal banks charge for loans. Thus, community members create these groups to provide financial assistance at lower interest rates for group members. The student parent council was established to assist teachers with resolving problems or conflict among the students.

Village groups are often formed by one initiator that invites people from neighborhoods in a bairro, relatives, friends or colleagues to establish a group with them. Exceptions are church groups and the student parent council.. Then, community members who want to join the group have a meeting to share their opinions to establish the structure of the group, activities and rules. The catechist establishes church groups. The student parent association was established during an annual meeting by parents of students. There is an obligation to establish these groups at every school in DC-2.4.

It was identified that several groups were terminated in the village. CBO 1 was terminated, but it has since been re-activated with the new name CBO 1 after previous group activity stopped for more than 2 years. This group was terminated because of the misuse of group equipment that had donated by NGO. Members had taken this equipment with them to their house for personal use. Additionally, heavy rains also affected to the group activities, they could not plant vegetables during the rain and as a result, donors no longer wanted to support the group. Member's inactivity was also an additional cause of the termination of the CBO 1group.¹¹

Rede Advocasia group was terminated because every member is busy with their personal activity; therefore, they lost the communication and affected to the group activities terminated. -**Respondent 1** CPD-RDTL and martial arts were also terminated in the village because their activities are prohibited by government to implement their activities throughout Timor Leste including the village of DC-2.4. -**Commandant PNTL**

5.3 Constellation of Local Governance

Traditional Governance structure (Bahen Structure)

Name of the Position	Main Responsibilities	Scope
Dato	Supervising Liurai's activities in organizing ritual ceremonies, forming the assembly for ritual ceremonies	Two aldeias: DC-2.4-Aldeia 6 and DC-2.4-Aldeia 7
Liurai	Traditional ceremonies	Village

¹¹ DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 6_XADC-2.4-Aldeia 7.(Notes).docx.p.1

Village Bahen (Lia Nain of Village)	Assist village council on conflict mediation at village level	Village
Aldeia Bahen (Lia Nain of Aldeia)	Assists Xefe aldeia on conflict mediation at aldeia level, traditional ceremonies	Aldeia
Uma Kain Bahen (Lia nain of Household)	Conflict mediation at household level, traditional ceremonies, socialization at household level	Household

Local Governance structure (Village council structure)

Name of the Position	Scope
Xefe Suku	Village
PAAS (Village Secretary)	Village
Ansiaun (Elderly represent)	Village
Lia Nain	Village
2 women represents	Village
Female and male youth represents	Village
Xefe aldeias	Aldeia

Community Police committee structure (KPK structure)

Name of the Position	Scope
President	Village
Vice president	Village
Secretary	Village
Treasurer	Village
Volunteer security	Aldeia

Village water monitoring group structure (GMF structure)

Name of the Position	Scope
President	Village
Secretary	Village
Treasures	Village

Institution Name	Bahen Structure	KPK	Village Council
Institution Type	Community Structure	Local governance	Local Governance
Objectives	Provide assistant to community on their traditional activities	Preventive and resolution of communities related problems	Facilitate Community for administrative, problem solving need and as bridge between community in the village with other entities
History (major events & transformations)	The structure has been in place for generations	Was established on 5th of May and swearing-in on 27th may 2014	
Structure (hierarchy, leadership)	Inherit and has many bahen	DC-2.4 village chief	Respondent 23
Activities	Resolve problems in the community and facilitate traditional activities	collect information in the community on conflict issues and assist community to strengthen their capacity to prevent problem happening in the	Administration office and facilitate community need

		community	
Communication methods/norms	word of mouth to Uma Kain	formal correspondent, phone calls and word of mouth	Phone, sms, announcement and letter
Membership	Dependent on the household that has same Uma Lulik	village chief as president: Respondent 23	13 village council members
Influence	Community, village council, KPK	village council, communities and district administration	KPK
Problems/conflict	n/a	newly establish therefore will need build its organization	Land dispute
Resolutions	n/a	Assisted by organizations such as Assosiasion of Hak and Belun who delivery training to the team	Lia Nain engage and not resolved taken to court

5.4 Formation of village governance

5.4.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Families of *liurai* hold some of the local governance leadership positions in the village. Usually, only villagers who are descendants of *liurai* are appointed to a leader in the village, such as former xefe suku and the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 7. Furthermore, individuals who affiliate to the party of CNRT also take role as leaderships of the village. The current village council members are CNRT political party affiliates and the villagers selected them to be the leaderships of DC-2.4 because their party has a high number of political parties in the village. Individual who has experience or working in the village administration also selected to be the leader of the village. Virgilo is selected to be the PAAS of the village because he used to work for the village to handle the village administration during Indonesia occupation.

Furthermore, the intellectual who has experience in leadership and always has good ideas to share to the community is also selected to be the president of GMF for the water system supplied in the village. For instance, Respondent 10 is selected to be the president of GMF because he has a lot of experience in leadership and always has good idea to share in the meetings. He is also an active member and vocal point in the party of Fretilin. His role is to monitor and maintain the water facility in the village.

The community police officer also participates in village governance by leading the Community Policing Committee (KPK), which assists the xefe suku to guarantee security in the village as well as resolving problems or conflicts. *Siguransa Civil* is the lowest structure after KPK and is led by youths in the aldeia in order to provide security for ceremonies organized in suku or aldeia.

There are also community structures that are established in the aldeia based on several uma kain or households to be an uma kain, which is led by Bahen of uma kain. Several Bahen of uma kain are headed by two bahen of aldeia. Normally, the descendants of bahen assume traditional leadership positions as bahen in the village. Some xefe aldeia are also assumed as the bahen of uma kain such as the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2.

The village council is mainly non-participatory, due to a lack of community meetings held in the village. Community representatives or village intellectuals are normally invited by the village council to have meetings to talk about village needs because only they are considered by village council that have good ideas to share during the meetings. However, other villagers who considered as not intellectuals or do not have good idea and do not have experience on involving in any institutions are normally excluded from accessing the information

relating to the decisions that have been made by the Council. Intellectuals from other political party such as Fretilin also often excluded from the decision making. For example, president of GMF was not involved in PDL meeting because he has different political party affiliation with village council. He also sometimes debates with village council when the council involves him in the meeting because of having different ideas; therefore, he is considered by village council as opposition and rarely involved in community meetings.

The leadership in KPK is participatory because the members of committee are also the members of village council. Thus, it's easy for the leaders to involve all the members in meetings or to consult on making decisions.

Traditional structure, the leaderships are participatory. Bahen always inform to their villagers about the activities in the village. For example, when there was meeting about information dissemination from the xefe suku in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 4, all bahen in the aldeia inform their community members to participate in the meeting to listen to the information about water supply and education that disseminated by xefe suku in the aldeia. However, sometimes bahen also makes the decision without involving the villagers. For example, the recruitment about International Labor organization (ILO) project in the village. Bahen just selected villagers who they knew well in their Uma Kain to participate in ILO project.

Relation with GMF, this structure has just been established when the water system in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 was going to supply. Hence, the style of the leaderships was not really identified.

The election for the village council was organized by the government through the National Electoral Council or CNE and Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration or STAE. Local government election authorities informed villagers to nominate people as candidates for the village election. There were five packages of candidates enrolled including independent and political party affiliated candidates. The candidates were selected by team susesu or succeeded package team which included 3 Lia Nain. Team susesu was settled by previous village council in each aldeia to discuss among them to select individuals who speak better and active in the activities in the village to be the candidates for village council. Then, they visited the candidates' houses to inform them about selecting them to be the candidate for village council. For example, the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 was informed by team susesu at his house to be the candidate of xefe aldeia in the package of Respondent 23, actual xefe suku.

Moreover, these candidates conducted campaigns before the election was organized except for the xefe suku package, which did not organize a campaign. This case happened because the winning package's supporters were registered by the package so it was clear that they had a lot of supporters and would win in the election. - **(Respondent 21)** A confidential and democratic election was conducted in which villagers voted secretly for candidates at the sede suku. The xefe suku's package, representing the Concelho Nacional Reconstrução Timorense (CNRT), the party of current government, won that village election.

Members of the KPK, basically the members of the village council elected the group leaders, such as the president and his deputy, through a show of hands election process.

The villagers were not involved in the election of KPK leaders because it was decided by the Executive Steering Committee, or KDE (from Tetun Abbreviation), at the national level, that only the xefe suku and community police officer can lead the KPK. The KPK and its members established *Seguransa Vvolutariu* in each aldeia by registered youth who demonstrated past experience and ability to solve problems.¹²

Traditional structure, Bahen is an inherited structure that was established ancestrally and can only be replaced by the bahen's descents after he dies. Therefore, when a bahen dies, the only his son can replace him as bahen.

GMF structure, there was an election was conducted which organized by NGO 1 in the meeting to select the members of the team. There were six candidates for president of GMF. Villagers who participated in the

¹² DC-2.4_20140625_Respondent 5_OPS(Notes).docx.p.2

meeting voted for these candidates by show hands. The most voted became the president and the ones with fewer votes will be part of the structure to become technical staff, secretary, treasurer and funds collection team.¹³

The village council in DC-2.4 is not accountable to the village community. Village leaders rarely report to the community or to the local government such as sub district and district authorities. It was noted that most respondents, especially community members, were not aware of what the village council does in the village. The KPK was established recently and has not conducted any activities in the village, so the accountability of the group cannot be quantified.

The village council was given legitimacy of power through the village election in which villagers voted on candidates to lead and represent the village community and to raise community needs to the government. Traditional legitimacy such as *liurai* family supports the xefe suku and some of xefe aldeias, this legitimacy has been inherited by their ancestors. For the KPK, the Community Police Officer is recruited by the government and placed in the village therefore the community members respect him.

During the research conducted by REP, respondents raised a lot of complaints that the xefe suku and xefe aldeias never involve most villagers in meetings or any other activities in the village. These village leaders are never present among the villagers and are unable to see community's real life and thus are unable to resolve the community's problems such as flooding, which is faced during the raining season. Villagers have invited these leaders to take part in community meetings held by the community to discuss community problems and needs but they always ignore the invitations to do not attend the meetings.¹⁴ The villagers in the Bairro 3 often have floods in the wet season but have never received assistance from the village leaders. The barrio members organized a meeting and invited the xefe aldeia and xefe suku to participate but the village leaders do not consider participation in their meeting to be important. A group of villagers in aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 also said that the local leaders never attend to their needs when they face flooding in the wet season. Other villagers with specific political party affiliation, especially the Fretilin Party, are always excluded from village activities such as meetings or projects. The KPK uses its power to control and prevent conflicts among villagers in the village.

The xefe suku and members of the village council normally make decisions. Perhaps the bahen of uma kain and the aldeia, village intellectuals such as teachers, university students, representatives of religion, political parties, veterans and *liurai* are also consulted as representatives of community to make decisions, especially decision on community priorities for the Local Development Program. However, community members who do not hold any position above are always marginalized or excluded from decision making in the village. For example, some villagers in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 are never involved in the aldeia and suku meetings to make the decision. They are never informed by their xefe aldeia and Bahen about the meetings. The decision making within KPK is done by all members of the institution while for *Siguransa Volunratin* is just decided by KPK members even though it's a separate structure under KPK.

There are no regular meetings that organized by village governance in DC-2.4. They are held based on the dissemination of information by government entities to village community or if a program is being implemented in the village, such as the Local Development Program. Only the village council has regular meetings that are organized every month. The village council members also facilitate meetings in order to mediate issues that happen between villagers. In council meetings, decisions are made about the village council priorities; like building toilet in sede suku, replacing the previous village secretary, community needs to be implemented, like problem solving, and about village activities such as general cleaning which is done by village council members in sede suku. The KPK has monthly meetings at the same time as the village council meeting to decide on the prioritization of problems in DC-2.4 and also to decide how to get funding for the

¹³DC-2.4 14-07-03_Respondent 26_Director Kalisa_Notes.docx.p.1

¹⁴ DC-2.4_20140627_Respondent 11_villager.(Notes).docx.p.2

implementation of KPK activities in the village.

Decisions are usually made by discussion in the meetings and reaching a consensus. In this case, members of the village governance or community members that shown up for the meeting discuss an issue and agree on a decision, except for the decision on community prioritization for PDL program in which the representatives of the village voted on priorities by a show hands. The priority that received the highest vote was selected to be the priority of the village.

Due to the limitation of community participation in decision making, the decision making process is not very transparent to the villagers. The majority of villagers are not aware of how decisions are made in the village. However, when a local road was widened, village leaders consulted with community members who have trees alongside the road to inform them that the company that managed the project would cut down their trees. Similar case also occurred with the PDL meeting, when community representatives were also involved to decide on village priorities.

5.4.2 Financial Management

The primary source of funding for village council is \$100 village subsidy, which is given by the government every month. Specific members of village council also receive incentives paid by government through Ministry or Administration and State including; the xefe suku who is paid \$145 per month, the xefe aldeia \$100, the village secretary \$115 and the other members including lia nain, ansiaun (elderly representative), women representatives and youth representatives who are paid \$45 per month each. Although they receive funding for every month, they receive the money in a lump sum once ever three months, including the village subsidy.. In kind contributions like concrete blocks, cement and wood were given by companies as well as villagers in DC-2.4 in order to build the toilet for village council as well as guests in sede suku.

Normally, the village secretary is charged by xefe suku to manage the village subsidy. It was identified that the previous village secretary had the responsibility of handling the village fund, but after she left for another job in a government institution, the management of funds was not handed over to the new village secretary. There is not really clear information on who took over the management of funds after she left. The materials that were donated by local companies for the sede suku toilet were managed by the labors that built the toilet.

Village council members plan expenditures during their regular monthly meetings, which are organized by the village secretary and accompanied by the xefe suku. During these meetings, they discuss village needs and expenditures and also village activities organized for that month, which are listed by the village secretary.

Previously, the village secretary held the village fund but now it is not clear who keeps this money since the former village secretary has left. There is no evidence from either the previous or current village secretary about where the village funds are stored. During research, respondents gave different responses; the xefe suku said that the money is kept by the village secretary but the actual secretary said that he has not held any of the village money since assuming the position of village secretary for DC-2.4.

Stationary, meetings expenses, transportation costs including fuel and a motorbike subsidy are the primary expenditures of the village council. The village fund is also used to support other village council needs such as the purchase of some concrete blocks to build a toilet behind the sede suku. KPK funds have not been provided yet but according to their plan, their subsidy will be used to support coordination work, which will mostly likely be meeting related expenses. —**Respondent 5.**

There is no effective monitoring done by the government or villagers about village expenditures. The only monitoring that happens is that the village council head, like the xefe suku, sends a financial report to government authorities as well as to other village council members. However, the report is never reported or published so that villagers can know about village expenditures. KPK, has yet to implement any activity in the

village, so it has still not really been indicated how expenditures will be monitored. The KPK plans to report to the KDD and KNE.

Based on lack of community meetings as well as reporting financial issues to the community in the village, people do not know how the village council manages village spending. Respondents that were normal community members did not know about village expenses and did not have information on activities in the village managed by the village council.

5.4.3 Collective action among groups

The council cooperates with multiple village groups in DC-2.4. The village council primarily coordinates with the bahen to transmit information to the community, bring up community needs to the village council to propose to the government, and to mediate problems or conflicts among the villagers. The village council also sometimes consults the Liurai, Dato and religious authorities. National and local companies and NGOs that implement programs in the villages such as: Alola Foundation, HAK, Care, Timor Aid, Moris, Belun, SAS, NGO 1, Business 1, and ILO normally coordinate with xefe suku and xefe aldeias before implementing projects in the village in order to notify the community and also to ask village leaders to help them mobilize villagers to participate in their activities. Agricultural groups like CBO 1 and credit cooperatives work with village council for diverse reasons including sign the groups' proposal for asking the assistance to the donors, and some village council members involve directly in these village groups. Some village council members are members of the credit cooperative groups and the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 7 is the president of farming group CBO 1.

Planning for collective action within the village is not a clear-cut process however it traditionally, the village council needs to cooperate with traditional or community structures and religious authorities to work together in order to ensure community welfare in the village. NGOs and companies just come to the village to meet with village leaders for consultation on relevant programs or projects to be implemented in the village. However, perhaps village leaders are also only aware by notification letter about the projects of companies. The farming groups prepare their own proposals which are signed by xefe suku to ask for some assistance to from the government or related ministries and NGOs.

The xefe suku frequently attends meetings with sub district authorities or district authorities when they have some specific matters to be discussed; such as discussions on suku development priorities. However, he only attends meetings when he receives an invitation from sub district or district authorities. Thus, the coordination with the district and sub district governance structure is very limited, especially coordination regarding project implementation in the village. The Xefe suku has poor knowledge on how and why projects are implemented in DC-2.4 because he is never consulted by sub district and district administrators or companies that manage the projects. **-Xefe suku**

The KPK interacts with KDSD (*Komisaun Dezentralizasaun Sub Distritu*), KDD (*Komisaun Dezentralizasaun Distritu*), sub district police and district police in order to send reports from the xefe suku and Community Police Officer and to attend the meetings at district and sub district levels with KDSD and KDD members. KPK members also interact with Right and Justice or HAK (*Hak Asasi dan Keadilan*) by attending trainings on conflict resolution that are facilitated by HAK. The xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3, is involved in both KPK and the village council also works with NGO Belun as a monitoring staff and is also involved in a district institution called Rede Advocasia.

The lack coordination with top governance such as sub district and district leaders and companies on project implementation in the village is a main constraint to collective action towards the village council. A limitation on aldeia and village facilities that are owned by the village council is another constraint that is faced by village council in regard to collective action. Not having an aldeia center or computer and printers at the suku administration facility makes it difficult for village council members to spread information to all villagers in the community. Also, village council members have multiple functions in the village like acting as village council members and KPK members, therefore it is difficult for them to focus on a specific role and to coordinate with multiple actors from both internal and external authorities.

5.4.4 Communication strategies

There is almost no socialization about the decisions made by the village council to the villagers in DC-2.4. For example, people who live in Bairro 3, including the former xefe suku, do not know what activities and programs are organized in the village. One respondent reported that village households in the aldeia were usually visited by the xefe aldeia or bahen of uma kain and informed about meetings for information dissemination from both the government and NGOs. -Respondent 18

In terms of village meetings socialization, xefe suku normally informs the xefe aldeia at sede suku then xefe aldeia transfers the information to the Bahen of Uma Kain. Afterwards, bahen of uma kain visits some villagers that he trusts and asks them to be the village representatives at the meeting. The xefe aldeia and xefe suku also take action to invite intellectual villagers by visiting their houses and asking them to participate in the meeting organized by village council. In some specific cases with project implementation in the village such as village council project, the xefe suku will directly ask for help from the companies in the village. The xefe aldeia assists the xefe suku to ask the skilled labors of the community to participate in the construction.

Information bottlenecks results from the village council using community representatives to attend meetings and the limited socializing of village decisions to the community.

Many respondents expressed dissatisfaction with village council while only few respondents reported satisfaction with how the village council works in the village. Villagers are not happy because of the lack of care that village leaders have towards community members. They are often excluded from decision-making by village council members and never present among villagers to see the condition of villagers. Once the villagers tried to invite the council members but they ignored the villager's invitation and did not show up in the community. On other hand, some villagers are happy with the village council because there are village leaders who are in charge of managing the village. Also, some villagers, including the former xefe suku, are satisfied with the performance of the village council because there has been an improvement of development in the village compared to the last period of the village council.

6. Public goods

6.1 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.1.1 Project selection and decision-making process

The government through various ministries with different programs identifies almost all projects in the village. The Government initiated projects with more than \$50,000, such as the PDD (District Development Program), NGOs and emergency projects. The community is only allowed to identify the villages' needs for projects amounting less than \$50,000, like the PDL (Local Development Program) and some other projects.¹⁵

For large government projects, the government identifies the projects directly through the relevant ministry. KDD, a district executive commission, was in charge of deciding the district priorities for PDD projects. Emergency projects were decided by the relevant ministry such as the veterans' houses, which was identified by the national veteran's commission.¹⁶ The villagers have identified and proposed their own priorities to the government but their proposals have not been implemented.

Our proposal about rehabilitation of the suspension bridge was not approved and not implemented, but the company implements the projects which is not our need. Our needs are not considered by the government.¹⁷

¹⁵ DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 6_XADC-2.4-Aldeia 7.(Notes).docx.p.4

¹⁶ DC-2.4_20140703_Respondent 27.XSsubstitute.(notes).docx.p.5

¹⁷ DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 10_BahenClan 1.(Notes).docx.p.2

Simple government projects, such as PDL projects, were identified by a number of representatives of community members such as village leaders including the bahen and a portion of intellectual villagers; teachers, university students, religious representative, veterans representative and political party's representatives in a public meeting which was held in an open area at the village office. This prioritization did not involve all villagers in the village. For example, Respondent 10, a community member was not involved in this village priority identification.

I did not attend this meeting because in had not taken part as Bahen that moment. I started working as Bahen in 2012. I always attend the meeting but sometimes they do not want to invite me because I always their opposition in the meeting.¹⁸

Particular villagers who would benefit most from certain projects are the main initiators of most semi-community projects; the projects that identified by community itself and assisted by companies during implementing the projects. Sede suku toilet and drainage in Bairro 3, for instance. The village council identified the sede suku toilet as the primarily project of the village. This project had been identified in a PDL meeting, though the project was not selected at the sub district level.¹⁹ Informally, village council members identified the project after the formal village council meeting. Nevertheless, the neighborhoods in some particular areas identified the needs of the *bairro*; the drainage in Bairro 3 was identified by ten neighborhoods in that *bairro*.

There were almost no community projects existing in the village of DC-2.4.²⁰ All the projects in the village were government projects, NGO projects and semi community projects. The community members only raise their needs to relevant divisions such as the Servisu Agua no Saneamentu (SAS), as known in English Water and Sanitation Service to register their needs making proposals to NGO implement certain projects²¹

Generally, the projects including projects with a budget below \$50,000 were selected by a discussion and reached a consensus at a meeting. The participants of the meeting shared their idea about the village needs, discuss on the importance of each village priority then make the decision to implement the projects which most affect to the community. There was no election for either the government or semi community projects.

For government funded projects, the government authorities at sub district and district level held an open discussion for the community members about the needs. They discussed the importance of each project in the district and decided on the needs of the district. Normally, the members of KDD including sub-district administrators, district administrator, district and sub district police commandants, veteran's represents, religion represents with other district authorities participate in this meeting to discuss about community needs. Except for PDL projects, local leaders and the intellectual villagers proposed the projects and listed them to be proposed by the village council to the government. The village head conducted further discussion at sub district level with the sub district authorities to decide which priorities would be sent to district and national government levels.²²

For semi-community projects, the neighborhoods sat together to decide the needs of the neighborhoods based on the effect of disasters that the face every year. The members of the *bairro* decided which projects to propose to the government for implementation. This can be seen on the decision making process of the project of drainage in Bairro 3. Village council members held a meeting to share their opinion on the primarily needs of the village which were not addressed by the government. The village members discussed and made a decision about projects.²³

¹⁸ DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 10_BahenClan 1.(Notes).docx.p.2

¹⁹ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes.docx.p.7

²⁰ DC-2.4 14-06-27_Respondent 12_Juventude Concelho suco_Note.docx.p.1

²¹ DC-2.4 14-07-03_Respondent 26_Director NGO1_Notes.docx.p.1

²² DC-2.4 14-06-25-Respondent 4_PAAS_Note.docx.p.3

²³ DC-2.4_20140627_Respondent 11_villager.(Notes).docx.p.1

For NGO projects, the village leaders and SAS are consulted on the implementation of projects in the village. The NGO first coordinated with SAS to offer the water project, which was registered by SAS for the village. Then, NGO consulted the village leaders such as the *xefe suku* and *xefe aldeias* about the implementation of the project in the village. **BUka Tuir** Community members who are affected by the project especially water supply, register their project in SAS, therefore, the SAS aware on community needs regarding to water projects in the village. With this regard, the SAS just decides on which water project needs to be implemented when the NGO asks. Local leaders are just consulted to notify about project implementation and assist NGO on mobilize the community to participate in community meetings facilitated by NGO.

The villagers did not cooperate with the project's implementers on the selection of the majority of the projects. It was noted during the village research that majority of the respondents were not aware of how government projects were selected. The projects were just selected by the government officials at the district and national authority levels. Villagers were only aware when the government or company surveyed the project location in the village, while the village leaders cooperated with sub district and district authorities to discuss the priorities of the sub district and district priorities for PDL projects.²⁴ Bahen and intellectual villagers were asked by the village council to help identify the village needs for PDL projects. However, government actors did not inform the local leaders about the implementation of the projects. The village heads were only notified by a letter from the government that infrastructure was to be constructed in the village.

Majority of the projects implemented in the village sometimes do not coordinate with us as the village leaders. They get the contracts from the government the just come in to implement the project. They just give us the notification letter and consider that their letter is more value than the coordination. Actually the coordination is from top to down; district to sub district to the sub district then sub district inform to the village leaders before implementing the project. Perhaps, we just force ourselves to solve the issues against the villager during the project works.²⁵

Particular groups or community members also identified their needs without any coordination with external actors. For example, the village council identified that the toilet at village office as a village need by themselves. The ten neighborhoods from Bairo 3 also selected their priorities with no consultation from any external actors from the village or outside of the village. The neighborhoods only cooperated with the regional secretary of local development in Baucau by writing a proposal about their priorities such as water drainage. With the regional secretary of local development, the government approved the proposal about drainage in the neighborhoods.²⁶

For NGO projects, community members consulted the SAS authorities to register the villager's needs such as the water system, which was raised by the villagers. Moreover, the local leaders such as *xefe suku* and *xefe aldeias* for the benefiting villagers also coordinated with the NGO to discuss more about the water project which had been prioritized by the community.

6.1.2 Project planning (Financial planning, Logistical planning, Coordination, etc.)

Companies and the government planned the of majority construction projects in DC-2.4. The Government conducted the qualifications of companies to manage the planning and implementation of the projects. The KDD organized the qualification of local companies at the district level by revising the company profiles for the PDD and PDL projects. For national or emergency projects, the projects were planned nationally and implemented through the companies. However, there are also specific projects, which are planed and implemented by the relevant ministry, such as the, the garden (jardim) near the market, which was planned and implemented by the Ministry of tourism.²⁷

²⁴ DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 6_XADC-2.4-Aldeia 7.(Notes).docx.p.4

²⁵ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes).docx.p.5 (1.59)

²⁶ DC-2.4_20140627_Respondent 11_villager.(Notes).docx.p.1

²⁷ DC-2.4_20140625_Respondent 2_ViquequeAD(Notes).docx.p.1

I proposed this priority through PDID but the Ministry of Tourism want to rehabilitate this project.²⁸

For government wide projects such as the youth center and veteran houses, implementing companies was planned the construction. The technician of the company worked with the engineer of KDD to prepare the design and conducted analysis of the needed inventory for the project. The technicians analyzed the quality and quantity of the materials to be used during the construction.²⁹ Furthermore, the director of the company recruited the workers to work for the construction. Some of government projects, the workers were recruited through the village leaders such as *xefe aldeia* and *xefe suku* while some were recruited directly by contractor such as the gabions in the river of suspended bridge.³⁰ For semi community projects such as drainage in Bairo 3 the project managed by Business 1.

NGOs' projects such as water system is DC-2.4-Aldeia 2, the project was planned by the NGO 1. NGO cooperated with the *xefe suku* and the *xefe aldeias* to mobilize the community members who would be benefited by the water system to conduct a public meeting. Afterwards, the NGO consulted the villagers about the project site and the maintenance of the project through the establishment of water monitoring team or GMF. The design and the inventory were prepared by the NGO.

The village council members coordinated with local skilled workers about managing the planning and construction for village council project.³¹ The skilled labors designed the project and calculated the quantity of the materials needed.

Most projects in the village were funded by the government. The government sponsored the projects through approving the villagers' proposal, PDL, PDD and national or emergency projects. Several local companies in the village including a Chinese company with villagers who worked for toilet project funded village council project by donating construction materials such as concrete blocks, cement and wood. Furthermore, community also granted the church project by contributed \$2.50 per households. Villagers were asked by church group leaders in each Uma Kain by visiting catholic followers' houses. They distributed envelopes to each household of catholic followers to put the money in the envelope to donate. Then, the church groups' leaders stored it to the parish church authorities such as catechists and parish to manage for the church construction.

For the government projects with funds over \$50,000, the money was provided through the company which was hired to manage the project. The funds were transferred directly to the company accounts in three tranches -10% tranche, 75% tranche and 15% tranche. The tranches were based on the progress of the construction. These grants were handled directly by the company. For example, the director of Business 1 managed the expenditures for both supplying the materials and hiring the workers for the construction. However, for government projects in small scales were granted by the government to the company which is in charge to manage the projects by no more than \$50,000 which are PDL projects.³² The money handling for all the government projects in the village was managed by the contractor or company who hired to manage the project. The villagers were totally excluded from the money handling of government projects.

The companies do not put the information about projects in public board such as budget and period of implementation so that I don't know about the budget for every project in the village. It is difficult for the community to know about the projects in the village.³³

²⁸ DC-2.4_20140625_Respondent 2_ViquequeAD(Notes).docx.p.1

²⁹ DC-2.4 14-07-02_Respondent 24_Notes.docx.p.2

³⁰ DC-2.4_20140701_Respondent 21.XADC-2.4-Aldeia 1(Notes).docx.p.3

³¹ DC-2.4 14-07-04_Respondent 29_Toilet Worker_Notes.docx.p.1

³² DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 6_XADC-2.4-Aldeia 7.(Notes).docx.p.4

³³ DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 10_BahenClan 1.(Notes).docx.p.2

A part of the government projects, the drainage in Bairo 3, one of the semi community projects also granted by the government. Villagers proposed their needs and government offered the funds by approving villagers' proposal through a local company.³⁴ Even though this was a project identified by the community, the money handling was not managed by the villagers. The company managed the funds for the project's expenditure. In regard with village council project, none donated the money for this construction.³⁵ Only the *Xefe suku* used some of the village subsidy on affording the foods and some concrete blocks during the construction. The materials contribution was involved in the construction.

Generally, for semi community projects, the amount of the money needed for the construction is estimated by villagers themselves. For drainage in Bairo 3, the villagers who the project affected the most sat together discussed and calculated the money based on the items of the project then they wrote it in their project to ask to the government. They asked \$10,000 for this project but the government only approved half of their proposal.

We asked \$10.000 in our proposal but the government only approved \$5,000. When the company arrived here, the company said that the project was not asked by us. Instead, the company was an emergency project. -Respondent 11

However, the toilet project, the labors sat together and calculated the quantity of materials needed with its costs. Then, they counted the total of money based on the materials needed.

NGOs projects, the international donors funded the projects such as Japan Embassy. The donors of the NGO supported the grants for the NGO such as NGO 1 to pipe the water in DC-2.4-Aldeia 2. Similar to the government project, the villagers were excluded from the money management.

The projects both government or semi-community projects which were managed by the company, the materials were supplied by the contractors. The NGO projects, the materials also supplied by the NGO which managed the projects. The materials of the construction were attained from both outside or inside of the village. The local materials such as stones and bamboo were supplied from the village while the sands were obtained from another village of Viqueque sub-district in case of there were no sands in the village. Villagers collected the stones in the river to sell to the company to use for construction. However, for non-local materials were imported from Dili. The materials were only transported by the company and NGO which supplied the materials.³⁶ The labors were not involved in the process of supplying the materials.

In contrast, for the village council's project such as toilet in sede suku, the materials were contributed by the local companies in the village. As the project was not approved by the government, the *xefe suku* proposed to the companies to gather the materials to construct the toilet in village office, instead. Several local companies in the village offered the material's contribution such as cement and concrete blocks for the project. Some villagers who were contracted for the construction of the project also contributed woods and stones for the toilet because the project was also seen villager's priority. Furthermore, the village council member such as the xefe suku and xefe aldeias gathered the money to transport local materials such as stones and sands. The xefe suku knows the costs of transporting the stones and sands therefore he decided to ask the xefe aldeias to donate the money. Each xefe aldeia and xefe suku contributed \$20 and collected by xefe suku to transport the materials.³⁷

Non local materials such as concrete blocks and cement which supplied by the companies were transported by the companies themselves.

³⁴ DC-2.4 14-07-03_Respondent 28_Community_Notes.docx.p.1

³⁵ DC-2.4 14-06-25-Respondent 4_PAAS_Note.docx.p.3

³⁶ DC-2.4 14-07-02_Respondent 24 _Notes.docx.p.1

³⁷ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes).docx.p.7

The company contributed 180 pieces of concrete blocks and a Chinese company up there offered 10 sacks of cement³⁸

However, the 180 pieces of concrete blocks were not enough for toilet construction, the village council used village money to procure 160 concrete blocks for the construction. -**PAAS**

For government projects, villagers are rarely consulted about the location. Instead, the government authorities just identify the land where belong to the government. For example, the site for veteran's houses in the aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 belongs to the government therefore, the national committee of veterans decided to build the houses on that land. Villagers including local leaders were not aware on how veteran's committee decided this location.-**former xefe suku**. The NGO projects, NGO staffs including director consulted local leaders and villagers who will benefit from the project in a meeting to provide the land to build the project. A community member called Olivio (name changed) offer his land to the NGO to build water tank in his land.

Villagers who will use the facility offered their land to the NGO to build the facility. The location for the facility was decided together in the meeting. Olivio offered his land to build the water tank because he wants to get the water. -Respondent 21

For semi-community projects, village council decided the location of their project like toilet in sede suku. However, a group of community members in the bairo sat together to decide the location of their project such as drainage in Bairo 3. They just decided the location where the flood always occurred to build the drainage.

Villagers were coordinated by the NGO to offer the land on pipe and water tap sites for NGO project. The NGO 1 NGO organized one day meeting with the villagers who would be benefited by the facility to coordinate about the project implementation. The meeting was held in an open area at *xefe aldeia* of DC-2.4-Aldeia 6's house. The villagers who would access to the facility were informed by their Bahen to participate in this meeting. Some villagers who live nearby xefe aldeia were informed directly by xefe aldeia at their house. During this meeting, the villagers were consulted about the location of water taps as well as consulted villagers to provide their land for pipes and water taps. They also discussed about contracting villagers to work for the construction of the project. Moreover, villagers were also asked in the meeting to establish the GMF structure in the meeting to monitor the facility after the project completed. -**Xefe aldeia DC-2.4-Aldeia 1**

For semi community projects, the villagers were organized by the leaders to cooperate on building the project. The laborers (both skilled and workers) were coordinated by village leaders and received rice for their work on the village council project.³⁹ Besides, the president of neighborhoods in Bairo 3 coordinated the members to participate in the construction work.

However, there was almost no coordination between the government authorities and villagers on the government projects. District and sub district organized the police to evict the villagers' properties. For instance, the installation of the electricity and enlarging the roads in the village affected the villagers' plants and camps were destroyed.⁴⁰

Normally, the villagers cooperated with the project actors including companies and NGOs through the workers recruitment. Villagers were recruited to work for the construction through local leaders who register their name to work for the project or informed by the director of the company about the work.

For the government projects, the company which hired to manage the construction sometimes coordinated with the local leaders such as *xefe aldeia* and *xefe suku* to register the villagers to work for the project. The director of the company asked the xefe aldeia to inform to the villagers to participate in the construction of the project. With this regard, the xefe aldeia registered the villagers who wanted to be recruited for the construction to

³⁸ DC-2.4 14-06-25-Respondent 4_PAAS_Note.docx.p.3

³⁹ DC-2.4 14-07-04_Respondent 29_Toilet Worker_Notes.docx.p.1

⁴⁰ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes).docx.p.9

participate in the work. In contrary, the village leaders also did not coordinate and the company just recruited directly the workers to work with the company on the project. For instance, Business 1 coordinated directly the workers who they know well to be recruited for the project of Youth Center. However, villagers did not cooperate on identifying the project sites and how the project would be managed. For instance, the veterans' houses project, the villagers did not aware how this project planned. The villagers were just aware when the project was starting. Therefore the villagers turned up for asking the job for the contractor.⁴¹

NGO project, the villagers cooperated with the NGO on offering the land for pipe and water tap sites. Villagers cooperated with NGOs because they want to get water in their bairo. For example, community members in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 provided their land to the NGO 1 to supply the water because they need water to use. This was agreed by local leaders and community in the meeting.⁴²

Furthermore, the semi community projects such as drainage in Bairo 3, the president of the neighborhoods cooperated by hired company to recruit the workers. Afterwards, the president of neighborhoods recruited the workers by visiting each villager's house that will benefit from the project in the bairo and convinced them to work for the project.⁴³ Besides, the *xefe aldeias* were cooperated with the *xefe suku* to select and coordinate the villagers to work for the village council project. The *xefe suku* also cooperated by several local companies in the village on contributing the materials for building the toilet, a village council project.

There were several constraints that occurred during the construction planning in the village. Villagers were quite disappointed with the government projects which were implemented without community consultation. The companies accompanied with the police, damaged the villagers' property and cut the trees on roadsides with no any notification to villagers about the electricity installation in the village. Villagers complained about this issue to the local leaders, which was later relayed to the Ministry of State and Administration in Dili.⁴⁴

The construction of the project in wet season challenged the company on supplying the materials. Due to the supplying the sands in the river, it was difficult for the company to attain the sands when the river was swift. The material supply had to pause until the rushing river stopped. Furthermore, the workers recruitment also a challenge arose towards the projects planning process. Villagers rejected to be contracted with the low payment or \$5.00 a day. The \$10.00 a day was required by the villagers to be contracted.⁴⁵

Lack of the skills on plan the project expenditures including materials inventories and also design the project, village council members do not plan it themselves and they had to involve skilled labors to assist them to plan village council project like toilet in sede suku.

6.1.3 *Project implementation*

Majority project in the village, the workers were recruited by the actors who implemented the project. Government projects in large scales such as veterans' houses and youth center, the company only recruited the skilled labors. The people either from the village or outside the village who the contractor knew well and trusted in were recruited to be the foremen or president. These skilled laborers were provided a lump sum for project construction. The foremen basically called by phone or informed directly by the contractor or director of the company. Furthermore, the foremen recruited the workers. In this case, the foremen could be helped by local leaders or the contractor to identify the workers.,

For smaller government projects, the company recruited the workers through the local leaders. The *xefe aldeias* registered the villagers who needed to work's name and gave to the company to be contracted. The only villagers belonged to the DC-2.4 and did not involve in CPD-RD'TL could be registered to work for the small

⁴¹ DC-2.4_20140704_Respondent 31.VeteranHouseWorker.(notes).docx.p.2

⁴² DC-2.4 14-07-03_Respondent 26_Director Kalisa_Notes.docx.p.2

⁴³ DC-2.4_20140703_Respondent 27.XSsubstitute.(notes)

⁴⁴ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes).docx.p.9

⁴⁵ DC-2.4 14-07-02_Respondent 24Notes.docx.p.2

government projects.⁴⁶ The xefe aldeia just inform to villagers in the aldeia about the project then for those who wanted to participate in this work brought their electoral card and came to the xefe aldeia to be registered to send to the company. For example, the xefe aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 registered his villagers who wanted to participate in the gabion project in the river under the suspension bridge and gave their name to the company which managed this project. The memberships of CPD-RDTL were not involved in this because they do not have electoral card.

For the NGO projects, the NGO recruited directly the workers in a community meeting which was held by the NGO. The villagers who received the work with low payment were recruited to work for the project. In this project, the village leaders were only helped the NGO to mobilize the villagers to attend the meetings.⁴⁷

However, the village leaders completely recruited the workers for village council project. The *xefe suku* and *xefe aldeias* recruited the skilled labors whose they trusted in to work for the construction. For example, the xefe aldeia and xefe suku recruited about three to five skilled labors whose they knew for long time to build the toilet in sede suku. -**Xefe Suku**

The president of neighborhoods, Respondent 11, recruited the members to participate in the project work. The president visited every house in the *bairro* near the facility to be contracted by the company. The president of the neighborhood did not allow the villagers from other *bairro* to participate in the project.

*We do not want to give the opportunity to the other villagers outside of this bairro to involve in the construction work because this project is asked by us in this bairro. Therefore, we do not want the money goes out from our bairro. We want the only villagers from this bairro can receive the money for labors of this project.*⁴⁸

Government projects, only contracted workers worked on the construction. These workers were headed by the skilled labors or a president holding the lump sum of money. The workers were either paid by the lump sum or daily rates. It depended on the contractor who contracted the labors. The contractor or the director of the company managed the tasks of the construction. The director also supervised the construction works.⁴⁹ During the construction, the KDD and ADN members came directly to the project sites to monitor the process of the construction of government funded projects. However, KDD and ADN cannot monitor the semi community and NGO projects because these projects are not granted by the government. For example, KDD and ADN did not monitor water project in DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 and toilet in sede suku because it was not funded by the government. Regarding with the veteran's houses project, the carpenters for doors and windows frames were oriented by his contractor who is from Macau China on how to make the frames. The designs of the frames were also provided by the contractor for the carpenters to make the frames according to the designs.⁵⁰

The village council project such as toilet in *sede suku*, less than five skilled workers built the building. The skilled labors were helped by several workers and village council members during the construction. The workers were paid by rice, the leftover rice from *Programa Hadi'a An Rasik*. The foremen managed the work through managing on how the toilet was built. Village council members worked as the helpers of foremen to assist them to finalize the project. The village council members rotated helping the foremen and two council members help them a day. For example, PAAS and xefe suku helped foremen in one day, then the next day was helped by two xefe aldeias, etc.⁵¹ Furthermore, the semi community project such as drainage was implemented by Business 1. The villagers who lived nearby the facility were contracted \$3 a day by the company to construct the project. This

⁴⁶ DC-2.4_20140701_Respondent 21.XADC-2.4-Aldeia 1(Notes).docx.p.3

⁴⁷ DC-2.4_20140701_Respondent 21.XADC-2.4-Aldeia 1(Notes).docx.p.4

⁴⁸ DC-2.4_20140627_Respondent 11_villager.(Notes).docx.p.1

⁴⁹ DC-2.4_20140704_Respondent 31.VeteranHouseWorker.(notes).docx.p.1

⁵⁰ DC-2.4_20140703_Respondent 27.XSsubstitute.(notes).docx.p.4

⁵¹ DC-2.4 14-06-25-Respondent 4_PAAS_Note.docx.p.3

project managed and supervised by the company. -**Buka tuir**

Villagers only cooperated with the companies on the project implementation process by working for the construction. Most projects, both government projects and semi community projects, companies and village council recruited the labors to work for the projects. In this case, not every villager was cooperated on working for the implementation of the projects. Except the NGO project such as water supply in DC-2.4-Aldeia 2, some of villagers voluntarily helped the workers to supply the water.⁵² Villagers offered their plants to cut for piping the water because of a significant buy-in by the community. A part of that, villagers also had desire to help the NGO on supplying the water. Some villagers helped voluntarily the NGO to contribute the stones for the construction of water taps. While, majority of the villagers refused to be contracted by the NGO because of low payment.

For village council project, the villagers cooperated with the village council to construct the project in kind payment.⁵³ Even though the project was implemented with low payment but the villagers considered the project was also the primarily of villagers' project. Therefore, the workers assisted the project by contributed the materials and built the project. -**Buka Tuir**

The diversity of the constraints transpired towards the projects. Heavy raining was a common issue affected to the activity of construction. The workers could not continue during the raining and also affected to the material's supplying so the materials ran out of during the project construction. This could affect to the ability to finalize the project based on the schedule had settled.⁵⁴

The major constraint occurred towards the veteran houses project was the contractor ran away and left the project in the middle of construction. The contractor left the project and over 60 workers those worked for the project were not paid for the construction. There was a constraint towards the implementation of NGO project because the president of GMF refused to place the tap near to his house. According to the decision they made during the meeting with community that the water tap is placed beside the road in front of his house but after he was sick then the NGO staffs changed the location of tap to place it beside his house without consulting him. He complaint his dissatisfaction when the labors were constructing the taps near his house.

Previously, we decided that the water tap is placed down there but when I got sick you put it in front of my house. You have selected me to be the president of water monitoring team but you moved it without any consultation with me.⁵⁵

A common problem in village council projects is the lack of funds and materials for the construction. This occurred due to the limited or no funding support from the government of the agencies. Village council only used the village subsidy to pay for the materials with in kind contribution from some companies in the village. This constraint resulted the toilet was not fully constructed and with poor quality. There was also mentioned once by a respondent regarding to drainage in Bairro 3, that there was a word conflict during the construction of the project between villagers against the company due to the company that constructed the narrow drainage. However, villagers could understand after the company explained that the money was not enough to build the large drainage.⁵⁶

6.1.4 Resource management

Generally, the materials for construction were stored either at construction site or at the company or NGO's residence. The government project such as youth center, the materials were stored by Business 1 at project site.

⁵² DC-2.4_20140627_ObservationOfWaterSupplyInDC-2.4-Aldeia 2.docx.p.1

⁵³ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes).docx.p.7

⁵⁴ DC-2.4 14-07-02_Respondent 24 _Notes.docx.p.2

⁵⁵ DC-2.4_20140627_ObservationOfWaterSupplyInDC-2.4-Aldeia 2.docx.p.1

⁵⁶ DC-2.4_20140627_Respondent 11_villager.(Notes).docx.p.1

The labors who lived nearby the project site was hired by the company which managed the project as a security to oversee the materials.⁵⁷ These materials were managed by the company including the director and the engineer of the company. While, the NGO project, the objects were kept at both NGO's office and construction sites. The non-local objects were stored at the office while the local materials such as stones and sands were piled up at project places. The director of the NGO was responsible for distributing the materials.⁵⁸

In comparison with the other projects, the village council project did not supply when the materials were not needed. Indeed, the materials were stored when needed. For instance, the concrete blocks were invested by local companies after the foundation was done and the woods supplied by labors when the wall were installed. This occurred to protect the over supplying the materials for the construction. The *xefe suku* organized on investing the materials from different donors or companies. However, the objects were managed or distributed by the skilled labors. This occurred due to the lack of awareness of the village council member about the construction. There were only the skilled labors aware of the using of materials for the construction.⁵⁹

6.1.5 Development outcomes

The distance determined the villagers to participate in accessing the public goods in the village. The water system only covered the households those lived near to the facility. While, the villagers who stayed far away from the facility did not benefit from the water, hence villagers need walk and attain the water somewhere in the river or the water system in order to consume it. These villagers often excluded from the projects activities.

Furthermore, villagers who have money can register in SAS to be provided the water system. However, for villagers who do not have enough money and live far away from the village center also often excluded from accessing the facilities. For example, Respondent 16 and her family do not have money to pay SAS therefore they cannot get clean water.

*The water system is only supplied to our house if we have money. If we do not have money, the water is never supplied for us.*⁶⁰

The villagers with disability and poor people were excluded from projects activities. People like Respondent 15 a member of disabled people and Respondent 20 a poor villager never participated in the project activities such as the rehabilitation of the road in front of her house. Even though the projects were implemented nearby their houses, but they were never informed by local leaders or the contractor to participate in the work. These types of people often limited to access to the public goods as well.⁶¹

Nevertheless, villagers who do not have relationships with village council also often excluded from accessing to the retaining wall and gabions. There was once stated by several villagers in the aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 3 those lived in riverside, that there was flooding every year but the *xefe suku* and *xefe aldeia* never took care for them to build the gabions and retaining wall near their houses. They also do not get the water supply because they never taken care by village council members. There were only some villagers got clean water because they had money to buy hoses and they supplied the water themselves from the main road that a little far away from their residences.⁶²

There were several factors affected to the projects failed. Majority of projects failed because of the lack of coordination between the villagers, village authorities and the project implementation players such as wells that spread out in the village that implemented by SAS. Some wells were dry due to misplacement of digging the wells. Villagers and local leaders were not consulted by SAS about the place of the project. As the result, they

⁵⁷ DC-2.4 14-07-02_Respondent 24 Vitoria Viana_Notes.docx.p.1

⁵⁸ DC-2.4 14-07-03_Respondent 26_Director Kalisa_Notes.docx.2

⁵⁹ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes).docx.p.7

⁶⁰ DC-2.4_20140628_Respondent 16.Housewife(Notes).docx.p.1

⁶¹ DC-2.4 14-07-01_Respondent 20_Notes.docx.p.1

⁶² DC-2.4_20140705_Respondent 34.Housewife.(notes).docx.p.2

did not get water after digging the well. For instance, a well near the xefe suku house was dry because the xefe suku and villagers those lived near the well were not consulted by SAS.⁶³ Market in DC-2.4-Aldeia 4 is incomplete because the land owner was not coordinated by the company and top government authorities therefore the land owners had conflict with the company to stop the project. Furthermore, the village council project remained incomplete because of a lack of funds construction materials such as cement and ceramics.

The drainage in Bairro 3 failed because the company implemented a project that contrasted with the villager's proposal. Villagers requested from government a large drainage with the gabion while the company implemented the narrow drainage. As the result, the drainage could not catch all the water to flow to the river and affected flooding during the raining. The soil also often closed the drainage and could not catch the water. With this regards, villagers were discouraged and refused to maintain the project.⁶⁴ According to the researcher observation, the drainage has closed with the land and many grasses have grown up in the drainage and may not be able to catch the water. The water just flew through the road and affected flooding to the people live near the road. Apart of narrow drainage, the gabion was also canceled in because of limited of funds. This also may affect the water could not flow to the river and could affect flooding in the raining season.

Furthermore, the veterans' houses project also failed owing to the contractor ran away and left the project while it was ongoing. According to the respondent, this case happened due to the contractor who could not able to pay the workers.

*We worked well at the beginning of the construction but we stopped working in the middle because the director of the company escaped from the project.*⁶⁵

There are a number of succeeded projects. The management of the construction was exclusive by the company. There were also good consultation for some projects with the villagers and village leaders to identify the site of the project such as the youth center. As the result, there was no problem arose like land dispute occurred during the construction. This case supported the project implementation to complete on time. Labors also encouraged with good of company's coordination with the labors therefore they work well during the construction. Furthermore, the labor also coordinated to oversee the materials at the project site; hence, no material was stolen. This also a factor that assisted the project succeeded.

The villagers coordinated to offer the lands and trees to cut for constructing the projects were also factors helped the projects such as power installation and enlarged the road in the village completed. A part of that, owning the enough money for the project affected the projects were succeeded. The labors were contracted with satisfactory payments and materials also supplied completely by the contractor, therefore, the workers were enthusiastic to work for the project.

Majority of government projects were completed and working nowadays in the village. The projects such as youth center, bridges and roads are accessed by the villagers, though the roads are dreadful during the wet season. Flooding occurs on large part of the road in the village due to the lack of maintenance. However, the youth center is used by the youths in Viqueque district for capacity development. It has just completed in February 2014 and maintained by the youths who use this center. DC-2.4 Bridge is the oldest bridge in the village which built in Portuguese occupation but it still used by villagers now. The suspension bridge is also usable but some wood have already broken and affect to villagers fell scary to use. According to a villager, the wood are broken because of lack of maintenance for this bridge. The wood have not been replaced for long time.

The schools including catholic schools and public schools in the village are still useable. The schools are useable because it have been used by the students and teachers therefore they maintain these schools. Based on the

⁶³ DC-2.4_20140626_Respondent 6_XADC-2.4-Aldeia 7.(Notes).docx.p.4

⁶⁴ DC-2.4 14-07-03_Respondent 28_Community_Notes.docx.p.1

⁶⁵ DC-2.4_20140704_Respondent 31.VeteranHouseWorker.(notes).docx.p.1

researcher's observation, there are only some classrooms of the primary school of Neighboring suku 3 that have broken and currently are not used. There is also a school which placed Bairro 4 of DC-2.4-Aldeia 1 that is not used because the doors and roofs have already broken. A market in DC-2.4-Aldeia 4 is used for keeping the animals such as goats by villagers because the market was incomplete. The hospitals are still in better conditions. There is a hospital for maternity hospital in DC-2.4-Aldeia 5 which in better condition because it has been built last year and used by the doctors and nurseries. There are cleaners in the hospital to clean this hospital. There is an old hospital which built in Portuguese occupation and now used by university students from Dili Institute of Technology to do their field practice in the village.

Furthermore, the government offices including district administration office, district ministry of justice, etc. and NGOs offices such as SAS, are still working because the staffs who work in those institutions have good maintenance for their buildings.

The NGO project such as water in DC-2.4-Aldeia 2 is ongoing project which was supplied by NGOs' staffs and few workers from the village. The four water taps were constructed and the supply pipes were concluded. The progress of physical project has reached at 75%.⁶⁶

Drainage in Bairro 3 is not maintained by villagers or beneficiaries as it cannot save the water due to the narrow of the drainage. The villagers were discouraged to maintain the projects owing to the flooding occurred during the wet season. Furthermore, the toilet in *sede suku*, a village council project was usable. However, the water tank in the bathroom beside the toilet was not working due to the water tank which was perforated and could not save the water.⁶⁷

The main inefficiencies were the district and sub district administrators allowed the company which managed power installation project in the village to damage the villager's properties during the construction of power installation. Furthermore, the sub district and district administrators brought the police to threaten the villagers for evicting the properties.

Lack of coordination between the topper government authorities and local leaders is also inefficiency toward the government project implementation. The district and sub district administrators intervene many government projects and do not coordinate with local leaders and villagers in the implementation of the project. As the result, some villagers do not provide their land to build the construction. For example, the market in aldeia of DC-2.4-Aldeia 4 which villagers had problem with the company in the middle of the construction then the project had to stop.

The project that implemented by their own company such as veteran's house which implemented by a veteran company was an inefficiency towards the project because there was no company qualification conducted, as the fact, the company did not have enough money to build the project then left the construction before completed.

The poor quality of material purchase by the company is also inefficiency during the construction of the project. For instance, the drainage in the Bairro 2 that the company did not buy TONASA cement, community complaint to the xefe suku then xefe suku informed to ADN to change the cement.

Moreover, the government payment for the company where sometimes pay late to the companies, the company only uses their own money to build the construction that they manage. For instance, Business 1 used their own money to purchase the materials and build the Youth Center. The government paid after the physical construction reach at 15%. The last 10% for maintenance is also not paid by the government, though the project was completed in last February 2014. There was also stated by a local company owner that the government also

⁶⁶ DC-2.4 14-07-02_Respondent 24_Notes.docx.p.1

⁶⁷ DC-2.4_20140702_Respondent 23.XS(Notes).docx.p.7

does not pay them for the construction of emergency project about drainage under Bridge 2.

6.1.6 *Explanatory cases*

1. Youth center (Completed)

The Youth Center Project

This project was the government project to build a youth center in every district throughout Timor Leste. There was no youth center at district level in Viqueque so the district authorities decided to build this center by PDD II to respond to the secretary state of youth and sport program.

KDD (Commission of District Development) opened the qualification for local companies for building the center. It is published by putting the announcement on the information board at district administration office. A part of that, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Viqueque messaged every local company to enroll in the company qualification. Around 15 local companies competed in this qualification include the Business 1. KDD conducted this qualification by reviewing the profiles of the company. Then, the Business 1 won the qualification.⁶⁸

According to Viqueque sub district project list from DDO (District Development Officer), this project was funded by the government at about \$102,0028,88. The money was offered by three times tranches; 15% tranche, 75% tranche and 10% tranche. The 15% tranche was taken in planning phase for supplying the materials and the foundation of the building and the 75% was taken after the groundwork done for further construction. While, the 10% was used for three months maintenance after the construction was done.⁶⁹

The project design and inventory were prepared by the technician from both company and KDD after the company won the qualification. Furthermore, the company contracted a skilled labor from Oecusse who actually works with Business 1 in Dili. He was contracted lump sum by \$10.000 included the fund for contracting the labors. Then, the skilled labor recruited and contracted the local labors by helping from the company on finding out the local labors.

The fund management was handled directly by the company. The director of the company paid the skilled labor and purchased all the materials for construction. The company finance assistance; the director wife took place to handle the expenditure when the director was away. The materials were supplied by the company itself from either outside or inside the village. The nonlocal materials were attained from Dili while local materials such as sands got from another village of Viqueque sub district and stones attained from the village. These materials were stored at the project site where situated in Bairo 4. The company hired the security from the community to control the materials.

The construction was begun in June 2013. The workers those contracted by the skilled labor participated in the construction works. There were around six to seven workers worked on a day and sometimes need more workers to work at least 20 workers for some days. Because of low payments, some workers stopped the works after some days joining on building the center. Therefore, the new workers were also needed to be recruited to replace the absent workers during the construction was on going. More than 20 workers were contracted during the construction of the center. Mostly workers were from DC-2.4 while only the skilled labor from outside of the village.

During the period of construction, the works were supervised by director and technical of the company and also several monitoring which conducted by ADN from Natonal and KDD from Viqueque district. They monitored the construction to see the quality of the building. The monitoring was conducted once a month until the construction done. Based on the deadline from KDD, the building must be done until October 2013, however, regarding to the rain and the workers could not work under the rain, the building extended until

⁶⁸ DC-2.4 14-07-02_Respondent 24 Vitoria Viana_Notes. docx. p.1

⁶⁹ Project Implementation List of Viqueque Sub district

February 2014. In other hand, local material such as sands also could not be supplied since the river flowing. These issues, made the works pending for sometimes.

The youth center is completely done in February 2014 and inaugurated on 27th June 2014 by the representative of national secretary state of youth and sport, district administrator and district secretary state of youth and sport. According to Respondent 24; the finance assistant of the company, that the company will conduct three months maintenance by using the 10% of the project fund. Nevertheless, this money was not been paid by the government so far. Furthermore, the youths will continue maintaining the center after three months maintenance by Business 1.

The Drainage Project in Bairro 3

This project was implemented because there was no drainage in the Bairro and always affected to the flooding during the raining. Villagers those affected by flood identified the project.

The decision to build the drainage was accepted at a meeting by ten neighborhoods in the bairro. These vicinities discussed about this project and agreed to build the project. Then neighborhoods appointed a person to be the president of bairro to sign the proposal of this project. The appointment was made through consensus. Respondent 11, a member of the bairro was selected to be the leader. She was in charged to approve and submit the proposal to the government.

The president wrote the proposal and submitted to the government for asking around \$10,000 including the grant for a gabion near the river. This proposal was sent directly to the regional secretary of local development in Baucau. President claimed, the proposal was not submitted through the village council because the village council never cared to the villagers those affected by the flood every year.

We wrote this proposal and did not submit through XS because XS never interests of us. Basically, it was XS's role to write the proposal but he did not interest of this.⁷⁰

Government approved and granted \$5,000 for drainage while the gabion was not approved. The grants were provided through Business 1 to implement the project. The funds were managed directly by Business 1. Villagers did not satisfy with the amount of grants which offered by the government because \$5,000 was not enough to build a large drainage with a gabion. The design prepared by the company also different with villagers' proposal. Villagers asked for large drainage with a gabion while the grants were only for a narrow drainage.

Business 1 coordinated with the president of beneficiaries to recruit the labors. Then, the president visited every house of neighborhoods who would benefited by the facility to convince to work for this project. The villagers who lived far from the facility were not allowed by the president to work for the project. The labors were contracted \$3 per workday by the company.

Villagers collected the stones in the river near to the project then the company bought those stones by \$5 per ret.

This project started implementing in September 2008. The contracted labors (villagers those would be benefited by the facility) participated in the work. However, not every beneficiary was participated. A villager who lived beside the facility did not participate in the work because he was busy with other work.⁷¹

The company and president of neighborhoods supervised the project implementation. The company monitored the quality of work while the president controlled the labors attendance. During the construction, the villagers'

⁷⁰ DC-2.4_20140627_Respondent 11_villager.(Notes).docx.p.1

⁷¹ DC-2.4 14-07-03_Respondent 28_Community_Notes.docx.p.1

dissatisfaction of the project implementation was risen up and the work stopped for several hours. Villagers complaint about the size of drainage which was narrow. The project continued after company explained about the grants from the government for the project.

This project was completed in December 2008 before Christmas day. Meanwhile, villagers were not happy about this project because this drainage was not enough to catch all the water during the raining.

The maintenance was obtained by villagers who lived near to this drainage. They often cleaned this facility in the beginning this project completed. However, they were discouraged since the flood coming again in wet season. President stated that, the flooding was affected by the size of the drainage which was not able to collect all the water during the raining.

LBS Village Report:
DC-3.1 (Ainaro District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Description of the village¹

1.1 Location and names of aldeia and village borders

The Suco has covers an area of 7.93 km². In the West, DC-3.1 borders the Suco Neighboring suku 1 , on the north by the Suco Neighboring suku 2 and in the east and southeast by the Suco Neighboring Suku 3. In the Southwest of the Neighboring Sub-district 2 with the Suco Neighboring suku 4. North of the sources of the river , then continue along the northern boundary of Sucos flows east, the village is *DC-3.1-Aldeia 2*. Near the center of Sucos is *DC-3.1-Aldeia 3* and in the northeast corner of the place *DC-3.1-Aldeia 1*. Here is a bridge over the river. In DC-3.1 are the four Aldeias *DC-3.1-Aldeia 3*, *DC-3.1-Aldeia 4*, *DC-3.1-Aldeia 2* and *DC-3.1-Aldeia 1*. **In Suco the population in about 1,800 people people (2010, 2004: 1188). About 95% of the residents give Mambai as their native language. The rest speaks Tetum Prasa.**

1.2 Population; Ethno-linguistic groups;

According to the outlined that based on 2010 census population in DC-3.1 was 353 households and about 1800 population; but in 2014 the village has 399 households and 1884 population and this increase due to fertility and marriages. A detailed breakdown of the group, by age in DC-3.1 is shown in the Graph 1, below:

No official data of the Census just yet to provides for further breakdown of the population at the aldeia level, but the village administration carries out it's own yearly census and of the census of 2013 the results are shown in Table 4. This suku census therefore provides more details of the population data at the aldeia level.

Aldeia	Total	Male	Female	Households
DC-3.1-Aldeia 3	424	206	218	79
DC-3.1-Aldeia 4	495	235	260	103
DC-3.1-Aldeia 2	450	236	214	87
DC-3.1-Aldeia 1	422	199	223	77
Total	1791	876	915	346

Table 1.suku population census, prepared from Timor - Leste census 2010, volume 2

¹ Unless otherwise stated, data for this report is sourced from the government's 2010 population census.

Based on the Census of *Fo Fila Fali* demonstrated in 2010, shows that over 90% of the DC-3.1 population speak Mambae with the Tetun prasa coming second at nearly 5%. There are those who also speak Tetun Prasa, but they are a very small portion of the entire population.

1.3 Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile

Between the villagers of DC-3.1, 83.29 % of the households are involved in agricultural activities, and they around 80% produce corn, cassava and peanut red, while the second production is fruit and vegetable which is about 65%. Among all the other agricultural products, coffee is the only one that is less cultivated and the figure is round about 70% only. The rearing of animals is also prevalent in DC-3.1 and chickens are the highest number which is around 45%, followed by pigs, which are around 65%. The rearing of sheep is much less as it accounts for only 10%. Apart from these, there are also goats, horses and buffalos who are round about the 10 to 25%.

1.4 Social/Human Development Profile ;

Young people aged between 15 and 24 is about 47.62%,for males, and 51.27% for females are the Literacy rate. More than half of the populations in the suku of DC-3.1 have never attended any form of education. Those who had the opportunity to attend a school were able to reach only to the primary grades and the figure being slightly higher that 25% while those who completed their pre secondary and secondary school was much lower with a figure round about 5% respectively.

Concerning the health issues, the percentage of mothers who deliver their babies with assistance of a qualified nurse is only 10.3%, which is relatively lower, compared to the low district level figures of 33.5%.

In comparison with other sukus in this region, electricity is yet to reach DC-3.1. Construction of an electricity grid to this village began in 2011, however, it stalled before completion. Less than 1% of households have access to electricity according to the 2010 census. Use of solar cells and car batteries were observed in a number of households however their employment is generally limited to powering mobile telephones or small appliances such as radios.

Water is a lot more accessible by comparison. Access to improved water covers 38% of households with 17% having taps, including piped water next to their dwellings with 1% of them having water piped inside. Yet, 61% of households still rely on natural sources of water such as springs, rivers or creeks.

Only 7% of households have improved sanitation where waste, including related effluence, is generally isolated (an MCK facility meets this standard). Up to 65% of households use hanging toilet/latrine (waste is not protected from contamination) while the rest of the population have no access to toilet facility and practice open defecation.

Firewood is used by 97% of households as their source of energy (in comparison, Ainaro has 95% prevalence and nationally 90%). Kerosene is used by 4.82% of households while only 0.28% has access to electricity. Mobile telephone penetration is 40%.²

1.5 Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages;

³The population of DC-3.1 is very spread around, often they finding it difficult to be able to access to public facilities. This can be very district for many villages. The location of the water tanks is not located according to Aldeia. It is distributed according to the need of the population, like who needs the most. If an area does not have water, the tank is located in the middle so that people living nearby can have the same access to it. Most of the community members have to go to Neighboring suku 2 to get church and health services as there are no health post and church in the village or Aldeia he lives in.

The road in DC-3.1-Aldeia 4 was dug during the Indonesia occupation in Timor Leste. It was built after the Independence Day but the condition is still very bad. There is no kindergarten school in the Aldeia and the nearest school is located in neighboring suku 2 and in the village center which about hours away. Therefore, the children of DC-3.1-Aldeia 4 are only stay in the Aldeia and cannot have access to education. The rainy season is very dangerous for the children because they have to cross multiple creeks to reach the nearest school. The community also concerns about the road because the government only builds road to those who live in or nearby urban areas but the government has done nothing to them who live in the rural Aldeia.

1.6 Reoccurring problems

⁴School for the Aldeia as the Aldeia is far from the village center and other nearby schools. Secondly, health post and clean water because there is no health post and there are some community or households in the Aldeia have not get access to the clean water that has been installed in the village. Thirdly, house materials for powerless and vulnerable population and lastly scholarship for those mentioned on the third to get access to education, such as *Bolsa Da Mae*⁵ for powerless and vulnerable people.

² Unless otherwise stated, data for this report is sourced from the government's 2010 population census.

³ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 - Respondent 29 -Community member -former catechist- NOT.doc

⁴ DC-3.1 - 08.002.14- Respondent 30 - Community member, aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 4, NOT. P3

⁵ Bolsa da mae: *Scholarship given by the government for children with single mothers*

2. Social Cohesion

2.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

2.1.1 Identity

The community of DC-3.1 identified themselves in four main ways. Uma lisan has been viewed as very important to community lives in the village and therefore, the community of DC-3.1 firstly identified themselves as belong to one of the 20 uma lisan identified and located in the village. One of the reasons found for this identification is that the uma lisan have been during their ancestors and they follow them until this time. Despite, these many uma lisan, the uma lisan Clan 1 and Clan 2 are the two main uma lisan in the village which have governed the community during colonial times⁶. Some residence of the suku; however, identified themselves that they are belong to uma lisan located in nearby suku⁷, such as, Neighboring suku 3, Neighboring suku 1 and Neighboring suku 2. Also, villagers identified themselves by groups. Villager who join political parties as political parties representatives identified themselves as they are belong to the political parties, those who join catholic church as village and aldeia catechists identified themselves as they are belong to the church, those who are in the village council identified themselves as belong to or members of the village council, those who are members of the ritual groups, Kolimau 2000 for instance, identified themselves as belong to the organizations⁸ and those who are in the village groups considered themselves as belong to the groups.

Furthermore, the villager identified themselves by marriages. There is a clear difference between male and female community members of suku DC-3.1 in the perspective of marriages. The male villagers are belonged to Aldeia and suku since they were born and never change their identification while they are married. However, female villagers have to change their identity to uma lisan and Aldeia when they marry men from different uma lisan and Aldeia than their own and identified themselves as they are belong to the uma lisan and Aldeia of their husbands⁹. Lastly, villagers identified themselves according to Aldeia of residence and Aldeia they come from. For instance, community who lives in DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 registered in DC-3.1-Aldeia 2¹⁰ and there are others who live and formally register in the same Aldeia. However, there are others who live in the village but they are the community of other nearby suku such as Neighboring suku 3, Neighboring suku 1 and

⁶ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

⁷ DC-3.1 _2014-31-07_Respondent 21 _Community Member -(Not).docx

⁸ DC-3.1_20140727_Respondent 7_XADC-3.1-Aldeia 4(notes).docx, p.2

⁹ DC-3.1 - 26-07-14-Respondent 4 - Youth Rep- NOT.docx, p.1; DC-3.1 _2014-31-07_Respondent 21 _Community Member - (Not).docx, p.2

¹⁰ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT .docx,p.3

Neighboring suku 2. This comes to facts as it was identified by other villagers and researchers tried to interview some respondents and they stated they are belong other suku and it exists in almost all aldeias of DC-3.1, DC-3.1-Aldeia 3, DC-3.1-Aldeia 1, DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.1-Aldeia 4.

2.1.2 Power and Vulnerability

The community of DC-3.1 is almost two thousand but their social status and characteristics are very different. There are several characteristics the powerful community members of Suku DC-3.1. The most notable characteristic of powerful villagers in decision making was non participatory. The decisions in DC-3.1 only made by members in the same group on behalf of the whole community for instance, the xefe suku involves and consult council members in village activities and health post rehabilitation group conduct meetings among themselves to make plans and decision on how to manage the project in the village¹¹. The wider community is not involved in any decision making processes in the village. The village decisions lies only in the hand of the powerful community members in the village and community only participate when decision is implemented. Trust is the next notable and important characteristics that powerful villagers received from the community. Most respondents interviewed for this study express their views that they trust the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia in the suku as they are their leaders and they are parents of the community. Experience is another characteristic that the powerful villagers have; the communities tend to give their trust to experience villagers in the village to occupy leadership positions in DC-3.1¹². The last characteristics we found for the research is that the capacity to mobilize community and solve problems in the suku and aldeias are important aspect of leadership position in the village¹³. This also due to trust in the community, someone who has the capacity to solve problems and mobilize other villagers is trusted by the community to nominate for leadership positions in the village¹⁴.

Also, there are several sources of power among villagers in DC-3.1. The formal village authorities' election is the main source to elect a villager to hold leadership position in the suku. This election is held nationwide every five years through a package formed by villagers to run for power in the village. Secondly, the customary power from the generation of liurai uma lisan is still exists in the village of DC-3.1 as persons from this uma lisan has been elected and re-elected by the community of the suku to govern and administer the village administration for the community of the village. The other source of

¹¹ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx,p.9

¹² DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx,p.9

¹³ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT.docx, p.1

¹⁴ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx,p.7

power is experience. Persons who have experience in involving in the resistance activities during Indonesian occupation, in administration, community mobilization, and church activities and youth leadership position within and outside the village of DC-3.1 are important to hold positions in the village. This source leads to trust and the persons can be nominated by xefe Aldeia and xefe suku on behalf of the community to hold leadership position and community during election to become leaders for the community of DC-3.1.

The powerful community members control several resources which are allocated to the village and decisions that are made in the village. Government funds, such as subsidies, elderly and veteran pensions, operational budget, project budgets are the main resources that the powerful villagers control¹⁵ as powerful villager manage multiple government projects in the village. Particularly, the xefe suku, xefe Aldeia and council members play major roles in controlling these funds as they are the local government representatives in the village. They have the power to decide who should get what and when for the community in the Aldeia and suku before the villagers' information deliver to sub district and district levels. Also, the powerful community members control the fund from NGO and other entities which have programs to implement in the suku. NGO have implemented multiple projects in the village and budget for food was given to the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia to manage to support its program implementation in the village. Majority of powerful community members are holding positions in the village council and therefore, they control village and Aldeia decisions on behalf of the community. The communities in the Aldeia are not consulted to take part in village decision making process. The communities only received information from their xefe Aldeia once decision made in the village, though not all community members are informed. There are some family linkages between the council members in DC-3.1. The xefe Aldeia of DC-3.1-Aldeia 4, PAAS and xefe suku are cousins from the same Aldeia who occupy multiple positions in the village council.

The community and youths of DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 was excluded from the suku by the xefe suku for three years, 2010 to mid 2014. This happens because the youths from the Aldeia protested and accused the xefe suku DC-3.1 for corruption and unfair distribution of public resources in the village¹⁶. There are however, others excluded due to political affiliation in the past, such as members of CPD – RDTL were also excluded from the village. Widow, widower, elderly people and women have been considered by local authorities and other respondents as vulnerable groups of Suku DC-3.1. These group of villagers are not regularly integrated into the local government structures nor consulted as there hardly meetings held in Aldeia and suku to involve these groups. However, they are consulted by xefe Aldeia in their respective aldeias once there is help such as veteran and elderly pension, Bolsa da

¹⁵ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx, p.6

¹⁶ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT.docx, p.3

Mae¹⁷, subsidies for powerless people are available for them from the government. The xefe Aldeia goes directly to their houses to inform them and ask them to arrange necessary documents to access to these subsidies. However, there were some communities left out and others the process of getting these subsidies were impeded or cancelled by the xefe suku of DC-3.1¹⁸.

2.1.3 Formal and informal community rules

The main formal law which really affects the life of community in suku DC-3.1 is the government law, no 3/2009 which talks about the community authorities' election every five years¹⁹. Every five years, the communities of the suku gather together in meetings and nominate their representatives to form election packages and compete in the election. In 2009, for instance, there were two packages led by two individuals and one of the packages won the election to govern the village for five years.

Next, government decree law on banning of martial art groups from conducting their activities nationwide has positively impact the villager. In the past, there were multiple martial arts and ritual groups exist in the village; however they have stopped their activities ones it was banned by the government. The police officers are the persons who enforce and explain the decree law in the community to give an understanding and community decide not to violate the law²⁰. Members of martial art groups have obey the law as there have been no activities and conflicts among martial art groups occurred in the village since 2013. The other formal law is the veteran and martyr of the resistance law which prevents one person cannot have two benefits. This law has been enforced in the village by local leaders, xefe Aldeia and xefe suku²¹.

Besides, there is a traditional local Tarabandu where certain activities are banned is in place since 2005 when the current xefe suku was elected for the first time in that year²². Since then the village has Tarabandu on not to cut tree s and have problems in the community²³. This local Tarabandu is primarily aimed to prevent villagers to commit

¹⁷ Bolsa De Mae is a scholarship offered by the Ministry of Social Solidarity to help women with many children and powerless people.

¹⁸ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT - Audio Cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

¹⁹ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx,p.2

²⁰ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes).docx,p.2

²¹ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 - Respondent 29 -Community member -former catechist- NOT - Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

²² DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx, p.6

²³ DC-3.1 _2014-31-07_Respondent 21 _Community Member -(Not).docx, p.3

crimes in the village because there have been multiple conflicts occur in the village as stated by a respondent²⁴:

"The main objective of Tarabandu is to prevent people from conflict or to frighten people from conflict; however, conflict is always there in the village".

The Tarabandu was initiated by the xefe suku and his council members in the suku and socialized it to the community in different Aldeia to formalize²⁵. Therefore, those who commit crimes or conflict if they come to xefe Aldeia and xefe suku to solve their problems Tarabandu rule is applied and therefore they are fined used these rules as stated by an interviewee²⁶.

In this village, the village and Aldeia chiefs have created Tarabandu and socialize it to the community in all four aldeias that if somebody has conflict or problems and brought to the xefe aldeia to solve they will be fined.

Apart from formal and informal rules, the villagers have their own traditions and customs in place over long period of time. Feto sa'a²⁷ and umane²⁸ system, an exchange of goods including, money among family of couples or payment of bride price²⁹ in the village are very strong and create a long lasting relationships among communities in suku of DC-3.1. Villagers who are from the same uma lisan come together to contribute materials such as livestock and money to help one another for engagement, marriages, funerals and other cultural activities that affects one of the family members. Also, the villagers have tradition that if someone passes away in a neighborhood, the neighbors do not need to invite to participate³⁰. The neighbors around will come to gather, contribute materials, namely money and rice, collect water and firewood for cooking and they are there to accompany the family of the decease. Also, the Feto sa'a brings cows, and money; and the umane side brings pigs and rice to accompany family of the decease³¹.

²⁴ DC-3.1 - 26-07-14-Respondent 4 - Youth Rep- NOT.docx, p.3

²⁵ DC-3.1 _2014-31-07_Respondent 21 _Community Member -(Not).docx,p.3

²⁶ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventudenotes - Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

²⁷ Feto Sa'a means wife taker

²⁸ Umane means wife giver

²⁹ http://ss223.squarespace.com/storage/Local-Global_vol_11_Timor-Leste_lr.pdf, p.138

³⁰ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_Catecista Bairo(notes).docx, p. 2

³¹ DC-3.1 _2014_30_07 _ Respondent 17 _ Xefe Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 _ Note and Audio checked.docx, p.2

2.1.4 *Conflict and conflict mediation*

Even though Tarabandu on conflict resolution has been imposed by the xefe suku and village council for almost a decade now, there are still conflicts occurred in the village³². The followings are conflicts that are often occur in the village and made suku DC-3.1 had the highest levels of incidence in the sub district of Neighboring sub-district 1 in 2013. The conflicts are include: verbal disputes among villagers over land border and coffee plantation, physical violence, accusation of witchcraft, corruption and unfair distribution of government resources by the village authorities and domestic violence in the family. Factors that are considered to be attributable to the above mentioned conflicts are overlapping claims of land and coffee plantation. This occurs and turns into violence due to the fact that the borders between land and coffee plantation are unclear and these types of conflicts occur during coffee harvesting season as coffee is one of the main crops they sell for cash in the village. The other factors is accuse one another for witchcraft and this notable when people are getting sick and in the village and start to accuse others that they are the ones who have caused the sickness to them. Also, accusation of corruption and unfair distribution of public resources due to jealousy and other family linkage issues are some of the causes of conflicts in the village³³. For instance, the youth of DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 accused xefe suku for corruption and mismanagement he committed. The xefe suku used some government funds for his own good and cancelled elderly pension and government subsidies to the communities in the village. Consequently, the motorbike of the xefe suku was taken away to the police in Neighboring suku 2 and the sub district administrator and police have to intervene to solve the conflict. There are three common stages where conflicts are mediated. First of all, the conflicts are mediated in the community. Problems or conflicts occur in the community, the community will inform the uma lisan lia nain and a family member in the first instance to resolve the problem³⁴. The uma lisan lia nain or the trusted family then mediates the problem in the community level or in their uma. Listen to their reasons and propose a solution to seek agreement and overcome the problem³⁵. However, if the problems are too complicated and there is no agreement among suspects and victims, the problems then brought to the second stage, to the Aldeia level to solve. The xefe Aldeia and Aldeia lia nain are the ones who mediate the problem in this stage and Tarabandu is applied. In the Aldeia levels, both victims and suspects have to provide a sack of rice, a pig, a dozen of cigarette, a box of beer, and \$56 – 75 dollars money. Again, if the

³² DC-3.1 - 26-07-14-Respondent 4 - Youth Rep- NOT.docx, p.3

³³ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT.docx, p.3; DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes).docx, p.2

³⁴ DC-3.1 _2014_30_07 _ Respondent 17 _ Xefe Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 _ Note and Audio checked.docx, p.2

³⁵ DC-3.1 _2014-31-07_Respondent 21 _Community Member -(Not).docx,p.3

problems are still complicated and no agreement is reached, the problem then brought forward to the third stage at the suku level. The xefe suku and the lia nain suku are involved in solving the problem in the sede suku and fines on suku level Tarabandu are applied to overcome the problem. The victims and suspects must provide \$112 -200 money, a sack of rice, a box of beer, a dozen of cigarette and a pig or cow to celebrate the resolutions if there is agreement reached at this level. If all these stages fail to solve due to the complexity of the conflict the conflicts then bring forward outside the village to sub district, district and national level to solve.

In spite of these stages, there is a single way of conflict resolution processes taken places in the village. Problems occur in the community, the victims inform the local leaders, and the local leaders inform the opponent; the local leaders then decide the date for the conflict resolution and seek agreement from both sides³⁶. If both sides agreed the date is set. On the conflict resolution day, the local leaders, Aldeia lia nain, xefe Aldeia, and xefe suku firstly asked the victims to explain the reasons and causes of the conflict for reporting, the local leaders then asked the opposite side to express their views and reasons regarding the conflict. Based on their reasons, the local leaders examine and ask further question necessary to verify and if a witness is needed, witness get called to verify. A decision is then proposed by the local leaders, for instance, lia nain, xefe suku or xefe Aldeia to seek agreement from both sides to resolve the problem. If both sides agreed, problem is solved; however, if not, the problem can be brought forward as stated and the same processes are repeated³⁷.

The above processes are for conflicts which are not involved crime or bloodsheds. The conflicts which are involved bloodshed, for instance, physical fighting is directly investigate by the police and bring to the sub district police to apply for investigation process³⁸. However, if the victims and suspects to solve in the village by local leaders, the case then still bring back to the village to solve and the police are present as observers and provide security only. Also, the community can also directly involve or inform the police if the need arises and therefore, they may not follow the three stages described above.

Though, most conflicts do not have large impacts on people's lives some community of DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 who accused the xefe suku for corruption and mismanagement and some others who were member of the CPD RDTL were the ones who affected the most. These groups of people were excluded by the xefe suku from the village as stated by multiple respondents:

³⁶ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx,p.4

³⁷ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT.docx, p.3

³⁸ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_CatecistaBairru(notes).docx, p.3

“Authority is the one who govern, authority will not be sorry to the community. Therefore, those who against the authority, I excluded them from my village; I sell them for those who want can take them to join their village³⁹”

“In DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 there was a problem between XS and the community about CP-RDTL some people in the community do not register the name in suku list yet and they go straight to sub district administrator for their needs⁴⁰”

Therefore, in the last three years, communities go directly to the sub district administration office to get services that they needed from the sub district administration. In addition, both victims and suspects are affected in some ways as they have to provide materials during conflict resolution process in the village when Tarabandu is applied⁴¹. There are however, some case have brought up to the sub district, district and national levels to mediate due to the fact that the conflicts were too complex to be solved in the village level. The conflict between youths and xefe suku in the village is just one of the conflicts that were solved in the sub district by sub district police and sub district administrator.

2.1.5 Development Priorities

Both powerful and marginalized villagers identified similar development in terms of basic infrastructure in the village. Education, Road, clean water and health are the primary priorities for powerful villagers and housing materials, government subsidies, and scholarships for the powerless and vulnerable community groups as their secondary priorities. On the other hand, the vulnerable villagers identify housing materials, government subsidies and scholarship for their children as very primary needs for their lives in the village. Next, the vulnerable groups identify clean water, electricity and road as their secondary priorities in the village.

2.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

This section describes the profiles of both powerful and marginalized community members in Suku DC-3.1.

2.2.1 Powerful community members

This first section describes the profiles of three powerful community members.

Respondent 1 is a veteran and the current xefe suku of DC-3.1k and was re – elected in 2009 communities’ authorities’ election held in the suku. Also, he is the generation of

³⁹ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx,p.5

⁴⁰ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes).docx,p.3

⁴¹ DC-3.1_20140725_Respondent 2s_LiaNain(notes).docx,p.1

Neighboring suku 1 uma lisan and people from his uma lisan have governed the village for many generations. He is also an active local politician who holds positions as the sub district secretary for PD⁴² in Neighboring suku 2 in 2012 election. Lastly, he is currently works for an organization called CEPAD⁴³ as the district line officer for the district of Ainaro. As a village chief, he has majoring roles in village administrations and basic village development projects for the community in the village. Also, he controls the government project which has been allocated. He was the manager for funds allocated by the ministry of agriculture to buy cows to distribute to the community in 2005; and later in 2007, he was chosen by the Ministry of State Administration to build sede suku in the village. He also has taken the initiative with other organizations, such as CVTL and Plan International to implement their program in the suku as well as registering community for scholarships outside the village.

Lastly, he makes decision in on behalf of the whole community and has the power to choose and nominate people for the village leadership positions in the village. The president, vice president, secretary and treasurer of the health post rehabilitation were chosen or appointed directly by him in the village to manage more than 5000 fund from the government. As xefe suku, he has major influence on decisions related to basic infrastructure in the village and education, road, clean water and health post infrastructures in the village as his priorities.

Respondent 2 is the former xefe Aldeia and village secretary during Indonesian time. He is the current Lia nain and acting PAAS for suku DC-3.1. He was elected in 2010 by the council members after the formal ceremony for the village council was launched in that year. This was done base on requirement from the government that the village council needs someone to resolve the problem in the suku⁴⁴ and the community leaders took the initiative. He also has a stake on village development infrastructures as he is regularly involve in the village council meetings where village development priorities are repeatedly debate and decide to implement in the village. Road and electricity are his priorities for the village.

Respondent 3 is one of the youth and the leader of CNRT party in the suku. He is the president of health post rehabilitation committee to manage the fund and implement projects in the village. Besides, the president and political party leader in the village, he does coffee selling and buying activities in the village. He buys coffee from the community and resells it to the NCBA, a coffee buying agency in the village.

⁴² PD means Partido Democratico or Democratic Party

⁴³ CEPAD is a center for peace and development established in Dili

⁴⁴ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx,p.2

In the past, he was the spoke person or the leader of youth who mobilized the community in the Aldeia and accused the xefe suku for corruption, unfair distribution of public resources and mismanagement. He protested most decisions have made only by xefe suku and the council members without consulting the community and the youths of the suku⁴⁵. He and other youths demanded more involvement of youths and communities in the decision making process. Consequently, he and his colleagues were contacted by the xefe suku and his council to involve in managing health post rehabilitation project. He is now the president of the health post rehabilitation committee because he was chosen by the xefe suku⁴⁶ to manage the committee consists of eight members to implement the project.

2.2.2 Vulnerable or marginalized community members

This second section provides the profiles of three marginalized or vulnerable community members of suku DC-3.1

Respondent 31 is a widow for long time who lives in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 4 with her six children in a house build for uma lisan Clan 3 in the village. She and her neighbors describe that she has been constantly faces food shortages every year and only eat yams when hard time comes⁴⁷. She has limited influence in village basic infrastructure projects as there very limited opportunity for her to participate in her Aldeia. She has been taken part in \$3.00 projects by SEFOPE to generate extra income for her family. She was informed by her xefe Aldeia to work on the project. Apart from this, she has a farmland behind her house when she grows beans and onion and sells to buy \$3 to \$5 in Neighboring suku 2.

She appears to be more than sixty as she does not know her exact age, but she has been considered by powerful community members that she is younger than sixty. Therefore, she is ineligible to government subsidies, elderly pensions offered nationwide by Ministry of Social Solidarity. She has no decent housing condition and in a desperate need of house materials to build a house. Her xefe Aldeia has promised her that there are house materials from government to given to her; however, these have not been delivered to her to build a house for her family. She stated access to housing materials and government subsidies are her primary needs to continue to live in the village.

Respondent 20 is a widow for long time and lives in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 3 with her children six children⁴⁸. Her role in village development infrastructure is very limited due to the fact that there was no aldeia meeting regarding public project were held in her Aldeia.

⁴⁵ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventudenotes - Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

⁴⁶ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx, p.7

⁴⁷ DC-3.1 -08.02.14 – Respondent 31 -Vulnerable woman, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 4, NOT.docx, p.1

⁴⁸ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT.docx, p.4

Nevertheless, she took part in public projects, specifically; the \$3 dollar projects implemented SEFOPE to get extra income⁴⁹. She works on the project and got paid \$3 dollars per day and she was paid on two weeks basis. The xefe Aldeia of DC-3.1-Aldeia 3 came to her house to invite her to work on the project.

She appears to be more than sixty but she had not access to any government subsidies that is available for the communities who have reached sixty years of age. She has been told by her xefe Aldeia and xefe suku that she has not reached sixty yet and therefore ineligible to the elderly pension. She informed the researchers that one of the lady lives next to the xefe Aldeia has got her elderly pension, even though she has the same age as her and other widows in the Aldeia⁵⁰. In everyday life, she works in the garden and looks after her two year old grandson at home as the mother of the child has passed away few months ago. She identified housing materials for her to build a decent house and her children are the most needed one to support her life in the Aldeia. Also, access to government subsidies is important to have some extra income for the family.

Respondent 21 is a 44 year old male, married and lives in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 with his wife and four children. he has no role and impact on village development infrastructures as he hardly participate in Aldeia and suku meetings nor takes part in public projects that are implemented in the village⁵¹. He has been asthmatic for many years and unable to do physical works for his family. He cannot work in the garden or farms and the wife is the person who does the job feed him and their four children.

Ha has no house and cannot afford to build one for his family to live in. he has tried to build one in the past, but he could not complete it. Consequently, family member who was living in the Aldeia moved to Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 closed to the main road and village office and told him that he could live in his house. Therefore, he and his family moved into the house and they have been living there for four years when this research was conducted⁵². Health post, road and housing materials are his primary and secondary priorities for the village and himself.

⁴⁹ DC-3.1 -07-30 -14- Respondent 20 - DC-3.1-Aldeia 3 - Vulnerable – NOT.docx, p.2

⁵⁰ DC-3.1 -07-30 -14- Respondent 20 - DC-3.1-Aldeia 3 - Vulnerable – NOT.docx, p.1

⁵¹ DC-3.1 _2014-31-07_Respondent 21 _Community Member -(Not).docx, p.1

⁵² DC-3.1 _2014-31-07_Respondent 21 _Community Member -(Not).docx, p.4

5. Institutions and power

5.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

This section provides the types of village groups found in the village and these groups include: social and economics, ritual and martial arts, political and religion.

Social groups

1. Mothers support group (GSI)

Mothers support group was established by ALOLA Foundation in 2010⁵³. The staff of the Alola foundation contacted xefe suku, xefe Aldeia and XS/XA informs here and the youth of the village to take part. When the NGO came to the village, they run attend a four day training to those who were willing to become members of the group on how to the group's activities in the village. The group's activities include: house to house visits to pregnant mothers in the suku to provide them with information on healthy mother and child. Also, the group offers rewards to mothers who follow the information and give good nutrition to their children. The rewards are given to the successful mother every august in the village. The group consists of 28 members both male and female youths of the village, coming from all four aldeias. The group was structured around president, secretary and treasurer to manage the overall group's activities, keep reports and manage the group's finances in the village. , Christina (name changed), lead the group as president, Respondent 4, as treasurer and Domingas as secretary. Members of the group received a monthly salary from ALOLA foundation for the activities they conducted in the village. They got the sum of \$85 per month. The groups is now has stopped functioning but there was a \$100 petty cash money to finance a closing ceremony in the village as the group came formally through xefe suku and xefe Aldeia in the village, it has to leave formally. Below is a quote from Respondent 4:

"The group comes to the village through a door and thus it should walks out through a door as well otherwise people will say come through the door but goes out from the window".

2. Health Post Rehabilitation Group

This group was formed by village council in 2010 which aimed to do renovation for the health post located next to village office in the village. The group is structured around, president, secretary, treasurer and members to oversee the group's activities. The group is led by Alberto aroujo, the president, Duarte Paicheco Martins as the secretary and is the president of Health post rehabilitation committee ⁵⁴. The group's activities include conduct meetings with its members and with village council, recruit labors as well as managing the project finances to renovate the health post. The community has planned to use skilled labors from the group and brings one or two from each Aldeia to help to implement the project when the money comes to them. Leaders and members of this group were directly chosen or appointed by the xefe suku and his council member

⁵³ DC-3.1 - 26-07-14-Respondent 4 - Youth Rep- NOT- Audio Choked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

⁵⁴ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 -Respondent 28 - Secretary of rehab committee. NOTE.P1

in a meeting held in the village where village council members and the potential group members were invited to attend. The group has the sum of \$5992.50 from the government to manage; however, the fund has not yet delivered to the group when this research was taken place in the village.

3. Hametin Unidade Joventude (HUJ)

The group HUJ was formed way back in 2003 to do carpenter activities in the village⁵⁵. The group was lead by Respondent 12 as manager with treasurer, logistic and administration staff. Altogether the group has eight members consist of youths coming from aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1. The group was initiated by Francisco (name changed) in 2003 by collecting money from the group to buy wood and other materials to make tables to sell in the village. There was only about \$40, five dollar each from the eight members of the group to start the group's activities in the village⁵⁶. They started with this amount of money and make some more profit and consequently, they now have the capacity to buy more modern machines, such as electricity wood machines cost about \$70 to \$80 dollars. They also received training from the government department and got extra funding from NGO to continue their activities in the suku. The group was able to make tables, cross and coffin to sell for 10 – 40 dollars to the communities in the village as well as to people from other villages due to the fact that the group's centre is located along the main road to Ainaro and Dili. The profit they made is stored with the group's treasurer and re used t buy materials such as thin wood, nails and wood to maintain sustainability of the functioning of the group.

4. Church Youth Group

This group was formed in 2014 and aimed to reduce conflict among youth and martial groups in the village⁵⁷. The group was initiated by the church due to the fact that there was a high conflict among youths in the suku. The group is lead by Respondent 16 and consists of 10 members including five women. The group has activities include: playing football, support the church to sing during masses held in the village, and gathers youths in the village to d cleaning, in chapel on the street and plan trees to prevent natural disasters occur in the village. Apart, from these, the group members do work in farms growing vegetables and harvest coffee together to generate cash to the group. The group members distribute \$0.50 to \$2.00 to buy food to support these activities in the village.

5. Grupo Hamoris Juventude

The group Hamoris Juventude was formed in 2008 and its obejctives were to sing in church during Sunday mass, give support to the community and assist community by supporting activities carried out by the community. The activities of the group include: working together to plan vegetalbes, play guitar and fottbal in the village⁵⁸. To support the groups activities, the group wrote proposal

⁵⁵ DC-3.1_20140728_Respondent 12_Farmer (notes)

⁵⁶ DC-3.1_20140728_Respondent 12_Farmer (notes).docx p.1

⁵⁷ DC-3.1_20140729_Respondent 16_XefeJoventude(notes)

⁵⁸ DC-3.1_20140729_Respondent 16_XefeJoventude(notes)P1

to the governemtn, particularly to state secratary of youths and sports to seek for funds and sport materials. The proposal was approved and grants and materials were distributed to the group. As a result the group rganized soccer competition in the village where youths from each aldeia play against each other to celebrate.

The group is structured around president, vice secretary and treasurer to oversee the group's activities. Respondent 16, the current youth rep is the president, Ines (name changed) is the secretary and Jacinta (name changed) as Treasurer. Overall, the group has eight members coming from all four aldeias of the village.

6. POD

The group was created in 2014 and led by Respondent 16 as the president of the group⁵⁹. There are others, Lorenca (name changed) as secretary, Respondent 7 as communication officer and Sabina (name changed) as logistic officer for the group. The group activities are to participate in training run by CVTL and nuns' foundation called Fundasaun Betesa in The regional center. Also, the group members visit sick people to distribute medication and malnutrition children to distribute nutrient food to increase their nutrition.

In order to effectively conduct their activities in the village, the group members have received training on how to give medication to sick people and these members coming from aldeias. The group received funds from Betesa Foundation. Those members who went to attend training received \$3.00 per day as the foundation received \$500 from a German Agency. The fund is used for treatment of sick people, such as buy medication, hire transportation and incentives for the members of the group in the village.

Church groups

1. prayer's group

The prayer's group was led by Margarita (name changed) and it was initiated by a priest in The regional center few years ago⁶⁰. The group has monthly meeting with the catechist of the suku and aldeia to discuss the group activities in the suku. Sometimes, they discuss about how to approach the community and motivate them to take part in church activites in the village and aldeias. The members are from DC-3.1, all four aldeias. The group has activities such as take turns to clean the church, participate in daily mass and visit sick people in the village where the priest could not reach to them.

The group did not have regular financial resource to conduct their activities. However, when there is a visitor like bishop to the suku, the group will collect the money from its members and the

⁵⁹ DC-3.1_20140729_Respondent 16_XefeJoventude(notes)P2

⁶⁰ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 26_Farmer(notes)P1

communities together to buy food and drink for them. The parish priest and catechist and the community are the one make decision and when the decision is done they will pass on to the communities.

2. Saint Inacio's Festival Organizing committee

This committee was formed in 2014 to organize the saint day celebration in the suku⁶¹. The structure of the committee was president, vice and a secretary. Francisco, the xefe aldeia of neighboring suku was the president and assisted by two villagers as his vice and secretary to organize the event. These persons were chosen by the communities and catechists of three aldeias to fill in the positions.

In order to increase community participation, the organizing committee use microphone and house to house visit as their manners to invite people for the event. Also, the organizing committee collected contributions \$ 1 to 5 from the communities to finance the event. There was a total of \$350 collected from the community and report was announced at the end of the celebration in the village. The communities also built a tent for the visitors and communities to facilitate church doctrine competition in the village.

Ritual and Martial Art groups

There were multiple martial art groups, PSHT, 77 Kera Sakti and KORKA and ritual groups such as Kolimau were presented in the village. However, following a violent conflict involving these groups, the community has pressured them to cease their activities. The government also enacted laws banning existence and activities of martial arts groups.

- **KORKA or Klibur Oan Rai Klaran**

KORK was a martial art group operating in the village and headed by ⁶²Respondent 12. The group has more than 100 members but it has stopped when the government resolution came into effect.

- **Kolimau**

Kolimau is a ritual group and led by ⁶³Respondent 16 in the village. The group members include community members as well as the local leaders the xefe sucu, Xefe Aldeai and Ansiaun. There the group has no longer existed since Government banned the martial art groups in 2011.

Political Parties

The main political parties, such as Democratic party (PD), National Congress of Reconstruction of Timor (CNRT) and The Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) have their

⁶¹ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_CatecistaBairru(notes)P1

⁶² DC-3.1_20140728_Respondent 12_Farmer(notes)P2

⁶³ DC-3.1_20140725_Respondent 2s_LiaNain(notes)P2

branch in the suku⁶⁴. PD is led by Respondent 16, Fretilin led by Valenti (name changed) and CNRT led by Respondent 3. The major political parties have their offices in the village. They are PD lead by Respondent 16, FRETILIN lead by Valenti (name changed) and CNRT lead by Respondent 3. Their membership is varied however; it is dominated by CNRT in the village.

5.1 Formation of village groups (Specific explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

5.1.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

The leadership positions in the village groups are occupied by male villagers and female villagers though it was still dominated by males. Female villagers occupied positions in social and religious groups, however, political parties, economic; martial art and ritual groups are mostly dominated by male villagers.

The village group leaders are chosen or appointed by the members of the group or the local authorities to occupy positions in the village groups based on several characteristics. Villagers who have experience in conducting business activities are chosen to form groups to manage project activities in the village. The health post rehabilitation group is an example of this characteristic⁶⁵. Active in community activities, opinion leaders with strong visions⁶⁶, experience in organizing and mobilizing communities in the suku and aldeias are also important characteristic of leaders in the village. Villagers with these characteristics are appointed former village leaders and by the communities to occupy village groups leadership positions in the village. There was no standard way for membership to join village groups and therefore villagers who have the same interest to do the group's activities could become membership of a group in the village. Nevertheless, groups which are established by NGO or government, the members are normally chosen by the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia to join in.

On the one hand, leaders of some village groups are chosen or appointed to make groups decisions on behalf of the entire group which demonstrate the lack of inclusion of the group members in the decision making processes. On the other hand, some group leaders involve their members of the same group in meetings to collectively make decisions which are viewed to affect the group members in the village. The health post rehabilitation group has conducted several meetings with group members to plan and implement the project activities in the village⁶⁷. There are also decision made based on consensus where a decision is made after sessions of discussions and debates among group members and its leaders held in the village. Villagers who are not members of any group in the village are not included in any decision making process made by the village groups.

⁶⁴ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.P4

⁶⁵ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.7

⁶⁶ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventude(notes).docx, p.3

⁶⁷ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventude(notes).docx, p.1

5.1.2 Financial Management

Though most village groups did not have regular financial resources, the financial resources for village groups in DC-3.1 come from three main sources. The first and most prominent source of fund is funding from government to fund village projects in the village. There was more than \$5000 allocated to the health post rehabilitation committee to manage and renovate the health post building in the village. The other is funding from the NGO, such as ALOLA Foundation and CVTL Foundation to finance mother support group and POD in the village. Members of these group received monthly salary and petty cash from the above mentioned NGO's to do the group's activities in the village. The next financial resource was coming from community contributions in the village towards the temporary groups formed by the communities in the village. The communities in the suku organize meetings to collect contributions from the communities to finance the church events in the village. Normally, a rate of \$1 to \$5 is decided by a committee for the event to manage. For instance, the group which organized the Saint Inacio's day in the village collected approximately \$400.00⁶⁸ to organize the activities for communities and the church in the village. The prayer's group in the village was also collect money from the community when time arises. The last source of group finances was from the individual members' contribution in the village. The members of some groups in the village contribute money to carry out the economic activities in the village with a hope that from this initiative they will be helped by the government and NGO to continue their group's activities. The group Hametin Juventude and Hametin Unidade got their financial resources in this manner as stated by a respondent⁶⁹.

Most village groups did not have a standard financial reporting in place due to the fact that they did not have regular financial resources to carry out their activities in the village. However, for government funds the reports are written and updated to the local authorities in the village council regarding the project and the fund spent by the group to ensure transparency and accountability of the fund the group use to conduct activities. The funds which are managed by religious related group usually announce during church activities or the end of an activity carried out the village to give the community and update on money collected and spent by the groups⁷⁰.

5.1.3 Collective action among groups

The village groups cooperate in two main ways, internally and externally with external organizations. Internally, the groups cooperate in two ways. First of all, the groups cooperate with the communities in Aldeia and suku to carry out the groups activities in the village. For instance, the festival committee group cooperated with the communities in the village to celebrate the church events and the mothers' support group cooperate with the communities to give services and medicines to the sick people and encouraged communities to get access to health services in and out the village. Secondly, the groups cooperate with the village council to do cleaning activities in the village as these groups members were also the resident of the village. The groups cooperate

⁶⁸ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_CatecistaBairru(notes)- Audio Cheked.docx, p.2

⁶⁹ DC-3.1_20140728_Respondent 12_Farmer(notes).docx, p.1

⁷⁰ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_CatecistaBairru(notes)- Audio Cheked.docx, p.2

with the village council due to the fact that most group leaders are members of the village council. Respondent 4 and Respondent 16 were members of the village council and hold positions in multiple village groups in the village⁷¹. Also, church representatives such as catechist were regularly present in village council meeting as he was invited regularly by the council to be part of the group in the village.

Externally, the group cooperates with church in the regional center, NGO in Ainaro and Dili and the government to conduct their activities in the village. The mothers' support group, Hametin Unidade Juventude, and Hamoris Juventude are the groups which cooperate with government and NGO because the NGO or government provided financial and technical support to the groups operating the village. Some of these group event established by NGO's, mothers support group and Hamoris Juventude are example of this. The groups also cooperate with communities in other suku; such as Neighboring suku 3 and Neighboring suku 4 and the parish in Neighboring suku 2 and Neighboring sub-district 2 for church related activities in the village. For instance, the community of the two rural aldeias of DC-3.1 and one Aldeia of the Neighboring suku 5 come together to the chapel located in the border of their aldeias to celebrate St Inacio's day⁷². The communities brought wood and bamboo and other materials together to build the tent for the celebration.

5.1.4 Communication strategies

The village groups used three common ways to communicate with the group members and the communities in the village. Overall, mobile phone coverage in DC-3.1 was very good and thus the village groups use phone calls as their main methods of communication in the village⁷³. Information delivered based on need or conversation is the second major way of communication in the village. The villagers meet discuss and debate bout activities in the village and inform other people in the village about it. House to house visit was the third way of communication in the village where the group leaders made personal visit to the household of the group members to deliver information or to conduct meeting to spread information on the group's activities. The other method of communication is by letter in the village and outside of the village. The church related groups used letters as way of delivering and receiving information because the letter goes beyond the suku into Neighboring sub-district 2 and The regional center parish to inform priests and nuns in that area. For this type of group the catechists or the prayer groups representatives play important role in communicate message to the community in regards to the church activities. Activities conducted by church events group, NGO and government established groups are communicated in this manner.

5.1.5 Creation and Termination of groups

Basically DC-3.1 village groups are formed in three ways; need base, which include government and NGO, seasonal and community initiatives. The need base groups are formed when the need arise in the village. For instance, the church even group was formed to manage the event when the church

⁷¹ DC-3.1_20140729_Respondent 16_XefeJoventude(notes).docx, p.2

⁷² DC-3.1 - 07-30-14- Church gathering, community from Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, DC-3.1-Aldeia 4 and Neighboring Suku 5)OBS

⁷³ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

even was taken place in the village. Also, the health post rehabilitation committee was formed when there was fund available from government and a committee was needed to manage the project; and lastly, the Mother's support group was formed due to the fact that there was an NGO had a mother and child program directed to the village. The seasonal groups were formed by the farmers during the rainy season to work in the garden and the community initiative was the Youth United Group, the unique group which was formed through members' contribution⁷⁴ and has got supports from both NGO and government. Therefore, most of these groups were created based on supports.

As the groups relied heavily on supports, most groups have been terminated due to the lack of financial and material supports to the group. There are others, CPD –RDTL and martial art groups; however, terminated due to the government decree law produced in the past year. The local authorities and the police cooperate and enforce this decree to halt the groups' activities in the village⁷⁵. The government and NGO project dependant group will be dissolved after the completion of projects in the village. While the other groups terminated due to lack of resources, project completion and decree law from the government, the Youth United group continue to do its activities in the village as it has members financial resources and has receive supports from the government in the village.

5.1.6 Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

- **Formation and termination of Mothers' Support Group in DC-3.1**

The mothers support group was established by an NGO, Alola Foundation in the village in 2010⁷⁶. The staff of the Alola Foundation contacted Xefe suku, xefe Aldeia and XS/XA informed the youths of the village to become members and leaders of the group in the village. Once the NGO came to the village, four day training was held to educate the members on conducting group activities in the village. The members then tasked to visit community houses to visit pregnant mothers to teach them how to breastfeed their children and provide nutritious food to feed their children. In every August each year, the organization gives rewards to nutritious children and mother in the Aldeia and suku to motivate other villagers to do the same⁷⁷. This group was the only group in the village which members of the group have regular monthly salary from the organization, Alola Foundation. The members of the group received 85 per month for two years in the village.

The group had 28 members in the village coming from all four aldeias and these members conduct their activities for two years. While the group was activities in the village, it cooperated with communities as the members have to visit the communities and the village council as the group has

⁷⁴ DC-3.1_20140728_Respondent 12_Farmer(notes).docx, p.1

⁷⁵ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes) - Audio Checked.docx, p.1

⁷⁶ DC-3.1 - 26-07-14-Respondent 4 - Youth Rep- NOT.P1

⁷⁷ DC-3.1 - 26-07-14-Respondent 4 - Youth Rep- NOT.docx, p.

to update their activities to the village council in monthly meetings. At the same time, these group leaders were also members of the village council and therefore, the interacted more with the village council in the village and the resource provider outside DC-3.1. The group reported directly to superior staff or program managers in the Alola Foundation on types of activities they carried out. However, the group has stopped due to the fact that there were no more funds from the organization to continue the group's activities in the village.

5.2 Constellation of Local Governance

5.2.1 Village governance profiles

The village DC-3.1 is governed by two main governance which are currently functioning in the village. One is from the formal local governance, the village council and the other was the Catholic Church structures, the catechists' group which were present and branched from the parish in Neighboring suku 2 to suku and Aldeia of DC-3.1.

a. Village council

The village council is the primary local government institution in DC-3.1 was headed by the xefe suku and includes a PAAS or the village secretary, representatives of social groups, female and youths, a conflict mediator, an elder or anciaun and all the xefe aldeias⁷⁸.

The xefe suku is a spoke person and the representative of the village as well as the head of the suku council. In collaborate with the xefe aldeia, the xefe suku is the main person responsible for the welfare the village. This including, managing the issues like conflict mediation process and attend to the local disaster that will happen in the village. He also organizes the community activities and manages government projects implemented locally by the villagers. The xefe Aldeia was the head of the communities in their respective aldeias and thus they are tasked is to managing the welfare of his communities which includes, assisting the villages address the problem such as natural disaster and mediate conflicts. The other roles is that to provide a conduit or channel between the suku and aldeia and he often acts as the local community organizer, where he organizing community meetings, making door-to-door announcements, pass on the message to the community through shouting on the microphone so that everyone can hear his message to come to the meeting. Lastly, they gather community members to participate in collective actions whether at aldeia or at village level.

The PAAS or village secretary is an employee of the Ministry of State Administration (*Estatal*). This position was not part of the electoral ticket however it was appointed through normal recruitment process used for public servants. The PAAS role is to assist the suku council perform its administrative roles, such as drafting proposals and communication letters, filing of village documents, and registration of public projects being undertaken locally. The youth and women's representatives advocate for the welfare of their groups including organizing activities to specific to their constituents, whereas, the lia-na'in, primarily focuses on conflict mediation and counseling.

⁷⁸ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.P2

The roles of the anciana were : to encourage xefe Aldeia and xefe suku to do perform good duties for the village, remind the community not to accuse other community in the village for witchcraft as it may cause conflict in the village and to take part in monthly meetings held by the xefe suku or the village council.

b. Village Catholic church structure

The catholic church has its main branch in the village. Parish in Neighboring suku 2 had its own structured in the village to conduct church related activities in the village. This structure include a suku catechist and four Aldeia catechists worked under him each Aldeia of DC-3.1. Their tasks are to: lead the prayer during the community services, community events or public meetings. Besides, they also prepare couples to get married in the church, prepare first communion and baptism⁷⁹. Often, they also take part in meetings held by village council, church and parish committee village council meetings and decision making process in regards local church activities and mobilize community to participate in the village. They also functioned as contact persons for the Catholic Church in Aldeia and suku DC-3.1.

5.2.2 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Leadership positions in the village governance in DC-3.1 are dominated by male villagers. Respondent 1 was the current xefe suku, along with for other males occupying roles as xefe aldeias to govern communities in their Aldeia. The other village governance is headed Respondent 27 as he was the head of the catechists when this research was conducted in the village. As leaders in the village, they tasked to lead and manage the welfare of the communities in the village. The leadership style in suku DC-3.1 was found to be non participatory as the wider communities are not involved or consulted in any decision made in the suku. Most decisions are only made by the xefe suku and the village council formed in 2010. The wider communities were not invited, involved and consulted to participate in the village council monthly and on need meetings held in the village due to geographical proximity to the village center and occupied with households activities in their farms⁸⁰. Therefore, when there is meeting held in the village council only male are invited to attend because they walk from their residents to the suku as stated by a respondent⁸¹:

“Only men go to meetings because they are called by the xefe Aldeia in her Aldeia, they go when xefe Aldeia comes to call if not then they don’t go”

Some decisions; however, are made solely by the village chief when he think that it was right to make a decision by himself and this have led to some misunderstandings by the communities in the village. For instance, the decision on removing some members of the village council due to inactiveness in village council activities was done by the xefe suku only to effectively remove the youth and women’s reps from the council.

⁷⁹ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 27_CatekistaSucu(notes).docx, p.1

⁸⁰ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventude(notes).docx, p1

⁸¹ DC-3.1 -07-30 -14- Respondent 20 - Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 3 - Vulnerable – NOT.docx, p.2

The village council is holding the election in every five years based on the government law. Every five years communities gather in groups and political parties form a package with complete village governance structure to compete in the election. The community from aldeias then come to vote and chose their leaders during communities' authorities' election held in the village. They are elected for various positions in the council including, Xefe Aldeias, elected as a group on a single ticket in 2009 and the next election would be held in 2015. There were not standard schedule for election or appointment of leaders in other village governance groups in the village.

The power holder of suku DC-3.1 did not seem accountable for the decisions they made in the suku to their population as most interviewees did not have knowledge on how they made their decisions in the village. For instance, there were funds collected from the communities for conflict resolution, but once the funds are used; communities had no knowledge about it. Also, the lia nain who suppose to play roles as conflict solver described above acted as village secretary and security to look after the village office welcome guests or visitors who come to the village to pass on information to xefe suku in Neighboring suku 2. The village secretary or PASS who was recruited by the Ministry of State Administration to do the village administration has lived away from the village and did his duties as administration officer in the xefe suku's house in Neighboring suku 2.

Despite the lack of accountability and transparency in the village, the leadership power in the village is legitimized in three common ways: previous experience and election. The current xefe suku, Respondent 27 was previously occupied as the catholic youth leader for Neighboring suku 2 Parish for many years before he became the village chief to government the communities in the village⁸². He was then approached by the communities, particularly; the previous leaders to come to the village to form his package and compete in the election in 2005 to become xefe suku. He was then re-elected in 2009 for the second time⁸³.

Locally, power is used to make village decisions as they are in control of most decision in the village. Also, power was used to mobilize communities to contribute to village basic infrastructure projects implemented locally by local leaders and lastly, power was used to resolve conflicts to ensure the welfare peace and security among communities in the village. However, power in suku DC-3.1 has also being misused by the leaders for personal gains. The government which allocated to improve the livelihood of the communities in the Aldeia was disappeared in the hand of community leaders and thus did not reach the beneficiaries in the village⁸⁴. The 10, 000 dollar cow fund was an example that was found. The money was allocated to but cows to the community to nurse but no respondents in the sample have knowledge of it⁸⁵. The other was that power has been used to exclude communities from the village when it comes to conflicts over public funds; and lastly, power has been used in the past to terminate or cancelled the government subsidies which are

⁸² DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.1;

⁸³ Respondent 28

⁸⁴ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p. 2

⁸⁵ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 -Respondent 28 - Secretary of rehab committee. NOTE (08.05.14).docx, p.2

aimed to give benefit to elderly in the village⁸⁶. There was allegation found that the village leaders cancel or impede government subsidies for some beneficiaries in the village.

5.2.3 Financial Management

There are three main financial resources to conduct its activities in the village. The first and main source came from the government of RDTL and it includes operational money, salaries or incentives for members of the village council. The village council has the sum of \$125.00 per month to finance or administer take place in the village. The \$125 is also used for transportation costs for the xefe suku to attend meetings in district and sub district levels on behalf of the village, DC-3.1⁸⁷. This money was managed by the village chief and PAAS in the village. The members of the council received 40 \$dollar per month plus \$25 incentives for meetings they attended in a month, the xefe suku and xefe aldeias have regular monthly salary of \$145 and \$100 plus \$25 for meetings conducted or participated in the village. The last sources from the government were funds for financing basic infrastructure projects implemented in the village. These include \$10,000 cost cow project and \$7,000 fund for village office in the past and more than \$5,000 dollar for renovation of health post building in the village⁸⁸. These money were used to buy construction material to build the village office and renovate the heal post building in the village center.

The second source of fund found was money coming from conflicts they resolve in Aldeia or suku. The village council has more than \$200 collected from the communities for conflicts in the village and was managed by the Lia Nain. Some of the money has been used to buy office doors and provide coffee for guests who came to the xefe suku's house as well as for village council meetings⁸⁹. This money could be used to respond to community needs; such as natural disasters or help the vulnerable people in the village⁹⁰. The information revealed that the last source of fund was coming from the NGO's that conducted their activities in the village. The NGO gave some amount of money to the village council to manage to provide food and water for the communities who take part in their projects to attend training or do the physical work in the village. For example, fund for formation of KPK (Komisaun Policia Komunitaria) or Community Police Committee was provided to the village council to manage to conduct meetings in aldeias to choose their representatives.

For most village funds, the planning process on how to spend the fund made by the xefe suku as he was the head of the village council and managing the fund from the government. The conflict mediation fund is managed by the Lia Nain, Respondent 2 decisions on how to use it still with xefe

⁸⁶ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 27_CatekistaSucu(notes).docx, p.2

⁸⁷ DC-3.1_20140727_Respondent 8_PAAS(notes).docx, p.1

⁸⁸ DC-3.1_20140725_Respondent 2s_LiaNain(notes).docx, p. 2

⁸⁹ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT - Audio Cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

⁹⁰ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.6

suku. The funds are stored in the xefe suku and the Lia Nain's house for funds that are collected from the village and delivered to the village.

For conflict funds, verbal reports were made to the village council on how the money being spent; however, some village council members did not aware of the fund⁹¹. For government funds, project and operational funds; on the other hand, were monitored by the competent ministries and written reports were written to the government to inform the government about the project, its progress until it completed in the village. No reporting made to the wider communities for any of the fund listed above spent by the village council even though some funds were collected from the communities.

5.2.4 Collective action among groups

What village institutions does the local governance structure cooperate with?

- Mothers support group (GSI)
- Youth group
- Political parties
- Village council
- POD (Post Obat Desa:Aimoruk Post Sucu)
- KPK
- Agriculture group

Describe the planning and implementation of collective action within the village

- Youth groups – youth representative on suku council
- Agriculture groups - Agriculture group aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2
- Women's group – meeting once month to plan their monthly activities
- Church(pastoral council) not formal representation but coordination is regular particular for the feast of Saint Ignacious de Loyola.
- Tarabandu – when there is a conflict or problem in the community

Why do villagers cooperate/not cooperate?

- to enhance the sense of belonging to each other as well as group
- to enhance the friendship
- to enhance the sense of family
- to enhance the sense of belonging to *umalisan*

⁹¹ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT - Audio Cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

How do village council and community groups interact with sub-district/district institutions?

- Rotation of 4 Aldeais leads the celebration of Saint Ignatiou de Loyola feast.
- **IOM:** organised the training for natural disaster for 4 aldeais.
- **SAUDE :** provide the training and information about family planning in 2003 for 4 aldeias.
- **NGO Plan:** provide training for young people from 4 aldeias in area of technical, builders, caperter. Already 25 young men and women participated in this training.
- **Sport:** football, vally ball and Marathon between suku from young people in suku
- Village council members work together with several agencies such as CVTL, Plan International, and GSI. CVTL is to install clean water to aldeias; Plan is to register powerless children and seek for support, training for children and GSI to give support to mothers in the village.
- most of the people attended the mass in the church of the regional center
- Most of the people in the village have access to the hospital in the regional center.

Describe main constraints to collective action;

- Lack of communication most of the time between the suku administration and the community in more distant areas.
- 4 household have to access to the clean water from the same pipe. The pipe was setup by the local community which was organised by XS, XA and lianain in 2011.

5.2.5 Communication strategies

There are three ways where village decisions are communicated to some communities in the Aldeia. Meetings are the first way where decisions are socialized to the communities who are invited to participate in monthly and on need meetings held by the village council in the village office. The xefe suku use phone calls to invite people and sends someone to invite or deliver information about village council meeting for those who are unreachable by phone calls due to bad network coverage⁹².

Also, the xefe Aldeia and members of the village council are the key messengers to communicate the village decisions using loudspeaker and house to house visits to some community houses as there hardly had any routine Aldeia or community meetings held by the xefe suku, xefe Aldeia or any members in the Aldeia for community to receive information. Except decision for conflict prevention Tarabandu was socialized to Aldeia communities through meeting held in the Aldeia to seek agreement on the local Tarabandu to ban conflict in suku DC-3.1 from the communities⁹³. After the council members agreed to implement Tarabandu in the suku in 2005, they visited every

⁹² DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

⁹³ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.6

Aldeia in the village to socialize the TB to all community. The community also agreed on the idea of Tarabandu and welcomed them with good heart. In each Aldeia they visit community contributes food and other materials to welcome and to feed them during the socializations.

The information bottlenecks discovered in DC-3.1 are that some community members are not invited to the village council meetings. The village council only invited people who are in their group and people who they think they have capacity and experience in village activities and leadership positions in the suku. The vulnerable of marginalized groups of the communities are not involved nor informed. The other was that communities who live far away from the Aldeia or village center suffer from the lack of access to information because sometimes the xefe Aldeia only uses a loudspeaker to shout and inform their from his house and they may not be able to hear him. Consequently, there were some community members in the sample freely spoke out about the lack of transparency and accountability in the village; however there others whom afraid to spoke out and fear of retribution from the village leaders. For instance, Respondent 4 was a member of the village council but did not aware of any operational money allocated and used in the village and Respondent 6 was a community member who lived in DC-3.1-Aldeia 3, but had not been invited or informed on decisions made in the village. Below are their quotes^{94, 95} Respondent 4 stated “There is no operational money that is allocated to support the village council’s activities”

Respondent 6 stated: “I have not participating in the suku meetings because I have not been invited by the xefe Aldeia”.

This is because women in the village are considered to be lack of education, experience and capacity to lead, raise opinions in the public meetings even though they are invited or participated in meetings in the village⁹⁶.

“There are also women participate in meetings held in the Aldeia level and suku, but women are passive as they are lack of education and knowledge to talk in meetings”

⁹⁴ DC-3.1 - 26-07-14-Respondent 4 - Youth Rep- NOT- Audio Cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

⁹⁵ DC-3.1_21040726_Respondent 6 (notes).docx, p1

⁹⁶ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT - Audio Cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

5.2.6 *Explanatory cases (Village governance)*

This section describes specific case found in the village during the course of the study, for instance, the youths in the village had conflict with the xefe suku, but in the end the youth was invited by the xefe suku to work under him. This transition will be explained in the following paragraphs.

a. Transition from conflict to cooperative among xefe and youths of DC-3.1

The communities, in particular, the youths of DC-3.1 gather and hold meetings to protest against the xefe suku as the head of the village council due to mismanagement, lack of, inclusion, transparency and accountability he committed in the village⁹⁷. The village council did not include the communities, and the youths in the Aldeia and suku of DC-3.1. Therefore, Respondent 3, a youth and a local political party leader organized communities to protest against the xefe suku and demanded for a more inclusion of youths and communities in the village activities. As there was no positive respond from the xefe suku, the youth took away the government bike which was used by him in the village to attract more attention from the communities and local authorities.

The youths also, reported to the national parliament in Dili and the national parliament responded by sending Neighboring sub-district 1 administrator to solve the conflict in Neighboring suku 2, though the case was not resolved. The youth and the xefe suku were in conflict for three years (2010 -2013) and the xefe suku afraid to live and come to the village office⁹⁸ despite communities need his presence in the village⁹⁹. Instead he used his house in Neighboring suku 2 as his office and had PAAS worked directly in his office. The sede suku was looked after by the Lia Nain suku who was tasked as problem solver in the suku level. As a result, those youth's and communities whom against the xefe suku were excluded¹⁰⁰ from the village of DC-3.1 and they went directly to the Neighboring sub-district 1 administration for their needs.

However, in a traditional celebration in the village, both xefe suku and the youth realized the only solution would be to create peace between them and a more inclusion and transparency are needed to develop their village. Therefore, peace was established between in the cultural celebration of uma lisan in the Aldeia and suku due to long lasting relationships among them. After this event, there has been a lot of improvement in relation to inclusion, of the youths in the village¹⁰¹. Therefore, the youths and village council together organized cleaning activities in the village to celebrate the national referendum day on the 30th of August, 2013.

⁹⁷ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes) - Audio Checked.docx, p.2

⁹⁸ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT - Audio Cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

⁹⁹ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 18_Farmernotes_Note.docx. Audio cheked.docx, p.1

¹⁰⁰ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.5

¹⁰¹ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventudenotes - Audio cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

Next, in early, 2014, the government of RDTL, through the Ministry of Health awarded more than \$5,000 to the village to renovate the health post building which was unused in the village. The xefe made his decision and consult with his council member to form a committee which consists of youths who involved in the protest to manage¹⁰². The xefe suku made direct phone calls to those he wanted in the committee to invite them to a meeting in the village attended by the youths and the committee was established¹⁰³ and Respondent 3 became the president of the committee to manage the government fund for the project. Consequently, the youths and the village council had worked as teams where they cooperate and communicate with each other when this research was conducted in the village.

6. Public goods

6.1 Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

In general, there are 13 basic infrastructure projects that have been implemented locally in the village of DC-3.1. These projects were implemented between 2001 through 2014. Some of these projects were implemented by local government, non - governmental organizations, contractors as wells as by the community themselves in DC-3.1. Some of these important projects are the following:

Sede Suku Project: The project was a nationwide program given by the Ministry of State Administration (MSA¹⁰⁴) and is aimed to facilitate the village administrations in the village. There was a \$7000 fund allocated to the village and xefe suku was tasked by the government to implement the project in 2007^{105,106}. The xefe suku conducted village council meeting in the village and choose one of the xefe aldeias as the skilled labor to implement the project. Also, in the council they decided to bring five helpers from each Aldeia and they got paid \$3 per day. The community took turns to work on the project, five people from each Aldeia per day and therefore, in a day 20 workers were there to mix concrete, collect water and rocks to speed up the project¹⁰⁷. Xefe suku himself was the person who manages the money, yet before the project was completed he has ran out of cash to continue. Therefore, he took money from other project's fund to complete the project¹⁰⁸. The sede suku is built in DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 in the center of suku DC-3.1k to facilitate village administration.

Clean water Project in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 3: Water was identified as one of the most needed basic infrastructure in the village and the project was implemented by CVTL or Red Cross Timor

¹⁰² DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventudenotes - Audio cheked by Geraldo X.docx, p.1

¹⁰³ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 -Respondent 28 - Secretary of rehhab committee. NOTE (08.05.14).docx

¹⁰⁴ MSA means Ministry of State Administration

¹⁰⁵ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 5_XAIDC-3.1-Aldeia 3(notes).docx, p. 2

¹⁰⁶ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT.docx, p4

¹⁰⁷ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx, p.7

¹⁰⁸ DC-3.1_20140728_Respondent 11_XADC-3.1-Aldeia 2(notes).docx, p.2

Leste in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 3, in 2008. The project was aimed to supply water to the community in the Aldeia as the communities have been collected water from springs and river nearby to consume. The organization comes to the village to meet with the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia to introduce their programs to seek community interests. Community interested and worked voluntarily on the project to install water into their aldeias. The technical or skilled labors were provided by CVTL and community only worked as helpers on the project¹⁰⁹. The female community members also contribute to the project by cooking and providing food to the males to have on the project¹¹⁰. The project was completed and communities now have access to piped water in the Aldeia.

Small Bridge in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2: Road access and transportation to the Aldeia was one of the most needed areas of the community in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2; however, a small river in the Aldeia was just impossible to cross as there was no bridge connecting the Aldeia to the main road. The Aldeia would not be accessible by the government and nongovernmental organization because there was no bridge to the area. As a result, the xefe Aldeia and community members from the Aldeia met to discuss and identify that they need to build the bridge¹¹¹. The community agreed, worked and contributed to the project. The male community members did the physical works and female community members cook and provide food for the male villagers. The communities also contribute \$0.50 to \$2.00 to buy fuel for a chainsaw available in the Aldeia to cut trees to use on the bridge. The project was completed and the Aldeia is now accessible by vehicles and motorbikes.

Health Post Rehabilitation Project: Health post is one of the most needed infrastructures for the community in the village because they are far from other health posts and Neighboring suku 2 referral hospital. The community informally informed their xefe aldeias, the xefe aldeias then inform the xefe suku and council members to write a proposal to the Ministry of Health (MOH¹¹²). The proposal was approved and the xefe suku was informed to form a committee to implement the project in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1¹¹³. Consequently, the xefe suku contacted and coordinated with those who he wanted in the committee and the council members to form¹¹⁴. A committee has been formed and there is a plan that the fund will be given to the committee to manage and implement the project. However, no budget has been released to the committee to start the rehabilitation process¹¹⁵. Therefore, the project was still on hold or pending when data for this research was collected in the village.

¹⁰⁹ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 18_Farmer(notes).docx, p.1

¹¹⁰ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT.docx, p.5

¹¹¹ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes).docx,p.1

¹¹² MOH means Ministry of Health

¹¹³ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 27_CatekistaSucu(notes).docx, p.2

¹¹⁴ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT.docx, p.7

¹¹⁵ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 -Respondent 28 - Secretary of rehab committee. NOTE.docx,p.2

The remaining ones are presented in the table below:

Name of project	Location	Date	Project type	Objectives	Status
Electricity project	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 3, DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 and DC-3.1-Aldeia 2	2014	Installation of electrical post and wires	To supply power to community	Completed
Temporary tent	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1	2014	Construction	Facilitate family gathering for cultural activities	Completed
Temporary tent	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2	2014	Construction	Facilitate gathering for St. Inacio's festival	Completed
Road repair	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.1-Aldeia 3	2012	Repair road that damaged by landslide	Transportation	Completed
Road	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 3	2012	Open new road to suku Neighboring suku 2	Transportation	Completed
Clean water	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 3, DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.1-Aldeia 4	2008	Canalize water	Supply water to the communities in the aldeias	Completed
Local Primary school Rehabilitation	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1	2008	Renovate existing buildings	Facilitate teaching	Completed
Old Village Office	Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1	2001	Building Construction	Facilitate village administration	Completed
Prayer chapel	DC-3.1-Aldeia 4	2001	Construction	Masses and other church events	Completed

6.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1 Project selection and decision-making process

The project selection process in the village is tending to be open and participatory. This process is begun in the Aldeia levels where community members informally informed their xefe Aldeia. The xefe aldeias then brought to the village council to further discussion to identify the village priorities. The priorities of the village were set back in 2005 based on PDS¹¹⁶ where village council conduct council meetings and visit each Aldeia to identify their priorities. This was the requirement made by the MSA for village to identify their priorities to submit to government in that year. Despite no clear lists of priorities noticed the priorities set around clean water, education, health, community housing and roads to implement in the village.

Once priorities are identified or set, the village council conducts meetings in the village to debate and decide to write proposals to seek project funds. The projects are decided using both *paraleleismo* and consensus. *Paraleleismo* is a process where two projects are compared to identify which one is more important to be built first¹¹⁷. After decisions are made in the village council, the secretary suku and xefe suku then write project proposals and submit to relevant institutions, NGO's and government to seek funds¹¹⁸. Proposal for health post rehabilitation was one of the proposals submitted by the village council and approved by the MOH with funds to implement in the suku.

Nevertheless, there are some decisions are made by the xefe suku himself without consulting his council members and the community as whole therefore this demonstrates a lack of transparency in project decision making process¹¹⁹. For instance, individuals to hold positions in health post rehabilitation project to manage and implement the project were appointed and chosen by the village chief with the full support of his council members.

In terms of cooperation, the village is open to cooperate with any organization that is willing to implement their program in the village. However, the xefe suku made it clear that he really trusts the nongovernmental organizations when it comes to basic infrastructure projects because multiple projects have been implemented by these organizations¹²⁰. The xefe suku and xefe Aldeia are contacted by external organizations to explain their programs and work procedures and the xefe suku and aldeias are the key actors in mobilizing

¹¹⁶ PDS means Planu Dezenvolvimento Suku or Village Development Plan

¹¹⁷ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

¹¹⁸ DC-3.1_20140729_Respondent 16_XefeJoventude(notes).docx, p. 2

¹¹⁹ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 18_Farmer(notes).docx, p.1

¹²⁰ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.6

community to work on the projects implemented locally. For instance, clean water projects in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 4, DC-3.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 were all finance and implemented by CVTL and community helped to do the physical work to complete the project. Also, the village cooperates with government institutions such as, SEFOPE to implement \$3 projects in the village to clean and dig roads in the Aldeia¹²¹. Lastly, the village cooperates with the Catholic Church on church related projects in the village because there is no separation between Christians and community in the village. The construction of a chapel and tent in Airame are examples of this cooperation because the xefe Aldeia¹²² of DC-3.1-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 and Neighboring suku 5 and communities cooperate to build during the day of St Inacio every year.

6.2.2 Project planning

The villagers play role in the project planning process to various degrees depends on the types of projects implemented locally. The villagers of the village have very limited roles in the planning process for government funded projects as these projects come to the village with own set of budget and plans to implement. The communities only take part in the implementation process. For instance, the sede suku project was planned by the MSA and given to the xefe suku to implement in the village. Non - governmental organization projects on the other hand, communities are involved in the planning process in the beginning. Despite the organizations are still the main drivers of the planning process as they control the financial resources for the projects. Clean water projects for instance, the community involved in the beginning on how to install water to identify project location and distribute tasks on the project. For church and community projects, the planning process is heavily laid in the hand of communities in the village. The communities in the Aldeias of Suku DC-3.1 contribute money, \$0.50 to \$5.00 to buy materials used to build projects in the village¹²³. Planning for the constructions of temporary tent in DC-3.1-Aldeia 4 and small bridge in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 are planned by the community themselves with their xefe Aldeia to implement.

Village and Aldeia chief are the key drivers to complete projects which implemented locally. They liaise with both the external entities on what resources they could provide and how works would be conducted via meetings before implementing projects in the village. The local leaders then help the external organizations to decide the location and organize the tasks. Once tasks are clearly divided, they are the ones who mobilize community to participate and complete the projects in the village.

¹²¹ DC-3.1- 07-27-14-Respondent 9 - Anciaun Suku, Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2, NOT - Audio Cheked by Geraldo X.docx p. 5

¹²² DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_CatecistaBairru(notes)- Audio Checked.docx, p.2

¹²³ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_CatecistaBairru(notes)- Audio Cheked.docx, p.1

The main constraints of the planning process for village projects are revolved around lack of skilled labors and transparency in the village. The village authorities hardly involved communities in the planning process for projects implemented by government and non-governmental organization¹²⁴. The village also lacking of skilled labors and thus the external entities bring their own skilled labors to implement projects in the village. Skilled labors for installation of electrical power and clean water for instance, were brought from outside to work on the projects¹²⁵.

6.2.3 Project implementation

Projects which are implemented locally in the past years are led by the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia in the village. Projects which managed by the contractors, the xefe suku and xefe aldeias are consulted and labors are directly recruited through meetings in the village. However, projects which are complex and require more technical skills, some labors are recruited from outside to implement the project. Skilled labors to install water and electricity projects were recruited by the NGO and companies from outside to implement the project. For basic construction projects which are managed by the local leaders, both skilled labors and helpers are recruited locally by xefe Aldeia and xefe suku to implement the project. There usually one or two labors hired to implement a project and helpers from Aldeia take turns or rotation to help¹²⁶. The xefe Aldeia are the ones who mobilize and recruit community members from their Aldeia for these types of projects. For government projects which are implemented by contractors and village and Aldeia are normally paid work, therefore helpers from each Aldeia got paid on daily basis up to \$3.00 per day. For community, Church and NGO projects; however, are voluntary work and the community who worked on project did not get paid for the work the day and only food is provided by the community and NGO's. Sometimes, however, the community contributes \$0.50 to \$2.00 to implement community and church projects in the aldeias of suku DC-3.1.

There is a requirement for reporting to be made by contractors before and after projects is completed, but for most projects contractors left without informing the local leaders¹²⁷. For government projects implemented by local leaders and communities, progress is reported to the village council and reports are written to the government as it is a requirement for the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia to report. Next, for community church and community projects financial reporting are usually done during church mass in the village¹²⁸; however

¹²⁴ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 18_Farmernotes_Note.docx. Audio checked.docx, p.1

¹²⁵ DC-3.1_2014-31-07_Respondent 21_Community Member -(Not)-Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.4

¹²⁶ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.7

¹²⁷ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.7

¹²⁸ DC-3.1_20140801_Respondent 25_CatequistaBairru(notes)- Audio Cheked.docx, p.1

no reporting to the community for the project which are implemented by community members in their Aldeia.

There are three main factors which may prevent projects implementation in the village. The most notable constrain is the **delay of the project fund** from the competent entities. The impediment of budget release to the villagers for health post rehabilitation projects which led to the delay of the project is an example of this¹²⁹. The other constrain is that **villagers have no control over materials which are used on the project as most material have to be brought from Dili or Ainaro**. Government and NGO projects have come with own set of plans and what materials to use and therefore, villagers just follow it and they could not materials which are available in the village¹³⁰. The last constrain is **the duration of the project**. Most projects implemented are only for short term and only some villagers get chosen by the xefe Aldeia and xefe suku to work. These have lead accusation of corruption and lack of transparency by the xefe aldeias in their respective aldeias.

6.2.4 Resource management

The construction materials for large projects, government and non - governmental project for example are bought from the capital, Dili and transported it to the village and Aldeia. These materials are stored in sede suku and community house and one of the council members and house owner are tasked to look after the materials. Materials then moved from these places to be used when is needed. Also, there some materials stored on the project sites to allow easy access by skilled labors who work on the project. Once the projects are completed unused materials were brought back by the entities and do not used left in the village for the community to use. For small projects, where no modern and expensive materials are needed, the villager arrange materials from nearby rivers and forests to build the project. Materials such as wood, rocks, water and bamboo are normally collected locally in the village¹³¹.

¹²⁹DC-3.1 _2014_30_07 _ Respondent 17 _ Xefe Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 _ Note and Audio checked.docx, p.3

¹³⁰ DC-3.1 _2014_30_07 _ Respondent 17 _ Xefe Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 _ Note and Audio checked.docx, p.2

¹³¹DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes).docx, p.1

6.2.5 Development outcomes

Communities of DC-3.1 have been benefitted from clean water, electricity, road, school buildings and sede suku. However, some community members are not yet enjoyed these projects as these projects are not installed into or near their houses. The remote and farthest in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.1-Aldeia 1 have no access to electricity and water, due to the fact that they live far away and on a high mountain in the village. The Aldeia of DC-3.1-Aldeia 4, no electricity projects implemented in the village and the whole communities have not had accessed when this research was done. Rural and far from the rest of the Aldeia of suku DC-3.1 was one of the reasons noted in the research. The communities who we interviewed were very concerns about it consider themselves they may not be the citizen of Timor Leste¹³². Almost all Aldeia are accessible by transportation as there are roads built since Portuguese and Indonesian time and some have been rehabilitated by SEFOPE¹³³ using \$3. 00 projects in recent years¹³⁴.

All projects implemented locally are completed however in some projects there some mismanagement occurred during the project implementation processes. For instance, sede suku was constructed used more than the actual budget provided by the government Xefe suku used other project funds to complete the project¹³⁵. Also, the cow projects was implemented by the xefe suku to buy 20 cows to distribute to the community to nurse but all these cows died¹³⁶ in the village. Nevertheless, most respondents have no knowledge on it or consumed the cows that were died¹³⁷.

¹³² DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 - Respondent 29 -Community member -former catechist- NOT - Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

¹³³ SEFOPE or Secretario do Esatdo de Formasaun Profesional e Emprego means Secretariat of State For Vocational Training and Employment

¹³⁴ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.7

¹³⁵ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.7

¹³⁶ DC-3.1 -07-25-14- Respondent 1 - Current Xefe Suku, NOT -Audio Checked by Geraldo X

¹³⁷ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 -Respondent 28 - Secretary of rehab committee. NOTE (08.05.14)-Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.3

There are several factors contributed to the successful implementation of projects in the village. The local leaders are **active in consultation and communication** with other organizations when it comes to public projects because the communities really need basic infrastructure projects in the village. The successful implementation of clean water and road projects in the Aldeia are example of this. Also, they are active in **mobilizing their communities** from each Aldeia to work on the project. The other factor is **participation**. Participation is high in implementing public projects in the village. Building small bridge in Aldeia is an example of high community participation. The last factor is the **available of materials** in the village. For small projects materials, such as rocks, timber and bamboo are collected to build tent and bridges in the Aldeia and suku. Researchers visited the completed projects, water tanks, school classroom, sede suku and bridges are in good quality. Also, Materials such as timber, cement, sands and pipes are in good quality.

6.3 Explanatory cases

Small bridge in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 2: This project was implemented by community through available materials and community contribution. The materials wood, rocks and labors were from community of DC-3.1-Aldeia 2. The community comes to work on the project to collect wood and rocks from nearby forest to use on the project.

The project was identified by some community members from the Aldeia and village officer in the village. The police officer then informs the xefe Aldeia that they need to fix or build the bridge because the Aldeia is inaccessible by NGO and government entities¹³⁸. There was bridge that connects the Aldeia to the main road which was built by SEFOPE to come to Maubisse sub district. The community also needs to use the bridge to sell their crops such as red bean and cabbage to the market in Neighboring suku 2.

The xefe Aldeia took the initiative to inform other community in the Aldeia using a loud speaker, house to visit and meeting with the community to implement. In the meeting they discuss the needs, tasks, date and available materials. From the meeting, they decided by consensus that the male community members will work with the xefe Aldeia and village police officer to do the actual work such as carrying stones, wood and cutting trees using chainsaw to build the bridge. The female community members however, contribute food, such as banana, sweet potatoes, cassava, and beans to cook for the males to have. The communities contribute money range \$0.50 to \$1.00 to buy fuel for the chainsaw they use to cut trees¹³⁹ and that was the only financial resources for this project. The project was

¹³⁸ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes).docx, p.1

¹³⁹ DC-3.1_20140730_Respondent 23_PoliciaComunitariu(notes).docx, p.1

lead by both police officer and xefe Aldeia¹⁴⁰ of DC-3.1-Aldeia 2 to complete in three days in 2013.

There were three main factors contribute to the completion of this project. Community participation was one of the factors as the communities from Aldeia were willing to participate to do physical and contribute money to the project. The other is active xefe Aldeia. The xefe Aldeia were active in announcing using loudspeaker and visiting houses to invite communities to come and participate. Availability of materials and chainsaw were the last factors as trees were around the project site which could be cut and a chain saw was available in the village to use to cut the trees for the project.

Consequently, the bridge is now used by the community as road for horse to transport their crops to Neighboring suku 2. Also, it has been used multiple NGO's and government departments who have program implemented in the village.

Health Post Rehabilitation Project in Aldeia DC-3.1-Aldeia 1: The project was aimed to implement in August 2014 as the communities have no health post where they can go to in their village. There was a health post built during Indonesian time, but it has been left unused when Timor-Leste separated from Indonesia in 1999. Only in early 2014, the xefe suku, xefe Aldeia and other council members met to discuss, debate and agreed on the project by consensus to renovate the building to allow community to have access to basic health care services in the village. The xefe suku and village administration officer wrote a proposal and submitted to the government, MOH in the district of Ainaro¹⁴¹. The proposal was then approved and the village chief was informed about the approval and tasked to form a committee from the community to manage the total budget of \$5,975 for the project¹⁴².

The village chief implemented the task and a committee was formed. The xefe suku and council members choose or appoint nine people in the committee with president, vice president, treasurer and secretary¹⁴³. Xefe suku was the person who made direct to phone contacts to individuals whom he wanted to be in the committee and met with his council members to reach a consensus. The individuals were chosen based on their experience in construction of projects and business management skills in the village¹⁴⁴

The xefe suku and president of the committee were then invited to sign a contract with the government in district Ainaro to implement the project. Therefore, members of the

¹⁴⁰ DC-3.1_20140728_Respondent 11_XADC-3.1-Aldeia 2(notes).docx, p.1

¹⁴¹ DC-3.1_20140727_Respondent 8_PAAS(notes).docx, p.1

¹⁴² DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventudenotes - Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.2

¹⁴³ DC-3.1 - 08.02.14 -Respondent 28 - Secretary of rehab committee. NOTE (08.05.14).docx, p.1

¹⁴⁴ DC-3.1_20140726_Respondent 3_Joventudenotes - Audio checked by Geraldo X.docx, p.1

committee have repeatedly met to discuss and plan on how to implement the project and there is a plan to hire one to two skilled labors and helpers from each to implement the project. There has been information delivered to the committee that they would get 40% (\$2390) to start the project. However, the committee was waiting for the budget this budget has not yet given to the village. Consequently, the project was still on hold or pending when the research was conducted and the committee would start the project once the budget is released to the village.

LBS Village Report:
DC-3.2 (Bobonaro District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP
Leonel Bere, Alex Tilman

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1 Summary introduction

1.1 Describe aim of the study;

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the suku of DC-3.2 in Bobonaro District, and to explore the villagers' experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organizations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, by looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects.

2 Methodology

2.1 Sampling criteria for village;

To ensure national coverage, the territory of Timor-Leste is divided 6 regions including: Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave.¹ The village considered in this study falls into the territory's border region and it encompasses the districts of Covalima and Bobonaro. The required sampling criteria for the border region include level of violence and urbanization. The cases to be considered for this region are outlined in Table 1. The village being considered for this report falls into the district of Bobonaro and is peri-urban with high incidence violence.²

Cases	Region
High Violence and Peri-Urban	Border
Low Violence and Peri-Urban	
High Violence and Rural	
Low Violence and Rural	

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Border Region

Additional sampling criteria for village selection have been disregarded due to the current stage of PNDS implementation. Of the Bobonaro villages included in the third phase PNDS rollout, which fulfill the primary sampling criteria, the only suku where implementation process has not commenced is DC-3.2. The suku of DC-3.2 has therefore been selected for this study by default.

2.2 Data collection (1 paragraph);

The data for this qualitative study was obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the period of July 24th until August 2nd of 2014. A total of 28 villagers were interviewed and were sampled from DC-3.2's all 4 aldeias. Some of the interviews were recorded and

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP

² Concept Note for PNDS-MEP

complemented with hand-written notes. For respondents who declined to have their interviews recorded, the researchers relied only on handwritten notes.

Three sampling methods were used to select the respondents: convenience, purposive and snowball. With purposive sampling, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeia) or as having power to affect village level development policies, such as the former Xefe Suku or the village secretary. For snowball sampling, researchers asked the purposive respondents to identify or recommend individuals whom could be approached for interviews. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience, or based on the discretion of the researchers. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached as they took part in an activity or happen to be in the vicinity. Respondents in this last group were selected to assess the data obtained from the previous two sampling methods.

Locally produced documents were also consulted to obtain additional data. These included documents belonging to community groups that recorded expenses related to a project or the Suku Council's latest village census. Additionally, the government's official census publications, including the *Sensus Fô Fila*, were also consulted in the process.

2.3 Sampling of respondents;

Of the total respondents sample in this fieldwork, 39% were female. Most of the respondents, 64%, were older than 40 and this group included the Xefe Suku and all of the Xefe Aldeia, business owners, farmers, and government officials. Other than the members of the SC, farmers, 29% of respondents, make up the biggest group sampled by occupation. Since farming makes up one of the main economic activities in this village; a lot of people also are engaged in this activity as their primary source of income. Five of the SC members, including the current Xefe Suku, are also engaged in rice farming and other agricultural activities on a permanent basis. As an urban village, DC-3.2 also has its fair share of villagers who are engaged in formal economic sectors, both public and private. The researchers interviewed 4 private business owners and 3 public servants including the village secretary. Other respondents included the local catechism, a bus driver and an unemployed villager in his mid 20's. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided Table 2.

Total		
17	Male	By gender
11	Female	
3	Less than 25	By age
5	26 – 39	
16	40 – 55	
3	56 – 70	
1	71 – 80	
8	Farmers	By occupation
8	Suku council members	
2	Housewife	

3	Government official (local)	
1	Religious leaders	
4	Business	
1	Other	
1	Unemployed	
8	Purposive	By Sampling method
15	Snowball	
5	Convenience	

Table 2. Sample respondents

3 Description of the village

3.1 Location and Names of aldeia, village borders;

DC-3.2 is a regional center of Bobonaro district; it is one of the seven sukus that make up this sub-district. The Suku is divided into two areas, one in the mountains and the other in urban area constituting a key neighbourhood of the regional center. DC-3.2 has four Aldeias: DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. Only DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 is located in the mountains, a region also known as DC-3.2 Foho, sometimes shortened to just Foho, meaning mountain or rural. The other Aldeias, by virtue of their location, are also known as DC-3.2 Vila to mean town or urban. The two areas are separated by nearly 10 km of winding road along steep mountainside.

DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 are located in the urban area of DC-3.2. DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 is located in the outer perimeter of the urban zone, while DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 is located in the mountain towards the west. Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 borders with Suku Neighboring suku 1 in the north and River 1 to the west. It is also referred to as DC-3.2-Aldeia 4-DC-3.2 because of another Aldeia of similar name within Suku Neighboring suku 1 otherwise known as DC-3.2-Aldeia 4-Neighboring suku 1. East of DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 is Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, which also shares its borders with Suku Neighboring suku 1 to the north and Neighboring suku 2 to the east. DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 is located to the south of both DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, separated by the main highway that leads in and out of the sub-district; and is surrounded by the Neighboring suku 3 and another village. However the border between the urban aldeias are less clear and it is more difficult to identify which part belongs to which. Even between DC-3.2 Vila and the neighbouring sukus, similar situation also exists. DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 is located far from the regional center is located along the national road that leads east towards Ermera. This Aldeia is completely surrounded by the villages of Neighboring suku 1, Neighboring suku 2, and Neighboring suku 4 and neighboring sub-district's Neighboring suku 5.

There are also large Bairros, or neighborhoods, within the Aldeias. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, two large Bairros are prominent: Bairo 1 and Bairo 2. The western half of Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, where the Sede Suku is located, is sometimes referred to as DC-3.2 by local residents. DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 has three bairrus but they are sparsely inhabited with many houses scattered along the main road which connects

all three locations. The DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 Bairrus by order of population sizes are: Bairro 3, Bairro 4 and Bairro 5.

Large swathes of rice fields also dominate DC-3.2 Vila. The main fields are: Field 1, next to Bairro 1 and Bairro 2, and Field 2, further west from DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. Field 2 is made up of rice fields shared by both DC-3.2 and Neighboring suku 1 villagers.

Suku DC-3.2 has a total area of 13.66 square km placing it as a medium sized village in terms of geographical size in comparison to other Suku in the sub-district.

3.2 Population (inc. aldeia, gender, age disaggregated); Ethno-linguistic groups;

According to Sensus F6 Fila Fali, published in 2010 by the Timor-Leste Ministry of Finance, the total population of DC-3.2 is about 400 distributed into about 700 households. DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 is the most populous of the four aldeias with roughly 2000 villagers. The aldeia with the smallest population is DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 with 200 villagers spread over 43 households. The men outnumber the women by a ratio of 104 to 100. With a population density of 295 people per square km, DC-3.2 is the second most densely populated suku in the sub-district.

	Total	Male	Female	HH
DC-3.2-Aldeia 3	200	95	105	43
DC-3.2-Aldeia 4	1,322	664	658	224
DC-3.2-Aldeia 2	2,152	1,130	1,022	341
DC-3.2-Aldeia 1	360	168	192	69
Total	4034	2057	1977	677

Table 3. Population distribution by aldeia

The 2010 Census also reports that 60% of villagers in DC-3.2 are of working age, between 15 and 65. Children aged 14 and younger make up 37% of the population while the elderly, or those aged over 65 make up 3%. A disaggregated chart of the local population is provided in Graph 1.

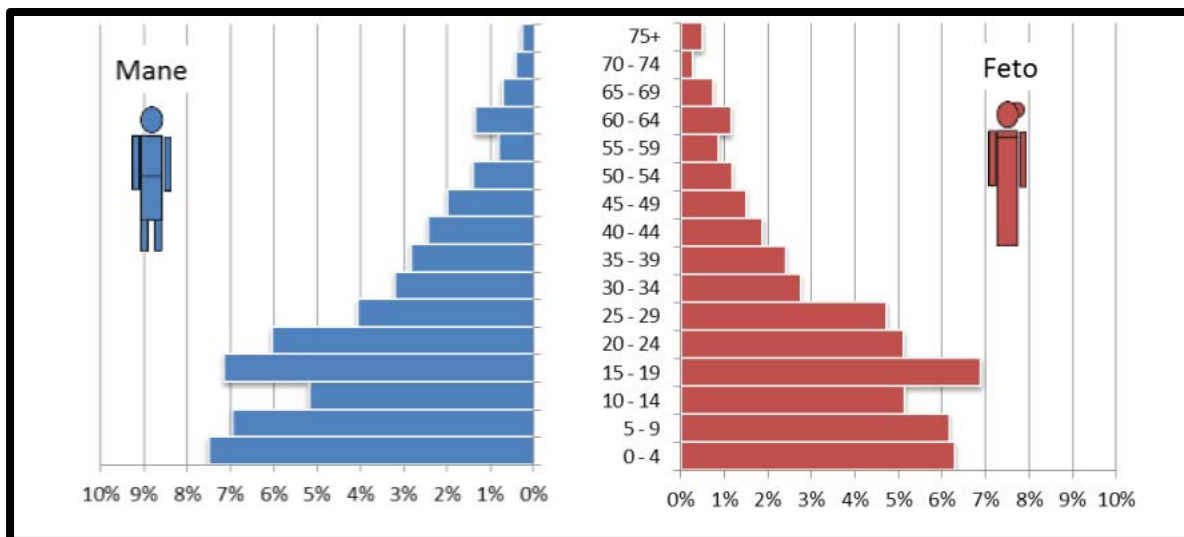


Figure 1. Disaggregation of the population based on gender and age group.

The mother tongue, Tetum Prasa, is spoken by over 85% of the villagers in DC-3.2 according to the 2010 census. There are two other ethno-linguistic groups, namely the Kemak and Bunak speakers. However, Bunak and Kemak reported only 5% and 10% speakers respectively. Almost everyone is multilingual and can switch between the two languages comfortably. .

3.3 Suku Profile

The Sensus Fó Fila Fali reported that by 2010 over 80% of households in DC-3.2 were connected to electricity. Today this number may be up to 100% as power has been connected to a lot more areas to include households in more remote areas such as DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. Nationally, electricity only covered 40% of households in most districts. Only Dili had over 80% coverage in 2010.

Mobile phone ownership was prevalent in 83% of Suku households compared to the district average of 50% and national average of 54%. More than 50% of households owned a motorbike, compared to 13% in the district and 14% nationally. There was a TV in 53% of households and a refrigerator in 18%.

Although brick houses constituted less than 60% of all houses in DC-3.2, aside from Dili, the proportion for the other districts was below 40%. Over 80% of houses in DC-3.2 had corrugated roofs. Up to 80% of local houses also had concrete floors whereas nationally this figure was less than 40%. Over 80% of households had access water and adequate sanitation.

Nevertheless, the 2010 census also indicated that 88% of villagers still used firewood for cooking by the time the census was taken, closely resembling the national rate. Only 1.66% of households used natural gas.

These census figures are inconsistent with some realities in the village however, for example villagers in DC-3.2 Foho reported to the researchers that they only started to have access to electrical power at the beginning of 2014. Today, most households still don't have adequate sanitation and are not

connected to a water source. Only around 3 communal water taps serve the whole aldeia, albeit unreliably.

The 2010 Census, citing the Timor-Leste Standard of Living Survey (TLSLS) of 2007, also puts the percentage of the population in Bobonaro district who live below \$0.88/day between 40% and 60%.

3.4 Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile

Around 60% of households in DC-3.2 are involved in agriculture, producing mostly rice (nearly 55% of households), corn (over 40%) vegetables and fruits (seasonal fruits over 35%, and permanent ~32%). Other agricultural crops include coconut, cassava and to a small extent, coffee which is grown mainly in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. Villagers from all four aldeias only grow rice in the areas of Field 1 and Field 2. After the rice is harvested, villagers switch to farming vegetables.

Some villagers also practice sharecropping, particularly those not native to DC-3.2 as they tend not to have access to the large amount of farmland needed to grow rice. The largest group of sharecroppers is the farmers of Bairo 2.

Nearly 70% of the households in DC-3.2 raise animals. Around 60% of households raise chickens or pigs followed by goats or cows, which are raised by more than 20% of the households. Horses, sheep and local buffalo also exist but in much smaller proportion.

Besides farming, there are also retailing activities in the village with medium sized shops and a large number of kiosks. The larger retail establishments are all located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. But small kiosks dot the side of roads in all four aldeias. However commercial activities are concentrated mainly in regional center leaving rural areas such as DC-3.2 Foho to contend with subsistence farming. As a consequence, villagers are increasingly drawn towards the urban areas whether to work or to settle.

There are also a number of large construction companies owned and operated by local villagers. According to a local businesswoman who operates a large businesses in DC-3.2 urban area, local companies are key members of the Bobonaro's Chamber of Commerce, known locally as CCI (Câmara do Comércio e da Indústria). These companies are involved in government construction projects as contractors, an activity which also makes up one of their main sources of revenue.³ Some villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 are involved in the production clay bricks. This activity is limited to a small area in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 because of the availability and access to resources necessary to produce the bricks including clay, water and firewood. A smaller percentage of villagers are employed as professionals within the public service or local NGOs.⁴

Cross border trade also exists between DC-3.2 and Indonesian side of Timor, mainly centred on the town of Atambua. The trade involves not only goods but workers as well. Villagers in DC-3.2 can

³ DC-3.2_20140730_Respondent 22_midwife(notes)

⁴ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 2_XS (notes), p. 1

source construction materials from Atambua, considered as cheaper compared to Dili. Indonesian workers are brought in to work various projects in the village.

The unemployment rate in DC-3.2 was 1.62% according to the government's 2010 census figures; nationally, the figure was 4.82%. However, over 47% of DC-3.2's population was categorized as inactive. Today, villagers regard the government as the only institution which can provide secure jobs and income. However, jobs in general are hard to come by and young people who have finished their secondary studies are more likely to remain jobless for long periods of time.⁵

3.5 Social/Human Development Profile

According to the 2010 census, more than 40% of the population of DC-3.2 completed a level of formal schooling. This is a higher completion rate than both the national (~35%) and district level (>30%). However the number of people who did not complete school actually represents a greater proportion (>30%) in comparison to district (>25%) and national figures (<30%). Nearly 25% of the Suku population never attended school.

About 25% of the population only completed primary school; nationally this figure is more than 30%. Educational attainment rate for pre-secondary and secondary education are respectively 12% and 25%, proportions higher than the national figure. University graduates comprise roughly 5% of the population with smaller number of villagers who have completed technical schools or other types of non-formal education. However, over 27% of the villagers also reported as having never obtained any type of education. Yet this figure is more optimistic considering that at the district level, this proportion is close to 45% while nationally, it's over 35%. The net enrolment rate for primary school children is over 80%.

The literacy rate among the youth (aged between 15 and 24) is 89%. By comparison, the rate for Bobonaro district is 70% while nationally, it's 79%. Literacy rates between males and females are almost the same with the former only slightly (0.5%) higher.

In DC-3.2, nearly 67% of all childbirths in the 5 years prior to the 2010 Census received assistance from health professionals. Nationally this figure is only 34% while for Bobonaro district; it's even lower at 23%. Yet, homebirth with the assistance of traditional midwives is still practiced. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, a mother who has had a number of homebirths explained that she felt a lot safer and more comfortable delivering at home with the help local midwives.

3.6 Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages;

Access to public works projects is very different between the two areas of DC-3.2. While the Aldeias in the urban area have access to a myriad of facilities, in the Foho, access is severely limited.

⁵ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 19_Unemployed (notes)

Government facilities which service Bobonaro district tend to concentrate in DC-3.2 Vila, specially DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. The district hospital, the police headquarters, the fire brigade, the municipal building, the public schools, and the agricultural department, are just some of the district government facilities providing services to the district community. At village level, DC-3.2 Vila also hosts the sede suku, the estensionista, and the primary school. In addition, villagers can also access other facilities local in and around the regional center including the market, the gymnasium, the power company, irrigation systems, and other government institutions.

Most of the public facilities are all located in Bairro 4, including the local primary school, the local chapel and a volleyball court. Bairro 4 is quite far from the other two, Bairro 3 and Bairro 5 and villagers normally walk to get there.

The primary school provides classes for the first 3 years of schooling. Afterwards, children are expected to continue their education in other schools located in other Aldeias, such as the urban center.

The Aldeia's chapel although renovated recently, only has mass service once a month. This chapel also provides services to villagers from 4 other Aldeias from various Sukus. Villagers cannot participate in mass services regularly because the nearest church is located in regional center.

The nearest medical facility is located more than 4 km away in the Neighboring suku 2. There is no public transport to facilitate travel to this facility.

A number of public facilities in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 are also underutilized or abandoned. These facilities include the volleyball court in Bairro 4, a minimarket facility located between Bairro 3 and Bairro 4, and another minimarket in an area at least 4 km away from Bairro 5. The volleyball court is under utilized because of distance from the other villagers and because of a lack of sporting enthusiasts among local villagers. As one of the respondents explained, no one is using the facility because the young people have all moved to the regional center.⁶ The minimarket is rarely used because of its isolated location. The facility also lacks access to water and is prone to the effects of high wind according to local respondents.⁷ The latter minimarket facility is being used by villagers from Neighboring suku 5, an Aldeia of Neighboring suku 2. Distance also makes it difficult to access by DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 villagers.

3.7 Reoccurring problems;

Villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 report an array of issues which are interconnected. To begin with, they are located in a remote location, far from public facilities such as clinics or schools. For example, it takes over one hour to reach the nearest clinic which is located in an aldeia that belongs to the suku Neighboring suku 4. Even within DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 itself, villagers from some bairrus take time to reach public facilities located therein including the local primary school and the church. Children from Bairro

⁶ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmernotes.pdf

⁷ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmernotes.pdf, p.2; DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 2

5 and Bairo 3 for example have to walk between 3 to 5 kms to reach the local primary school or the chapel, both located in Bairo 4.

Water is also scarce in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, especially during the dry season. There are only three water tanks in the aldeia which are fed from small streams high in the hills.⁸ Normally, villagers depend on rain to water their garden plots and to have reliable water source.

DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's problems are made worse by the fact that the xefe aldeia himself lives in away from the village.⁹ The xefe aldeia is never around to organize local activities or listen to local problems.

Access to markets is also a problem reported by farmers in DC-3.2, in particular those from the DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. One of the farmers reports that a large part of his vegetable produce is regularly left to rot each year because there was no one to buy it.¹⁰

3.8 Brief Historic Profile

The core villagers in DC-3.2 Vila trace their origin back to DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, or DC-3.2 Foho. Long before the Indonesian occupation, villagers were herding their cattle in the areas around DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 where some also took up settlement. The areas in the regional including DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, were comprised of farmlands where villagers farmed coconut and to a smaller extent, rice. Like DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, some DC-3.2 villagers also settled in this area permanently.

However most of the villagers moved to the sub-district, including urban DC-3.2, following the Indonesian invasion. They were relocated from their villages in the mountains by the occupying forces for security reasons. Others displaced by the war also followed suit and came to settle in the area later on. Among the resettlement also included a community of villagers from Atsabe. This community of villagers inhabited the Bairo 2 area, which was later transformed into an Aldeia within DC-3.2 by the Indonesian authority.

After the 1999 referendum, much of DC-3.2 Vila was destroyed and a majority of the population was displaced. Many houses in the area were burnt to the ground by the retreating pro-autonomy forces. Some villagers retreated to Indonesian West Timor by force or by choice, while others took refuge in the mountains. There were 6 fatalities in DC-3.2 resulting from the violence inflicted by the pro-autonomy supporters.

Following the post-referendum crisis, other villagers also came to settle in DC-3.2 and occupied houses abandoned by Indonesian nationals or pro-autonomy supporters. Many villagers from outside of DC-3.2 settled in the neighbourhood of Bairo 1 in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, which used to be a government-housing complex to accommodate Indonesian public servants. Later on, the Aldeia of Bairo 2 was also abolished and absorbed by DC-3.2-Aldeia 2.

⁸ Researchers visited one of the water sources which feeds the tank in Bairo 5

⁹ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 2_XS (notes) (additional notes by Alex)

¹⁰ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 3_Farmer (notes)

The first Xefe Suku was a former resistance leader. He was appointed by the local resistance structure as the sekretáriu NUREP, a position similar to Xefe Suku. He held the position until 2005 when he failed to secure enough votes to become Xefe Suku during local elections. Respondent 1 defeated him and also won the next election five years later. Recently Respondent 1 suffered from a stroke and became partially paralyzed. He retired and was replaced by Respondent 2. The next election is scheduled to take place in 2015.

4 Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

Most of DC-3.2, in particular DC-3.2 Vila, is quite urban and cosmopolitan, blending population from various parts of Bobonaro as well as from other places, including Indonesia. However the core population is made up of villagers native to DC-3.2, which according to the current xefe suku, can be over 80% of the total population. The description of identity in this next section will therefore tend to focus on villagers native to DC-3.2.

Most of the villagers settled in DC-3.2 Vila more than 30 ago as a result of the Indonesian invasion and occupation. The more recent settlers who moved in nearly 15 years ago following the 1999 crisis and displacement. The decades and years they spent living in this area instilled in them a sense of identity and belonging to DC-3.2. The 1999 violence and destruction for example did not deter villagers from returning to their homes. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 the village secretary or PAS, and her family lost all their three houses while their 4 motorbikes were looted during the 1999 violence. They returned to find everything in their suku destroyed.¹¹ In Bairo 2, a large community of immigrants from Atsabe, part of Ermera district, were resettled in the area by the Indonesian authorities after the invasion. Although they maintained their connection to their former village in Atsabe, they insist that their home now is in DC-3.2 because they have lived in this area for many decades.¹²

Other villagers simply choose to stay in their suku or aldeia because they have nowhere else to go to. A respondent in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 whose extended family members have moved to the sub-district said that she couldn't do the same because she has no land over there.¹³ Nevertheless, DC-3.2 Foho also provides these villagers land aplenty which means that conflicts arising from land dispute is generally non-existent when compared to Vila. A villager in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 compared her aldeia favourably to the rest in DC-3.2 Vila and said:

Only villagers in the urban area (have land issues) but not in the Foho. There are (no land dispute) in the Foho because there are lots of land here.¹⁴

Villagers' connection to their suku is demonstrated through their readiness to take part in village activities such as local elections, village census, public construction projects, and village clean-up activities. They also observe village rules and demands issued by their local formal leaders to take part in community activities such as

¹¹ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 15_PAAS (notes)

¹² DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 3_Farmer (notes); DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 25_SC Male Youth Rep(notes)

¹³ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes)

¹⁴ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 2

participation in national events at the sede suku¹⁵ or take part in clean-up activities. In return, the suku provides them with exclusive services such as connecting community members to government assistance, processing their paperwork, registering them and their families, or notifying sections of the community about government payments.¹⁶

Villagers who have moved on to settle in other areas, both within and without the suku boundaries, continue to maintain their connection to their aldeia and suku. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 for example, there is a community of villagers from DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 numbering around 20 households including their xefe aldeia.¹⁷ However, despite having lived in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 for many years, including the xefe aldeia who settled there since 1999, these villagers maintain their association with their former aldeia. They consider the xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 as their leader and not that of DC-3.2-Aldeia 2. In the case of the former xefe suku, Respondent 1, his actual residence is located in an aldeia in the suku Neighboring suku 2. However, he belongs to DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and his xefe aldeia refers to him as one of his subjects:

(The xefe suku) only rules over me for 12 hours. But I (xefe aldeia) rule over him 24 hours. When he is in his office, I call him chief. But when he is around here, when I tell him to go do work, he would obey me. But I don't do the work.¹⁸

Further down the suku and aldeia level, different bairrus also unites villagers under different set of identities. Bairo 1 in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 is inhabited by not native to DC-3.2, including those who came to settle here following the 1999 displacement, occupying houses left behind by retreating Indonesian nationals. Lately, the bairru also became home to professionals including teachers and public servants, and students. The bairru also counts the Bobonaro DA as one of its residents.

Bairo 2, also in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, is populated by immigrants from Atsabe whose primary economic activity is vegetable and cattle farming and rice cultivation. The area used to be an aldeia but was since absorbed into DC-3.2-Aldeia 2. Respondent 1, retired xefe suku, says that the reason the aldeia was absorbed by DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 is because they don't have a history and therefore have no basis to exist as an independent entity within DC-3.2.¹⁹ Villagers in this community continue to maintain their ties to their former village whether through uma-lisan activities, marital exchanges or kinship. In DC-3.2 they found patronage in one of their fellow villagers who was married into a powerful local family and facilitated them with land to settle and farm.

Villagers also identify themselves according to the two areas where they live, Foho (rural) or Vila (urban). Those in the Foho, including anyone who live in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, are made up overwhelmingly by subsistent farmers who lead a very rural existence. Villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 also tend to be more homogeneous in that only those native to DC-3.2 reside in this area, so they have closer ties to their uma-lisan. They tend to concentrate near the location of their *uma-lulik*,²⁰ including families whose role is to guard it. Villagers in the Vila are a bigger mixture of individuals and families with various origins, abilities and resources, surviving not only on agriculture, but also on other occupations, as professionals in public service or other non-government institutions, which require a higher degree of formal education compared to those in the Foho.

¹⁵ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 2_XS (notes) (additional notes by Alex).docx

¹⁶ DC-3.2_20140801_Respondent 27_SCFemaleYouthRep (notes); DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes)

¹⁷ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 8_XA (notes)

¹⁸ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 7_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 2 (notes), p. 4

¹⁹ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes)

²⁰ In this report, uma-lisan and uma-lulik are treated differently. Uma-lisan refers to the traditional institution while uma-lulik refers to the sacred house building.

The uma-lisan also provides villagers with identity and all villagers native to DC-3.2 belongs to one of the 12 established uma-lisan in this suku.²¹ A villager in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 explained that the uma-lisan gives everyone their identity and keeps it for the rest of his life, no matter where they are, in Bobonaro, in other districts or even overseas.²² It's actually possible to identify native villagers from foreigners by the names and location of their uma-lisan as all of DC-3.2's 12 uma-lisan are located in Bairro 5, DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.

Membership of one of the 12 uma-lisan sets another identity for the villagers. Knowing one's uma-lisan also means knowing one's place in the social hierarchy. For example, of the 12 uma-lisan only members of Clan 1 and Clan 2 can become xefe suku or liu-rai. Other uma uma-lisan members, namely, in addition to Clan 2, those from Clan 3, Clan 4 and Clan 5, can hold positions of xefe aldeia or *dato*. The rest are all referred to *servidór* or literally servants.²³ However, the uma-lisan also provides villagers with the come together and cooperate for common goals such as construction of their *uma-lulik* or sacred house.

Villagers also identify themselves based on their religious faith. The overwhelming majority of the population are members of the Catholic church. Villagers are united in their contribution towards activities to do with the church whether in the construction of a local chapel, the diocese cathedral, or in the formation of groups to lead community prayers. There is also a Protestant church in DC-3.2 which brings villagers of similar faith together, though numbering only as small as 3 thorough out the suku, to conduct activities including the renovation of their local chapel.

Sympathy for a particular political party also gives community members identity which can be difficult to dispel. While political activities can bring community members together, some are too reluctant to be identified with any political party. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 for example explained that identification with a political party can be a liability in itself:

*If we chose this party, then if the other party wins, people from that party would (make it difficult for) you. They would say, 'so you have joined this one. One day if you try to get that position, we won't accept you. If you want that position, we won't give it to you.'*²⁴

Other villagers see their membership of a political party only as a tool to be used by the elites in their quest to further their own personal agenda.²⁵ The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 who readily admits to be the local CNRT leader claimed that everyone in his aldeia identified with CNRT therefore it was pointless for other competitors to try to win local support.²⁶ Meanwhile villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 are given membership card to signal their support for, and their identification with the CNRT party.²⁷

Timor-Leste's turbulent history also makes for other types of identity. Individuals who took part in the struggle to resist the Indonesian occupation, in particular those who bore arm or were in the leadership position in the resistance, are known as the *veteranu* or veterans and they have a special standing in the community as well as recognition from the state. Others who became victims of the occupation, in particular the widows, also found cause in their suffering to converge and collaborate.

²¹ For a list of names for the 12 uma-lisan, see DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 14_XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 4(notes), p. 2

²² DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 10_Veteran (notes), p. 4

²³ Respondent 2, 2/8/2014

²⁴ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 7_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 2 (notes), p. 7

²⁵ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 3_Farmer (notes), p.3; DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 7_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 2 (notes), p. 7

²⁶ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 1 (notes)

²⁷ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes);

The private sector is another area where villagers coalesce to conduct activities of common interest, including interest groups such as business associations. Gender and age are also defining characteristics for villagers thorough the establishments of youth and women's activities and groups. Both social groups are for example represented in the suku council as well in regular sporting activities.

Villagers native to DC-3.2 place themselves in a more privileged position in comparison to the rest of the villagers. DC-3.2, specially DC-3.2 Foho, belongs to them as it was they who were the first people to settle in this land. "When this land came to exist, so did we"²⁸ one of respondent in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 explained. They also set themselves apart from other villagers because of the way they respect their traditional practices and beliefs. The former xefe suku, Respondent 1, said that villagers in DC-3.2 are unique because of their fear in the *malisan*, a potentially fatal curse which can afflict anyone who dares to trespass against traditional laws and customs (see below).²⁹

Villagers from Clan 1 and Clan 2 see themselves as the rightful leaders of the village. Their uma-lisan are called *uma komandu* or commander, and their leadership was legitimised through appointment by the Portuguese empire during colonisation. Their uma-lisan were part of the Bobonaro network of traditional *liurai*. They consider other members of the other uma-lisan as *servidór* or servants.

The changing times also means that their culture is slowly disappearing. The ranks traditional elders are thinning out and less of their skills and knowledge are being passed on to the younger generation. Traditional houses are no longer constructed using traditional local materials because only very few villagers have the skills in this area. The uma-lulik are now made of modern materials including concrete, steel, and tin roofs.

The uma-lulik in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 are being guarded by the elderly and the less educated, less skilled, members of the community. These villagers readily admit themselves as backward and see DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and the uma-lisan as the only place where they belong and have a purpose. The uma-lulik itself is regarded as a place of darkness, signifying ignorance and backwardness vis-à-vis the modern world. Yet the connection between the modern and the traditional worlds is important as an elder gentleman from Clan 1 explained, the light is only possible because of the existence of darkness. Darkness, in reference to individuals and traditional institutions, gave birth and nurtured villagers who went on to seek light in the modern world.³⁰

Literacy is also a form of identification pitting the educated, the *matenek*, against the illiterate or *ema-beik*. The *matenek* can include anyone who knows basic literacy and numeracy to those who occupy positions in the public service. Villagers who never received any formal education consider themselves as *ema-beik* and feel more vulnerable and powerless against the *matenek*. Furthermore, the *ema-beik* are also associated more closely with villagers who live in the Foho as the more educated tend their village behind to migrate to urban areas, particularly to DC-3.2 Vila.

²⁸ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 10_Veteran (notes), p. 4

²⁹ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes), p. 1

³⁰ Conversation with elderly villagers in Bairro 5, DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 during a field visit to uma-lisan Clan 1 on July 30th 2014.

4.1.2 *Power and Vulnerability*

Powerful community members are typified by a number of characteristics, including membership of the local uma-lisans, participation in the struggle against the Indonesian occupation, level of education, wealth, and gender.

The top leadership in the village, both formal (xefe suku) and traditional (liurai), is held by members of the uma-lisan Clan 1 and Clan 2. Villagers from the houses of Clan 2, Clan 3, Clan 4 and Clan 5 are always appointed to be xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 respectively. This system of appointing village leaders based on the uma-lisan is rooted deep in local customary practices and also manifests itself in the formal government institutions. Villagers native to DC-3.2 accept it as part of their customs as it has been laid down by their ancestors.³¹ “It’s always been like that,”³² one villager from DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 explained. Failure to respect this system can in fact bring misfortune or even death according to local belief.³³ Members of these uma-lisan control the nomination and appointment of individuals to positions of leadership in the suku or in the aldeias.

Villagers who took active part in the resistance against Indonesian occupation are also considered as powerful. Their unique experience in the resistance period, whether as victim or as leader, is recognised not just by community at large but also by the state and respected. Respondent 20 for example is a survivor of a massacre in Dili in 1991, an event that came to be known as the 12 November Massacre. He then went on to become a youth leader in Bobonaro leading the young people in their opposition against Indonesian authority.³⁴ Another veteran leader, Olivio (name changed), was appointed by the resistance structure to be the head of the village following Indonesian withdrawal. Respondent 20 and other veterans in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 are often involved in conflict mediation in their bairru and have widespread influence over the villagers.

The elderly are also considered as powerful because of their seniority which is taken to correlate to with years of wisdom and experience compared to their younger peers. Formal education and literacy don’t seem to be of much relevance in this case. Respondent 2, the current xefe suku, was urged by some villagers to compete against Respondent 1 in the 2010 suku elections. However Respondent 2 declined the invitation considering that he would be competing against someone who is more senior therefore more experienced. “You cannot compete against the old leaders,” Respondent 2 explained.³⁵ Meanwhile, according to the xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, Respondent 14, villagers are also reluctant to elect the younger generation because they lacked experience.³⁶ The elderly are expected to have intimate knowledge of local customs and are consulted during marriage negotiations or conflict mediation.

However, experience also counts towards a villager’s prospect of attaining position with power. People with experience are expected to take leadership positions in community groups. Respondent 3 was appointed as leader of his farmers’ group because of his involvement with the ministry of agriculture which goes back since the Indonesian period. A local women’s cooperative group, CBO 1, is headed by individuals who had previously

³¹ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 10_Veteran (notes), p. 4; DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 15_PAAS (notes), p. 6

³² DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 10_Veteran (notes), p. 3

³³ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 14_XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 4(notes); DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes); DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 10_Veteran (notes); DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes)

³⁴ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(notes) (leonel), p. 1; DC-3.2_20140730_Respondent 20_Veteran(notes); DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 14_XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 4(notes), p.2

³⁵ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 2_XS (notes) (additional notes by Alex).docx, p. 3

³⁶ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 14_XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 4(notes), p.2

worked for a district microfinance institution. Experience was also one of the criteria for the selection of pakote members for Respondent 1 team which competed in the last election.³⁷ These individuals often control community groups because group members expect them to use their knowledge and experience to help the group achieve its goals.

Holding leadership positions for long periods of time also makes individuals powerful. The longer an individual holds a position, the more villagers tend to believe that this individual is entitled to the position. The xefes of all 4 aldeias have held their positions since early 1980s.³⁸

Having attained formal education or being literate is also a characteristic of powerful villagers because education is understood as a tool which can be used to gain information beyond what villagers can ordinarily obtain. Villagers who see themselves as less educated are dependent on those with more education for guidance and leadership. A villager in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 explained her relationship with the xefe aldeia during the implementation of an aldeia project as one where the xefe aldeia, being educated, controlled everything while she and colleagues only received orders and worked:

*The xefe aldeia is educated. We are not. We don't know whether there is enough money or not. We just work. We don't know anything. ... We are little people, besides we never even went to school.*³⁹

Businesses with large incomes, capable of funding their own priority projects in the village also have influence in the village. These villagers have surplus financial resources which can be used on projects outside their private need. Villagers often approach them for assistance to support community projects.

Finally, powerful villagers also include members of the suku council. The source of their power is legitimised through formal elections. Villagers expect them, among other things, to solve their problems, mediate their conflicts, and advocate for their interest. Individuals like the former xefe suku, Respondent 1, for instance controlled the distribution of state assistance to local farmers. Furthermore, as part of the local administrative system, they also controlled the implementation of community projects and can include or exclude villagers from these activities or appoint them to positions within the projects.

Powerful villagers are assigned positions in the formal governance structure. At the village level, they occupy positions of in the suku council, in particular members of certain DC-3.2 uma-lisan. Others occupy positions in the district governance as is the case of Respondent 20 who holds a key position in the district SSYS or Respondent 3 with MAF. Members of the uma-lisan Clan 1 and Clan 2 are consulted on matters concerning leadership of the suku specially when the contender is not a member of their uma-lisan.

Former veterans are involved in conflict mediation and prevention while those with formal education are appointed to lead community groups. Wealthy individuals with access to key resources (land, financial capital) are approached by villagers for assistance in local community projects.

The uma-lisan system ensures that family linkages exist between village leadership or village elite in general. Furthermore the *fetosaa-umane* system also brings families closer, establishing linkages between individuals which in local culture is considered as close family. The former and current xefe sukus are related through marriage although they come from different uma-lisan. Xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 who replaced his uncle in 1980,

³⁷ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 2_XS (notes) (additional notes by Alex).docx, p.3

³⁸ The XA of DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 came to this position in 1999 but previously he held the position of Celcom since the 1980s. Celcom is a position equivalent to xefe aldeia in the resistance structure.

³⁹ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 4

and current xefe suku are from the same uma-lisan, Clan 2. Xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and the village secretary are from uma-lisan Clan 4. One of the largest businesses in DC-3.2 is owned by a member of the Clan 1 house and is related to the former xefe suku.

Respondent 1's grandfather and Respondent 2's father are brothers. Their uma-lisan are considered as sisters with Clan 2 being the older sister.

Members of other uma-lisans, outside of those belonging to xefe suku and the xefe aldeias, are excluded from leadership positions in village governance. In fact they are considered as *servidór*, or, literally, servants.⁴⁰ Foreigners are also excluded from these positions. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 puts it bluntly as to who can be a xefe in DC-3.2:

*The xefe aldeias in DC-3.2 must be born here and (be a descendent of someone) whose family came from DC-3.2. So (foreigners) are afraid to occupy this position because it has been determined by our culture.*⁴¹

Their marginalization of non-native villagers can be achieved through formal and traditional measures. Native villagers for example tend to vote overwhelmingly for candidates that belonged to *uma komandu* so that, apart from Olivio (name changed) who was appointed by resistance structure to be xefe suku in the period after the referendum, all xefe sukus of DC-3.2 have consistently been members of Clan 1 or Clan 2. In the 2005 suku election, Olivio (name changed), despite his leadership role in the resistance, was defeated by both Respondent 2 and Respondent 1, members of Clan 2 and Clan 1 respectively. Formations of the the pakote to compete in the 2010 elections also ensured that only members of the elite uma-lisan fill the positions of xefe suku and xefe aldeia to the exclusion of everyone else.

Smaller political, too, are limited in their ability to operate freely or establish themselves in parts of the village. The ruling government party, CNRT, has a strong sway over the village with many influential leaders positioned in various ranks in the local party structure, at district or village level. Thus, the village leaders are able to control the activities of the opposition parties and other political organisation. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 for example, the xefe aldeia said that any political party wishing to hold activities in his aldeia must get authorisation from him. While in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, an attempt to establish a CPD-RDTL structure locally was thwarted by a local leader, who is a veteran of the resistance and a local elder.

While literacy may not play any part in the elderly powerful elites, for the rest of the villagers it can lead to exclusion and marginalisation. Villagers with little or no formal education are not consulted in decisions which affected them. Members of a management team assembled to implement a government project in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 were appointed without their consultation or consent:

*We have been invited by the xefe aldeia so we have to take part. [...] For us the uneducated, when they (can) call us for whatever purpose, we don't (have to) know. We just go because we never went to school so we don't know anything. The xefe aldeia only selects the illiterates like us.*⁴²

The respondent quoted above also explained that villagers like her are forced to take part in activities which no one else would accept, even when these activities incurred financial costs on them.⁴³

⁴⁰ Respondent 2, 2/8/2014

⁴¹ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 7_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 2 (notes), p. 6

⁴² DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 7

⁴³ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 7

Other less educated villagers are excluded from leadership positions in community groups.⁴⁴ The estensionista who works regularly with farmers' groups also admitted that he urged members regularly to only elect individuals who can read and write to lead them.⁴⁵ The former xefe suku also made education a criteria to select individuals to be included in his pakote. 'Without formal education, (pakote members) won't have anything significant to contribute,'⁴⁶ the former xefe suku explained.

People without familial linkages to the village elites are prevented from getting jobs in particular in the public service. According to a youth who had completed all his formal education, including university, replied when asked about job opportunities in Bobonaro:

*There are no government jobs available for people like me. There is a culture of nepotism (in the recruitment). It's all about families, godfathers. Even as a security, there is none.*⁴⁷

Although the DC-3.2 culture is based on a matrilineal system, women are rarely the top leadership positions in the suku including such positions as liurai or xefe suku. The 2010 official census shows that only 14% of households in DC-3.2 are headed by women. The law governing village administration also, according to the current xefe suku, defined key roles for women in the village governance. However, even during official suku events the women of DC-3.2 are left with roles traditionally assigned to women such as preparing food and beverages and playing host to event participants.⁴⁸ Women are also excluded from leadership positions in community groups in general because their role in the community is primarily to look after their household. The local estensionista for example reasoned that the reason there are no women leading local farmers' groups is because this is not part of their role. Women only concentrate on household or other lesser farming activities.⁴⁹

4.1.3 Formal and informal community rules (norms)

Village history (how villagers came to settle in DC-3.2), customs (who should hold leadership positions in the village), and general facts (village borders, in particular in DC-3.2 Foho) are regarded as *lulik* or sacred. These are sensitive issues which some villagers are too afraid to talk about for fear that they might tell the wrong story and be cursed for it. Distorted of these issues, whether deliberate or not, can invite the *malisan*, a curse which can result in misfortune, including death. Village customs have been laid down by their ancestors and everyone is required to follow them:

*The ancestors have already determined the traditions the way they are. We have follow them from generations to generations.*⁵⁰

The main traditional issues or *lia* can be divided into two broad types: *lia-metan* and *lia-mutin*, respectively, black and white issues. The *lia-metan* includes events such as deaths, which happen frequently. Because of its frequency, contributions to *lia-metan* tend to be smaller in quantity, whether in cash or in materials. *Lia-mutin* on the other hand concerns issues which happen less regularly such as the construction of the *uma-lulik*. For

⁴⁴ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 25_SC Male Youth Rep(notes), p. 3

⁴⁵ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 28_Estensionista (notes)

⁴⁶ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes), p. 9

⁴⁷ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 19_Unemployed (notes), p. 2

⁴⁸ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 2_XS (notes) (additional notes by Alex).docx, p. 4

⁴⁹ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 28_Estensionista (notes), p. 2

⁵⁰ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 15_PAAS (notes), p. 6

these issues, villagers are demanded to make more significant contribution including cattle, cash, and other material contributions.

The customs of DC-3.2 generally follows that of the Bunak speakers. The community follows a matrilineal system as opposed to Kemak's patrilineal system. For example in marriage, the groom becomes a member of the brides' family. The children will also belong to the women's family. The fact that Kemak is also widely spoken among members of this community shows that while Kemak women tends to move in join her husband's Bunak family during intermarriage, this exchange may not be reciprocated. A lia-na'in in Bairo 5 maintained that they, the Bunak community, do not allow their women to be taken away to join another family.

Women also hold a number of key roles in the household. They are the heads of the households and are assigned with responsibilities such as controlling the finances whether of household's or of the community's.⁵¹ For cash contributions towards traditional activities, such as uma-lisan projects, only the women's households are counted. Households headed by DC-3.2 men are not considered. However women are not leadership roles whether formal or traditional, yet, only the women's sons are eligible.⁵²

One of the most important customs in the village relates a system of hierarchy among the uma-lisan. The uma-lisan of Clan 1 and Clan 2 are placed at the top of the hierarchy and control the leadership positions in the village. Only members of the two houses can be appointed as xefe suku or liurai. Other uma-lisan such as Clan 3 and Clan 5 are give lesser positions such as xefe aldeia or *dato*. The rest are considered as *reinu* or subjects. Villagers are discouraged to violate these customs, which have been established by their ancestors and must be followed.⁵³

Government rules limits state assistance to only reach groups and not individuals. In order to access the government's agricultural assistance such as machineries, seedlings, pesticides or even cash, villagers must form groups. According to the local estensionista,

*If you (farmers) want to receive any assistance from the Ministry (of Agriculture), you must form groups. The Ministry is not dealing with individuals but with groups only. So you must form a group, with a structure before we can recommend you (to MAF for assistance). So (the farmers) form the group, we only provide monitoring.*⁵⁴

The government's Law No. 3/2009 stipulates the suku's administrative processes including regular meetings, appointments and replacements of council members, and elections.

Criminal cases are reported to the police. Other cases are handled by formal local leaders and are mediated through the family, including cases of domestic violence.

4.1.4 Conflict and conflict mediation

Conflict in the village generally about Martial Arts Groups (MAGs) fighting each other. There is different Martial Arts Groups is concentrated in different Aldeias, as PSHT was dominated in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and KORKA is a major in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. In the past, there were conflicts between different group PSHT and CORCA martial art before the government announces the resolution to close down their activity.

⁵¹ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes), p. 6

⁵² DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes), p. 2

⁵³ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 15_PAAS (notes), p. 6

⁵⁴ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 28_Estensionista (notes), p. 5

On the other hand, there is also a conflict between youths from DC-3.2 and other sucos. Martial arts, it used to be quite violent in the area.

Between 2004-2005, Colimau and KORKA attacked PSHT, the problem was happen on SMA 2, the conflict has include many youth from neighboring sub district , DC-3.2 village, it is a big problem. And the problem has solved by Respondent 20 as a powerful man.

The martial arts groups attacked each other in the schools, market, anywhere they come face to face. The last MAG clash was three years ago. But this conflict never took place in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 although their supporters were present in the aldeia. When the MAGs conflicts occurred, they will call the police to respond to these incidences, especially when individuals are injured. But the conflicts have stopped just before the government issues the law banning their activities.⁵⁵

There are three of land dispute did not solve yet but it was registered by land and property department.⁵⁶

Land disputes currently the biggest issue however it has not resulted in any form of violence. Spurred by land registration process, registration of land with multiple claims causing conflicts among claimants.⁵⁷

Youth fighting between martial arts group when they have drunk, because of drunk they have miscommunication so it could cause conflict. But most of these youths have since found work so they have stopped fighting and the younger generations are at school.⁵⁸

On 2004, there is six cases domestic violence in suco DC-3.2 have been reported, the cases which involved couples yelling at each other and then slaps once or twice.⁵⁹

There is any domestic violence in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, but very rarely, it only affects to one or two households. There are a lot of cases of domestic violence in Bairo 2 area, in the cases where the assault is not grave, as a man assaulted his three months pregnant wife.

There is a quarrel between CBO 1 members group because of finance issue. On the other hand, Respondent 11 left the volleyball court team because she has a disagreement with xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 because of fund for volleyball court project. The xefe aldeia accused them of misusing the funds and demanded them to repay it.⁶⁰

In regarding with the conflicts between Kerasakti and PSHT on 2005, the conflict was resolved after the government's resolution banning the activities of Martial Arts Group. If the conflict happens again, villagers would inform the government, in particular the PNITL and F-FDTL, these institutions would act immediately.

In relating with the conflict between martial arts group in DC-3.2, at the end of 2011, on New Year's Eve, a mediation process took place in DC-3.2 and produced the rules at the 2012 New Years Eve, also helped ease this inter-suco conflict allowing youth to freely move around in other neighborhoods. Normally the communitarian Police and local authority solve the martial arts problem, if it was caused someone bleeding during fighting, so the case will bring to Police and it will process to tribunal in Suai, but if there is no bleeding

⁵⁵ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 5_Driver(Notes), p.2

⁵⁶ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(Notes), p.3

⁵⁷ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(Notes), p.2

⁵⁸ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 14_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 4(Notes), p.3

⁵⁹ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(Notes), p.2

⁶⁰ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer(Notes), p.4

between victim and suspect so we local authority will solve the problem and we should unite them as brotherly and advise them to not create the problem again in future.⁶¹

Regarding with the domestic violence which happened in Bairro 2 area, as a man assaulted his three months pregnant wife. After the incidence the families of both couple are invited to talk about how the issue should be resolved. Base on observation, Respondent 28 and another male relative have been invited he is a relative of the wife (victim). She's Respondent 28's brother's daughter. Her parents live in Lolotoe, too far to participate. The xefe suco Respondent 2 and his wife are also present at the mediation. The xefe suco is present as a relative but not as a xefe suco. The suspect parents are not in the mediation. There were no other representatives at the mediation process. It's a preliminary meeting where they try to calm everyone down before more immediate relatives, like the parents, are involved. Respondent 28 and other representative have been trying to get the couple to decide how they want their issue resolved.⁶²

In relating with the domestic violence as mentioned above, the XS interim informs that if the victim forwarded the case to us as local authority, then we'll resolve it trough our local customs. As known that currently four cases have been solved through the civil system and two other cases have been transfer to the Police to conduct further investigation as they have indication of crime. Thus far, cases are still been resolved on site of incidence. The cases can be forwarded directly to the Xefe Suco; it won't be heard by the suco council. But xefe aldeia, community police, the Ansiaun or the Lia Nain would go down directly to handle the case. If there is no resolution, then the case is brought to the sede suco to be heard, where sanction are also applied. But since Mr. Respondent 2 became xefe suco, there is no case has been brought to the suco office.

Mediation is generally conducted at the home of either party involved in a conflict. Xefe Suco interim says that conflicts must be resolved immediately in order not to spread or escalate. When a problem arises we should end it immediately. We cannot allow it to grow affect other issues. If the problem is reported in the morning, by noon we would already respond and stay there until the evening if needed. Sometimes it would take two days or three. For the problems where blood has been spilled, they are taking to the Police⁶³

On the other hand, Ms. Respondent 9 informs that, when the domestic violence occurs in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, the *uma ulun* is invited to help with mediation.⁶⁴

Conflict resolution usually begins with the family, some involve local community leaders, and if the local community leader is unable to resolve than it will move to advocacy groups such as Hamahan An, Uma Mahon, Fokupers; that's if the case has already reported to the police. If it hasn't been reported to the police, the case won't be referred to the advocacy groups.

If the mediation process resolved within family, *uma ulun* and family representative of both sides are involved. Fines defend on the extend of the violence involved and also cover the fallowing instances; if the woman is wounded, than husband should pay for the medical expenses referred to locally as massage. If verbal insults have been made against anyone's parents, then fines will be applied because this act is detrimental to parents' dignity; the fines restores the dignity. The payment of fines can take the form of animals which are slaughtered to feed everyone involved in the mediation process; they include goat, pig, etc. The costs involved in the mediation process are paid for by the couple. Tais for payment involved verbal insults and redresses the

⁶¹ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 14_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 4(Notes), p.3

⁶² DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 28_Extension(Notes), p.3

⁶³ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_XSInterim(Notes), p.2

⁶⁴ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer(Notes), p.2

damage. But personal insults are symbolic of stripping naked an individual. Alcohol also involved in the payment. But the victim would not receive any compensation in the mediation process.

During the mediation process they rose up prevention mechanism through traditional process, parties make agreements, treat of sanctions if agreement is violated or violence is repeated, and treat of formal judicial as the final step in the process.⁶⁵

In regarding with the land dispute, the mediation process involves the DNTP or Direcao Nacional de Terras e Propriedades (land and property), a directorate within the Minister of Justice which oversees land registration. But so far, land dispute have been resolved mainly at the suco level without involvement of DNTP.⁶⁶

Only small scale violence of late, problems usually happen within the family so they tend to resolve it using the traditional kingship system, i.e. *Uma Mane*, *Mane foun*. But this only works so far as both parties agree with the resolution. If not, we forwarded to the Police. But if the parties decide to make peace with each other, then we help them to do so, said Respondent 7, xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 2.⁶⁷

The situation become to calm down before the government resolution was enacted because interim xefe suco and those from PSHT leaders worked with the former xefe suco came up with plans to reduce the conflicts in DC-3.2. So they came up with an agreement with the entire group through a traditional process, an oath. After the government enacted the resolution, the situation calmed down completely.⁶⁸

Xefe aldeia and lia nain helped with resolution, it was conducted at xefe aldeia house, at the moment the resolution accepted, that's why the conflict disappeared and also because the laws bans their activities.

Martial Arts Groups(MAGs)conflict rendered DC-3.2 a “Red Line” or a no-go zone due to ongoing threats of violence and creates a sense of insecurity in the village, the martial arts conflicts prevented youth from other sucos to coming close another suco for fear of being attacked.

The 1999 violence has affected more than 60 house hold of DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 still in West Timor, Atambua, due to support pro-Autonomy option, and also affected to Respondent 18 to be widow because her husband has killed by militiamen. On the other hand, there are about ten people have killed by Indonesian military and militiamen; five of them have killed at nearby bairo area and another five have killed in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, DC-3.2 Vila.⁶⁹

4.1.5 Development Priorities

For basic infrastructure, both powerful and ordinary people have similar priorities. They include clean water and road rehabilitation for all aldeia, and the electricity installation for Bairo 2 area and aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. In aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, the community member and powerful people have also identify an aldeia and a community center, suco office and volleyball court as a priority and have a propose for the construction, in their suco development priorities. Furthermore a drainage and retaining wall are also identified as a development priority, specifically for DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 which battles regularly against flood caused by the rains water. On the other hand, a small bridge beside Municipal office is also identifies as a priorities for aldeia

⁶⁵ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 28_Estentionista(Notes), p.4

⁶⁶ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_XSInterim(Notes), p.2

⁶⁷ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 7_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 2(Notes), p.3

⁶⁸ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 2_XSInterim(Notes), p.1

⁶⁹ DC-3.2_20140730_Respondent 20_Veteran(Notes), p.6

DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 because it always floods caused by the heavy rains and it could damage the roads and community house.

Housing is a main issue for all entities; powerful, ordinary, marginalized, and vulnerable people as most of the houses of widows and old age people are unconditional as they lived under bad house roofing. Than the community members would supposed to include housing as one priority among others. The ordinary people and a powerful member also highlight access to sanitation facility as an important necessity yet to be more accessible.

The ordinary people further identify professional training and work employment for youth, and the assistant for vulnerable people including fund assistant for the orphans, elderly and widow as a priority for the village. Besides that, the powerful and ordinary people identify the agriculture machinery, irrigation, food security and local product access to market as a priority for the village, especially for the farmers. Construction the health facility for aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 is also identified as important for the villagers.

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 3 profiles of powerful community members

4.2.1.1 Respondent 1 of Clan 1

He is the Xefe Suco of DC-3.2, leader of Xefe Suco Association covering all Xefe Suco in Bobonaro district for 50 Sukus and Executive Secretary of Conselho Nacional de Reconstrucao de Timor (CNRT) in Bobonaro district.

Xefe Suco encourages communities to monitor projects in the villages, because they are financed by community members, He provides advice to the Suco Council members on the planning for prioritized development projects for Suku and Aldeia. He also provides advice to the Xefe Suco interim, Respondent 2. The Xefe Suco has worked together with District Administrator on several projects including: *equipa aprovissinamento*, (*equipa evaluacao ferificasann serviso (EFAS)* for projects; Programa Dezemvolvimento 1, Programa Dezemvolvimento 2, PDID and Programa Dezemvolvimento Local (PDL). He has worked so solve general problems in the community such as: land disputes, martial arts clashes, and rubber issue for animal.

Xefe Suco Respondent 1 has had impact on development projects due to the fact that he worked with the Rotary Club to fund and build a public toilet in front the primary school. He has also worked together with Secretariado Estado Joventude e Desporto (SEJD) so SEJD to provide funding for the development of sporting facilities for village in DC-3.2. Two volleyball courts were constructed; one in the Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and another one in the Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. Additionally, a water canal was constructed in the Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and 2 toilet rooms for the Suco office of DC-3.2 at aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.

The retired Xefe Suco has prioritized development projects including; irrigation for a 150 hectare rice field in the Loibane area, construction of an Aldeia office in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 so that the community can meet to solve issues, the installation of clean water system for aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and the rehabilitation of the road in Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ DC-3.2_20140724_Respondent 1_XS(notes), p. 1,3 and 4

4.2.1.2 Respondent 20, former resistance activist

He is a veteran and works as a public servant for the Secretariado Estado Juventude e Desporto (SEJD) as a coordinator for Bobonaro district.

Respondent 20 roles in the community: He runs sports activities; received proposal from sub-district and Suku, and continue submit to the national Secretariado Estado Juventude e Desporto (SEJD) office in Dili, he manages the martial arts group and controls their activity; he did intervention in conflict between martial arts group, as to solve problem between martial arts group. He also coordinates with Xefe Suco Respondent 1 for Suku office construction.

His development priorities include; installing electricity in the Aldeias DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, Bairro 2 area and to construct a water canal for the Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.⁷¹

4.2.1.3 Respondent 6 – Xefe Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 1

He is the Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, He organizes meeting with the community to discuss proposals for road construction and electricity installation, then transmits these community issues to Xefe Suco, sub-district administrator and even to district administrator. For the national holidays on 20th May and 28th November, etc, the Xefe Aldeia coordinates the aldeia members to bring and accompany the national flag from the Suku Office to the Sub-District Administration Office. He also coordinated census activities for new households.

He has an impact on development projects; he is involved in the facilitation of supplying electricity for Aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 1. In 2007, he organized a meeting with the community in order to convince them to donate money to an electricity installation project, one police officer and 10 households gave contributions of \$30.00 per household. With these contributions, they were able to pay for electrical installment from the Etridade De Timor Leste (EDTL) and now have access to electricity.

In regarding with the road construction project, Xefe Aldeia has organized the meeting with community at his house on 2004 to discuss the proposal, as it was based on community requirement. After the meeting, he prepares the proposal and submits to public works. He follow up the proposal with suco chief through suco meeting every five months, but on 2008 he has received notification letter for proposal approval from Government of Timor Leste(GoTL), especially Minister of Public Works. And the project for road construction with 3km has been implemented on May 2014, as it was constructed by Aitula Company as local company.

The development priorities of the Xefe Aldeia are: installation of a system for access to clean water, construction of a public toilet and assistance for vulnerable people, especially widows.⁷²

4.2.2 3 profiles of marginalized community members

4.2.2.1 Respondent 25, immigrant from Atsabe

He is a Suco Council (SC) member as male youth representative. His roles in the communities; He coordinates with suco chief to organize sports activities, as the football and volleyball activity within suco, organize and participate the youth meeting aimed to remind the youth of DC-3.2 village to show their good activity,

⁷¹DC-3.2_20140730_Respondent 20_Veteran(Notes), p.1 and 8

⁷²DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 (Notes), p.1,3 and 4

collaborate with XS to make proposal for Maroco chicken and support suco secretary as twice a week to do administration issue.

He has no impact on development projects within the Suku because he has not been with any project construction and also because he only focuses on sports and agricultural activity.

The development priorities of Respondent 25 are: the construction of a house for widows because most of them are live in poor housing conditions, and he the rehabilitation of local roads.⁷³

4.2.2.2 Respondent 16, victim of 1999 violence

She is a housewife, rice farmer, has a vegetable garden and runs a basic need at kiosk. She has the roles as a community member; she prepare and submit the well spring project proposal to CCF office, aimed to request for construction materials for well spring, she participates to construct the well spring project, she solves the community problem as domestic violence, she did the advise for the family member how live in harmony environment and she has influenced the community to loan money, as local cooperative NGOs, aimed to run the small business.

She has impact on development project, especially with her neighbors, as she and her neighbors with 7 households prepare the proposal for well spring project and she bring the proposal to CCF office, finally the proposal get approval and the construction materials for well spring project has brought by CCF to project site.

She has the development priorities; the government should construct the water tank and install the water pipe to her area, build the house for vulnerable people, the government should buy the local product as rice and corn and need to construct pre primary school nearby her bairro.⁷⁴

4.2.2.3 Respondent 9, farmer from DC-3.2-Aldeia 3

She is a farmer; she farms vegetables, tomatoes, onions, bitter melon, sweet potatoes, and she bring the products to sell in the regional center market. After that she bought salt and kerosene to sell again in Bobonaro sub district during market day, as on Saturday. And she works as a treasurer for volleyball project construction. She lives with her sister in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. She has lived there for long time, her parents have passed away, she was an orphan, and mostly her family members of the house hold are orphan.

She has the roles as a treasurer to responsible for volleyball court; she kept all the receipts from the purchases of construction materials for volleyball court construction, she handled the cash which has given by Xefe Aldeia to buy the materials and manage the money for volleyball project construction, implement the project, prepares the reports about project to Secretariado Estado Juventude e Desporto(SEJD) of regional center. And also she cooked for labor and builder during project construction ongoing.

She has the development priority; she recommends to government to construct the clinic in her aldeia.⁷⁵

⁷³ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 25_SC Male Youth Rep(notes), p.1 and 6

⁷⁴ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 16_Community Member DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 (notes), p.1,2,3 and 4

⁷⁵ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Treasurer(Notes), p.1

5 Institutions and power

5.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

Name	Type	Activities
Bairo 2 group	Agriculture	Plant rice, organize the members group to receive Manu Marotok
Hamatak Rai	Agriculture	Prepare seeds to plant; rice and corn during rainy season and plant vegetables during dry season
CBO 1	Business woman	Produce bread and pudding and selling the basic needs at kiosk.
Kolan	Agriculture	Run farmer activity; plant rice, corn and sweet potatoes during rainy season. During dry season they plant onion and vegetables.
FESTIL	Martial Arts Group	Control the activity of martial arts
Sub CRAM	Martial Arts Group	To regulate the martial arts in Bobonaro district, and to control the martial arts activity
Volleyball	Sports	Run the volleyball activity
Football	Sports	Run the football activity
PD	Political Party	Run the football activity
FRETILIN	Political Party	Run the political activity
CNRT	Political Party	Run the political activity
PSHT	Martial Arts	Run the martial arts activity, before the government announce the resolution to close down its activity
KORKA	Martial Arts	Run the martial arts activity before the government announce the resolution to close down its activity

5.2 Formation of village groups

5.2.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

- Formal leaders participate in groups, in certain cases are also leaders
 - Interim Xefe Suku head of FESTIL
He was elected in 2009 as president for Silat Federation for Bobonaro District to control martial activity.⁷⁶
 - Respondent 25 head of farmers group in Bairo 2⁷⁷
 - Former Xefe Suku is part of district CNRT leadership structure; heads the Xefe Suku association of Bobonaro district⁷⁸
 - Respondent 3 head of Hamatak Rai Group⁷⁹

⁷⁶DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(notes), p.1

⁷⁷DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 25_SC Male Youth Rep(notes), p.2

⁷⁸DC-3.2_20140724_Respondent 2_XS(notes), p.1

⁷⁹DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 3_Cor Hamatak Rai Group(notes), p.1

- Respondent 8, XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, head of Colan Group⁸⁰
- Women's group: decisions made authoritatively by group leader
 - CBO 1 group, regarding their kiosk
- There are group meetings where decisions are made by the leader alone
 - Hamatak Rai

5.2.1.1 Describe village group leadership styles (participatory vs. non-participatory)

- CBO 1 – decisions are imposed by the group leader
- Farmers group – 30 members (Hamatak Rai),

5.2.1.2 Describe how leaders obtain positions of power in the village, and how members join;

- Hamatak Rai
 - Leader appointed because of his literacy, past experience, ability to defend group's interest (vocal)
 - AS: leader appointed by consensus
 - CBO 1: group initiator became the leader; her forcefulness was also a factor
 - Leader invited members into the group
 - AS: People whose farms are close to each other are invited to form group

5.2.1.3 Describe how are village group leaders are accountable to the suku/aldeia population and their members;

- Leaders are not being re-elected
- Hamatak Rai: make reports, members meetings in which usage of resources is accounted for
- CBO 1: 1 accountability meeting

5.2.1.4 Describe what legitimizes their power in the village group leadership;

- Being able to read and write
- Being active in establishing groups
- Vocal, in particular when defending group's interests
- CBO 1: participation/accomplished tasks (communication style in the meeting) – being forceful, imposing

5.2.1.5 Describe how is power used/ misused in village groups;

- Applying for government projects in the name of a group, but keeping the benefits for oneself (e.g. tractors)
- Hamatak Rai: group leader selects people to test seedlings without consultation with the whole group
- 99 group rents chairs, but little transparency about where the money goes

⁸⁰DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 8_XA(notes), p.1

5.2.1.6 Describe how village groups make decisions;

- CBO 1: group leader forces decision on other members
- Other farmers' groups: consensus, but discussion lead by group leader while others are too timid to dissent, object or counter

5.2.2 Financial Management

5.2.2.1 Describe the primary sources of village group resources;

- Formal position established for a case of financial inflow (AS group)
- In other cases, no such position is established

5.2.2.2 Sources of finances

- CBO 1: a kiosk provides cash inflow; received starting capital from SEPI
- Government finances or resources contributions

5.2.2.3 Describe the planning process of financial resources;

- Community meeting held in certain cases to discuss expenditure

5.2.2.4 Describe who usually administers these resources;

- Treasurer or coordinator depending on the circumstances

5.2.2.5 Describe where these resources are stored;

- Cash kept at home after it is withdrawn from the bank. Treasurer or group leader keep the cash.
- Most of the group don't have access to a bank account

5.2.2.6 Describe how other villagers obtain information about group expenditures;

- 99 chair hire problem
 - There are supposed to be meetings which never took place

5.2.3 Collective action among groups

Villagers cooperate with a number of institutions both non-government and government and religious institutions. Their cooperation with NGOs results in various types of assistance. The Timor-Leste Red Cross (CVTL) for example implemented two water projects in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, the international NGO Child Fund assisted a number of households to build a well in their bairru. Other types of NGO assistance are provided to villagers through local community groups, which will be discussed below.

Community members participate in government sponsored activities. They vote in the elections both national and local and participate in national ceremonies. They also take part in population census, whether organised by the national or the local government. With the local census, community members visit the homes of their xefe aldeia to register members of their household. The xefe aldeia is in charge of the census in each aldeia.

The cooperation with the government institutions can emerge voluntarily or based on supervision by local leaders. Villagers initiate groups to access government assistance such as agricultural machinery, in particular tractors, and products towards farming groups. While in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, a number of households also joined together to request electricity installation in their village by the EDTL. The initiative was lead by the local xefe aldeia. In Bairro 2, the former xefe suku also compelled local farmers to form group to participate in government's duck farming project.

Members of the local community also cooperate with the Catholic Church by contributing faith-based projects. Villagers are contributing towards the construction of the regional center Diocese's first cathedral. The parish katekista is responsible for collecting the contributions. Other than this, local villagers also give contribution during mass collection on Sunday mass.

The various village groups cooperate with each other within the same type of activity engaged as well as with other groups and institutions to achieve their objectives. However, there are also groups which refuse to cooperate with each other. Their refusal is often driven by rivalry in their attempt to exert influence and control among the local villagers. Government institutions also cooperate regularly with community groups, but this type of cooperation is driven by provision of services as part of a development policy implementation.

Within business groups, there are several instances where local businesses cooperate with each other. Locally owned businesses are grouped into Bobonaro district's chamber of commerce, CCI. CCI is a government run institution. It's under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, so the local businesses have a line connecting them to government institutions. There is also cooperation between local businesses and NGOs, in particular international agencies. Hallelujah, a prominent enterprise in Bobonaro and owned by a villager from DC-3.2 have received construction contracts from ILO and CARE.

There are a number of locally established farming groups in DC-3.2. These groups also cooperate with each other. The groups Hamatak Rai and Bairro 2 II have worked together to help each other plough their rice fields. Bairro 2 and Bairro 2 also have close relationship because they are headed by the same person, Respondent 25 who is the male youth representative in the village council.

Farming groups also cooperate with government institutions including the ministry of agriculture (MAF) and Timor-Leste's commercial bank, BNCTL. The cooperation with MAF is largely conducted through the local estensionista. The estensionista provides technical assistance to farming groups and facilitate access to government assistance. Regarding financial assistance, local farming groups must cooperate closely with the estensionista to access their funds. For example, the estensionista's signature is required before farming groups can access their government aid. Furthermore, the estensionista also organises local farming groups to participate in activities outside of the suku. Another government institution is the BNCTL which holds the government cash aid before it is distributed to the farmers. However, according to the xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, some farmers in his aldeia refuse to cooperate with MAF because of a disagreement about farming methodology. Local farmers are suspicious of the farming methodology being promoted by ACIAR, an NGO which is cooperating with MAF to introduce new agricultural technologies.

Most of the youth groups in DC-3.2 concern themselves with sporting activities. The SEJD (or SSYS) has provided grants to local youths to build volleyball courts including one in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and the other in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.

The survivors of Timor-Leste's conflict including the widows and war veterans have regular cooperation with government institutions and NGOs. The cooperation usually involves the provision of aid to members of their

group. The local widows' group CBO 1 received funds from SEPI to start its own cooperative. The group also cooperates with the district and sub-district administrators to access their SEPI funds. The NGO Hakbiit which specialises in working with war widows has been providing to the Nove-Nove group including funding to DC-3.2 widows to start their own small businesses.

The local martial arts groups used to cooperate under the umbrella organisation FESTIL. However since the government issued a ban on MAG activities, the organisation has become inactive. Both KORKA and PSHT are members of the organisation in the Bobonaro district's chapter. The two local MAGs send their members to be part of FESTIL's leadership structure, a forum which they get together to cooperate and organise activities and conduct dialogue, including mediations. PSHT and KORKA have faced each other frequently in violent confrontations in the past. The two groups did not cooperate because they have been rival organisations, which controlled their own territories and members.

The government also has its own body, called KRAM, which regulates MAGs activities. Bobonaro's KRAM maintains regular contact with and cooperates with local MAGs including DC-3.2's KORKA and PSHT chapters.

The Asia Foundation established the local security institution, KPK. KPK cooperates closely with the sub-district PNLT command especially during mediation sessions. The vice-president of KPK is PNLT's district commander. Their cooperation is driven by a common goal of conflict prevention in the village.

The local branches of the national political parties also cooperate with each other during general elections. Representatives of the political parties for example would come together to sign pacts to conduct their campaign peacefully. They also cooperate during campaign period to prevent conflicts from taking place. However, there is also rivalry between the different political parties over influence and control of local villagers. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 for example, who is also the local head of CNRT party, requires other political organisation to seek authorisation from him before they can conduct their activities. According to him, everyone in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 supports the CNRT party.⁸¹

Cooperation between the parish priest and local katekista also takes place in DC-3.2. The parish of sub-district administers the smaller chapels including in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. The parish priest visits DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 once a month to conduct mass with the assistance of the local katekista. The katekista also collects money during mass collection and gives it to the parish priest. On the other hand, the parish of the sub-district funded the reconstruction of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's chapel.

There are a number of constraints to collective action. Some of these constraints include a lack of incentive with minimal overlap of activities. Weak institutional practices also lower capacity for cooperation, limiting member participation. The group Hamatak Rai for example does not seek to cooperate with other groups which do not have similar activity as its own. Their use farming techniques prescribed by MAF and don't see a particular benefit in cooperating with farmers who still maintain traditional farming practices. Members of the CBO 1 group on the other hand do not attempt to organise regularly group meetings to discuss their issues.

Distance between villagers, such as between Vila and Foho, and costs involved in communication also constraint collective action. For example the village council cannot inform villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 about issues to do with the irrigation system because of the costs involved in trying to make that contact. Some of the costs cited by xefe aldeia relate to phone calls, fuel and public transport.

⁸¹ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XA (notes)

5.2.4 *Creation and termination of groups*

The CBO 1 group was created in 2011 and then terminated in December 2012 because of mismanagement and lack of coordination and cooperation between the coordinator and group members for operating business activity.⁸²

5.2.4.1 *Describe why and how new groups are created;*

- Formed to obtain assistance from the state
 - Institutional framework
- Established by external actors to implement project/program/legislation
 - Xefe Suku has been responsible for establishing a number of groups
- CBO 1: PAAS obtained information about funding from SEPI

5.2.4.2 *Describe why and how groups are terminated.*

- Leader of the group kates off with funding; stopped meetings and communicating with other members
- After mission has been accomplished

5.3 *Explanatory cases (Village Groups)*

5.3.1 *CBO 1*

The XS Respondent 1 and Ms Lita (name changed), as a staff member of the NGO Alola Foundation initiated the creation of the group; Ms. Lita (name changed) came to Suku Office to talk with the XS. After that, the XS Respondent 1 called Ms. Respondent 15, Respondent 21 and two other local women to form the group because he had submitted the proposal to Ms. Lita (name changed). The XS chose them to build the group because they are widows and based on the observations of the XS Respondent 1 they have the ability and skill to run business activities.

CBO 1 group has built on 2011 compose with five members, but during the process only three of them were active; Ms. Respondent 15, Respondent 21 and another woman. The decision has taken by five of them to build the group; the group has proper structure, consisting of a treasurer and group coordinator. Ms. Respondent 21 informs, we preferred with small structure compose with little members, rather than big structure compose with many members, as more than five members it will make us head ache because it will be difficult for coordination between members.

Before they receive fund assistant from SEPI, the group members have contributed \$5.00-\$10.00 per each member to buy materials for making bread and pudding. They have received \$1.500 from Secretary State for Promotion and Equality (SEPI). The fund was helping the group to run business activity, such as; selling goods in the kiosk. The money was transferred by SEPI through BNU Bank on May 2012.

The group members have meeting with XS before starting the activity, the meeting has organized by XS, as XS contacts to group coordinator and she continue informs to other members for meeting, the meeting was conducting at once for a month. Base on Ms. Respondent 21 opinion, the mistake has done by the coordinator

⁸²DC-3.2_20140730_Respondent 21_CBO 1(notes), p.2

because she wants to leave the group's activity. During the meeting Respondent 21 insist to the coordinator to ask Ms. Respondent 15 to replace her to be treasurer, and Respondent 21 suggests to retired XS to add more funds for CBO 1 group.

Initially, the groups use the money to buy construction materials; stone, tin, sand, cements and *bebak* to build a kiosk, after the kiosk was constructed, they used the remainder of funds, \$698.00, to stock the kiosk and start the business. The kiosk has been looked after by the coordinator's mother.

Although the decision to build the kiosk was made by all of the group members, the coordinator decided to build the kiosk at her house because she worked hard for the group and brought the proposal to sub-district administrator, district administrator, XS and to Dili for SEPI to sign. The kiosk was built in December 2012.

The money left of CBO 1 group is \$30.00, it was in BNU bank for two years, but the money has taken by Ms. Respondent 21, aimed to build another kiosk at her home as privately but not for business group. Ms. Respondent 21 has done last visit to the kiosk on December 2012, during the visiting day, she observed the kiosk still full with goods, but currently everything is gone. Respondent 25 informs that when I ask business income to the coordinator, she's replied with nervous and angry than she' takes money braincase with amount money \$200.00 as group cash to her home.

Ms. Respondent 21 and the coordinator have quarreled because of finance issue as \$50.00 which in braincase has taken by the coordinator, in regarding with the problem XS suggest to move the kiosk to Ms. Respondent 21 house, and also the bank account of the group has changed with BNCTL by Ms. Respondent 21. Mr. Respondent 1 insists to know the money in the bank. On the other hand, SEPI come to suco office on 2013 to talk about the group business, but Ms. Respondent 21 preferred to meet with SEPI so she'll declare the group problem to them.

As known that only 3 members of the group are active to run the business activity but the rest was not active because lack of coordination to manage the money. The decision has taken collectively to buy kiosk needs in store. But Ms. Respondent 15 was not participating to buy kiosk needs, and Ms. Respondent 21 has suggested for details things as write in a letter before go to shop but Ms. Francisca did not agree. Ms. Respondent 21 informs that XS wanted to rolling the members position but because of management problem, as the coordinator has taken the money and bring to Dili than it was not realize. Ms. Respondent 21 added that XS interim doesn't know about the problem because it was responsible by XS Respondent 1.

Ms. Respondent 21 stated that if she was coordinator for the group than the group would have more progress.⁸³

5.3.2 Hamatak Rai

The group was established during the time of Indonesian occupation and is led by Mr. Respondent 3, the secretary is Justino (name changed) and the treasurer is Luis (name changed).

Mr. Respondent 3 has graduate at secondary school; he has capability and experience, so he was appointed to be group coordinator. The group has runoff since 1999 until 2004, they have continued the group on 2005 with 30 members; the group has divided with two groups as one group has composed with 15 members and another one has consists 15 members. They'll accept new member to include but the location of the member should be near with each other's so they will do monitoring and meeting coordination between them as easily, the

⁸³ DC-3.2_20140730_Respondent 21_CBO 1(notes), p.1 and 2

objective of the group is to increase the agriculture products through collective action as working together to run the farmer activity, said Respondent 3.

They have two phases activity: The first; the farmer prepare the seeds as Rice and Corn to plan during rainy season, normally before they plant the rice, they use hand tractor to cultivate the land, and the second; mostly they do it after harvested the rice of the first phase; they called it as dry season plantation, as they will plant rice, corn, and vegetables.

Unfortunately, although they have farmer group but they don't have agriculture equipment as hand tractor to operate the rice field, he informs that they just rental another hand tractor with \$80.00 per hectare. They have received support from MAF as seeds for Rice, Corn and pest, and also they have submitted proposal to MAF to request more seeds for Horticulture including seeds for rice, corn and fertilizer. The group has cooperating partner with Child fund and world vision, as they support seeds for vegetables.

There are some communities of Bairo 2 area and some of suco Neighboring suku 2 were a group to do the activities; cultivation, land operation and planting the rice, the group was coordinating with suco council. On the other hand, some member have received Maroco chicken on May 2014, as one person has received ten Maroco chicken, it was distributed by Grupus Hakiak Manu, aimed to improve family needs, said Mr. Respondent 3, he informs that Mr. Respondent 28 (agriculture extension for suco DC-3.2) is supervising and monitor the agriculture activity in the area. In regarding with the new method which applied by MAF as ICRI for rice cultivation, Mr. Joao added that it was good because it has increased rice production as 3-4 metric tons per hectare, compare with before when we used old method, it will be 1-2 metric tons per hectare.⁸⁴

5.4 Formation of village governance (Specific explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

5.4.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

Members of uma-lisan Clan 1 and Clan 2 have always held the positions of xefe suku. Current xefe suku, Respondent 2 is from Clan 2 while Respondent 1, the retired xefe suku, belongs to Clan 1. In the Indonesian period, one of Respondent 1's uncle had been the xefe suku. The xefe aldeias are also held by members of these uma-lisan: Clan 2 (DC-3.2-Aldeia 3), Clan 3 (DC-3.2-Aldeia 1), Clan 4 (DC-3.2-Aldeia 2) and Clan 5 (DC-3.2-Aldeia 4). With the rest of the village council membership, except for the male youth representative who comes from an immigrant community originally from Atsabe, all other council members come from one of DC-3.2's uma-lisan. Women are also excluded from the position as xefe, of both suku and aldeia, since only a woman's son is eligible for these roles.

The selection of the pakote to complete in the first official suku election was made by the xefe suku.

The head of the list, i.e. the candidate for the xefe suku, was selected by the traditional leaders of the uma-lisan. Then the xefe suku candidate selects his team. Apart from the criteria the xefe aldeias must come from the uma-lisan already referenced, the selection also tend to fall on individuals who are already holding the position. The xefe current xefe aldeias have held their positions for decades, as far back as early 1980s; and generally the incumbents only replaced a male relative who relinquished that position either through death or retirement.

⁸⁴DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 3_Cor Hamatak Rai Group(notes), p.1 and 2

Then, for the rest of the village council membership, the lead candidate selects individuals from other uma-lisan which have not been represented in the group.

The sons of female members of the uma-lisan are also elected to lead the community as uma-ulun.⁸⁵

- People have been holding the positions for a long period of time (since Indonesian period)
- People with leadership skills or experience
- Resistance fighters, participation in resistance
- Member of CNRT
- Literacy is not important

5.4.1.1 What are their leadership styles? (participatory vs. non-participatory)

Not participatory (Respondent 1). Decision imposed by governance members. Authoritative authoritarian, xefe suco Respondent 1 he's evil as he is shouting community when they ask assistant for elderly, even he said you don't eat food at home. On the other hand, he has strong voice so the people afraid to meet with him, and also he is not transparent for decision making.⁸⁶

Sense of ownership of the position and the power that comes with it, e.g. XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, he held meeting with community to identify and discuss about the aldeia needs, as he prepared the proposal for road construction, after the proposal approved, the road construction implemented, it was employed the villagers of the aldeia. On the other hand, he organize the community meeting to ask the community contribution and participation for electricity installation, after that the project implement, than currently the community of the area are access with electricity power.⁸⁷

Proactive leadership in identifying problems and their solutions, in regarding with the clean water problem in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, xefe suco interim, Mr. Respondent 2, prepare the proposal and submit to local development program (PDL), aimed to use money left of PDL with amount \$4000.00 to rehabilitate three well spring sources, after the proposal get approval, he selected the builder and worker to rehabilitate the well spring, the rehabilitation with duration two months completed. On the other hand, he organized the community of aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 DC-3.2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 Neighboring suku 1 to give the contribution and participate for construction the IOB Bridge.⁸⁸

- Not participatory (Respondent 1). Decision imposed by governance members. Authoritative authoritarian.
- Sense of ownership of the position and the power that comes with it, e.g. XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 1

⁸⁵ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes), p. 1

⁸⁶ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 16_CommunityMember(Notes), p.2

⁸⁷ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XA(Notes), p.3

⁸⁸ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(Notes), p.5

- Proactive leadership in identifying problems and their solutions

5.4.1.2 *Describe the election process of the village council and other governance institutions;*

Pakote formation, the selection for members of the pakote was made by xefe suco candidate in consultation by the uma lisan. The candidate chooses individuals who he thinks who can have good relationship with and respects the xefe suco's orders. But nowadays, everything operates according to the democratic process. The democratic process and the traditional process complement each other. There is no contradiction between the two processes. Community leadership system is based on the cultural system. The other, formal administrative system is part of state bureaucracy. So they must correspond to each other. But even if it's a democratic system. If someone wants to be a candidate, and after he's elected, he must report to the two uma-fukun (Clan 1 and Clan 2) to seek authorization. If not, we won't survive. He can be assured of this. He May only last three months, then he'll be gone. We respect the democratic system. If someone else wants to become the xefe suco, that is welcomed. But he must seek authorization.⁸⁹

Members selected from uma-lisan, when the government issues a letter informing about the start of the process, then they organize a meeting in the suco council, the 12 uma lisan is then invited to a meeting to ask them about their opinion. The representative of the uma lisan will make their suggestion. Then they will consult with each other to come up with the names of the candidates.⁹⁰

Difficult for immigrants to make the list without tacit support from the natives, it is not mean that the suco council member should come from 12 uma lisan of DC-3.2, but it could be for another people as immigrants, but after selected him to be candidate, the negotiation should be done with the 12 uma lisan representatives for approval.

Suku council formally elected but requires support from traditional structure, as from the lia nain of uma lisan. Leaders preselected, limited to a select number of uma-lisan.

- Pakote formation
 - Members selected from uma-lisan
 - Difficult for immigrants to make the list without tacit support from the natives
- Suku council formally elected but requires support from traditional structure
 - Leaders preselected, limited to a select number of uma-lisan

5.4.1.3 *How are local power holders accountable to the suku/aldeia population?*

Elections, normally the suco council position will determine through election process, but the 12 uma lisan and its community will have meeting to present the candidate to compete for election. There will be nomination, if some of suco council member has health problem as illness or death, but the process will through suco meeting and the represent of 12 uma lisan will attend the meeting for decision making as an example, the interim xefe suco he has replaced the xefe suco retired as he has stroke.

⁸⁹ DC-2.3_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired(Notes), p.4

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.5

Informing the population as form of accountability. In regarding with the suco council meetings, after the meeting, xefe suco asks to all xefe aldeias to disseminate the information about the meeting to community so the community will know what we have talked during suco council meeting.

Villagers contact XS to report the performance of their xefe aldeias or other members of the village council.⁹¹ The xefe suku also added that he had contacted the traditional leaders of DC-3.2 about the possible replacements of a number of village council members, including some xefe aldeias.

*We must have change. We must have renewal. We cannot continue to use the same person in that position. If we keep using the same person in the position, and the person is not innovative, then we would stand to lose a lot. The suku will lose out in the area of development.*⁹²

In fact, he would like to have the women's representatives, both of youth representatives, the ansiaun and the lia-na'in, replaced. Some of the xefe aldeias would also be removed, in particular DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, and DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. His decision was made according to the information he received from members of the community.

Public meeting as form of accountability and transparency, normally the meeting will participate by the suco council members and the community within aldeia of the suco. If the meeting held in aldeia level, it will organize by xefe aldeia, as he will invite the community and will chair the meeting. On the other hand, if the meeting will hold at suco level, it will organize by xefe suco, as he instructed the xefe aldeia to invite the community to attend the meeting.

Community groups invited to participate in meetings, xefe suco retired, Mr. Respondent 1 organized meeting with CBO 1 group, the meeting was about CBO 1 business activity in general, and the challenge and achievement of group.

- Elections
- Informing the population as form of accountability – SC meetings
- Villagers contact XS about the performance of their Xefe Aldeia or other members of the SC
- Public meeting as form of accountability and transparency
- Community groups invited to participate in meetings

5.4.1.4 *What legitimizes their power in the local governance structures?*

- Elections
- Traditional power structure: XS and XAs come from a select number of uma-lisan
- Length of period in position, instill ownership, irreplaceability
- Leadership style and character, ownership of power
- XS receives veterans' pension
 - But XS had been in a sense a collaborator during the Indonesian period. He had been the Xefe Suku and also member of the local council, itself a powerful symbol of Indonesian authority. He was part of the Indonesian establishment. Then, following the referendum violence, he took refuge in Indonesia unlike other pro-independence activists who went to the mountains. Respondent 1

⁹¹ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes)

⁹² DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes), p. 7

also returned much later after independence. Yet he was preferred instead of Olivio (name changed), who was once a senior leader in the resistance movement.

5.4.1.5 How power in local governance structures is used/misused in the village?

- Xefe Suku
 - Misuse
 - Tractors and rice millers distributed among the Xefe Suku and the Xefe Aldeias
 - XS also beneficiary of duckling projects
 - Use
 - Helps villagers to apply for government grants
 - Facilitate group formation
 - Maintain accountability of groups
 - Maintain accountability and responsibility of members of Suku Council
 - Nominate Suku Council members in the pakote
- Xefe Aldeia
 - Helps community members solve problems, mediation
 - Inform villagers about events, etc.
 - Collect household details for Suku census
 - Block other groups (political parties,) from setting up in the village organizations

5.4.1.6 Who makes what decisions in the village? (Describe who participates and who doesn't)

- XS and XA selects people to participate in projects
- XS calls the meetings

5.4.1.7 Describe what and how often decisions are made in the village council;

- SC meets once a month but since May, meetings have been disorganized. Various members of the Suku Council have different recollection about SC activity. Whether the SC had been conducting their regular monthly meeting is difficult to ascertain.

5.4.1.8 How are these decisions made?

- Suku meeting always decide by XS
- XS Respondent 1 decides the meeting for CBO 1 group

5.4.2 Financial Management

5.4.2.1 Describe primary sources of funding for the village council;

- Receive subsidy from MAET (State Administration)
 - \$125/month of which \$60 is provided to XS to be used towards maintenance of, and fuel for his motorbike. PAAS keeps the remainder.
- Village Xefe and PAAS manage the money
- Salary:
 - PAAS - \$115

- XS - \$165
 - XA – incentives of \$45
- Also receive money from government agencies or ministries to organize activities related to these bodies.
- Traditional structures of power
 - Households contributed \$500 for Clan 1's uma-lisan construction

5.4.2.2 *Who is in charge of managing the village funding?*

- PAAS withdraws the money from the bank and manages the funds. She pays the salary or insentivu of the village council members and plans the expenditure for the suku's operations. However funds for the maintenance of the xefe suku's motorbike is handed to the xefe suku.
- Traditional system – lia-na'in in charge of overseeing the expenditure but a woman who guards the house keeps the money. For public projects, a female member of the uma-lisan keeps the money. Respondent 22 keeps the money for construction of Clan 1's uma-lisan.

5.4.2.3 *Where are the funds stored?*

- Cash is kept with PAAS at her house
- Traditional system – cash is kept by a woman; in the case of Clan 1, cash was kept by a businesswoman.

5.4.2.4 *What are primary expenditures of the local governance structure;*

- Maintenance and fuel for XS's motorbike constitute nearly half of SC's monthly funding
- The other half is used for administrative purposes such as photocopying, etc.
- PAAS also use the funds to pay for transportation
- Pay for official visits
- Traditional governance – construction, ceremonies, celebrations

5.4.2.5 *How are these expenditures monitored?*

- PAAS reports to the Suku Council

5.4.2.6 *How do other villagers know about these expenditures?*

- Villagers don't know about these expenditures. There is general institutional disconnect between the Suku Council and the general public.

5.4.3 *Collective action among groups*

Villagers cooperate with a number of institutions both non-government and government and religious institutions. Their cooperation with NGOs results in various types of assistance. The Timor-Leste Red Cross (CVTL) for example implemented two water projects in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, the international NGO Child Fund assisted a number of households to build a well in their bairru. Other types of NGO assistance are provided to villagers through local community groups, which will be discussed below.

Community members participate in government sponsored activities. They vote in the elections both national and local and participate in national ceremonies. They also take part in population census, whether organised by the national or the local government. With the local census, community members visit the homes of their xefe aldeia to register members of their household. The xefe aldeia is in charge of the census in each aldeia.

The cooperation with the government institutions can emerge voluntarily or based on supervision by local leaders. Villagers initiate groups to access government assistance such as agricultural machinery, in particular tractors, and products towards farming groups. While in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, a number of households also joined together to request electricity installation in their village by the EDTL. The initiative was lead by the local xefe aldeia. In Bairro 2, the former xefe suku also compelled local farmers to form group to participate in government's duck farming project.

Members of the local community also cooperate with the Catholic Church by contributing faith-based projects. Villagers are contributing towards the construction of regional center Diocese's first cathedral. The parish katekista is responsible for collecting the contributions. Other than this, local villagers also give contribution during mass collection on Sunday mass.

The various village groups cooperate with each other within the same type of activity engaged as well as with other groups and institutions to achieve their objectives. However, there are also groups which refuse to cooperate with each other. Their refusal is often driven by rivalry in their attempt to exert influence and control among the local villagers. Government institutions also cooperate regularly with community groups, but this type of cooperation is driven by provision of services as part of a development policy implementation.

Within business groups, there are several instances where local businesses cooperate with each other. Locally owned businesses are grouped into Bobonaro district's chamber of commerce, CCI. CCI is a government run institution. It's under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, so the local businesses have a line connecting them to government institutions. There is also cooperation between local businesses and NGOs, in particular international agencies. Hallelujah, a prominent enterprise in Bobonaro and owned by a villager from DC-3.2 have received construction contracts from ILO and CARE.

There are a number of locally established farming groups in DC-3.2. These groups also cooperate with each other. The groups Hamatak Rai and Bairro 2 group have worked together to help each other plough their rice fields. Bairro 2 group I and Bairro 2 group II also have close relationship because they are headed by the same person, Respondent 25 who is the male youth representative in the village council.

Farming groups also cooperate with government institutions including the ministry of agriculture (MAF) and Timor-Leste's commercial bank, BNCTL. The cooperation with MAF is largely conducted through the local estensionista. The estensionista provides technical assistance to farming groups and facilitate access to government assistance. Regarding financial assistance, local farming groups must cooperate closely with the estensionista to access their funds. For example, the estensionista's signature is required before farming groups can access their government aid. Furthermore, the estensionista also organises local farming groups to participate in activities outside of the suku. Another government institution is the BNCTL which holds the government cash aid before it is distributed to the farmers. However, according to the xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, some farmers in his aldeia refuse to cooperate with MAF because of a disagreement about farming methodology. Local farmers are suspicious of the farming methodology being promoted by ACIAR, an NGO which is cooperating with MAF to introduce new agricultural technologies.

Most of the youth groups in DC-3.2 concern themselves with sporting activities. The SEJD (or SSYS) has provided grants to local youths to build volleyball courts including one in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and the other in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.

The survivors of Timor-Leste's conflict including the widows and war veterans have regular cooperation with government institutions and NGOs. The cooperation usually involves the provision of aid to members of their

group. The local widows' group CBO 1 received funds from SEPI to start its own cooperative. The group also cooperates with the district and sub-district administrators to access their SEPI funds. The NGO Hakbiit which specialises in working with war widows has been providing to the Nove-Nove group including funding to DC-3.2 widows to start their own small businesses.

The local martial arts groups used to cooperate under the umbrella organisation FESTIL. However since the government issued a ban on MAG activities, the organisation has become inactive. Both KORKA and PSHT are members of the organisation in the Bobonaro district's chapter. The two local MAGs send their members to be part of FESTIL's leadership structure, a forum which they get together to cooperate and organise activities and conduct dialogue, including mediations. PSHT and KORKA have faced each other frequently in violent confrontations in the past. The two groups did not cooperate because they have been rival organisations, which controlled their own territories and members.

The government also has its own body, called KRAM, which regulates MAGs activities. Bobonaro's KRAM maintains regular contact with and cooperates with local MAGs including DC-3.2's KORKA and PSHT chapters.

The NGO The Asia Foundation established the local security institution, KPK. KPK cooperates closely with the sub-district PNLT command especially during mediation sessions. The vice-president of KPK is PNLT's district commander. Their cooperation is driven by a common goal of conflict prevention in the village.

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Cooperation between the parish priest and local katekista also takes place in DC-3.2. The parish of the sub-district administers the smaller chapels including in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. The parish priest visits DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 once a month to conduct mass with the assistance of the local katekista. The katekista also collects money during mass collection and gives it to the parish priest. On the other hand, the parish of the sub-district funded the reconstruction of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's chapel.

There are a number of constraints to collective action. Some of these constraints include a lack of incentive with minimal overlap of activities. Weak institutional practices also lower capacity for cooperation, limiting member participation. The group Hamatak Rai for example does not seek to cooperate with other groups which do not have similar activity as its own. Their use farming techniques prescribed by MAF and don't see a particular benefit in cooperating with farmers who still maintain traditional farming practices. Members of the CBO 1 group on the other hand do not attempt to organise regularly group meetings to discuss their issues.

Distance between villagers, such as between Vila and Foho, and costs involved in communication also constraint collective action. For example the village council cannot inform villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 about issues to do with the irrigation system because of the costs involved in trying to make that contact. Some of the costs cited by xefe aldeia relate to phone calls, fuel and public transport.

⁹³ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XA (notes)

5.4.4 *Communication strategies*

There are a number of ways to socialize village decisions. Villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 reported the use of loudspeakers as a means to communicate information. The xefe aldeias have been seen going around the street shouting on the loudspeaker. But the use of loudspeaker was connected with the call on villagers to participate in clean up activities around the village. However this is not the most effective way because it only allows for coverage around a small part of the village. Community members in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 who live in bairrus such as Bairro 1 never witnessed the xefe aldeia visiting their area to make announcements this way.

Xefe aldeias also go house to house to communicate with their constituency. According to the current xefe suku, each xefe aldeia is aware of his individual community member's address. Decisions on suku clean up activities and the village census are also announced this way with the xefe aldeia visiting households in his aldeia.

In DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 however, village leaders have been depending on their appointed representatives who live locally. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 for example usually calls these appointees to make announcements. They then inform the households under their watch. There is one appointee for each bairru to help the xefe aldeia. The xefe suku also has an appointee who lives in Bairro 3 to undertake similar task.

Between members of the village council, the village secretary usually sends out letters to inform them about activities. However the village council also uses telephone in some circumstances, specially when she has to organize urgent meetings.

The current xefe suku also mentioned the use of the sub-district community radio as a medium to communicate with his community.

However some of the xefe aldeias are constrained by a lack of adequate resources to facilitate their communication. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 is in a particularly difficult situation owing to the fact that he doesn't himself live among his community. He explained that he could not call villagers every time to provide information because he only receives a limited amount of cash from the government to carry out his work. Furthermore, travel to DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 itself involves costs which he cannot afford even after taking into account his *insentivu*.⁹⁴ The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 also made a similar complaint about difficulties he faces when he performs his work because of limited resources.

Villagers who live in other sukus, as exemplified by the former xefe suku, are also passed over in this process of communication. The former xefe suku, after having retired from his position, rarely receives information from his xefe aldeia as he lived in a different suku.⁹⁵

For the uma-lisan, communication is conducted through word of mouth. For example, to convene a meeting of members of Clan 1's uma-lisan, the uma-ulun sent out young men to spread the word. These young men are acquainted with community. They would either visit the households or pass the word on to someone who is close to the families. For families who live outside of the village, or outside of the sub-district and even overseas, the telephone is the most preferred medium of communication.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 8_XA (notes)

⁹⁵ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes), p. 8

⁹⁶ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes), p. 5

5.4.4.1 *Describe the village satisfaction with the village governance institutions*

Villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 generally unhappy with their xefe aldeia. Villagers have told the former xefe suku about this.⁹⁷

- Members of the village council, in particular the youth and women's reps, are seen as lazy, passive and ineffective
- Lack of transparency
- XS berate/scream at people
- XA doesn't visit people often
- Interim XS: some XAs are lazy
- XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 1: Youth reps are lazy and passive
- XA's alternate members are inactive
- Missing tractors (e.g. Respondent 15)
- Former XS withheld resources for his own
- Current XS too young

5.5. Explanatory cases (Village governance)

5.4.1 *Suku council*

They've meeting which participated by 12 uma lisan representatives of suco DC-3.2, during the meeting they ask each other and appoint XS candidate to compete the election for XS, the candidate conditions: the candidate should be intelligence, should be represent for man and woman, should be background of Clan 1 and Clan 2 uma lisan, as current XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. Suco council should come from 12 uma lisan, it same apply to suplente, it will possible from another uma lisan but should be authorized by uma fukun and the person should have good ability. There is a key elements of DC-3.2 village; youth representative, Women rep, lia nain and anciao.

XS election process

There were 3 candidates who competed in 2007 for the Xefe Suku position

1. Mr. Claudio (name changed) (former nurep/suco chief of UNTAETperiod);
2. Mr. Respondent 1, current chefe suco;
3. Mr. Respondent 2, Interim chefe suco;

After the election Mr. Respondent 1 has won the election with majority because the community have knew him and he has leadership experience since Indonesia time and also because he was from Clan 1 uma Lisan, said XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, Mr. Respondent 7.

The XS interim informed that XA of DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, they have executed good job because they have intelligence to solve direct the population's problem. But for aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 XA was not perform well because he was lived at DC-3.2 vila and his population live in mountain of aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.

⁹⁷ DC-3.2_20140802_Respondent 1_XSRetired (notes), p. 7

The people from another uma lisan are worry to be village chief because of karma law and it will cause to die.

SC of suco DC-3.2:

- XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 1: Respondent 6
- XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 4: Respondent 14
- XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 3: Respondent 8
- XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 2: Respondent 7
- Ansiao
- Women representative
- Youth representative
- Lia nain

Suco council should come from 12 uma lisan, it same apply to suplente, it will be possible from another uma lisan but should be authorized by uma fukun and the person should have good ability. There are key elements of DC-3.2 village; Youth Representative, Women Rep, Lia Nain and Anciao.

The condition to be Lia Nain: Has knowledge about 12 Uma Lisan, good relationship with Ansiao, should know to do lia Dadoli(crow) and should know the history of uma fukun. Pakote process should include uma fukun and obey to law. Mr. Filipe (name changed) has to be Ansiao because he knows the culture and he has good relation with other uma fukun.

The condition for women representative: Should be smart and have secondary diploma, which are more active during suco activity.

As an example; Ms. Respondent 15 has an experience since Indonesian time as secretary, she was smart and Ms. Fatima (name changed) was an active staff at women group, Church, and also she was active within suco and aldeia. The decision should approved by national through MAOET, if xefe suco or suco council want to choose somebody to replace the suco council member.

Ansiao could be come from another uma lisan as who was lived for long time in the village but Lia Nain should come from Clan 1 and Clan 2. On the other hand, the youth representative should come from 12 uma lisan of suco DC-3.2. The village has two times meeting for a month.⁹⁸

5.4.2 Uma-lisan Clan 1

Compelled by local customs associated, the building destroyed in 1999, and then temporarily repaired through UN assistance for construction materials as an emergency. Regularly reconstructed, as part of local customs. Economic and political situation improved. Uma ulun call all household of Clan 1 invited to participated.

Customary to prioritize for word of mouth before other means, Uma ulun sends young people who live near Uma Lisan to participate show up at the meeting, they have met 3 times, in 3 separate evenings and the decision made for as part of local customs to periodically rebuild Uma Lisan(Lia Mutin) calculation of the cost established then divided to all households, member contribution established, everyone at meeting consulted and agreed by consensus, word of mouth, telephone, messengers, used to inform villagers.

Household members have to one year to save up, for those household who live close they have to contribute first; those that live far will be last to contribute, the various methods to of sending money, including bank

⁹⁸DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(notes), p.1

transfer for. Culturally, woman in charge of community assets; businesswoman better at managing money, so the contribution give to Ms. Respondent 18 as treasurer member, after contribution collected Uma Ulun sent *badaen* or artisan to check prices in the shop, *badaen* or artisan should have experience in building and they go to buy the materials.

Materials transported, other materials brought in on a needs basis, depending on stage, the household members turn up to the construction, according to local custom no machinery used in laying of foundation, bare hands or basic. During planting season, villagers tend to their fields so the fund end then the construction will continue again when the planting season ends, and more contribution arrives. After the project completed the inauguration ceremony to mark completion. Uma lisan constructed using modern materials and design.⁹⁹

6 Public goods

6.1 Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

A number of public projects were identified in DC-3.2. These projects cover various facilities including district governance, education, power, road communication, water and sanitation, agriculture, religious, and recreational. Many of the district governance projects, composed primarily by office facilities, were built during the Indonesian period and undertook rehabilitation and repairs after independence. The rehabilitation and repair projects were carried out largely by district and central governments with little input from the local community. Most of the public projects targeted at local community included education and agricultural facilities and road and communication. Faith-based projects were also identified. A number of the local projects were community driven and funded. A summary of these village infrastructure projects is outlined next:

6.1.1 Agricultural projects

- **Repairs to irrigation system in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.** The system is used to channel water to rice fields in Field 2. It was financed by SEFOPE and implemented by a contractor after 2008. The project was completed.
- **DC-3.2-Aldeia 2's irrigation system.** This project was constructed by the Indonesian government but underwent repairs in 2008. It is located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 and channels water to rice fields in Field 1.

6.1.2 Education projects

- **Primary School (public school).** This project is located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, on the same ground as the sede suku. It was completed in 2012 as an emergency project to house students who were being relocated from another facility when it was transformed into the regional center's reference school. (Students were first sent to a school in neighbouring suku Neighboring suku 3 before finally relocated to another location)
- **Eskola Referência (public reference school).** This school provides Portuguese language curriculum to the district for all primary education. The building was constructed during the Indonesian period and was used as the local primary school before it was refitted as the district reference school. The project was completed in 2011 and is located near the sede suku in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.

⁹⁹DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNainnotes, p.2

- **Eskola Filiál DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.** This is the only school in DC-3.2 Foho and provides education to children between grades 1 and 3. The project was completed in 2005.
- **Secondary School (SMA1).** The building was constructed during the Indonesian period with rehabilitation undertaken in 2008. It provides secondary education to all students in the sub-district.

6.1.3 Water and sanitation

- **Public toilet next to primary school.** This project, located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, was constructed through the assistance of Rotary Club and an Australian municipality. It was constructed through cooperation with the village council and another local NGO, RHTO. The project provides public toilet facility to the local primary school and was completed following the construction of the São José primary school.
- **Water tanks in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.** The water tanks in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 were constructed through the assistance of CVTL. One was built in 2004 in Bairro 3, the other was built in 2013 in Bairro 5. Both projects provide access to tapped water to villagers in these bairrus.
- **Water well in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1.** This project was funded by Child Fund to facilitate water access to a number of households in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1. It was completed in 2013.

6.1.4 Road communication

- **Bridge in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.** This community driven project was completed in June of 2014. The aim of the project was to rebuild a bridge on a key road in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.
- **Aldeia road in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1.** This road project began during Indonesian period and was completed in 2014 however it is yet to be sealed with asphalt. The road connects villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 to the regional center's main road network. The 2014 upgrade of the road came complete with roadside drainage system and retaining walls. It was a government funded project and implemented by a contractor.
- **Retaining wall in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.** The retaining wall was built around 2013 as a means to repair part of the road, which had fallen off. It was constructed by the government but is currently in a crumbling state.

6.1.5 Electricity

- **Installation of power lines in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1.** This was a community driven project involving 10 local households. The aim of the project was to repair and connect power to houses along DC-3.2-Aldeia 1's aldeia road. It was completed in 2007 through cooperation with EDTL.
- **Óleu pezadu tower in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.** This is a nationwide project, referred locally as óleu pezadu, by the central government to distribute power throughout the country. The main electrical towers passed through DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and were constructed around 2012.
- **Electricity grid connection to DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.** This project delivers electrical power to villagers in DC-3.2 Foho for the first time. The project was completed in early 2014.

6.1.6 Market facilities

- **Mini markets in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.** The government has built a number of market facilities to assist local economic activities. The project included two minimarkets, one in Bairro 6 and the other in Bairro 7. A bus stop was also constructed near the Bairro 6 minimarket. Although the projects were completed in 2009, only Bairro 7's minimarket is operational. The minimarket in Bairro 6 is largely abandoned.

6.1.7 Recreational facilities

- **Volleyball courts in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.** This project was implemented by the SEJD in collaboration with local communities. The project is part of SEJD's youth development program (PDJ) and provides funds for local youth groups to build recreational facilities, including sports fields. Both projects were completed between 2009 and 2010. As part of the same project, youths from the two aldeias also had the choice to implement smaller public projects. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, the local youth group in charge of the project built a drainage system in Bairro 3 while in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, a public toilet was chosen.

6.1.8 Faith-based projects

- **Catholic chapel in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3.** This project was built through the cooperation between local parishioners lead by their katekista and the parish of the sub-district. Through the project, an existing chapel in Bairro 4 was rehabilitated. The project was completed in 2014.
- **Protestant church in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2.** The church was first built in 1996, during the Indonesian period. It's regional center's main Protestant church and services the local district community. It was renovated in 2006.

6.1.9 Government buildings and other facilities

- **Bobonaro Municipality office.** This project is located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 and was completed in 2012 to house Bobonaro's administrative office.
- **Customs building.** Located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, it was built in the Indonesian period as the customs' office. Today the building continues to serve the same purpose for Bobonaro district government.
- **Land and Property offices.** The offices are based in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2. The building was built in the Indonesian period. It is currently undergoing rehabilitated and is being used as the district's department of land and property.
- **MAF department building.** The Indonesians also built this building. It underwent rehabilitation a few years after independence and currently houses the ministry of agriculture. It is located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2.
- **STAE.** Indonesian era building and located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.
- **Fire brigade building.** Indonesian era building, rehabilitated in mid 2010.
- **CVTL building.** Also located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2, this building was constructed in the Indonesian period.
- **Referral Hospital.** Bobonaro's main hospital, the facility was built in 2008. It is located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2.
- **Office of the department of the environment.** This building is also located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2. It was built in the early 2000. Currently the facility is underused and is being staffed only by a single worker.
- **Sede suku.** The sede suku is located in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 and was built in 2007 as part of central government's program to provide office facilities for local government.

6.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1 Project selection and decision-making process

Community driven and funded projects are usually identified by local villagers. Identification can arise from a longstanding issue such as bad road conditions, or needs, including access to basic facilities such as water and

electricity. The process began with people realizing the impact of the existing situation on their lives and then decided to take action. A respondent who participated in the construction of a small bridge in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 summed up the process in the following way:

Everyone had the same opinion because the ojek, cars, and hand drawn carts to transport rice, had to use a long detour. So everyone put their thoughts together that this bridge needs to be (repaired).¹⁰⁰

After identifying the project, active community members obtain approval or endorsement from others to pursue construction. With the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge, they approached both the xefe aldeia and the xefe suku who then organized a local meeting to discuss and decide on the way forward. There was dissent during the meeting but it was swiftly eliminated and with threat of violence because of the popularity of the project:

There was only one goal. The xefe suku and the communities around this neighbourhood were one in their decision to fixt this (bridge).¹⁰¹

As for the dissenter, the message was plain and clear:

If you don't want to (take part in the project), then you shouldn't talk. If you talk we will beat you up right now.¹⁰²

With the DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 water well project, a group of individual households contacted a local villager who was also an employee of the NGO Child Fund. Members of the households had come up with a decision to build a well then contacted the NGO Child Fund, facilitated by the NGO employee, to fund the project.

However, there is a slight variation to this process as well where a powerful community member, sensing the need for a particular project in the area, takes it upon himself to organize other villagers to work towards responding to this need. The upgrade of the power cables in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 followed this process where the xefe aldeia organized a number of households to be involved in this project.

We didn't get together to have a meeting. We just talked about it face to face. I went to the families to explain (the project) and asked their opinions. So, first they just asked each other for opinions. They didn't get together (as a group). They went to other families to talk about it.¹⁰³

Customary institutions such as the uma-lisan or the Catholic Church identify their projects based on traditions and norms. Uma-lulik needs to be repaired or rebuilt periodically as part of the *lia-mutin*, and suku must have their own chapels. In both cases, the heads of the institution, the uma-ulun or the katekista, made the decision and called members of their institutions to meet and plan for the way ahead.¹⁰⁴ When villagers decided to rebuild the uma-lulik Clan 1, the uma-ulun held a 3-day meeting with all family members. With the renovation of the DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 chapel, which had been crumbling and fell out of use, the katekista called up a meeting with local villagers to announce the decision.

Government projects are usually supply-driven. The government makes the decision and then community representatives are invited to implement it. An example of this process involves the SEJD's youth development program (Programa Dezenvolvimentu Juventude), which constructed volleyball courts in both DC-3.2-Aldeia

¹⁰⁰ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 4_Farmer (notes), p. 1

¹⁰¹ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 4_Farmer (notes), p. 1

¹⁰² DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 4_Farmer (notes), p. 2

¹⁰³ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 1 (notes), p. 3

¹⁰⁴ DC-3.2_20140801_Respondent 26_Farmer (notes);

4 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. The SEJD selected the projects without consultation with local villagers and then invited the village council to implement them.

There is very little cooperation with external actors in the project selection process. Cooperation in this process only occurs when the project either requires external assistance or because an external actor governed the local institutions. The village council, through the sub-district, has formed a linkage with an Australian city. As part of this linkage, both institutions cooperated to select a project for the village that included the construction of a public toilet for primary school. The rehabilitation of the DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 chapel also required cooperation with the parish of the sub-district as the body which governs the local church institution.

6.2.2 Project planning

With community driven projects, planning and implementation happen at the same time. After the project has been selected, the key member of the community develops a general concept. Then initial materials are obtained and construction begins.

A leader, formal or traditional, usually leads the planning of the construction process. The xefe suku has been key in leading this process for a number of projects.¹⁰⁵ The xefe organized the workers, cash and materials towards the construction of the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge. The xefe also selected teams, called KIK-J (komisaun implementasaun komunitária – juventude) to manage the implementation of SEJD's volleyball courts in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 3. With the reconstruction of Clan 1's uma-lulik, the lia-na'in was in charge of a loose committee of family members to implement the project while the katekista and the parish priest planned for the recruitment of workers.

Funding for government projects is provided by the government but managed by a structure set up locally by the village council. For example, with the construction of the volleyball court in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, a treasurer was also appointed as part of their local KIK-J. A similar process also took place in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4. The construction of DC-3.2's sede suku also followed a similar process, except that the implementation was carried out by the village council. In the case of the volleyball court projects, the government through SEJD provided \$5,000 for DC-3.2 village. The village council was in charge of the fund and released it to the KIK-J in each aldeia. The xefe suku was in charge of managing the funds and he provided \$1,500 to DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's KIK-J to implement the project.

For community driven projects, funding can be sourced through various means including public contribution, donation from project's users and assistance from external actors. Contribution from ordinary villagers is largely symbolic. The powerful community members make the most substantial contribution. Contribution from ordinary road users to the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge project for example only totaled around \$20. Most of the materials however came from a number of local businesses and public servants who provided transport vehicles and other construction material including cement, sand and stone.

External actors were also sought to assist in the construction of these community projects. The xefe suku contacted the department of public works for assistance in the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge project and received steel, which was used to reinforce the construction. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, a number of households engaged the NGO Child Fund, which wholly funded the construction of their water well. Similarly, the local parish church funded DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's chapel rehabilitation with only some symbolic contribution by local parishioners.

¹⁰⁵ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 14_XA DC-3.2-Aldeia 4(notes)

However, some projects are community-funded and without external assistance. They include the electricity project in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 and the construction of Clan 1's uma-lulik. Contribution towards this project came through community contribution where a single amount was specified for every member. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, every household that received electricity from the project donated \$30 while with Clan 1's uma-lulik, each family paid \$500. Deadlines were also set as to when the cash donations needed to be forwarded in total. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, a date was set for the villagers to meet with ED'TL when each household paid their contribution. With Clan 1's uma-lulik, the uma-ulun gave villagers a year to come up with their quota.

Construction materials for most of the projects are sourced locally, whether purchased at the local stores or obtained freely from the existing sources, in particular materials such as sand and stone. In fact, materials such as sand and stone are obtained for free because they exist naturally. Villagers only pay for transport, especially when the source is located far away. With smaller projects which required smaller amount of these basic materials, they can be sourced nearby avoiding transport costs. The DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, the project covering the chapel, the volleyball court and the storm water drain acquired most of their basic materials from a nearby rocky outcrop.

6.2.3 Project implementation

Community driven projects generally rely on community members, in particular those who stand to benefit from the project, to carry out the construction work as volunteers. Villagers participate in the construction work because of a personal connection to the projects, whether because the projects responded to a particular community need or because the community owned the projects. A villager in DC-3.2-Aldeia 2 volunteered for the construction of the local Protestant church because, as he said, "[t]he church belonged to all of us".¹⁰⁶ In Bairo 3, another villager volunteered to help install the local water tank because it was his duty to do it, as the project helped him to access potable water:

*Because I was happy (for the project). The state is helping us, so we have to help the state. Otherwise we have to drink dirty water.*¹⁰⁷

Construction projects such as the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge, the power cables and water well in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, or Clan 1's uma-lulik, also relied on the voluntary contribution by local members of the community. However, the scale of participation depends of the type of facilities being produced. For example, as a public facility, the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge construction and the power cable installations in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 attracted anyone who lived close and/or used the facilities. Projects which produced private facilities, such as the water well in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 or Clan 1's uma-lulik, attracted only individuals who used the facility or a members of a particular group. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, only households which requested the well to be constructed participated in the construction. Families who belong to the Clan 1 uma-lisan also participated in the construction.

However, community volunteerism is more difficult to attract for projects financed by an external actor, including large institutions such as the government or the Catholic church. The construction process in these projects are meant to involve both volunteers and paid workers. However, villagers are less willing to take part in this type of arrangement, in particular as volunteers, even through the project produced a public facility open to everyone's use. According to one of the leaders of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's KIK-J, villagers did not want contribute

¹⁰⁶ DC-3.2_20140728_Respondent 19_Unemployed (notes), p. 3

¹⁰⁷ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 12_Farmer (notes), p. 2; the water project was actually implemented by CVTL, not the government.

any labour in these types of projects because of pay issues. The reluctance is also connected to the issue of control over the project's funds and the perception that some are benefiting financially while others are made to work for free. Even the suku council youth representatives stayed away from the project because of issues about the control of the funds.¹⁰⁸

*They said, we, the implementers, controlled the money. But then what about us who work in the background? We know what the Timorese are like.*¹⁰⁹

The renovation of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's chapel also had low participation by local villagers in the construction process yet the chapel services villagers from a number of other aldeias. Some villagers participated only during the start of the construction process. The local katekista tried to rally villagers to help with the construction work but most villagers were not interested.¹¹⁰ The parish priest brought in workers from Indonesia to complete the project. The construction of the sede suku however received larger community participation. In fact, villagers were organized on a rotational basis to cover every aldeia. The xefe aldeia sent in a group of workers to carry out work for a number of days.

Recruitment of workers for community projects that produce public facilities is usually conducted at an open meeting, organised prior to construction. During the meeting, project leaders would inform and hold discussions with participants about the implementation process and invite everyone to take part. Before the construction of the bridge in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, villagers converged at Respondent 4's house near the project site and then just turned up on the day of the construction. With the DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 chapel however, the turn out to the meeting organized by the local katekista was unenthusiastic. The katekista herself reported that most of the participants who came to that meeting were children.¹¹¹

Workers for government projects that are implemented by local organizations are normally paid however recruitment does not follow an open process. The leaders of the organizations in charge of project implementation select the workers at their discretion. Members of KIK-J for example selected workers to work for the construction of the volleyball courts while the xefe suku controlled the appointment of workers to lead the construction work for the sede suku. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, the local KIK-J also recruited the father of one of its members to lead the construction of the volleyball court.

External institutions that implement local projects also control the recruitment of workers. In these projects, local villagers are invited to take part only as volunteers. For example, as mentioned previously, the Catholic church through the sub-district parish, hired Indonesian workers to rebuild DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's chapel. The construction of the aldeia road in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 was implemented by a contractor which also brought in its own workers although the local xefe aldeia also organized some villagers to provide assistance. However this type of recruitment may also have been driven by the fact that these projects actually require skilled technicians to carry through the process, resources which are unavailable locally. EDTL technicians carried out the connection of new cables to DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 while local villagers helped only with the transportation of materials to the site and with digging the ground to put up electrical posts.

¹⁰⁸ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes)

¹⁰⁹ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 5

¹¹⁰ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 13_Cathecist(Notes), p. 3

¹¹¹ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 13_Cathecist(Notes)

It was also observed that faith-based projects use Indonesian workers to undertake construction work. Other than the DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 chapel, the renovation of the local Protestant church also used workers from Atambua, a town on the Indonesian side of Timor.

Local leaders are generally involved with the supervision of the community projects. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 and the xefe suku supervised the construction of the local bridge. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 went to his aldeia to supervise the construction of the local volleyball court. In DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, the local katekista supervised the construction of the aldeia's chapel.

A number of constraints were identified in the construction process for some of these projects. There are community projects which had not devoted enough time to planning. The projects rolled out without a clear knowledge of the final outcome. It seems that emphasis has been put on largely on building while planning is not regarded as important, resulting in delays. The DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge project provides an example. There were little planning involved with the xefe suku organizing a local meeting and the plan was hatched during that event. During the construction however villagers realized they ran out of materials and had to launch an appeal for contribution. Planning was also give less consideration for the construction of retaining walls as part of Clan 1's uma-lulik project. No exact calculations were made as to how much material was required. Materials were brought in on a needs basis.

However, proper planning also depends on adequate funding, for example, to guarantee that all materials are in place before the construction begins. Villagers can't handle projects requiring a steady supply of cash because of issues to do with local availability of financial resources. Low financial resources affect the project's planning and execution. According to the current xefe suku, large projects should be left to the government.¹¹² Community projects funded by villagers, such as the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge or Clan 1's uma-lulik, regularly encounter delays because of cash shortfall as they rely on the villagers' commitment for funding. In the case of Clan 1 however, construction took over two years because villagers had to wait for more cash to arrive in order to be able to purchase materials.

Where financial planning has been put in place, implementation also undergoes considerable difference. A figure for example was stipulated for the installation of electrical cables to the households in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 before the project's implementation. Likewise, Clan 1's planners also came up with an estimation of the costs involved to implement their project. In both instances, the projects were completed as planned.

6.2.4 Resource management

Funds for government projects are provided by the government. Where the projects are implemented by a contractor, the contractor also controls the funds. Contractors implementing DC-3.2-Aldeia 1's road project not only controlled the recruitment and construction of the project, they also controlled the funds. The xefe suku controls the funds of the government projects that are implemented by the village council. Some of these projects included the construction of DC-3.2's sede suku, SEJD's volleyball courts in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, and the primary school in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4.

Members of KIK-J, such as that in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, participated in a course to get trained in financial management. However the xefe suku and the xefe aldeia controlled the funds. KIK-J had a treasurer who managed how the funds are spent. In order to access the funds, members of KIK-J in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, including the treasurer, must first obtain three different quotes and the lowest quoted price was selected. The

¹¹² DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 1_InterimXS(notes) (leonel), p. 5

xefe aldeia released the funds to the team. The sede suku was constructed with a budget of \$7,000 provided by Estatal.¹¹³ The former xefe suku was in charge of the project and controlled the funds. While the funds were used to purchase materials and hire some builders, construction also benefited from community volunteers organised by the xefe aldeia. Villagers were not made aware of the funds involved in the project.¹¹⁴ Like the sede suku, the primary school also went through similar financial process. The village council was in charge of implementing the project and received \$7,000 from the government. The xefe suku was in charge of the funds.

Like government projects, projects funded by external actors also leaves local villagers without any control over the financing processes. For DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's chapel, financial planning happened elsewhere. The parish priest controlled the funds and planned its expenditure. While the katekista sought contribution from local parishioners, most of the resources were made available through the parish church. A lot of the materials used to construct the building was also sourced from Atambua, in West Timor.

Resources for community driven projects are obtained through contribution from members of the local community. However, depending on the size of the project, financial management tends to have a simpler process for smaller scale community projects. For large projects such as Clan 1's uma-lulik, a more complex process for financial planning and management exists.

The financial resources used for the construction of Clan 1's uma-lulik came exclusively from the uma-lisan's members, in particular the households of its female members. And according to Clan 1's uma-ulun, only households that still maintained contact with the uma-lisan contributed according to Clan 1's uma-ulun.¹¹⁵ Households belonging to female members of the uma-lisan were mandated to contribute \$500 while contribution from the men's households was voluntary. Those yet to form their own households were ordered to contribute through their mothers. The \$500 quota set for the households was arrived at following a costing process of the resources required to construct the uma-lulik. Before a large meeting of members of the uma-lisan, builders have been sent to obtain prices for materials, including windows, doors, sand and stone, as well as transportation costs. An engineer member of the uma-lisan was also employed to make calculations of the materials and man-hours required to complete the project.¹¹⁶ It was then estimated out that the project would cost around \$30,000, a sum that was then divided equally among all of Clan 1's households. Members also had up to one year to complete their contribution and the cash was paid to a female member of the uma-lisan who is also a prominent businesswoman in the sub-district. Clan 1's uma-ulun also explained that members were enthusiastic about paying their dues because of the deep connection they had with the uma-lisan:

*I exist because of this uma-lisan', they say. So they make the contribution without a problem. The uma-lisan is their everything. The uma-lisan brings them physical and spiritual peace. ... 'It was this darkness which pushed me towards my education.' They recognise this.'*¹¹⁷

The construction of the small bridge in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 used only a limited amount of cash. Most of the resources were donated by nearby community members and users of the infrastructure. A villager involved in the construction of the bridge explained,

¹¹³ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 7_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 2 (notes)

¹¹⁴ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes); DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 7_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 2 (notes)

¹¹⁵ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes), p. 5

¹¹⁶ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes), p. 5; see also the recording DC-3.2_20140730_Respondent 22_midwife(notes)

¹¹⁷ DC-3.2_20140731_Respondent 23_LiaNain (notes), p. 6

During this project, we didn't handle any money. Everyone contributed. Who has a sack of cement to spare, he would donate. Who has a piece of reinforcement steel, he would donate it. Those without any of these things can collect water, mix the concrete.¹¹⁸

Households located near the project mostly donated only labour. Some households also made coffee and snack for the workers. Business owners who ran construction firms and government employees contributed cement, sand and rock. The xefe suku also successfully lobbied the local office of the secretary of state for public works to contribute reinforcement steel. Only around \$20 however was collected from some of the road users including *ojek*¹¹⁹ drivers and the cash was kept by the xefe suku and was used only at the end of the construction to organize a feast for the workers.

In DC-3.2-Aldeia 1, the local electricity project was made possible through contribution by an exclusive group of people organised by the local xefe aldeia to connect their houses to power. The project cost around \$300 and members of this group did not have anyone to control the funds. Instead, the leader of the group, the local xefe aldeia, organised for everyone to meet with the EDTL technicians and hand their contributions directly.¹²⁰ However, the xefe aldeia also explained that the payment made to EDTL was not exactly for the purchase of materials. It was more likely that the payment was a form of bribery to facilitate the connection of his bairro to the power grid:

I paid EDTL for the posts and cables which actually belonged to the state. I should not have paid for them. So as I said, "(the payment) was for your help, for your effort." But other people would think the payment was for the purchase of materials. But for me, it wasn't to buy (the materials) because EDTL should not sell them, the cable and the posts. (The payment) was for the people who work for EDTL.¹²¹

Thus, all materials involved in this project came from EDTL. Given that the posts were quoted as costing \$60 each and the project required 8 posts, not to mention the cable, it does appear that some form of payment had indeed been paid to obtain this particular government service. The total project would have cost at least \$480.

Like most other projects, most of the materials were sourced locally in particular the raw materials such as sand and stone. And while sand can be sourced from as far as the regional center, such as in the case of the construction of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's volleyball court, stone was sourced locally in order to save on transportation costs.¹²² In the case of projects in Bairro 4, a large rocky outcrop near the site provided most of the stone needed for the construction. In Bairro 5, villagers transported stone and sand from a nearby location. Nevertheless, transportation costs remains prohibitive—costing up to \$60 per truckload to transport from the regional center.

Materials are usually stored on site for projects located in DC-3.2 Foho. However locating an appropriate facility to store the materials is difficult and villagers are not willing to cooperate to assist in this matter either. Sacks of cements destined for the construction of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's volleyball court was destroyed after they came in contact with rainwater. When the sacks arrived at the construction site, their arrival also coincided with the wet season. Projects implementers had nowhere to store them and an appeal to local community members to lend a space in their homes to protect the cement was ignored.¹²³ By the time the project implementers decided

¹¹⁸ DC-3.2_20140725_Respondent 4_Farmer (notes), p. 2

¹¹⁹ Motorbike taxi

¹²⁰ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 1 (notes), p. 3

¹²¹ DC-3.2_20140726_Respondent 6_XADC-3.2-Aldeia 1 (notes), p. 4

¹²² DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 4

¹²³ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 9_Farmer (notes), p. 3

to take the sacks of cement to their homes, which were located far from the project site, the rain had already soaked the materials, destroying them in the process. Two of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's KIK-J felt responsible for the loss and decided to pay it out of their own pocket.¹²⁴ A community member in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 however took possession of some of the destroyed cement and used it to build his house.

The community driven projects however dealt much better with the issue of storage facility. Clan 1's uma-lisan project constructed a facility to house their materials, including cements. The warehouse was demolished when the project was completed. With DC-3.2-Aldeia 3's renovation project of the local chapel, materials were stored inside the chapel itself while as the work took place.¹²⁵ In DC-3.2 Vila, materials for community driven projects are also stored near the project site. In the case of the construction of the DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 bridge, a villager who lived next to the project site offered his house to store the materials.

6.2.5 *Development outcomes*

Some projects have been implemented in isolated areas while others were not implemented with particular benefit to anyone nor are they representative of the needs of the local community). The volleyball court in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 for example is not being used because, as one of the respondents explained, most of the young people no longer lived in the village. Urbanisation has absorbed many young people moving in to urban centres such as the regional center or elsewhere. Another facility in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, the mini market in Bairro 6, was constructed far from the population therefore not easily accessible. A villager explains that the location itself lacks basic necessity such as water, and toilet. The distance between these projects and community centres also stops villagers from maximizing the utility that such facilities provide. Villagers in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 for example do not use the minimarket in Bairro 7 because of issues to do with distance.

There is a user-pay system instituted by local branches of government service providers of utility infrastructures. This system can potentially make basic utilities such as electricity and water only accessible for powerful villagers, including wealthy community members, who can pay for it or can wield enough influence for the provision of some services. The electricity connection to parts of the neighbourhood in aldeia DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 is an example. Power lines were only installed in the village because some of the community members had access to cash to pay for the service.

In spite of the above, projects tend to be completed despite the obvious delays. A number of factors ensure that projects are completed. However, the main variables relate to whether the projects fulfill their expected quality or live up to their intended use.

Traditional rules can guarantee that community projects such as the uma-lulik in Clan 1 are completed, and even completed in time. Decisions to contribute towards the projects are influenced a sense of identity and deep personal connection towards the uma-lisan, and further strengthened the popular belief in the *malisan* or curse.

Projects which fulfill a desperately needed facility also tend to be completed and in time. The small bridge in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 constituted part of a vital road to access the village. Various communities and businesses needed that stretch of road to facilitate their livelihood.

Funding also play an important role in a project's success, at least when project completion is concerned. Government projects don't encounter these issues because of the funding is generally available to fulfill the

¹²⁴ DC-3.2_20140727_Respondent 11_Volleyball Court(notes);

¹²⁵ DC-3.2_20140801_Respondent 26_Farmer (notes)

project's requirements. Projects funded by other external actors such as NGOs or the Catholic church were also guaranteed with enough resources, including financial, to succeed. The water well in DC-3.2-Aldeia 1 received support from Child Fund while the chapel in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 was fully backed by the sub-district parish church.

6.3 Explanatory cases

6.3.1 *The construction of a volleyball court in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3*

This project was selected by the SEJD as part of its initiative for youth development called *Programa Desenvolvimento Juventude* (PDJ). The SEJD identified the project and then invited the village council to implement it. The aldeias of DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.2-Aldeia 4 were the project's beneficiaries.

The government also provided the funding for this project. The village council, through the xefe suku and the respective xefe aldeias, appointed local villagers focusing on young women with low literacy skills to lead the project's implementation. The local implementers were invited to form a community group called KIK-J or *Komisaun Implementasaun Komunitária – Juventude* (Community Implementation Committee – Youth). Members of the committee were then invited to take part in a training organised by the government where participants learned about project, as well as financial management. A fund of \$5,000 was given to the village council to implement this project. The xefe suku and the respective xefe aldeia controlled the funds and released them to the KIK-J's. The release of the funds also followed a procurement process with members of KIK-J having to produce 3 different quotes for the purchase of materials required for the construction. The team in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3 also built a storm drainage system in Bairro 3 as part of this project.

KIK-J was also responsible for hiring workers to construct the volleyball court. Local community members however refused to volunteer in the project. The perception that members of KIK-J were in control of the project's funds compelled other local villagers to demand some form of payment for their participation in the project as workers.

However, in DC-3.2-Aldeia 3, the project faced storage difficulties and some materials were destroyed as a result. The sacks of cements destined for the project were spoiled during the rain. Members of KIK-J appealed to local villagers to assist with storage to no avail. Again, perception that there were cash under the control of the implementers caused local villagers to demand payment to allow their homes to be used for storage.

Some of the raw materials were obtained locally. A rocky outcrop near the site has been the source of much of the stone used in the construction. Sand had to be transported from the regional center at some cost.

The project was completed however it became under utilized. Most of the young people to whom the project had targeted have moved to urban centres such as the regional center for work. Only the elderly remained in the village.

6.3.2 *The construction of a small bridge in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4*

The road in DC-3.2-Aldeia 4, where the small bridge is located, is part of a vital connection to the local communities. Farmers use this road regularly to transport their produce, namely rice from Field 1. The bridge had been crumbling for sometime causing all local traffic to be diverted away from the area. Villagers, in particular those who use the road regularly, had been talking to the xefe aldeia and the xefe suku about this situation. When it finally collapsed, the xefe suku took charge and called a meeting of the community around

the project site. Everyone was supportive of the project as it served a vital purpose in the village life affecting the local livelihood.

There was no planning associated with this project. The xefe suku lead the process, coming up with a general concept. He organised the cash, materials and workers required. Local entrepreneurs and public servants donated materials including cement, sand and stone. Transportation was also donated by a local entrepreneur free of charge. The xefe suku also approached the local office of the secretary of state for public works for assistance and received reinforcement steel. Cash donation was minimal and mainly came from the operators of the local ojek. Around \$20 was collected and was spent on food and drinks to mark the completion of the project. Local villagers volunteered in the project while women who lived near the site prepared coffee and other snacks.

Materials for the construction was stored at the home of a local villager who lives near the project site.

The project was completed in around a week. There was a small delay caused by a shortage of resources which the xefe suku addressed by appealing for more donations.

7 Conclusions and Recommendations

Some findings that may have a potential impact on the implementation of PNDS include:

- A traditional system of hierarchy places power and control over decision-making process in the hands of an exclusive group of people. For example, only members of a certain uma-lisan can be elected to key positions in the village leadership. Already, the former xefe suku, a notably powerful member of the community had expressed his dissatisfaction with the PNDS implementation process because the village council has largely been given only symbolic positions; this arrangement can potentially alienate the village council and usher in tension with the local power structure, both formal and traditional.
- Villagers who are non-native to DC-3.2, including those with uma-lisan located in a different village, are considered as a different class resident of the village and are excluded from key positions. The community in Bairo 2 for example can potentially be potentially undermined during decision-making processes such as during the PNDS prioritization process.
- Women are also marginalized in the decision making process yet the local culture is primarily matrilineal.

7.1 Researchers personal experience, beliefs regarding the topic

Leonel Bere. The researches have a long standing interest in poverty and inequality issues in Timor Leste. We also visited a number of house hold in four aldeias of suco DC-3.2. Through the research, these researchers believe that the findings and recommendations of the respondents will be a reference to implement the PNDS program through project implementation.

Alex Tilman. I have a longstanding interest in poverty and inequality issues in Timor-Leste. I participate regularly in community group discussions on issues concerning social justice and human rights. I believe that wider and unfettered community participation in decision-making process will be one of the keys to achieving the aims of PNDS.

LBS Village Report:
DC-3.3 (Covalima District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP
Maria Reis, Henrique Ximenes

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

Programa Nasionál de Deçenvolvimentu Suku (PNDS) is Timor-Leste's nationwide community-driven development program (CDD) that will provide annual grants to fund small-scale infrastructure projects at suku level. These grants seek to empower communities and provide them with opportunities to directly plan and implement priority village infrastructures in order to accelerate community development in line with the goals of the Government's National Strategic Development Plan. To achieve this, PNDS will work through and seek to improve local governance mechanisms. Hence by looking at specific villages, this report seeks to determine the following questions: what is the current state of the local governance? How have the villagers dealt with government projects in the past? This report will focus on DC-3.3, a rural border village in the district of Covalima, to provide some of the answers.

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the DC-3.3 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects. The conclusion of this report will contribute towards the overall baseline assessment which will seek to answer the following questions: how will PNDS fit into the local governance context? What are the characteristics of the local institutions which PNDS might engage with? How will the engagement between PNDS and local institutions be conducted? What role will other village development projects play in the implementation of PNDS?

Some of the main findings in this village report for DC-3.3 include:

The village of DC-3.3 has four aldeias such as DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, DC-3.3-Aldeia 2, DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. People of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 are the original people of DC-3.3 and they speak Tetum Terik. The other three aldeias' people are majority coming from the villages of Bobonaro district and they speak Bunak/Marae. DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 even though has the biggest number of total population than the other three aldeias and found that all xefe suku that have been led the village are coming from aldia DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. There has never been anyone outside the DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. We also found that the xefe suku were more prioritize their aldeia than other. For example the distribution of MDG houses that supposed to be giving to the vulnerable people were given also to those who are not eligible such as; all the suku council members, some other public servants and all of the recipient are from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. We found it could affect the implementation of the PNDS in the village.

2. Methodology

The REP Concept note divides the country into six distinct regions to ensure regional coverage. The village sampled for this report is located in the border region (defined as encompassing Covalima and Bobonaro). The required sampling criteria focus on the aspects which correlate with the presence or absence of the state, and the level of violence and rural. For this report, the sampled village is rural and has low violence incidence. In the sub-district, the average proportion of violence incidence in each village 6%. Additional sampling criteria concerns the village's boundaries are disputed due to airport project. Three potential sites were selected prior to fieldwork all located in the sub-district in Covalima. Through discussions with key informants at the District level (the DA and the Sub District PNTL) the researchers narrowed down the choices to the village of DC-3.3.

The data for this qualitative study were obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the month of July. All interviews were conducted face-to-face at various locations, including at meeting places, residence, and workplaces (village office). Some of the interviews were recorded and were complemented with hand-written notes. For some respondents their interview could only record due to their living area, the researchers relied only on the recorder. Observations of relevant village life and activities were also taken. In selecting interview respondents, researchers used the following sampling methods: convenience, purposive and snowball. With purposive sampling method, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe suku, aldeias and other village council as well as the PAAS). For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend other potential individuals whom the researchers could approach for interviews. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached as they were taking part in either community working group, doing their work (e.g. in their farm), or identified by the researchers as vulnerable.

Invariably, most of the respondents are farmers who either own a small plot near their house or run large farms. Farming provides an important source of income for the respondents. Some of the respondents are on the government payroll and this group includes all of the suku council members. Other respondents include teachers. A total of 33 people were interviewed over a 10-day period. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided in Table 1 (below):

		Total
By gender	Male	23
	Female	10
By age	18 – 25	4
	26 – 39	5
	40 - 55	13
	55 - 70	6
	70 – 80+	4
By profession	Farmers	20
	Suku council members	8
	Public servants	5
By Sampling method	Purposive	8
	Snowball	10
	Convenience	15

3. Description of the village

3.1. Location and Names of aldeias, village borders;

DC-3.3 is a village (suco) located to the northeast of the city of Suai in East Timor. It is part of a Sub-District, Cova Lima District.

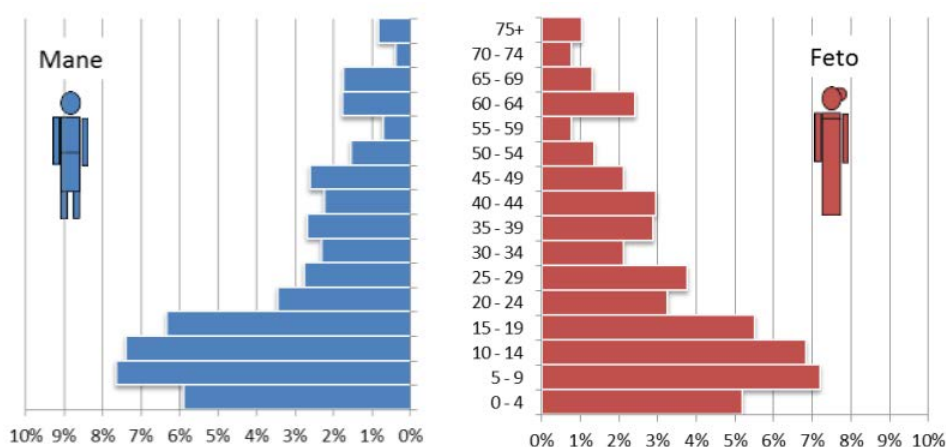
To the north of DC-3.3 is Neighboring suku 5, to the east is Neighboring suku 1, to the south is Neighboring suku 2, and to the west are two rivers, which separate DC-3.3 from the sucos of Neighboring suku 3 and

Neighboring suku 4. Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 is bordering with suku Neighboring suku 2 to the south, Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring suku 1 to the north and the east; aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 is bordering with Neighboring suku 2 to the south and to the west with Neighboring suku 3. DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 are bordering with suku Neighboring suku 3 and Neighboring suku 4 to the west. These all are borders by the two rivers

3.2. Population; Ethno-linguistic groups;



Total population of the suku is about 2,800 people. Based on census information that the population of DC-3.3 has the sex ratio 102.36, which is also the difference numbers between male and female as it shows in the graph; male 50.6% and female 49.4%¹. The children age 5-9 is 72-78% of male and female. The age of 75+ is only about 10% where it considers as very low number. Below is the male and female age graph from age 0-75+;



Picture Male and Female's age

The people of DC-3.3 are speak two languages Tetum Terik and Bunak/Marae. All the people of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 are speaking Tetum Terik as the original language and original people of DC-3.3. The other language of Bunak or Marae is speaking mostly in all three aldeias DC-3.3-Aldeia 2, DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 due to majority of the communities are coming fom Bobonaro district since long time ago and they are now registered as people of DC-3.3.

¹ 2010 Census Fo Fila Fali

3.3. Suku Profile (name, total population, poverty/development indicators)

Based on 2010 census, the population of DC-3.3 village is about 2,800². The total households are 495. Comparing to the recent registration population in the suku based on each aldeias the numbers have significant increase.

Aldeia	Male	Female	Total
DC-3.3-Aldeia 1	614	700	1,314
DC-3.3-Aldeia 2	493	500	993
DC-3.3-Aldeia 3	233	225	458
DC-3.3-Aldeia 4	231	234	465
Total	1,571	1,659	3,230

Data from Sede DC-3.3

The majority of the population lives in very simple living standard. Most of them are farmer who depend on the crops production they produce every year. It will be difficult in a year period when the season is not good for the agricultures. For those who depend totally to the farm will be suffering of hunger during the year³. The farmers are not growing rice due to lack of water, however most of the communities are consuming rice for their daily life. To meet their need on rice people usually sell the crops to the market and the money could be use some for buying rice. However it's all are depending on the harvest result and its quantity of the production.

Majority houses in DC-3.3 are simple and some of them still rely on local material in its construction specially the Uma lisan house. Besides that, DC-3.3 received 171 MDG house that given to the vulnerable people in DC-3.3. Other than that community's houses that have concrete walls are about 40-59.9%⁴. Some houses still made from bamboo or other traditional materials and the floors still have clay floors.

More than half of households have enhanced sanitation with shared facility and half of households have the facility but not sharing. Most of the households are using hanging toilet/latrine while the rest of the population have no access to toilet facility and practice open defecation.

Almost 95% of households are using firewood as their source of energy and 5% stated as other.

3.4. Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile

Village of DC-3.3 is known as a village in which the majority of the population produces local wine called 'tua moruk/tua mutin' as their source of livelihood besides as farmers they have crops to sell as well. Besides produces more local wine as the main source of income, the people of DC-3.3 who majority are farmer and has their own farm field produces crops such as; corn, green bean, and cassava. They sell it when needed, other than that, all are for household consume. Corn and cassava production are produced more than 80%⁵.

² Census 2010 Fo Fila Fali

³

⁴ ibid

⁵ Ibid

Recently, the Mega project of International airport is building in the suku. The project takes place at between two sukus or villages such as; DC-3.3 and Neighboring suku 1. This project has its impact to the village development where almost 74 households from aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 where evicted from their place. Government has the plan to move these people to a new place or they called new bairro that still located in the aldeia. However; asides from all the issues and the problems, the project is creating jobs for the communities. People who employ or currently working with certain income are 34.40%, unemployment 2.37% and inactive is 63.23%⁶.

DC-3.3, especially DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, has a very important natural resources for the country in the form of oil. The aldeia has no water resources because sub-surface water is all mixed with oil. The suku is called Oil DC-3.3 by some people from the other sukus in Covalima District, and people in DC-3.3 also sometimes refer to themselves as Oil DC-3.3.

3.5. Social/Human Development Profile (literacy, health, education, etc);

The frequency of people who attending school are 40%⁷ and the education level of DC-3.3 people are high at the primary school level which is 32% at the junior high school 12% and the senior high school level is 15%. Those who did not attend school are at the highest level 34% as it mention on 2010 Census fo Fila Fali. The frequency of education is showing in the picture below; (at school, drop out, never attended school and has not been at school);

In DC-3.3 those are at literacy line are the elderly people. There are also non formal education as English course that is available in the village for all community of the village. Majority students are the youth however; there are also working people, the eldest who are willing to learn. The English course is supported by the government to prepare these people to takes part in the job of petroleum for the future and the airport project.

There is no clinic or health post in the village. The village is located at the rural area, however it is not that far from the main town of Suai. They are going to the referral hospital of Suai at Neighboring suku 3 as the center of Suai and the center of all the public activities. In 5 years time the pregnant mother that got attended by the midwives to deliver were 42.6%⁸.

3.6. Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages;

There are few public works that are accessible for the communities in the village. All the accessible public works are clean water, electricity, school and road. There are also MDG houses that are meant to the vulnerable people in the village. However according to the village council plan that there will be next units are coming for all the communities in the village⁹. They are planning to make the DC-3.3 become MDGs village. For the recent MDG houses were found inefficiencies and leakages in the distributions and the implementation¹⁰. The same thing

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

⁹ DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 5, Xefe DC-3.3. Note.docx

¹⁰ DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 24, Community Member. Note

happen to the implementation of the Airport Mega project where took more time to finally convince communities to cooperate¹¹.

In DC-3.3 also clean water is accessible however; there are more to do with the clean water due to in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 found a difficulty to get access to more clean water. Similar with it also access to electricity that is recently paid. Some households have been disconnected from the electricity access due to they could not afford to pay for it. Road in the other hand, even though it is accessible it still not in the good condition and need to improve. There are also bridges that connected the village with other villages and the city is in very bad condition.

In sub aldeia or sub village Barrio 1, DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 is totally isolated with all the public goods available in the main village. They have no access to electricity, clean water, road, school and sanitation. The sub village is located at the outside of the village about two hours walk to get there. And the road condition is bad and need more attention for their development.

3.7. Reoccurring problems (perpetual difficulties on multiple spectrums the village is facing);

Recently with the Airport Mega project plan that have been implemented has its significant impact to the community of DC-3.3 especially community that have to be evicted from their land. The evicted people will be getting all the facilities such as house that is standard and will be furnished. The houses are going to be building at a new area in the aldeia. It is become an issue that the village is facing due to the Mega project implemented but the houses has not been done yet¹².

3.8 Brief Historic Profile (major events, changes, policies, etc.)

DC-3.3 means Liaison which liaise a village with another villages in terms of traditional or adat. The name signifies the roles as traditional Liaison. DC-3.3 itself is an Uma adat or traditional house called Uma Clan 1. It is the biggest uma lisan; they could stop and mediate a conflict between villages, divided the land border; establish a traditional government and create good relationship with other villagers. They also formed Dato (has the roles as traditional leading house) in DC-3.3 and put them in the highest position in tradition structure¹³.

Traditionally, DC-3.3 uses a matriarchal marriage system. The society was originally animist, but in 1969 a Catholic priest came and christened the people in DC-3.3. The priest started from the Uma Lulik or sacred house to remove their sacred things in the uma lulik. In the process of removing the sacred things from the Uma Lulik, the priest found a woman at the sacred house ; this woman was considered sacred as a queen. Since she was born, she had never left the Uma Lulik, and she knew nothing about the outside. She did not even walk on the ground; the priest said that the Uma Lulik had violated the woman's rights as a human being. The priest than baptized her and forced her to go outside the house and walk on the ground for the first time. To remember her first day of knowing the world the priest marked the day with a symbol by putting a big Crucifix in DC-3.3 as well as a chapel. The chapel has been renovated but the crucifix has not. At that time, most of DC-3.3 people both young and old were baptized and became Catholic. Since then, people have adopted Catholic rules in society.

¹¹ DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 6, Xefe Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. Note.docx

¹² DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 17, community member DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. Note

¹³ Dato is a leading sacred house that in traditional structure sitting in the highest position

As have mentioned earlier that DC-3.3 speaks Tetum Terik. Mostly, people that is living in the three aldeias are coming from the suku of Bobonaro district. Some of them came down from the mountains during the Indonesian occupation, while some came to farm long before 1975. They got access to land through the people of DC-3.3, especially Dato. They live in DC-3.3 and became people of DC-3.3 even though for some specific matter like adat, they still go back to their original district for the celebration. Those are from Bobonaro district speak Bunak but also speak tetum terik nowadays.

In terms of adat or traditional structure formed since the ancestors, Uma Dato Babulu is in the highest position followed by Dato lusin, Dato Beiklaran and Dato Berebein. Each Dato (has the roles as traditional or sacred houses leader) has their own Fukun or small houses under dato's leadership (common Uma Lisan), with the exception of Dato Babulu. Uma Clan 1, on the other hand, is not under a Dato; they stand alone but they have power in the suku to terminate an activities in every adat ceremony.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1. Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1. Identity

DC-3.3 has almost half of the communities of the population are coming from other suku of Bobonaro District. These people who came from Bobonaro have been living in DC-3.3 for a long time. Some of them were staying in the suku started on 1975 when they returned from the mountain on Indonesia occupation some were have been there since the ancestor¹⁴. These communities came for farming due to DC-3.3's abundance of good farmland. These communities speak Bunak or Marae as their original language of Bobonaro. The original people of DC-3.3 called them *Marae oan*, or Marae people¹⁵. They are recently become people of DC-3.3 as they are living for decades already in DC-3.3. Administratively they registered in DC-3.3 since the Indonesian administrative started and become part of DC-3.3. These people live in the aldeias of DC-3.3-Aldeia 2, DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. None of them live in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, as DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 is only for the original people of DC-3.3. It has been that way since the beginning, with the exception of those who are married to DC-3.3 women.

The society has been bound to each other through marriage linkages. The linkages have alleviated the divide between the original DC-3.3 people and the Marae people. They have become family from *feto-sa* and *uma-ne*¹⁶ side. The majority specially the youngest people all now speak Tetum Terik. However, discrimination still happens sometimes. The specific difference between the three aldeias of DC-3.3-Aldeia 2, DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 with DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 is that DC-3.3 has no fresh water source, while the other three aldeias have water sources that can be used during the dry season.

Administratively, during this time no one from the 'Marae' people have occupied a top leadership position like that of the xefe suku in DC-3.3. All of the xefe suku since Indonesian times are from the original people of DC-3.3¹⁷. Traditionally, people from the three aldeias have their own original tradition in the aldeia other than the original people of DC-3.3, but its celebration is not as big as DC-3.3. Mostly they people from DC-3.3-

¹⁴ DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 3, Lia Nain. Note.docx, DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 7, Xefe Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3. Note.docx

¹⁵ Ibid, DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 3, Lia Nain. Note.docx

¹⁶ *Feto-sa* is wife taker and *uma-ne* is the wife taker's in laws

¹⁷

Aldeia 2, DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 are taking part of the celebration or traditional matter as inauguration of a sacred house and funerals in DC-3.3 through each marriage linkages depends on who they have been have relation with. .

The people of DC-3.3 actively take part in social groups such as political parties; sports groups like soccer clubs and volleyball clubs, church groups, agriculture groups, women's groups and martial arts groups. However, with the exception of the political parties, each of these groups' members come exclusively from the same aldeia. The political parties, on the other hand, have members from all aldeia. For example, the members of the women's group of CBO 1 are all from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and do not accept people from outside; the same is true of the sports groups, of which there is one for each aldeia¹⁸.

Youth usually identify themselves with their sports group or martial arts group¹⁹. More broadly, people identify themselves in several ways, such as profession, place of origin, uma adat or traditional house, group membership, political party membership, and aldeia. They called themselves based on profession they working on e.g. a farmer, a driver²⁰. Nowadays, people often use political party membership to describe a person, a group and society. Political parties have a big influence in the community, as everyone in the suku takes part in politics. However; uma lisan also has a very powerful position over the communities. As people still tightly bound by the traditional system, people like to explain themselves by their uma lisan and the importance of the uma lisan²¹.

Not only people that can identify themselves from a specific suku or aldeia, DC-3.3 is also has a specific symbol to identify their animal; specifically cow. Before people gave initial to the cow it is compulsory to mark the symbol, they call it DC-3.3 marks²². This mark is an identity for the cows so that when they lost somewhere out of the suku, people will recognize that they cows are belong to people of DC-3.3. The mark is serving as a symbol of suku belonging beside the initials for the ownership. The symbol has five characters that formed the name of the suku 'DC-3.3. This is one visible symbol that identifies the cows that are freely live in the mountain and open land daily before caging in the afternoon. The symbol helps found lost cows from the suku. People outside the suku who found the cows will bring it or tell the people from DC-3.3 that their cows found somewhere in the other suku.

Many DC-3.3 people living outside the suku are still recognized as DC-3.3 people. Many such people live outside DC-3.3 and administratively register in other suku, but still count as from DC-3.3 because their uma lisan and family are there.

4.1.2 Power and Vulnerability

Generally, powerful people in the community or society are those who are in the top positions of the local leadership; the traditional position in an uma adat, such as katuas adat; people known for talent in sport; and people from prominent family backgrounds. Mostly the powerful people who have been in the xefe suku position have their own characteristics that encourage people to work with them. A high level of education is

¹⁸ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note, DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 7, Xefe Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3. Note.docx, DC-3.3-073114-Respondent 25, Sport Club president. Note

¹⁹

²⁰ DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 9, Community member DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. Note

²¹ DC-3.3-Respondent 27, Community Member, DC-3.3.Note, DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 21, Women's Rep. Note

²² DC-3.3-072914-Respondent 15. Note.docx

not the first requirement to be a leader in the suku. However, knowledge, experience and leadership capability are also important for community leadership positions such as political party leader or group leader, and the community values these qualities²³.

The actual xefe suku was elected even though he was a youth leader²⁴ and very active in sport activities such as soccer and volleyball. He also joined the district sport club and has played in many competitions. The youth respect him for his achievements. He is also a member of the Partido Democratico (Democratic Party, PD). The other characteristics found in the other several former xefe suku are that xefe suku were strict and have strong family background that were also have influenced over the katuas adat or elderly man that lead sacred house. Communities are still recognizing them as a powerful leader with all public works he has done in Indonesian time.

The traditional leader or katuas adat in each uma lisan, specifically those are in Dato position, are all considered powerful people and have influence over the xefe suku. The Dato are always needed in every event in the suku as well as to make some specific decisions²⁵. They took part in the decision making process of the Airport Mega Project which displaced many people, and they also settled the border with the neighboring suku for the project.

Elections are the primary source of power and legitimacy for the xefe suku and all the suku council members are elected. Adding to that, most of the primary sources of these powerful people are because of the position in the uma adat. For example, a Badaen Makerek or traditional skilled labor is needed for any uma lisan that is going to build and he is the one to oriented and leading people in the uma lisan construction building as well to make a coffin for funeral²⁶. Their knowledge, experience, profession and status are all factors that influence people.

Legally, xefe suku has all the power to control and managing the administrative things and materials including development in the suku. Administrative items such as monthly office administration fees from the government, signing letters, authorizing any activities inside the suku and overseeing other materials such as public goods, the sede suku, and the motorbike that he received as xefe suku. On the other hand, the traditional powerful people control the traditional events, knowledge of history of the suku, and they are also took big parts in the suku decision making with respect to big events in the suku or conflict mediation. There are also veterans that have influence in the suku decision making and in order to resolve a problem in the suku or either with other suku.

The powerful people in the society who are not part of the formal suku governance structure are engaged by the xefe suku to contribute to the suku's development process. They contribute ideas and criticism to the decision made in the suku. They also participated in suku council meetings as invited²⁷. Besides that, the powerful people are traditionally related to each other based on uma lisan. However, there are also those who have close relationships that are also in the suku structure; for example, the ansiaun suku and the PAAS are father and son. However, the ansiaun was elected together with the xefe suku, and the PAAS was recruited

²³ DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 5, Xefe DC-3.3. Note.docx, DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 7, Xefe Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3. Note.docx, DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 6, Xefe Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. Note.docx

²⁴ DC-3.3-073114-Respondent 25, Sport Club president. Note

²⁵ DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 5, Xefe DC-3.3. Note, DC-3.3-Respondent 27, Community Member, Note, DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 21, Women's Rep. Note

²⁶ -Respondent 27, Community Member, Note, DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 21, Women's Rep. Note

from the sub district government. The linkages between the powerful people all are traditional relationships from each uma lisan or sacred houses. Some uma lisan have relationships with each other through marriage linkages and some other based on traditional rules and traditional structure. Generally, everyone in the suku part of an uma lisan and related to each other. However; the leadership candidates do not have to come from a big and important uma lulik. They could be whoever as long as they could lead.

Besides all the powerful people in the suku, there are also some people considered as vulnerable or marginalized. There is a sub-aldeia called Bario 1 that is located very far away from the main suku and aldeia. They have no access to clean water, roads, or electricity and are far from health centers as well as schools. They hardly take part in community meetings in the suku due to lack of information and distance. They are part of the suku, but according to the community the land of Bario 1 has also been claimed by another suku, Neighboring suku 4²⁸. The community has informed DC-3.3's local authorities, but there has been no action from them yet. There are also people who are left out of public goods distribution in the suku such as some widows, widowers, and disabled people²⁹.

There was a project of United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) houses meant for vulnerable people in the suku. However, after the project was completed, many vulnerable people did not get housing. As one of the respondents said, *"Xefe suku was not honest in the distribution process, to be clear, he should give the house to the vulnerable and inactive or disabled people in the first place. But he gave it to those who are far from vulnerable including all the suku council members"* (25:00-120830-002)³⁰.

Those who are evicted from the land in DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 are also consider as vulnerable since they are going to be homeless, landless, when the Airport Mega Project implemented. The plan has been settled that they are going to be located in the new bairo, but it is not clear when it is going to be implemented³¹.

The vulnerable people and the vulnerable groups also participated in the meeting sometimes when they are informed. Xefe suku and the xefe aldeia shared information to the communities and invited them for the activities and they took part of it. They are also sometimes expressing their ideas but have never been heard by the xefe suku and other local authorities. As Respondent 13 also heard and participated in the meeting and also in some church activities. Regarding the MDG houses' distribution he said *"I did not get one of MDG houses because they just give to their families"* (05:00)³².

4.1.3 Formal and informal community rules (norms)

There are some formal and informal rules or norms settled in the suku that have been accepted as part of their tradition. The formal rules are those that are written in the constitution and laws implemented in Timor Leste. However, there are also formal suku rules implemented in the suku specifically for conflict prevention and

²⁸ DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 10, Community member, DC-3.3-Aldeia 2-Bairo 1. Note.docx

²⁹ DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 24, Community Member. Note

³⁰ Ibid, Respondent 24

³¹

³² DC-3.3-Respondent 13. Disable, DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. note

conflict mediation. The suku set up a rule that every case or problem that the local authorities mediate or resolve comes with a fee³³. The same amount of money is charged to both sides in each dispute.

In DC-3.3, the informal rules between the original DC-3.3 people and the other communities that they call 'Marae' has strict rules in order to accept each other as family. The rules are called 'Luli/Moruk malu' or sacred rules. The rules were to prevent conflict over materials such as land, plants, farms and animals. The rules came with sanctions such as penalties like money, animal and traditional clothe. The original people of DC-3.3 will let anyone from the other three aldeias get access to their farm and pick any fruits or vegetable that they really want and need. If they ban this practice then those who are banned will get sick or their animals and plants will be destroyed. This is what people believe and has become common in the society.

Another informal institution is known as *tarabandu*. The term "tarabandu" has a similar meaning to "ban," but has more to do with animals and destroying environment like animals eating crops. In DC-3.3, the tarabandu is being planned but has not been implemented³⁴. Traditionally things related to the uma lulik, or sacred house, are mostly sacred. For example, in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 some people use a sacred water source belonging to uma lulik Clan 2. The water can not be mixed with water from other sources in the central tank. It is believed that this water will affect to all the water consumer in DC-3.3; they could be sick or die³⁵.

There is also tradition that could not be avoided or changed. The tradition on doing the roof of an uma lulik (sacred house) should be done on odd number of days like three days, five days and seven days; construction the roof of sacred house should be at three days as minimum and cannot completed on the fourth day. In the process as well there is ban to kill goat and sheep, permitted only for pigs and buffalos. The Dato (traditional leader) should be on site during the construction of an uma lulik, and the Badaen Makerek ("skilled builder") leads the construction and makes measurements for coffins.

Another ritual inauguration conducted after finishing the construction of an uma lulik is called Haween. It is also mandatory that an uma lulik after the construction they need to celebrate the inauguration before the house is ready to be lived in. The inauguration is called Haween in tetum terik.

Besides the traditions there are also formal rules that affect the community. The village council has formed a group called GMF to control, supervise and maintain the water pipes. GMF enforces rules against stealing or destroying the water pipes, and people found guilty must pay penalties such as pigs, money, rice, wine and cigarettes.

4.1.4 Conflict and conflict mediation

In DC-3.3, there is not much conflict or violence either within the community or with other suku. However, it does happen. Conflicts mostly include disputes between groups or individuals and local authorities, personal and family conflict, abandonment cases, domestic violence and youth conflict. These types of conflicts happened at both the aldeia level and suku level. The most intense conflict that recently happened is between the community of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 with the local and district level regarding the Airport Megaproject plan that has to remove people from their land. It is explained that the case has created a gap between communities with the local authorities where the communities lost their trust to the leader; and create a tension within them. As the xefe aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 said "It seems like we become enemy to each other". However, as the xefe

³³ Ibid

³⁴ DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 21, Women's Rep. Note

³⁵ Ibid

aldeia always organize meeting with community without waiting for the xefe suku's order to explain the situation and the fact of the eviction process"³⁶.

For the big cases was causing by the removing people from their land without a clear and certain preparation. The conflict happened on the houses distribution because the un fulfill promised that causing the community had an argument with the xefe suku. In the other hand, conflict between youth was because of alcohol that leads to martial arts problem. Domestic violence because of miscommunication in the family and some of them because of land dispute or border disputes.

Another conflict between a person and local authorities was about the MDG houses' distribution in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. The argument was between the xefe suku and one person who was using the land where the housing project was built. The person seems unhappy with the xefe suku's decision on houses distribution as he said *'xefe suku was not honest in the distribution process, to be clear, he should give the house to the vulnerable and inactive or disabled people in the first place. But he gave it to those who are far from vulnerable including all the suku council members'* (25:00-120830-002)³⁷.

There are also personal and family conflicts, abandonment cases, domestic violence and youth conflict at the aldeia level that resolved in aldeia. These cases were not explained specifically. Youth conflicts happened long ago, before the martial arts groups were banned.

A dispute or conflict can be solved at three levels. The first level is at katuas adat. At this level the respectful elder will settle the problem and the payment will be 15 dollars. Second, the settlement will be at aldeia level. Here, the xefe aldeia and other suku council members will settle the problem. If the problem still cannot be settled then it is forwarded to the suku level, and the xefe suku mediates the conflict. At the suku level, the payment will be 50 dollars for both complainant and the victim. If still not settled in these three levels, the case proceeds to the police and the district tribunal as the formal process. Criminal cases will be resolved by the police and could be submitted for next level to the court.

Other problems emerge when constructing sacred houses. If one person does not contribute to this project, then the dados and the elders will notify him and hold a settlement hearing. If found guilty, then the defendant must pay for wine, cigarettes or other things to drink together to settle the problem.

Basically, the conflict has a negative effect on the community's life, especially in the case of the airport eviction process that involves almost all residents of one aldeia. Communities lost their trust in the leader because of feeling unprotected and unsatisfied with the decision. Because of the airport's construction, many people will lose their land and income from their plantations, with only token government payments to make up for lost income. The community will have to move first into temporary housing and then to permanent housing, meaning they will suffer twice. There is no guarantee that the government will construct high-quality houses for them, and government payments are not likely to be adequate.

³⁶ DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 6, Xefe Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. Note.docx

³⁷

Conflict between youth was also causing communities to be afraid for some period to go out of the suku to do other activities. Most affected are those who are related to the problem or the conflict.

4.1.5 Development Priorities

There are similarities in this regards between powerful and vulnerable people of the village in that all have asked for electricity, clean water, roads in the aldeias and to the sub aldeias, health posts, drainage and bridges to connect the suku with other suku, especially with the vila or town. Clean water is not enough when the dry season is coming. Other than that bridges who connected DC-3.3 with other villages and the town where become place for all activities need to be fix. For example, as in raining season the student have to pass by Neighboring suku 2 road.

As for the affected communities in DC-3.3-Aldeia 4, they mostly need work opportunities to continue their lives after the eviction.

The community in Barrio 1 needs good road condition to their aldeia, electricity, metal for house roofs, clean water and food security.

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 3 profiles of powerful community members

Respondent 15: 51 years old, lives in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. He is married and has 3 children. His profession is Teacher and besides his title as veteran he holds a position in Fretilin Party as Sub District Coordinator. His daily activities are teaching and doing some agriculture works in the farm or some church activities if any. He assisted all activities in the suku such as meetings, events, workshops and working on public works that need community participation. He will not attend or participate when he did not know or have other work to do.

Respondent 15 is known as an active and powerful person in the suku. He has no doubt to express his opinion and ideas every time he thinks it needed. He actively participated in the suku activities and in some decision making process in the suku. As veteran he engaged in the process by providing his support such as ideas and physical participation. He is also making critics to the local authorities for the suku development purpose as he said 'I did critics the local authorities if I see there were something wrong and not fair to the communities. My critics are for the benefit of the suku development. But sometimes people do not like what I'm saying and I did' (Z0000001, 53:00)³⁸.

He is a member of GMF in DC-3.3 and he takes care of a water tap used by five to seven households. He will monitor the activities near the water tap and make sure the place is clean and not broken. He is the one will collect money for the maintenance if there is something need to fix.

His concerns for the suku development involve land use. As he said regarding the land that the 'local authorities need to really careful because number of people will be increase but land stay the same' if we could not managing the use of land properly will affect to people's life. It is because of the airport mega project conflict and the MDG house construction. In conditions of the suku development priorities he mentioned that Sustainable agriculture, Education, Clinic, Road in aldeias, clean water and sanitation are the most needed in DC-3.3.

³⁸ DC-3.3-072914-Respondent 15. Note.docx

Respondent 5: 41 years old, married and has 4 children. Lives in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. Respondent 5 was elected as Xefe DC-3.3 on latest 2009. He was a youth leader and has influence in the suku generally and youth especially. He is a talented person in sports. He played soccer and volleyball at the district level and has known in the district as a talented person as well. That is one reason why he is very famous and has influence in the suku. He was selected by the katuas adat to become one of the xefe suku candidates. He has their backing and all the youth follow him.

He became a motivator for the youth as he organized them in a soccer club. Besides being elected as xefe suku because of his talents, he is also has a leadership skill that trusted could lead the suku. During his leadership he has made significant change in the suku with the MDG houses for the vulnerable people; helping resolve the airport project conflict with his communities in DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 as well as other development in the suku.

As one of the powerful person in the suku that formally elected he has legitimate plann for the suku's development. He had been planning that DC-3.3 is going to become an MDG suku. The next phase of MDG houses project is coming where mean to build all communities of DC-3.3's house not only the vulnerable people. the xefe suku and the suku council members have agreed and informed the national government that DC-3.3 will become MDG's village. Besides that he is also aware that clean water and sanitation are the most important while waiting for the houses. People need more clean water for their sanitation as well as health post.

Respondent 21 45 years old is a Women's representative at suku council and she lives in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 with her family. Respondent 21 is a widow who lives only with her children after her husband was killed on 1999 conflict after the independence election. She used to work with Fokupers in Suai. Her roles and responsibility include taking care of the 1999's sexual victims. She is also a chief of 1999 sexual victims of Suai. Besides the leadership position she holds, she is also elected as women representative in the suku council. She was elected as one package with the xefe suku in 2010 suku election.

Her roles and responsibilities as women's representative at suku council include providing advice to the community, especially women in the suku when they face problems She has formed a women's group with the xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1; the group's name is CBO 1, and it collaborates with all suku council members to support the suku's development plan.

Her ideas for the suku development priorities are to improve and fix the Drainage in aldeias, sanitation and form more women's groups in the suku.

4.2.2 3 profiles of marginalized community members

Respondent 20 is 54 years old from DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 and lives in sub aldeia Bario 1. She is a widow. She is living with her only daughter and her son in law. She is also a farmer who works on her farms. She has been living in the area for more than years since Indonesian time. Since 1975 they live in DC-3.3 but only over a year. They moved from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 to DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 and moved up to Bario 1. The bairo is a sub aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 called Bario 1. Her farm is very far away from where she lives but she managed to go to the farm every day. She works in the same farm with her daughter and son-in-law.

She participated in a suku meeting once at sede suku in 2013. She forgot about the topic discussed on the meeting she attended. She said that she sat behind when she attended the meeting and she said nothing in the meeting. She heard the information regarding the meeting from xefe aldeia who came to Bario 1 and informed the meeting. She stated that they rarely and almost never heard any activities occur at the sede suku because they are always left behind. However, she attended the \$3 project to open and clean the road from DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 to Bario 1.

Respondent 20 said, she has never attended any election including the suku election on 2010. She also did not really know her xefe suku's name. She did not attend the suku election because she does not have electoral card. She has informed the xefe suku, however until now there was no result yet. She is still waiting for the xefe suku.

Bario 1 has not access to electricity, clean water, road, food security as well as health facility. And for her and her family those are mentioned above becomes her priorities that suku needs to think about. They live very far from the main aldeia and it is difficult to access to all facilities at suku or at district therefore, if they could have the basics public goods mentioned, it would be helpful.

Respondent 13, 65 years old, lives in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, and he is a disabled person. His daily activity is only sitting at his family's house. He is staying with his sister and his nephews in DC-3.3. Even though he is blind he takes part in suku meeting sometimes. He said;

"I heard regarding the meeting, when the participant got invitation letter or information regarding the meeting but I do not invite or inform directly by someone regarding the meeting (01:30)".

Even thou, he did not invited but sometimes he was trying to go to attend the meeting, sometimes he wanted to ask regarding his living condition as a disable person. However; there was always no opportunity and chance to ask. He did not given any chance to ask or even asked if he has something to talk about.

He used to participate in the church activities either in the suku or in the church in vila. However; nowadays people are all using transportation and it difficult for Respondent 13 to use it. He used to walk and he knows the road very well by walking. He could not walk anymore due to he is only walking by himself is difficult and there are also traffic that he could not handle.

Respondent 13 also does not talking regarding his problem with the xefe suku but with the staff from Ministry of Social and Solidarity. However; it remain the same, those staff have been coming for many times to list his name but nothing happen until then. But because Respondent 13 is 65 now he already received the pension fund for elder but not the money for the disable, because one person could only entitle for one pension only. He uses the money to buy the food to consume.

Regarding the MDG houses distribution for the vulnerable people he said;

"I did not get one of MDG houses because they just give to their families (05:00)".

He knows that a lots of community complaint regarding the distribution of MDG houses that there is indication of nepotism, but he could do nothing.

As a disable he said that the most important for the disabled people like him is food, clothes and shelter.

Respondent 23, 80s years old, she was born in Japanese time, aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, her husband has been died.

Even though she is very old and sometimes not healthy she is still working on her farm. Her farm is far from where she lives and it takes an hour by walking to reach there. She also has livestock like pig and chicken. Because of she is very old; usually her grandchild helps her to get the clean water within the aldeia.

She did not participate in any activities in suku because xefe aldeia did not inform her regarding the meeting and activities. She was also participated in the project installation for four days voluntarily. She is also contributing money to the water maintenance, in other side she said she contribute 0.50 cent for water contribution, she has contributed twice, she said the informant and the collector is selcom.

She has no electricity access in her house due to electricity payment however; she earned the pension for elder, she does know regarding MDG houses, and they have not got one.

Her priority is to have access to the Electricity.

5. Institutions and power

5.1. Constellation of Suku Groups

There are 13 village groups in DC-3.3. These includes; agricultural, football, martial art, political parties, women group with its' credit union. These groups have their names, types, objectives, structure, group/members base, activities and their influences.³⁹

Group & members base	Activities	Name	Type
Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4	Vegetable farming & selling	Grupu DC-3.3-Aldeia 4	Agriculture/ Forestry
Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4	Tree nursery and vegetable	Grupu Ambeintal DC-3.3-Aldeia 4	
Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3	Tree nursery	Grupu Agricultur DC-3.3-Aldeia 3	
Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3	Football	Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3	Disport
DC-3.3-Aldeia 1		Grupu Hasuma	
All three aldeias	Base empowerment	Fretilin	Political
		CNRT	

³⁹ Data management system-DC-3.3

		PD	
		PDN	
		Frente Mudanca	
All three aldeias	Training	PSHT	Martial art
		Padjajaran	
DC-3.3-Aldeia 1	Local handmade	CBO 1	women
Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3	Loan and saving	Promete	Credit Union

1. Grupu DC-3.3-Aldeia 4

The main activities of membership of this horticultural group is farming vegetables and selling of its reaping. All the activities, group and memberships are base in DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 with the limited influential of group leader to membership and even connect to outside of the aldeia. However, the other structure like treasurer and the secretary constrain the group leader and other membership to access the financial transparency. In this case, both secretary and treasurer not inform the group cash to the membership and the group leader after selling of their vegetables. Xefe aldeia is the leader of the group, Olivio (name changed) is the secretary Domingas (name changed) is the treasurer and other 25 are the members.⁴⁰

2. Grupu Ambiental DC-3.3-Aldeia 4

Aside from the group of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 is another environmental group known as grupu ambiental DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 with the main activities of doing tree nursery and vegetables farming. The main objective of this group is to conserve the forestry and the environment, the membership, group and activities location also base in the aldeia. Particularly, the group base is at the house of group leader and the leader use the power to control the resource. E.g. the membership of the group do not have right to access to the group cash and funding from the donor. Isabel (name changed) is the coordinator of the group, her son is the treasurer, Respondent 8 is the secretary and other 15 are the members. Additionally, the spouse of the coordinator also active in group activities even though he is part of the group⁴¹

"I help my wife for nursery and planting the trees such as sandal wood, aimahoni, Gamelina, Aiteka. We have the farm that we farming the cassava and corn".⁴²

3. Grupu agricultura DC-3.3-Aldeia 3

A newly agricultural group where based in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 which is just created within the year of 2014 with objective of to conserve the forestry. The leader and membership this group also reside in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3. Thus, the activities of this group will going to do the three nursery in this aldeia. The group chief is

⁴⁰ DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 6XefeAldeiaDC-3.3-Aldeia 4.Note. p. 3

⁴¹ DC-3.3-07.29.14-Respondent 18-Teacher-Note. p. 3

⁴² Ibid

Antonio (name changed), secretary is Joao (name changed), and treasurer is Antonia (name changed) and with other 12 membership during the initiation of the group.⁴³

4. *Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3*

This sport club has its main objective is form to compete in football tournament when needed. Respondent 25 is the chief of the group, the youth leader Reinaldo (name changed) and Laura (name changed) are the treasurer, Olivio (name changed) is secretary, Respondent 12 is a coach, Geraldo (name changed), is one of the founder who has influential power within the group and with other 22 members. The membership of this club is mainly from DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and their main activities are training and cleaning the others farm in order to work for the group fund. The leader of the group, Geraldo (name changed) and the coach are the powerful and influential within the group.

5. *Desportu Hasuma*

Hasuma group is a football club where based in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and representing the youth of DC-3.3 only. The main objective of this club is to compete in soccer tournament when needed. The structure of this group is consist of a Leader and other youths are the membership. However, they work with the local authority like xefe suku xefe aldeia and the youth leader regarding the information and communication strategy. As belong to the DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. Thus, xefe suku, xefe aldeia and youth leader also play their important role to advise the group activities.

6. *Fretilin*

Majority and historical political party in DC-3.3 with main objective to maintain and empower structure and membership in the base. The coordinator of this party is teacher Eber (name changed) who is serve as public servants and the membership and sympathizer are mix in suku and aldeias. Their activities depend on the national program and schedule. The public servant particularly who are the public servant are the influential individual within the party⁴⁴.

7. *PD*

PD also one of the significant political party in this village with the same objective and interest to gain the power. The coordinator of this party is xefe suku. There is no regular activities for the party structure and members, they just readjust the structure of the party in order to compete at the election to have more vote. The membership base are mix within DC-3.3.⁴⁵

8. *CNRT*

CNRT is also a big political party in DC-3.3 with the same objective to maintain and empower the membership and the structure at suku and aldeia base in order to compete in the election which is led by Luis (name changed) where the members are live mix. They do not have regular activities but depend on the supervision from the national level. The same objective and membership base also happen to these fallowing parties⁴⁶;

⁴³ DC-3.3-073114-Respondent 25SportClubpresident.Note. p. 3

⁴⁴ DC-3.3-072914-Respondent 15.Note. p. 3

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ibid

9. PDN

PDN is a political party that led by Jeremias (name changed)⁴⁷

10. Frente Mudanca

Frente-Mudanca is a newly political party which was break from the Fretilin (there is no coordinator but it is appear when time campaign for election time)⁴⁸

11. PSHT

PSHT is one of the martial art organization that the members are majority youth in the village, the main objective is for self-defense and exercising, this group is led by Geraldo (name changed) and the others are just ordinary membership which the base of the membership is at all aldeia within the village and they regular activities is training some perhaps cause to clash with other youth and martial art membership, they are the majority martial art and fallowed by other like Padjajaran.⁴⁹

12. Padjajaran

It is one of the small martial art group beside PSHT, the same objective with the other martial group as a self-defense training, the group is led by Respondent 12 and other are just be ordinary membership, their main activities also regular training. Furthermore there also other martial members like Korka, Santo Antonio Rajawali and Inkai but their training base is at the somewhere else out of the DC-3.3.⁵⁰

13. CBO 1

CBO 1 is one of women handicraft group with their main objective is for the women empowerment in suku. However the membership is only limited for the women in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and base in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. This group is led by Respondent 31 and treasurer is xefe aldeia's wife and xefe aldeia is the adviser to this group. Their main activities is regular traditional hand made to sell in suai and sell at the national and international fanfare. Xefe aldeia is as unique male that come up with idea to create this group.⁵¹

14. PROMETE

It is one the credit union for the objective of loaning and saving in order to facilitate community for doing small business for the villager in DC-3.3 and in each aldeia with the membership of 10 to 15 members with influence of Woman's could access to small loan. The main activities of this group is saving and to loaning to the community who would like to run for small business⁵².

5.2. Formation of village groups

5.2.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Leadership positions in the village group are come from varies background, history and skills; Respondent 15 who is currently being part of civil servant as a teacher while leading the Fretilin party as a sub- district coordinator, he has being recognized by the government as a veteran⁵³. Aside from him, the same teacher Eber

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ DC-3.3-07.30.14-Respondent 22-Farmer-Note. p. 2

⁵⁰ DC-3.3-07.28.2014-Respondent 12-Farmer-Notes. P. 2

⁵¹ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note. p. 1

⁵² DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 7XefeAldeiaDC-3.3-Aldeia 3.Note. p. 5

⁵³ DC-3.3-072914-Respondent 15.Note. p. 1

(name changed) Martins also affiliate with Fretelin party as a coordinator for DC-3.3 and another teacher Jeremias Soares also stated that he is affiliate with Fretelin since for long period⁵⁴.

In other side, Respondent 25; a leader of GMF in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and one of the previous xefe aldeia in transition period known as Selkom⁵⁵, he was a leader of disport club group known as Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, but then the group was terminated due to some influential leader mainly Geraldo (name changed) from martial art leader background. Due to that, Geraldo (name changed) and the members create another group called group Esperança⁵⁶. However, this group no longer exist due to the differences style of previous leadership is better than the current leadership. In this case, the membership came back to the previous leader Respondent 25 and previous group name Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3.

In addition to above, Geraldo (name changed) was one of the martial leader of PSHT in DC-3.3, has influential in the group of Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and he was success to influence the group of Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 to create new group named Esperança. However, this group no longer exist. Respondent 31 who is the leader of women group named CBO 1 was elected through election process.⁵⁷ Current xefe aldeia for DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 also lead the horticultural group known as grupu DC-3.3-Aldeia 4. Mateus Gonsalves was appointed consensually to be a youth leader in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and Respondent 12 with skills of martial art and football background as a coach for the soccer and martial trainer base in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3.⁵⁸

There are group leadership styles are both participatory and non-participatory; the women group of CBO 1 has regular meeting twice a week at their office, the leader were active as the member as. This also part of observation during eleven days in DC-3.3.⁵⁹ Aside from that, the group leader participatory is depending on the need and issue. However, Respondent 25 who works for government under department of Forestry but voluntarily hold multifunction role in aldeia such as president of Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, leader of GMF for water maintenance and supervising.⁶⁰

"The older xefe aldeia Respondent 25 also good because during his leadership the cleaning program and our aldeia always clean. But current xefe aldeia always busy with his personal business". ⁶¹-Said Respondent 12.

In other side, Geraldo (name changed), a martial art group leader who used to actively participate in the activity of Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 but then he chose his own way to provide disport training somewhere out of DC-3.3. The location of group Ambiental is base at the house of chief, in this case the leader gather the membership is seasonal depend on the need.

Basically, leaders obtain positions through pointing hand and consensually agreed by the members due to the previous job done and related previous experience like the leader of Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and Hasuma group leader in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and the coach in DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 Respondent 12 were previous football player. The same appointment and agree with consensually also happen with the leader of GMF in each aldeia.

⁵⁴ DC-3.3-07.28.14-Respondent 14-Teacher-Note. p. 3

⁵⁵ Selcom; chief of sub village or hamlet which was used during time transition under UNTAET, it is similar to xefe aldeia

⁵⁶ GMF is a team for water system maintenance, controlling and supervising under suku council structure

⁵⁷ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note. P. 1

⁵⁸ DC-3.3-07.28.2014-Respondent 12-Farmer-Note. P. 2

⁵⁹ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note P. 1

⁶⁰ DC-3.3-073114-Respondent 25SportClubpresident.Note P. 1

⁶¹ DC-3.3-07.28.2014-Respondent 12-Farmer-Note P. 2

However, these leaders were only appointed by suku council during suku meeting. In other side, the leader of Ambiental group was being a leader because of she was the initiator and founder of the group. Thus, she is the one who appoint a nominee to complete her structure. In the case of women group leader of group CBO 1 was democratically compete in the election with her two adversary, the other two being treasurer and secretary.⁶²

In many groups when there is a related issue to the group, leader has to play their important role to inform and gather the membership. The women group of CBO 1 having regular meeting at twice a week on Monday and Thursday and work in a rotation among them. Some groups, even though it is not the regular task to be done. Example the group leader of Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, Hasuma have to inform their member and train the membership prior to compete in the soccer tournament at suku and sub-district level to celebrate the independence day. In other side, the membership of grupu ambiental is being paid and feed by the leader when the members work for the group.

“We are the members but the regular activity conducted by the group owner only, when the money or the facilitator from national coming to this place then our leader gather the members and we just be paid for US\$. 3 a day but then all other activities are implement by the owner, the owner just use our name for the sake of the owner”. (03:00)-Said Respondent 17

In many instances, proven record of good work delivered, ability, commitment, skills, experience and job done could legitimate the power of a leader of the group. In this case, indicate to the most group leaders in DC-3.3. Except, the leader of the grupu Ambiental and legitimate as a initiator or founder of the group and group DC-3.3-Aldeia 4, who has been elected as xefe aldeia will be the leader of the group like previous xefe aldeia was the leader and hand over to current xefe aldeia. However, in the case of group CBO 1 there is election conducted and democratically the leader elected even thou, the idea of creating this group was from xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1.

There is a regulation within the group of Hasuma and Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 like when the tournament is going to come closer then the members are being banned by the leader to not consume alcoholism and smoke cigarette, if any members against this rule then the members should be punished to do push up and running around the court. For members of CBO 1, if any members absent for three time consecutively then she should dismiss from the group.⁶³ In other side, there is no financial transparency among the group DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and grupu ambiental, the treasurer and the secretary of grupu DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 had never update the information regarding financial expenditure and financial at hand, this happen because both treasurer and the secretary of the group have love affair among them.⁶⁴ Hence, the members of the group Ambiental did not access to the amount of fund and expenditure details⁶⁵

“We have elected the treasurer to keep the money but the secretary is the one who has the interest on the money, the first and second phase we still know regarding the amount of money, but then we could not access any more regarding the money, when we asked for financial update to the treasurer, the secretary just start to upset to us when we asking regarding financial”. Said Respondent 6 (1:07)

There is consultation among the groups before the decision to be made but if there has not been agree to the last decision then the structure seat together for further consent or otherwise the members prefer to leave the

⁶² DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note P. 1

⁶³ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 26-XA DC-3.3-Aldeia 1-Note P. 4

⁶⁴ DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 6XefeAldeiaDC-3.3-Aldeia 4.Note p. 4

⁶⁵ DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 17communitymemberDC-3.3-Aldeia 4.Note p. 1

group and even disband the group itself when there is disagree to agree toward the last decision or when the group activities is not benefit directly to the membership and the structure seats. In this instance indicate to the group of the CBO 1, the two members were leave the group because of there is lack of incentive as the group was just newly created and for the case of sport club group in DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, Geraldo (name changed) and the members were leave the group to found another group known as Esperanca because of disagree with leader decision to handing over the uniform after the soccer tournament at sub district level. Two members of disport Hasuma in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 leave the group to join the group of disport Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 due to disagreement among them.

Furthermore, the secretary and the treasurer of grupu DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 constraining the cash of the group to the members and leader. Thus, the membership and the leader do not access to the financial transparency. Due to this, the membership of the group was leave the group and the group was break up. In other side, the leader of group Ambiental use her power as a initiator and founder, she decide every thin and the members only got paid when the membership is hired for necessary activities.

5.2.2. Financial Management

Group used a variety of means to obtain resources, CBO 1 and group Ambiental funded by the donors like CBO 1 was funded by Centru Komunidade with 900 dollars donation for the construction of CBO 1 building and 400 dollars donation from APJTL for their activities.⁶⁶ For the group of Ambiental was funded by a NGO from Cambodia with 5000 dollars that was recommended by the government through estate secretary for environment. In the case of the group DC-3.3-Aldeia 4, were facilitate by the Oxfam through training and supporting of seeds and fertilizer and unlike to other group, they were having the group primary cash from the vegetables trade. In other side, the disport club group of Hasuma and Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, collect money from the membership and communities for certain activities or program.⁶⁷ In addition to the Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, the club members work for others farm in order to get some financial support for their activities like purchasing some consumption during their tournament at suku or sub district level.

Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and Hasuma do not have short or long terms of financial resources planning process. These groups only collect money from the membership or the villagers when they have plan to the any activities or event like group party.in other side, there are also two types of cash of the group of CBO 1 decided by the members to create credit union and sharing the interest of 15 dollars each among them.⁶⁸ Furthermore the newly group that just created in 2014 known as Agricultural DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, the proposal of this group has been approved by Estate secretary for Forestry. Respondent 25, one of the initiator of this group said regarding the finance planning for their group;

“The budget is planning to use for; buying the baby trees and the seeds, bamboo for seeded needs, small plastic bag (polybag), and transportation fees. There will be no salary or stipend for the group members due to the budget limitation.”-Said Respondent 25

The group leader usually administers resources, The leader of Grupo Ambiental is appointing her son for to be a treasurer; In the case, the financial resource was is being administer by the group leader. Respondent 18, the

⁶⁶ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note P. 1

⁶⁷ DC-3.3-08.02.14_Respondent 32_Youth-Note P.2

⁶⁸ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note P. 1

spouse to the group leader said the group funded by a Cambodian NGO with 500 dollars for first phase but Respondent 17 one the fifteen members said;

“Members heard from mouth to mouth that the total budget for the group was \$10,000 but it was only rumor. There was no transparency on financial system. During four days working, there were also lunch and snack provided. Things that group members knew that some of the money was using to buy plastic bags. The money is managing by the group leader however; members did not know where the money stored”.⁶⁹

Additionally, the secretary and the treasurer of group DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 did not update on the financial resource of the group the group members during their vegetable trades. However, there is financial transparency within the group of CBO 1, the cash of the group is at the bank and they use it as credit union for the members and outside the members on order to have more interest, Rosa (name changed) of the group member often to deposit the money and there is always report when conducting trimestral meeting at Centru Comunidade. In other side, for the group Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and Hasuma do not have cash to administer but when needed like ceremony of their group then the collection and the contribution has to be conducted.

Mostly the cash of the group either the leader or the treasurer they keep the resources at their house, in this instance indicate to the group of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and group of Ambiental. In other side, the group of Unidade and Hasuma do not have group cash but they only have uniform, ball and other related facility that keep with their leaders house.⁷⁰ However, for the group CBO 1, the membership and the leader decide together to deposit their cash at the Bank which is 650 dollars now which is manage Rosa (name changed) one of the group member.⁷¹ Furthermore, there is a treasurer for the group of CBO 1, group Ambiental and the group of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 but the finance keep with someone else like cash for CBO 1 save at bank but it always deposit by Rosa (name changed) the member of the group, the cash for group DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 keep with treasurer but manage by secretary and the cash for the group Ambiental is keep either with treasurer or the leader because the treasurer son to the leader.

When the group is being created for the purpose of public interest and common inclusive then there has to be transparency among the group and villager also obtain the information about the group expenditure. E. g. the villagers of DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 is being informed regarding group expenditure during tournament activities at sub-district level due to the cash was contributed by the communities themselves. Additionally, the group CBO 1 has transparency among the leader and the membership regarding the expenditure of the budget and the their deposit at the bank, the membership obtain the information through mouth to mouth during their daily activities and most importantly they update expenditure information through trimestral meeting at Centru Comunidade. E.g. the membership got informed regarding their regular income on their trading and treasurer keep inform to the team regarding their deposit at bank.

In other hand, when the group is created by an individual or there is a personal interest prior to creation of a group then there is constraining of access, either the group cash nor group expenditure. In this instance, the group of ambiental was created by the group leader and the group of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 was created due to personal interest. Hence, the villager of aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and even the membership of the refer groups do not access to the group expenditure and group cash at hand.

⁶⁹ DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 17communitymemberDC-3.3-Aldeia 4.Note P. 1

⁷⁰ DC-3.3-07.28.2014-Respondent 12-Farmer-Notes P. 2

⁷¹ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note P. 1

5.2.3. Collective action among groups

The village groups are very rarely cooperate among them by their own initiative in suku. However, there is tournament activities among one group against other group either within the suku and outside the suku which is being organized by the FFIL at district and sub district level. Respondent 28 a member of disport club known as Hasuma said;

*“We do not have friendship tournament among ourselves that initiatively organize by ourselves but we just participate at the sub district level when inauguration of independence or other holy day”.*⁷²

Grupo CBO 1 use of their knowledge and the skills that they have to provide training to the related group in neighboring sub-district 1. An individual like Respondent 17 has the same activities with the group CBO 1 but she prefer to run alone her own activities. Moreover, the same group with the same activities and the same aldeia but they never cooperate in any maters, these indicate to group of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and Ambiental. Mostly the group members only attend the training and meeting outside the suku to sud district and district level, even at national level.

For the disport activities in DC-3.3, when there is special ceremony like the celebration of Timor-Leste independency day then the tournament will be organized by FFIL of sub district level so the group or club from each aldeia just participate in the tournament competition. In this period, each group plan their own activities, supervise their own team members training for the competition and the members are being banned by the leaders to not consume alcoholism and smoking. In spite of that, the CBO 1 delegates the members to attend the meeting, training or comparison study should depend on the suggestion from the Centru Comunidade as a donor.

The groups in DC-3.3 do not have cooperation because these group leaders or members do not organize or come up with the idea to cooperate with one another within the suku. Each group created at their respective aldeia in order to serve their villagers and exclusive to others aldeia and groups. The leader of CBO 1, Respondent 31 said we do not cooperate with other group in suku but we attend training and provide the training in other district and sub district. However, the sport club teams like Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and Desportu Hasuma well cooperate with FFIL as a facilitator during tournament process at suku and sub district level.

The communities also cooperate with the government, when there is an activity that directly or indirectly affected and benefit the communities in general. For example, when there is clean water project implementation which was facilitated by the government through SAS, NGO Triangle and H₂O were being participated by the most communities by rotation work without pay. The 73 household affected community in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 also ready to cooperate with central government particularly office of the Vice Prime Minister, Estate secretary for the land and property, local governments mainly district and sub district administrator and government institution mainly police. In order to be evicted as long as the government has to be clear assurance for their compensation and new house for them has to be built. Regarding the competition in football tournament for celebrating independence day which was being organized by the local governance such as district and sub district through Estate secretary for disport the community contribute financially and morally to their club group members to participate in the tournament. Additionally, the women group through CBO 1 prepare local handmade art to the government when the government need to buy, the group members also

⁷² DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 28-Note P. 1

participate in any related fanfare which will be organized by the government to sell and promote their local product.

The community in each aldeia prefer to their create their own group and there has not been a leader or some that come up with the idea create a collective group and there is a criterion of each group that exist in a aldeia, the membership should derived from refer aldeia other it is not be acceptable like CBO 1. Regarding the membership, Respondent 31 the leader said;

*We decided to accept only for those who knows related skills and knowledge and we also decide not to accept for those is from other aldeia.*⁷³

This problem is exacerbated in Barrio 1, which lacks road access and easy access to information.

5.2.4. Communication strategies

Mostly, the group that base in an aldeia then the group introduction of the activities also only reach until refer aldeia and even only the membership could access to the information. The introduction methods is through group leader house to house or mouth to mouth and the group meeting.⁷⁴ Besides that, the grupu CBO 1, not entire community know about this group but the membership inform to one another through their regular meeting on Monday and Thursday at their center.

Generally, the people who does not have knowledge, skills and vision will not be informed unless it is common activities which is related to suku like civil education before election, entire community are being informed, water project all community participate for free. However, in some case like the distance and accessibility of one in Barrio 1 which is attach to DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 but far from the aldeia and suku center. In this condition of road accessibility, either the transport or walking house to could not facilitate the information to the community in the rural are.⁷⁵ In other hand, the membership of a group which is being exist in aldeia then the membership enrolment also has to derived from refer aldeia, in this instance, the community in Barrio 1 has been bottlenecked of information.

5.2.5. Creation and termination of groups

New groups normally founded to serve a purpose, for example disport club of Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 created by youth in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and desportu Hasuma created by the youths in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 to compete in the tournament when celebrating of national holydays like independency day of Timor-Leste. These group was just a small gathering without group name but then they were suggested by the FFTL in sub-district and district level to create a group the it is name in order to be a member and recognized by the government through FFTL and estate secretary for disport.

Grupou CBO 1, DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and grupu Ambiental were created through the suggestion from the donor or facilitator, like CBO 1 created to empower the women in the villages and the others group to empower their small business and to protect the environment.

⁷³ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note P. 2

⁷⁴ DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 17communitymemberDC-3.3-Aldeia 4. Note P. 1

⁷⁵ DC-3.3-07.27.14-Respondent 11-Farmer Note. P. 1

There is some specific groups that terminated due to natural and human resource impact; the horticultural group of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 was terminated due to lack of water supply, the land is not potential for vegetables farming. Additionally, the DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 group was terminated due to the treasurer and secretary who save group cash do not transparent to the group members and the leader. In other side, the group CBO 1 was terminated due to lack of trust and some influence tent to reshuffle the group because of the agreement of the leader decision like Respondent 25 as leader call on the group members and structure seat to hand over the uniform after the tournament. However, some influential leader like Geraldo (name changed) from PSHT group leader and Respondent 12 was disagree and influence the members to create new group known as Esperanca. However, Esperanca group was reshuffle as well due to lack of trust their leader Geraldo (name changed) and the members prefer to reorganize the previous group known as Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and reappoint their leader Respondent 25 to be their leader. In the case of martial art group like PSHT, Padjajaran, and other martial group was crack down due to central government resolution to close down the martial arts activities.

5.3. Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

Gropu meu ambiental

Group was created in 2010 based in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 by the initiator Isabel (name changed) as a founder and group leader her son is the treasurer, Respondent 8 is a secretary and followed by the members. This group was funded by a NGO from Cambodia, Cambodian NGO was suggested by the government to support refer group based on previous job done. The membership of this group was 15 but then down to 13 because the other 2 were left the group due to dissatisfied with the leadership management. This members is basically from the same aldeia and even the closer neighborhood only, the membership was informed by the group leader to be a member of the group, leader took the electoral card of each membership and explain to the membership on t working payment like 5 dollars a day for each member and feed. However, the leader not talking about the total of the fund and not talk about structure of the group. In the beginning was 5 dollars payment but then down to 3 dollars, Respondent 17 said;

“When members were recruited, the structure has been formed; it was not through a meeting or discussion with group members. Therefore, members have no influence and power over the structure”.

The group owner is a teacher and her husband who is serving as a teacher also being active in nursery and farming also a teacher. Even thou he is not a membership of the group but as spouse of the group leader he also involve in physical activities. However, he does not attend meeting related to the group.

First phase this group got 5000 dollars from the NGO Cambodia for the nursery and farming the plantation such as sandal wood, Mahogany tree, Gamelina, teak tree, coconut tree and farm the cassava and corn. The activities for the groups were only filling soil to polybag (small plastic bag).

The husband the group leader said the fund was 5000 dollars for the first phase. However, do not have transparency on the resources which cause from mouth to mouth whispering that the total budget for the group was \$10,000. The members also not access to the cash from the selling tree seeds.

The only problem happen was when the payment made to the group. Initially they were promised to pay \$5 per day but then they pay only \$3. Members received the payment and problem just solved. On 2011, the group was dissolved because the trees nursery was failed. Only on 2013 Lidia (name changed) started the group with the same group member. This time they work only for one day and she paid \$10 per person.

Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3

Sport club unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 is based in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, was formed in 2004 but before that in 2001 on, there had been sport training which was provided by Respondent 12 as a coach. The formation of the club was suggested by the FFTL⁷⁶ from district level, in order to fulfill the criteria of the FFTL membership. So far the club has no financial support. However; communities always have initiatives to provide financial and material support their club team when they know the team is going to participate in a competition. After using of these resources the Club management will provide report to the communities in a community meeting in aldeia regarding expenditure and next the plan activities and after the activities. In order to have group cash, the group members also organize themselves to work and clean on other farms and they got paid.

The structure of the group was consensually appoint by the group members only, total members of this club is 22 player, two from aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and some from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1. People who are consuming alcohol and smoking also being banned. This club also won several times already during competition in sub-district level and they had been awarded with trophy, uniform, nets and balls. The president and the structure were elected through an election process. some influence tent to reshuffle the group because of disagree to the leader's decision like Respondent 25 as leader call on the group members and structure seat to hand over the uniform after the tournament. However, some influential leader like Geraldo (name changed) from PSHT⁷⁷ group leader and Respondent 12 was disagree and influence the members to create new group known as Esperanca. However, Esperanca group was reshuffle as well due to lack of trust their leader Geraldo (name changed) and the members prefer to reorganize the previous group known as Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and reappoint their leader Respondent 25 to be their leader.

5.4. Constellation of Local Governance (Structure, Objective, Member base, Activities, Influence)

GMF	Suku council	Name
General coordinator (xefe suku), secretary, treasurer, technician, and groups facilitator	Xefe suku, PAAS, Xefe DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 2	Structure
	Lia nain, Ansiaun, women rep and male rep, male youth leader and female youth leader	
To maintain the water management system in Suku	To facilitate the community in general	objective
all communities	All communities	Member base
Collecting cash, controlling water system and maintenance	Monthly meeting and reporting, conflict resolution, external meeting	Activities

⁷⁶ FFTL is a national football federation in Timor-Leste

⁷⁷ PSHT; a brotherhood self-defence martial art group abbreviated in Indonesian as Persaudaraan Setia Hati Terate

Everyone could access to the water facilitation	Control the communities	Influence
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5.5. Formation of village governance

5.5.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Basically, the suku council structure led by xefe suku and secretary for administrative matter. There are three xefe aldeia such as xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, DC-3.3-Aldeia 2, DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, Male and Female representative, youth male and female leader, lia nain and all this council supervised by ansiaun. Generally, they are the leadership of the village governance, engaged in the multi of the village governance and in the village groups. Xefe suku who is the heads of the suku council. Besides that, he is leading the team for the water maintenance in each aldeia known as GMF and having his own company for small scale infrastructure and construction. In other side, xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 also a member of CBO 1 because the group formation was his idea.⁷⁸ Previous xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 also leading group Unidade DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and initiate the agricultural group based in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 also leading a horticultural group known as group DC-3.3-Aldeia 4.

At aldeia level, beside xefe aldeia there is cultural leader known as *ketua adat* which is similar to the xefe aldeia, there are the first to mediate any case that happen in the aldeia before forward to the aldeia and suku level, *ketua adat* also paid 15 to 20 dollars per each person either complainant or the suspect.

Generally, suku council is controlling decision making project; identification of the community needs and decision on the project identification is by the suku council. In this instance suku council decide to construct water water project system to the aldeias, suku council also decide to have water maintenance team to control the water used by the communities. With exception with Suku Development Program (PDS) were the prioritization process start since aldeia all the way up to District level before a project is selected through paralelismo indetification. Furthermore, suku council decide to identified MDG houses to the vulnerables people and in the suku council decide to each suku council members benefit one MDG house, even thou there are not part of vulnerables. Regarding the suku council members also benefit from those MDG houses said that;

Suku council members were receiving because their roles as suku councils member is ending on 2015, the house is only a present for their work during the 5 years of leadership. They got nothing especial during 5 years except the subsidy from government, therefore, the xefe suku and suku councils decided to give a house for each member.

As part of the observation during 11 days and some complaint of the English class student to open the suku hall for the computer training but suku office never open at the day time. there do not have suku council members show up at suku office particularly xefe suku and suku secretary. They come to the suku when needed like appointment of meeting. Leader for GMF team in each aldeia are conducted meeting at suku office depend on the need and when demanded by suku council.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note P. 1

⁷⁹ DC-3.3-08.02.14_Respondent 32_Youth-Note P. 1

⁸⁰ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 26-XA DC-3.3-Aldeia 1-Note. P. 3

Suku election process in 2009/2010 was technically organized by STAE and the training provided by CNE from the district. The villager only provide polling staff to help with the election process. There was also training or socialization provided for the voters to choose their leaders through package there were three package which are compete in the election.⁸¹ Individually, the candidate is being affiliated with political parties but the election rule is not allowed to directly represent the parties for the suku election package. Current xefe suku package were mostly from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and nominated by the xefe suku himself. Except the other three xefe aldeias mainly xefe aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 2, the process of nomination of the package structure was by current xefe suku by looking at the ability, knowledge and commitment. However, In 2005, there were two elections. One election was to elect Xefe Suku and another was for Xefe Aldeia, Xefe Suku had to appoint his member of the council later after he was elected.

Creation of the CBO 1 group is derived from the idea of current xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, the group is for the propose of women empowerment. Election process also happen with the refer group due to the suggestion from centru comunidade as a group donor to elect their structure. Election process is simply democratic, majority vote lead the group and the next majority seat a treasurer and the last candidate but not got any vote seat as treasurer. Total members are 10, nine vote to Respondent 31 as leader and xefe aldeia vote for his wife as treasurer and Rosa (name changed) did not get vote. In other side, GMF team which is attached to suku council that only appoint the structure by the suku council structures.

Base on government plan to construct MDG houses to the community who are consider as vulnerable. Hence, the suku council sent proposal to the government to establish houses to the vulnerables. Afterwards, suku council members like xefe suku and xefe aldeia identify and list the name of the vulnerables in order to benefit the MDG houses when it will be completed. However, there is being nepotism system during the distribution of the houses; suku council who do not eligible to benefit from the MDG houses also get one instead of distribute to those who are vulnerables. The vulnerables who is benefit of the MDG houses complement xefe suku leadership regarding construction and distribution of the MDG houses.

Basically, election winning through pakote is legitimize as more powerful in suku. In other side, consensually appointed to seat in the village governance group structure also legitimize to implement the specific rule of suku. E. g. GMF structure which is attached to suku has the power to control and supervising the villagers regarding the rule of using the water in proper way. In other hand, elderly people with the experience of traditional procedures, like badaen Makerek who has appointed the elderly *datos*. Badaen Makerek has legitimated by the customary skills and knowledge of uma lulik design and measurement of the death body in order to design the coffin. Moreover, the *datos* like dato boot is the superior of the entire *datos* in DC-3.3 and there is several *datos* of each uma lulik such as dato of uma lulik Berbein, dato of uma lulik Beik Laran, Dato of Uma Lusin, dato of Uma Babulu and dato of uma lulik badaen Makerek. These *datos* is basically the elders who know well the cultural procedures, they were respected by the ordinary villagers and their presence to any traditional activities is very necessary and highly appreciated.⁸²

In the formal governance, the power is used for identifying village needs, handle village money, making proposal to the government, organize the community in common project such as 3 dollars project for road cleaning rehabilitan and clean water project, in the case of the mediation to the conflict resolution, the payment is giving to the community leader to share to one another for their own expenditure.

⁸¹ DC-3.3-07.27.14-Respondent 11-Farmer-Note. P. 1

⁸² DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 27n-ketua adat-Note. P. 1

Suku council which is led by xefe suku made the decision on the needs of the communities such as, identification of the community needs like water, MDG houses and road cleaning program, forming of GMF team in each aldeia; decide to give regular contribution for water maintenance, decision on the payment of mediation to a case at ketua adat, xefe aldeia and suku level with reason of to prevent more conflict and argument within the community, suku council also decide to involve the community in the project of the common needs like water and the road cleaning project. Regarding the decision to distribute houses to the suku council was participate suku council members and led by xefe suku. In the case of cultural activities decision are made by the dados of uma lulik and the meeting will be participate by the uma lulik members and other helper. Furthermore, badaen makerek also has customary entrusted to decide on first construction in the beginning of foundation to the uma lulik. Xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 also decide to create a group for women empowerment and he also be a members of this women group to made the traditional handmade. Be a member of the CBO 1. The meeting regarding affected community of airport construction, most affected community participated in this meeting, xefe suku suggested to not everybody ask question but the participant tend to ask question. Normally during this meeting the marginalized and vulnerables are excluded.

The decision related to the suku and the meeting are normally attended and decided by village council often once a month at suku office, and basically the decision made by the suku council through xefe suku as the leader of village council but there is also necessary meeting without based on their regular time. the same thing decision making happen with the uma lulik, often the decision made by dato in each uma lulik and badaen makerek also made decision to supervise the worker of the uma lulik construction.

There discussion and suggestion are take place but xefe as leader of the village council is influential in decision making, xefe has power to control the tension of the meeting this is part of observation in the meeting with vise prime minister on affected community regarding construction of the airport. Regarding the meeting in suku office, Respondent 13 one of the disable who used to attend the meeting at suku office said;

“Respondent 13 one of the disable who was used to attend the meeting in suku said, during the meeting xefe tend to control the meeting discussion like he would like to ask the question regarding the accessibility for the people with disability but xefe suku never giving him a chance to raise the question”.

Regarding MDG houses xefe suku promise to the land owner and farm owner that they will get two houses but in the end xefe suku decide to offer one house only to the land lord suku council list the name of the vulnerables but in the end the suku council members are the beneficiary.

In the case of cash for the water maintenance, community access monthly after their offer their contribution to the GMF team. However, regarding the MDG houses, there is no transparency and xefe suku there has not been fair in the distribution of the houses that offer by the government, some affected due to their land and farm use for the construction got two houses but some not even one.⁸³

Xefe suku was not honest in the distribution process, to be clear, he should give the house to the vulnerable and inactive or disabled people in the first place. But he gave it to those who are far from vulnerable including all the suku council members”. (25:00-120830-002)
Said Respondent 24

Communities also does not access to the expenditure for the English class building that was funded by the government through Minister of Natural Resources and Petroleum.

⁸³ DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 24CommunityMember.Note.docx p. 1

5.5.2. Financial Management

Primary sources of fund suku council are 100 dollars a month petty cash received twice a year or once in six months from the government and the salaries of the council members also are paid once in six months. Village secretary (Pessoal Apoiu Administrasaun Suku) is handling the village petty cash and collecting petty cash for suku, salary and incentive for suku council structure which is also will be paid by the village secretary to the council members and xefe suku himself⁸⁴. The cash for suku council, expenditure is made based on the spending plan made in meeting between the council members, either about office inventory, preparation to receive visitors and so on⁸⁵. Additionally, the cash for the water maintenance is keep with suku as well.

Apart of it, suku council structure also either individually or more get some money from conflict mediation through the preliminary level at Ketua adat is paid 20 dollars for both, victim or complainant and suspect, Xefe Aldeia level it is 25 dollars to report a case for mediation and 50 dollar at suku level with the Lia nain Suku and xefe Suku or other suku council members who is also participate in the mediation process like suku ansiaun. However, money that is paid to ketua adat, Xefe Aldeia and Lian nain to mediate the conflict is being remain with them and share to one another among suku council members who participate in the mediation process without forwarding it further to the village secretary⁸⁶ and the contribution for the water maintenance through GMF also keep with suku office and manage by suku council..

The money of mediation to a case at aldeia level through ketua adat, xefe aldeia and suku level that is keep with them mainly ketua adat, xefe aldeia, xefe suku, lia nain and suku ansiaun, some money they buy drinking and smoking and some they share to each other for the use of their necessity. Suku ansiaun describe regarding their involvement in the mediation of the buffalo dispute;

*“Regarding the case of disputing on buffalos they pay 20 dollars, the money the share to each other who settle the problem, I also got some money, and some money we buy the wine to drink together”.*⁸⁷

The payment on conflict mediation at ketua adat, aldeia level and suku level is keep with them like ketua adat, Xefe Aldeias xefe suku, ansiaun and lia Nain’s house respectively.⁸⁸

The monthly cash for village council is use for office inventory such as papers, board mark, folders and also snack and coffee for meetings. And the money that keep with lia nain and xefe aldeia for purpose of some activities at suku office such snack for the guest or other related activities.

Twice a year in every six month for suku council and the PAAS send report to the national administration called DNA before receiving salary and village patty cash, there has to be a detail report on the spending, including all the receipt and attending list of village meeting otherwise next chunk of Money is put on hold by the sub district until everything is completed. The money that keep at lia nain depend on the situation when there is activity, suku council decide to use refer money and expenditure cost are listed.

Normally, there is regular reporting to the sub district regarding all the village expenditure. That is all a requirement to get disbursement of village patty cash and salary for council members. The ordinary villagers

⁸⁴ 072514-Respondent 2PAAS.Note. p. 1

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ DC-3.3_07.26.14_Respondent 4_Suku Ansiaun_Note. p. 2

⁸⁷ DC-3.3_07.26.14_Respondent 4_Suku Ansiaun_Note. P. 2.

⁸⁸ Ibid

are not requiring to access the village expenditure. For the case of GMF contribution, there is a report to the villager in general however not everybody knows regarding the expenditure and the same report and transparency also being happen in the ritual activities like expenditure of the uma lulik Clan 3 has to be known by the related uma lisan members. A ketua adat said;

*“The rest of material we call the families and we share to each other’s because it is belong to everybody that attach to this uma lulik. We cannot sell the leftover of the material because it is not belong to someone only”.*⁸⁹

5.5.3. Collective action among groups

There are some village institutions that does the local governance structure cooperate with like team for water controlling, supervising and maintenance known as GMF this team also under supervision of the suku council because they were elected by the suku council members through pointing hand and consensually agree and the group of youth and disport activities in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 also cooperate on transmitting information regarding disport activities at suku and sub district level.⁹⁰

The activities of the GMF were planned together with suku council and implemented by the GMF structure in each aldeia such as the rule of using water and every beneficiary are obligatory to contribute money regularly to GMF team for water maintenance. Dissemination of information regarding disport activities to youth in each aldeia by xefe aldeia or xefe suku and youth leader for the preparation.

Villagers cooperation and not cooperation are depending on the need and issue, regular meeting for suku council at the suku office is not involve the villagers, because it is part of the suku council members daily activities particularly in their administrative matters. However, villagers are cooperative when the issue is necessary for everyone in the village. e.g. community cooperate to work for free on water project and the villagers also contribute money regularly for their water maintenance through its aldeia team to control the use of water and the villagers also cooperate in constructing of uma lulik for free involvement and even offer their contribution as well. In other side community do not cooperate when the a activities through tenderization or under company and even common activities but there is a fund for the project then community do not willing to cooperate like community do not like to work for free on the English class building project because there is a fund to hire the workers. Xefe suku said;

*“I assigned the communities to arrange material like wood to construct this English class building but no one bring the wood here so after couple days I just buy the wood and hire skill builder to work”.*⁹¹

Regular meeting of Xefe Suku and suku council members with sub-district and district officer and needs to inform back to the community if the issues is related to the community. Regarding the prioritization for suku, suku council elaborated a proposal sending to sub district and district to select PDS project prioritization through paralelismo identification and PNDS meeting at sub district level. A women rep said;

*“We just attend the PNDS meeting in the sub-district, the problem is as a suku council member we will not benefit from that fund because the fund will be handle by the communities themselves and we suku council just to Monitor” (1:04).*⁹²

⁸⁹ DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 34-Ketua Adat-Note. P. 1

⁹⁰ DC-3.3-07.28.2014-Respondent 12-Farmer-Notes. P. 1

⁹¹ DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 5XefeSukuDC-3.3-Aldeia 1.Note. P. 3

⁹² DC-3.3-073014-Respondent 21WomensRep.Note P. 4

Perhaps, sub district and district administrator or representative to participate any event and activities in the suku such as inauguration of first corner stone and handling over of the MDG house key to the beneficiaries. Moreover, sub-district and district administrator and police officer dialog several times regarding moving of affected community to the new bairo. In other side, group representing also attending meeting at district and sub district level on the related issue like grupo CBO 1 having regular trimestral meeting at centru comunidade and attending the training as well. Suku council attend the meeting on the celebration of national holyday like independence day in order to involve the communities through disport activities and as part of from our observation use of phone call was very common to communicate.

5.5.4. Communication strategies

Normally, xefe suku assign his secretary to inform the xefe aldeias in order to inform the villagers through shouting along the main road by using megaphone or house to house method but sometimes xefe suku also going directly to inform the villagers using his suku motorbike with the same method either using megaphone along the main road or house to house. In other hand, regarding traditional activities like meeting for the ritual ceremony or uma lulik construction, the elderly people assign someone to inform the villagers house to house called *sura abi lakan*.⁹³

The distance and inaccessibility of Bario 1 is difficult for xefe aldeias to inform the villagers in that bairo and due to lack of electronic device and electricity power also may limit the villagers to access direct information through television or phone calling. Although when xefe suku inform directly to the villagers perhaps not all aldeias communities members because shouting through megaphone and using motorbike is only along the main road could not reach to the community who lives far distance. Furthermore, only one megaphone available for announcement purposes could not inform the villagers at the same time for the important and urgent issue.

Most villagers who benefit from the MDG houses and few of them that have not benefit from the houses also said nice thing about suku council particularly xefe suku that they are happy with the current leadership program due to their understanding of MDG houses is part of the current xefe suku program. A youth, Respondent 22 in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 describes;

*“Xefe is good because since his leadership he has being success in MDGs houses to the community. Even though I have not got one of the MDGs house but I will get one for the next phase”.*⁹⁴

However, most community show their dissatisfaction due to many vulnerable not benefit from those houses and suku council do not have program to clean the environment like because of xefe suku busy with his company. Moreover, a disabled person Respondent 13 shows his dissatisfaction on he did not invited when there is meeting and another person with disabilities, Respondent 16 disagree to the xefe suku not involve him in the company activities even thou his name also in the company structure.

*“Xefe come to take my engineering diploma to complete the structure and to complete the terms of reference that require by the government, but when xefe suku gain the tender, I did not use any more for this company through the project implementation regarding constructing the houses in an aldeia, suku Neighboring suku 1. Even thou I did not participate but I did not complaint nor confirm regarding this concern because I feel suffer when I got accident in Dili and so far xefe suku not give anything to me.”*⁹⁵

⁹³ DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 27n-ketua adat-Note. P. 1

⁹⁴ DC-3.3-07.30.14-Respondent 22-Farmer-Note. P. 1

⁹⁵ DC-3.3-07.29.14-Joao Ximenes-Disable-Note. P. 1

5.6. Explanatory cases

Suku Council

Suku council was formally elected in 2009/2010, during the election process there were three package which was compete in the election, the other two package were eliminated. Suku council led by xefe suku Respondent 5, who had been served as youth leader before he takes over the mandate. Additionally, this current suku council package mostly from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1, except other three xefe aldeia. The village Council meets once a month. However, sometimes is more depending on the need.

Normally when there is a plan to have a meeting, xefe suku tasked to inform his secretary to inform other suku council members to attend the meeting. However if the meeting or activities which will be involve communities, then the secretary inform xefe aldeia with spreading the invitation or just by going from house to house or word of mouth. It is the task of each xefe aldeia to inform by house to house or shouting along the main road by shouting using megaphone in a motorbike about the village meetings.

Xefe Suku receives 140 dollars, Xefe Aldeias receive 100 and the village secretary receives 115. Other members of the council only receive 45 dollars. It is monthly wages but paid only once every six months. For members of the council, if they do not participate in any village meeting without plausible justification that 45 dollars could be cut. That is what the law says. Apart from the salary and the incentive that they earn, suku council including ketua adat receive 20 dollars to 50 dollars of mediation to a problem.

GMF

It was form by suku council though pointing hand which not participated by the communities. This team is attach to village council and led by chief of village as general coordinator, followed by secretary, treasurer and technician and group facilitator. GMF was created prior to construction of water project, this team is created for the purpose of supervising, regular collection of community contribution and maintenance to the water system in the village and basically this team is under suku council supervision. The structure seat within GMF has regular incentive of 15 dollars a month. The cash of the team that being contributed by community members is being keep with suku council and keep informing to the community who when necessary. Xefe aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 said;

"If the contribution is late or pending then activities and their payment of incentive also late or ceased" (16:15)⁹⁶

6. Public goods

6.1. Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

There are eleven projects within the DC-3.3⁹⁷. Most of the projects were implemented from the year of 2011 to 2014. These projects were implemented under the leadership of current xefe suku and his council members. These projects have various implementing partners such as; Government, NGOs, Company and the community itself for the community project as Uma lulik building.

⁹⁶ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 26-XA DC-3.3-Aldeia 1-Note. P. 2

⁹⁷ Data management system

No	Project Name	Location	Type	Objective
1	Airport Project	Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4	Government	Expanding the airport to be an international airport
2	MDG Houses	DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 & sub aldeia Bairro 2	Government	Provide houses for the vulnerable people in DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and sub aldeia Bairro 2
3	Flood Defence & Drainage	Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 to DC-3.3-Aldeia 1	Company	Flood protecting
4	Clean Water from SAS	DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 & DC-3.3-Aldeia 1	Government	To increase the distribution of clean water to DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.3-Aldeia 1
5	Opening Road (\$3)	DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 to sub aldeia Bairro 1	Government	To facilitate the community of Bairro 1 to the suku and otherwise
6	Small Bridge	Aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3	Company	To facilitate the community to access to the market
7	English Classes Building	DC-3.3-Aldeia 1	Government	To provide English course for the communities
8	Clean Water	DC-3.3	NGO	Provide clean water supplies to the suku
9	Road to Bairro 2	DC-3.3-Aldeia 1	Company	To facilitate communities of Bairro 2 to access to the main road and facilitate their activities
10	\$3 project for cleaning suku main road	DC-3.3	Government	To clean the main road
11	Uma Lisan Project	DC-3.3-Aldeia 1	Community	To fix the uma lulik as family center

6.2. Formation of Infrastructure projects (Explanations that have passed tests, quotes)

6.2.1. Project selection and decision-making process

Communities are rarely take part in the project selection and decision-making process. However, these process are being prevalent conducted by local authorities only⁹⁸. For example, self-decision from xefe suku to buy materials and hire the skill builders to construct the building for SOLS English class. In spite of that but for the specific project priorities selection of PDD were being identified from aldeia level and passed through suku called ta'is or filtering by using *paralelismo* methods which was participated by the community representative only. This process is simply one compare to others⁹⁹. In relation to national program, project has been identified at national level. Thus, there is only acknowledgement to the local authorities and the villagers in the Suku. For example, the Sede Suku was the program the Minister of Estate Administration, pending bridge project were from Estate Secretary for infrastructure and airport construction also from national program.

It is interesting that, even though the project decision making rarely involved by the ordinary communities. However, the project that identified and implemented in the village are indeed based on the needs of the communities, as the communities used to raise about their current related priorities through mouth to mouth during their informal meeting. For example, some necessary have been identified automatically through their daily needs. The difficulties that faced in the suku is, when the dry season comes, there will be no enough water distribution and the distance to collect water becomes one of the reasons on why the local authority selected

⁹⁸ DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 5XefeSukuDC-3.3.Note. p. 1

⁹⁹ the method is from is from Minister of Estate Administration which describe the decision making process for such projects

the water project. Thus, communities and the local leader are affected by the same situation and it has been known that DC-3.3 has very limited water supply. Respondent 23 one of the inactive said;

*...we take water somewhere further there but I did not take water only my grandchild take water for me.*¹⁰⁰

There are different types of villager cooperate with the external actors in the project such as national program project, village governance project and villager group project;

For the national program project mainly MDG houses and airport construction projects there has to be well-cooperation between villagers, national government in order to have consent prior to implement the project construction¹⁰¹. In this instances, local villagers with its authorities has to conducted dialogue to with district, sub district and representing from the government side mainly Estate secretary for the land and property in order to have consensus prior to implement the wide project¹⁰².

*“In 2011, the minister of Petroleum and the team conduct meeting with the affected communities in aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 4, the participant were the PNTL from district and sub district level district and the administrator from sub district sub district as well and after few weeks the team from the national come here to identified our possession on the land such as plantation, houses and the land itself and inform as regarding the government has plan to construct the international airport and the affected community need to evicted to new bairro”.*¹⁰³-Said Respondent 18

For the village governance project like SOLS English training center, Minister of Petroleum offer fund to suku for the propose of English class building, road rehabilitation project funded and facilitated by CVTL and SEPFOPE which was participated by the some communities from suku Neighboring suku 4¹⁰⁴ and water supply project construction facilitated by the NGO triangle.¹⁰⁵ And for the village group project mainly the building for CBO 1 was funded by centru comunidade and for the building of grupu ambiental was funded by a NGO from Cambodia.

6.2.2. Project planning

In the regard of villagers plan the construction process for the uma lulik Clan 3, a meeting was held to discuss on distribution of task and materials responsibilities like each person responsible for either ai rin ida or ai rin rua (one pillar or two) it depend on how many family linkage within an uma lulik, in case of uma lulik Clan 3 each person responsible for two ai rin, it means they have to responsible for consumption to the specific project. After that, prior to collecting the material, the survey to be conducted first just a day right after the meeting that held in order to assigned the helper to cut and take material for the construction, the owner hire the sensor for sawing the wood and hiring car for transportation, the material store at construction place and then money collection for the consumption needed. Women should look after food preparation.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 23-Inactive-Note. p. 1

¹⁰¹ DC-3.3-07.29.14-Respondent 18-Teacher-Note. p. 1

¹⁰² DC-3.3_07.26.2014Observation note_Community affected _Note. p. 1

¹⁰³ Ibid p. 1

¹⁰⁴ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 26-XA DC-3.3-Aldeia 1-Note. p. 3

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 1

¹⁰⁶ DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 34-Ketua Adat-Note. p. 1

...We seat together to decide regarding distribution of the task and responsibility of the material to each person can responsible to two airin, means responsible for the consumption during work on the refer project but it is depend on the total families if we are many one stand for one airin.¹⁰⁷

In the case of local government project, the local authorities like xefe suku and xefe aldeia are plan the construction process, like for the project of water system and road rehabilitation, xefe suku and xefe aldeia decide that the communities were work in rotation by listing the name of participants¹⁰⁸. With the funded project related to the SOLS training center, government through Minister of Petroleum give fund directly to Suku to plan for the expenditure, recruitment of workers and so on. Regarding the construction of the building of CBO 1, there were collective action among the groups members particularly the women¹⁰⁹. However with some government funded with wide project like MDG houses, airport,¹¹⁰ pending bridge construction are the contracted company that plans everything.

In addition to the financial resources budgeted, some construction is done by contracted companies like xede suku and MDG houses with the chapel in DC-3.3; the villagers do not access to financial expenditure. For the English class project funded by government through minister of Petroleum but the budget for this construction was handle by xefe suku and xefe suku was recruiting the workers and he was purchasing the materials. In comparison to the building of the women group known as CBO 1 funded by centru comunidade, the budget were given directly to the group to manage it. After the construction is completed the membership of the group share the rest of the money among them. With the water system construction in DC-3.3, the NGO triangle responsible for everything that related to the construction including consumption during the process of construction.

Uma Lisan Clan 3 construction financial resources heavily relied on the families' contribution, the materials for consumption and financial resources keep with ferik dato that should manage the financial.

The ongoing airport project is a big nation scale project therefore the project was implemented by the international company through selection of the tender. Thus, the local authority and it villagers are not deal with financial matter.

There are two ways of villagers obtain necessary construction materials; the materials for the construction of uma lulik and others flimsy building like building for CBO 1, building for English class and building for grupu ambiental are mostly collected from the village. However, materials for the projects that handle by the company like MDG house and airport construction were transported from Dili and imported from outside of Dili. Additionally, the sand and stone for the concrete construction are locally from Neighboring suku 2 river.

Coordination to complete the projects happen being derived from local authority management. With the road project funded by government and with Water system construction, the chefe aldeias play an important role to supervise their communities to work in a rotation.¹¹¹ With government project, it is done by company to

¹⁰⁷ ibid

¹⁰⁸ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 26-XA DC-3.3-Aldeia 1-Note. p. 3

¹⁰⁹ DC-3.3-080214-Respondent 31, CBO 1 Group Leader. Note. p. 1

¹¹⁰ DC-3.3-072714-Respondent 6XefeAldeiaDC-3.3-Aldeia 4.Note. p. 2

¹¹¹ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 26-XA DC-3.3-Aldeia 1-Note. p. 1

carry out the activities, this is for the instance with MDG houses, BTK company is tendered to complete the project and the chapel.

With the cultural project of uma Lulik Clan 3, there was well coordination prior to the construction started. Thus, the task was distributed to the helper to do their task and it was under the supervision of uma lulik owner. Furthermore, the owner of uma lulik well coordinate with the skill builder for this construction is called Badaen Makerek in order to measure the foundation of the uma lulik prior to start the project implementation and presence of other datos of uma lulik also highly appreciated.

In the case of airport construction project, based on our observation, there were multilateral meeting before project was implemented, the meeting was attended by representative of the Suku council such as Lia Nian and district and sub-district administrator, police from district and sub district and from the national government like vice prime minister, estate secretary for land and property, vice president of national parliament, representing from the international company and the affected community.¹¹²

Regarding the exploration of oil and gas and MDG houses in DC-3.3, there was the dialogue between government side like minister of petroleum with the community to build a English building in order to trained the community with English course to prepare for the future employment when the oil being explored.¹¹³

The main constraints in the planning process is lack of land, there has to be long dialogue and agreement for the consent prior to the establishment of the projects. In this case, there was negotiation between xefe suku and land owner prior to company start to work for the MDG project¹¹⁴ and the same constraint happened to the international company to construct the airport while there has not been well agreement between government and affected communities. Due to that, the company has to wait for further agreement between government and the villagers because of the dissatisfaction of affected community in DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 on the government decision, there has to delay with the planning and the implementation of airport project.

“...we were concern only our plantation and houses and the land need to be compensated before we will be evicted, and were asking on how much money that need to be compensated by the government-said Respondent 18, Teacher”,¹¹⁵

6.2.3. Project implementation

Basically, the villagers do not recruit necessary workers it has to be recruited by local authority or worker recruited directly by the company. With government project funded project and that implemented by the companies, the workers are hired by the company itself with less involvement of local authority, materials are mostly outside of suku and the villagers not access to the financial reporting. For example MDG houses, airport construction, electric project and bridge pending project. The company normally come to the village with workers of their own and take very few people from the village to work. Neither community nor the village council take this as serious issue and just conform to it. In other side, the four workers for a village project on English class building was recruit directly by the xefe suku without informing the ordinary villagers as xefe suku said;

¹¹² DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 5XefeSukuDC-3.3.Note. p. 1

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 3

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p. 2

¹¹⁵ DC-3.3-07.29.14-Respondent 18-Teacher-Note. P. 1

“The minister of Petroleum was imposing me to complete the building project for as soon as possible, so I just hired the workers and bought the local wood. However, firstly I assigned the communities to work for free but nobody shows up at sede so I decide to hire the workers and bought the wood to construct the building within four days”.¹¹⁶

In case of uma Lulik, workers are just from families linkage of the Uma Lulik and the villagers within the suku that a custom to cooperate and work for free and except the hiring of the transportation and sensor for sawing the wood.

In particular case of the uma lulik, the construction process is planned and implemented through internal meeting between related families of the uma lulik in order to assign the task distribution in terms of material contribution and financial support for the use of consumption during material collection and construction process. After this step, set another meeting with the local cultural leader of the each uma lisan and other ordinary villagers for the acknowledgement of task distribution to start work to the refer project.¹¹⁷

In other case of company and NGO, the construction process is planned and implemented by the company or NGO itself. This is referred to the construction of the MDG houses, Airport construction, bridge construction and even the construction of the SOLS English class building was planned and implemented directly by xefe suku though hiring builder only.

There has not enough evidence of villager cooperate with external actors in the project implementation process. However, the villager dialogue with communities from Neighboring suku 3 which was facilitated by the government through Estate secretary for the land property and local authority to find solution on the construction of the new houses for affected peoples in bairo. In other side of uma lulik, families only contact their related family linkage in other sub district to participate and contribute in the construction process

The primary constraint to construction process is water during the dry season and there are different constraints for the different construction. For example, construction of the MDG houses was take a few delay of time due to the most material were imported from Indonesia. In addition to the MDG houses. In relation to the airport construction, the affected community pended the project implementation because the government has not pay the compensate the property owner and it does not have any condition for affected community to move to new bairo. For the construction of the SOLS building fr English class, there has not been good cooperation among xefe suku and his community. e. g. xefe suku was assigned the villagers to cut the wood for the construction of the English course building but no one follow the task. Due to this, xefe suku has to buy the wood and hire the builder.

6.2.4. Resource management

Materials are normally purchased in Dili and brought over using trucks. Sands and Stone are from a nearby river.¹¹⁸ With the case of the English class and CBO 1 building is sourced locally and place at the construction area. Normally is stored in temporary storage facility in the case of the government project with a guard like MDG houses and airport construction and the Uma lulik one is just kept outside near to the project site. Usually there was no guard assigned to look after the material, except with those project implemented by the companies.

¹¹⁶ Ibid p. 3

¹¹⁷ DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 28-Note. p. 2

¹¹⁸ DC-3.3-08.02.14_Respondent 32_Youth-Note. p. 1

There is no financial report to the ordinary villagers after the project completed except the uma lulik case, the rest of material and they share to each other and there is financial report among families.¹¹⁹

*The rest of the material we share to each other or we have to terminate all the material in refer place (1:00)*¹²⁰-Said Respondent 28

6.2.5. Development outcomes

The main constrain for the numbers of communities household in Bario 1 are road inaccessibility of road condition in order to transport the material to the area, further distance from suku to the bairo also impact to the public goods, uphill and downhill waking are making villager bore to regularly participated in the project or bore of caring material to the destination area.¹²¹

The bridge project in DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 was not part of the emergency project but the secretary of state for infrastructure tendered the project to a company without informing the minister of public works has been constrain the company to continue the project due to it does not have fund that allocated by the government to company to construct the bridge. Thus, the project has to cease.¹²²

There has not much project that fails; bridge construction at the aldeia DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 has been pended till present due to lack of budget which being caused by lack of coordination between company and the government. In regard to the airport, the community have to pend the project because there has not payment of the compensation to be done prior to evict the affected community to the new bairo. Thus, affected communities pended the activities of the company to work on the project.¹²³

Others projects succeed like Sede Suku, English course building and MDG houses was funded by the government and implemented by the BTK company¹²⁴. Small project like SOLS English class building was funded by the government with the amount of 1000 dollars, the materials was locally purchased and the workers were hired¹²⁵. In this case when compare with the building for women group known as CBO 1 was funded from a NGO with the small amount of 800 dollars but ironically the membership were work for free to construct their building and most of them were women who work for the project.

Generally, the quality of existing development projects are fine, the quality of the MDG houses is according to the BoQ and the quality of the chapel is best similar to the church, except the foundation is too low almost with the ground level that could cause flood in raining season. Furthermore, the quality of Sede Suku is standardize with the same type of other suku office throughout the Timor-Leste as it is designed by the Minister of State Administration. Additionally, the government and NGO Triangle funded project on the potable water was fine. However, some of wire of the pipelines has gone missing due to lack of controlling and supervision of GMF team but it could be change with the rest of leave over of the construction.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 28-Note. p. 2

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ DC-3.3-07.27.14-Respondent 11-Farmer-Note. p.2

¹²² DC-3.3_Short observation to the homestay in DC-3.3-Note. p. 1

¹²³ DC-3.3_07.27.14_Respondent 8_Driver-Note. p. 1

¹²⁴ 072514-Respondent 2PAAS.Note. p. 2

¹²⁵ DC-3.3-072614-Respondent 5XefeSukuDC-3.3.Note. p. 2

¹²⁶ DC-3.3-07.31.14-Respondent 26-XA DC-3.3-Aldeia 1-Note. p. 2

Due to the small amount of fund, the building for CBO 1, grupu ambiental and English class building are made by flimsy. In comparison with the all uma lulik projects, it is made by local wooden and the roof is made of palm leaves but the quality is really exist for long period of time. Lastly, the Indonesian time project like the small bridges are still in good condition and the two schools building in DC-3.3-Aldeia 4 and in DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 are still being used class session.¹²⁷

The main inefficiencies in the project of airport construction is the government does not settle the problem of the affected community, this cause the community to pended the project for long months. In this case, the company has to wait for further decision from the government and there has to be another dialog to agree at consent.¹²⁸ This process delay for long concordance to be made between local government and affected community regarding construction of MDG houses. Respondent 8 one of affected said;

“We concern about the moving of the affected temporally into the MDG houses and then move again to the permanent house, so we do not want to be suffer for twice from one house to another house, because we stay in our house very comfortable so we ask the government also consider to our house because the house that government provide to us will one type only and every house has two rooms however in Timor one household has a lot of family members so it will be good if the houses three or four rooms”. (04:10).¹²⁹

In other part, community do not participate in the process of English class building as communities necessary some incentive or payment to be made because as far as the communities know that there is fund for the refer project. Due to the delay of SOLS English class building, xefe suku decided to purchase the material and hire the worker even though the English class building is for the use of public interest. Additionally, due to lack of coordination between minister secretary estate for infrastructure and minister of public works prior to tender the company to construct the bridge at the DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 has to be pending until at the present.

6.3. Explanatory cases

Uma Lulik Clan 3

Uma lulik Clan 3 was constructed due to damage¹³⁰, the identification of the house were derived from the elder to house and the family related to the refer uma lisan¹³¹, prior to the construction of the house, family linkage having a seat to discuss about the issue and task distribution in terms of material financial and responsibility of the consumption during the the construction implemented¹³² After that, calling on the other datos of Uma lisan and badaen Makerek for open meeting to talk about the construction of the sacred house. During the discussion, there is distribution of task such, the helper going to cat the wood and took the palm leaves, badaen makerek measure the land for construction.¹³³Others dato boot and dato of each uma lisan came and participation in the worshipping.

The material of the construction stored at the construction place, the other material for the consumption keep with the ferik datos to manage it. However, after the construction completed, there will be report after project

¹²⁷ Researchers observation during twelve days in the village

¹²⁸ DC-3.3_07.26.2014Observation note_Community affected _Note

¹²⁹ DC-3.3_07.27.14_Respondent 8_Driver-Note. p. 1

¹³⁰ DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 27n-ketua adat-Note. p. 1

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² DC-3.3-08.01.14-Respondent 28-Note. p. 1

¹³³ Ibid

completed and the rest of the material either they will share to each other or expend all at the construction house.

Bridge project

There has not an alternative bridge for the villagers of DC-3.3 when in raining season. Thus, the government though Estate secretary for infrastructure identified this project as emergency. However, due to lack coordination and communication between the minister of Public works and Estate secretary for the infrastructure. In addition, the Estate Secretary for the infrastructure decide alone that this bridge project was part of emergency project. Hence, he offer the tender to the a company in order to construct the project. However, the Minister of public works cancel the project due to the project is not part of the emergency project because of it need more than 1 million, the emergency project is only beyond the 1 million.

During the project implementation, the company hire the worker and cuisine. However, this worker were not paid because the minister decide to stop the project. Due to this, there were some local that cooperate with the company advise the worker that the payment will be done when construction will be continued.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1. Describe findings that have may have a potential impact on the implementation of PNDS;

To the extent of the baseline study, the PNDS-REP team conclude base on the three main aspects that will impact to the PNDS implementation, mainly to the view of social cohesion, institution and public works as well;

In the aspect of the social cohesion, DC-3.3 people are the indigenous with wide and significant numbers of people, they identify themselves as original of DC-3.3 and use of tetum terik and uma lisan in the village are their common identity. Administratively, there are three aldeias aside from DC-3.3. However, the people of DC-3.3 claim and state that the land is belong the people of DC-3.3. Additionally, villagers are a custom to identify themselves with their group such as martial arts, disport club, agricultural/forestry group and women group that stand for the aldeias. Ironically, the suku do not have any village group that with objective accumulate entire communities in DC-3.3 for the purpose of the cooperation among the group. In this case, lack of cooperation among aldeia could impact to the implementation of the PNDS. Most importantly, the community from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 with their leadership might decide more on the identification of project prioritization. In this instance, when compare to the case of the MDG houses, suku council decide to distributed to the communities in the aldeia of DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 and even distributed to the suku council members, instead of distributing these houses to the vulnerable people.

To the extent of institutions, suku council's structures are mostly from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 except xefe aldeias. Historically, experience shows that there has not being community from other three aldeias that lead the village like xefe suku as they are not original of DC-3.3. In other side, DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 candidate usually led election with majority with significant numbers of communities that vote for their candidate. In comparison with other three aldeias, the people from the other these respective aldeias would not intend to candidate their nomination as they aware that only few of their voters. In other side, the communities are rarely participate in the village activities and decision making and the communities prefer to be active in their aldeia group. Due to the lack of

road access and lack of information, a significant numbers of communities in Barrio 1 are rarely to be informed and participate in the suku activities and decision making. When link to the PNDS structure selection and decision to the PNDS issues, the people from aldeia aside from DC-3.3-Aldeia 1 might not actively participate in this part as distance limitation and road access to the Barrio 1 and other aldeias like DC-3.3-Aldeia 3, DC-3.3-Aldeia 4, DC-3.3-Aldeia 2 might not take part in the process of this program as they are aware of they are minority and they are not indigenous.

Lastly, work with paid for public works will inspire the community member to participate in the project implementation. However, the identification of the project prioritization has to made my suku council. The communities members are rarely participate in the project identification as the community aware that this is the task of local authority. In this instance, the community will be interesting to participate in the PNDS project implementation as it will be paid the incentive. However, the community might not participate in the project selection as they think that this is the role of the local authority.

7.2. Recommendations on necessary changes in PNDS.

As the payment incentive from 10 to 30 dollars is really insufficient for the structure of Suku Management Team. In this instance, the recommendation is being offered for the possibility of increasing the incentive for the SMT seats in order to maintain and prevent the Suku Management Team to leave the responsibility because of the payment incentive is not suitable to their duty and responsibility.

Recommend to the PNDS facilitators that they have to play their important role to socialize the community awareness on PNDS. In these instances, project selection, decision and implementation are the responsibility of the communities themselves. Women and people with disability also inclusive. Furthermore, the role of the local governance structure are to monitor and supervise.

7.3. Limitations of the study;

Time limit of only 12 days in the field was not enough to have a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the village. In addition, due to inaccessible road to Barrio 1, the researchers only got two respondents and only got 10 women from 33 respondents was not enough to balance gender respondent. As the research not benefit directly to the respondent. Thus, some respondents were not willing to be interviewed as they replay that just to waist the time with researcher that will end up with nothing benefit for the villager.

In other hand, mixing task with the Mix Method Process Monitoring being affected of delaying the writing report which will be jammed to meet the deadline and contamination of the idea between the comprehension of baseline study and mix method process monitoring.

LBS Village Report:
DC-3.4 (Oecusse District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP
Olivio de Deus, Domingas Gusmao

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

Programa Nasionál de Dezenvolvimentu Suku (PNDS) is Timor-Leste's nationwide community-driven development program (CDD) that will provide annual grants to fund small-scale infrastructure projects at suku level. These grants seek to empower communities and provide them with opportunities to directly plan and implement priority village infrastructures in order to accelerate community development in line with the goals of the Government's National Strategic Development Plan. To achieve this, PNDS will work through and seek to improve local governance mechanisms. Hence by looking at specific villages, this report seeks to determine the following questions: what is the current state of the local governance? How have the villagers dealt with government projects in the past? This report will focus on the village of DC-3.4, located at the most southern border of Oecussi district with Indonesian West Timor, to provide some of the answers.

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the village of DC-3.4 and to explore the villager's experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects. The conclusion of this report will contribute towards the overall baseline assessment which will seek to answer the following questions: how will PNDS fit into the local governance context? What are the characteristics of the local institutions which PNDS might engage with? How will the engagement between PNDS and local institutions be conducted? What role will other village development projects play in the implementation of PNDS?

Some of the main findings in this village report for DC-3.4 include:

At institutional level, community driven village groups are very prevalent in DC-3.4. Most people get themselves organized in small and big village groups doing activities such as credit cooperatives and farmings. On the other hand, the Village Council receives many complaints from the community who accuses it of passivity and not doing enough to develop the village.

From economic angle, the cross-border business activities are also very intense mostly through illegal trading but also through the weekly official border market of Border suku 1. As a result, Indonesian Rupiah is commonly accepted for business transactions in DC-3.4 along side with the American dollar.

At village public works, the project completion rate is very high. Most of the projects identified by the REP team are completed. Workers are usually paid for their participations in public works. However in community driven projects voluntary participation is very prevalent. Construction materials, apart from grass, wood and bamboo that are commonly used for construction of traditional houses, most of the materials including sands are sourced from the regional center. Sands in DC-3.4 is said to have poor quality. The materials have to travel across the big River 1 and through difficult terrains that are hard to pass during rainy season. This fact affects also transportation costs. Many community members consider having better road network that resist heavy rain is necessary to guarantee stable

access to the village.

2. Methodology

The REP Concept note divides the country into six distinct regions to ensure regional coverage. The village sampled for this report is located in the southern tip of the enclave of Oecussi (this region is surrounded to the east, west and south by the Indonesian District of Timor Tengah Utara (TTU)). The required sampling criteria focus on the closeness to the border with Indonesia. An additional sampling criterion concerns the cross border business transaction with community in Indonesian side of the border. Three potential sites were selected prior to fieldwork: DC-3.4 and Neighboring suku 1 in the sub-district and another suku in Neighboring sub-district 1. Through discussions with Oecussi District Administrator the researchers narrowed down the choices to the village of DC-3.4 in The sub-district, which according to informants, had higher frequency of cross border activity with Indonesia. The DC-3.4 village centre is located approximately 1.79 kilometres to the nearest border with Indonesia (calculated using Google Earth program).

The data for this qualitative study was obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted from the 24th July to the 2nd of August. All interviews were conducted face-to-face at various locations mostly at private residences, and workplaces (village office and schools). Some of the interviews were recorded and were complemented with hand-written notes. Observations of relevant village life and activities were also taken. In selecting interview respondents, researchers used the following sampling methods: convenience, purposive and snowball. With purposive sampling method, researchers approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe suku and aldeias) or as having power to affect village level development policies, such as the District Administrator and key sub-district official. For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled respondents to identify or recommend other potential individuals whom the researchers could approach for interviews. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached as they were relaxing at home, doing their work (e.g. in their rice paddy), or identified by the researchers as vulnerable.

Invariably, most of the respondents are farmers followed by members of the village governance. A number of the respondents are on the government payroll and this group includes all of the village council members. Other respondents include teachers and small businesses owners. A total of 32 people were interviewed over a 10-day period. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided in Table 1 (below):

		Total
By gender	Male	24
	Female	8
By age	0 - 25	3
	26 - 39	13

	40 - 55	8
	56 - 70	4
	71 - 80	3
	81+	1
By profession	Farmers	13
	Village council members	7
	Public servants	5
	Catechist	1
	Business owner	2
	Student	2
	Others	2
By Sampling method	Purposive	10
	Snowball	13
	Convenience	9

Table 1. Characteristics of respondents

3. Description of the village

3.1 Location and Names of aldeia, village borders;

The village of DC-3.4 is part of a sub-district located in the most southern tip of the enclave of Oecussi. The total area of DC-3.4 is 43.67 Km Square¹. The Suku is comprised of three *aldeias* (hamlets) namely DC-3.4-Aldeia 3, DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 has 13 *Bairos* (sub hamlets), DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 with 9 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 due to its small size just has 2.

DC-3.4 borders directly with the Indonesian district of Timor Tengah Utara (TTU), known in English as North Central Timor Regency. The capital of TTU is Kefa. There are eight townships in Indonesia that share border line with DC-3.4². There have been multiple border incidents in past involving the communities living on both sides of the frontier due to unclear border definition between Oecussi and Indonesian West Timor. Some of the incidents take place in certain border locations in DC-3.4³.

To settle the border problem the government of Timor Leste and Indonesia assign a joint-team to

¹ Population and Housing Census 2010, Population Distribution by Administrative Areas, Volume 2

² DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx. p. 2, DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2). p. 1

³ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2)

conduct border mapping along the entire border of Oecussi district and TTU. According to district administrator during interview for this study in July 2014 only small parcel of lands in the western part of the district remains to be mapped out, because the joint team take short work interval⁴.

Domestically DC-3.4's direct neighbors 2 villages both located in different neighboring sub-districts⁵. Internally, between the aldeias, DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 occupies a land mass in the center of the village. It shares border to the south west with Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 and to the north-east corner of the village with Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. There are some rivers flowing through the middle of the village but does not serve as naturally boundary⁶.

3.2 Population (inc. aldeia, gender, age disaggregated); Ethno-linguistic groups;

Total population of DC-3.4, according to the 2010 National Census is about 6,000⁷. However, the Village also conducts its own census on a yearly basis in order to monitor the size of its population. The last village census carried out in October 2013 shows a total population of 8,233 total according to the data displayed on the wall at village office⁸. The following is the brake down of the population and number households according to each aldeia, based on the 2013 village census. In addition, there is a graphic from 2010 national census illustrating gender desegregation.

Aldeia	Bairros	Households	Male	Female	Total
DC-3.4-Aldeia 3	9	774	1397	1550	2947
DC-3.4-Aldeia 1	11	677	2323	2327	4660
DC-3.4-Aldeia 2	2	158	321	325	646
TOTAL	22	1923	4019	4201	8220

Table 2. Population Data of DC-3.4 according to village census 2013

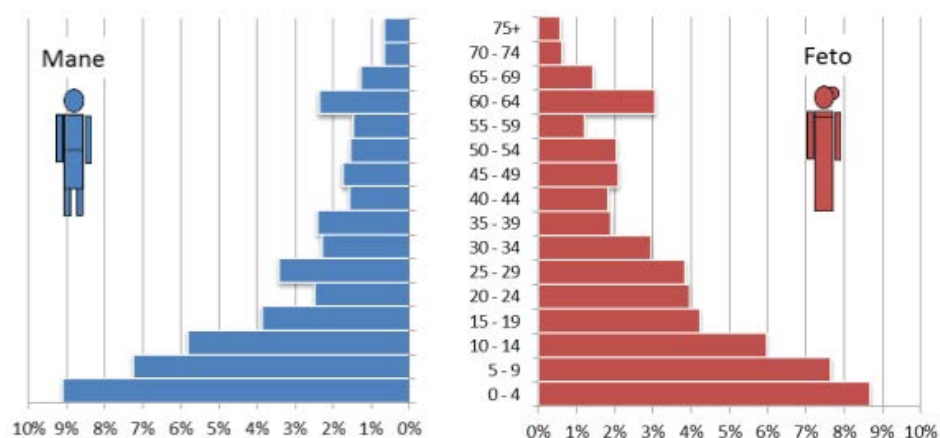
⁴ DC-3.4_20140724_RESPONDENT 1 _Oekussi District Adm (NOT).docx.p.2

⁵DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2)

⁶ DC-3.4_20140724_Observation note (NOT)

⁷ Population and Housing Census 2010, Population Distribution by Administrative Areas, Volume 2

⁸DC-3.4_20140725_Observation note (NOT)



Graph 1. Desaggregation of DC-3.4 population based on gender from 2010 National Census

In ethno-linguistic terms, DC-3.4 is a very homogenous village with almost 100 percent of its population speaking *Baikeno* according to 2010 national census, followed by less than one percent of *Tetum Prasa* speakers⁹. According to the observations of the REP Team there are also some Indonesian speakers amongst a small group of educated elite. *Baikeno* and Indonesian are spoken also in most part of the Indonesian West Timor which reveals some cultural similarities between the people on both sides of the borders. However, in Indonesian West Timor people have a different designation for *Baikeno*. It is called *Dawan* instead¹⁰.

3.3 Village Profile

Historically, the name DC-3.4 came from a king or *liurai* called Abaen Benu. People started to call the kingdom by using the name of the king and later it changes from Abaen to DC-3.4. The king has a brother called Tanesib Benu who rules in Neighboring suku 1¹¹.

DC-3.4 has three densely populated aldeias. DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 is the largest, including eleven *Bairos*. Topographically, the Suku is a valley with a few rivers passing through it. The biggest one is River 2, of which smaller rivers join¹².

Poverty is very prevalent in DC-3.4. According to the 2010 national census, the population who lives with 88 cent per day is at an alarming figure within a range between 60 and 79 percent, the same as the district figure¹³.

Regarding housing conditions, there are houses that are permanently built made of concrete and zinc. However, most of them are constructed using locally sourced material such as bamboo, wood and grass¹⁴. These materials are short-lived, thus the houses made of them become more vulnerable to harsh climate conditions like strong wind.

⁹ Sensus Fo Fila Fali 2010, DC-3.4, Oecussi

¹⁰ <http://www.omniglot.com/writing/dawan.php>, consulted in 25 Nov 2014

¹¹ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 5_XA DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 (NOT). p.1

¹² DC-3.4_20140724_Observation note (NOT)

¹³ Sensus Fo Fila Fali 2010, DC-3.4, Oecussi

¹⁴ DC-3.4_20140724_Observation note (NOT)

Health wise, DC-3.4 has a maternity clinic. However, births that are assisted by professional midwife only 3.4 percent, in contrast to national average at 33.5¹⁵.

Electricity has reached certain part of DC-3.4, mainly the town center but it is only for about 6 hours long during the night. When this research was conducted in July 2014, there was government project going on to expand the existing coverage of electricity to other parts of the suku as well. In addition, many who live in more remote places use solar panels donated by the government. The 2010 National Census shows a figure in terms of access to electricity at only 0.65% slightly lower than the district figure of 0.73%. The national figure in this regard is only 2.80%

The village has many community-driven groups providing credits and savings services to its members. The existence of these groups, in some way, fills the gap of lack of banking service in the village¹⁶. The nearest bank from DC-3.4 is located around two hours away in the district capital, The regional center.

Other development indicators such as ownership of luxury goods, like television, cars and mobile phones, are still very limited in DC-3.4 in comparison to the district and the national average. In addition, firewood still remains as the biggest source of energy for cooking by almost 100 percent of households slightly higher than the district and the national levels at around 90 percent respectively¹⁷.

3.4 Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile

In terms of livelihood, most of the population of DC-3.4 farms for a living. Even people who have occupations of civil servant or are a member of the village council still farm in their free time. Not surprisingly, the 2010 census shows that 94.66 percent of the villagers are farmers¹⁸. Small garden of vegetable can be seen in the yard of almost every household. The community produces a significant variety of agriculture products such as cassava, sweet potatoes, corn and vegetable. Rice fields are also seen in several locations such as Bairo 1, Bairo 2 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. However, this sector is still largely subsistence. Most of the produce is for household consumption or for livestock feeding.

Approximately 90 percent of households raise livestock such as chickens, pigs, goats and cows. This average is slightly higher than the average for Oecussi District and the country as a whole¹⁹. Livestock is the main trading commodity from Oecussi to Indonesia. Among the livestock mentioned, cows are the most traded ones from DC-3.4 to West Timor. There is a village group in DC-3.4 called Clan 2 whose business activity is mainly about buying cows in Oecusi and selling it to Indonesia²⁰. However this business still largely follows the illegal route. The REP team also interviewed a family who normally buys basic goods such as cooking oil, soap and noodles illegally from its Indonesian partners

¹⁵ Sensus Fo Fila Fali 2010, DC-3.4, Oecussi

¹⁶ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT),p.1

¹⁷ Sensus Fo Fila Fali 2010, DC-3.4, Oecussi

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

through informal routes and sells later in Oecussi²¹.

As a measure to curb the illegal trading activity, create good neighborly relations and improve the life of the community living in the border region, the governments of Timor Leste and Indonesia cooperate to open a border market in several points along the border with Indonesia²². One of those markets is located in Border suku 1 and takes place once a week on Saturday morning. The location is on the Indonesian side of the border, thus community has to crossover to the other side to go into the market. According to the REP Team's observation at the crossing point, the passage is done without document checking by the Indonesian authority²³.

Moreover, due to the influence of border crossing business activity, the Indonesian Rupiah is largely accepted in DC-3.4 for daily transactions along side with Timor-Leste's currency, the US dollar²⁴. In an interview with a community member who conducts business activity along the border line with his clients in Indonesia, he said he accepts Rupiah as payment because it can be used in DC-3.4²⁵. REP team also observed in a kiosk in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3, during an interview with the kiosk owner, a transaction that was done in Rupiah²⁶.

*"If you try to buy something in The regional center with Rupiah they refuse your money, just come to DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 to use it. Here the villagers still use rupiah. Here, Rupiah and Dollar are both accepted in business transactions."*²⁷

3.5 Social/Human Development Profile;

Literacy rates for the population of DC-3.4 are low. For youth between 15 to 24 years old, only 37.34 percent are literate, falling far behind the national figure of 79.09 percent and the district figure of 58.55 percent. The overall literacy figure for the district puts DC-3.4 and four other sukus of Oecussi, in the lowest range, between 0 and 19 percent. This reflects the fact that, according to government data nearly 70 percent of the village population has never received any formal education. In addition, despite having four primary schools and a kindergarten in the village, children between the age of 5 and 11 enrolled in schools are only within a range of 20 to 39.9 percent according to 2010 National Census²⁸. One of the reasons is, from young age children are considered as important workforce to help their parents in the farm instead of letting them going to school. A respondent said he abandoned school because he was tired of having to go to farm immediately after school every day to help his parents²⁹.

"I gave up studying because my parents always asked me to help them in the farm. Every day after school they asked

²¹ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 25_Protestant Follower (NOT)

²² DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.3

²³ DC-3.4_20140726_Observation note (NOT)

²⁴ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁵ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT).p.3

²⁶ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).p.6

²⁷ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT).p.3

²⁸ Sensus Fo Fila Fali 2010, DC-3.4, Oecussi

²⁹ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 26_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

me to join them directly in the farm. That was why I just got tired with it and stopped studying”³⁰.

A non-governmental organization (NGO) called SOLS 24/7 (Science of Life 24/7) opens a training center in DC-3.4³¹ that provides English course to the disadvantage rural community. Those who are interested to take part are advised to live together in the same compound in order to be able to practice English more often with their colleagues and teachers as part of learning process³².

Improved health care practices are also low in DC-3.4. Despite having some health facilities and qualified personnel available, data from 2010 census shows that only 3.4 percent of births are assisted by trained midwives. One of the ladies interviewed said she gave birth to all her 12 children just at home because she does not want strangers to touch her body and she does not feel comfortable with it³³. For sanitation, the percentage of the community that use improved waste disposal systems, such as pit latrines, is still within the lowest range of 0-19 percent. This is a common trend for the majority of Sukus in Oecussi.

3.6 Access to public works projects

The village is served by four primary schools, one junior high school and one kindergarten. In order to attend senior high school, students have to move out of the village to other places that provide higher education such as The regional center, the district capital³⁴.

In the health sector, the Suku has two health clinics located in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 respectively and one maternity clinic in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. There are some nurses, doctors and midwives that run these facilities³⁵. Many interviewees said they have visited the facilities when they were in need of health care treatment.

The Suku has public roads that connect the village center and its aldeias. DC-3.4 is also connected with neighboring Sub districts and the border crossing points between Border point 1 on the Timorese side and Border suku 1 on the Indonesian side. However, these roads are in poor condition and not made of asphalt³⁶. That makes travelling by car even harder during the rainy season due to mud.

From the REP Team’s observation, DC-3.4 has many USAID financed water tanks and canalization system in various points in the Suku with USAID/DWASH (District Water Sanitation and Hygiene) logo stuck on them. The tanks are located near the roadside and close to population centers³⁷. However, according to a community member who is responsible for water maintenance in Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 and a community member in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3, during dry season the supply diminishes, thus community source water from rivers and springs³⁸.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ DC-3.4_20140724_Observation note (NOT)

³² <http://tl.sols247.org/sols-247-timor-leste-education-for-all/>. Consulted in 24/11/2012

³³ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 32_Elderly (NOT)

³⁴ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.1

³⁵ DC-3.4_20140724_Observation note (NOT)

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).p.1, DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Forum Hlinat (NOT).p.3

3.7 Reoccurring problems

The poor condition of local roads is considered by many in the suku to be a serious recurring problem. Whenever the rainy season returns, muddy roads prevent transportation from getting to and from the village. Not surprisingly, the village secretary told the REP Team that having an asphalt road is one of his top priorities³⁹. In addition, DC-3.4 is also prone to natural disasters such as landslides and strong winds⁴⁰. Moreover, as previously stated, lack of water during dry season is also a serious recurring problem in the village.

Frequent border disputes in areas like Boreder point 1/Border suku 1 have been a long-term recurring problem since the 1960s when Timor Leste was still under Portuguese colonization. Incidents continued through Indonesian occupation up until very recently. The latest standoff was in 2009, when a construction firm attempted to build a post for the Timorese Customs Unit and was faced with resistance from the other side of the border⁴¹. In order to resolve this problem, a joint border mapping has been undertaken by authority from the both Timor-Leste and Indonesia in order to settle the problem once and for all⁴². However, to what extent that these initiatives could prevent further conflict still remains to be seen.

Village authority also takes initiatives to settle the border conflict at people to people level. In one of the incidents where community throwing stones at one another, the village leaders had a meeting to discuss the issue. Some people were chosen to represent DC-3.4 to talk with their counterparts from the Indonesian side in order to ease the tension and people could move freely along the border, especially those who have their farms really near to it.⁴³ According to the District Administrator a ritual involving customary oath⁴⁴ was also conducted where people promise to each other not to trigger further violence among them⁴⁵.

3.8 Brief Historic Profile

According to the local population, DC-3.4 was first settled by a local king named Abaen Benu and his position, as king, called locally as Naijuf⁴⁶. Later on, as more people started to arrive, the Naijuf distributed the land around DC-3.4, which was divided into four areas. Four representatives, known as Tobes, are chosen by the Naijuf to rule the four areas. The position and title of the Naijuf and Tobes have been hereditary, passing on from generation to generation from father to son up until the

³⁹ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.3

⁴⁰ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

⁴¹ Timor-Leste: Oecusse and the Indonesian Border, Asia Briefing N°104, 20 May 2010. International Crisis Group.P.5

⁴² DC-3.4_20140724_RESPONDENT 1 _Oekussi District Adm (NOT).docx.p.2

⁴³ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).p.3

⁴⁴ Customary oath locally called *Sumpah Adat* is an oath where participants put little drop of their finger blood into alcohol to drink together, promising that if anyone violate he could end up having a tragic and bloody death

⁴⁵ DC-3.4_20140724_RESPONDENT 1 _Oekussi District Adm (NOT).docx.p.2

⁴⁶ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 5_XA DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 (NOT). p.1

present day⁴⁷.

Population of DC-3.4 has already suffered forced displacement in its recent history. The community used to live in more interior part of the village close to their farms during Portuguese colonization. However, after Indonesian invasion they were told by the army to move away to live along the road in order to have a better control over them⁴⁸.

A similar situation recurs after the referendum for independence in 1999, there was violence and destruction in the suku as most of the territory caused by Pro Indonesians militia and the army. As a result many community members were forced to take refuge in Indonesian side of the border. Many have returned back to their community⁴⁹.

The Suku has experienced two village elections, in 2005 and 2010. The current village authority was elected in 2010 led by Xefe Suku Respondent 2 replacing the former one who did not succeed in his reelection attempt. At that time there were 8 candidates running for the position.⁵⁰

4. Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

The villagers commonly identify themselves with their *Bairo* and *Aldeias* because it is where they were born, live or are registered. It is also very rare to find someone who lives in the area of one *Aldeia* but considers himself and registered in another *Aldeia*. In DC-3.4 the geographical identification in terms of *Aldeia* is much clearer because people from the same *aldeia* tend to live next to each other within certain area in the village instead of having community from various aldeias live mixing together in one geographical space. That said, some villagers confuse their bairros as aldeias or aldeias as their suku and vice versa. This confusion also happens when asked about their *Xefe Bairo* and *Xefe Aldeia*, sometimes the two got mixed up.

*“...I belong to DC-3.3-Aldeia 3 because I live in the area of DC-3.3-Aldeia 3. Originally, I come from DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. My parents are living in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. I and my wife moved here in 2012 because we bought this land so now I am registered here...”*⁵¹

Villagers also identify themselves with *Uma lisan*, which is basically a traditional house which certain people belongs, with origins tracing back for generations⁵².

In addition to uma lisan another source of identification is what the locals call as *Fam* which means

⁴⁷ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT). P.4

⁴⁸ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 5_XA DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 (NOT).p.1

⁴⁹ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 5_XA DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 (NOT).

⁵⁰ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2). p.4, DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.2

⁵¹ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.1

⁵² DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.1

surname or family name. The family name in DC-3.4 that most villagers belong is *Teme* or *Fam Teme*⁵³.

Identification according to groups that exists in the village is also very common due to the fact that many residents of DC-3.4 participate in a number of community groups doing activities such as: farming, cooking, making traditional clothing and providing financial services through credit cooperative which is locally known as UBSP (Joint Loan and Deposit Group)⁵⁴. Most of these groups are sub-groups of larger umbrella organizations called *Forum*. Other groups are more independent and have a smaller number of members. Many of the villagers identify themselves according to their participation in these groups and some are members of multiple groups.

Villagers identify themselves more rigidly with their religion. Membership with the Catholic Church is commonly stated identity due to the fact that most villagers were baptized as Catholic. In addition, there are few households who identify themselves as members of the Protestant Church⁵⁵, tracing back to their ancestors, namely the Bethel and Madanata denominations. However, the number of Protestants has been decreasing over time due to the relocation or conversion of villagers⁵⁶.

*"...our ancestors were Protestants so we just follow their beliefs. We have not got any chapel here yet. We just pray in our house..."*⁵⁷

Influential political parties such as Revolutionary Front for the Independence of Timor Leste (Fretilin), Democratic Party (PD) and National Council for the Reconstruction of Timor Leste (CNRT) have followers in the village⁵⁸. For these people, their political organization is also a source of identification.

In addition, the majority of villagers self-identify according to their occupation or position in society. Most of the villagers consider themselves as farmers, which reflect the livelihood statistics reported in the 2010 census. Public servants and members of the suku governance refer to their titles for the position that they hold such as *Estensionista*, *Xefe Suku*, *Xefe Aldeia* and *Lia Nain*. One respondent identified himself as a village intellectual, which he defines as those with a University Degree⁵⁹. The village intellectuals are normally invited to participate in discussions about village development and their opinion tend to be valued more in decision making.

*"...In this Suku I am considered as a Suku intellectual. Suku intelectual are those people in the village that hold university degrees. I have Bachelor of Science in Education and another in Law..."*⁶⁰

DC-3.4 also has what is known in the village as cultural structure as described previously at the section about historic profile of the village. Those who hold position in this structure are known by the community as Naijuf for the one occupies the top position at the structure and his assistants known as Tobe. Moreover, there are four Tobes that are considered as Dry Tobe or Tobe Meto while others

⁵³ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2).p.5

⁵⁴ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.1

⁵⁵ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 26_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 26_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

⁵⁸ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.2

⁵⁹ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.2

⁶⁰ Ibid.

are called Wet Tobe or Tobe Oel. Wet Tobe specializes in asking for rain when there is long drought or asking to reduce it when there is too much rain so that the land cultivation is not badly affected⁶¹. *“...I am a tobe my self and four of us together are called tobe meto or dry tobe. However, there are also two tobes considered as tobe oel or wet tobe with different roles from us... They are in charged with asking the rain to fall when there is no rain and stop it if it’s too much. Usually, they sacrifice animals during these rituals. We are all led by Naijuf who is in the highest position in the structure...”*⁶²

4.1.2 Power and Vulnerability

When it comes to the configuration of power in the village, in general the powerful community members in DC-3.4 are members of the village council, leaders of important village groups, traditional leaders such as the Naijuf and the Tobes, Suku intellectuals and certain Public Servants that are assigned to the village such as the village agriculture technician. Some consider the sub-district administrator as powerful member of the Suku because he also lives in the Suku⁶³.

The village council members and Xefe Suku are responsible for managing village governance on a daily basis. These positions are gained through elections⁶⁴. They handle issues such as: dispute resolutions, projects selection, village administration and serve as the formal contact point for the village with any individual or institutional external actor⁶⁵. They are the integral part of the village governance and are differentiated by positions each of them holds in village structure.

Members of the village council and Xefe Suku receive a number of resources from the government. They are entitled to monthly wages known as *incentivo* and are given to them on bi-annual basis. The Xefe Suku provided a motorbike by the government for the purpose of organizing the activities of the Suku. The Suku itself has a petty cash of 100 dollars per month received per semester. The petty cash is for purchasing office inventory and other spending related to Suku activities such as snacks for participants of the meetings and fuel for the village motorbike. The village secretary is in charge of the administration of this money⁶⁶. Together with Xefe Suku they decide on what to spend and how to spend the village money⁶⁷.

In addition village council members, the cultural leaders like the Naijuf and Tobes also possess certain power in the community. Their positions are hereditary for generations. They are very influential in agricultural practices in the community and make decisions on when to begin cultivation and when to harvest. Doing any of these without their permission is believed to have poor impact on the quality

⁶¹ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).p.4

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.5.DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.9

⁶⁴ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2).p.5, DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.2

⁶⁵ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2), DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx

⁶⁶ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 9_FemaleYoutRepNOT.p.1

⁶⁷ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2), DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx

of the crops⁶⁸. The fact that many people still wait for the decisions of Naijuf and Tobes to start farming or harvesting are illustrative of their level of influence in the community.

“If they do not do these they would get injury during their farming or maybe they would not get good result from their farming”⁶⁹.

Unlike members of the village council, the cultural leaders do not have access to forms of regular income⁷⁰. They live a very modest life like any ordinary villager in DC-3.4. The Naijuf, for instance, does farming for a living and lives in traditional house made of grass and bamboo, similarly to many other villagers⁷¹. Their resources lay in their titles as the Naijuf or Tobes. However, according to one of the respondents, symbolically all the land in DC-3.4 belongs to the Naijuf and Tobes because their ancestors were the ones who first settled in the area⁷².

Naijuf and Tobes are sometimes invited to participate in village meetings and decision-making processes, especially when the issue is related to a cultural or traditional issue as well as land disputes⁷³.

Some other powerful villagers are the leaders of the village groups such as farming or credit cooperative groups. Some of them are elected while others are appointed by member consensus. They are responsible for normal running of the groups on day to day basis. They control the group's finance and deciding on its spending, organize trainings and serve as point of contact with any external institution.

Many of the village's group leaders have little involvement in the local governance. They are mainly farmers and spend their time mostly between their farms and the groups they lead. However, their influence outside of the village council is quite considerable. For instance, the leader of Forum Halinat, Domnigos Kono, does not participate directly in the village governance but leads a powerful village organization with considerable influence and significant membership including individuals that live outside of DC-3.4⁷⁴. Forum Halinat has some members, mainly small merchants, living in The regional center, but take part in Halinat's credit cooperative group. They heard about the group from advertisement that it put in the local radio and decided to join in order to have access to credit⁷⁵.

The village agriculture technician has influence on the formation of various small farming groups. He provides them with trainings of farming techniques, book keeping and provision of seeds for farming. He monitors their activities and reminds them to hold regular meetings to discuss their activities and counting regularly their budgets.⁷⁶ In village council activity he participated in the drafting and

⁶⁸ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT), DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx

⁶⁹ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).p2

⁷⁰ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).

⁷¹ DC-3.4_20140801_Observation note (NOT)

⁷² DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT), DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT)

⁷³ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT) 2nd interview.docx.p.2

⁷⁴ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT). p.6

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT)

socialization of the Tara-bandu law⁷⁷.

Aside of those mentioned, Suku intellectuals are also important in the village when it comes to discussions about village development. Some of them occupy positions as teachers in the local schools making them entitled to regular salary. Since they hold a university degree, they are sometimes invited to participate in village meetings and give their opinion on planning and activities in the Suku⁷⁸. Due to their academic background, their opinions are valued more in decision making and it is an important resource by which to exert their power in the community.

In terms of familial linkages, some members of the village council are related to one another. Respondent 6, the Xefe DC-3.4-Aldeia 3, has a daughter who is also member of the council as one of the two women representatives. Respondent 9, the other women representative, and the Ansiao, are also related to each other as uncle and niece⁷⁹. Outside of the village council, the wife of the Xefe Suku is the sister of the agriculture *tehnician*⁸⁰.

In a broader scale, DC-3.4 has a family with surname called *Teme* which is the biggest in the village in numerical term. Xefe Suku belongs to that family. According to him, his candidacy for Xefe Suku position was encouraged by members of the family and it was partly because of their votes that he managed to secure victory in the election⁸¹.

*“...I was elected to be the Xefe Suku because I have a lot of relatives... during Portuguese occupation my grandfather, was a Xefe Aldeia...”*⁸²

On the opposite side of the spectrum, vulnerable members of the community include elderly and disabled people due to their weakened or limited physical conditions.

The elderly villagers stay most of the time at home. Sometimes, they are aware whenever Xefe Aldeias or Xefe Bairos invite people by shouting along the streets for meetings at Bairos or Aldeias but they rarely attend because of their weakened physical condition and they do not bother to participate due to their age⁸³. When they have to leave the house is to receive their elderly pensions from the government at the sede suku. The exception is an elderly woman in her 90s who said her payment is normally brought to her home by the relevant authorities⁸⁴.

A similar situation happened to a disabled respondent. He is limp in one of his legs that make it difficult to walk without a stick supporting his weight. He lives far from population center. He said he has not participated in any village activity because he was never invited to do so. He thinks maybe people see no point inviting him because he is disabled or because he lives too far, thus information

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx

⁷⁹ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx

⁸⁰ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.7

⁸¹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1 and 2).p.5

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 24_Elderly (NOT).docx.p.1

⁸⁴ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 32_Elderly (NOT).docx.p.1

never reaches him⁸⁵.

Some women felt of unfair treatment for being women and interestingly enough they are part of the village council. For instance, one of the women representatives and female youth representative were told by the village secretary not to ask too many questions about village spending⁸⁶.

“...why did you ask the money? For what did you ask the money...”⁸⁷

4.1.3 Formal and informal community rules

The village is ruled by the practice of both informal and formal norms. For example, normally whenever there is a construction of village infrastructure, public or private, a traditional ritual is held where a certain number of animals, like pigs or chickens, are sacrificed and their blood spilled at the construction site in order to ask the souls for permission before a construction process can start. This is because the community believes that natural objects such as soil, stones, trees and grass are all living creatures with flesh and blood with souls. Therefore working on them without asking for permission could trigger an accident during work or result in the poor quality of the product.⁸⁸ Another similar ritual is held again once a construction is completed for thanking the souls for their protection during the process⁸⁹.

However, this is not always the case, during a community project for repairing the road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, there was not ritual held at the beginning or at the end of construction. Most of the public projects that practice this ritual are those handled by either construction companies or development agencies. Normally they are asked by the locals to pay for all the costs of the rituals.⁹⁰

“...we have to kill some animals at the beginnig and at the end of the project. The company which in charged to implement the project should be responsible for these ceremonies...”⁹¹

There are also certain village norms that are tied to the Naijuf and Tobes. For example, the position of Naijuf or Tobes cannot be taken by anybody else except their own children or in remote cases, their relatives. Additionally, the Naijuf and Tobes are unable to switch their positions. According to one of the Tobes interviewed, any violations of those cultural rules are believed to cause death to the violator. According to some respondents, there was an attempt to challenge the leadership of Naijuf and Tobes by an old villager called Laleba (name changed). He told the community that he was the new cultural leader and said people should listen to him. However he later retracted his words because his son was found dead for unknown cause and he himself got terribly sick⁹².

⁸⁵ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 14_Disbalded Former Catechist (NOT).docx

⁸⁶DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 9_FemaleYoutRep (NOT).p.1

⁸⁷ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 9_FemaleYoutRep (NOT).p.1

⁸⁸ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).p.2

⁸⁹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).p.6

⁹⁰ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).p.4

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).p.2

In relation to formal norms, in February 2014 a traditional law known as Tara-bandu was also instituted after two years of drafting and socialization process⁹³. The rules are about protecting the forest, natural springs, farms and govern also the life of the community and their interactions in the society. According to Xefe DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 the law is necessary because nowadays people have no respect on the environment and on each other⁹⁴. In general, the law resorts to traditional unwritten rules that used to be practiced for generations aiming at protecting the environment and creating social harmony in the community⁹⁵. Its adoption relied on the support of village intellectuals, village elders and general community members and received financial and technical backing from nongovernmental organizations, namely CECEO (Oecussi Civic Education Centre) and Belun. “...during period of our grand parents, the villagers practiced Tara-bandu law... They protect the environment but nowadays they they pollute environment, cut down trees and have less respect on each other...People do not even listen to their leaders anymore so we have to re-active the law...”⁹⁶⁹⁷

4.1.4 Conflict and Conflict Mediation

In general, the most frequent types of conflict and violence that occur in DC-3.4 are: domestic violence, physical altercations, animal trespassing on farms, land disputes and border disputes. The most common causes of these conflicts include issues such as infidelity among the couples, animals that are let loose, alcoholism and lack of proper border delineation between Oecussi and the neighboring villages in Indonesia.

In DC-3.4 conflict resolution at the Bairro and Aldeia levels is the most common practice. Situations of conflict rarely move to the Suku level to be solved. If a case fails to be settled at the Bairro, it can go further to the Aldeia and then to the Suku to be resolved. If village authorities fail to settle an issue, it can be taken to police or move to the formal court system⁹⁸.

Normally, the *Lia Nain*⁹⁹ of the village is invited to participate in the mediation, but the *Xefe Bairos* or *Xefe Aldeias* lead the overall process. In cases that are resolved within Bairro or Aldeia, both sides in conflict are given opportunity to state their cases before *Xefe Aldeia* or *Xefe Bairro* decides whether someone is guilty of any wrongdoing¹⁰⁰. Usually victims are given opportunity to say what they want the perpetrators to do in order to reconcile and the perpetrators, because they have done mistakes, just have to accept whatever the otherside demands¹⁰¹. As part of the tradition, whoever is found guilty has to give some money, animals or *tais* (traditional clothing), depending on the request of the victim and his or her family. It is a way for the perpetrators to show regret of the mistakes they have done and ask for forgiveness in order to settle the problem and reconcile¹⁰².

⁹³ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT) 2nd interview. docx.

⁹⁴ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).p.1

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT) 2nd interview. docx.p.1

⁹⁸ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).p.2

⁹⁹ *Lia Nain* is member of the village council who is in charge of settlement of conflict or dispute in the village

¹⁰⁰ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).p.2, DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 11_Lia Nain Suku (NOT).p.1

¹⁰¹ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 11_Lia Nain Suku (NOT).p.1

¹⁰² Ibid.

In a case of infidelity where the wife had an affair with her lover, she was asked to go back to her husband; otherwise she had to give back the entire dowry that her husband gave to her and her family prior to their marriage¹⁰³.

“...If you do not receive him then you have to returned all the dowry that he has given to your family...”

According to one of the Xefe Aldeias interviewed, there is certain amount of payment need to be done by both parties in conflict for conflict mediation in the village. If a case is mediated at Bairo level the cost that each side has to pay is 15 dollars each, at Aldeia 20 dollars and at Suku is 30 dollars. The payment made is reused to buy food and drink for everybody who takes part in the mediation process¹⁰⁴.

Apart from what happens within the village, DC-3.4 has a number of border incidents with Indonesia at several points along the frontier such as Border suku 1, Border suku 2 and two other areas. A frequent issue is animal trespassing in both directions across the border and damaging farms. In Border suku 2 there are problems surrounding the claim of fertile land in the area. These issues sometimes turn violent involving communities live at both sides of the border area¹⁰⁵.

The resolution of border issues involvement of various entities at the Suku level and sometimes as high as the National level. Customary oath was used as deterrence measure to prevent community members from both Timor-Leste and Indonesia from starting further conflicts while joint border mapping was being used to define legal borderlines around the district of Oecussi with Indonesia¹⁰⁶.

Overall, conflicts that occur at the village level do not have an overwhelming negative effect on the community as a whole. Internal suku issues such as domestic violence can have a significant effect on women and animal trespassing can affect the agricultural productivity of farmers. Other than affecting these individuals, the impacts are not significant. However, cross border issues such as animal trespassing over the border, interference in internal affairs and overlapping claim on fertile lands trigger widespread discontent among the population of DC-3.4. They are not happy with the fact that Indonesian citizens and some members of the Indonesian army interfere with what happens on the Timorese side of the border¹⁰⁷. For example, when the Timorese government wanted to build a Customs Office closer to the borderline, just as the Indonesian one on the other side, the initiative was faced with resistance by some community members from the Indonesia side and allegedly by some members of Indonesian Armed forces and police. At the end the construction had to be moved few meters away from the border¹⁰⁸.

“...Indonesian villagers can work and live nearby the border but they do not allow us to do the same... they said that

¹⁰³ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).p.2

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).p.5, DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).p.3

¹⁰⁶ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.3, DC-3.4_20140724_RESPONDENT 1_Oekussi District Adm (NOT).docx.p.1

¹⁰⁷ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).p.3

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

*it is a disputed land...*¹⁰⁹

4.1.5 Development Priorities

Both powerful and vulnerable community members mention the need to build a better transportation network mainly improvement of road conditions and construction of big and small bridges over rivers in DC-3.4 as a pressing need in order to facilitate travel and transportation of local products to the market within and beyond the village. The village secretary considers that the road needs long lasting solution by using asphalt otherwise during rainy season it returns to bad condition¹¹⁰.

*“...DC-3.4 needs asphalt road because in rainy season the road is unpassable by car, we also need a bridge over River 2...”*¹¹¹

Access to clean water is also a serious concern that transcends both powerful and vulnerable community members in the village. According to a villager who is responsible for the maintenance of the water system in DC-3.4, among the 12 clean water complex installed in the village only one that provides a stable supply throughout the year because it is connected to a natural spring that has enough reserve. The rests are not able to supply the community all year round especially when the dry season comes¹¹².

Many community members who live distante from the village center said they need electricity connection in their houses¹¹³. The electricity in DC-3.4 covers mostly houses in the center of the village around DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 and even that is available only from 6 o'clock in the afternoon to midnight. From the REP team's own experience, sometimes the fuel runs out and people have to wait for one or two days until the power comes back. However the REP team observed electricity project was being carried out by putting posts and connecting cables around DC-3.4 when this research was conducted in July 2014¹¹⁴.

Many vulnerable community members and some villagers with important positions either in village council or in village groups ask that government helps them to build better houses¹¹⁵. The REP team observed that in DC-3.4 some powerful community members and many vulnerable villagers still live in houses built from wood, grass and bamboo. Due to the types of materials used, these houses do not last very long¹¹⁶.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.3

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).p.1

¹¹³ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 25_Protestant Follower (NOT), DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 14_Disbalded Former Catechist (NOT), DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 17_Builder and Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT)

¹¹⁴ DC-3.4_20140724_Observation note (NOT)

¹¹⁵ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Forum Hlinat (NOT), DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT), DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 14_Disbalded Former Catechist (NOT).docx

¹¹⁶ DC-3.4_20140724_Observation note (NOT)

The Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and one of his community members said Naetuana needs a health clinic in order that the community does not have to walk all the way to the village center to get treatment¹¹⁷. In addition DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 is the only aldeia without a health clinic yet, unlike the other two aldeia of DC-3.4.

Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 both consider important to build more Timorese border police post in certain areas along the border with Indonesia specially, the points where the farms of the community members are located¹¹⁸. Farmers feel insecure and unprotected when they go to their farms because there have been incidents where some community members from the Indonesian side threaten the villagers and steal their crops and animals¹¹⁹.

Other than those mentioned, xefe suku and a farmer consider important to build a chapel in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2¹²⁰. Xefe suku also see as necessary to build a carpentry training center to provide the locals with skills they need in this regard¹²¹.

Two elderly community members interviewed had no idea of what their needs and priorities are for the village.¹²²

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 3 profiles of powerful community members

Respondent 2

Respondent 2 is the xefe suku of DC-3.4. He has 46 years old. Respondent 2 lives in Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 which his grandfather was the xefe aldeia before. According to him, the family with his surname is the largest in DC-3.4 in numerical terms¹²³.

Respondent 2 came to office in 2010 after winning election against 7 other candidates. He said he was encouraged to run by some elderly related to the surname mentioned above. According to him, it was partly because of the votes of his relatives that made him the xefe suku¹²⁴.

Being xefe suku, Respondent 2 signs official documents such as village proposal to ask for supports, sign invitations letters, preside village meetings, delivers speech during important events in the village

¹¹⁷ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT), DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT)

¹¹⁸ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT), DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 5_XA DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 (NOT),

¹¹⁹ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT).p.3

¹²⁰ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2), DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).p.3

¹²¹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2).p.6

¹²² DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 32_Elderly (NOT).p.1, DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 30_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

¹²³ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2)

¹²⁴ All the information for Respondent 2's profile come from note of two interviews conducted with him unless it is stated otherwise.

and welcoming visitors.

He represents the village when dealing with external entities. Organizations that come to the village either non-governmental organizations, construction companies or government agencies come to notify him first before conducting their activities.

Apart from being xefe suku, Respondent 2 was the president of the committee that was responsible for enacting Tara-bandu law. He was taking part also in socializing that law in the community¹²⁵.

In relation to village groups, Respondent 2 takes also part in a credit cooperative group in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 called Bimeni but without any leadership position.

Respondent 2 sees as urgent to build a bridge over River 2 because in the rainy season when the water flow intensifies people cannot cross over. He considers important as well to open carpentry training in the village to raise the skills of the villagers to start their own business in this domain. He also consider important to build a catholic chapel in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3¹²⁶.

Respondent 27

Respondent 27 is a farmer with 39 years old from DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 and Uma Lisan Clan 1, Suku DC-3.4. Respondent 27 leads the village group called Forum Halinat Nanobe DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 which is an Umbrella organization that embraces 12 smaller groups within it and by far the biggest community driven group in DC-3.4. Respondent 27 also supervises and monitors the activity of all those 12 smaller groups¹²⁷.

As the leader of the Forum he signs important documents such as official letter, group's proposals and invitations. He also preside the meetings of the group. In emergency situation like when a member of the group is impacted by natural disasters he calls emergency meeting to discuss the problem and coordinate response¹²⁸.

He coordinates with non-governmental organizations such as CECEO, OXFAM and Caritas to provide training for groups that exist under Forum Halinat¹²⁹.

Within Forum itself he organizes training asking groups that have already known about certain skill to train others who need those skills. Decisions about provision of trainings are taken by him¹³⁰.

He also organizes his groups to participate in agriculture and food processing exhibition around Oecussi¹³¹.

¹²⁵ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT 2). docx.p.2

¹²⁶ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT 1and 2)docx.p.6

¹²⁷ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT).p.1

¹²⁸ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.4

¹²⁹ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT)

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT) docx.p.3

In terms of priority, Respondent 27 considers important to improve the roofing for the Forum center in Bairo 4 because the building only has a temporary roof made of grass. He also thinks necessary to improve sanitation system because the community in general just practice open defecation¹³².

Respondent 15

Respondent 15 has 37 years old, lives in Bairo 2n, DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 of DC-3.4 village. Respondent 15 is a public servant assigned by sub-district administration office as agriculture technician or *estensionista* for the village of DC-3.4¹³³.

He is in charge of providing training of farming technique for many village farming groups in DC-3.4, focus mainly on smaller groups to help their development. He advises many of these groups to create a section about credit cooperative within them in order to open chance for economic development¹³⁴.

Regarding credit cooperative activity, he trains the groups on book keepings, management and developing their internal rules and regulations. He monitors the groups and makes sure that they hold monthly meetings, counting groups' budget every month and identify the needs for trainings. His advice for groups' development is highly sought upon especially among smaller village groups such as Ocap, Natsuver, Aikameli and Clan 2.

Respondent 15 is also member of Sub-district Development Commission that is responsible for selecting proposals of infrastructure projects submitted by the villages.

In terms of priority for infrastructure development Respondent 15 shares the concern of the Xefe Suku that it is necessary to build a bridge over Taenmeta River because during rainy seasons with strong water flow it prevents community from passing across¹³⁵.

4.2.2 3 profiles of marginalized community members

Respondent 24

Respondent 24 is an elderly member of aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and lives in bairo Bairo 3. Justina does not know her date of birth. She showed the REP team her electorate card, it is stated that she was born 1935. Respondent 24 was baptized as catholic in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 chapel many years back¹³⁶.

Respondent 24 has three kids who all are already married. One of them works as member of Indonesia

¹³² DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT) docx.p.5

¹³³ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)docx

¹³⁴ All the information for Respondent 17' profile come from note of interview conducted with him unless it is stated otherwise.

¹³⁵ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹³⁶ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 24_Elderly (NOT).docx

police officer stationed in Kefa, Indonesia and the two other are still living in the aldeia¹³⁷.

She lives in a house made of locally sourced material mainly bamboo, wood and grass that looks already old. She stays most of the time alone at home. Her grandchildren come to give her company at night, cook for her and get her water from public water tap just in the neighborhood before they live to school. Sometimes she has to do all these on her own if no one is around. She used to farm also but stop from doing it any longer.

In relation to her participation in village activity, Respondent 24 said she does not want to take part in village activities because she is already too old and prefers resting more at home. She does not know the name of Xefe Suku of DC-3.4. The only village authority she knows is the Xefe Aldeia because he is the one normally calling people along the streets to participate in village activities and also inform her when it is due to receive her elderly pension at village office.

Normally she walks to village office to receive her pension with her friends. It is 180 dollars per semester. She started receiving it in 2011. The money she has is to buy rice and her other needs. Sometimes she gives some of it to a grandson of her who studies in Oecussi. She chews betel nut but she does not pay any money for it because she has it planted in the yard.

In terms of development priority, she does not want to ask anything. She just said it depends on the government what they want to give.

Respondent 14

Respondent 14 was born in 1939 in Border suku 1 where he still lives. The place is right at the furthest edge of the aldeia nearer to the border with the Neighboring suku 1¹³⁸.

He has disability in one of his feet that makes him limping when walking. He was not born that way. It is resulted in an accident when he was still a child because one of his feet was squeezed between bamboos on his way to school. Since then, his foot became bended and never recovered. For him to walk normally, he needs a stick to support the weight of his body¹³⁹.

Respondent 14 said he does not participate in any village activity due to his disability. He was also never informed or invited to participate by the village authority. He thought, perhaps he was not counted because of his physical limitation or perhaps because the place where he lives is too therefore no one is bother to go to inform him.

In spite of his physical limitation, Respondent 14 said that he still goes to church every Sunday to attend mass in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. He used to be the catechist in his bairi in past.

He also walk to health clinic in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 when he is sick but sometimes he stays in his son's

¹³⁷ All the information for Respondent 24's profile come from note of the interview conducted with unless it is stated otherwise. DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 24_Elderly (NOT).docx

¹³⁸ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 14_Disabled Former Catechist (NOT).docx

¹³⁹ All the information for Rufino's profile come from note of the interview conducted with unless it is stated otherwise.

house so that he could be taken care of.

As his priority for village development, Rufino said government need to help the poor building decent houses for them. Other than that his priorities are: better road conditions in DC-3.4, electricity light along the street and more classrooms in schools because he heard that the classes are two crowded.

Respondent 32

Respondent 32 is a widow with 95 years old from aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. She lives in an old typical Oecussi traditional house with roof touching the ground and a very small door. She has to bend herself to get into the house. Inside the house a lantern should be on in order to see things because very little external light getting through¹⁴⁰.

In spite being very old with bended back, Respondent 32 still does by herself some of household activities such as get water from the tap in the neighborhood and doing cleaning around her house. She also does a bit of farming in the yard planting peanuts. Her closest neighbor is her oldest son who is also already very old living with his wife.

Her husband has already died and she said that sometimes she complains why her turn has not come yet.

"I am already too old. Sometimes I asked God, how could I am still alive; my contemporaries have all passed away".¹⁴¹

She receives elderly pension from the government but because of her age, the relevant authority takes it to her house. She uses her money for buying food, cooking oil, milk and her other needs.

Respondent 32 has never been to hospital in her lifetime. She has 12 children and she delivered all her babies just at home. She said she never delivered in hospital because she did not want any stranger to touch her body¹⁴².

5. Institutions and power

5.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

Village groups are defined in this study as institutions from the village or implement their activities in the village that decisions they make only affect their members, not the majority of the population. In general terms, in DC-3.4, groups that fall into this definition can be categorized in various forms. To start with, there are community-driven umbrella groups or umbrella organizations because they have many smaller groups exist within them. These types of organizations are called Forums by the locals. Three groups of this kind are present in DC-3.4 at each of the three aldeias with smaller groups exist under their shades. There are also community groups that are not part of the umbrella groups and conduct their activities in isolation from them. Furthermore some of those groups interact in certain

¹⁴⁰ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 32_Elderly (NOT) docx

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

degree with non-governmental organizations (NGO) either locals or internationals. Apart from those, there are faith-based groups related to the Protestant church denominations. Moreover national political parties also have their branches exist in the village. For more descriptions of all these groups, below is a list of them presented according to the categories mentioned above.

Village umbrella groups

- Forum Halinat Nanobe DC-3.4-Aldeia 3

Forum Halinat is a village group that was first established in 2006. The group is led by Respondent 27. The group is based in Bairo 4¹⁴³. It is an umbrella organization that has 12 small village groups under its shades implementing five different activities namely agriculture, financial service, livestock, natural disasters risks mitigations and capacity development. These activities are conducted by the small groups that exist within it while Forum Halinat supervises and monitors their activity. In addition it also has a credit cooperative called UBSP Halinat where members can put their money and ask for loans with certain interests¹⁴⁴.

The following is a list of some small groups that exist within Forum Halinat:

UBSP Halinat is a credit cooperative group led by Rui (name changed) with Eber (name changed) as the secretary and Respondent 12 as the treasurer of the group. It has 69 members in total. Its main activity is receiving deposits from members and issue loans with lower interests in order to help the community improve their lives through farming, paying their children educations or repairing their houses¹⁴⁵.

Bifeni Mifujao was established in 2013 and its members are mostly women. The group is based in Bairo 4 the same as the Forum itself. Apart from farming, this group is known more for doing food processing such as transforming banana or cassava into light food packed in plastic to be sold, known locally as *kripik*. The group has participated in various food exhibitions that take place around Oecussi district¹⁴⁶.

Haketmes formed in 2006 and based in Bairo 2. Respondent 27, the leader of Forum Halinat is also part of this group. Its main focus is farming, livestock keeping and disasters mitigation. Its members farm cassava, corn and vegetables. They also plant big trees around disaster prone areas to prevent landslides. Haketmes provides training about production of liquid fertilizers to other groups under Forum Halinat that needs them¹⁴⁷.

Moinfeu Bairo 4 activity is similar to Haketmes that is previously described¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴³ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.1, DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT).p.1

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Forum Hlinat (NOT).p.2

¹⁴⁷ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.1, DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT).p.5

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Noenium, was established in 2006 led by Eber (name changed) who is also the secretary of UBSP Halinat¹⁴⁹

Upana was established in 2011, led by Maxiano (name changed)¹⁵⁰

Banuin was established in 2012, led by Domingos¹⁵¹

Apart of Forum Halinat, there are also two other forums in DC-3.4. One is located in aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and another in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1. Brief descriptions about them can be seen below:

- Forum Nafael DC-3.4-Aldeia 1

Forum Nafael is located in Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 1. Apart from having mostly community who live in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 as its members, many villagers from DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 are also part of that Forum because in the past Forum Nafael was just a small village group within Forum Halinat of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3¹⁵².

- Forum DC-3.4-Aldeia 2

Forum DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 was established in 2010. It is the smallest forum in DC-3.4 and has around 8 small village groups exist within it¹⁵³.

Village groups that are independent from umbrella organizations

Clan 2 was established in 2011 and has 20 members mainly husbands and wives. The group main activities are farming, cow business and financial service. Women do farming while their husbands buy cows around Oecussi and sell them at the border to their Indoensian clients. It has a credit cooperative within it where members put their money and borrow with some interests to finance their activities¹⁵⁴.

Haburas was established in 2013 led by Matias (name changed). The village secretary Respondent 3 is also part of the group. Its activities are vegetable farming, buying and selling chickens, selling gasoline and similar to Clan 2 group, this one also has a credit cooperative within it where members can borrow money to finance their activities¹⁵⁵.

Nekaf Mese was established in 2012 in Bairro 5, DC-3.4. It is constituted of members from 10 households. The group focuses on cinnamon planting¹⁵⁶.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT).p.3

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT), DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.2

¹⁵⁵ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.2

¹⁵⁶ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.5

Ocap and **Natsuver** were established in 2004. Both are credit cooperative groups¹⁵⁷.

GMF or **Grupu Maneja Facilidade** is a water maintenance group led by Respondent 13. The group was helped established by American aid agency, after the construction of USAid funded Dwash water project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, in order to look after the maintenance of the water system¹⁵⁸.

Non-Governmental Organizations

CECEO (Oecussi Civic Education Center) is a local NGO based in The regional center, Oecussi focus in civic education. It operates in the entire district of Oecussi in establishing community groups, providing trainings, organizing exhibitions and meetings¹⁵⁹.

Belun is a national NGO based in Dili with branches in many parts the country, including Oecussi, that focuses on conflict prevention. Belun help the community of DC-3.4 in institutionalizing the Tara bandu law¹⁶⁰.

Caritas is an international non-governmental organization that focuses on poverty reduction and promotion of justice for vulnerable communities. It has two offices in Timor Leste, one in Dili and another in The regional center, Oecussi. Caritas has provided fund to facilitate trainings for the village groups in DC-3.4¹⁶¹.

Oxfam is an international non-governmental organization with its international secretariat based in Oxford, the UK. It has a branch in Oecussi that works on helping the vulnerable community on delivering emergency reliefs; mitigate the risks of natural disasters and helping the community with climate change adaptation activities. It has provided fund for village groups training and has also implemented a reforestation activity in Bairo 6, DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 together with the community in the area as part of its disasters mitigation program¹⁶².

Protestant Church Groups

Protestant Madanata is located in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 constituted of five members from one households mainly parents and children. It uses the house of that family to conduct it prayers because it has not got any chapel yet¹⁶³.

Protestant Bethel is located in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. It has 20 followers. It has already got a concrete

¹⁵⁷ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.4

¹⁵⁸ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).p.3

¹⁵⁹ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT), DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

¹⁶⁰ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT 2). docx.p.3

¹⁶¹ <http://www.caritas.org.au/learn/blog/blog-detail?ID=1e449a1c-40f1-4727-9a8e-1de71265beff>. Visited on 25/11/2014

¹⁶² <http://www.oxfam.org/en/countries/history-oxfam-international>, visited on 24/11/2014, DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT), DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT) 2. docx.p.8

¹⁶³ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 26_Farmer (NOT).docx

built chapel with the help of Brazilian missionaries of the same denomination¹⁶⁴.

Political Parties

The main political parties in the country have their branches in DC-3.4. They can be presented as follows: National Council for Timorese Resistance (CNRT); Democratic Party (PD), Revolutionary Front for the Independence of Timor Leste (Fretillin), Frente Mudansa, the Socialist Party of Timor Leste (PST) and National Development Party (PDN)¹⁶⁵.

5.2 Formation of village groups

5.2.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

In village farming and credit cooperative groups, the leadership style is normally participatory. Members of both sexes are encouraged to attend group meetings. Frequent meetings are held with the members to discuss issues of concerns to these groups. For instance, in Forum Halinat and groups that exist within it, there are regular meetings held as well as extra meetings depending on the needs. Normally invitations are issued by the president of the Forum to invite relevant actors to participate¹⁶⁶. In small independent groups of this kind such as Haburas and Nekaf Mese also participation of the members in meetings of the groups are very much encouraged. Normally members are reminded to attend the next meetings during previous meetings and sometimes a member is sent from house to house to inform people to come to meetings¹⁶⁷.

“...Boca visits every house of the members to remind them about meetings...”¹⁶⁸

With the protestant groups, the styles of the leaders are also participatory. Most gatherings are used for praying in groups¹⁶⁹.

Regarding acquisition of position of power in village groups, for all the groups that exist under Forum Halinat and the leadership of the Forum itself, the positions of power are obtained through election process with direct voting from the members. Many members are illiterates, thus the voting is done by dropping a corn seed into glasses which correspond to each candidates. The voters are told first which glass belongs to whom. The result is counted in front of everyone. Whoever gets the highest vote becomes the leader of the Forum while others occupy the subsequent positions such as deputy, secretary and treasurer¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁴ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 25_Protestant Follower (NOT).docx

¹⁶⁵ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT) .docx.p.2

¹⁶⁶ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT).docx

¹⁶⁷ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹⁶⁸ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.3

¹⁶⁹ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 26_Farmer (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 25_Protestant Follower (NOT), DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx

¹⁷⁰ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).docx, DC-

“...Because many members of the groups cannot read and write the voting is done by putting a corn seed into glasses. The voters are told first, each glass belongs to whom. The vote counting is done in front of everybody. The candidates are taken by looking at people who we believe can lead many members and know how to speak on their behalf. Whoever most voted will lead the groups...”¹⁷¹

However, this is not always the case, for instance with smaller village groups like Natsuver, Ocap and Haburas, the leaders are appointed through consensus only by looking at certain member, who they believe could lead the group, considering their personality, experiences, skills and behavior in the society. Members sit together and suggest names that they feel would meet most of the criterias mentioned above and they agree to it by consensus without resorting to any voting¹⁷².

“...the members who have capacity on leadership could be appointed directly. We know each other already because we are all relatives...”¹⁷³

Group leaders maintain accountability by informing the members in meetings on the progress of activities, spending and group finances. Forum Halinat holds regular meetings every three months. Representatives of the member groups attending in order to update each other on the progress of the activities, their spending and the amount of budget they have. In relation to the credit and loans group that is part of Forum Halinat, there is a team that consists of three people who open the safe box monthly and count the money to verify its amount in front of all the members present before more deposits or loans can be made¹⁷⁴.

Smaller groups like Clan 2, Ocap and Haburas also have monthly meetings to discuss with all the members their activities and plans and to issue more borrowing to the members. Members that fail to attend have to pay a fine. Clan 2 group takes 0.50 cent fine for absence of each member. A group member is assigned with task to inform the other members to come to meetings and make sure that they are reminded when their debts are due to be paid back¹⁷⁵.

“...We have to pay the fines for not attending the meetings so that everyone is afraid and turns up to the meetings...”¹⁷⁶

Positions of power in the village groups are legitimized through elections as well as the leaders' knowledge, experience and their attitude in the community and their leadership in the group itself¹⁷⁷.

The power of the group leaders is primarily used to ensure the normal functioning of the groups such

3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT).docx

¹⁷¹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).docxp.2

¹⁷² DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT), DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

¹⁷³ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT).p.1

¹⁷⁴ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).docx,

¹⁷⁵ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT), DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

¹⁷⁶ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT).p.3

¹⁷⁷ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).docx, DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT), DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

as making sure that the groups meet regularly, sign documents, preside meetings, ask for helps from external organizations and representing the group¹⁷⁸. However, some tendency of favoritism was identified in the Halinat group. For example, when decisions were made about which group was to give training on natural fertilizers to another village group that had requested it. Four groups within Forum Halinat knew how to do it. The President of the Forum sent his own group to provide the training without considering the other groups. The training itself received 100 dollars of funding from the NGO CECEO¹⁷⁹.

In addition, in 2008, Forum Halinat was dismantled due to allegations of misuse of funds by then President. The Forum has since been revitalized after a year of inactiveness. However no serious steps were taken in relation to the allegation made against the former leader¹⁸⁰.

A similar case also happens to a village group called Natsuver. The leader of the group uses the group's budget without consultation with his members to buy a chainsaw for himself. When the members found out he promised to return the money but actually never did¹⁸¹.

Most group decision-making is made on a basis of member discussion and consensus. Usually a member that has an idea can raise it during meetings to listen reaction of the other members, if everyone agrees to it, the decision is taken. However, in certain cases like emergency situations, leaders will act and then communicate their decision to group members in a later meeting. For example, when the house of a member of Forum Halinat was completely destroyed in landslide, only key members of the Forum were informed to discuss and react to the event. The decision they made was communicated to other members later when they had their next regular meeting¹⁸².

“...Respondent 16 is the one handle the money and kept in the Forum's Safe Box. When there is an urgent need from a member, the structure of UBSP and Forum together can take the money out to answer to that need and then in the three months time when Forum meeting is held, members will be told about it...”¹⁸³

5.2.2 Financial Management

The regular source of finance for the village groups comes from its members. For farming groups for instance, that source can be in the form of monthly contribution from members or payment for certain service provided by the group such as working on someone's farm¹⁸⁴. For members that manage to sell some product to the market, certain percentage of profit goes to the group. The fund can be used for buying meal during group meetings, kept by the leader or treasurer to help members in need or redistributed to members at the end of the year. However, many farming groups also receive financial support from NGOs such as CECEO, Caritas and Oxfam. This extra support is mostly used for

¹⁷⁸ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT), DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹⁷⁹ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT)

¹⁸⁰ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

¹⁸¹ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹⁸² DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT), DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT), DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹⁸³ _20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.4

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

providing meals to participants who take part in trainings sponsored by these organizations¹⁸⁵.

For credit cooperative groups the source of finance can be in the form interests from loans, fines for failing to attend meetings or not paying back debts on time. Similar to the previous one, the money is used for preparing food and drinks during its monthly meetings and for buying administration inventory¹⁸⁶.

The administration of group resources varies from one entity to another. In some groups there is a designated treasurer to handle the finance while others it is the leaders of the groups themselves who keep the money. Groups Bifeni Mifujao and Clan 2, have their own treasurer to handle the finances of the group. On the contrary many small groups that exists withing Forum Halinat, it is the groups leaders themselves who administer the fund of the groups¹⁸⁷.

When it comes to planning, whenever there is an event such as trainings or regular meetings to be held by the group, the planning is done in the previous meetings participated by members. It basically looks at how many people will be invited to an event and how much money is needed for it. The money is spent, as previously stated, mostly for buying food and drinks for the participants. On certain issues like a family member of a group member passes away or a group member is affected by natural disasters, an emergency meeting can be called, attended by those who are part of the structure, and through discussions they decide on how much money is needed to deal with that issue. Usually after using the money, in the following regular meeting whoever responsible for the spending has to inform the members about it¹⁸⁸.

The physical storage of financial resources also varies from group to group. Within Forum Halinat, some of the group leaders keep group funds at their homes, while the treasurers only handle the administrative side of the financial resources. Four of the groups within the Forum prefer to keep their group money in the safe box of the Forum, which is handled by the treasurer of the Forum. With credit cooperative groups like Clan 2 and Haburas funds are redistributed immediately every month when members gather to settle their debts and to take more loans. In these two groups, the treasurers are not subject to storing money since it is constantly moving from one member to another¹⁸⁹.

Members obtain information about their group's expenditure during regular meetings which everybody must attend or otherwise they have to pay fines. Since groups are normally constituted by members of households mainly husbands and wives, only one member attends is also accepted. Usually, in these meetings, aside of informing the members about groups' spending, the existing budget of the groups are recounted in front of all the members to keep them informed. In small village groups, the village agriculture technician monitors these groups to make sure that they hold regular

¹⁸⁵ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT)

¹⁸⁶ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT), DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

¹⁸⁷ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Forum Hlinat (NOT), DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT), DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹⁸⁸ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT), DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT), DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT), DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

meetings and members are informed of the state of the groups' finance¹⁹⁰. For the credit and loan group within Forum Halinat, a team of three people counts the budget monthly in front of all the members before more loans can be issued¹⁹¹.

*"In relation to UBSP money in the safe, every month there is team that will count the money. The team is constituted by the head of the Forum Respondent 27, the head of UBSP Rui (name changed) and the sub district administrator who is also a member of UBSP."*¹⁹²

The most common problems with financial management among village groups, one of them is lack of transparency from certain group leaders and sometimes that leads to misappropriation of the fund. Some group leaders tend to use group's budget for their own benefit as happened with Natsuver terminated in 2006 and Forum Halinat prior to the current leadership¹⁹³. Another problem is that some people borrow money from credit cooperative but fail to pay their debt when it is due like in Ocap group. In addition the fact that many group members including some group treasurers are illiterate, poses a big challenge during training and also in implementation in order to keep track of the group spendings and incomes¹⁹⁴.

5.2.3 Collective action among groups

A need for training has been important for developing cooperation among village groups in DC-3.4. However such cooperation happens more often in and between big village groups than with smaller ones. Forum Halinat oversees any coordination between its member groups. For example, if a group that is in need of specific training, a request can communicate through Forum in order to see if any of the other member groups can provide training in the area of request. This is what happened when the Forum appointed the Noenium group to provide training on liquid fertilizer to the Moinfeu group. A similar inter Forum level request was by the NGO CECEO for a group within Forum Halinat to provide training about food processing and production of rheumatic oil to members of another group, Forum DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. In addition, NGOs CECEO, Caritas and Oxfam organize a bi-annual meeting for all Oecussi Forums to give updates about their work and share their experiences with others¹⁹⁵.

Smaller village groups like Clan 2 and Haburas have less interaction with other groups in the community. External cooperation is more common with NGOs such as CECEO and Caritas or the agricultural technician. CECEO and the technician work closely with Haburas and Clan 2 Groups by providing seeds for horticulture¹⁹⁶.

CECEO, aside of providing farming training and seeds for the groups, it was also instrumental in the formation of the groups. For example the establishment of Forum Halinat was very much encouraged

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

¹⁹² _20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.4

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹⁹⁵ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT)

¹⁹⁶ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT), DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT)

and facilitated by staffs of CECEO¹⁹⁷.

Small farming and credit cooperative groups also work closely with local government institutions, mainly in the agriculture sector. The village agricultural technician plays a role as an important middleman between the government and community. He provides seeds and training to farming groups. He also helps to form some of the groups. The sub-district administrator and the agriculture technician themselves are also members of some of the village groups¹⁹⁸.

The main constraint for collective action among certain groups in the village is due to inward looking attitude in the groups. Apart from groups that exist within the same umbrella organization such as Forum Halinat or Forum Nafael and cooperation between the Forums themselves, collective actions between small village groups that are not part of a big Forum or between these small groups and the Forums do not happen. When it comes to these types of cooperation, the groups are more inward looking both small and the big ones. The big ones tend to be busy with coordinating cooperation between groups that exist within them and the small independent groups prefers doing their own activity with no interests in cooperating between them or with any big Forum. As a result the small village groups tend conduct their activities in isolation from one another and from the big groups.

5.2.4 *Communication strategies*

Village groups normally communicate using variety of strategies and tools depending on their message and target audience. Door-to-door announcement, word of mouth and written invitations are used interchangeably to invite members for meetings. Some groups will set up future meetings when the group meets so members are aware of when the next meeting will be held. This is common with small groups like Bifeni Mifujao, Clan 2, Haketmes and Haburas¹⁹⁹. However, if there was an emergency situation, phone calls would be used to set up meetings. Larger entities like Forum Halinat, sometimes issues written invitations to organize meetings²⁰⁰.

In terms of publicizing of activities, Forum Halinat is quite advanced in this regard in comparison to the other village groups in DC-3.4. It publishes a bulletin in yearly basis outlining the activities implemented along the year as well as the future plans. The bulletins are distributed to its members and the wide community to get themselves familiar with the organization and what it does.

Furthermore, the credit cooperative group that tied to Forum Halinat used to advertise using multiple channels such as local radio and church's Sunday mass announcement to invite people to join the group. There is someone from DC-3.4 who works at local community radio in the regional center and it was with his help that the radio announced about the existence of the credit cooperative. Some traders from other Sub district heard about the group from radio announcement and joined in 2013²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁷ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

¹⁹⁸ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

¹⁹⁹ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT) .docx, DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

²⁰⁰ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

²⁰¹ Ibid.

*“Three years ago, we made socialization through church inviting people to deposit their Money in UBSP. There was also invitation sent through Radio. That is why many merchants from Oekussi heard about it and came over to join as members as well.”*²⁰²

There are constraints to the communication strategies commonly used by village groups in DC-3.4. For instance the use of phone call depends on call credit of the users. Secretary of the Forum Halinat said he does not always use is phone to coordinate work because his call credit does not always available. Only in emergency situation that he uses but that also depends if he has enough credit²⁰³.

Mateus (name changed) from Clan 2 group normally goes from house to house to inform the members about when it is due for them to return their debt. However, members of the group live dispersed in different aldeias of DC-3.4, thus it is time consuming and tiring for him to visit one house to another²⁰⁴.

Distributing yearly bulletins like what Forum Halinat does about the activity of the group is also an interesting outreach method. However most of the villagers of DC-3.4 and even many group members are illiterate²⁰⁵. As a result if they do not have anyone to read the information to them later, the message cannot get across.

The use of radio to announce information proves affective in reaching community who lives far away. Having said that, it also depends on the number of the villagers that actually posses a radio or regularly listens to it. Data from 2010 national census shows that only 20.8 % of people in DC-3.4 have a radio and the figure of whole district is only 22.98%²⁰⁶.

5.2.5 Creation and termination of groups

Forum Halinat creation was facilitated by CECEO through several meeting with villagers in Bairo 4, DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. In the meetings some elections were also organized to form the structure of the Forum and the formation of the structure of four farming groups that original existed under the Forum. The elections were done one after another. The idea to create the group was to allow the community to help each other in activities such as farming, sharing skills through training and have access cash to finance their activities²⁰⁷.

Apart from those, the village agriculture technician is responsible for creation of small village groups that are independent from Forum. These group starts with the idea being communicated by the technician to certain community member who he thinks could lead the process. Later meetings are called to discuss the idea and form the structure. These groups are mostly farming groups and one of them is related to cow business. All these groups have a financial section that allows members to put their money and take loans. The reason being, DC-3.4 has no access to banking, thus creating such a credit cooperative help the community to access budget they are really lack of in order to improve

²⁰² DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT).p.4

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

²⁰⁵ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Forum Hlinat (NOT)

²⁰⁶ Sensus Fo Fila Fali, 2010

²⁰⁷ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

their lives²⁰⁸.

“...we do not have any banking service in the village. By fomenting joint deposit and loan within each group, it helps the groups’ members get access to fund in order develop themselves economically...”²⁰⁹

The termination of a group is not common in DC-3.4. However, the activities of Forum Halinat were suspended in 2008 due to allegations of a lack of transparency, mismanagement and misappropriation of the resources of member groups. According to the group secretary, leader of the group at the time controlled everything and used the group’s money and resources as his own. Members demanded explanation but he always tried to avoid. It continued to a point where people got tired with it and abandoned the group. However, the group has since been revitalized with help from CECEO and some former members²¹⁰.

In 2008, a credit cooperative group called Ocap was also terminated after four years of existence. The group started to have problem when members borrow money and return them late, stopping others from borrowing as well. The group also allowed the non-members to borrow money. One of the non-member borrowers took \$200 dollars and disappeared from the village. This problem coupled with late debt returns make group has no cash to issue more loans, in the end it stopped from existing²¹¹.

Another group called Natsuver was abandoned by its members because the group leader took the group budget for his private use, buying a chainsaw. When members found out about it he promised to return the money but since he did not keep his words people lost interest in the group and abandoned it²¹².

5.3 Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

Clan 2 Group

Clan 2 is a village group established in 2011, named after an uma lisan. The idea of forming the group came from the village agriculture technician, Respondent 15, that he brought up during inauguration of the uma lisan Clan 2 in 2010. The idea was communicated informally to some members of the uma lisan who got involved in the business of selling cows to Indonesian side of the border. They had difficulty getting access to cash to finance their business. Therefore the intention was to form a credit cooperative group to help them surmount the problem²¹³.

The leadership consists of a coordinator, his deputy, secretary, treasurer, and communications officer.²¹⁴ The structure was not voted. It was appointed directly by consensus in a meeting at the

²⁰⁸ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)docx

²⁰⁹ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)docx p.1

²¹⁰ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

²¹¹ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)docx

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)docx

²¹⁴ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

house of the agriculture technician during the formation of the group. The people appointed and all the members are all relatives belong to the uma lisan. Thus, they know each other well about who has potential to lead, responsible and good attitude to be part of the structure.

Clan 2 has 20 members from 10 households in different aldeias in DC-3.4. They are mainly husbands and wives. Until now the members of the group still remain exclusively relatives of the uma lisan. There are interests from other villagers to join but some members still want to maintain the exclusiveness, worrying that outsiders could create trouble for the group because they do not know each other well²¹⁵.

In terms of finance, each group member is obliged to deposit \$5 per month of compulsory deposit into their account. There is also a voluntary deposit which depends on the ability of each member. For borrowings, members should return their debt with interests. For every \$10 borrowed the interests is \$3. By the time this research was conducted the group has \$6,800 total budget. The treasurer is the one responsible for keep tracking the money. He practically does not hold any money because it keeps circulating between members²¹⁶.

In the beginning when the group was established the group leader suggested every household to deposit \$100 dollars each in a total of \$1000 dollars. That amount was redistributed to two members to borrow first. Each got \$500 dollars with \$50 interests²¹⁷.

Decisions in the group are made by discussion until reaching consensus. No voting is required. Normally, a member raises an idea to be discussed and if the idea is reasonable, members agree to it. Otherwise suggestion for change is made. For example, the idea about 100 dollars contribution in the inception of the group was made by a member that in order to afford a cow for at least to members to buy first they have to have at least 1000 dollars. Members agreed to the amount based on their experience in the business²¹⁸.

The group has two types of meetings, monthly and annual meetings. The monthly meeting is held on the 10th of each month and facilitated in rotation by each household member. The facilitator also takes care of meals and drinks for the participants. The purpose of the meeting is to update status of the activity, to count the group's money in front of every member, to receive new deposits or payment from borrowers and to issue new borrowing. Whoever fails to attend has to pay a fine of 0.50 cent²¹⁹.

The annual meeting is for reviewing the group entire activity and to redistribute the profit to members. It is normally held in December, thus in that month members are not allowed to borrow²²⁰.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)docx

²¹⁷ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT)

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 22_Buffalo Seller (NOT), DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

In the group, a group member, with a position that is called locally as *Boca*, is assigned with the task to remind each member of the group every month to attend the monthly meetings as well as telling them when their payment is due. That person also makes sure that the borrowed money is really spent on what they said they would do when borrowing²²¹.

In the beginning the budget borrowed was spent only for buying cows, later as the budget grows, it was diversified on other spending as well. A member said it was with the borrowed money that he built his house. The female group members also get more involved in vegetable production as the group evolve and borrow the money to pay for transportation cost to market their product in the regional center²²².

Forum Halinat Nanobe DC-3.4-Aldeia 3

Forum Halinat Nanobe DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 or simple called Forum Halinat is a village group that serves as umbrella organization for various smaller village groups. The activities of the groups are within five main focus areas such as agriculture, financial service, livestock, disaster mitigation and capacity development. To finance its activities it also has a credit cooperative section that allows members to get access to borrowing²²³.

The group was first created in 2006 led by Alexio (name changed) with the help of the local NGO CECEO but it stopped working 2 years later. According to a senior member of the group who joined it from the beginning, during those two years it suffers from poor administration, chaotic accountancy and misappropriation of fund. The leader of the group was accused of controlling everything with no transparency. Members were never told about the state of their money he controlled. Thus, many people abandoned it and in 2008 it ceased to exist²²⁴.

In 2010, the group was reestablished with only 29 households. It was CECEO again that asked the former members to reorganize the group. The former group leader was asked to rejoin but he refused²²⁵.

The new structure of the group was established through election for a five years mandate. The vote counting was done in front of everybody. The candidate names were taken by looking at people who members believe could lead others and know how to speak on their behalf. Because many members of the forums cannot read and write, the voting was done by putting a corn seeds into glasses. The voters were told first, each glass belongs to whom before they could vote²²⁶.

From the election Respondent 27 came first to become the leader. The Forum is based in Bairro 4,

²²¹ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extensionist (NOT)

²²² Ibid.

²²³ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT)

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Forum Hlinat (NOT)

using the facility of one of its groups called Moinfeu Bairo 4.

As an umbrella organization, Forum Halinat has 12 smaller groups exiting under its shades. To register a group as member of the forum there has to be a payment of 10 dollars.

Forum has its own rule that in every three months there has to be a meeting with all the groups. Written invitation is given to leaders of the groups to inform their members also to attend the meetings. Normally the group leaders inform their members personally by going from house to house about it²²⁷.

Apart from its three months meetings, Forum has a general meeting conducted once a year and extraordinary meetings are held base on the need. The invitation letters are issued and signed by the Forum leader. The meetings are intended to discuss the groups' activities and plans.

Forum monitors the activities of the groups and in case there is a need for training in certain skills that can be communicated to the leader of the Forum and he decides which group could provide that training. If training cannot be provided internally the leader of the Forum looks of other organizations such as Oxfam, Caritas and CECEO to help in this regard²²⁸.

The groups that exist within the Forum also raise their own funds by charging \$5 to each group member whose farm everybody is working on because within groups they normally help each other working on each other's farm. This amount of \$5 is applied the same to all the groups that are part of Forum Halinat. During decision making to establish this amount, some members wanted \$2 some others wanted 10. Finally everyone agreed that it is \$ 5²²⁹.

The amount of money that is raised by each group has to be informed to Forum in order to monitor its development. If group's money is not big enough to deal with the member's needs then it is possible to resort to social fund of the Forum. Normally it is the groups themselves who identify which members require money first and send a list to forum.

In relation to Forum's social fund, the money comes from the credit and loan section of the Forum. It is there to help members of the Forum that really in need. The group treasure is the one handling that fund²³⁰.

When there is an urgent need from a member, an emergency meeting can be conducted participated by the structure of Forum in order to take the money out to answer to that need and then in the three months time when Forum meeting is held, members are informed about the spending. For example in 2013, there was a landslide that destroyed the house of one of the members. He informed what happened to Respondent 27, leader of the Forum. Respondent 27 called immediately a meeting with

²²⁷ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT), DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT)

²²⁸ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT)

²²⁹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT),

²³⁰ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Forum Hlinat (NOT)

his structure to discuss the issue²³¹.

The houseowner asked some money to buy his household needs and food. The forum decided to help with food during 2 weeks and help buying materials such as wood and grass to rebuild his house. He got 300 dollars disbursed at once only. The decision to give 300 dollars resulted from discussion, not voting. Forum also helped him rebuilding his house²³².

5.4 Constellation of Local Governance

Village governance institutions are defined in this study as village entities that decisions they make affect the majority of the population in the village, if not all. In DC-3.4 there are three entities that can exert such a power. First is the Village Council, the second is the Traditional Structure of DC-3.4 and the third is Catholic Church. More descriptions about the three can be presented as follows:

The village council is the primary local government institution in DC-3.4. The council headed by the xefe suku and includes *Pessoal Apoia Administrasaun Suku (PAAS)*, known in English as Village Secretary, *Lia Nain*, *Xefe Aldeias* and representatives of social groups such as an elderly representative, two women representatives, one female youth representative and a male youth representative. The structure of the council is as follows:

The village council was elected during suku election which is organized every five years. This council was elected in 2010 as part of a list or *pakote* with candidates for the various positions in the council, excluding PAAS and *Lia Nain*. These two positions were selected after village election was conducted. *Lia na'in* was selected by village council members but PAAS was recruited by Ministry of State and Administration.²³³ The village council is the highest formal authority and has the power to make decision for the suku and to maintain community welfare.

The xefe suku is in charge of the welfare of the villagers, including managing village administration, facilitating village priorities identification and conflict mediation process. The PAAS role is to assist the village council performs its administrative roles, such as drafting proposals, drafting communication letters, organizing training with NGOs and data gathering about numbers of the population of the Suku.²³⁴ Women representatives focus on women group welfare's and youth representatives focus on organizing youths activities such as sport and mediate conflict among the youths. The ansiaun, or the council elder, and the *Lia Na'in*, primarily focus on conflict mediation. The role of is to tend to the welfare of the villagers in his aldeia, including mediating conflicts, transmitting the information to the Xefe Bairo to make public announcement in the Bairo and convening community meetings at aldeia level such as aldeia prioritization. Xefe aldeia also helps the villagers to address issues such as lack of water in dry season to the Xefe Suku.²³⁵

Xefe Bairos are individuals that settled in each Bairo by villagers to assist Xefe Aldeia on transmitting information and represent villagers to attend meeting at village level. Xefe Bairo also plays a main role

²³¹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT), DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 27_President of Nunkolo Forum (NOT)

²³² DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 12_Teacher and Member of Halinat Group (NOT),

²³³ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.4

²³⁴ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.1

²³⁵ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.2

to help village council to mediate village conflicts.²³⁶ A part of this, Lia Na'in of Bairro or Aldeia role is to assist village council and Xefe Aldeia on conflict mediation. Lia Na'in also assists the religious structure to select catechist in the aldeia.²³⁷

The Catholic Church has its own structure in the village that lead by parish priest who is based in The Parish of neighboring sub-district 2. Under the parish priest there is one catechist, who is responsible for the Station of The sub-district. Three other catechists are based at each of the three Aldeias of the village to manage the chapel. In general the catechists role is to manage the chapels, organized religious activities including rosaries, Sunday masses, bishop and priest visits, lead chapel construction and supervise the activity of religious groups in the village. They are also responsible for the community donation during rosaries and masses as well as community contribution for some important activities such as celebration of Christmas day. Furthermore, there are also many small groups established at each Bairro to help catechist collecting cash contribution from the community whenever needed and register people who want to receive church sacraments such as baptism, first communion and marriage.²³⁸

The Traditional Structure is headed by Naijuf including Naijuf Ki'ik, Tobe Bo'ot and Tobe Ki'ik. Naijuf Ki'ik is the deputy of Naijuf while Tobe Ki'ik is deputy of Tobe Bo'ot.²³⁹ As an institution, this structure is the main player in the village when it comes to traditional or cultural activities. Under the instruction and supervision of Naijuf, the Tobes organize traditional rituals prior to farming or harvesting of crops and also before and after construction of public projects in their area.²⁴⁰ Tobes also say prayer at Uma Lisan for conflict mediation. Every year during Easter, Tobes take some items such as candle, coconut oil, betel nut, chilly and yarn to the King or Liurai in Oecusse to organize ritual for Easter ceremony. Moreover, Tobes also light the candle at the chapel of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 during Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Due to their knowledge about traditional norms, the traditional structure takes also part in the process of drafting Tara-bandu law.

5.5 Formation of village governance

5.5.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Structures of village governance, such as the village council, are not very participatory because only the council members participate in the organization of meetings and rarely involve community members. Majority villagers are informed of council decisions by the Xefe Bairro after the decisions are made. However, some villagers are not informed at all. For example, some villagers in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 are never aware of village activities and decisions made in the village.²⁴¹ Few occasions identified where community members were widely consulted was with the socialization process of the Tara-bandu law and prioritizations of infrastructure projects from aldeias to be sent to the Village Council.

In church structure, whenever an important church event is to be held such as preparing for Easter or Christmass, CEP holds meetings with its members to discuss about it. Village Council members

²³⁶ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).docx.p.2

²³⁷ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²³⁸ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²³⁹ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁴⁰ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁴¹ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).docx.p.2

are also consulted and asked to transmit information from parish authorities to the community in order to request their financial contributions.²⁴² Some villagers who represent church authority at bairro levels assist collecting money from the followers.²⁴³

In traditional structure, when there is a traditional ceremony to be held, Tobes just coordinate it with Xefe Bairos to collect money for the event from community members who live in bairros where they control. Tobes include some villagers who they trust to assist them with the organization of the event such as buying animals. Furthermore, when villagers want to plant their farms, they ask Tobes to pray to the ancestors and sacrifice some animals before planting can start.²⁴⁴

Village council was formed through an election process which is organized by National Elections Commission that in Portuguese called Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE) and Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration or in Portuguese language called Secretariado Técnico de Administração Eleitoral (STAE). The villagers held meetings in local houses to nominate candidate for the position of Xefe Suku. For instance; some villagers organized a meeting at the house of Respondent 8 house to establish his package.²⁴⁵ There were 8 candidates that ran for the position of Xefe Suku in the 2009 election.²⁴⁶ Each candidate had his own members as the members of his package including the Xefe Aldeias, *ansiaun*, youth representatives and women representatives. Some villagers were also recruited to be part of the election staff, or “election brigade” including the village secretary to control and monitor election process.

Respondent 2, won the 2009 election for Xefe Suku. He admitted that he was endorsed by the Clan 3, who has biggest family linkage in DC-3.4 and supported him to run for the election of xefe suku. He added that his own family linkages contributed to his victory.²⁴⁷ A local pre-secondary school teacher called Respondent 8 said during interview for this study that he was supposed to run on behalf of the Clan 3 for the position of Xefe Suku, but he refused because that meant he had to stop being public servant with higher salary.²⁴⁸

Xefe Bairos are established through an appointment in meetings organized by Xefe Aldeias participated by villagers at Bairro level. They appoint individuals from their Bairro who have leadership skills to be the Xefe Bairro. For example, Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 organized a meeting with villagers within Aldeia to select the Xefe Bairro of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 A and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 B. Villagers and *Lia Nain* selected the xefe bairro of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 B.²⁴⁹

Positions of traditional power are hereditary: the descendants of Naijuf and Tobe automatically replace them when they die.²⁵⁰ It has been like this for generations. They cannot swap positions or be replaced by somebody else either. There is a belief that if that happens the person who violate this practice will die prematurely.

²⁴² DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.7-8

²⁴³ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁴⁴ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁴⁵ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁴⁶ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁴⁷ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.5

²⁴⁸ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁴⁹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.6-7

²⁵⁰ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.2

*Only Naijuf descent can replace him when he dies. If he does not have son then his daughter can replace him. No one can replace him, otherwise she or he who replaces him will die young. As Tobe, I also cannot be Naijuf in the future, otherwise I can die.*²⁵¹

Community members gain religious positions, like the religious group leaders, Catechists and Parish Commission based on their active participation at the chapel or religious activity. For example, Respondent 16 donated his land for the building of the chapel in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1; therefore he was selected to be the catechist for the chapel. *Lia Nain* from 10 Bairos in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 organized a meeting and sit together to discuss on villagers participation at the chapel and appointed him to manage the chapel.²⁵²

Accountability of the local power holders to the Suku or Aldeia population is not strong. For instance, some decisions made by village council regarding general cleaning are passed on to the villagers through the Xefe Bairos but information on village budget management and its spending are largely unknown even to the village council members.²⁵³ The PAAS prepares regular reporting signed by Xefe Suku on the Village Council activities and spending during certain period of time to be submitted to the sub-district office. It is required by law before council member's wages and village petty cash can be disbursed but the information is not shared with council members, let alone the general community. The PAAS keeps those informations and they are never made public. Once, some village council members including the female youth representative asked the PAAS about village spending, but he refused to give them any information.

*When we asked about the money the PAAS responded by asking us why did we ask about the money? For what did we ask about the money?*²⁵⁴

Similarly, the religious and traditional leaders have literally no accountability to the population about financial reports. Catholic followers are often asked to donate money but they are never informed how much is spent on what activities.²⁵⁵ A catechist interviewed said all the church donations are counted together and sent to the parish in sub-district 2. After that he himself does not even how how it is administered²⁵⁶.

This is also the case for traditional ceremony organized by the Traditional Structure. Villagers are asked to donate funds for ritual ceremonies before the planting and harvesting of crops. Xefe Bairos are normally tasked by Tobe to collect villagers contribution from house to house²⁵⁷. However, after the event, the villagers are not informed about the spending of traditional events that is organized. For example a tobe in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 after using budget for traditional rituals coming from community contributions never inform the community about how the budget is used.²⁵⁸

The village council members were given formal acknowledgement by government entities through the

²⁵¹ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁵² DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁵³ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁵⁴ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 9_FemaleYoutRep (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁵⁵ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁵⁶ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁵⁷ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁵⁸ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).dicx.p.2

village election.²⁵⁹ It is through winning the election also that gives them legitimacy in the eyes of the villagers. There are some respondents stated, village council members such as xefe suku and xefe aldeias are needed to be listened to and respected because they are elected directly by the people to lead village of DC-3.4²⁶⁰. Traditional leaders such as the Naijuf and Tobes have their legitimacy from the fact that they inherit from many generations before them exclusivity and knowledge to uphold the cultures, traditions and customs of the village. A challenge to their leadership is believed to possible result in premature death. Rituals they hold and prayers they say are trusted to protect the villagers on conflict resolutions and also give them good harvest in their farms. For instance during border conflict with Indoneisa, while the community leaders from the village go to talk with the Indonesian side, the traditional leaders stay at their *Uma Lalik* to pray for the ancestors in order that the conversation could result in positive outcome.²⁶¹ There is also a Rain Tobe that is believed by villagers to have exclusive power to ask the rain to fall when there is long drought that affects the community's farms and also a Dry Tobe to ask it to stop when there is too much rain.²⁶²

With regard to religious leaders, there is a mix source of legitimacy. For instance aldeia catechists are appointed by church followers at aldeia level normally according to their active participation and contribution to the church in their aldeia. Catechist of the chapel of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 is given the legitimacy because he provided his land to build the chapel in the aldeia.²⁶³ On the contrary the structure of the CEP is established through election²⁶⁴.

The power of the village council is mainly used to: help settle disputes or solve problems in general, assist the government or other external actors to mobilize the villagers, administration, identifying village needs and sending proposals about village development priorities to the government.

On the contrary there is a case involving Xefe Suku related to disaster mitigation project funded by Oxfam. The problem was, when the budget for the project was disbursed, it was given directly to Mateus (name changed), the Xefe Bairo of Bairo 6 instead of Xefe Suku. Oxfam's explanation about it was, because the project was implemented in Bairo 6, the Xefe Bairo of Bairo 6 should be the one responsible for the budget so that whenever they needed anything, they had the budget at their disposal to speed up the process instead of having to bother the Xefe Suku all the time.

Xefe Suku got very angry when he found out about it, thus he decided to fire Mateus (name changed) as Xefe Bairo. Furthermore, after the project started, many of the trees planted around a natural spring in were removed during the night. Many people suspected that Xefe Suku was behind what happened because he was unhappy with the Oxfam's decision²⁶⁵.

Apart from that case some of the female village council members also claimed that regular village council meetings were often canceled because of a lack of participation from the male members of the council including the Xefe Suku. The two women representatives and female youth representative

²⁵⁹ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 4_PAAS (NOT) Audiochecked.docx.p.2

²⁶⁰ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 24_Elderly (NOT) Audiochecked.docx.p.1

²⁶¹ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).dicx.p.2

²⁶² DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.4

²⁶³ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁶⁴ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁶⁵ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT 2). docx.p2-3.

have often waited for the other council members at Village Office for meetings but no one shows up, so they return to their homes.²⁶⁶

*When we arrived at sede suku, the xefe suku and xefe aldeias did not show up. Only three of us, I, female youth representative and my friend, another women representative are there. Thus, we just clean up the sede suku and come back home. We are not crazy so that we wait for you all every time. We have a lot of works at home to be done.*²⁶⁷

For village council members, meetings involve decisions about the prioritization of projects in the Suku, preparation for receiving visitors from district and national levels, replacement of first women representative who died and decisions about the drafting and establishment of Tara Bandu in the village. The Village Council also decides whether or not to receive international and local NGOs and agencies who wish to implement their programs in the village. Moreover, the Xefe Suku and PAAS decide the date of Village Council meetings as well as cancel the meetings when they are not available to call the meetings.²⁶⁸

*We are at low position so we just follow your schedule. We just come to the Sede Suku when the meeting is scheduled.*²⁶⁹

Sometimes other important figures in the village are invited to participate in the decision making process like the Naijuf and Tobes, Xefe Bairos and sectorial representatives for education, health, religion etc. These personalities participated in the planning and drafting of the Tara-bandu law, while ordinary villagers participate only at socialization phase of the process.²⁷⁰ According to the Deputy of Headmaster of the pre-secondary school in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3, the Village Council should involve all intellectual villagers in meetings; especially meetings regarding Tara-bandu, to share their ideas on drafting the village. Unfortunately, many also were excluded from the process.

*Actually, they invited all the intellectual villagers to share their ideas on writing the village law. I was never invited by village council to participate on writing the law or Tarabandu.*²⁷¹

However, villagers are also sometimes involved by the Village Council to participate in community project prioritization at aldeia prior to further selection at the village level. Sometimes also certain villagers who share common concerns on a problem, get together to decide what they they have to do to overcome their problem. For example, villagers who plant rice and vegetables in the rice field in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 decided through meeting to look for assistance to build proper irrigation to their farm because they could not get enough water for their crops.²⁷²

The Catechist and some other local leaders such as Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Bairo normally make decisions together regarding religious matters such as decision on building the chapel and cash contribution from the community to build the parish meeting room. These decisions are then proposed in community meetings for the agreement of the villagers. For example, the decision to

²⁶⁶DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 9_FemaleYoutRep (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁶⁷ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.3

²⁶⁸ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.3

²⁶⁹ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.4

²⁷⁰ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.2

²⁷¹ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁷² DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.2

build the chapel in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, was made after a teacher raised the issue among some villager and the idea was later shared with wider community for their approval.²⁷³ Parish priest with CEP members also decided to ask for community contributions to donate money to build a parish meeting room in the neighboring sub-district 2; then they socialized this decision within the community to make them aware of the purpose of the contribution.

The Tobes normally determines the amount of contribution from the community to buy animals for cultural ceremonies. For issues of the Tara Bandu, money must be paid or animals killed by the violators of the Tara Bandu. Villagers who are attendance of the meeting at which violators are sanctioned decide their repentance and the village and cultural leaders follow that decision. This money is paid to the Naijuf and Tobes, which is used to buy an animal to feed people who turn up for the sanction meeting.²⁷⁴

The frequency of decisions made by the village council depends also on how often they hold meetings. Based on the Village Council planning, regular meetings of the Village Council are to be held monthly. However, it also depends on availability of the member including the xefe suku' to attend the meetings. Some monthly meetings are cancelled because the Xefe Suku, Xefe Aldeias and other male village council members do not turn up for the meetings. For example, the village women representative said, monthly meeting in July 2014 was cancelled because the Xefe Suku and PAAS were busy with assisting sub-district authorities to distribute the pension of the elderly and disabled people.²⁷⁵ Aside of these regular meetings, Village Council also have meetings when needed. They organize meeting with other important figures such as Naijuf, Tobes, teachers, etc. in the village to discuss for preparation of visit from national authorities or organize important event such as Tarabandu and village prioritization as well.²⁷⁶

Decision making at traditional structure rarely happens. They call for meetings when there is any ritual ceremony to be organized. For example, Tobes and Naijuf have meeting with teachers of religion, catechist and priest to discuss select Tobes to bring the candle, yarn, coconut oil, betel nut and chilly to Oecusse for ritual ceremony on Easter Day.²⁷⁷

Similarly to the religion that the leaders only have meeting when there is any event to be organized. Parish priest organized a meeting with CEP members to talk about community cash contribution for building parish meeting room in the neighboring sub-district 2. In regard with DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 Chapel, catechist or teacher of religion organized a meeting with villager and local leaders to talk about building the chapel.²⁷⁸ Meetings also sometimes called by catechist when there is visit from bishop to talk on how to organize this visit.

The Village Council members, led by the Xefe Suku, make decisions for the village rarely involving other community members. An exception is during the parallelism process, a selection process that applied by government to use in the village to select village needs on infrastructure project which begins at aldeia meeting to identify their development priorities then send to the Suku for further selection. Villagers just attend the meeting held in the Aldeia to make the decision on their priorities

²⁷³ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 29_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁷⁴ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 5_XA DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 (NOT).docx.p.3

²⁷⁵ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.3

²⁷⁶ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁷⁷ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁷⁸ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 29_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

but they are not involved in the Suku prioritization. Only Village Council members and village intellectuals are involved and identify village priorities at Suku Level.²⁷⁹

Most Village Council decisions are made by consensus in which the members share their ideas and reach solutions on issues including: decisions about general cleaning in their monthly meetings, preparation for visitors such as the prime Minister and replacement of first women representative. Decision is normally made by Xefe Suku first as the leader of Village Council then proposes to his members to discuss more and finally they agree on the decision. Voting is rarely used for decision-making and is only used for deciding village priorities for government program specifically for the Decentralized Development Program (PDD) which used the Parallelism process. The representatives of village, cultural leaders, Xefe Bairo and Village Council members were voted by a show of hands to select the village priorities which were to be sent to sub-district.²⁸⁰ Although, there are some decisions, such as petty cash spending, that are made solely by the Xefe Suku and the Village Secretary without the knowledge of other Village Council member's petty cash. Thus, only they are aware of how much money is spent on each activity.²⁸¹

Alternatively, the process of drafting the Tarabandu was more inclusive. Before the rules were instituted, consultation was made by the Village Council and sub-district Administrator with representatives of villagers from each department in the village, the *Lia Nain*, Xefe Bairo, Tobes and Naijuf.²⁸² However, there was an intellectual villager, deputy of director of pre-secondary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 stated he was not involved in drafting of Tarabandu.²⁸³

Due to lack of general participation in decision-making, most community members do not know how decisions are made in the Suku. Sometimes villagers are aware of decisions made by the Village Council through the Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Bairos.²⁸⁴ Additionally, the majority of Village Council Members are not aware of specific decisions such decisions on how the village petty cash is spent for activities such as meetings and administration, etc.

5.5.2 Financial Management

The primary source of funding for the village is \$100 per month of petty cash that granted by the government through Ministry of State Administration. Although petty cash is given as monthly funding, it is only disbursed to the Suku every six months. This petty cash is used for several items such as, \$45 spent for motorbike fuel and repair while the rest is used for village administration such as papers, notebooks, pens, typewriter ink and meeting expenses, and snacks and refreshments for meetings in the Sede Suku, for example.²⁸⁵ Moreover, Village Council also funded by the government and NGOs by implementing the projects that proposed by villagers as village priorities. PDD projects were the government funded projects that implemented by companies such as drainage in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1. Meanwhile, NGO funded the project that proposed by Village Council to them. Irrigation in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 was asked by villagers through Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Suku to NGOs in Oecusse

²⁷⁹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.11

²⁸⁰ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.11

²⁸¹ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 9_FemaleYouthRep (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁸² DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.3

²⁸³ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).dicx.p.1

²⁸⁴ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 24_Elderly (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁸⁵ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).docx.p.3

then was implemented by Oxfam, for instance. A part of these, Belun NGO granted village council with \$1.200 to implement village law or Tarabandu in the village.²⁸⁶

Members of the Village Council also receive their monthly incentives with the village petty cash once every six months. The Xefe Suku receives \$140, Xefe Aldeia \$120, Village Secretary \$115 and the other members such as women representatives, youth representatives, *Lia nain* and elderly representatives receive \$45 per person. This money is offered as payment for their work in the village. Some of the Village Council members say that this incentive is very low and is not enough for them to accomplish all of their assigned tasks each month. Village Council members those in charged to mediate the conflict among villagers such as Lia Nain, Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Suku are sometimes paid by villagers who involve in the conflict or problem to be mediated by them.²⁸⁷

Traditional and religion structures are granted by community members. Villagers contribute to the traditional structure with money or animals such chicken. Meanwhile, they contribute to the religion structure with money or materials. In the case of building the chapel, community just collects the materials to build it.²⁸⁸ Villagers also pay for sacraments such as first communion pay \$3 per person, baptism is \$3 per person, Chrism is \$3 and marriage is \$20 per family.²⁸⁹

The Village Secretary is usually charged by Xefe Suku to handle the village petty cash. Some respondents claimed that village funding is handled by the treasurer, the first women representative, but the REP team confirmed with her and several other respondents that village funding is actually managed by the Village Secretary.²⁹⁰ However, every Village Council member is in charge of receiving and managing their own monthly incentive. In regard with the fund for the projects, the money is directly managed by NGO for NGO funded projects and company which is in charge to handle the government funded projects manages the money for the government projects. Committee was also established to manage the money for Tarabandu. The committee was lead by Xefe Suku, therefore, the money was managed by Xefe Suku as well.

*I received the money from sub district administrator but I gave it to the xefe suku and PAAS to manage. I was new to work with village council therefore I could not manage this money.*²⁹¹

Furthermore, members of Village Council who mediate the problem or conflict manage the money that paid by both parts of the conflict.²⁹²

For the traditional structure, Tobe normally manages the money for traditional ceremonies. The money is actually handled by Tobe and he divides up it into the animals that needed to be bought for an event. For example, all Xefe Bairos who Tobe controls give all the money that collected to the Tobe then Tobe divides it into several parts based on the animals needed and give to Xefe Bairo and Tobe's Deputy to buy pig, goat, chicken, etc.²⁹³

²⁸⁶ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.2

²⁸⁷ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁸⁸ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁸⁹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁹⁰ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁹¹ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁹² DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁹³ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.4

Catechist is in charge to handle the money that contributed by community during Sunday masses, rosary in May and October. However, the money that donated by villagers for build the parish meeting room, Easter and Christmas Days and the money that paid for sacraments are handle by parish priest in the neighboring sub-district 2. The money is normally collected by religious group leader in each Bairro and give to the catechist of each chapel in the village then give further to the catechist of the village. Afterwards, village catechist gives to the parish to manage.

*Each Bairro receive the payment and later it is counted here. On the day of the event, we take it to the Estasaun to recount it and give to the parish priest.*²⁹⁴

The Xefe Suku and his secretary plan the expenditures of the village without the input of other Village Council members. Every month, they review the needs of the village administrative office such as lack of paper, pens or notebooks and then they make a list of these needs for purchase. Meeting expenses are normally not planned in advance; the Xefe Suku just decides how much money to spend on snacks and drinks per meeting based on the number of meeting participants. Furthermore, the Xefe Suku also allocates \$45 from the village petty cash for fuel and maintenance of the Council motorbike provided by the government.²⁹⁵

The planning of project expenditures is done by the agencies that manage the projects. NGOs plan the expenditures for NGO funded projects such as Dwash water project and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 Irrigation. Company that handles the government funded projects plans the expenditures for the project such as materials, transportation, labors payments, meals, etc. Members of the committee of Tarabandu made the planning for the expenditures of Tarabandu ceremony. Each section of the committee such as the committee of consumption, decoration, logistic, etc. listed their needs to give to the Xefe Suku for approval. For example, a villager who was selected to responsible for consumption listed the needs for meals and gave it to Xefe Suku to give the money for consumption. In comparison with the money that paid for conflict mediation, the money is just decided by *Lia Nain* or Xefe Aldeia or Xefe Suku depends on who receives it to buy alcohol to drink together after mediation is conducted.²⁹⁶

Catechist usually plans the spending of the money that contributed by villagers during the masses and prayers. The money is usually used for buying doors and windows for the chapel such as chapel of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, buy the chapel equipments such as cotton, glasses, etc. and some amount of the money are offer to the parish priest for using in the parish of the neighboring sub-district 2. However, parish priest plans the expenditures for the money that collected by CEP members and sacrament payment. This money is used for buying the materials to build the parish meeting room and some money are used to celebrate the ceremony of Easter, Christmas or other important ceremonies.

The expenditures of fund of traditional structure are normally planned by Tobe. Tobe usually organizes ritual ceremonies, thus, he knows what are needed for organize the ceremony. For example, Tobe knows what animals and how many animals need to be killed in a traditional ceremony so he decides the amount of money to allocate for each animal such as money for buying pig, chicken, goat etc.

The village incentive or petty cash is stored in safe box that in the village office and handle by Village

²⁹⁴ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

²⁹⁵ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.5

²⁹⁶ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).docx.p.2

Secretary. The Village Secretary keeps the key to this safe.²⁹⁷ Village Council personally manage their monthly incentives. Incentives are granted to every members based on their position in the Village Council. Money for the projects are stored in the bank account of company and NGOs those manage the projects. Furthermore, the president of the committee for Tarabandu kept the money with him in his pocket. Afterwards, he distributed the money to the responsible for each section to buy the things they have planned. For instance, he gave \$40 to women representative who was in charged to responsible for Traditional Dance to keep it to buy the water for dancers and also give them some money as the present.²⁹⁸

The money for religion structure, catechist just keeps the money for chapel expenditures with him at his house. However, the parish priest stores the other money that contributed by villagers. It is not clear whether this money is kept at his residence or bank account. In regard with traditional structure, the money is kept by Xefe Bairo during the period of collecting the money at their houses. After collection is done, they offer the money to Tobe then he gives back the money to the Xefe Bairos to buy the animals.

There is no effective monitoring done by the government or villagers on the expenditures of the village. The only monitoring that happens is the regular report that is sent to the government authorities at the sub-district level in order to receive more budget disbursement. However, the report is never read out or published to other Village Council members or community members so that they can be informed about expenditures.²⁹⁹ They know that the Xefe Suku provide the money for buying snacks for meetings but they do not sure whether the money is taken from the village petty cash or from the Xefe Suku's pocket money. During the research some respondents mentioned that one of the women representatives was the Council treasurer but does not know the expenditures of the village governance.

Fund for the government projects are normally monitored by the government through progress reports that are sent by the company which handles the project in orders to get payments for 70% of construction fund and last 10% for maintenance. Similar monitoring happens with committee of Tarabandu that financial report was sent by Village Council to sub-district authorities.

For traditional events, the fund is allocated by Tobe to each item or animal in front of Xefe Bairos and his deputy therefore all Xefe Bairos who Tobe controls participate in the allocation of the money. Xefe Bairos and deputy of Tobe are also involved to buy the animals, hence, they know on the spending of the money for cultural activities.³⁰⁰

In comparison with religious structure, monitoring is virtually not happened. Reporting is also never done by catechist to the parish priest about the spending. Although, religious activities in the village are donated by villagers but it is also not monitored by villagers even informed by the religious leaders. According to a respondent a live nearby the chapel of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 stated, only catechist and priest can aware of the money spending.³⁰¹

5.5.3 Collective action among groups

²⁹⁷ DC-3.4_20140726_RESPONDENT 6_XADC-3.4-Aldeia 3 (NOT).docx.p.3

²⁹⁸ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.2

²⁹⁹ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.4

³⁰⁰ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.4

³⁰¹ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).docx.p.1

The Xefe Suku works with the several village groups in his aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 include Nekaf Mes, Puah Mes and Bimene due to the fact that he is a member of those groups. As a membership of these village organizations, he just plays the role as a member of the group as the other members. He donates the money every month to the group cash and also has a right as the others to credit the group cash as the activities of the groups.

He also works with eight other village institutions under the Nafael Forum such as: Muin Fe'u Tabein, Mainikin Oeten, Malil Ana Tono, Betisi Babaun in Puah Mes, Mafut Nekaf Oeten, Moris Foun Aijafukan, Moen Mese Bisene, Tapem Pah Cruz that established in the aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1. He normally invited by the leaders of these village groups to attend their meetings as the villager leader. Sometimes he also invited to facilitate training for these groups, monitoring the activities and also seeds that provided by the government to the group. A part of this, xefe suku also usually assists these groups when they face a problem as the case that these group members are villagers in the village.³⁰² Similar helps he also plays to work with 11 village groups under the forum of Halinat Na' Nobe in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3.³⁰³ Additionally, the Council Secretary is involved in a village group called Haburas and some of Xefe Aldeias and women representatives are involved in some of the other village institutions.

Village council cooperates with traditional cultures such as Tobe, Naijuf, *Lia Nain* and Xefe Bairo in the aldeias. Village council normally uses these traditional leaders to be represents of villagers to participate in village meetings to make decision. A part of this, village council also cooperates with them regarding to conflict resolution. Xefe Bairo is the main traditional structure that used the most by village council in order to do village council activities in the village. For example, xefe aldeia coordinates with xefe bairo to transmit the information from the government to villager.³⁰⁴ Xefe bairo also plays an important role to mediate the conflict or problem in the Bairo before Xefe Aldeia.

The council works with religious leaders include catechists, priests and CEP structure by assisting religious leaders to socialize religious activities within the community and supporting to mobilize villagers to participate in chapel construction. A part of that, village council also sometimes involves religious representative such as catechist to participate in the meeting at Suku level to contribute in the village decision making. For instance, religious leaders were invited and involved by village council in the discussion on drafting the village law or Tarabandu.³⁰⁵

The Village Council cooperates with: NGOs such as Belun, Centru Edukasaun Civika Enclave Oekusi (CECEO), as know in English Civic Education Center of Enclave Oecusse, Caritas, Oxfam; international agencies such as Dwash; companies such as Construction Company 1, Afagua, Fortuna, Lototo Company; the Border Patrol Unit (UPF); and other organizations that exist in the village like SOLS (Science of Life Study). NGOs such as CECEO and Belun cooperate with village council to grant meetings expenses and inauguration of Tarabandu. CECEO provided \$50 each meeting for its expenses while Belun provide \$1,200 for the ceremony of inauguration of Tara Bandu. Meanwhile, the other NGOs including companies cooperate with village council to implement their projects in the village.³⁰⁶ For instance, SOLS cooperates with village council to implement English course in the

³⁰² DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.8

³⁰³ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.8-9

³⁰⁴ DC-3.4_20140728_SEBASTIAO NESSI_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

³⁰⁵ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.7

³⁰⁶ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.8

village.

Village council, when there is a major event organized; village council makes plan to cooperate with villagers in the village. Village intellectuals are usually invited to participate in the meeting to discuss on how to organize the events. Sub-district administrator also sometimes invited to attend or lead preparation meeting for the events in the village as he also belongs to DC-3.4.³⁰⁷ During the meeting, they discuss to establish the committee for the event that organized to support village council and discuss on how to divide up the tasks within the committee. For instance, intellectual villagers who village council trusted including a teacher were invited to participate in the preparation meeting about President Visit last May. Afterwards, each section within the committee planned their expenditures including transportation fees to submit to the Xefe Suku to receive money for the event. Then the responsible of each section decided on where they would procure based on the materials available such as Kefa Indonesia, Oecusse or in the village. However, the other villagers who considered as not intellectual villagers are only informed by Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Bairo to cooperate with village council to organize the preparation for the events.³⁰⁸

For religious governance structure, catechist normally organizes meetings with villagers and local villagers after mass in the chapel to talk about the event when there is celebration about Christmas and Easter days, visit from bishop or chapel building. However, in some certain religious activity such as community donation for parish meeting room, cooperation plan is done by parish priest. Priest coordinated with catechist in the village to invite village leaders to participate in the meeting about village cooperation in parish of the neighboring sub-district 2.³⁰⁹ They discussed and established CEP in the village to socialize the objective of donation and collect the money from villagers.

In regarding traditional structure, Tobe usually makes the plan to cooperate with villagers in the area where he controls. Tobe normally informs Xefe Bairo first to inform to villagers to donate the money and assist him to organize ritual ceremony. Xefe Bairos are also asked by Tobe to buy the animals with deputy of Tobe to kill during the ritual ceremony.³¹⁰ For example, when villagers want to harvest their crops, a ritual ceremony must be organized before harvesting the crops. Therefore, the Tobe asked to xefe bairos to collect the money from villagers. After donation is done, xefe bairos are asked to look for the animals to buy. The type of animals is usually decided by Tobe because only he can lead the ceremony. Thus, he knows what needed and how to organize it. Meanwhile, villagers are only informed to participate and help Tobe to cook in the ceremony after animals are ready.

The Village Council, small number of villager cooperates well with village council. In this regard, some villagers assist the council to prepare the tent or venue for national individual's visits such as Prime Ministry, President, etc. because they want to hear some new information from these national individual and also want to raise their problems and needs to the national leaders for getting the assistance. Some villagers include protestant followers, cooperate with village council by contribute firewood for the ceremony of national leader visits. There was once stated by a protestant follower that they also cooperate with village council because village council members are their leaders in the village. They want to cooperate with them to get some information from national leaders even though village council and they have different faith. As the fact all village council members follow catholic religion but they are assisted by protestant followers in government site because village council

³⁰⁷ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁰⁸ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 25_Protestant Follower (NOT).docx.p.2-3

³⁰⁹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.8

³¹⁰ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.4

member are leaders of the village.³¹¹

Some villagers were involved in the committee of Tarabandu to cook for the event of President visit. Children and youths also cooperate with village council by involving in traditional dance and choir for President Visit last May. The choir members were not paid but the dancers were paid.³¹² These villagers cooperate with village council because President is the leader of Timor Leste therefore they wanted to help village council to organize the ceremony of President Visit.

However, majority of villagers do not want to cooperate with village council. As the fact, they do not know the meetings, and village council activities include national authority visits in the village. Some villagers do not cooperate with village council because villagers give the importance to their personal activity rather than village council. Villagers think that their daily activity is very important rather than common activities. Meanwhile some villagers do not cooperate with village council because they usually are not informed or involved in the village activities. For example, Respondent 8, who takes part as vice director of Pre-Secondary School of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 does not want to cooperate with village council because he is never informed and never involved in village activities as an intellectual villager in DC-3.4.

There was once stated by extension that xefe suku also did not cooperate with OXFAM to implement natural disaster project in the village and several village groups in the village. The xefe suku did not cooperate because he is normally very passive towards NGOs and village group activities in the village. Xefe suku is only busy with his personal activities.³¹³

For religious government structure, villagers have good cooperation with village religious leaders in the village, in the exception of cooperation with other religious followers in the village. Villagers cooperate with catechist to contribute the money, materials for building the chapels in the village and participate directly in the construction on the chapels. These villagers contribute to the chapel and religious activities because they have catholic faith and they want to work for their souls. Catholic religious leaders also work with protestant followers by attending catholic masses, participating in catholic chapel construction and inviting catholic catechist to participate in opening ceremony of protestant chapel construction in the village.³¹⁴ However, in some part including community contribution, protestant followers are not involved to contribute to Catholic Church activities. In the fact, they never donate the money to catholic activities and do not participate in the construction of catholic chapel of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2.

Traditional structure, villagers normally cooperate with traditional leaders in the village. Villagers donate the money, participate in ritual ceremonies, etc. regarding to the traditional activities. With this regards, villagers cooperate with traditional structures because it is their culture and they have to follow Tobe and Najuf to organize ritual events in the village as have inherited by their ancestors. People are more cooperate with traditional leaders rather than religion. This has been the tradition since their ancestors, it is hard to disappear.³¹⁵

Village council interacts with sub district authorities by attending three months regular meetings at

³¹¹ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 25_Protestant Follower (NOT).docx.p.2

³¹² DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.2

³¹³ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 17_Extension (NOT).docx.p.8

³¹⁴ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 25_Protestant Follower (NOT).docx.p.3

³¹⁵ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.2

sub district level. These meetings are specialized according to departments, most prominent being as the police, education institutions, religion, health, etc.³¹⁶ The village leadership also submits a village monthly report to receive budget assistance and also send village priorities to sub district for further election. Furthermore, village council also usually provides the venue or Sede Suku for sub district authorities to hold the meetings or visits from district or national authorities. According to observations made during the field visit, high level meetings, such as the visit of the Secretary of State for Livestock, with villagers from sub-district are held in the DC-3.4 sede suku.

Give the importance to the personal activities rather than public works may affect to Xefe Suku to work with village groups and NGOs that implement their activities in the village. Furthermore, the interest of managing the money also may constraint for Xefe Suku to work with OXFAM NGO to implement the project of Natural disaster in the village. There was once stated by a respondent, Xefe Suku did not participate in the meeting that held by OXFAM in Oecusse to talk about implementation of Natural Disaster project in Bairro 6, DC-3.4-Aldeia 1. Therefore, OXFAM just gave the money to Xefe Bairro od DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 to manage instead the Xefe Suku. With this regard, Xefe Suku was disappointed and did not want to cooperate with OXFAM. Then, Xefe Suku fired the Xefe Bairro regarding to this problem. Many of the trees planted around the Natural Spring were removed by people during the night.³¹⁷ Furthermore, do not approve village council proposal also a constraint towards village council to cooperate with NGOs. For instance, Belun NGO cannot cooperate with village council in order to grant the village council because the council proposal is not approved by NGO of Belun.

Different faith is a main constraint for religious governance leaders to cooperate with protestant followers in the village. Protestant followers are never involve and cooperated in the catholic religious activities such as community donation, chapel constructions, bishop visit, etc. They have their own religious activities to organize. Catholic followers are also not involved in most activities of protestant because of different beliefs.³¹⁸

In regarding with traditional structure, the limitation of area where a Tobe controls is a main constraint for him to cooperate with village groups from other Bairro and Aldeia.³¹⁹ Moreover, lack of important role need to be played by traditional leaders in religious activities is a restriction for traditional leaders to cooperate with religious leaders. However, traditional leaders still work with religious leaders as followers of catholic religion.

5.5.4 Communication strategies

The information within the village is distributed from the Xefe Suku to Xefe Aldeia. Given the large size of the village, Xefe Aldeias utilize the assistance of Xefe Bairro. These representatives directly relay the information to households. This is particularly the case when meetings are organized. Xefe Bairos are in charge of inviting the community to meetings. Information is distributed through public announcement or by shouting along the way or up to the hill to inform his community members.³²⁰

If the meeting is limited only for village council members, an invitation letter is normally used by the Xefe Suku and his secretary to communicate with village council members. In certain cases phone

³¹⁶ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.7

³¹⁷ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT) 2. docx.p.2

³¹⁸ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 8_Teacher (NOT).docx.p.1

³¹⁹ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 31_Tobe (NOT).docx.p.2

³²⁰ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2

calls and messages also used to communicate to members.³²¹

In terms of socialization of village decisions, xefe bairo is can be categorized as primarily resource for transmitting the information to the community after the decision is made in village council. The Xefe Bairo socializes the information through organizing community meeting such as the information about animal freeing in the Bairo or by informing shouting the results along the way. Nevertheless, in some specific cases as in the case of Tarabandu, villagers those turn up for the meeting are consulted on specific decision have made. For instance, when setting Tarabandu rules, consultations were done with the wide number community members. Community meetings were held in every Aldeia to ask for their feedback on necessary regulations before the final draft was written up and the law instituted.³²²

Since the primary communication tool for the local governance structure is loudly announcing decisions along the streets many village members are aware of these decisions as this is a rather ineffective communication tool. This especially pertains to those that live far away from the population center.

In certain cases Xefe Bairo chooses not transmit village decisions to the community, hence large number of people do not receive any information. In fact, respondent from DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 does not receive any information about the meetings and has a fairly limited understanding of what is going on during meetings at sede suku.

*I never attend the meeting at sede suku because the xefe aldeia and xefe bairo never inform me about the meetings and Minister's visits in the village.*³²³

Apart of that, there also villagers from Bairo 4 mainly do not know what is discussed and decided during village council meetings, as she has not been visited by any local governance representatives. She mentioned, Xefe Bairo only informed her council meetings, however, does not provide information about primary decisions made.³²⁴

Describe the village satisfactions with the village governance institutions

There is mixed response in this regard to the performance of the village council. Dissatisfaction with the work village governance is quite prevalent, and is expressed by most villagers interviewed.

The primary reasons for this dissatisfaction are the passivity of the Village Chief and the inner workings of the local governance structure. Villagers noted that the Xefe Suku has become less active in delivering on his direct job responsibilities. Furthermore, it is also quite difficult for villagers directly engage with the Xefe Suku, as he rarely comes to the office located centrally. For these reasons, students, for instance, need to walk to his house to get their papers signed. Another source of dissatisfaction is that, the Xefe Suku and other Village Council members are never present in the community activities and engage very poorly with the community. For these reasons, villagers want to replace him and his Village Council members during the next village elections that will be held in 2015.

Our Xefe Aldeia is the laziest leader in the village. He just goes to Sede Suku to receive his salary. He is also as a sleeper in meetings. Fortunately, the election was done in a package otherwise he could not be elected. Only

³²¹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.2

³²² DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.3

³²³ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community Member (NOT).docx.p.2

³²⁴ DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 18_Treasurer of Alinat Na'nobe (NOT).docx.p.1

*the Xefe Bairo works well.*³²⁵

Dissatisfaction is also expressed by a women representative that the Xefe Suku is weak because he is passive in sede suku, hence, she wants to replace the Xefe Suku with another person next period of village election.³²⁶

Villagers expressing support for the village council state that they are satisfied with the work of the Xefe Suku, because he has respected by other villagers and can be described as patient on running his role as the head of the village. Most Village Council members are satisfy with their assistance to the villagers and stated they have done very well to the community. The xefe aldeia always informs them if there is anything important for the village.³²⁷

5.6 Explanatory cases (Village governance)

Village Council

The current village council came to office in 2009 after winning village election. The council is led by xefe suku and has 9 members including ansiaun, lia nain, two women represents, a female and male youth representatives, village secretary and three xefe aldeias. Most of the council members were elected in one list or package led by xefe suku. However, lia nain and PAAS were selected after the election was conducted. Village secretary was recruited directly by the Ministry of State Administration while Lia nain was selected by village council members in a meeting. Respondent 11 was appointed as Lia nain because he has a lot of experience on talking about the culture and community life.

*Only the villager who knows to talk about the culture and community lives can be selected. We cannot select the people who do not know to talk.*³²⁸

The council is established to manage the administration, community mobilization to participate in village activities, conflict mediation, identifying community development priorities and organizing events in the village. The Council has organized several events in the village including drafting, socializing and inauguration of Tara-bandu law, organizing the reception for the visits of Prime minister and later the President. The Council usually invites villagers to participate in the preparation for the event such as preparing tents and cooking.

The council is granted by the government either for village or members to play their roles in the village. The state provides a direct grant of \$100 per month for administration expenditures. These resources are managed by xefe suku and his secretary and are used for meeting expenditures, such as snacks for the meetings, village inventories such as paper, typewriter ink, etc. and for transportation expenses of xefe suku such as maintenance and fuel for motorbike. Furthermore, are paid based on the position they assumed. For instance xefe suku receives a monthly salary of \$140, while xefe aldeia receives \$120; PAAS \$115 and \$45 paid toothier village council members such as *Lia Nain*, ansiaun, two

³²⁵DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).docx.p.5

³²⁶DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 7_Women Rep (NOT).docx.p.3

³²⁷DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 24_Elderly (NOT) Audiochecked.docx.o.2

³²⁸DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.p.4

women representatives and two youth representatives. These subsidies are granted on a monthly basis, however, in most cases the funds are actually obtained once every three or six months. Nevertheless, village council also granted by NGOs and other government institutions through granted the projects in the village.

Village council has monthly meeting that set up by PAAS and xefe suku, however, it does not happen regularly every month. It depends on the xefe suku and PAAS available time. The meeting is sometimes cancelled because the PAAS and Xefe suku do not have time to call the meeting including the monthly meeting for July that was canceled because PAAS and Xefe Suku were busy on distributing the money for elderly pension. The Xefe Suku normally made the decision on village expenses with PAAS. The other village council members are not aware on how the village petty cash in managed. As the fact, a women representative was not aware on how the xefe suku and PAAS decide to spend the village petty cash.

Decision on date of regular meetings is also only made by Xefe Suku and his secretary. However, the decisions on how to organize events in the village are normally made collectively. Intellectual villagers such as sub-district administrator, teacher representative, health represent, etc. are consulted in a meeting to make the decision about preparation for the event including visit from national authorities.

The council has cooperated with government and non-government organizations from the village or from district to set up ventures in the village to supply the village with goods, capacity development for village groups and contribute towards community welfare. Village council cooperated with the NGOs to assist the village by granted village activities such as Tarabandu and meetings. The council also cooperates with CECEO to provide capacity development to the village groups and grant meetings organized by village council. Moreover, it also cooperates with diverse village groups in the group to involve as the memberships or facilitate some training for the village groups throughout the village. The council also has ever cooperated church authorities including parish priest and catechist to socialize the objective of community contribution to the church within the community.

Communication between members is normally conducted by invitation letter. PAAS usually writes the letter and signed by xefe suku. However, sometimes PAAS also justm calls the members who have hand phone to inform. For intellectual villagers, they usually invited by invitation letter to participate in the meetings in Sede Suku. In regard with villagers, xefe suku usually informs xefe aldeia in sede suku then xefe aldeia visits Xefe Bairo house to inform villagers. Villagers are informed by the Xefe Bairo by public announcement along the street in the Bairo.

6. Public goods

6.1 Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

There are a number of public goods that existing in DC-3.4 including government, NGOs and community projects. Several religious projects also identified such as the chapels in the aldeia. They are described in the table as below:

No.	Project name	Aldeia-Location	Type	Objective
1	Package of Drainage, retaining	DC-3.4-Aldeia 1	Government project	Control flash flood and landslides

	wall and small bridge project			
2	Chapel of S. Pedro	DC-3.4-Aldeia 2	Community religious project	Walked for long distance to go to the chapel station in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3
3	Water system from DC-3.4-Aldeia 1	DC-3.4-Aldeia 1	NGO project	The old system was broken therefore needed to be replaced. People walked for long distance to get water in dry season
4	Student residence	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3-Bairro 8	Community project	The students who come from DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 and other villages needed to walk for long distance and crossed the river to get to the school of Pre-secondary DC-3.4-Aldeia 3
5	Irrigation	DC-3.4-Aldeia 2-Bairro 1	NGO project	There was no water in the rice field to watering the crops during dry season
6	Sede suku	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3-Bairro 2	Government project	To use as village office for village council and using to give the assistance for villagers including meetings
7	Road rehabilitation	DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 front of Xefe aldeia house	Community project	To facility community members to bring their local products to the market and facility to build the primary school and UPF post in the village
8	Protestant chapel	DC-3.4-Aldeia 2	Religious project	Praying facility for protestant followers
9	Water supply for UPF building	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3-Bairro 7	Government project	To provide the water to border police station
10	SOLS venue	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3	Government project	Old sede suku and used a village council office. Now SOLS use to capacitate children and youths in the village on English language
11	Well beside sede suku	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3	Community project	To facilitate community to get the water
12	Bridge	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3	Government project	People could not cross the river. Thus, built this bridge to facilitate villagers to cross the river for having movement and doing their activities
13	Primary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2	DC-3.4-Aldeia 2	Government project	To help the children from DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 to school in the aldeia because it is too far for them to go down to DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 to get the school
14	Customs	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3-Bairro 7	Government project	To control and monitor immigration people from Indonesia to Oecusse or otherwise
15	UPF stations	DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 1	Government project	To control immigration and illegal movement to pass the borders either from Indonesia to Oecusse or Oecusse to Indonesia.
16	Community health centre	DC-3.4-Aldeia 1	Government project	To facilitate SISCA to conduct health program in the aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1

Table 4. List of Public Works in the village

A part of those identified projects, there are also many projects that identified based on the researchers

observation during the research in the village. Some projects including electricity supply and primary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 that are still building in the village, many projects such as bridges, government sub-district administration office, police station, etc. that are still using by people. Some projects seem have been going old and broken such as bridge in front of extension house. Though, these projects are identified but we do not have any information regarding to these projects.

6.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1 Project selection and decision-making process

Projects implemented in the village were identified by the villagers. Government funded project such as water system for UPF building, drainage project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 and other PDD projects in the village are identified through a system called Parallelism. The villagers identify their needs at aldeia meeting. Villagers who participated in the meeting listed all the projects they think are important to be implemented in a list to be the aldeia priorities.³²⁹ Then the Aldeia leaders such as the Xefe Aldeia provide the Aldeia priority list to Village Council. At village level, village council with *intellectual* villagers from each department such as education, health, religion, traditional structure, etc. identify village priorities. Village priorities are then submitted to the sub-district authorities including the sub-district administrator to select at sub-district level as the sub-district priorities. The Xefe Suku and all Village Council members excluding PAAS and *Lia Nain* participated in the selection of sub-district prioritization. Afterwards, the sub-district priorities sent further to the district government individuals to be discussed on and select as the district priorities to implement in the village.

Nevertheless, not every government project is selected by using the parallelism process. UPF posts are identified by the government at national level because it is their project to build UPF posts in every boundary between Indonesia and Timor Leste. Sede Suku is also the government program that is built in each village throughout Timor Leste as the office for village council to give the assistance to the villagers.

The NGO funded projects, the project is normally identified by villagers and proposed to the leaders in diverse ways. For instance, the irrigation in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 was identified by several villagers, who were farming in rice field on Bairo 1. These community members proposed the need for the project to the xefe aldeia. It was then communicated to xefe suku to write the proposal. The written proposal was submitted to various NGOs in the district. Afterwards the Xefe Aldeia visited Oxfam (recipient of the proposal) on multiple occasions to further negotiate the need for an irrigation facility until the proposal was approved.³³⁰ Furthermore, Dwash water project was identified by villagers and gave the idea to a villager called Respondent 13 to estate during the Prime Minister visit in the village.

*During the meeting, I raised my hand and proposed this priority. I stated that it is difficult for us to get water here. We have to walk for long distance to get water to consume.*³³¹

Community projects were identified by specific particular villagers and local leader such as xefe aldeia. The students' house project, for instance, was identified by fathers of the students living away from the school.³³² The affected parents convened a meeting and discussed the implementation of the project without any external assistance. Likewise the chapel of St. Pedro DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 was

³²⁹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.11

³³⁰ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.2

³³¹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).docx.p.1

³³² DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

proposed by a teacher of primary school in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. He invited villagers especially catholic followers, xefe aldeia and xefe bairo by calling along the street to come to his house to convene a meeting consult and discuss on constructing the project in the village.³³³ In comparison with branch road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, the project was just identified by xefe aldeia.

For government project, there normally is a show hands election process used to select village needs. Before election, represent of each xefe aldeia explained the importance of the priority and as well the objective of selecting the priorities so that everyone in the meeting can understand the importance of each priority. Each aldeia proposed 3 aldeia priorities, hence, there are 9 priorities to be discuss on at the village to select five priorities to be village needs to send to the sub-district authorities. due to the differences ideas that every aldeia representatives such as Tobe, *Lia Nain*, xefe aldeia and other aldeia intellectuals defends their priorities, election is need to be conducted. Five priorities those have higher vote are selected as village priorities to be sent to sub-district governance authorities.

*Individuals who participate in the meeting such as Tobe, Lia Nain and other participants voted for priorities by show hands. Each priority in the list, I asked to them that who choose this priority. For example, who choose water supply? If they choose it then they raised their hands and explained why it is important.*³³⁴

Afterwards these priorities are relayed to the sub-district and district administration offices. The district prioritization is the last instance in the decision making on priorities through Parallelism process.

The NGO funded projects, DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation, the xefe aldeia decided to proposed the priority to NGOs based on the problem on getting the water that raised by villagers to him. Xefe suku is the second person of decision making for this project after informed by Xefe Aldeia to propose to the NGOs in Oecusse. There was no meeting held on decision making for this project.³³⁵ However, some specific group of villager sat together informally before the meeting of Prime Minister visit, shared the ideas on village priorities to ask to the Prime Minister. Because Respondent 13 is a vocal point villager in the village, they asked him to raise this problem to Prime Minister during the visit. It was noted during the research that the respondents did not have necessary information on how the subsequent decisions were made. The project was eventually implemented by USAid.³³⁶

For community projects, the decision is made by villagers who the project most affected, in exception that the decision of branch road project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 that only made by xefe aldeia because he has a plan to build a primary school in the aldeia.³³⁷ For instance, in the case of the students' house, the project was proposed and decided upon by the father of a student and the chapel of St. Pedro DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 was determined by a villager who taught at the primary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. These informal leaders of the projects consulted with other villagers that could potentially benefit from the implementation of these facilities.³³⁸ No formalized selection process was conducted, and only consensus building was evident during the planning process.

Generally, the villagers cooperate with the external actors such as the topper governance for selecting

³³³ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 29_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

³³⁴ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.11

³³⁵ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.2

³³⁶DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).docx.p.1

³³⁷ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.4

³³⁸ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 29_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

the projects. The villagers worked together with the external partners through the proposal submitting or submission of the village priorities for further decision making at those levels. Villagers identified their projects and consulted with the Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Suku by listed their projects to send to the government authorities at top level. The community sent the list of the village priorities to the sub district and district actors through the village leaders to do the further selection. Intellectual villagers were also consulted by village council during the selection of government projects at village stage. For example, the primary school in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, health post in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, water supply for UPF and other projects that selected for PDD program in 2011 that proposed by villagers through Parallelism process.³³⁹ However, for the government projects that identified by national authorities, villagers were excluded from the selection process.

For the NGO projects, villagers consulted the xefe aldeia to raise their project to the donors to implement. The xefe suku was consulted by xefe aldeia to send the project to the NGOs in the district and it was sent on a brief written proposal by the xefe suku to the NGOs to be approved and implemented in the village.

Community project such as DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 Chapel project, local aldeia leaders and villagers were consulted by religious leader who was the initiator of chapel project in the aldeia to discuss and agree on his idea to build the chapel.³⁴⁰ In regarding with the rehabilitation of branch road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and school residence, no external actors including villagers were involved by initiators of identifying the project in the selection process of the project.

6.2.2 Project planning

Commonly, majority parts of planning for projects including project design and project inventory are done by the companies which in charge of implementing the projects. This strategy is applied for the projects which are funded by the government through programs such as PDD and PDL. The drainage of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, for instance, is a PDD project. This project was implemented by Construction Company 1 therefore the project design and inventory were planned by Construction Company 1.³⁴¹ However, the planning of location of the project is normally done by local leaders with consultation with the owner of land. The Xefe Aldeia decided the place for primary school in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 where located in the Bairro of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 B because there was an empty land and many people houses and as well the chapel located nearby that place. The Xefe Suku also decided the location of sede suku because the place is located in the center of the village.

Furthermore, the NGO funded project such as DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 Irrigation and Dwash water project were planned by the NGO or agency itself. The planning for DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation was conducted by Oxfam while for Dwash water project was done by USAid agency. There was a very limited consultation with villagers and village council mainly the Xefe Suku, Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Bairro. However, in regarding with Dwash project, Respondent 13 who was elected as president of Grupo Manutensaun Fasilidade (GMF) or Facility Maintenance Group for the system, organized the meeting with villagers, especially villagers who would benefited by the system to identify the water source as well as consulted for land owners where the pipe goes through to offer their land to supply the water.³⁴²

For the community projects, the planning was done by community themselves. They started planning

³³⁹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.11

³⁴⁰ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 29_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

³⁴¹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁴² DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).docx.p.2

by conducting meetings where everyone who would be benefited by the project attended to discuss about the materials needed and budget availability. Some certain community projects such as houses are usually build traditionally; therefore, most materials are supplied locally in the village. During planning meetings, they listed all the materials would be needed, how to get these materials and how to build the project. The chapel of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, the Xefe Aldeia and the teacher just decided that the materials that not exist in the village can be sourced together as the group from other place outside of the village, however, the materials that exist in the village can be contributed by villager. Furthermore, land issue was also discussed in this meeting to consult the villagers to be provided to build the project. In this case, a villager voluntarily donated his land because does not want to go far to DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 for Sunday masses. Many people from DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and its local leaders were participated in this meeting. Nevertheless, there are also some certain community project that the process of construction only planned by aldeia leaders. For instance, branch road of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 that only planned by xefe aldeia and informed to the villagers to turn up for the work.³⁴³

Government and NGO projects were normally financed in the village were financed by the external actors such as the government, NGOs or agencies. In regard with community projects, villagers contributed either in kind or cash for constructions. However, they did not donate any resources for public works projects constructed. The government programs, such as PDD, PDL and PDID provided all financial resources that were required for construction. However, the government did not provide the grant to the project directly. The grants were provided to a construction company that was in charge of managing the construction. The fund handling was also managed directly by the company itself.³⁴⁴

While, the NGOs or agencies granted the NGO projects such as the irrigation in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and Dwash water project to be implemented. The DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation was financed by Oxfam at about \$7.800 and Dwash water project was granted by USAid. Oxfam contract Construction Company 2 to handle the fund for the construction but USAid managed directly by them. The villagers were not aware of the amount of resources from the donors spent for each project. The total financial amount spent on the irrigation project was posted on a bulletin board by Oxfam.³⁴⁵

The total of payment for the workers is normally decided by the company and NGO that manage the project implementation in the village. Supervisors or leader of the group of workers are also consulted by the company or NGO director to decide further on the amount of the money need to be paid. Some certain projects such as irrigation, retaining wall and drainage, the labors are contracted per meter. However, it's not really clear on how to decide how much pay for the labors. Villagers including workers do not now on how to decide it. They are just aware that they are paid by their group leaders. For example, Respondent 23 who involved in the construction of irrigation in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 does not know about how to decide about is payment.³⁴⁶

There were few projects like DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 Chapel and student house which was funded by the community themselves through the community contributions. In this case of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 Chapel, the villagers donated \$0.25 or more of the money during the Sunday's mass and rosary during October and May. The amount of cash contribution depended on people how much each village wanted to donate, therefore, the amount of contribution in a mass or rosary could not be expected or

³⁴³ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.4

³⁴⁴ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 17_Builder and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁴⁵ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.3

³⁴⁶ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 23_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

determined. It depends on the number of the people turn up to the mass and rosary and how many people wanted to donate. The money was handled by the catechist that could be the treasurer to manage the expenditure. He collected the donation in every community prayers in the chapel to count and keep. Some of money he sent to parish priest however some money he kept as the cash to use for the chapel expenses. The financial records are actually done by him to know the amount of the money that collected by villagers during the masses and rosaries because the amount of donation for each mass or rosary is different.

The student residence, the villagers who the most affected by the project contributed the money to implement their project. The amount of the money to be donated was decided in a meeting. They knew what materials were needed, quantity of each type of materials and their costs in the basis of their experience as they usually build the traditional house within their aldeia and bought these kinds of traditional house materials so they just contributed exactly for those materials.³⁴⁷ During the meeting, a senior villager proposed the amount of money to be collected then the other students parents agree on his idea. He knows the cost for grass and bamboo because he has ever bought the grass for building his house; bamboo was planned by him to buy in front of his house which owned by his uncle. The house would be built was small therefore they knew that it would just need several materials. All three student fathers are also builders of traditional house, thus, they just calculated how many materials needed to build this small house. Afterwards, three student parents decided this villager to collect the money because he was the initiator of this project implementation. He was also appointed to be the treasurer to handle the money of the project. They all just appointed him that it would be good if he handles the money because he was the initiator of giving the idea and knows well about the materials costs. He also knows well about the seller of grass and bamboo.

For large scale project construction materials such as concrete and steel, were sourced by the company from outside of the village such as Dili, Oecusse and Kefa Indonesia. Except stones that are just supplied from the village. For some certain project such as community construction and irrigation project of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, villagers voluntarily collect from the area around the project site to use for construction. However, for government and Dwash projects, the company and NGO that manage the project buy stones from villagers who collect and sell stones in the river of River 2. Sands were retrieved from River 1 in Oecusse because the rivers in DC-3.4 do not have good quality of sand while steel and pipes were basically attained from Dili and Oecusse and only few materials such as the cement were sourced from Kefa.

For community construction such as the student house and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 Chapel, the materials were attained in the village, with the exception of wood for the chapel which was bought from Border suku 3 Indonesia, because large trees are not found in the village. Grass and stones were also obtained locally. In terms of students' residence construction, grass and bamboos were brought from neighboring villages, while wood was contributed voluntarily by DC-3.4 residents. The villagers normally took all the materials for these types of the construction on their shoulders to the project sites.

In terms of working coordination, when an infrastructure project is undertaken in an Aldeia, Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Bairro can play an important role to inform or involve people in the project. Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Bairro mobilized and motivated villagers to participate in the construction work. This is mostly applied for the government and NGO projects. With the case of drainage in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, leaders of the group and local leaders coordinated with vthe land owners where the drainage goes

³⁴⁷ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2

through to cooperate to dig the drainage in their land. Similar with Dwash project, that the president of GMF coordinated with villagers in particularly the villagers who the pipe goes through their land to dig voluntarily the hole for the pipe in their land. However, the experienced workers were coordinated by companies to work for the other items of construction such as piping the water, build the water tank, etc. Some workers also were coordinated by group leaders of workers to work for small bridge in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1.

*Dwash said that they will only pay the villagers who know pipe the water while the other labors will not be paid. They will just provide the foods such as rice, noodles, etc. for lunch every day.*³⁴⁸

The community projects, some certain projects coordination were done by local leaders such as Xefe Aldeia and Xefe Bairro, however, there are also some projects that just coordinated by villagers themselves. With this regards, the project of rehabilitation of branch road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, the Xefe Aldeia coordinated with the villagers in the Aldeia through public announcement along the street so that the villagers brought their equipments of works to turn up to the project rehabilitation. The student housing project, students parents were coordinated by a villager to prepared the food themselves, such as each student father just had the food at their house in the morning and evening and also working together to build the house.³⁴⁹

In case of cooperation between the villagers and the external actors during the planning phase, the villagers were not aware for majority projects in large scales happened in the village in exception with the land issues that cooperate to be provided the land in order to implement the project. It was noted during the research that, the respondents did not know how the project was planned prior to implementation. There was more awareness of the construction process instead of what preceded it. However, in some certain government projects, such as Sede Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and primary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, villagers cooperated with Xefe Aldeia and the company which in charged to manage these constructions by providing the land to implement the projects. Villagers also cooperated with government funded projects as they were contracted by companies to build the constructions.

The NGO projects, the xefe aldeia and the xefe bairro were consulted by the agencies to inform to the villagers to turn up for the construction for some specific projects for instance Oxfam told Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 to inform his villagers to participate in the construction of irrigation project that handled by Oxfam.³⁵⁰ Villagers also cooperated with local leaders as well as external actors who managed the project through providing the land.

*I told the villagers that this is your right to build irrigation. Therefore, just provide your land to build it.*³⁵¹

Local leaders including *Lia Nain* also cooperated with external actors to organize opening ritual ceremony for the construction. Relation with Dwash project, villagers also cooperated with Servisu Agua i Saneamentu (SAS), as known in English, Water and Sanitation Service through establishing GMF for the system by SAS.

In regard with community project, villagers normally cooperated with local, education and religious

³⁴⁸ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁴⁹ DC-3.4_20140731_RESPONDENT 21_Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁵⁰ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁵¹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.3

leaders based on the type of the project. For example, in community religious project, villagers cooperated with religious teacher and local leaders in order to manage the project to be implemented. Some specific individuals also cooperated by providing the land for the project building. The student housing project, students and their fathers cooperated with the director of pre-secondary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 to provide the land for building the house. Some students were also coordinated by his father to control the materials during material were stored at the project site. A part of director of school, who is a student that built house selected the project site because that land was empty.³⁵²

The government projects, there were no more constraints identified during the research. However, in regarding with DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 package of drainage, retaining wall and small bridge project, faced a constraint once that difficult for them to store non local materials included cement. In case of thief and rain, this kind of material could not store at an open area at project site. Therefore, the company director contracted separately a villager to keep the materials at his house as well as contracted to control these materials.³⁵³

The lack of Xefe Suku involvement in the project planning is a constraint that faced by Xefe Aldeia and villagers in the planning process of the NGO projects. There was once stated by the Xefe aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, that he invited the xefe suku to supervise the planning and implementation for DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation project as the leader of the village but Xefe Suku rejected to involve.

*The Xefe Suku said that it's your work so just organized by you. I do not know about this. After rehabilitation done, I went down to Sede Suku to inform him that the rode rehabilitation has done.*³⁵⁴

Materials supply from outside of the village also as a constraint for planning for the large scale of the projects including government and NGO projects. Due to the lack of the quality of sands in the village, the companies and NGOs supplied it from a River in Oecusse. With this regard, transportations expenses were also constraint for the company and NGOs during the planning process. Owing to the River that situated quite far from the village, the transportation expenses were more required and take long time to supply the materials including non local materials that sourced from Oecusse, Dili and Atambua.

For the chapel in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, lack of materials, particularly specific wood was a major constraint that forces them to go to the other side of the border in Indonesia to find it. Three villagers were arrested by the Indonesian Army during harvesting of wood from Border suku 3, North Central Timor Regency, district Kefa, Nusa Tenggara Timur Indonesia. These villagers were freed after they paid a goat and a jerry can of palm wine to the army.³⁵⁵ A part of that, another constraint occurred during the planning for the land of the chapel that there was no land that belonged to Catholic Church to build the chapel. However, during community meeting that held out in the aldeia about identifying project location for the chapel, a villager agreed voluntarily to give his land for the chapel so that he does not need to walk far whenever he needed to go to the church.

With the students' residence, the major constraint is the distance of carrying the materials to the project site. There were only three students with their parents who carried the materials such as grasses and woods near the borders to a student house in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 on their shoulders. After that they

³⁵² DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 19_ Presecondary Students (NOTE).docx.p.1

³⁵³ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁵⁴ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.4

³⁵⁵ DC-3.4_20140802_RESPONDENT 17_Estensionista (NOT) 2. Docx.p.3

continued carrying these materials with bamboos that bought in their Bairro to the project site. They walked for about two hours of carrying the materials to the project site in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. They spent a total of two weeks for carrying the materials to the project site.³⁵⁶

6.2.3 Project implementation

In government projects, the owner of the construction company in charge of the project recruited the skilled builders or personal acquaintances from the aldeia to be supervisors for projects. For example, during the construction of the drainage project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, the director of the Construction Company 1 responsible for the project asked directly someone who he used to know in the past (Respondent 16) to help with recruitment and supervision of the project. Construction supervisors invited the villagers who have construction experience to lead construction worker groups. Then, each construction group leader invited the villagers to involve in his group to work for the project.³⁵⁷ In this case, the supervisors helped them to find out the workers to be their members. This is common with government projects.

However, for the NGO projects, the recruitment of the workers was not done by the agency or NGO owners themselves like the DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation and Dwash water project. In case of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation, the xefe aldeia was asked by Oxfam to recruit the laborers. Then, he informed the villagers those he met on the road or in the rice field to turn up for the irrigation project. While, with the Dwash water project, the president of water monitoring team (GMF), Respondent 13 visited every household who benefited by the system and requested them to turn up for the work. Respondent 13 was in charged by the agency to manage the system of informing to the villagers to participate in the work of supplying the water system.

*I visited every villager house in the Bairro to inform to participate in the work of water supply. For the villagers who would not to participate in the work will be excluded from using the facility.*³⁵⁸

For the community projects, recruitment of workers can be done by having the Xefe Aldeia and his Xefe Bairro calling the community to work by shouting along the street and the neighborhood for example in the DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 road repairing and also can be seen with chapel construction. In particular during the chapel construction process, the recruitment was done by the xefe aldeia and the catechist during the Sunday prayers. Whereas, for the students' residence project, a student father just invited two other students' fathers to build the house together.

The government and NGO projects, the companies and agencies conducted the planning for the construction process. The workers were usually mobilized in the groups and worked per item of construction. The group members were contracted by lump sum in group. For example, the package of drainage, bridge and retaining wall project of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1; the labors were contracted in three groups and all these groups shared the worked by type of the construction such as a group contracted \$400 to build the small bridge, a group was hired \$4.50 per meter to build the drainage and another group was paid \$3.50 per meter for retaining wall.³⁵⁹ Group leaders were normally assigned based on their experience in each type of the construction. A villager was assigned to lead the workers to work for retaining wall because he has experience on this project.

³⁵⁶DC-3.4_20140730_RESPONDENT 19_Presecondary Students (NOTE).docx.p.1

³⁵⁷ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 17_Builder and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

³⁵⁸ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁵⁹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 17_Builder and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1

The projects construction was frequently planned to work on every working days from Monday to Friday. Some certain projects, Saturday was also used by labors to work. However, it also depended on the weather and materials available. The workers had to break to do not work when there was raining and materials run out, however, there was no significant break and only broke 1 to 3 days during the construction of the projects therefore they still met the deadline or some projects finished earlier than deadline.³⁶⁰ If the work was postponed then workers were not be paid on that particular day included the workers who absent during the construction work. Team leaders were in charged to control and supervise the members therefore workers who did not show up in the work were not be paid.

In comparison with the community projects, commonly the villagers were informed to turn up for the construction and work freely by themselves. The villagers just did what they need to do first then went further to the next item of the work. Specific skilled builders or *badaen* was normally not necessary used in the community projects. The student housing project, there was no one to lead the project. The fathers of three students just built based on their experience. They started from digging the holes for pillars, after that then they put the pillars, and so on. In regarding with the labor mobilizations for the community projects, villagers were normally mobilized by the village leaders or some individual villagers. There was also no need for the opening and closing ritual ceremony before starting and after the construction done. The ritual ceremonies were excluded from these projects due to the lack of money that villagers can spend for these ceremonies. However, they just prayed to their ancestors' souls for asking the permission, instead.³⁶¹ The rehabilitation or branch road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 that the xefe aldeia just prayed to their ancestors for asking the permission without organized any ritual ceremony, for instance.

The government funded or NGO funded projects cooperation with external actors, villagers cooperate with the external actor through the recruitment of workers, storage of materials, workers payment, etc. The villagers were contracted by the NGOs and companies to work for the project's constructions in the village. In terms of the drainage construction in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, a villager was contracted to offer his house to store the materials for the construction as well as to control the materials during they were kept at his house.

Furthermore, in another case with DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation, the villagers also contracted by the NGO to carry the materials those just stored on the roadside due to the lack of road connection to the project location. Eight villagers were contracted \$400 separately to take the sands and cements for the construction from the road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 to the project site which located in Bairro 1. However, the villagers from other aldeia were prohibited by the xefe aldeia to work for this project. Only the villagers from the aldeia could be involved in the project construction. This seems the habit of the villagers in DC-3.4 to prohibit the external villagers from the project implementation in an aldeia.

For the community projects cooperation with external actors is very limited since everything is planned and implemented internally.

I do not receive the labor other aldeia to involve in this project. If I receive them then the villagers in the aldeia

³⁶⁰ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2-3

³⁶¹ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.4

*would protest me.*³⁶²

The diversity of the constraints transpired towards the projects especially for the projects which constructed in the wet season. Heavy raining was a common issue that affected activity of construction as well as materials supply. Workers could not continue during this period of time and had to postpone the work until the rain stopped. In case of materials supplying, the rain affected to the road became inaccessible and the materials could not be obtained. Therefore, the materials were occasionally ran out of the project and workers could not work during the materials were not supplied. However, there was no major break during the construction towards the government projects, therefore, identified projects were all finalized on time.

On the other hand, the location of the project also may affect to the materials collection. For example, in the case of the irrigation project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, the location was situated away from the road that prevented the Construction Company to store the materials such as sands and cements at the project site, hence, they just stored at an empty house near the street. Regard with this, the company contracted other workers to carry these materials from the road to the project location which is located in Bairro 1.³⁶³

Furthermore, the delay of payment for workers by the company also a big constraint occurred towards the project implementation of drainage system in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1. Workers were paid late so the work was interrupted for several days and workers dissatisfaction resulted in a confrontation with the supervisor Respondent 16. The construction continued after workers got paid except Respondent 16 himself. He is not been paid until now because the company is not being paid the 10% of fund by the government.³⁶⁴ He is the only one not been paid because he is the company owner's friend and also recruited directly by the company.

6.2.4 Resource management

In government and NGOs projects, non-local materials are normally stored inside storage facility purposefully built for these purposes or community houses. Local materials are stored in an open area outside of the storage facility or community house except stones that stored at the project site either by the company or villagers as the contribution. However, the materials were just stored outside around the project site for community projects such as the students' residence and DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 chapel. No one was contracted or in charged to look after the materials.³⁶⁵

For the NGO project like DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 irrigation, the materials such as cement and sands were stored in an empty house of a community member near the street of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. These materials were moved to the project site when the construction began while stones were collected by the villagers around the project location and only stored at the project location. As well as drainage project of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, the materials were stored at a villager house near the project location. Then company contracted this villager to look after these materials since the materials were stored at his house. Though the materials were stored at his house but he was not involved in the decision making on how these materials will be used. In comparison with Dwash water project, the materials were stored in a warehouse near the market of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. These materials were just distributed to

³⁶²DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.3

³⁶³ DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 3_Xefe Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 (NOT).docx.p.3

³⁶⁴DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.3

³⁶⁵ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).docx.p.1

each Bairro by labors when they need to use for the construction in their Bairro.³⁶⁶

Regarding to the researchers observation, the materials for primary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 were stored at an open area at the project site. Then just took it for using when they needed it. Aside of this project, the installation of the power that was supplying during the research was conducted in the village, the materials as electric cable were just stored in front of Sede Suku while the power poles were stored spread along the street where the pole was built. These materials were distributed or taken when they needed to used, thus, the materials were not distributed out at the same time.

From those projects identified in the village, local materials were never reused except dry wooden that used by villagers for firewood. These leftover materials were just thrown out or fired by people. In regard with the remains of non local materials were taken back by the company or NGO that handled the project.

6.2.5 Development outcomes

The distance determined the villagers to participate in accessing the public goods in the village. Majority of these facilities are placed in the center of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 especially filial schools and chapel that placed in each aldeia. Therefore, many students those live away from schools still have to walk for long distance to go to the school as well as people who want to go to the market or to use other village facilities such as health center or clinic.

Furthermore, lack of infrastructure facilities such as bridge over Taenmenta River pose serious problem to people who try to cross from DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 to DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 for market or school.³⁶⁷ Poor Road condition and flash flooding make the Suku harder to access during rainy season. People have to carry their local products or materials for building on their shoulders to DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 for trading or building some houses in the center such as the students and their parents carried the materials to DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 to build the student resident due to inaccessible road that caused lack of transportation to be transported.

In terms of project failed, none identified. There was a project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 about a package of construction of drainage, retaining wall and small bridge that was said by many respondents. As failed due to bad weather condition and some materials lost but after visited the site and talked to people who were actually involved in its construction the project was actually completed and verified by the National Authority for Development (ADN).³⁶⁸

Nevertheless, mostly projects happened in the village especially government and NGOs funded projects were succeed and completed. The government projects were succeeded because of good construction management by companies and good cooperation with workers and village leaders in the exception of the Xefe Suku on labor mobilization and site identification. The constructions were managed by hired companies and agencies which managed the construction to finalize on time or before the deadline had been settled even though workers stopped working on few days regarding to the raining. It did not affect the most to the construction process to delay. A part of management, money for the construction was provided to pay the labors with enough amount of money so that they were encouraged to work to finalize the project. The villagers special land owners were consulted to offer their land to build the project as well as contracted them to participate in the construction for

³⁶⁶ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 13_President of GMF (NOT).docx.p.3

³⁶⁷ DC-3.4_20140728_RESPONDENT 9_FemaleYouthRep (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁶⁸ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.3

digging the hole for drainage in their land such as the drainage of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1.³⁶⁹ Ritual ceremony that organized is also a factor for the success of this type of project according to the villagers' belief. According to some respondents including the Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2, their ancestors' souls would help the project implementation succeed when they organized ritual ceremony. Furthermore, villagers also would be motivated by this event to participate in the project implementation.

The NGO projects, there were several factors that helped the projects succeed. The amount of money that provided by the NGO to purchase the materials and pay the labors was a main factor supported the project succeeded. NGO had enough money to supply the materials that needed for construction and pay the workers to participate in the construction. Furthermore, construction works management that contracted the labor in lump sum could encourage the workers to work fast to finalize the construction to get paid. Local leaders, Xefe Aldeia, Xefe Bairro and Xefe GMF for water system played, for example, supported NGOS to mobilize the labors was also a factor to get high participation in the NGO project construction. Lastly, ritual ceremony that organized is also an additional factor for succeeding of the NGO projects construction. Villagers also could be motivated by this event to turn up participate in the project construction. This ceremony could respond to their belief that each project that managed by external actors have to open by a ritual ceremony.

The community projects, the importance of the project for beneficiaries are an important factor to influence beneficiaries to finish the project. For instance, the student housing project, students wanted to live near the school as soon, they with their parents worked hard to build the house. However, people belief was also an important factor for community religious projects to be completed. Even though the payment was not involved in the construction of the chapels in the village but villagers turned up for the construction because of their belief that they worked for their souls.

*We work for our soul so we do not need to be paid.*³⁷⁰

Furthermore, good internal cooperation and working together among the beneficiaries was a factor for the success of the community projects. Creative of local leaders such as Xefe Aldeia to coordinate and mobilize the people and as well managed the projects were also factors for some certain community projects such as chapels and branch road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. Branch road of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 was succeeded because the xefe aldeia took interest to mobilize his villagers to work for this project. In regard with chapel projects, there were good interests of village leaders worked with religious leaders such as catechist to manage and coordinate with villagers, therefore, the projects were completed successful.

Majority of community projects in DC-3.4 are still working or functional except chapel of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2. This chapel is not been used by villagers nowadays owing to the roofing that has broken and needed to be repaired.³⁷¹ The other village projects such as student residence and road in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 were completed and are used by the people. Based on the REP team's observation Sede Aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 is poorly looked after and full of animal excrement like has not been used for years. It is also located a bit far from the center of the population. The paint still looked new.

Government project like roads either village road or district roads are still working but with quite poor condition and rocks. It is inaccessible by transport during the wet season. A bridge in front of

³⁶⁹ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.2

³⁷⁰ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT).docx.p.1

³⁷¹ DC-3.4_20140801_RESPONDENT 28_Community member (NOT)

extension house also has broken and almost to fall down. According to extension, it was built for long time ago and half part of it has broken so in needs to be repaired. Otherwise, the transportation would not pass that stream. Power installation that covers majority area of village is working but it just light at night. Sometimes it also cannot give the power to villagers as the fuel is run out from the center machine. Furthermore, NGO funded projects like the Dwash water project still continues supplying water but in dry season the supply diminishes a lot and affects people live far from the source has less access water supply. However, irrigation project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 that granted by Oxfam is functional and used by villagers.

There are a number of public works projects that have been implemented in DC-3.4. The suku has benefited from the fact that one of its Aldeias, DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 serves as the center of the sub-district. As a result, DC-3.4 has a junior high school, four primary schools, two health centers, a village office, police stations and the sub-district Office.³⁷²

Citizens who work on public projects tend to do so mostly within their own Aldeias, there are some rare cases where people have worked in another Aldeias. In addition, the recruitment of workers is normally executed directly by the project implementers: a private company, an Aldeia or the community themselves if the project is owned by the community.

Often times, there are issues that slowdown project implementation. One issue is the delayed delivery of project materials due to muddy roads, especially during rainy season. Furthermore, lack of finance sometimes triggers the delayed payment of worker's wages which workers stopped working for some days and could contribute to a failure to meet project deadlines as workers refuse to work without having received their salary. Fortunately, there was no significant delayed, therefore, the project construction works still met deadlines.³⁷³

In terms of leakage, in one of the projects verified, there was allegation of misappropriation of some of the equipment of the contracted company by the workers such as drums. However, a kiosk near to the project site refuse to give back some company's properties because the company's workers borrow cigarettes and food from the kiosk but have not paid them back.³⁷⁴

6.3 Explanatory cases

Irrigation in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 funded by Oxfam (NGO funded project)

The irrigation project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 is a NGO funded project which located in Bairro 1. This project was identified by the villagers those farming in rice field at that area because the old irrigation was not working for watering their crops such as vegetables and rice. They proposed this project to the xefe aldeia informally when they met him. Afterwards, the xefe aldeia informed this project to the xefe suku at sed suku to propose to the higher governance of NGO to build then the xefe suku helped by PAAS wrote a proposal and submitted by the xefe suku to NGO forum in Oecusse.

The NGO forum offered this proposal to Oxfam to handle this project to be implemented. The xefe aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 did not know when this proposal submitted, he only aware by the xefe suku

³⁷² DC-3.4_20140725_RESPONDENT 2_XefeSuco (NOT) 1and2.docx.p.1

³⁷³ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.1-2

³⁷⁴ DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.3

after the proposal was submitted that the proposal is with Oxfam so that the xefe aldeia could follow up. Therefore, the xefe aldeia check his proposal frequently until the proposal was approved. This proposal was approved by Oxfam after two years sent the proposal by xefe suku. The xefe aldeia was informed by two staff of Oxfam at his house on approving his proposal then accompanied with xefe aldeia, they continued going to the project location to conduct the location survey. At the same time, the two Oxfam staff asked the xefe aldeia to recruit the workers to work for the construction.

Moreover, the xefe aldeia invited the skilled builder like Respondent 23 to be the supervisor and informed to other villagers by transfer the information from mouth to mouth to turn up for the construction. The villagers from the aldeia were allowed by the xefe aldeia to participate in the construction works but the external villagers were prohibited to involve. In this case, the xefe aldeia said he would be protested by internal villagers if he allow external to participate.

Even though, this is a NGO funded project but the implementation works were not managed directly by Oxfam. However, it was handled by Construction Company 2 which hired by Oxfam to manage this project including money handling, materials obtaining, supervise and monitor the quality of the project. The fund management was only managed by the company so that villagers did not aware how much money spent for this project. The xefe aldeia only found the amount of fund on the information board that this project was granted \$7.800. As well as, materials were also supplied by the company except stones which only collected by the villagers around the project location. Non local materials like cements were sourced from Oecusse The regional center while sands were supplied from a River in Bairro 6. Due to the location of the project where situated away from the street with inaccessible road for transportation, the materials were stored first by the company in an empty house of a village near the road.

Before the construction started, the *Lia Nain* and xefe aldeia organized a ritual ceremony by killing a big pig that provided by company or Oxfam at laying of first stone for constructing the project. This ceremony was organized to ask the permission for their ancestors' souls to build the irrigation. This irrigation project was started in April 2012 a month after the survey conducted. There were nine different groups of labors worked for this project based on the item of the construction. Each group led by a team leader as well as the president of lump sum and worked every day until the construction was done. These labors received their salary three times during the construction. A part of that, Construction Company 2 also hired the external labors for the construction to carry the cements and sands from the roadside in a villager house to the project site. There were only 8 labors contracted by \$400 for carrying the materials because majority villagers rejected this work due to their farming and did not have free time to work for the project.

During the construction period, the owner of Construction Company 2 conducted the monitoring to see the work and quality of the project. This project was completed in July 2012. After the project was done, the villagers included *Lia Nain*, xefe aldeia and xefe bairro organized the closing ritual ceremony to kill a pig to inaugurate the project to be used by the villagers. Again this pig and other ceremony expenses were responsible by Construction Company 2 and Oxfam. The project is now working and used by the villagers those farming in Bairro 1 to water their plants.

Student Residence (Community project)

The student residence is a community project that is situated in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 bairro Bairro 8 for using by the students to study at pre-secondary school of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. This project was identified by the father of a student called Respondent 21 because they live quite far from the school and his

child has to walk and cross the river to go to the school. During the rain, the student cannot pass a river. A part of this, the director of the school also told his students those live far from the school to build the house near the school.

Furthermore, Respondent 21 invited two other neighbor students' fathers to build together for their children. Then they organized a meeting at initial project identifying house to discuss about how to build the house. Each student parents donated \$25 to buy the materials such as grasses and bamboos and handled by Respondent 21. There were three students so the money was \$75. Grasses were afforded by \$50 and the rest \$25 were spent for buying bamboos. They obtained grasses at a villager garden in the border, wood in their gardens and bamboos just in their bairo in front of Respondent 21 house. Grasses and wood were stored first at Respondent 21 house in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 then carried down to DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 on their shoulders by about 2 hours walk. These materials were just carried by three students and their parents those would be benefitted by the project during two weeks. According to a respondent who is living at this house that they invited their neighborhoods to help them on build this house but the neighbors rejected to help them.

These materials were stored outside around the project location and Respondent 21 child took care of the materials because he was living with his friend house near the project site during the construction. Then, the construction began in July 2013 and just built for about four days of construction. This house was built by three students' fathers and help by their children after they came back from the school. None helped then during the construction except a friend of Respondent 21's child who helped them most. They also did not involve the experienced builder because the house was built traditionally so they know how to build this house. Since the house had been built, they just had food at home in the morning before went to work and after coming back home after work.

There was no ritual ceremony before and after the construction due to lack of the money they had. Three students are occupying this residence therefore they responsible for the maintenance. Two occupants are at second year while another one is at third year of pre-secondary school. An occupant said this house will be broken after they completed their study at that school.

Drainage project in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1

The drainage project is a government project that implemented in DC-3.4-Aldeia 1 Aldeia through PDD (*Programa Desenvolvimento no Descentralizasaan*). This project was built on a package of three infrastructures consisting drainage, Small Bridge and Retaining Wall. This project was identified by the villagers through Parallelism process which identified by the villagers from aldeia to suku and sent to sub-district and district for further selection. There was an election by show hands happened at suku level to select the village priorities included this project due to the poor road system such as lack of proper drainage and frequent landslide cause repetitive damage. Then the xefe suku sent the village priority list to the sub-district for next selection.

Afterwards, the owner of Construction Company 1 that won the government tenderization came to the aldeia to meet the xefe suku and conduct the location survey as well as to invite the skilled builders who he knew for long time to be the supervisor for the construction. Then, supervisor recruited team leaders of groups of workers and helped them to recruit the labors as well. After one week of survey then, the company supplied the materials both local and non local. Non local materials were sourced from Dili and Kefa Indonesia; cements were from Kefa while the other non local materials were obtained from Dili. Sands were sourced from a River in Oecusse while stones were just bought 6 per truck by the company in the river of River 2 DC-3.4-Aldeia 3. The transportation was hired \$100 or

more per truck depended on the distance.

These materials were stored at a villager house near the project site in the aldeia and also contracted the owner to look after the materials since the materials were stored at his house. Furthermore, the opening ritual ceremony was necessary to be organized before the construction start. The company provided \$70 to buy a goat and a chicken to kill for the ceremony. This ceremony is usually held for the project which handled by the external actors such as NGOs or agencies and companies to ask the permission to the souls to start the building.³⁷⁵

The construction was begun in June 2013 and based on the schedule the project planned to finish in six month about in December but this project was completed a little bit earlier in November 2013. During the construction, workers worked in three different groups with the members between 4 to 6 that lead by three team leaders and supervised by two supervisors. This project was managed by two companies, including Construction Company 1. The groups were contracted and worked based on the type of the infrastructure on package of the project. The group that worked for small bridge was hired by \$400 in lamp sum, \$4.50 per meter for the group worked for retaining wall and \$3.50 per meter for the group for drainage. However, the land owners were also involved for drainage one that they participated with digging holes and got paid \$2 per meter.

The interruptions were also shown up for the period of the construction for this project such as heavy rain and delay on paying the labors by the contractor. Heavy rain was affected the labors could not work for three days because the road became inaccessible so that the car could not bring the materials to the project site. Another case with the rain, the rain brought mud to cover the holes for the construction and had to dig again by the labors. In terms of delay on paying the labors, workers stopped the work and asked supervisors to pay their salary. They continued working after paid by contractor except a supervisor as well as respondent that not being paid until now.

Closing ritual ceremony was the last process of the project implementation which held after the quality monitoring that conducted by National Development Authority or ADN (*Autoridade Desenvolvimento Nacional*). This ceremony was organized with other projects managed by Construction Company 1 Company throughout Oecussi to inaugurate those projects to be used. Only respondent as well as a supervisor for this construction participated because it was heavy rain and River 1 was also flown so the other villagers did not turn up for this ceremony.

The project is working though many respondents said that this project was failed and not been completed due to weather and materials lost but after REP talking with builders of the project, the project found out that it is completed. Some equipment such as concrete mixer, power generator and metal cutter are still left in the aldeia. The metal cutter is kept by the owner of a kiosk because the company owners have not paid their dept from the kiosk. Some builders' wage was also deducted by the company because they lost the company's drums.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Findings

The following are several factors that may have both positive and negative impacts on PNDS.

At institutional level, many people in DC-3.4 are already familiar with organizations through their

³⁷⁵DC-3.4_20140729_RESPONDENT 16_Catechist and Farmer (NOT).docx.p.3

participation in many village groups that exist in the village. That could contribute positively to the implementation of PNDS especially in reinforcing the roles of the PNDS Village Management Team as well as exercising better control on its conducts.

On public works, despite project workers are normally paid, community is also more receptive to voluntary work in community-driven projects. For instance, a community built chapel and student residence is done based on voluntary work. Considering limited budget of PNDS, certain part of the projects that may require high number of participation for short period of time could resort to voluntary participation of the villagers as long as right approach is made to make the community understand the importance of a project for them. This was verified in two different projects, a water project implemented by USAid and an irrigation project financed by Oxfam where certain part of the works is done voluntarily by the villagers to facilitate the process.

PNDS would face also competition from many other infrastructure projects that are implemented in the village by both governmental and non-governmental organizations that could offer better salary to the workers. Such could divert skilled workers away from PNDS to those projects.

On the other hand, construction materials are very scarce in the village. Set aside wood, bamboo and grass that are usually sourced locally for construction of traditional houses, most of the materials are brought in from The regional center including sands because rivers in DC-3.4 does not give good quality of sands. Materials have to be transported into the village crossing the River 1 and through rugged terrain that are hard to travel across during rainy season. Such could raise the transportation costs and trigger delays during PNDS project implementation if alternative and stable supply of materials is not found.

There are many voices of dissatisfaction in relation to the performance of the Xefe Suku and the Village Council as a whole. There are complaints that xefe suku hardly turns up at the village office, last minute cancellation of many village meetings, financial management is done with lack of transparency and inactiveness of many village council members. That raises the alarm to the fact that such a culture of work may be transferred to PNDS Planning and Accountability Commission which is by norm constituted also by members of the Village Council.

There are two chapels one in DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and another in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 that are already old and need repairing. Although during the interviews only two respondents, including Xefe Suku, who considere that rehabilitation of the chapels are their priorities, there is always a risk of materials for PNDS project might be diverted in the future for chapel rehabilitation.

In term of configuration of power, many villagers in DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 occupies majority of village leadership positions and have a lot of powerful villagers such as Former Xefe Suku, sub-district administrator, directors of schools, agriculture technician and the leader of the cultural structure, the naijuf. Therefore, they may use their power to mobilize people to participate in the project implementation or coordinate with NGOs and government institutions to facilitate the implementation of PNDS projects. However there is also risk that such a power is used to influence decision making on public works in favor of DC-3.4-Aldeia 3 to the detriment of the two other aldeias.

Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 have successfully mobilized his people to implemente some purely community-driven projects such DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 junction road opening. Thus he could play an important role in mobilizing the community to participate in PNDS project implementation in his aldeia. On the other hand, Xefe Aldeia of DC-3.4-Aldeia 1, accused of not active enough in

community lives, is expected to participate less during the project implementation.

Furthermore, the tradition of decision making that only involve local leaders and mostly men could affect social inclusion as important principal for PNDS implementation. Villagers and women participation in decision making may not be considered as important. The leaders and the other powerful villagers may identify the village needs themselves. That may affect the PNDS goal to achieve high participation from the community and at least 40% of women involvement in PNDS projects implemented in a village.

The livelihood of most villagers of DC-3.4 is farming and most of their activities center around agriculture and micro credit groups. Thus, villagers may be tempted to use PNDS fund to promote the activity of their groups rather than for construction of village infrastructure projects. In fact, when researchers had conversation with the village agriculture technician who is also considered as powerful in the village, he stated that PNDS village fund is better spent to buy seeds and agriculture equipments for farming in order to improve people's life rather than using it for public works. This way of thinking may discourage him to involve in PNDS project and he may use his influence to divert villagers away from PNDS project implementation.

7.2 Research limitations

The researchers spent very limited time in the village. Therefore, the dynamics of processes and mechanisms that may be used in decisions making process in the village are not fully observed. For instance, the study has limited informations on political parties that exist in the village as well as two other village umbrella organizations that exist in aldeia DC-3.4-Aldeia 2 and DC-3.4-Aldeia 1. In addition, the researchers cannot speak and understand the local language, Baiqueno, which is the only language spoken by most of the respondents. Thus, the constant use of local interpreter may distort the data that were gathered. Conflict mediation processes also are not extensively covered because the potential respondents are reluctant to discuss the processes in detail.

7.3 Researchers' personal experience and beliefs

Researcher 1. The researcher has personal experience in promoting community participation including women and disabled people in all stages of development throughout Timor Leste by delivering training to the facilitators to implement in the village. Researcher also involved directly in promoting community participation at village level by providing the training for villagers. Researcher has a personal believe that villagers need to be involved in the development process to improve their life as the answer for the principles of PNDS for its successful implementation in Timor Leste.

Researcher 2. The researcher has worked as evaluator for implementation of projects related to community based disaster risk management. In addition, from researchers own observation in various initiatives and projects implemented in different places around the country, normally after a project is completed, project maintenance is an important part that often overlooked. Thus, many projects do not resist for long time after completion. Therefore researcher believes that having a good maintenance mechanism in place and right incentives for workers to maintain a project would create loyalty to the task assigned and stronger sense of ownership of the project that would help making it lasts longer after completion.

LBS Village Report:
DC-4.1 (Covalima District), II
World Bank, PNDS-REP

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The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

National Program for Village Development (PNDS) is Timor-Leste's countrywide community-driven development program (CDD) that will provide annual grants to finance basic infrastructure projects at village levels. These grants try to give power to communities and offer them opportunities to openly plan and execute priority village infrastructures to ensure village levels development conforms with goals lay out in the Government's 20 year National Strategic Development Plan. To accomplish this, PNDS will exert ways to improve local governance mechanisms. Hence, by looking into particular villages, this report seeks to respond to the following questions: what is the current state of the local governance? How did villagers deal with government projects in the past? This report will focus on DC-4.1, a rural and average violence village in the district of Suai, to provide some of the responds to the questions above.

This study is aimed to illustrate a picture of existing village governance system and to discover the villager's experiences in handling development projects. It will firstly show the village institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules. Next, it will provide a picture of social cohesion, looking at identity, conflicts and mediation, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and lastly, explores the processes for selecting and managing local development projects being implemented in the village. The findings of this report will add towards the overall baseline assessment which will seek to answer the following questions: how will PNDS fit into the local governance context? What are the characteristics of the local institutions which PNDS might engage with? How will the engagement between PNDS and local institutions be conducted? What role will other village development projects play in the implementation of PNDS?

2. Methodology

a. Sampling criteria for village;

The village considered in this study falls into the territory or region, called Border, which consists of two districts, Covalima and Bobonaro. Based on the Qualitative Field Study (QualFS) sampling strategy and to ensure regional coverage, the Timor Leste national territory has been divided into six regions: **Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave**.¹ The required sampling criteria for the border region are: level of urbanization and level of violence in the village. The opposite extremes of both variables are explored (Table 1).

Region	Cases to be selected (4 in total)
Border	1. High Violence and Peri-Urban
	2. Average Violence and Peri-Urban
	3. High Violence and Rural

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP. p,10

	4. Average Violence and Rural
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Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Border Region

Though the above sampling criteria were established to be used to collect data, DC-4.1 was not selected based on the sampling criteria. In fact, the village was selected because it was the only suku in the district of Covalima where PNDS socialization had not yet taken place before data collection processes in the village.

b. Data collection;

The data for this report was obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the period of August 7 to 17 of 2014. A total of 33 villagers were interviewed face-to-face in various locations in the village, whether at a meeting place or at a workplaces (village office, school office, church), or at private residences. Some of the interviews were recorded and complemented with hand-written notes. For respondents who did not agree to have their interviews recorded or simply the interview was inform and was no recording done, the researchers relied mainly on handwritten notes.

Convenience, purposive and snowball are the sampling methods used to select respondents to provide data for this report. With purposive sampling, researchers approached individuals considered as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe village and aldeias) or as having power to have an effect on village level development policies, such as the district and sub district administrators. For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled interviewees to name or recommend potential individuals whom could be approached to obtain information. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. Individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached while they took part in an activity or were at their place of residence.

c. Sampling of respondents;

A large number of respondents are communities who's daily occupation is farming, though a civil servant who works as teacher or police have farming activities in their spare time. Therefore the details respondent by occupation in the table below does not reflect the idea that people who are working as teacher only do teaching. However, it functions as a guide to illustrate that diverse perspective is covered during the sample selections process.

Total respondent interviewed for this study was 33 people and the duration of the study was 10 days including half day travel time and half day debrief. This figure means that in overall, two researchers conducted three to four interviews per day. 63% of the respondents were male and 37% female villagers were interviewed. The respondents are dominated by male because majority of purposive and snowballing samples are dominated by male villagers. This figure really demonstrates that there is a lack of female community members currently occupying leadership positions in DC-4.1. A breakdown of all the respondents interviewed for this village report can be found in (table 2)

		Total
By gender	Male	19
	Female	14

	0-25	2
By age	26 – 39	7
	40 – 55	19
	56 – 70	2
	71-80	3
By profession	Farmers	10
	Public Governance	7
	Village Government	8
	Business owners	5
	Church	2
	Student	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	10
	Snowball	11
	Convenience	12

Table 2. Characteristics of respondent.

3. Description of the village

3.1. Location and Names of aldeia, village borders;

DC-4.1 is a village or *suku* in the sub district with the same name, DC-4.1, the district of Covalima, Timor Leste. According to the 2010 national census, DC-4.1 has a population of about 1,400 people. Its current chief is Respondent 5 (as of 2010).

DC-4.1 was one of the traditional kingdoms of Timor, which were ruled by a Liurai. It appears on a list a former governor of Portuguese Timor, who in 1868 counted 47 kingdoms.

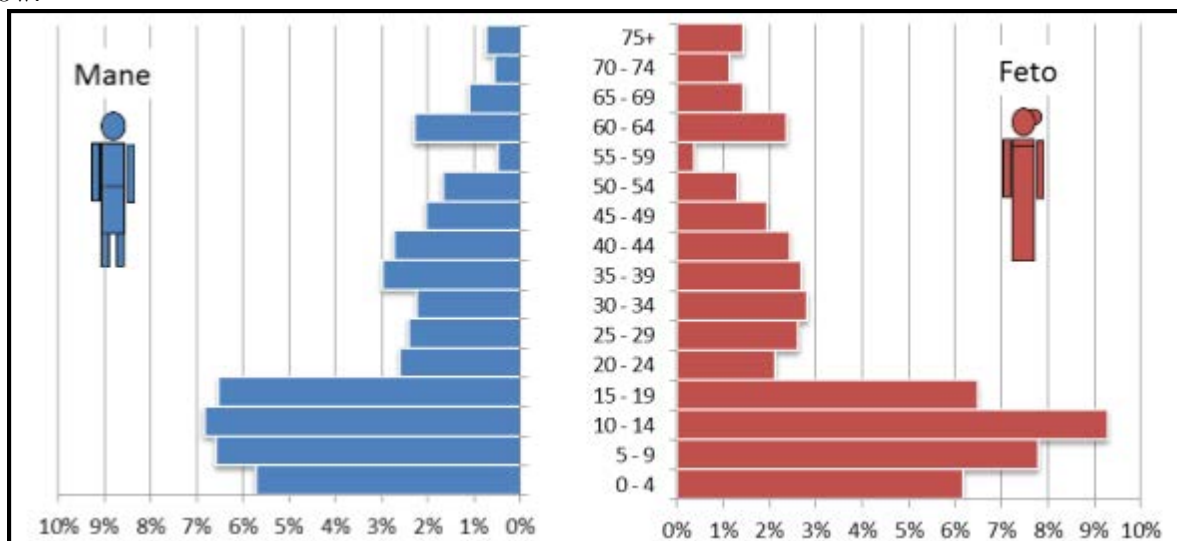
The village of DC-4.1 lies 94 kilometres (58 mi) southwest of the capital Dili and about 20 kilometres (12 mi) north-west of Suai at an altitude of 595 metres (1,952 ft). In close proximity to DC-4.1 are several settlements including DC-4.1-Aldeia 4, DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 and four others which form together a bigger settlement. There is an elementary school called Escola Primaria Catolica which was established during the Portuguese colonial period, two secondary schools, a converted helicopter landing pad and a community health center.

The DC-4.1 is located in the south of the sub district of DC-4.1. In the west it borders with the Neighboring suku 1, and to the north with Neighboring suku 2 and Neighboring suku 3. A flows along its local border to the west and flows into the River 2 to the south. Similarly, another flows from Neighboring suku 2 through the center.

a. Population (inc. aldeia, gender, age disaggregated); Ethno-linguistic groups;

According to the outlined that based on 2010 census population in DC-4.1 is about 1,400; but in 2014 the village census show 537 households and 1463 population and this increase due to fertility

and marriages². A detailed breakdown of the group, by age in DC-4.1 is shown in the Graph 3, below:



Graph 1. Population disaggregated by gender and age group

The village administration carries out its own yearly census³ and the 2014 results are shown in Table 4. that provides further breakdown of the population data at the aldeia level.

Aldeia	Total	Male	Female	Households
DC-4.1- Aldeia 2	176	83	93	44
DC-4.1- Aldeia 3	298	143	155	69
DC-4.1- Aldeia 1	450	214	236	104
DC-4.1- Aldeia 3	259	124	135	61
DC-4.1- Aldeia 5	280	138	142	59
Total	1463	702	761	537

Table 3. Suku population census, prepared from suku council 2014

Based on the Census of *Fo Fila Fali* demonstrated in 2010, shows that over 85% of the DC-4.1 population speak Tetun Terik with the Bunak coming second at nearly 10%. There are those who also speak Tetun Prasa, but they are a very small portion of the entire population.

² Unless otherwise stated, data for this report is sourced from the government's 2010 population census.

³ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(notes)Audio Checked

3.2. Suku Profile

According to the locals, DC-4.1 means hilly or having a lot of hills and used to serve as the capital of the district during Portuguese colonization for some time until the capital was moved down near to the beach where it is now⁴.

In the last couple of years the village has experienced some developments in many front, however there are still many challenges that need to be overcome.

Construction of an electricity grid to this village began in 2013 and is still ongoing by the time this research is conducted in August 2014. Less than 1% of households have access to electricity according to the 2010 census. Use of solar cells and car batteries were observed in a number of households however their employment is generally limited to powering mobile telephones or small appliances such as radios.

Access to improved water like having taps and piped inside the households is not generally observed. Many still rely on natural sources of water such as springs, rivers or creeks. The same is for sanitation. Many people do not have proper Sanitation and just go to the bushes whenever they need to.

Firewood is used by 98% of households as their source of energy (in comparison, Covalima has 95% prevalence and nationally 85%). Kerosene is used by 1% of households while only 0.33% has access to electricity. Mobile telephone penetration is 32%.

Despite concrete built houses are commonly observed, many houses are still built using temporary materials like wood, grass and bamboo.

3.3. Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile

The 2010 government census reports that 50% of the population in DC-4.1 is employed while 47% is considered inactive. The unemployment rate was 1% whereas in Covalima it was 4% and 4% nationally.

Between the villagers of DC-4.1 61,86,% of the households are involved in agricultural activities, and they produce around 60% respectively of, corn, cassava and peanut red, while the second production is fruit and vegetable which is about 65%. Among all the other agricultural products, rice is the only one that is less cultivated and the figure is round about 24% only. The rearing of animals is also prevalent in DC-4.1 and pigs are the highest number which is more than 75%, followed by chickens, which are around 70%. The rearing of sheep is much less as it accounts for only less than 5%. Apart from these, there are also goats, horses and buffalos who are round about the 3 to 10%.

3.4. Social/Human Development Profile;

Young people aged between 15 and 24 is about 85.71%, for males, and 84.78% for females are the Literacy rate. More than half of the populations in the DC-4.1 have never attended any form of education. Those who had the opportunity to attend a school were able to reach only to the primary

⁴ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

grades and the figure being slightly higher than 30% while those who completed their pre secondary and secondary school was much lower with a figure round about 15% respectively⁵.

Concerning the health issues, the percentage of mothers who deliver their babies with assistance of a qualified nurse is only 56.9%, which is relatively lower, compared to the low district level figures of 33.5%.

20 % of households use hanging toilet/latrine (waste is not protected from contamination) while the rest of the population have no access to toilet facility and practice open defecation.

3.5. Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages;

Most of the population of DC-4.1 lives within quarter to half an hour walking distance from the village office or *sede suku* which is located in the center of the town. In contrast, those who live in the small hamlet or *aldeia* of DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 need around three hours to walk to the center. As a result, the opportunity to access to public facility is extremely limited in this remote area. The community does not have any health clinic around. They rely mostly on traditional medicine. When it does not work, sometimes they have to carry the sick all the way to clinic in DC-4.1. 'People has a variety of farming product from coffee, vegetable, coconut and sweet potato but they cannot take it to the market because of the distance and cars do not come into the place very often.

The majority of the population are subsistence farmers and have no regular income⁷. The vast majority lives well below the poverty line. Many young people get caught up in this poverty cycle; they fall out of education because they are poor and remain poor due to limited education.

DC-4.1 is home to a parish church administered by the congregation with three priests serving the community⁸. The church is very frequented by the parishioners both young and old for Sunday masses or preparations to receive sacraments.

The villagers are facing many difficulties around the villages. However the reoccurring ones are identified by them as lack of clean water, poor road condition, no health clinic in remote area and natural disaster mainly strong wind that happens almost every year. The strong wind destroy houses and public goods as well as damage the farmer's crops and harvest. As an example A government built facility aimed at animal farming in DC-4.1 is completely destroyed during a strong wind in 2012.

3.6. Brief Historic Profile

DC-4.1 served as the capital of the district of Suai during certain period of Portuguese colonization. The previous name of the suku in the past means five kings that use to represent this area. However,

⁵ Unless otherwise stated, data for this report is sourced from the government's 2010 population census.

⁶ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

⁷ DC-4.1_20140808_AdminSubDistrictFohorem_(notes)Audio Choked

⁸ DC-4.1_20140816_Respondent 31_Midwife(notes)Audio Checked

later the Portuguese decided to move the capital to flat land in Suai and the name was taken away to Suai as well. Since then the another name DC-4.1 was adopted and continues to be used until now⁹.

DC-4.1, like many other places around Timor Leste, people has a sacred house where their ancestors come from and in *Tetun* it is called as *Uma Lisan* or *Uma Lulik* interchangeably. In DC-4.1, there are two *uma lisan* closely related and located next to each other, one is called *Uma lisan Clan 2* and another is called *Uma Clan 1*. *Uma lisan Clan 2* is where the local king used to live in the past and *Uma Clan 1* is where the *Lianain* or the wiseman of the both *uma lisan* lives now.

According to the tale, the local king lived in *Uma lisan Clan 2*, had eight son and those children later established *Uma Clan 1*. Contrary to the past, the *Lianain* is currently the most respected and most influential personality of both *uma lisan* because he is the guardian of the history and tradition of the two *uma lisan*. His knowledge on traditions and customs is passed from generation to generation, from father to son successively. According to the *Lianain* around more than twenty *uma lisan* in DC-4.1 are related to the two *Uma Lisan* and several respondents for this research admitted also that although they have different *uma lisan* their ancestors come from *Uma lisan Clan 2* and *Uma Clan 1*.

Beyond this history and tradition, the village of DC-4.1 has local governance which is led by *Xefe Suku* or Chief of the Village. Since independence DC-4.1 has experienced two village elections, one in 2005 and another in 2010 to choose chief of the village.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1. Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1. Identity

The main source of identification that the villagers use the most is with their *Aldeias* and *Suku*. Mainly because those are the places where they live, born or originally from. This is very common in *Suku* DC-4.1. However, DC-4.1 itself, especially the center of the village, also serves as the capital of the sub-district. Therefore people from three other *Sukus* of the sub-district namely neighboring *suku* 1, Neighboring *suku* 2 and Neighboring *suku* 3 also live in the center of DC-4.1, mainly in *Aldeia* DC-4.1-Aldeia 1. However, instead of identifying themselves with the place where they live, most of them still consider themselves belong to their original *Suku* and are registered there¹⁰. They hardly participate in any activity related to DC-4.1. In addition, those who are from *Suku* Neighboring *suku* 2 and Neighboring *suku* 3 are proudly identifying themselves as part of *Bunak* ethno-linguistic group as oppose to *Tetum-Terik* speaker who are the majority¹¹. These are the only two *Sukus* of DC-4.1 that Speak *Bunak*. Moreover there is some sort of jealousy by the majority *Tetum Terik* towards the minority *Bunak* speakers especially towards those who are originally from *Suku* Neighboring *suku* 3. One of the causes is that although DC-4.1 serves as Sub District capital,

⁹ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 7_Veteran (NOT)

¹⁰ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechit of DC-4.1 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140817_RESPONDENT 30_Public Servant (NOT)

¹¹ DC-4.1_20140817_RESPONDENT 30_Public Servant (NOT)

neighboring suku 3 is the only village in the Sub District that has asphalt road despite its location is remote¹². Some villagers argued that it is because the Sub-district administrator is from neighboring suku 3. Furthermore, others said people from neighboring suku 3 control businesses in DC-4.1 but hardly contribute to village activities, a fact that was confirmed by some respondents who are originally from neighboring suku 3 themselves¹³.

Another important source of identification in DC-4.1 is being descendants of *Uma Lisan*. Many respondents interviewed said that they belong to certain uma-lisan in DC-4.1 with *Uma lisan Clan 2* and *Uma Clan 1* being the most mentioned ones especially among villagers that speak *Tetum Terik*¹⁴. The *bunak* speakers who live in DC-4.1 identify themselves more with *uma-lisan* in their places of origin in Neighboring suku 3 and Neighboring suku 2¹⁵.

With regard to identification with groups, there are people who identify themselves as member of the local Parish Council or *Dewan Paroki* as the local called it in Indonesian language¹⁶. Apart from it, being member of political parties is also a source of identification. Main national parties such as CNRT (National Council for Timorese Reconstruction), PD (Democratic Party) and Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front for Timorese Independence) have their followers in the village¹⁷. Other than those groups mentioned, there is certain association with community driven groups such as farming groups and women's group but since this kind of groups does not have many member and mostly short-lived¹⁸, identification in this sense is not very prevalent.

In relation to self-identification villagers' occupation or position within the community is commonly used. Many villagers consider themselves as farmers. This is due to the fact that farming is the main source of livelihood in DC-4.1 for about more than 50 percent of the population¹⁹. Being teachers is also a common self-identification because the Suku despite only have more than one thousand population²⁰, is served by 6 schools altogether that employ some villagers as teachers. Apart of it, members of the Suku Council identify themselves according to their position such as *Xefe Aldeia*, *Lia Nain* or *Xefe Suku*²¹. The same is for Church people like priest, catechists and *animadores*²² - a sort of catechist deputy working at Aldeia level.

¹² DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹³ DC-4.1_20140817_RESPONDENT 29_Kiosk Business (NOT)

¹⁴ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁵ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechist of DC-4.1 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140817_RESPONDENT 30_Public Servant (NOT), DC-4.1_20140817_RESPONDENT 29_Kiosk Business (NOT)

¹⁶ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 25_Coordinator of Catholic Primary School (NOT)

¹⁷ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 7_ Veteran (NOT)

¹⁸ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

¹⁹ Sensus Fo Fila Fali, DC-4.1

²⁰ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechist of DC-4.1 (NOT)

²¹ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 3_LiaNain(notes), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(not)

²² DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechist of DC-4.1 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

4.1.2. Power and Vulnerability

Concerning the issue of power and vulnerability, in general the community members that are considered as powerful in DC-4.1 are usually village council members such Xefe Suku, Xefe Aldeias and others. Church people like the Parish Priest and Catechist as well as people who possess traditional power such as *Lia-Nain* of *Uma Lisan*. Apart of those, some teachers such as school coordinators are also influential in the village. One of them was the Xefe Suku of DC-4.1 at the beginning of independence era. Veterans are also considered as influential in the village.²³

In terms of sources of power, those that are members of the Suku council possess formal power which is acquired through winning elections. They have five years mandate which is renewable if through election. The power acquired is used for governing the village such as managing the administration of the village, decides on proposals for village development, disputes settlement and representing the village internal and externally²⁴.

Within the church structure, the source of power is varied. For instance, Parish priest is powerful for being the spiritual leader of the majority Catholic DC-4.1 and maximum leader of the Parish Council of DC-4.1. His position is acquired directly through appointment by the church higher structure and not through election. However the Coordinator of the Parish Council is elected by council members. The same is with the general catechist who is elected by all the catechists of DC-4.1²⁵.

DC-4.1 has many *lianain* for every *uma-lisan* and also one *lianain* related to the village council. However the *lianain* of both *Uma Clan 1* and *Uma lisan Clan 2* is highly respected. His position is hereditary for many generations already. Having his support during village election is seen by many as important in order to draw more support during voting because many people in DC-4.1 are still related to the two *Uma Lisan*²⁶.

With regard to the veterans, their source of legitimacy comes from years of resistance against Indonesian occupation²⁷.

Concerning control of the resources by powerful community members, Xefe Suku and Village Secretary controls and administer the petty cash for Suku administration²⁸. Xefe Suku also appropriate a house that was built with support of German Development Agency destined for dispute settlement in the Suku. Furthermore, being Xefe Suku, he is entitled to a motorbike provided by the government in order to do his job²⁹.

²³ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 7_ Veteran (NOT)

²⁴ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

²⁵ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechist of DC-4.1 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²⁶ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

²⁷ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 7_ Veteran (NOT)

²⁸ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(notes)

²⁹ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

In relation to church individuals, the Parish Priest is responsible for all the property of the church like cars, motorbikes, priest residence, meeting hall and the parish church building. Together with the General Catechist, they also control the finance including managing the donations contributed by the parishioners³⁰.

Lia Nain of the Uma Lisan is the guardian of the sacred house including certain traditional sacred items stored in it. He has also a sort of monopoly of the knowledge about the history, customs and traditions related to the two *Uma Lisan*³¹.

Powerful Villagers who are directly responsible for local governance are those that are part of the structure of the Suku Council with Xefe Suku as the most prominent one. However other influential members of the community sometimes participate or collaborate with Suku council in certain issues of common interests.

Between Parish Priest and Xefe Suku in certain occasion the two work closely together. For instance, in preparing the visit of the Bishop to the Suku, Parish Priest collaborates with Xefe Suku to form a commission for that purpose.³² Xefe Suku is appointed by consensus to lead the commission.

The same with village veterans, they sometimes collaborate with suku council to participate in voluntary work. One of the respondents said, having the veterans take part in the activity can draw more people to join the work because the veterans are highly respected in the community due to their contributions for liberating the country from occupation³³.

When it comes to familial linkages, some members of the village Council still have some family relations to each other. For instance, Village Secretary and *Xefe Aldeia* of DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 are as cousins. In addition, as previously stated, in broader term most people in DC-4.1 are still family related because various *Uma Lisan* in the area were established by descendents of *Uma Lisan Clan 1* and *Uma Lisan Clan 2*³⁴. The current *Xefe Suku* is also still related to the two *Uma Lisan*. According to him, it was some people from the *Uma Lisan* who came to him several times in Suai asking him to run to become Xefe Suku. They told him that it was time for a son of that *Uma Lisan* to take leadership position in DC-4.1³⁵.

On the other extreme, in general, those who are considered as marginalized and vulnerable member in the community are the elderly people, disabled, divorced with children to look after and villagers that are living too far away from the village center.

³⁰ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechist of DC-4.1 (NOT)

³¹ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes), DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

³² DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechist of DC-4.1 (NOT)

³³ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 7_Veteran (NOT)

³⁴ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(note)

³⁵ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_Xefe Suku (NOT)

Concerning the elderly, they normally are not active in village activity due to weak physical conditions³⁶. One of the respondents in this category said that she spends most of her time at home and extremely dependent on her daughter, who live with her, to help on daily basis. Her daughter receives her elderly pension from the government and manages it for her³⁷.

The disabled members of the community are often excluded due to their limited physical conditions³⁸. However, a disabled respondent said she prefers looking after her four children and going to her farm instead of participating in village activity³⁹. Furthermore, there is a disabled women who is also divorced with three children but is part of the village council as *Xefe Aldeia* of DC-4.1-Aldeia 1. Prior to becoming *Xefe Aldeia* she was the alternate or substitute of the previous *Xefe Aldeia* who stepped down to take different role at Sub-district administration office⁴⁰.

Furthermore, people of Aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 are also marginalized collectively due to the distance that separates them from the main village center of DC-4.1. It takes about three hours for them to walk to the center of DC-4.1 where most of the village facilities are located⁴¹. By car they need about two hours following the River of Tafara downward until the main road that connect DC-4.1 to Suai before going up to DC-4.1. The distance discourages them to participate in village activity⁴². They rarely participate in big number whenever there is any village activity happens in the center of DC-4.1⁴³.

To make things worse, there is no any community health center in that Aldeia. One of the respondents from DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 said that due to this fact, people rely heavily on traditional medicine whenever they get sick. Sometimes if that does not help they have to carry a sick person and walk all the way to DC-4.1 to get treatment which according to experience, some have died on the way⁴⁴.

However, despite all these discouraging facts, DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 has got a primary school that was built since the early years of independence. It has also got a water complex and an Aldeia Office or *Sede Aldeia* that were built literally in the same time in 2011⁴⁵.

Village authority never conducted any consultation specifically targeting the vulnerable members of the community. However in 2010, 2011 and 2012 the Suku authority conduct consultation in all the five Aldeias of DC-4.1 to identify the villagers' needs in terms of basic infrastructure such as clean

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 20_Elderly (NOT)

³⁸ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

³⁹ DC-4.1_20140813_Respondent 21_Defesiente (notes)

⁴⁰ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁴¹ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ DC-4.1_20140810_Respondent 12_XADC-4.1-Aldeia 5(notes), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

⁴⁴ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

⁴⁵ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

water, roads and bridges⁴⁶. The construction of Sede Aldeia in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 is resulted from this consultation process. Furthermore, elderly and disabled community members are identified and have their names registered by Suku authority to receive elderly and disabled pensions from the government⁴⁷.

4.1.3. Formal and informal community rules (norms)

In terms of formal and informal community rules or norms, in DC-4.1 there is a belief that ordinary people should not discuss anything about *Uma Lisan Clan 1* and *Uma lisan Clan 2*. The indicated person to talk about it is the *Lianain* of the two *Uma Lisan*. Violating this could result in premature death. Some respondents refused to talk based on this fear⁴⁸. Others did talk but saying also that the right person to discuss with is the *Lianain* who was trained since childhood about traditions, customs and history of the *Uma Lisan*⁴⁹.

In terms of sacred sites, in the center of the village, there is a big stone where *Lianain* pray to the souls to ask for rain to come when there is long drought that affects crops and results in lack of water in the village⁵⁰.

DC-4.1, according to one of the respondents, is unlike most places in the country where there is a tradition of Fetosa-Umane where once a daughter is married she is considered as belonging to her husband's family and collectively called as Fetosa or Manefoun. Her parents and brothers are called Umane. In DC-4.1 everyone is considered as sons and daughters of the *Uma Lisan*⁵¹. Whenever a cultural event happens people contribute without differentiate between what Fetosa should give or what Umane should give to the event. They are also not allowed to take anything from the event back home. Everything that is contributed is to be used all at the ceremony⁵².

Aside of those mentioned the village has a formal rule about general cleaning every Monday and Friday that all the community supposed to take part but not really followed⁵³. Other than that, there are just national rules and legislations that govern the whole country.

4.1.4. Conflict and conflict mediation

When it comes to conflict and its mediation in the Suku, the respondents seem reluctant to discuss about it in great length which to some extent affect the quality of the information obtained. One of the respondents said, discussing old conflicts could trigger new ones unnecessarily⁵⁴. However from little information that the REP team managed to put together, looking at types of conflict and

⁴⁶ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁴⁷ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 20_Elderly (NOT), DC-4.1_20140813_Respondent 21_Defesiente(note), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁴⁸ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁴⁹ DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

⁵⁰ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 3_LiaNain(note)

⁵¹ DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT),

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁵⁴ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

violence, the most common ones in DC-4.1 are domestic violence, land dispute and animals trespassing into farms of others.

With regards to conflict mediation *Lianain Suku* normally mediates conflict and disputes in the village⁵⁵. Xefe Suku is normally present during mediation as an observer. Sometimes local police is also invited to attend process⁵⁶. To have a case mediated, *Lianain* does not ask for any payment at all⁵⁷.

Xefe Suku mentioned about mediation of a land dispute very near to the sede suku between a former Xefe Suku during Indonesian time and a community member. The community member claims that the land was his and was taken away by the former Xefe Suku during Indonesian occupation against his will, thus he wants the land back⁵⁸. The case was reported to Xefe Suku and he, in turn, ask *Lianain* to mediate the problem. A police commander was also invited to observe the process. The two sides did not want to concede therefore the case was taken to district land and property department⁵⁹.

According to former *Xefe Suku*, based on his experience people do not usually take their problems to Suku to be resolved by the village authorities because they worry that their case could be widely known by everybody, thus making it difficult to be settled⁶⁰. He himself and some other villagers were trained by German Development Agency about conflict mediation but no one has come to them to ask mediating any problem. In addition, the agency also built a house located in the same yard as *Sede Suku* destined as a space for disputes settlement⁶¹.

Lianain of *Uma Clan 1* also sometime mediates conflict if people take the case to him⁶². During interview for this research, *Lianain* was reluctant to give much detail on the processes but he cases that he mediates, all the parties are given opportunity to state their case before he takes decision. In a land dispute case between two close relatives the case was reported to him and after listening to all the statements, he asks the two parties to divide the land and reconcile⁶³.

4.1.5. Development Priorities

Development priorities of the community members are mostly about road improvement, more access to clean water and better sanitation. These transcend both the vulnerable and powerful members of the community. However, there are some specific needs that seems important to be highlighted.

⁵⁵ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 3_LiaNain(note)

⁵⁶ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁵⁷ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 3_LiaNain(note)

⁵⁸ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁶¹ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁶² DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(not)

⁶³ Ibid.

Many respondents from Aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 consider having a health clinic built in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 as their urgent need because going to health clinic in DC-4.1 is too far for them⁶⁴.

Some elderly and disabled respondents consider having better housing as a pressing need because many of them are living in houses with poor condition, made of temporary materials such wood and grass⁶⁵. This is supported also by a veteran interviewed and the village secretary⁶⁶.

Other than that, *Xefe Suku* considers necessary to build a guest house in DC-4.1 to receive visitors. The reason being, the village does not have any guest house yet⁶⁷.

A teacher in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 sees expansion of the school building to accommodate a school library for the students is important for the school⁶⁸.

4.2. Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1. 3 profiles of powerful community members

a. Respondent 5

Respondent 5, 46 years of age, is the current *Xefe Suku* of DC-4.1. He was elected to his position in 2010 after the defeat of the former *Xefe Suku*, Respondent 15 with 28 votes of difference⁶⁹. Apart of being *Xefe Suku*, Respondent 5 assumes also role as head of the reception committee during the visit of the Bishop of the Diocese of Maliana to DC-4.1⁷⁰.

As *Xefe Suku*, Respondent 5 directs the governance of the *suku*, represents the *suku* when dealing with external entities, leads and monitors the work of his council members, visits communities to identify their needs and finds ways to solve them by sending proposals to higher level of the government entities or organizations that could provide solutions⁷¹.

In terms of finance, *Xefe Suku* is the one keeps the village cash and stored it in his house. The reason being, he lives really near the village office. Together with the Village Secretary they administer it, deciding on how to spend and on what⁷². He currently lives in a house right within the yard of the village office built by the German Aid Agency intended for dispute settlement⁷³. He also receives a motorbike from the government to facilitate his work⁷⁴.

⁶⁴ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

⁶⁵ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 20_Elderly (NOT), DC-4.1_20140813_Respondent 21_Defesiente(notes)

⁶⁶ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 7_ Veteran (NOT), DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(notes)

⁶⁷ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁶⁸ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 11_ Primary School Teacher-DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

⁶⁹ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁷⁰ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 25_Coordinator of Catholic Primary School (NOT)

⁷¹ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Together with Village Council members, *Xefe Suku* goes to the Aldeias to listen to proposal from the communities on their needs for infrastructure projects and filter them later using *parelelismo* method at *suku* before sending the selected ones for further selection at Sub district and District level. Through this consultation and selection process, DC-4.1 have got a number of infrastructure project built during his mandate such as Aldeia office in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 in 2013, a Maternity Clinic in 2012 and a Police Station in 2013⁷⁵.

There are voices of discontent saying that *Xefe Suku* does not consult frequent enough with communities to learn about their problems and needs. Others raised the fact that he lives in a house destined for settling disputes⁷⁶.

In terms of development priorities *Xefe Suku* considers necessary to a build guesthouse in DC-4.1 because according to him when there are visitors coming to the *suku* they really struggle to find lodging for them. In addition, he sees the importance of building more *sede aldeias* in DC-4.1-Aldeia 2, DC-4.1-Aldeia 4 and DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 because these are the remaining *aldeias* without *sede* in in his *suku*⁷⁷.

b. Respondent 16

Respondent 16 has 48 years old and lives in Aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 2, *DC-4.1*. He is the *Lianain* for *Uma Lisan Clan 1* since he was 20 years old. That position has been passed on for generations from father to son. He was trained to hold this position by his father and he now trains his 20 years old son to replace him one day. Aside of being *Lianain*, he is also a farmer as most people in DC-4.1⁷⁸.

Being *Lianain*, Respondent 16 is seen by many as the only person who can talk in great length and depth about *Uma Lisan Clan 1* and *Uma Lisan Clan 2*, history, culture and traditions related to both *Uma Lisan* as well as all the familial linkages⁷⁹. One respondent even said that if normal people talk about these things they could die young because traditionally *Lianain* is the person entitled to do it⁸⁰. He also mediates disputes between community members who want to take a case to him⁸¹.

In 2010 when the current *Xefe Suku* ran for election, he asked the blessing of Respondent 16 to do it because having his blessing is seen as important to influence voting intention of the electorate. The reason being many people in DC-4.1 are still related to *Uma Lisan Clan 1* and *Uma lisan Clan 2*⁸².

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁷⁷ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

⁷⁸ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

⁷⁹ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

⁸⁰ DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

⁸¹ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(note)

⁸² DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(note)

There are 28 smaller *Uma Lisan* in DC-4.1 that have their ancestors coming from that two *uma lisan* mentioned⁸³.

In terms of public works, Respondent 16 involved in the construction of *Uma Lisan Clan 1* in 2010 and making sure that traditional practices related to the construction *uma lisan* such as holding of traditional rituals, inviting all the relatives, contributions and particular design of the *Uma Lisan* are rigorously followed. In addition Respondent 16 participated in the construction of the retaining wall behind the Parish Priest residence in DC-4.1 but only as an assistant builder⁸⁴.

For Respondent 16 his priorities for Suku development are better toilet, better access to clean water and electricity⁸⁵.

c. Respondent 27

Respondent 27 has 43 years old and lives in Aldeia FatuDC-4.1-Aldeia 4. He is originally from the neighboring village Neighboring suku 1. Respondent 27 has been holding the position of general catechist of DC-4.1 since 2004. He got it through voting process held at DC-4.1 church, participated by all the catechist of DC-4.1⁸⁶.

Being general catechist at the parish of DC-4.1, Respondent 27 leads all the catechists that belong to the parish. He runs the administration of the parish, organizes the Sunday mass, prepare people who would receive the sacraments, organize prayers during the holy months of May and October, participate in meetings and inform the communities about what has been discussed⁸⁷. He receives 80 dollars per month to do his job while the catechists under him receive nothing⁸⁸. Respondent 27 said in the beginning he was very reluctant to take the job because of the small salary he receives, especially at that time his kiosk business was running as well. However he changed his mind because he thought that he could make some sacrifice here but will be rewarded one day in heaven⁸⁹.

Respondent 27 controls the Sunday donations contributed by the parishioners during mass. He also receives all the payment made by people who want to have church sacraments such as baptism, first communion and marriage. The resources he receives are used for church needs in consultation with parish priest⁹⁰.

Respondent 27 considers having clean water and better sanitation as his development priorities⁹¹.

⁸³ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(note)

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechist of DC-4.1 (NOT)

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

4.2.2. 3 profiles of marginalized community members

a. Respondent 20

Respondent 20 is a widow with 77 years old from Aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 4. She belongs to the *Uma lisan Clan 2* which is, as previously stated, an important Uma Lisan in DC-4.1⁹². Her husband died during the war in 1975. The couple had a son that also died young. Because of her old age, she is taken care of by two of her three adopted children, one was never married and another has children but was abandoned by her husband⁹³. They all live in small traditional house made of wood and grass that already looks old. The house has got many holes on its wall.

Respondent 20 said she does not participate in village activities or any projects because of her age and weaker physical condition as a result of it. She used to go church for praying and to her farm as well but has stopped doing it. Respondent 20 stays most of the time at home⁹⁴. The rare occasions that she leaves the house is to go to the nearby health clinic but always accompanied by one of her adopted daughter who does virtually everything for her⁹⁵. The same daughter also is the one receives her elderly pension from the government once every six months in the amount of 180 US dollars and spend it on things of her needs as well as food for the family. She said that the amount of money she receives is very little when comparing to their many needs in the household⁹⁶.

In terms of development priority, Respondent 20 just wants the government to help fixing her house⁹⁷.

b. Respondent 21

Respondent 21 is a divorced mother with four children. She belongs to Uma Lisan Clan 1 and considers herself as a catholic follower⁹⁸.

She has a disability in one of her legs that limits her movement and participation. She said that this situation makes it harder for her taking care of her children and meets their basic needs⁹⁹. Her main source of livelihood is from her disability pension in the amount of 180 US dollars from the government and selling of hazelnut, normally 0.80 cent per kilo which in total she earns around 10 to 20 dollars per sale. Respondent 21 find it hard to meet her family daily needs with the income she has. Sometimes she has to borrow money from kiosks nearby and pay them back once she has her own¹⁰⁰.

⁹² DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 20_Elderly (NOT)

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ DC-4.1_20140813_Respondent 21_Defesiente(notes)

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Respondent 21 does not normally participate in development projects in the suku, however she contributed also for the construction of *Uma lisan Clan 1*. She said that every related family has to make their contribution such as money, rice and animals to feed people during construction and relate ceremonies. Making contribution, according to her, is an obligation and if not, she believes that they could die young¹⁰¹.

For Respondent 21 her development priorities are clean water, better road and better sanitation¹⁰².

c. Respondent 13

Respondent 13 has 30 years old from DC-4.1-Aldeia 5, *Uma Lisan Clan 3*. Respondent 13 considers herself as Catholic. She has two children and abandoned by her husband¹⁰³.

Unlike many people in DC-4.1, Respondent 13 has university degree in banking from Universidade da Paz (University of Peace) in Dili¹⁰⁴. However she returned to her Aldeia immediately when finished her study in 2011. She lives in a traditional house like most of the villagers in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5. She now works as a farmer growing vegetable and looking after animals¹⁰⁵. Respondent 13 keeps pigs and chicken in her backyard. She just sells her produce around the neighborhood in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 because, she said, taking it to the village center is too far. The little money that she earns is spent on buying the needs in her households¹⁰⁶.

In terms of public works, Respondent 13 participated in a meeting about construction of school in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 but her participation does not go beyond that¹⁰⁷.

When she has health problem she walks all the way to DC-4.1 because DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 does not have any health clinic¹⁰⁸.

Respondent 13 considers improving roads, access to electricity, better toilet system and having health clinic to be her development priorities¹⁰⁹.

5. Institutions and power

5.1. Constellation of Suku Groups

DC-4.1 does not have many village groups. Few that the REP identifies are as presented on the table below.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ DC-4.1_20140810_FrancisSoares_Farmer(notes)

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

Name	Type	Objective	Activity
Conselhu Pastoral	Church group	Consolidating church presence in the community	Implementing church's plans and activities
Group Tais DC-4.1-Aldeia 1	Community	Empower women	Producing tais and sell to the market
Group Tais DC-4.1-Aldeia 3	Community	Empower women	Producing tais and sell to the market
Group Tatoa	Community	Empower the community and protect environment	Farming: planting trees to prevent land erosion and landslides and producing food for livestock - cows
Group Halibur	Youth group	Strengthen friendships among the youth	Farming and Sport activity
Fohok Mesak	Youth Group	Strengthen friendship among the youth	Sport activity (Volley ball)
Group Kripik DC-4.1-Aldeia 1	Community	Empower Women	Food processing
Group Kripik DC-4.1-Aldeia 3	Community	Empower Women	Food Processing
Group Sarloro	Community	Empower the community	Farming
Kempo	Community	Self defense	Martial arts

Table 4. List of Public Infrastructure projects in DC-4.1

5.2. Formation of village groups

5.2.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Most of the group in DC-4.1 is led by suku council members, or some part of the leadership structure is led by members of suku council. Individuals also most likely to engage in leadership position in different groups, including veterans leaders, katekistas and Lian nain. For example, ¹¹⁰Respondent 2 is member of suku council, a coordinator of Fretelin party in suku DC-4.1, was involved in artimarsiais KEMPO in 2001-2004. ¹¹¹Respondent 8 (female) is Xefe aldeia in Aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 also in charge of uma lisan. ¹¹²Respondent 5 is a xefe suku in DC-4.1 also a coordinator of FAM or Uma lisan in DC-4.1 are Uma lisan Clan 2.

Other position like, ¹¹³Respondent 6, aged 25 years old from DC-4.1-Aldeia 1. His position in the Suku as Male youth representative, he has been in this position since 2010 and his Uma Lisan is located in Suku Neighboring suku 2. Respondent 6 was formed a groups called Fohok Mesak, a volley ball group but it ceased to exist because of lack of participation from the youth. It was established in 2008. Later he formed a group called Halibur in 2014. The group does farming, vegetable gardening and sport as well.

Respondent 10 was active in the clandestine movement during Indonesian occupation as well as a Lian nain of the Uma Lisan in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5¹¹⁴.

Respondent 27 aged 43 years old. He started to become catechist since the 90 an aldeia, Neighboring suku 1, DC-4.1 and became a general catechist since 2004¹¹⁵.

Respondent 11 from DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 holds position as a teacher coordinator for DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 Primary School.

There are three political parties (PD, CNRT, and FRETILIN) that are active in the village, however, their leaders are not represented in the village council, nor are they holding any other important positions within the suku governance¹¹⁶.

Other people not in position of power but holds leadership position in community for example, ¹¹⁷Respondent 30 is working in the Sub district Administration of as public servant handling Social Issue she has been in this position for 5 years already. ¹¹⁸Respondent 18 is a coordinator of the two women group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 and DC-4.1-Aldeia 1. The group mainly making tais and kripin. She started the group in 2013.

¹¹⁰ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(notes)Audio Checked

¹¹¹ DC-4.1_20140809_Respondent 8_XADC-4.1-Aldeia 1(notes)Audio Checked

¹¹² DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹¹³ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 6_Male Youth Representative (NOT)

¹¹⁴ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹¹⁵ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechit of DC-4.1 (NOT)

¹¹⁶ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 11_ Primary School Teacher-DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹¹⁷ DC-4.1_20140817_RESPONDENT 30_Public Servant (NOT)

¹¹⁸ DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

In general, most of the group leaders obtain their positions by consensus among members without having to go to any form of voting. Members appoint people to lead them based on their personality and the way they behave in the society as well as their related experience or education level. This is how the Tais Group appointed Respondent 18 or Respondent 15 to coordinate their respective groups.¹¹⁹

“I was appointed as the leader of the group because I behave well in the community. Always look after each other and I participate in church activities as well. That is why people trusted me.”

Unlike most of the villager groups, in church structure, some leaders obtain power through winning votes. Coordinator of the Parish Council was voted to his position. The same is for the general catechist of the parish of DC-4.1. The participants write down the names of their preferred candidate, put it in a box and counted in front of everybody. Whoever receives most of the votes obtain the position. However, the parish priest is the only person who leads the overall structure of the Parish. He got his power not through voting. He is appointed directly by higher church hierarchy, the diocese, to be responsible for the parish.

Normally there is a consultation happen among the groups before the actual decision is made but if there has not been agree to the last decision then the leader of the group use his or her power to make a last decision. In case like natural disaster in DC-4.1 recently the problem was there was lack of food supply during the natural disasters. XS and his community make a decision in how to coordinate with other members of the community to give a helping hand without waiting from the help of government because according to¹²⁰ XS *“we cannot just wait from the government because it takes too much time”*.

In addition, the decision of some groups is normally made only by leaders of the group and just inform to the member after it is made. Example case like ¹²¹Respondent 18 the women coordinator who received 100 dollars profit and supposed to be kept by a group treasurer but the treasure is afraid keeping the group’s money so Respondent 18 keep it as their leader. She decided on her own to use the money for her Kiosk so that they could get some more interest for the money.

For Church activities the team plan and make a decision to ask for community’s contribution for these events. The amount of the contribution decided in meeting through discussion by considering also what team wants to do and the time they have left. They have also formed a commission led by the Xefe Suku of DC-4.1 with a Secretary and Treasurer to help him do the work¹²².

5.2.2. Financial Management

In regards to village group resources, the primary contribution mainly is coming from the community including church, sports and suku activities. Nevertheless, the group like women group

¹¹⁹ DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

¹²⁰ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹²¹ DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

¹²² DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechit of DC-4.1 (NOT)

and farming group are supported by NGO like Cruz Vermelha de Timor-Leste or Red Cross of Timor - Leste (CVTL) for doing their group activities. Also government from their part support the company by funding the company that passes the tenderization or their qualification to implement the project in the village.

Agriculture group supported by the ministry of agriculture looking after the fish in the water and to grow vegetable in farm. It involved 10 people men and women¹²³.

For church activities instead the contribution mostly were coming from different group in the villages. For example, households contribute 5 dollars while veterans and martires sons contribute 25 dollars. Companies contribute 100 dollars.

In church planning for financial resources for example the amount of the contribution will decided in meeting through discussion by considering also what the members want to do and the time they have left. They have also formed a commission led by the Xefe Suku of DC-4.1 with the secretary and treasurer to help them do the work¹²⁴.

Planning to build the Sede Suku in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5. The community were invited to the meeting and discussed about how to write a proposal and planning for the financial. After the agreement was made the proposal was bring to the meeting for everyone to hear and after a year the community got a result and was a positive the project has started and was completed in June 2011¹²⁵.

Normally, cash groups normally either keep by the leader, coordinator or the treasure and they keep them at their house or in the bank. For example, church money is kept by the treasure he then needs to update regularly to the head of the commission of how much money they have already got. Sometimes he just gives the money directly to the priests. Before shopping also they should look at the amount of money and what can be done with it. There is a section that focuses on food consumption. After the even they will have an evaluation meeting to see how things went. Normally the money is not enough so priest has to get some more money to add it¹²⁶.

5.2.3. Collective action among groups

Some of the village groups are cooperate together to initiative their activity including, church, farming group, womens group as well as youth group.

For youth group they formed a group called Fohok Mesak, a volley ball group but it ceased to exist because of lack of participation from the youth. It was established in 2008. Later they formed a group called Halibur in 2014. The group does farming, vegetable gardening and sport as well. It got around 11 male in the group and 9 female composed mostly by the students around the villages.

¹²³ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(notes)Audio Checked

¹²⁴ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechit of DC-4.1 (NOT)

¹²⁵ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹²⁶ DC-4.1_20140816_RESPONDENT 27_General Catechit of DC-4.1 (NOT)

For church activity in preparation to welcome the visit of the bishop, organize the group prayer during the holy month and of the Virgin Mary as well as preparation for festivity such as Christmas and Easter¹²⁷.

5.2.4. Communication strategies

Mainly the communication method is through group leaders house to house or mouth to mouth and the group meeting. From the Church the geladora and the catechists play important role in communicate message to the community in regards to the church activities. Some of the coordinators call their members to help when orders come in¹²⁸.

5.3. Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

Group Sarloro

The group was formed in 2013. The group leader is XA DC-4.1-Aldeia 4. The group have members of 10 include men and women. MAF chose XA DC-4.1-Aldeia 4 to be the coordinator of the group. He is the one who chose the members for the group and most of the members are related to him. Some members cannot continue the work

The leader has a big farm and he grows peanuts and the seed is given by Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF). The group does not have any funds.

The Objective of the group mainly is to produce more peanut seed for the community.

Activity:

- groups working together on the farm growing peanuts
- order from Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) to grow the peanuts in one place.
- there is a need to produce a lot of peanut seeds to give to other communities so that they also can grow peanuts

There are many member of the group who want to grow peanuts for themselves and not for the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) therefore so far they only have 6 members and because of this there is a lot of work to do.

Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries(MAF) came and gave out the material to DC-4.1-Aldeia 4 of 5 kg peanut seed, farm shoes, porters, tarpaulin. Instead DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 received corn seeds.

Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) came directly to 2 aldeias bringing their program but they did not go through XS therefore he was not aware of this program. After Ministry

¹²⁷ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 6_Male Youth Representative (NOT)

¹²⁸ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) came for a second time Xefe Aldeia refused to sign the contract because they came without permission from him.

Working together in puling the wheat and growing peanuts.

Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) from sub district want the agriculture to grow peanut seed in one place and once they growing the seed will divided to each community accordingly.

Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (**MAF**) from the sub district came to see the farmer but there was no harvest, because so far they only got seeds to plant but with peanut growing they have problems with insects, a lot of red ants so it does not grow well, and when the wet season came all the plants were destroyed and died. Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) distributed peanuts to the community and each received one sack of peanut seeds. Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) gives 5 kg of seed and once a year the group gives back 10 kg to Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) to distribute to another community.

The leader also attends the group meetings. He works on the farm and also helped out in fixing the fences. Here there is no other group to work together with as there is only 1 group so far.

The Group still continues to work, but there is no one working on the farm so far, and not many people in DC-4.1-Aldeia 4 are working on the farm. There are 20 people employed in the government¹²⁹.

Group Tais DC-4.1-Aldeia 3

The group was formed in 2012 and Respondent 17 is the coordinator and there are 11 members. As a coordinator Respondent 17 also gave training to people in regards to how to attend to natural disasters in the community.

Before Respondent 17 was in charge of the Cruz Vermelha de Timor-Leste or Red Cross of Timor-Leste (CVTL) group and he was the coordinator who organised training for people making tais and keripi in the area of administration and finance.

Making the Tais group has been successful. Members try to find people to buy tais and till now 10% of the money has not been given back to them. According to Respondent 17 the members need to be trained first before they produce or make tais.

Structure in group tais are as follows:

Xefe: Respondent 24(DC-4.1-Aldeia 3) group 1

Xefe: Respondent 19 Group 2

Secretary :

Treasurer

Members 11

¹²⁹ DC-4.1_20140817_Respondent 32_XADC-4.1-Aldeia 4(notes)

Cruz Vermelha de Timor-Leste or Red Cross of Timor-Leste (CVTL) has been supplying materials to the group, such as cotton. The group's coordinator is Rita she income \$ 100.00 she save money; Cruz Vermelha de Timor-Leste or Red Cross of Timor-Leste (CVTL) also supports the group by giving suggestions or recommendations of how to make a plan based on the community needs. The same thing with the *Kiripin* group as they grow cassava plants to prevent natural disaster but unfortunately, the cows came and ate them all. It seemed that Cruz Vermelha de Timor-Leste or Red Cross of Timor-Leste (CVTL) action plan was not successful¹³⁰.

5.4. Constellation of Local Governance

In DC-4.1 aside of Village council and the representation of some national political parties, there is no other entities that are related to village governance. The identifiable few are listed in the table below.

Structure	Objective	Member Base	Activites	Influence
Village Council	Secure public goods and services to the people	Members of the village council	Administration and representation	Deciding public works projects
CNRT Party	Gain power	Villagers of DC-4.1	Political campaign	Came second in Village during 2012 election
Fretilin Party	Gain power	Villagers of DC-4.1	Political campaign	Came second Village during 2012 election
Democratic Party	Gain Power	Villagers of DC-4.1	Political campaign	Came first in Village during 2012 election

Table 5. List of village governance entities

5.5. Formation of village governance

5.5.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Actually, the suku council members are the leadership of the village governance. They are engaged in the multi of the village governance and in the village groups. Xefe suku who is the heads of the suku council.

Besides, some of the leadership position in the village governance in DC-4.1 was elected based on family background. Because the person or the individual inherit from liurai or leader in their family so she or he most likely to be appointed to be a leader in the village.¹³¹ Case like Respondent 8 she was appointed to be XA in Aldeais DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 because of her before her grandfather, her father were the leader in the village.

At aldeia level, beside xefe aldeia there is cultural leader known as *ketua adat* which is similar to the xefe aldeia, there are the first to mediate any case that happen in the aldeia before forward to the aldeia and suku level.

¹³⁰ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 17_Farmer(notes)Audio Checked

¹³¹ DC-4.1_20140809_Respondent 8_XADC-4.1-Aldeia 1(notes)Audio Checked

Nevertheless, the elected villagers those are elected by villagers during village election are also taking part in village council to lead the village.¹³² For example, actual xefe suku and the other village council members are taking part in village leadership because of elected by villagers in previous village election in 2010.¹³³ Furthermore, police staff which assumes as Community police officer also takes part as village governance such as Community Policing Committee (KPK) leader to assist the xefe suku on guaranteeing security in the village as well as resolving problems or conflicts in the village. Siguransa Civil is the lowest structure after KPK that is led by youths in the aldeia in order to conduct the security for ceremonies organized in suku or aldeia.

Respondent 23 is a chief police community & investigation and her task is to assist community in solve the conflict exist in the community. As community police her job is to work together with the community making an investigation based on domestic violence and sexual abused. Case domestic violence like intersexual between family members such as between first causins.

In general, suku council is controlling decision making project; identification of the community needs and decision on the project identification is by the suku council. For example, suku council decided to build sede suku and also decided to keep the maintenance and control by the community.

Leadership styles it's a mix between participatory and non- participatory. For organize the village cleaning. However, in regards to infrastructure projects is more about sending the Xefe Aldeia to organize their own workers. Often Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeia make their own decision¹³⁴.

Members elected based on leadership previous experience. Training of voters on how to choose a preferred candidate, formation of pakote, election campaign, voting.

However, government institution like Konsellu Polisiamentu Komunitária or Community Police Councils (KPK) and Grupo Manajamentu Fasilidade or Water Management Groups (GMF) some of the structure are appointed according to the member's capacity. The member will serve Group Feto Manega Fasilidade or Water Management Groups (GMF) as well as KPK eg some of the XS is the coordinator of KPK according to the rule of government.

For some of group such as XS, XA, political party and youth group have some level of accountability to their members or donators. They providing a report, receipt as well as reading out their expenditure to their members or community during the meetings.

Church also had some accountability toward members of pastoral council and the Christian community in regards to their activities that held in the church. They provide a report and the expenditure will read out to the community after the mass in church.

Village council

The leadership is approved to be the leader, previous experienced of leadership and elected through the pakote.

¹³² DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹³³ DC-4.1_20140813_Respondent 23_AdjuntPoliceComunit(notes)Audio Checked

¹³⁴ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

Local governance structures use the power to assist and support activities that exist in the village such as organize rotation for infrastructure project, village cleaning, natural disaster as well as working in farm.

Xefe Suku, Xefe Aldeia and village council has responsible for decision making in the govern the village

Usually village council have meeting once a month or else depends on the needs arises. A part of regular meeting, there is also meetings facilitated by village council members in order to mediate issues happen within villagers. In terms of the type of decision, some decisions were made about the village council priorities like preparation to welcome the guest or any visitors come to the suku, refurbishing sede suku, to build toilet in sede suku, fixing the road and etc. The community needs to be implemented including problem solving and also about village activities such as general cleaning done by village council members in sede suku.

Usually decision is made by discussion in during the meeting and it reaches a consensus building. During the meeting the participant discussed about PNDS plan to the suku and villages because there is plan PNDS socialization in DC-4.1. Look at what is needed to be done. At the meeting the members also talk about community participation and some food preparation for people to have.

Another case, there was a decision that need to be made and agreed upon by the community for example, there was a meeting at Sede Aldeia in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 where XA told the community that they have serious problem with clean water but now Cruz Vermelha de Timor-Leste or Red Cross of Timor-Leste (CVTL) want to facilitate them with material and technician. XA invited the community work together with Cruz Vermelha de Timor-Leste or Red Cross of Timor-Leste (CVTL) voluntarily to make it implement the project. The decision was made and was agreed by everyone.

In other occasion XS need to motivate the community by asking them to work together for common good. For example a decision that needed to be made by the community when, where and how to find their time to come together to work their common good like fix the road.

Sometimes the decision making process is not very transparent because the lack of community participation. Most of the villagers are not aware on what decision and how to make the decision in the village. So consultation with wider community not happens very often.

5.5.2. Financial Management

Government granted the funding for the village council the amount of \$ 100 per month and it is called village subsidy. The money is for stationary for the office as well as to buy fuel for suku motorbike and maintenance. Besides, government through Ministry or Administration and State granted incentives to Xefe Suku \$ 145per month, Xefe Aldeia \$ 100 and village secretary \$ 115 instead the other members including lian nain, ansiaun (elderly representative), youth

representative, women representative get paid \$ 45 per month for each member. Even though, these people funded every month but they received their money once in three months including subsidy for village¹³⁵. Other contribution like, cements, woods, concrete blocks to the village for their construction.¹³⁶ Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAF) also distribute out the material to Adeai fatuk betik 5 kg peanut seed, farm shoes, porters, tarpaulin. Instead Aldeai DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 received corn seed.

Usually the funding is managed by village secretary and directly in charge by Xefe suku. He was the one handle the village patty cash. The decision for spending the money is made by suku council during the meeting.

In DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 there was report from Respondent 10 a Lian Nain said that they went to get the money from Bank BNU in Suai. Normally they go together with the Sub district administrator. Former Xefe Aldeia was the one handled the money even though there was treasurer. The treasurer just get the money from the Bank but when she got to the village the money was given to former Xefe Aldeia who is his uncle. She cannot handle the money because she is a woman. She said herself that “*because I am a woman I cannot handle such a big amount of money.*” I do not know why she said that¹³⁷.

Normally the village expenditure is planned by village council members during the regular monthly meeting. In that meeting the members discussed about village needs or expenditure as well as village activities coming up which organized by council.

Xefe Suku, Xefe Aldeia and secretary house. For the church building material will store in Catechist house.

Primarily expenditure of village council is used to maintain suku motorbike when it breaks – down and buying the fuel. The rest of the money is used for the stationary such as papers, note books, pens, ink for typewriter and the snacks for both eat and drink during meetings in sede suku whenever there is a suku meeting.

The the expenditures are reported at the village council meeting. So far there is no monitoring done by the government or villagers on village expenditure just yet. The only monitoring that happens is perhaps regular report that is sent to the government authorities at sub district level in order to receive more budget disbursement. The suku council normally registers all the spending and all the receipt from the shop we keep all of them in order to track their spending. Prior to shopping they make a list that will help them identify what they need. Both of them prepare the list. Normally it is either Xefe Suku or my secretary who does the shopping and sometimes both of them go. They buy things in Suai.

¹³⁵ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(notes)Audio Checked

¹³⁶ DC-4.1_20140817_Respondent 32_XAFatukBetikLaran(notes)

¹³⁷ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

It is Xefe Suku who keep the patty cash because he live right here close to the Sede Suku. Sometimes they do not even keep the money because it is disbursed so late so they just borrow from the shops. Once they get the money they just use it to pay back their Suku debts¹³⁸.

In Aldeai DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 there was an issue in regards to patty cash money commenting by Respondent 6 a youth representative said that he does not have any idea whether they have any patty cash money. The only thing he knows is that as male youth representative have a 40 dollars monthly incentive that is received in every three months. About the incentive, previously they received it directly from the Xefe suku but in 2013 government contracted a village secretary so now he is the one handling the payment¹³⁹.

Instead for the church the expenditure will report to the pastoral council. Treasurer is going to be the person who keeps the money but he has to update regularly to the head of the commission of how much money we have already got. Sometimes he/ she just give the money directly to the priests. Before shopping also we should look at the amount of money and what can be done with it. There is a section that focuses on food consumption. After the even we will have an evaluation meeting to see how things went¹⁴⁰.

Sometimes the expenditure will announce during the meeting. Instead for church the expenditure will announce after the mass on Sunday services.

5.5.3. Collective action among groups

The task of village institutions is to cooperate with different groups that exist in DC-4.1 in order to find out the primarily needs of the villages so to transmit those needs to government through written proposal not only that but also to solve the conflict that exist in the village.

There are planning for collective action within the villages in regards the coming of PNDS program into the villages and suku. The village council is working together the community and religious authority in order to address the community welfare and wellbeing in the village. A part from that, NGO and companies also collaborate with village leaders to implement projects and program that need to be implemented in the village. While other group like women's group, agriculture group and youth group also organize their meeting once month to plan their monthly activates. Church (pastoral council) not formal representation but coordination is regular particular for occasion celebration or Bisphos visit.

Mainly, the villagers cooperate together is because they want to enhance the sense of belonging to each other as well as group. Build up their friendship among the members of the community. They want to enhance the sense of belonging to the family and community or uma lisan.

¹³⁸ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹³⁹ DC-4.1_20140808_Respondent 2_PAAS(notes)Audio Checked

¹⁴⁰ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

In DC-4.1-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 experienced lack of food supply or natural disasters the community find the way to coordinate this with other members of the community to give a helping hand.

In 2013 we experienced strong wind that destroyed many houses, they community coordinated with Xefe Aldeia and the community to go down to the ground to repair the damaged houses. They also asked the community members to help the victims with food contributions. They then contacted the District Disaster Management Office to deal with the problem.¹⁴¹

Lack of communication most of the time between the suku administration and the community in more distant areas. For instant, four *household have to access to the clean water from the same pipe. The pipe was setup by the local community which was organised by Xefe Suku, Xefe Aldeia and lia nain in 2011.*

5.5.4. Communication strategies

Normally, Xefe Aldeia goes to invite them in their houses or calling using the megaphone along the streets for them to come. Is also going directly to inform the villagers using his suku motorbike with the same method either using megaphones along the main road or house to house. In other hand, regarding traditional activities like meeting for the ritual ceremony or uma lulik construction, the elderly people assign someone to inform the villagers house to house.

Individual or families who are living distance from the community or village are the one still suffer from a *lack of access to Information.*

5.5.5. Creation and termination of groups

Groups created in DC-4.1 either by individual, organization, NGO or Government. However, group such as within the church group are exists or created with the help and support from parish priest and pastoral council. The group is created mainly to mobilizing church fund from beneficiaries or donor. The aim of group is to improve their life and have a better future. Those who want to form the group usually have or set up their own group structure. The members normally attend the meeting and share the opinions to establish the structure of the group, activities and rules within the group. However, church groups are only established including the structure of the group by parish priest or catechist.

According to Respondent 18 in Suku DC-4.1 they have two tais groups in the village. One in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 and another one in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1. The group was formed by a coordinator whose name was Respondent 17, he also worked at that time for CVTL, he was the one who helped the members forming the groups. The group was established in 2013. The group have 16 members including, president, vice president, secretary and treasurer. The group had once a month meeting in sede suku with CVTL was sponsor by CVTL¹⁴².

¹⁴¹ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁴² DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

There were some groups needed to terminate for some reasons or another. For example, ¹⁴³groups called Fohok Mesak, a volley ball group but it ceased to exist because of lack of participation from the youth.

Another group needed to terminate after forming the group, because the group was facing a lot of difficulties such as lack of Materials and certain color that need for sowing. ¹⁴⁴The group handled their complete tais to be sell in the market through someone called Respondent 17 since them they never heard anything from him. the group remain without money and they have close their bussines because of that.

Village satisfaction with the village governance institutions

There were mixed response from the community in this matter. Some response expressed in a satisfaction with the village council works done in the village for ¹⁴⁵example, in DC-4.1-Aldeia 4 the village council and Xefe Suku have been doing a good job. They also try to bring the community to participate in village works but it is the community themselves that are hard to convince to join voluntary work. They want paid work only. They always ask for that 3 dollars project.

Whereas, other responses were not satisfied with what has been happening in the village. ¹⁴⁶According to Respondent 29, the current Xefe Suku got a lot of funding but not many things have been built here in DC-4.1. Xefe Suku has to build something so that when he leaves people will remember him. He should also look after the Bunak people because we fought the most for Timorese independence. If they do not unite with us it will be very hard because the Sub district administrator himself is Bunak, from Neighboring suku 3.

5.5.6. Explanatory cases (Village governance)

Suku structure

Lingkages between the members of the council, Respondent 12 and Respondent 6 have the same god father. That is why they have the same surname.

After winning the election, it was the member of the Suku Council who elected the Lia nain. Village Secretary was recruited by the government to fill the position. They also have a women as Xefe Aldeia. She was the Suplente but because the former Xefe Aldeia became CDO of the sub district so

¹⁴³ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 6_Male Youth Representative (NOT)

¹⁴⁴ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 17_Farmer(notes)Audio Checked

¹⁴⁵ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 7_ Veteran (NOT)

¹⁴⁶ DC-4.1_20140817_RESPONDENT 29_Kiosk Business (NOT)

as suplente she replaced him to the position. The Village secretary just joined them in January 2014 because the previous one joined the PNDS program.

For the liaison, two people run for it. Respondent 3 vs another villager and Respondent 3 won. The ballot papers were put into a glass for voting and then the former village secretary who read out the names. The election ran quite well without any incident.

In Suku we have a patty cash that is used for office inventory. However most of it is spent on fuel and maintenance for Suku motorbike. We also use the money to buy coffee and tea whenever we have regular meetings here.

They normally register all the spending and all the receipt from the shop they keep all of them in order to track their spending. Prior to shopping they make a list that will help them identify what they need. Both of them prepare the list. Normally it is either XS or the secretary who does the shopping and sometimes both of them go to buy things in Suai.

It is XS who keep the patty cash because he live right here close to the Sede Suku. Sometimes they do not even keep the money because it is disbursed so late so they just borrow from the shops. Once they get the money they just use it to pay back their Suku debts.

The last meeting suku council have is on the 4th, they normally hold it once a month on the first week of every month in a Monday. They also do a general village cleaning every Friday.

the Xefe aldeias to come to the village office every Monday so that whenever there is any info, they can get it and spread it out to their communities.

The last village meeting on the 4th suku council talk about PNDS because there is a plan PNDS socialization in DC-4.1 started in two aldeias first. At the meeting they talk about community participation and some food preparation for people to have¹⁴⁷.

4. Public goods

- a. Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects
 - i. Suku infrastructure project profiles

DC-4.1 has many infrastructure projects and cannot be named all. However, the table below presents some projects that have been constructed since 2010:

Project name	Location	Type	Objectives
Uma Lisan Clan 1	DC-4.1-Aldeia 2	Community	Maintain tradition, culture and to honor the ancestors
Sede Aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 5	DC-4.1-Aldeia 5	Government	Meeting venue, consolidate the aldeia

¹⁴⁷DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

			status
Retaining Wall	DC-4.1-Aldeia 2 (near Parish Residencia)	Government	Landslide prevention
Red Cross Water Project	DC-4.1-Aldeia 3	Aid Agency	Improve community access to clean water
Bridge	River 3	Government	Facilitate movement of transportation and people
Police Station	DC-4.1-Aldeia 1	Government	Office
Water Project	DC-4.1-Aldeia 5	Government	Improve community access to clean water
Rehabilitation of Sub-district administration office	DC-4.1-Aldeia 1	Government	Office
Sede Aldei DC-4.1-Aldeia 3	DC-4.1-Aldeia 3	Government	Meeting venue
Uma Lisan	DC-4.1-Aldeia 3	Community	Maintain tradition, culture and to honor the ancestors
Electricity Project	Entire suku	Government	Nationwide electrification

Table 7. List of infrastructure projects in the Village since 2010 identified by the REP team

6.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1 Project selection and decision-making process

Regarding projects selection there is a mix practice. With government funded ones, projects are identified at Aldeia level through meeting with the communities which is participated also by Xefe Suku and his council members. After the consultation, all the project proposals from Aldeias are taken to Suku for prioritization in which village council members vote to identify the most prioritized ones¹⁴⁸.

Every year DC-4.1 sends three of its priorities to compete with priorities of other sukus at sub-district level. After succeeding at sub-district, the last decision is taken at district before implementation¹⁴⁹. Some implemented projects in the Suku such as sede aldeias in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 and DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 and the maternity clinic in DC-4.1 went through this process¹⁵⁰.

However, the government projects that are considered as emergency projects do not follow the path previously described¹⁵¹. Due to its emergency nature, precautionary measures can be taken to

¹⁴⁸ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

prevent possible disasters without having to go through complex decision making process¹⁵². For instance, the construction of a retaining wall near to the church yard, the problem was raised by the Parish Priest directly to the Prime Minister during his visit in DC-4.1, fearing that further landslide in the area could one day bring down the parish residence building. Prime Minister agreed to it and ordered directly its implementation¹⁵³.

Sometimes a completely different event is used to raise concerns related to infrastructure needs of the suku, taking advantage of the presence in the village of entities that the villagers believe could help responding to their demands. It is the case with clean water project financed by Timor Leste Red Cross¹⁵⁴. Xefe Suku raised the issue about the need for clean water in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 to the Red Cross team during sensitization campaign about HIV prevention presented by the organization at Sede suku DC-4.1. Red Cross accepted the request and return to the village later to implement it¹⁵⁵.

In certain community project, certain individual can be influential in discussion and decision making process. It is the case with community project to build *Uma Lisan Clan 1*. The idea about building the house is raised by a member of *uma lisan* to the *Lianain*¹⁵⁶. After that, relatives are invited from house to house to discuss about it in a meeting¹⁵⁷. *Lianain* of the *uma lisan* conveys the idea to the participants and everybody agrees to it¹⁵⁸. His influence in the decision making process is due to his position as *Lianain* and his knowledge about traditions and culture related to the *uma lisan*. Whatever he says with regard to the matter is respected and followed through¹⁵⁹.

6.2.2 Project planning

In relation to project planning normally with project that are implemented by contracted companies, the involvement of the community members in the planning process is not much because the companies tend to do the planning themselves. It is also the case with budgeting of financial resources for the projects¹⁶⁰. On the contrary, REP team identified one case where opinion of a villager was sought upon was with the construction of the retaining wall near to the church¹⁶¹. In this regard, the contracted company recruited a local supervisor with experience in the construction of

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁶¹ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

retaining wall and discussed with him issues such as total number of gabions needed for the project, recruitment of workers and technical issues related to the construction itself¹⁶².

With projects that are directly handled by the community such as *Uma Lisan Clan 1* or Sede Aldeia in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5, planning for the construction are usually not very elaborated and financial resources are not properly budgeted¹⁶³. In these cases people just use their experiences to think of what they need to obtain for the project without having everything calculated into detail on papers¹⁶⁴.

In community driven projects, the source of funding usually come from the community themselves and their contribution is vital to the success of the project¹⁶⁵. However, not everyone in the village has a stable or regular income and that affects their ability to contribute in order to sustain the implementation of a project.

In terms of materials, the construction materials are normally obtained from Suai and Dili¹⁶⁶. In some cases they are brought in from Indonesian West Timor like during the construction of the bridge over River 3¹⁶⁷. However, materials for traditional buildings such as Uma Lisan, are all sourced locally in DC-4.1 due to their types that are consisted mostly of wood and grass which is available in abundance in DC-4.1¹⁶⁸.

Some villagers are very reluctant to do voluntary work¹⁶⁹. They only agree to participate if there is payment for them to do the work¹⁷⁰ even for a project that can be extremely important for their well-being such as clean water.

6.2.3 Project implementation

For project implementation, in terms of the recruitment of workers, usually depends on who implements the projects. Government financed projects are usually implemented either by contracted companies or by village authority. With contracted companies, workers are recruited

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹⁶⁴ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹⁶⁵ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁶⁶ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

¹⁶⁷ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 6_Male Youth Representative (NOT)

¹⁶⁸ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁶⁹ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

directly by them without having to go through village authority¹⁷¹. This is how it is done for construction of the bridge over River 3 and retaining wall construction in DC-4.1. The staffs of the companies look directly for people who they want to be recruited¹⁷².

There are also government financed projects that implementation is handled by village authority. In this case normally a meeting is called to invite community to discuss the project and enlist people who are willing to take part in the work. Xefe aldeias play important role in inviting people for meetings either by going from door to door or just shouting along the street. The Construction of sede aldeia in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5, workers recruitment is done in this way¹⁷³. The same method is used by village authority for projects that require voluntary contribution from the community like clean water project in aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 supported by East Timor Red Cross¹⁷⁴.

During implementation normally projects that are more labor intensive like retaining wall construction and construction of uma lisan, all the workers work in the same time¹⁷⁵. For smaller projects, a rotation system is sometimes used when there are many people showing interests to take a part in order that more people can get a chance to work¹⁷⁶. With rotation system, three or four people work for one day or one week and then they are replaced by another group of three to four people rotatively until the project is completed. However, usually one or two skilled builders work fulltime to supervise the work and direct the construction process¹⁷⁷.

Women participation in the projects is normally limited to their traditional roles mainly at meal preparation¹⁷⁸. They are sometimes entrusted to handle also budget for buying food and drinks¹⁷⁹. Women rarely participate directly in the construction process itself. However in certain project where male workers are not enough to meet the demand, women help directly in the construction. This is what happens with clean water project in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3, many people refuse to do voluntary work therefore women, who are willing to contribute, participate in carrying stones and doing other construction related works¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷¹ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 6_Male Youth Representative (NOT)

¹⁷² Ibid

¹⁷³ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹⁷⁴ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer and Tais Group (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 17_Farmer(note)

¹⁷⁵ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁷⁶ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

¹⁷⁹ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes), DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

¹⁸⁰ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

In terms of financial reporting, in companies' implemented projects, the villagers have no role in it. It is the companies who prepare everything and deal directly with the relevant institutions such as Public Works Department or National Authority for Development¹⁸¹.

In village council projects, reporting is prepared by relevant implementer and in some cases, spending is not well tracked, no receipt is asked in any purchase made¹⁸². For example the construction in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 there is no record on spending and reporting was done only at the end of the project. It is the Xefe Aldeia, Village Secretary and a builder who prepare the report¹⁸³.

In construction of *Uma lisan* the actual construction process itself does not take too much time but the preparation prior to construction and before the inauguration takes really long, partly because it involves many traditional ceremony and rituals that are usually very costly¹⁸⁴. Family members and all the relatives are given time about two to three years to save money and resources to finance the rituals¹⁸⁵. It counts with participation of a lot of people, including relatives who already live far away from DC-4.1 and those who live abroad as well. In this project, financial reporting and accountability are not carried out¹⁸⁶. However people are demanded to contribute not only financially but also with the construction materials and animals such as cows and pigs that will be sacrificed in traditional rituals and to feed all the participants¹⁸⁷.

6.2.4 Resource management

In terms of the management of the resources, constructions materials are usually kept inside a building, whether it is a government or community project. That building could be a purposefully built house for the project like in the construction of *uma lisan*¹⁸⁸, could also be kept in community's house like in the construction of the retaining wall near to DC-4.1 church¹⁸⁹. Sometimes public facilities like sede aldeia can also be used to keep materials as can be seen in the construction of Red Cross water project in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸¹ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁸² DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 17_Farmer(note), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes), DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT)

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁸⁹ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁹⁰ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

The leftover materials, in the case of construction of sede aldeia in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5, are planned to be reused to build a public toilet attached to the sede aldeia¹⁹¹. However with the Red Cross water project, because many community members abandoned the project, the Red Cross decided to take all the materials back to Suai and put an end to the project prematurely¹⁹².

6.2.5 Development outcomes

Projects that have been implemented in the suku are impacting the life of the community in varying ways. Water project in DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 provides the community who lives near to it with two water tanks and faucet where they can share the water¹⁹³.

The construction of the sede aldeias in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 and DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 are now serving as meeting venues for the community of the respective aldeias¹⁹⁴.

Furthermore, there is also a market building located in the center of the village that provides the community with a place where they can buy and sell. Normally Saturday is the busiest market day in DC-4.1¹⁹⁵.

DC-4.1 also has various school building serving students from primary school up to high school level. They accommodate also some students from the neighboring villages and sub districts¹⁹⁶.

In terms of distance, most of the people in DC-4.1 live within close range to each other and most of the village facilities are reachable in minutes walking. However, not everyone has the same access to these facilities, people from DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 need to walk long distance to reach DC-4.1 in order to take advantage of what DC-4.1 has to offer. Moreover, road conditions from DC-4.1 to Suai are still poor which make traveling time becoming longer.

Some projects in DC-4.1 are completed successfully while others fail. On the completed ones, in general, the successes are due to multiple factors such as leadership role of certain individuals, commitment to work, availability of funding, high participation and access to construction materials.

With the construction of *uma lisan*, for instance, the leadership of the *Lianain* in decision making and implementation process is crucial to carry the project forward. It counted also with high participation of many people who are related to the *uma lisan* to make material contribution and

¹⁹¹ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT),

¹⁹² DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

¹⁹³ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

¹⁹⁴ DC-4.1_20140810_Respondent 12_XADC-4.1-Aldeia 5(notes), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_ Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹⁹⁵ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

¹⁹⁶ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 25_Coordinator of Catholic Primary School (NOT)

actually do the work. Here, there is a strong sense of voluntarism due to a belief that having the *uma lisan* built is important to honor the ancestors and to keep their traditions alive¹⁹⁷.

With the construction of Sede Aldeia, the project is completed due to availability of funding from the government¹⁹⁸ and to some extent due to the determination of the people to have a sede aldeia built as a way to guarantee the future status of DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 as aldeia. The villagers heard rumors that DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 could again become part of DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 as during Indonesia time¹⁹⁹.

In terms of failure, generally, some projects do not succeed in the end due to reasons such as technical failure, ignorance of warning and reluctance to do voluntary work. For instance with the government funded retaining wall projects, according to the project supervisor, the company technician ignores warning not to reduce units of gabion for retaining wall when the construction was just few meters high. Therefore it could not resist pressure from the top and collapsed just few hours after completion of the project²⁰⁰.

On the other hand, with the Red Cross assisted clean water construction, the failure was due to lack of financial incentives for workers. Many community members refuse to work voluntarily to build clean water complex and some did join but abandon the project later which led to the Red Cross to terminate prematurely the project²⁰¹.

With regard to the quality of the existing development projects many are still in good conditions and some are recently built. In the period between 2011 and 2014 a maternity clinic, two sede aldeias, a police station and a church hall were constructed in DC-4.1. In addition, the Sub district Administration office was also recently renovated.

The village road was also repaired in 2012²⁰², however since it was only temporary solutions like removing grass and closing holes, it is hardly noticeable now that the road was repaired two years before.

The collapsed retaining wall mentioned above also has not been reconstructed since 2010. There is fear that without a retaining wall properly built in place further landslide could damage facilities near to it such as the public road that passes behind the parish resident and the resident itself²⁰³.

¹⁹⁷ DC-4.1_20140812_RESPONDENT 18_Coordinator of Tais Group in DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 16_LiaNain and Dato Uma Lisan Clan 1(notes)

¹⁹⁸ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

¹⁹⁹ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²⁰⁰ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

²⁰¹ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_Xefe Suku (NOT)

²⁰² DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

²⁰³ DC-4.1_20140811_RESPONDENT 15 Former Xefe Suku (NOT)

The abandoned Red Cross financed water project, despite its incompleteness still serves the population living around it. However during dry seasons the reservoir diminishes, forcing many community members to get water directly from the spring and creeks²⁰⁴.

6.3 Explanatory cases

Construction of the Sede Aldeia of DC-4.1-Aldeia 5

The idea about building the *Sede Aldeia* was proposed by *Lianain* of an *Uma Lisan* in DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 called Respondent 10 during a visit to Aldeia by Xefe Suku and members of the Suku Council in 2010²⁰⁵.

The *Lianain* argue that DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 is located too far from DC-4.1 so it needs a *sede* in order to serve as meeting venue and to receive the visitors²⁰⁶.

However there is another reason behind the idea of having the *sede aldeia* because, according to the Catechist of DC-4.1-Aldeia 5, there were rumors going around that DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 status as an Aldeia might be revoked and as a consequence, reintegrated back to DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 as during the Indonesian time because DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 does not have many people and located too far away. Therefore having the proposal of Sede Aldeia accepted is a way to assure that DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 status as an Aldeia separated from DC-4.1-Aldeia 1 is reaffirmed and consolidated²⁰⁷.

A year after making the proposal, Xefe Aldeia got the news that it was approved and the budget will be given directly to the aldeia to handle project²⁰⁸. Xefe Aldeia calls for a meeting to talk about it. He invites the community to come to the meeting just by standing in the center of the village and shout out loud. People lives really close to each other so shouting is usually the preferred way to inform people about any aldeia activity²⁰⁹.

In the meeting Xefe Aldeia informs the community that the budget for the project is 7500 and disbursed in three chunks. A lady was appointed by consensus to be the treasurer for the project. According to Lianain people chose her because she is among the very few in the aldeia who can read and write. Two skilled builders were appointed to lead the construction process, one is the *Lianain*

²⁰⁴ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

²⁰⁵ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ DC-4.1_20140810_Respondent 12_XADC-4.1-Aldeia 5(notes), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

himself and another is the former *Xefe Aldeia* who is also the uncle of the treasurer²¹⁰. Some more people were recruited to assist the skilled builders with the construction. The plan was to have a group of four assistants work a one week shift and substituted by another group of four while the lead builders work full time. The assistants will receive 5 dollars per day while the builders receive 600 dollars each in total until the project is completed²¹¹.

After having the team set up, the treasurer and the two builders go to bank in Suai to take the first chunk of the budget. Once the money is taken back to DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 it is the former Xefe aldeia who keeps it despite there is lady appointed as treasure to handle the money. According to Lianain the lady herself refuse to handle the money just for being a woman²¹².

The two skilled builders return back to Suai to buy materials. They do not prepare any list or plan on what to buy. The two just based what they need from their experience as builder. No any receipt asked for the purchase made to keep tracking the spending²¹³. Three cubic of wood were bought just in the Aldeia. Stones and sands were collected at a nearby River. Material sourcing was done along the project based on the availability of funding disbursed by the government. All the material were kept in the house of the Lianain²¹⁴.

Before the project started, a traditional ritual was held by killing a pig to bless the building site using its blood as a way of asking permission to the nature before building²¹⁵. The money used to buy stuff for the ritual is taken from the first budget disbursement²¹⁶.

During the construction, the project suffers various delays. The first delay was around one month long due to late on disbursement of the second chunk of the budget. Another is due to heavy rain because the roads become impassable and the nearby River has more intense flow of water making DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 is hard to be accessed by public transports that bring materials into the aldeia²¹⁷.

Sometimes the delay on the project is also due to absenteeism from the worker because some people go to their farm instead of showing up for work. Despite all these problems the project is completed in 4 months time in June 2011²¹⁸.

²¹⁰ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²¹¹ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²¹² DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²¹⁵ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 9_Catechist DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT), DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²¹⁸ Ibid

After completing the project, the Village Secretary helped Xefe Aldeia and the builders to prepare a final report to be submitted to the government²¹⁹. In addition, some materials namely 7 sacks of cement and metal bars are still left and kept in Lianain house. According to him those will be reused to build a toilet attached to the Sede Aldeia²²⁰.

Water project in aldeia DC-4.1-Aldeia 3

DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 has a pressing issue related to lack of access to clean water. Knowing this fact, Xefe Suku raised the problem during a HIV prevention campaign conducted by a team of Timor Leste Red Cross taking place at sede suku. Listening to the request, Red Cross team answered positively but under one condition: Red Cross provides technician and materials but the community should also take part in the construction process without any payment because the project is for their benefit²²¹.

After three days, a Red Cross team comes from Suai to meet Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeia of DC-4.1-Aldeia 3, together they visit the aldeia for a preliminary survey. Another visit to the location is carried out only by a team of water technician from Red Cross from Dili to conduct a detail survey of the location²²². After conducting the detail survey, a team of four members of Red Cross water technician from Dili come to the village loaded with all the essential materials needed for the project to start the work. The materials are stored at sede aldeia²²³.

Having the Red Cross ready for work, Xefe Suku asks his Xefe Aldeia to call for a meeting with the community of DC-4.1-Aldeia 3 at sede aldeia to discuss about the project and their participation. Xefe Aldeia invites the community of the aldeia from house to house to participate in the meeting²²⁴.

During the meeting the community was told by the Red Cross team and Xefe Suku that the Red Cross provides technician and materials but community should help in the project voluntarily. Knowing this request, many people show their discontent and reluctance to participate arguing that if their service is needed they have to be paid²²⁵. Despite the unwillingness of some, others see the importance of the project for the community and want to embrace it. For example, Respondent 24 with her husband²²⁶.

²¹⁹ DC-4.1_20140810_Respondent 12_XADC-4.1-Aldeia 5(note)

²²⁰ DC-4.1_20140810_RESPONDENT 10_ Lian Nain DC-4.1-Aldeia 5 (NOT)

²²¹ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

²²² Ibid

²²³ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 17_Farmer(note)

²²⁶ DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT)

The project is implemented with a divided community between those who are willing to participate voluntarily and those who prefers working with payment.

A community member gives a pig for carrying out a ritual prior to the construction²²⁷.

Some people who are reluctant in the beginning join also the work. However because the project is lacking of male work force, women participate also in carrying stones and doing other construction related works²²⁸. Stones are collected nearby the project site because the area got many of it, while sands are taken from River 2. Respondent 24 cooks every day for the Red Cross technicians. Her husband works actively during the construction as well. The technicians sleep at sede suku in order to look after the materials that are kept there. Respondent 24's husband is the one invites people every day to work just by shouting along the neighborhood²²⁹.

In September 2013 the project is interrupted for eight days because many workers participate in the inauguration of an *uma lisan*, which is located very close to the project site. The project resumes after the inauguration event but when the second water tank is completed more workers abandon the project, resorting to the previous argument that the voluntary character of their work gives them no incentives to continue²³⁰.

Due to lack of participation, the Red Cross team decides to prematurely end the project with many parts of it still remains to be completed. The Red Cross decides to take all the rest of the materials back to Suai²³¹ and as a consequence the project fails.

Although the project is only partly completed, communities living near to the site get water from it. Those who live far use hose to connect water into their houses²³². However, according to some community members, during dry seasons water reserve diminishes, therefore they have to go directly to the springs to collect water²³³.

²²⁷ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT)

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ DC-4.1_20140814_RESPONDENT 24_ Farmer and Tais Group (NOT), DC-4.1_20140809_RESPONDENT 5_ Xefe Suku (NOT), DC-4.1_20140812_Respondent 17_Farmer(note)

LBS Village Report:
DC-4.2 (Manatuto District), Rural
World Bank, PNDS-REP
Maria Reis, Geraldo Ximenes

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Brief Introduction

National program for village development (PNDS) is the new Timor-Leste's countrywide community-driven development program (CDD) that will provide annual grants to finance basic infrastructure projects at village levels. These grants try to give power to communities and offer them opportunities to openly plan and execute priority village infrastructures to ensure village levels development conforms with goals lay out in the Government's 20 year National Strategic Development Plan. To accomplish this, PNDS will exert ways to improve local governance mechanisms. Hence, by looking into particular villages, this report seeks to respond to the following questions: what is the current state of the local governance? How did villagers deal with government projects in the past? This report will focus on DC-4.2, a rural and average violence village in the district of Manatuto, to provide some of the responds.

This study is aimed to illustrate a picture of existing village governance system and to discover the villager's experiences in handling development projects. It will firstly show the village institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules. Next, it will provide a picture of social cohesion, looking at identity, conflicts and mediation, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerabilities, and welfare. Lastly, it explores the processes for selecting and managing local development projects being implemented in the village. The findings of this report will add towards the overall baseline assessment which will seek to answer questions; such as, how will PNDS fit into the local governance context? What are the characteristics of the local institutions which PNDS might engage with? How will the engagement between PNDS and local institutions be conducted? What role will other village development projects play in the implementation of PNDS?

1. Methodology

The village considered in this study falls into the territory or region, called Central, which consists of three districts, Liquica, Manatuto and Manufahi. Based on the Qualitative Field Study (QualFS) sampling strategy and to ensure regional coverage, the Timor Leste national territory has been divided into six regions: **Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave**.¹ The required sampling criteria for the central region are: level of urbanization and level of violence in the village. The opposite extremes of both variables are explored (Table 1).

Region	Cases to be selected (3 in total)
Central	1.High Violence and Peri-Urban 2. High Violence and Rural 3. Average Violence and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Central Region

Though the above sampling criteria were established to be used to collect data, the suku of DC-4.2 was not selected based on the sampling criteria. In fact, the village was selected because it was the only suku in the district of Manatuto where PNDS socialization had not yet taken place before data collection processes in the village.

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP. p,10

1.1 Data collection

The data for this report was obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the period of August 7 to 17 of 2014. A total of 35 villagers were interviewed face-to-face in various locations in the village, whether at a meeting place or at a workplaces (village office, school office, church or rice field), or at private residences. Some of the interviews were recorded and complemented with hand-written notes. For respondents who did not agree to have their interviews recorded or simply the interview was inform and was no recording done, the researchers relied mainly on handwritten notes.

Convenience, purposive and snowball are the sampling methods used to select respondents to provide data for this report. With purposive sampling, researchers approached individuals considered as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe village and aldeias) or as having power to have an effect on village level development policies, such as the district and sub district administrators. For snowball sampling, researchers asked purposively sampled interviewees to name or recommend potential individuals whom could be approached to obtain information. Finally, researchers also selected respondents by convenience. Individuals in this sampling group included people whom researchers approached while they took part in an activity or were at their place of residence.

Several observations were also conducted by the researchers. The events observed include a Virgin Marry procession and celebration held in DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 was the main activity observe in the village during the course of this study. Researchers also used official village documents to obtain additional data. Some of the documents included the village's official records on village council meetings and list of names for Bolsa Da Mae beneficiaries. Other documents such as, population data and announcement notice were posted on interior office wall or notice board outside in the village office.

1.2 Sampling of respondents

A large number of respondents are communities who do farming as their daily occupation, though a civil servant who works as teacher or police have farming activities in their spare time. Therefore, the details respondent by occupation in the table below does not reflect the idea that people who are working as teachers only do teaching. However, it functions as a guide to illustrate that diverse perspective is covered during the sample selections process.

Total respondent interviewed for this study was 35 people and the duration of the study was 10 days without half day travel time and half day debrief. This figure means that in overall, two researchers conducted three to four interviews per day. 63% of the respondents were male and 37% female villagers were interviewed. The respondents are dominated by male because majority of purposive and snowballing samples are dominated by male villagers. This figure really demonstrates that there is a lack of female community members currently occupying leadership positions in DC-4.2.

By Gender	Male	22
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	Female	13
By age	Less than 25 26-39	10
	Less than 25	3
	26 -40	10
	41 -55	13
	55 -70	7
	71 -80	1
	80+	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	8
	Snowball	10
	Convenience	17
By profession	Farmers	25
	Village council members	8
	Teachers	2

Table 2. Respondents by gender, age sampling methods and by profession

2. Village description

2.1 Village profile

Village DC-4.2 administer under Manatuto sub district and is located in the western part of the district capital. It is located about 11km from the sub district center and 45 minutes by car to Manatuto district center. The village is sharing the borders with multiple villages. In the northeast, village share border with Neighboring suku 1, Neighboring suku 2 is in the West and in southeast border with Neighboring suku 3, one of village of neighboring sub district 1(see figure1). DC-4.2 has five aldeias, namely DC-4.2-Aldeia 5, DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3, with different distance and urbanizations in relation to the village center.

Communities living in this village are very scatter into small bairros or sub aldeias and distance between aldeias to the village center is varied. The two urban aldeias, DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 and DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 are located next to one another in the village and the village office is located in DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 and communities in the two aldeias are very close to the facility. The rural aldeias, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 are living 5km, 9km and 39 km away respectively. Almost all aldeias in the village have sub aldeias or

bairros under them. Communities of DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 are scattered in three sub aldeias including Bairro 1, Bairro 2, Bairro 3 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 itself. The Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 has four sub aldeias, and Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 have three sub aldeias, and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5; and Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 has two,².

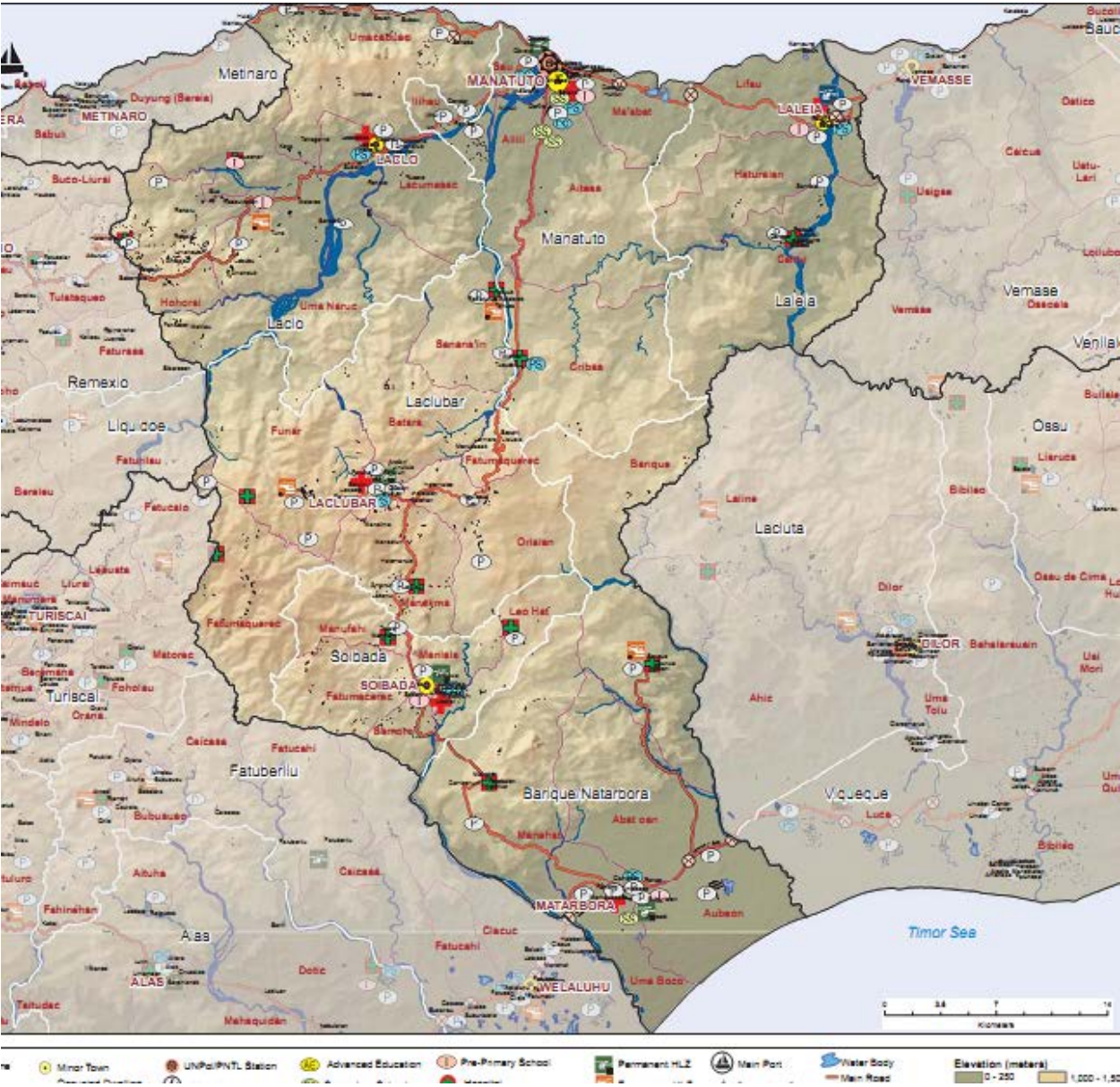


Table 3. Map showing suku DC-4.2 in the district of Manatuto. Source: Timor Leste Atlas, Version 02. August, 2008. UNMIT

2.2 Village population

The village DC-4.2 has a total population of about 1500 and organized 249 households based on 2010 census data. The ratio between male and female is accounted for 1.1% of male population higher than female. This

² Map showing Aldeia and Sub Aldeia of Suku DC-4.2. Pdf

study identifies two discrepancies in the population data. First, the total census population by village does not add up to sum of Aldeia population and second was that number of population collected from field is higher compared to census data due to time difference. Populations of DC-4.2 were 2316 inhabitants at the time of the study or have increased by 62% in four years. This figure shows that the population growth in DC-4.2 is significantly high with 15.5 % per annum or 13.5% higher compared to national population growth. Figure below shows the total number of Population of Timor Leste compared to DC-4.2 based on census 2010.

Communities in DC-4.2 speak Galoli as their main language followed by Mambae in their daily communication among them with significant numbers of them understand and speak Tetum Prasa. The other two dialects spoken by minority of the population are Tetum Terik and Idate. This data is based on census report; however, villagers interviewed for this study only provide information on Galoli, Mambae and Tetum Prasa in the village. Below figure illustrates percentage of dialect used in DC-4.2 based on 2010 census report.

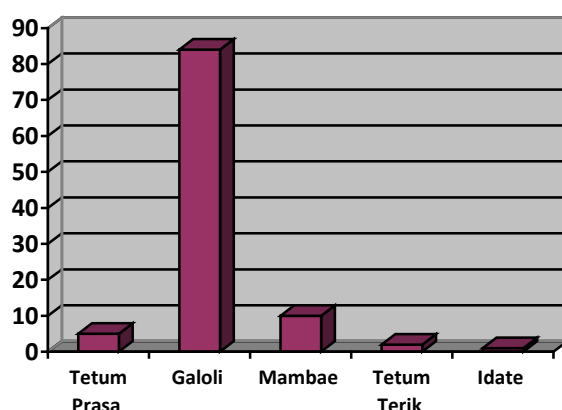


Figure 1. Languages speak in suku DC-4.2

2.3 Development and livelihood profiles

The literacy rate for people aged between 15 and 24 in DC-4.2 is 85% which is higher than Manatuto district and national rate of 74.76% and 79.09% respectively. The literacy rate for adult is less than 60% and almost the same rate with district and national rate. Enrolment rate of DC-4.2 village is slightly higher than district and national rate, village enrolment is more than 80% where district is 60% and nationwide is 37%.

National goal in education plan is to have 100% literacy rate for age group 15-24 years old and 70% target for adult age over 15 years old by 2015 and enrolment rate target of 80% nationwide. There was no data available in the village when the field visit was conducted however respondents include village chief indicate that there are only few people enroll at higher education level. Census report shows that less than 5% of the village resident is enrolling in higher education.

Therefore, to achieve the national goal, efforts from all parties are needed. At the village level, authorities are taken education as one of the development priorities and have taken initiatives³ and engaged with development partners such as donors, non government organization and central government to improve education infrastructure in the village as well as encouraging parents to send their children to school.

³ DC-4.2 -8-10-14-Respondent 2 - Bairo 1 Sub Aldeia Chief- Aldeia DC-4.2 - NOTE _ Checked.docx, p.2

The village has one health center located in the village center close to DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5. Therefore communities in these two aldeias are able to access the services. The other three, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3; however, have no health posts and hardly visited by SISCA as these aldeias located far away from the village center. The Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 is located 39 km away from the village center and often visited by SISCA from Aileu. The communities in this Aldeia also go to access health post in Aileu due to closed distance. DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 are surrounded by rivers and thus it just impossible to cross during the rainy seasons. Therefore, communities in the Aldeia preserve modern medicines and use traditional medicines to treat diseases and sickness in the area. If these medicines finish or unsuccessful in treating diseases, they just wait to die in the Aldeia without accessing to any health services during rainy seasons.

Assisted labor for women in DC-4.2 is 32% which is slightly lower than the percentage of Manatuto district and national respectively. Timor Leste infant mortality rate is 44 died in 1000 birth whereas maternal mortality rate is 557 in 100,000 mothers given birth. According to the data Timor Leste has achieved its target set for 2015 of less than 53 in 1000 birth while maternal mortality rate is by far still behind the target which is 252 in 100,000 mothers given birth. There was no data available both in village and national reports on infant and maternal mortality rate for DC-4.2 village. It was informed by respondents including village and Aldeia chief that they have experience of high no infant and maternal mortality problem in the past⁴.

Other infrastructure such as water, electricity and road are relatively good. Clean water is accessible by only some of the villagers as clean water has recently installed in the community. Clean water in DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 was installed less than a year when this research was taken place⁵. Observation during the field visit seen that the communities in DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 have no clean water installed and community heavily relied on rain and spring water to consume. There are also, water taps in sub Aldeia, Bairo 1 but the water dries out in the dry seasons.

Electricity project in some DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 was installed during Indonesian time and in sub Aldeia called Bairo 4 was completed in 2012 to provide lighting to every house in the areas. There are other aldeias, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 still have no electricity installed and thus communities relies on candlenuts and kerosene for lighting. Those who support PST party in election and can afford to buy solar panels have used source of lighting in the village.

In terms of accessibility, all aldeias are accessible by car during dry seasons however, in the dry seasons DC-4.2-Aldeia 4, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 are just impossible to access as these aldeias are surrounding by three large rivers⁶. There was no information found about the road and the respondents identified that that road is an urgent priority for government to pay attention to. Sanitation is consider to be reasonably good at about little less than 60% which is very close to national target of 60% by 2020.

The condition of housing in this village is less good off than national housing situation. Houses using concrete for wall is only half of national target which is 40% in the village by 2015 but less than 60% of the houses in the village have used zinc for roofing. The zinc roofing for houses is almost the same as national target set for 2015, 60% based on secondary data. Field visit; however, noted that most concrete wall and zinc

⁴ DC-4.2 -14-8-14- Respondent 23 -President of festival committee- NOTE_checked.docx, p.3

⁵ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx

⁶ DC-4.2 _2014 _17 _08 _ RESPONDENT 16 _ DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 XEFE ALDEIA REP _ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 _ NOT – Cecked.docx

roofing houses are mainly seen in DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5; and the other aldeias are having just started to develop.

Possession of luxury item by the villagers of DC-4.2 is higher compared to the Manatuto district and almost the same to the national. The village DC-4.2 53 % of communities in the suku used mobile phones compared to 45 in the district and 54% in the national level.

In employment perspective, the village DC-4.2 has low employment rate compared to district and national employment rate. The village has 45.13%, Manatuto district has 47% and national 50.35% for population 15 – 59 years old. This also mean that the village employment rate is less than 20% so there is a challenge for this village to upgrade its employment rate to 65% in 2030.

Communities of DC-4.2 are subsistence farmers with the product are rice, maize, cassava, seasonal fruits and vegetables. Rice fields are seen in the many areas belong to the suku; however, DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 is a mountainous region and thus often faces infertile fields in the area. This situation is consistent with report that only 78% of the people are doing farming in the village.

Information from the field visit revealed that some of the communities faced yearly shortage food because of lower food production rate in the village. However, the villagers have more live stock On the other hand this villagers have more livestock accounted for the same rate as district which is 84.34% and higher than nation that is only 76.63%. Therefore, the availability of livestock could overcome the challenge of food shortage in the community.

2.4 Brief Historic profile

There is no data found in this research about when, how and why the village called DC-4.2. However, the village consists of two main clans, Mambae and Galolen speakers which spread in all five aldeias of the suku. Some respondents stated that the communities are so scattered because in history they were sent to look after or take care of land borders to ensure that the land did not claim by kings or liurai for other villages. Nevertheless, by Looking back into two three decades past, the leaderships in the village has been occupied by different personnel from different backgrounds. Since the Indonesian arrival, anyone who has many supports can become village chiefs and governs the villagers for some years. For instance, the current xefe suku has no liurai background in the village but has held the power twice, in 2002 and 2009.

During the Indonesian occupation in 1970s, most of the villagers were out of danger as they were chased by Indonesian army. Many villagers flee to the mountains for their safety and when they returned some forced to live in Neighboring sub-district 1, Manatuto and Dili. The data collected revealed that majority of this population were from aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and therefore, the aldeia disappear during the Indonesian time. After the independence, in 2002, the villagers mobilized themselves and moved back to their original aldeia. The aldeia was then reformed and recognized by the Ministry of State Administration (MSA) as the fifth aldeia of suku DC-4.2⁷.

Communities of aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2; however, were moved for their main location to a more strategic location identify by the Indonesian in 1980's to allow better control by the army⁸. In the area, communities

⁷ DC-4.2 _2014 _17 _08 _ RESPONDENT 16 _ DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 XEFE ALDEIA REP _ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 _ NOT – Cecked.docx

⁸ DC-4.2 -14-8-14- Respondent 23 -President of festival committee- NOTE_checked.docx, p.3

many lives of children and adults because there was lack of water, dusty neighbourhood and hot weather. Consequently, when Timor got its independence, the villagers moved back to their original location to be closer to water source, a river next to the aldeia. The communities admit that they are now closer to water and thus they do not have high mortality rates of children and adults as before.

3. Social Cohesion

3.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

3.1.1 Identity

The communities of DC-4.2 identified themselves in five main ways. They can be identified by areas they live in, groups, uma lisan and marriages, official registration and religion. The most predominant identifications is by the areas they live in, sub Aldeia, Aldeia and suku. There is a clear difference between rural and urban Aldeia of DC-4.2. Communities in the remote or rural Aldeia identified themselves based on the sub Aldeia and Aldeia they live in; however, urban Aldeias identified themselves based on the suku.⁹

⁹ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx

The second notable identification made by the communities is by marriages and uma lisan. There are multiple uma lisan located in all areas, sub Aldeia and Aldeia of inhabitant and two ethnic groups reside in the suku of DC-4.2. One is Galolen speakers and they are following matriarchal type of marriages and therefore, women are still live and have control of their uma lisan and the men have to come and join the women's family^{10,11}. On the other hand, Mambae speakers follow their own Patriarchal marriages and thus women's bride prices are arranged and the women have to leave their uma lisan and enter into their husbands' uma lisan¹².

Next, communities identified themselves based on groups which they take part in the village. The members of the political parties (CNRT, FRETILIN, PD and FRETI MUDANCA) identified themselves as leaders or members of these parties and based in the village. Further, the members of the village council, catholic youths and agriculture groups are identified themselves in the same way as the political parties that they are members or leaders of these groups in the village to do the group's activities together. Moreover, communities in both rural and urban can be identified as belong to the suku of DC-4.2 through their official registrations. The national identify or electoral card is the only card which can identify the communities as belong to DC-4.2¹³. This card is used by the communities to get access to veteran pensions, subsidies and Bolsa da Mae¹⁴ from the village.

Lastly, communities of DC-4.2 identified themselves according to the religion they believe in. Catholic Church is the main religion which has strong branch in DC-4.2 and communities in Aldeia and sub Aldeia have different assumptions, our lady Virgin Mary for communities and Saint Jose in the village. For instance, the communities in DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 have the Virgin Mary as their savior; however, communities in Aldeia DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 and DC-4.2 have Saint Antony as their savior¹⁵. Therefore, the communities in these aldeias do their religion activities separately depend on the dates of each assumption every year.

3.1.2 Power and Vulnerability

There are four main characteristics of powerful community members discovered in this study. Experience is the most notable characteristic the powerful community members have in the village. For instance, the current xefe suku was the xefe suku in 2001 and was re-elected in 2009 for the second as he has had experienced in governing the village¹⁶. Also, the xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 had hold positions as the Aldeia chief or RT in Indonesian time and he was chosen by the elders from his Aldeia, DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 to run for election and became the xefe Aldeia in 2010¹⁷. The other characteristic is that the powerful members have the capacity to mobilize other community members to contribute to public goods built in the village. for instance, Respondent 12 has become one of the powerful community members in Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2, sub Aldeia of Bairro 1 because he mobilize other community to build primary school and kindergarten school buildings in the sub Aldeia for the students to get education. He also, liaises with the education department of sub district and district to formalize the school and has become the main branch of Bairro 1.

After these two mentioned lead to trust in the community. These powerful community members are trusted by the communities in their sub aldeias and aldeias to solve community problems that may occurred in the village. The last characteristic of the powerful members are their role in the resistance during occupation in

¹⁰ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx

¹¹ DC-4.2-8122014-Respondent 21, PAAS, DC-4.2-Aldeia 1. Note.docx, p.1

¹² DC-4.2 -2014-08-08- Respondent 2 - Veteran and former xefe aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 3- Note.docx, p.2

¹³ DC-4.2 -2014-11-08 - Respondent 17 -Xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 -NOTE_ Checked.docx, p.2

¹⁴ Bolsa Da Mae is scholarship given by the Ministry of Social Solidarity to powerless and vulnerable children nationwide

¹⁵ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx

¹⁶ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx

¹⁷ DC-4.2 _ 2014 _12_08_ RESPONDENT 20 _ XEFE ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 _ NOT_ Checked.doc, p.1

Indonesia. Persons who participated actively in the resistance have also become powerful and identified by others as powerful in the village¹⁸. Respondent 2, a veteran in sub Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 is powerful and trusted by the community and local leaders, xefe suku and xefe Aldeia to mobilize village activities in the Aldeia¹⁹.

Power in the DC-4.2 can be obtained in three main ways. The main source of power to become local leaders is the suku authorities' election which runs nationwide every five years for villagers to choose their leaders. The communities in Aldeia and suku exercise their rights once every five years to choose their xefe suku and the council members to do village development and take care of the welfare of communities in the village. The last election was held in 2009 to elect those who are currently in power and the next election will held in 2015 based on the timetable from the Ministry of State Administration.

Moreover, a villager can become powerful if he or she is appointed or chosen by local leaders to hold power in the village. These people are chosen to do some works of the elected powerful members of the community due to geographical location and distance from Aldeia to Aldeia and Aldeia to sub Aldeia of suku DC-4.2. For example, the communities who lived in sub Aldeia Bairo 1 are look after by two xefe Aldeia representatives appointed by xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 because these sub Aldeia is very far from the residence of the xefe Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 and Bahdic. Similarly, the communities who live in Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 are looked after by a xefe representatives appointed by xefe suku DC-4.2 and xefe Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 because the xefe Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 is not living in the Aldeia but lives in Bairo 4.

The educated and generation of Liurai Family are the last notable source of power observed in this study. Despite they don't live in the village, they have become important for the communities in the village as they have hold power in the national and sub district levels which have impact on village development infrastructure. There are some villages priorities have been awarded to the village from the liurai generation and thus community acknowledges their importance in the community. Geraldo (name changed) educated, generation of Liurai Family and the current state secretary for decentralization was the person whose name was mentioned as important in the village and gave the electricity project to sub Aldeia Bairo 4²⁰.

The powerful community members appear to control government funds, such as subsidies and funds for village projects and decision on village development infrastructures in the village. They have the privilege to decide which person to receive elderly pensions, Bolsa da Mae and other subsidies in the village and give their names to the government or resource providers to distribute. Also, the powerful communities make village decision on behalf of the communities in the suku. For instance, all community's priorities are collected from Aldeia and would come and filter in the village council use paraleleismo where only village council members decide.

These powerful members are currently in power, they hold position as xefe suku, Aldeia and sub Aldeias chiefs and thus they are the ones who represent communities in the village and Aldeia meetings to discuss the village priorities. The xefe suku and Aldeia on the other hand is the contact person to communities and the government. Hence they represent communities in sub district and district meetings on behalf of the community to receive information and deliver to the communities on their return.

There are no familial relationships noted in village leadership position during the research; however, most of the powerful villagers are from the same political party, CNRT. The current xefe suku with his council

¹⁸ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx

¹⁹ DC-4.2-8162014-Respondent 24, community member, DC-4.2-Aldeia 3. Note.docx, p.2

²⁰ DC-4.2 -2014-11-08 - Respondent 17 -Xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 -NOTE_ Checked.docx

members are all from CNRT party as these members formed CNRT package and won the election in 2009 to govern.

Based on the study there was no intentional exclusion observed in the village, however; the distance and geographical location of the aldeias are the major barriers among communities of DC-4.2. The communities in the urban Aldeia have more access to public services compared to communities who reside in the other three rural and remote aldeias. The communities in DC-4.2-Aldeia 2, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 have no health post for them to access when they get sick²¹. Nevertheless, the widow, elderly people and women with more children are considered as vulnerable in the village. They are consulted by the local leaders, Aldeia and sub Aldeia chiefs to get government pension and subsidies if they meet the requirement. They are not regularly integrated into the local governance structures due to the fact that there were no Aldeia and sub Aldeia meetings for them to raise their voice. Some community members; however, did not know their xefe suku and other council members as they have never visited the communities in the rural Aldeia and sub aldeias due to long distance and geographical difficulties²².

3.1.3 Formal and informal community rules (norms)

The communities of DC-4.2 live under three main rules, include the village own tradition and customs which has been existed for long time, traditional law and formal rules which is provided by the government. The villagers are afraid to talk about their uma lisan because the uma lisan is considered as sacred and they may get retribution if they talk about it. This norm contributes to villagers to effectively solve their conflicts using the traditional manner in some Aldeia of the suku to keep the communities in harmony. The villagers also have tradition that if someone passes away in the neighborhood, neighbors come to gather, collect firewood and water to accompany the family of the deceased. However, further celebrations, such as six months and one year gatherings, personal visit to the houses of neighbors and relatives are needed for family to participate. Invitation also needed for activities such as, marriages, birthday celebration and baptism party. This can be done through sending letters or house to house visit to neighbors and relatives to invite them to participate. Lastly, the communities have both “sau batar” and “sau hare” tradition in the village. The communities who live in flat lands which are mainly galoli speakers n have both “Sau batar” and “Sau hare” during corn and rice harvesting seasons. Those communities in high hills where rice is not their main product; however, only have “sau batar” during the corn harvesting seasons in the village as rice is not their main product. Once in a year celebration of Mambae speakers who live in Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 is an example of this.

Though most of the Aldeia and the suku DC-4.2 itself do not have a local Tarabandu where certain activities are banned by the community, the Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 has a local Tarabandu on land borders and cutting of sandalwoods and other trees in the Aldeia. This Tarabandu was established in cooperation with the state secretary of decentralized and was inaugurated by the vice Prime Minister, La Sama in 2012. The last rules or formal rules which affect the village are the suku authorities’ law and the parliament resolution on banding martial groups nationwide. The communities in the suku and Aldeia come together once in five years to give their representatives in Aldeia and suku to form a package to compete in the election. For instance, in 2009 there were three packages one from each party, CNRT, PD and FRETILIN to compete in the election and one won the majority votes and governs the village. The suku authority’s law really affects the life of the

²¹ DC-4.2 _2014 _17 _08 _ RESPONDENT 16 _ DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 XEFE ALDEIA REP _ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 _ NOT – Cecked.docx, p.3

²² DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx, p.3

communities and their leaders as they cannot replace their resigned youth leader as the law says that someone resigns during the years cannot be replaced.

The other formal law is Parliament and presidential election law which also run nationwide every five years. The communities in the Aldeia and suku participate in exercising their power every five years to vote for their presidential candidates as well as the political parties. The last formal which affects the community is the Government's decree law on banning martial arts activities. There were several martial groups exist to do their activities in the Aldeia and suku and often cause problems among them. However, the said resolution has contributed to reduce number of conflicts among youth in the suku.

3.1.4 Conflict and conflict mediation

There are four main types of conflicts occur in DC-4.2. These include verbal disputes over land border, animal entering farms or rice fields, domestic violence, accusation of witchcraft and physical violence among youths. These conflicts are caused overlapping claims of land or farms, animal enter farms, disagreement in the family, accused one another for witchcraft and alcohol consumptions during parties or festivals held in the village.

These conflicts are mediated by individual to individual to suku levels interiorly and to police in Manatuto and Court in Baucau exteriorly. Conflicts occurred in the community, and in the first stage both individuals, suspect and victim would talk to one another to solve the problem without consulting the lia nain uma lisan or Aldeia^{23,24}. If this cannot occur, the problem then brought to sub Aldeia lia nain and use a standard way to solve²⁵. In this way, both victims and suspects are asked to explain their reasons and the mediators would propose a solution to solve the problems. The victims are the persons who go and inform the lia nain and xefe Aldeia in the Aldeia to solve. The xefe Aldeia and lia nain then inform both sides and decide a date and place for the resolution process to take place. The xefe Aldeia's house and uma lisan are normally the venue for the resolution²⁶. If they both agreed to turn up on the set date, the resolution process begins. The xefe Aldeia and lia nain will first ask the victim who reports the case to explain his or her reasons for reporting then followed by asking the suspect or perpetrator²⁷.

Based on their reasons, if a witness is needed the witness get called to verify the conflict however if witness are not needed, the xefe Aldeia and lia nain Aldeia will find a solution and seek agreement from both sides to resolve the case. If there is no agreement reached in the Aldeia level, the problem then brought forward to the suku and solved by xefe suku and lia nain suku. The place for this mediation is varied; it can be in the sede suku or in a community's house where the xefe suku and lia nain go into the community to mediate. For more complex and complicated cases such as conflicts involved many people the problems are brought to the xefe suku and suku lia nain to solve. For more complex and complicated cases, such as between sukus, involve weapons and many persons, problems are sent to the police then to tribunal in Baucau to mediate, though most of these cases solved by community leaders in the village afterwards when it gets delayed by the court²⁸. Once a decision is made in traditional manner, the persons who at fault prepare traditional cloths slaughter a pig or goat and provide food to feed the people who participate in the resolution process.

²³ DC-4.2 -2014-08-08- Respondent 2 - Veteran and former xefe aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 3- Note.docx, p.2

²⁴ DC-4.2 -2014-11-08 - Respondent 17 -Xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 -NOTE_ Checked.docx, p.3

²⁵ DC-4.2-8102014-Respondent 12, Lia Nain, Bairo 1n-DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. Note.docx, p.1

²⁶ DC-4.2-8142014-Respondent 24, Lia Nain Suku, DC-4.2-Aldeia 1. Note. Docx, p. 1-2

²⁷ DC-4.2-8142014-Respondent 24, Lia Nain Suku, DC-4.2-Aldeia 1. Note.docx, p.1

²⁸ DC-4.2 -8-10-14-Respondent 2 - Bairo 1 Sub Aldeia Chief- Aldeia DC-4.2 - NOTE _ Checked.docx

These conflicts have several impacts on the community in the village. First of all, small conflicts lead to assault and into physical violence among youths. The youth violence in sub Aldeia Bairo 1 in 2010 is the example of this²⁹. Also, there were multiple cases that have brought to tribunal to mediate using legal law of RDTL in Baucau because the problem was too complicated to solve in the community. Conflict regarding and border dispute between the communities of DC-4.2 and DC-2.2-Aldeia 3 is an example and community did not talk to one another for three years³⁰. The last notable impact of conflicts is that the village council, community police and sub district administrator cooperate to invite suspects and victims of witchcraft accusation or defamation to explain the legal law³¹. After this event, the frequency of witchcraft accusation or defamation conflicts has reduced in the village.

3.1.5 Development Priorities

Both powerful and marginalized communities in suku DC-4.2 have similar development priorities in terms of basic infrastructure projects. These priorities include rural road, electricity and clean water. In the farthest and remote DC-4.2-Aldeia 3, community members have also identified canalization of clean water down the hill to their residents as a priority as the communities in this Aldeia have to collect water from springs and creeks which dry out during the dry seasons. Next, roads to Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 also a pressing issue face by the communities because these aldeias are surrounding by three large rivers. Furthermore, electricity was also identified by powerful community as important because communities most aldeias, in particular DC-4.2-Aldeia 2, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 have not yet access to electricity. Lastly, the powerful community members identified community centers, health posts and scholarships for vulnerable and powerless groups as secondary priorities in the village.

The marginalized community members; however, identified food, government subsidies and scholarships as their main priorities. These community members face yearly shortage of food, lack of access to education and therefore, the availability of government subsidies and scholarship would address some of these in the village. Next, Community members, who live far from the village centre and isolated from public services such as schools, church and health post wanted these services to be available or brought to them to allow easy access. Improvement in local roads and access to market facilities are identified as important for communities to bring their crops to markets in the sub-district and neighboring sub-district 1 to generate extra cash³².

3.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

This section describe, people and power to illustrate the local conceptualization of power and vulnerability in the village. Six profiles of powerful and vulnerability community members will be described in the following sections.

3.2.1 Powerful community members

This section provides three profiles of powerful community members in the village.

Respondent 1 is the current xefe suku and lives in Aldeia DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 in the village center. He has been chosen twice to become the village chief. In 2001 during transition as he was chosen to become the

²⁹ DC-4.2 -8-10-14-Respondent 2 - Bairo 1 Sub Aldeia Chief- Aldeia DC-4.2 - NOTE _ Checked.docx

³⁰ DC-4.2 -2014-11-08 - Respondent 17 -Xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 -NOTE_ Checked.docx, p. 3

³¹ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx, p.3

³² DC-4.2 -11-8-14 - Respondent 15 - Community Member, Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4- NOTE.docx, p.1

village chief for the first time in the village and due to his experience that time he was chosen by the communities of the suku in 2009 suku authorities' election held in the village. Also, currently he is the local CNRT coordinator in the village and due to this fact, he formed a package consists of people from the same political party to compete with other packages and won the election in 2009. Consequently he became the village chief and he is now currently in power in the village. Also, he was the president of the local KPK formed by community police in the village to prevent and resolve conflict that occurred locally in the village. He is the president of the village council and therefore, he directs, organizes and manages village council activities to identify the community needs and propose them forward to district and national levels to address.

As village chief, he has major responsibilities on the welfare of the communities in the village. Therefore, he has major impacts on development projects implemented locally. During his roles he has visited different aldeias of suku DC-4.2 to identify community needs through suku development program or PDS³³. The community needs then brought to the suku he use a process called Paralelismo to compare the projects and identify which one to build first and writes a proposal to government to seek for funding. For most projects he and the village council cooperate with government, NGO and Catholic Church to implement in the village. Clean water project in DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and construction of chapel in DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 and local school in Bairro 1 are the outcome of this cooperation³⁴.

At the same, he controls the government resources which are allocated to the village. He controls the monthly village council operational money, decisions on scholarship and government subsidies for vulnerable people which are allocated to the communities in the village. As the current xefe suku and lives in the urban Aldeia, he identified; electricity access, rural roads, and security for the three rural aldeias are his development priorities in the village.

Respondent 2 is a community member who lives in the remote Aldeia, DC-4.2-Aldeia 3. He was identified by others as powerful in the village because he was an active resistance to fight against Indonesian in the past³⁵. He has received high rank veteran pension from the government of Timor Leste for his participation. For his contribution, he has held the xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 for five years, 2001 – 2005. He is out speaker and therefore, he has capacity to influence the Aldeia development infrastructures. However, due to Aldeia distance and remoteness he has limited access to information to do his job. In the Aldeia, he is the key contact person for NGO, local leaders and other entities who visit the village and at the same time he is trusted by the community to lead conflict resolution in the Aldeia to keep peace and stability among communities in the Aldeia³⁶. Respondent 2 identified health post, school or education for children, clean water; subsidies and scholarship for powerless people are his priorities for the village³⁷.

Respondent 12 is a community member and xefe Aldeia representative based in sub Aldeia Bairro 1. He is out speaker and has the ability to solve community problems in the sub Aldeia level. Therefore, he was appointed by the xefe Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and xefe suku of DC-4.2 as the contact person in the Aldeia. At the same time, he functions as xefe Aldeia representative and Aldeia lia nain to look after communities and solve conflicts faced by communities who live in the sub Aldeia of Bairro 1. These are the only resource he controls in the sub Aldeia.

³³DC-4.2 -8-10-14-Respondent 2 - Bairro 1 Sub Aldeia Chief- Aldeia DC-4.2 - NOTE _ Checked.docx, p.2

³⁴ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx, p.1 -2

³⁵ DC-4.2-782014-Respondent 1XS.Note.docx, p.4

³⁶ DC-4.2-8162014-Respondent 24, community member, DC-4.2-Aldeia 3. Note.docx, p.2

³⁷ DC-4.2 -2014-08-08- Respondent 2 - Veteran and former xefe aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 3- Note.docx, p.4

In terms of village development projects, he plays very significant roles. He has actively motivates other community members who live in the Aldeia to build school buildings to educate the children of the sub Aldeia and Aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. The first school was built in 2005 and has been recognized by the government in 2012. Next, through cooperation with NGO,s he has mobilized his community members to build a house using local materials, such as palm leaves, wood and bamboos to be used as teaching room to teach kindergarten school age in the sub Aldeia. He also has two volunteer school teachers educate students to allow early age education in the sub Aldeia, Bairro 1. Road is his primary priority along with electricity access and installation of clean water projects for the aldeias are his secondary priorities for the development in the village.

3.2.2 Vulnerable community members

The second section provides the profiles of three marginalized and vulnerable community members in the village.

Respondent 10 is a community member who is belong to Aldeia but lives in sub Aldeia, Bairro 1. Respondent 10 almost has roles limited to being a father and head of his family and almost has no role in the community due to the fact that he has faced long time sickness and stays home most of the time. Also, there has been no mechanism for his involvement in development project due to the fact that there were no meetings run by the village council in the Aldeia to get opinions from the communities.

Because of his health condition, he cannot do farming. Consequently, his wife acts as the head of the family and works in neighbors' farms during corn and rice harvesting seasons and got her share to feed him and their three children. The family faces yearly food shortages in the village. He identified housing materials as his main priority and clean water and electricity as his secondary priorities for the development of basic infrastructure projects in the village.

Respondent 29 is a community member who lives by herself in a remote house in the forest of Bairro 2, a sub Aldeia of Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. She isolates herself from the rest of community members as her house is very far from the other houses in the sub Aldeia. She has no roles in the community and no impact on development projects as she is afraid for her xefe Aldeia and suku to raise her voice.

Because of the location she lives in, she does not have any access to any public services available in the Aldeia, instead she collects water for spring and creeks and firewood from the forests she lives in. She stated she does not have development priorities because she is happy to live by herself and owns livestock such as chicken, pigs and goats which she sells for cash.

Respondent 18 is a community member and a widow who lives with her daughter in Aldeia DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1, suku DC-4.2. She has no roles in the community and development projects she is not taking part in any meeting or approaching any leaders in the village to give her opinions. She only consulted by her xefe Aldeia and suku to get access to elderly pensions and she is one of the recipients in suku DC-4.2. She recognized housing materials are her main priority for her to continue her life in the village.

4. Institutions and power

4.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

Group Name	Types	Objectives	Structure	Member Base	Activities	Influence
GMF (Grupo Maneja Fasilidade). The group is recently formed and has not doing their work yet.	Village group	To do maintenance for the clean water equipment	President, Secretary and Treasurer	Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2	Check the water tanks and pipes, collects contributions and does maintenance for the water	GMF educate people to know how to carefully use the water and the facilities
FOSCA (Foin Sae Catolica/Catholic youth). The group is under church.	Church Group	To do church activities	President, vice president, secretary, treasurer and sections. The structure was formed through youth election in a big youth eeting in suku DC-4.2. It was on 2010. The leadership period is from 2010 to 2015. On 2015 will be doing another election for the new structure.	Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5. All youth in suku DC-4.2 are members of FOSCA	Support church events and ceremony in the suku and in the church as well as in the community activities such as sport competition and other ceremony.	Youth are always participating in the group activities and in the community /suku activates.
Chapel construction Committee. This ad hoc committee has been formed since 2010	Church group (ad hoc)	To manage and facilitate the chapel construction	President, vice president, secretary, treasurer and sections	Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5	Doing collection from the communities, buying all the construction materials and other	All communities participated in the contribution and construction process as the

					management things such as; looking for additional funds	group has scheduled
Harvesting group (seasonal). The group will be terminating after harvest time and people are free to do it again with different people every year.	Agriculture	To help the group members harvesting the crops in the farm (mostly rice and corn)	Only members. The numbers of membership are 10 household maximum	Almost all aldeias has this type of group (aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 1, DC-4.2-Aldeia 5, DC-4.2-Aldeia 3, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 4)	Harvesting activities in the farm of each members	Community's solidarity in the society

4.2 Formation of village groups

4.2.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

4.2.1.1 Describe who are in leadership positions in village groups

There are only few groups that exist in the suku. These groups are centralized in the urban aldeias (DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5) and the members are all from these two aldeias as they located at the center and close to each other. There are also political parties existing in the suku and most of the communities are part of it. However; this political party groups were not clearly explained since it was not organized due to the distance of each aldeia to the suku. Agriculture group also formed in each aldeia to help each other harvest the crops in the farm. This group is not requiring a leader to lead but the farm owner³⁸. The farm owner will be instructing group members who come to help harvesting his crops. There is GMF group that has just established in DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. The GMF leader is a farmer and originally from DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. For the ad hoc committee that is leading by the catechist as president and xefe suku as the vice president.

The youth of catholic's group is leading by a youth of aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 5. All the leadership position in the group is filling by youth from aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 as they are living in the urban aldeia³⁹. The Fosca branch in other three aldeias are representing by the catechist and a youth that they

³⁸ DC-4.2 _ 2014 _12_08_ RESPONDENT 20 _ XEFE ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 _ NOT_ Checked

³⁹ DC-4.2-8152014-Respondent 28, Chief of FOSKA, DC-4.2. Note

selected to help organizing events in the aldeia. The people who fill in the leadership position are not people who have high education level. Most of them are only finished their senior high school. The GMF chief did not even finish his primary school as he said⁴⁰. However; people trust them to be in the leader position.

The village group leadership style are both participatory and non participatory. Practically the group's leadership style reflects in their meeting activities in terms of discussing for decision of any activities and planning where the leader consult with communities before decided.

Generally, the leaders were obtaining their leadership position through election in the group. For example for the election of the Fosca group leaders, they were inviting all youth of the aldeia to have a meeting with catechist and form the structure. GMF group structure was formed by the SAS district of Manatuto with the communities in the meeting at aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. The communities nominate four candidates to compete in the election for the leadership position of GMF group⁴¹. The president and the structures of ad hoc committee for chapel construction in the other side were only appointed and has consensus from the meeting participants or communities.

The memberships of the groups are various. For example the Fosca's members are all the catholic youth in the suku and there is no other specific criterion for the youth to become a member⁴². The ad hoc committee composting from the President, vice president, secretary and treasurer as well as operational sections that will be working to support the core structures. They are appointed and working voluntarily as needed⁴³ to support the implementation of chapel project. They did not recruited as the groups are all voluntary bases and people could join anytime they want it or if there is needed.

The group's has no regular activities since it is also depending on the financial support. Youth under Fosca will be doing their activities when there is any fund support from the church or the communities⁴⁴. The group will be reporting to the church and the communities in the suku regarding their activities plan and implementation. Besides that the ad hoc committee is reporting to the communities or updated the work status and the financial expenditure every month⁴⁵.

There is no details regarding how the group leadership is legitimize however; usually after the election and the appointment of the leaders in the group structures automatically they become legal and accepted in the society. The period of each leadership group is different where; Fosca group for instance has the period of 5 years but for the ad hoc committee will be up until the chapel construction completed. As for the GMF leadership were no details since the group is new and the legitimization process were through a consensus from the communities in the aldeia.

During the research process there were no problem found in each groups. There were no complaints regarding the work of the village groups. In the other hand mostly distance of the aldeias to the main suku become issues due to people of the farthest aldeia could not took parts of the activities going on in the suku center. The distance makes it hard to engage other youth or communities in the group and the activities because the groups are mostly based in the urban aldeias of DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 as the center. When there is meeting hold to discuss any group plan e.g. for the youth of suku DC-4.2, there will be only youth from the two aldeias (DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5) who mostly participating.

⁴⁰ DC-4.2-892014-Respondent 9, GMF Chief, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. Note

⁴¹

⁴² DC-4.2-8152014-Respondent 28, Chief of FOSKA, DC-4.2. Note

⁴³ DC-4.2_2014_14_8 _RESPONDENT 27 _VILLAGE CATECHIST _NOT_ Checked

⁴⁴

⁴⁵

4.2.2 *Financial Management*

Basically, all the groups have no financial support or financial sources. They are all voluntary involve in the group to handle a specific activities that are limited to the period of the activities. The ad hoc committee was forming to manage and facilitate the chapel construction. They will be dissolved when the chapel is done. The group has no financial support specifically for management. They all are working voluntarily and willingly engaging in the process of activities implementation. Generally, the groups are depends on the communities contribution. The contribution is needed when there is an event or activities that plan to be implemented in the suku. The Fosca's president stated that 'they have no financial support to the activities planned and it is hard for them to obtain money for the implementation. They also have submitted proposal that looking for funding however; it still no responds'.

The ad hoc committee in the other hand is managing the monthly contribution from the communities for the chapel construction. The money was collected by the treasurer and some members who voluntary support the committee. All the money collected will be saving by the president who is at the same time serve as suku catechist. The collection will be update to the community's right after the Sunday mass services. The contribution will be using to buy construction materials such as; zinc building blocks, timber, stones, sands and transportation fees for transporting the materials.

Generally, the groups do not really need much facilitation as to facilitate their work. For the Fosca and ad hoc group are all using the chapel space for facilitate the meeting sometimes also they use the sede suku for the meeting. There are no resources of the group that need to be administered. As to paperwork are usually the secretary or treasurer will keep it.

4.2.3 *Collective action among groups*

Suku DC-4.2 has very small number of groups that exist in the suku. From five aldeias of the suku, there are only three aldeias that have group existence such as; DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 as the main and centre of the suku that are located at the urban area and DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 who just recently formed their GMF group. Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2, DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 are located at the very rural area and have no access to most of the basic public facilities. They also do not have groups formed.

In DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5, the communities have all access to the basic public goods. They are also more active to initiate and organize a group. The groups existing in these two aldeias are the Fosca group and ad hoc communities as more active with their activities in the communities. These two groups have good relationship with each other as they are under church. They are cooperating through the chapel construction activities. The youth are all participate in helping construct the chapel every day. They are also contributing money to the chapel. In terms of coordination, the Fosca chief is always communicate with the ad hoc committee regarding the chapel activities on how they could contribute.

The Fosca chief sometimes takes part in the ceremony at the aldeias in the suku especially for the church activities. He communicates through each catechist of the aldeia and sub-aldeia to participate in their activities. Basically for the three farthest aldeias will plan and supervised their own activities under a catechist, xefe aldeias or the aldeia representative. The chief that based in DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 will be informed regarding the certain activity that is going on.

The ad hoc committee in the other side is only cooperate with the communities within two aldeias of DC-4.2-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 since the chapel is located at the area and for the communities of the two

aldeias only. Similar with is is the GMF group in aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 who will only be deal with DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 communities and the local authorities in the suku.

The Fosca and ad hoc groups are also having cooperation with the local authorities as two of them such as; xefe suku, and women's representative are part of the committee members. The suku provide support to the groups through the space for meeting and taking part in all meeting that they are invited for. As for the cooperation with the outside group such as church, sub district and district administration as well as NGOs through the specific activities that need their support. Communities of suku DC-4.2 have strong commitments on works related to the church activities.

The main constraint for the cooperation between groups, institutions and the communities is the distance of the aldeias and the access conditions such as roads and transportations.

4.2.4 Communication strategies

These groups are coming from the communities itself to organize and coordinate activities and events in the suku especially related to the church. Basically, there are two ways of communication strategy that the groups are using. The strategies are communication through formal and informal ways. The formal way is through a letter for certain people such as local authorities, government, NGOs, Parish priest and other group leaders. The letter mostly is invitation letter and proposal⁴⁶. As for the communities in general will be invite to a meeting or ceremony through announcing from the road of aldeia and announce in the church after Sunday mass services.

Communities are invited to a meeting of the group for discuss any idea or plan that they have to be implementing in the suku. The activities could be events, ceremony and workshop.

As the groups are basically from the community itself therefore, communities are aware of the activities of the group. However the local authorities even though they are part of the community they need to be more formal in the communication in terms of to obtain their support for the activities of the group. Fosca is an old group that exists widely in Timor Leste under church and everyone knows the objectives and activities of the group. However in the society they need to communicate their activities thoroughly. The GMF group even though it is newly formed, the communication with communities were through meeting therefore, they could communicate their plan. In the other side the agriculture group communicate their plan from house to house by asking the household readiness to join the group to help harvesting their crops.

There were not many activities happen regularly. Because of the limitation of the activity, there were not much could be communicate to the communities and others.

4.2.5 Creation and termination of groups

Basically the need is the reason of why a group is formed. In suku DC-4.2 there are reasons behind the creation of a group. The group of ad hoc committee was formed after the communities were told to build a chapel⁴⁷. The chapel that they are building is a big chapel that needs a committee to manage and facilitate the

⁴⁶ DC-4.2_2014_14_8 _RESPONDENT 27 _VILLAGE CATECHIST _NOT_ Checked
DC-4.2 -14-8-14- Respondent 23 -President of festival committee- NOTE_checked

⁴⁷ DC-4.2_2014_12_08_ RESPONDENT 22 _ COMMUNITY MEMBERS _ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 _NOT _
Checked

implementation process. The communities were all agree to form the committee because the need of a chapel in the suku.

GMF group as a new group was formed by the district SAS officer with the local authorities in the aldeia. They were asking to form a GMF group to facilitate and manage the water usage and the water equipments maintenance. It was a government program to form the group through the water project. Similar to it is the Fosca group that formed as one of church program for the catholic youth in all over Timor Leste. The group formed to support the church activities and encourage youth to do positive activities in society. In the other hand, the agriculture groups were formed because of the needs of the communities or families. They need the help of each other to harvest rice and corn or to help each other cleaning up their farming field.

The group's existence was basically based on support. In suku DC-4.2 there were a few groups that terminated because of lack of support especially financial support and materials support. Some of the group was terminated because of the group's activities are banned in the country. The groups are CPD-RDTL and martial arts. While the other group has lack of financial and materials support, the Fosca group will be continue with only change the leaderships through election after 5 years period. Differently, the ad hoc committee will be dissolved or terminated after the completion of chapel project.

4.3 Explanatory cases (Village Groups)

Fosca (Foin Sa'e Catolica) Group

Fosca is a catholic youth organization under church that formed through every village. In suku DC-4.2 the current leadership in the group has been elected and formed since 2010 until 2015. After 2015 the structure leadership will be renew through another election in the suku. The group based in the urban aldeia that become a center of the suku where the sede suku located. Members of the group are the youth of suku DC-4.2. Fosca organization is meant to the youth in the suku to organize and support the church activities in the suku.

The structures are composting from President, vice president, secretary, treasurer and activities sections. This group has no financial sources to support their activities so far. When there is an event or ceremony to hold, they will need the communities participation both financial and materials support. Communities become the only sources as needed. Their activities in the suku are not regular however usually when there is a day to celebrate a saint's day or Easter day and Christmas the Fosca group will be the one organize and leading the event for the celebration. There will be sports and arts activities hold to celebrate as well as some creative animation to the communities.

The group's structure member will hold meeting in preparation of any event activities and hold another meeting for the reports of the activities completions. Usually, they cooperate with the church, catechist, local government leaders, district and sub district officials as well as the NGOs.

Grupo Maneja Fasilidade (GMF)

Grupo Maneja Fasilidade (GMF) is a group that formed by SAS district official with the local authorities and the NGO that implement the water project at aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. The group has just formed in May 2014 in a meeting that held with the communities of the aldeia. The meeting was leading by the SAS (district

water and sanitation department) officer. The communities were asked to select people to be responsible in the group. In the meeting three persons were selected for the position of President, Secretary and treasurer.

The group is meant to manage and maintain the water equipment and the facilities. However, the group has not started working since the project has not been officially hand over it to GMF.

5.4. Constellation of Local Governance

Group Name	Types	Objectives	Structure	Member Base	Activities	Influence
Village Council	Local Government Institution	To manage village administration and development	President and its members	Elected council members	Meetings and cooperate with other institutions who come to implement programs in the village	Consider as local leaders
KPK	Government					

5.5. Formation of village governance

5.5.1. Leadership, Power and Decision making process

Administratively a village or suku is leading by a xefe suku with xefe aldeias, and the suku council members. They are all part of the village institution members who are consider as local leaders. Respondent 1 is the xefe suku of suku DC-4.2. He is in the highest position in the suku who is leading the village institution and the village itself. Together with the xefe suku there are five xefe aldeias; Respondent 20, xefe aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 1; Respondent 6, xefe aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 2; Respondent 16, xefe aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 4; Respondent 17, xefe aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 who help leading the aldeias and sub-aldeias. Besides the xefe suku and xefe aldeia there are suku council members such as; two women representatives; Youth female representative; Lia nain; Anciao, Caetano Gusmao; youth male representative have resigned and the position is recently empty. PAAS (Pesoal Apoio Adminstrasaun Suku) or suku administration support is Respondent 21.

21 who helps to support the xefe suku's work at sede suku.

In the aldeia level, beside xefe aldeias there are katuas adat that known as lia nain at uma lisan and the xefe aldeia representative at sub aldeia level, they are assist to mediate problem in aldeia before it send to the xefe aldeia and suku level. However; they are not acknowledge in the suku structures⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ DC-4.2-872014-Respondent 1, XS. Note

The suku council is taking part in the decision making process generally on priorities identification of the community's needs and put it in to the suku development plan. They are involving in all the meeting hold in sede suku to discuss about the suku priorities and the plan. Together with the xefe suku and xefe aldeias they were all agree or consensus in taking any decision before it implements. For this instance they decided to accept the water project in the suku⁴⁹. In some cases, the xefe suku itself will be making any decision without consultation with the suku council members, e.g. when he decided to build the toilets in the sede suku area.

The local authorities were only informed that the decision has been made and the project is implementing in the suku.

Basically, elected through suku election package is legitimize and more powerful in suku. Besides that, those who appointed to seat in the village governance group member also legitimize to implement and support the rules of suku. e. g. the lia nain is appointed after the package won in the suku election. Even though he is appointed he is taking part as suku council members and has the power to resolve a problem in suku.

These elected bodies are responsible to the community and the society through their work implementation such as the decisions made, community attendance and services.

The situation and physical condition of the suku has its affect to the local leader's working performance. They are rarely visiting the communities in the aldeia that located at the farthest location. The communities hardly inform their concerns and their problems to the local leader. Most of the time xefe suku only focus on the urban aldeias that become the center of the suku.

5.5.2. *Financial Management*

There is only single source of funding to the suku that is coming from the government. The funds are for subside of the xefe suku, xefe aldeias and the suku councils members. The other is for the suku operational fund which is for administration supplies, transportations fee for the xefe suku if he should attend any meeting outside the suku. All the funds are responsible by the suku administration support or PAAS who is paid by the government. He is the one who managing the suku operational funds and he is also doing the expenditure report to the district administration office. The PAAS is preparing all the financial reports and together with the xefe suku planning the use of the money.

Twice a year in every six month for suku council and the PAAS send report to the national administration before receiving salary and suku operational fund, there is detail report on the expenditure needed before taking another, including all the receipt and attending list of village meeting otherwise the money will be on hold by the sub district until everything is completed.

As stated, there is regular reporting to the sub district regarding all the village expenditure. That is all a requirement to get disbursement of suku operational money⁵⁰ and subsidee for council members. The communities are not require to have access to the suku operational expenditure.

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⁵⁰ DC-4.2-8122014-Respondent 21, PAAS, DC-4.2-Aldeia 1. Note

5.5.3. Collective action among groups

In suku DC-4.2, the local governance is working with the existing village groups in the suku. The suku is cooperates with the church through the FOSCA group and the ad hoc committee for chapel construction. The GMF is one of the suku group that work under local administration who the roles are to maintain and managing the use of water in aldeia. This group is cooperating with local authorities in the aldeia of DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. The groups and other outside institutions such as NGOs and other group are mostly cooperate with the suku through the suku authorities.

5.5.4. Communication strategies

The xefe suku uses phone calls and text messages to the xefe aldeias and council members who have mobile phones to inform about the suku council's activities. The suku local authorities in this regard are the xefe aldeias use house to house visit to deliver the information to the community and its members.

For meetings which only include suku council members, the xefe suku inform PAAS about council or other meetings in the sede suku⁵¹, the PAAS then use phone calls or house to house visit to the member of the village council to inform. On the other hand, for meetings involving the community, xefe suku make the phone calls directly to the xefe aldeia or he will ask PAAS to informs the xefe Aldeia and xefe aldeias are the main messengers to bring information to the community and invite the community members to come to attend meetings.

5.6.Explanatory cases (Village governance)

Suku Councils

Suku council was elected in the end of 2009 and officially started working on 2010, during the election process there were three packages who were compete in the election, which resulted two of the other packages were eliminated. Suku council is leading by xefe suku; Respondent 1, who ever been in the suku leader position back on the transition period before then he takes over again the command. The suku council package members are from each aldeias. They are representing their aldeia even though some of them leave far from the main aldeia they lead. The suku council members and the suku leader meet regularly once a month. Sometimes it is depend on the need.

The roles of the suku council are to administratively managing and take care of the development of the suku. The development of the suku were discussed in suku council where wrote in the suku development plan. Normally when there is a plan to have a meeting, xefe suku inform the secretary to inform other suku council members to attend the meeting or he will call the xefe aldeias directly through phone call. Different with it if the meeting or activities are going to involve communities, xefe aldeia wo received information from xefe

⁵¹ DC-4.2-8122014-Respondent 21, PAAS, DC-4.2-Aldeia 1. Note

suku will spreading the information by going to the each community's houses or word of mouth or to inform by shouting along the main road by shouting using megaphone in a motorbike regarding the meeting activities.

The Xefe Suku receives 140 dollars, Xefe Aldeias receive 100 and the village secretary receives 115 on monthly bases. Other members of the council only receive 45 dollars. It is monthly wages but paid once every six months. Payment for the members of the council is depend on their participation in the monthly meeting at sede suku, if they do not participate in any suku meeting without justification that 45 dollars could be not paid. This is what wrote clearly on the law.

6. Public Goods

6.1 Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

6.1.1 Suku infrastructure project profiles (Project Name, Location, type, objectives)

There are fifteen projects have been implemented in the suku. Most of the projects were implemented between the years of 2001 to 2014. These projects were not registered in the suku however some of them were recognized by the suku. Some community projects that implemented in the aldeias were not recognized or not formally informed. These projects have various implementing partners such as; Government, NGOs, Company and the community itself for the community project as chapel bilding.

No	Project Name	Location	Type	Objective
1	Aldeia office	DC-4.2-Aldeia 3	Construction of a building	To facilitate aldeia administration and other activities
2	Clean Water Project	DC-4.2-Aldeia 3	Canalization of water from a water source	To supply water to both community and the lcal school
3	Chapel	DC-4.2-Aldeia 3	Construction of new building	To be use to celebrate masses and the aldeia is visited by priest from the sub-district and bishop of Baucau Diocese
4	Road project	DC-4.2-Aldeia 3, DC-4.2-Aldeia 2, and DC-4.2-Aldeia 4	Opening new Road	To facilitate transportation and election in the aldeia
5	Local School	DC-4.2-Aldeia 3	Construction of new building	To facilitate teaching
6	Clean Water project	DC-4.2-Aldeia 2	Canalization of clean water using solar panel	To supply water to both community and the lcal school
7	Aldeia office	DC-4.2-Aldeia 2	Construction	To facilitate aldeia administration and other

			of a building	activities
8	Kindergarten school building	Sub-aldeia Bairo 1, aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2	Construction of traditional building	To teach kindergarten children of sub-aldeia Bairo 1
9	Health post	Sub-aldeia Bairo 1n aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2	Construction of new building	To provide health services aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and some community from DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 who live in the area
10	Local primary to junior high school *other*	Sub-aldeia Bairo 1, aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2	Construction of new building	To facilitate teaching for the children in the aldeia
11	Clean Water project	Sub-aldeia Bairo 1, aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2	Canalization of water to the community	To supply clean water to community in the area
12	Clean watr project	DC-4.2-Aldeia 4	Canalization of water to community neighborhood	Tos supplay clean water to community who lives in DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 neighborhood
13	Church/big chapel	DC-4.2-Aldeia 5	Construction	Chapel building for urban aldeias (DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 & DC-4.2-Aldeia 1)
14	Sede suku	Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 5	Construction of sede suku building	To facilitate suku administration activities

6.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1 Project selection and decision-making process

In DC-4.2, project selections were made in two stage consultation between the xefe aldeias with the communities as well as Xefe suku as the leader of suku and the the head of village council with the village council's members and the community. They were all doing the discussion in a meeting regarding the community's concerns and prioritized the suku or aldeia's needs. The project selection processes for all the public projects were different one and another. Most of the project that was implemented comes from government and community itself. Some projects from government were received because it was nationwide program of the government. For example is project of sede suku building on the year of 2009. There were few projects that suku already submitted a proposal after discussed with community. The proposals are for chapel, road and and health post for the farthest aldeias ; DC-4.2-Aldeia 3, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. The community were identified their needs of a chapel and a health post as priorities for the suku. Over all the community selected a project based on their needs. This selection processes were also similar in the sub-aldeia like Bairo 1.

The decision making process were made on consensus based or agreed unanimously after the xefe suku and or the initiator present the idea. This was happened to the decision on selecting the kindergarten building or

construction project⁵². However in some cases communities were not involved either in the project selection and decision making process. There was no vote or election in decision making process. Community just agreed that the idea of a project for their suku or aldeia is for the benefit of the communities. For instance the idea of building the two sanitation at the sede suku area was the xefe suku's idea⁵³ (*fn XS*) After all everyone consensus with the idea and decision will be made.

The process identification of the suku priorities and the decision making process were happened in both aldeia and the suku level. However, different with the process in suku level that all the decisions are made by the xefe suku and the village councils, in aldeia level the idea was present and discuss with the community and make decision together. The eldest people in the suku level and aldeia as well as the sub-aldeia are cooperated in terms of planning and implementations. They were also cooperating with the NGO's that hardly reach all the aldeias of the suku. Communities are more comfortable with their decision and fully participated in the implementation.

Regarding the nationwide government project such as sede suku, the suku being informed only when the project is awarded. However it could not explained more details due to the sede suku built in the previous xefe suku's period⁵⁴ (*fn XS*).

6.2.2 Project planning (*Financial planning, Logistical planning, Coordination, etc.*)

Generally, the communities plan the construction in a meeting that held in the sede suku. The communities are invited either to discuss the project planning or just to be informed about the project. This was the most simple way people in the farthest aldeias and sub –aldeias done the way of how to plan for a project. Usually the project discussed were community project such as chapel in DC-4.2-Aldeia 3, kindergarten in sub aldeia Bairo 1 and sede aldeia in DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. As for the big project as clean water and big construction building as chapel in DC-4.2-Aldeia 5 and the primary school in sub aldeia Bairo 1 were all government project were planning at sede suku level. For the government type of project, the planning will be doing by the committee formed or by the company that awarded.

Mostly not all the communities could participate and or be informed⁵⁵ (*fn XS, XAs, Respondent 2*). For those who live in the farthest aldeia would not be able to take part in any meeting on project planning. The problems are the distance of the location and the accessibility. The local leaders were hardly visiting the communities in that area to share the information. Lack of information and the accessibility led to lack of community's participation in the planning process.

There were not many funds that could be plan. As for the community project e.g. kindergarten school building in sub aldeia Bairo 1; there were communities funding. People contributing all the materials needed for the project such as; palm leaves for roof, woods and ropes due to the building is traditional building.

⁵² DC-4.2-8102014-Respondent 12, Lia Nain, Bairo 1n-DC-4.2-Aldeia 2. Note

⁵³

⁵⁴

⁵⁵ DC-4.2-872014-Respondent 1, XS. Note

DC-4.2 -8-10-14-Respondent 2 - Bairo 1 Sub Aldeia Chief- Aldeia DC-4.2 - NOTE _ Checked

DC-4.2 _ 2014 _12 _08_ RESPONDENT 20 _ XEFE ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 1 _ NOT_ Checked

DC-4.2 _2014 _17 _08_ RESPONDENT 16 _ DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 XEFE ALDEIA REP _ALDEIA DC-4.2-ALDEIA 4 _ NOT - Checked

Some people or households will contribute food to feed the workers when it is implemented. All the materials will be stored at one of the community's house where closed to the project site to facilitate the work (*fn Respondent 12*).

As for the government project that the company implemented were nothing much to plan due to the company has planned for all the implementation process. They came to the suku and officially introduce themselves to the local authorities regarding the project. Together with the xefe suku they will explain how the project is going to be implemented (*fn PAAS*). There is nothing much people could engage in the planning stage. The company will work directly with the xefe aldeia in where the project will take place to coordinate the work with the communities.

6.2.3 Project implementation (Recruitment, Logistics, Financial reporting, Problems)

There were differences on how a project is implemented in the suku. The differences were from the type of projects. As in the Government project that awarded to the company were generally managing and leading by the company itself. For the community project, communities were fully engage in the planning and implementation of the project. There were coordination and cooperation between the community, suku councils and the committee formed. If there were budget for the project it will be managing accordingly.

In the implementation community were working voluntary in helping the skilled labor that hired to lead the building construction. The workers divided in groups and work once a week with tasks that have been clearly divided in the planning stage. The contribution was made from \$5-\$15 for buying the construction materials for the church project. The contribution is on monthly bases until the project completed. For the water project in DC-4.2-Aldeia 2, the skilled labor and the worker were paid because the communities insist for it. For community project in sub-aldeia Bairo 1n to build the kindergarten school and the sede aldeia or chapel in DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 were only asked the communities cooperation in terms of contributions and the skilled labors were working voluntarily. All communities in the aldeia were all participated in the projects implementation. The paid labors are recruited from each aldeia and took turns to work on the water project. Nevertheless, majority of projects that took place in the aldeia and sub aldeias were implemented by both contractors for the government project and community for the community project. They worked on the project until it completed.

The listed projects above are planned and implemented accordingly. Mostly are the community projects in three farthest aldeia. Some type of projects were planned and implemented in the suku without involving the local authorities and the community in the construction process. The skilled labors that hired and or voluntarily offer their help were those who lead the other workers in the construction process. In the other case, the voluntary community together with the coordinator of the project was working together.

The primary constraints for the construction process were lack of coordination with the local leaders and the communities. The distance and accessibility of the location are the main reason the three aldeias were lack of basic project implemented. Lacks of support and participation from local leaders such as the xefe suku and the suku council members have significant impact on the project distributions. In terms of management, there were lacks of capacity of the company, limited budget and the human resources as for the water project

in aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2⁵⁶ (*fn XA DC-4.2-Aldeia 2 and Respondent 23*). There were also problem with the logistics; limitation of the construction materials.

6.2.4 Resource management

All the construction materials that need to be protected from damage or thief were stored and locked at the secure place closed to the project side; it could be community's house and the public building that could be lock. Materials that are not need to be protected from damage or thief were only placed closure to the project site to facilitate workers.

The skilled labors who led the construction will be managing the uses of the project material and decide on how to use the resources. In some project the implementation is lead by community members who have power and influence to the community and or the initiator e.g. Respondent 12 in sub-aldeia Bairro 1 for the small kindergarten school project. The community also can be led by a person who has experience and skill in managing a project or a work. Respondent 2 was one of the powerful people who led the community to do the chapel in DC-4.2-Aldeia 3 together with a community.

Community was also asked to contribute some money and materials to help implemented the project. The contribution was managed by the xefe aldeia or the representative in the sub aldeia to pay for some materials or working fee to resolve some issue. For example the church or chapel project was slow and took times to completed the project, therefore contribution of money were need to help finishing the project.

6.2.5 Development outcomes

Suku DC-4.2 had several projects implemented locally. Mostly the chapel project and the sede aldeia as well as the school project in Aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2, DC-4.2-Aldeia 3, DC-4.2-Aldeia 4 and sub-aldeia of Bairro 1n. However because of the location and the access issues suku DC-4.2 is poorly have project implemented and it abandoned by the local leaders and the district governance.

The location of three aldeias that very far and difficult to get to made the local authorities hardly pay attention to their development. Xefe suku were making no intervention as the suku leader to the implementation of a project. The xefe suku has power that could interfere and questioned the work of the company and asked them to do best for his suku. However, it was not happen in the project construction implementation. for example the construction of the Uma ba Lia at aldeia DC-4.2-Aldeia 2.

In the other hand most community projects are completed and benefit to the community. The community feels ownership to the projects and completely supports the construction till it finished.

Some other factors that commonly constrain the equity, efficiency, and impact of local public goods and services are the communications and the attendance of the local leaders.

**LBS Village Report:
DC-4.3 (Dili District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP**

Domingas Gusmao, Alex Tilmax, Henrique Ximenes

The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are entirely those of the authors. They do not necessarily represent the views of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank and its affiliated organizations, or those of the Executive Directors of the World Bank or the governments they represent.

The village report should not be considered as a finalized publication, but rather as an intermediate research output used as a source for PNDS-REP Mix-methods baseline report.

1. Summary introduction

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in suku DC-4.3 in the district of Dili, and to explore the villagers' experience in handling development projects. It will map the local institutional structures, including the people, organisations, as well as community rules; provide a picture of community cohesion, by looking at conflicts and mediation, identity, development priorities, sources of power and vulnerability, and welfare; and explore the processes for selecting and managing local development projects.

2. Methodology

2.1 Sampling criteria for village;

To ensure national coverage, the territory of Timor-Leste is divided into 6 regions including Dili, Mountains, East, Border, Central and Enclave.¹ The village considered in this study is located in the Dili region. The required sampling criteria for the Dili region include level of violence and urbanization. The cases to be considered for this region are outlined in Table 1.

Region	Cases
Dili	High Violence and Peri-Urban Low Violence and Peri-Urban Low Violence and Rural

Table 1. Required sampling criteria for Border Region

The village of DC-4.3, located to the east of Dili, will be featured in this report. DC-4.3 is peri-urban and has high incidence of violence.²

Additional sampling criteria for village selection have been disregarded due to the current stage of PNDS implementation. Of the Dili villages included in the third phase PNDS rollout and fulfilled the primary sampling criteria, the only suku where implementation process has not commenced is DC-4.3.

2.2 Data collection;

We conducted 36 semi structured interviews in all DC-4.3's three aldeias.³ The interview process started on the 7th of August 2014 and concluded on the 18th. The process however had been scheduled to take only 10 days at the start. But one of our researchers succumbed to an illness affecting the interview process. Therefore an extra day was added to make up for some of the time lost in the field visit. During our field visit, we observed the daily activity around the sede suku. We also visited a natural spring in the DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 mountains to observe the use of local water source. We also consulted with the village council about their latest population census. We noted documents filed by the village council recording various meetings held in DC-4.3, in particular training activities. Announcements posted on the sede suku wall. The 2010 official government census was also consulted. Unless otherwise stated, we use the official census data throughout this report.

We used three sampling methods to select the respondents: convenience, purposive and snowball. With

¹ Concept Note for PNDS-MEP

² Miks M to supply data points for the selection criteria

³ Some of the respondents were interviewed in pairs, namely of husband and wife. In this report however, we will focus primarily on the key respondent only.

purposive sampling, we approached individuals identified as having influence in the village (e.g. xefe suku and xefe aldeia). For snowball sampling, we relied on the purposive respondents to identify or recommend individuals whom we could approach for interviews. Finally, we also selected respondents by convenience, or based on our own discretion. The individuals in this sampling group included people whom we approached while they took part in an activity or happen to be in the vicinity. Respondents in this last group were selected to assess the data obtained from the previous two sampling methods.

2.3 Sampling of respondents;

During the field visit, we interviewed 8 women and 28 men. Most of the respondents, over 60% of the total sample, were older than 40 years of age. This group included all the xefe aldeias, the ansiaun and the xefe suku. Many of the respondents sampled were also self employed including fishers and farmers, around 19%, and business owners, 20%. However, a number of the village council members also ran businesses in the hospitality sector including the xefe suku and one of the xefe aldeias. The 3 government officials sampled in the interview included a teacher, the village secretary and the local community police officer. In fact, the katekista is also a local school teacher. We also sampled three housewives and two unemployed youths during our field work. The 6 respondents included in the “Other” occupation included a builder, a waitress, a builder, a beach cleaner, a Red Cross officer and a local church official.

Of the 36 respondents, 9 were sampled purposefully and they included the members of the village council, the local katekista and the community police officer. We also snowball sampled 11 respondents in the process. However, most of the sampled respondents were selected based on our own discretion, i.e. using convenience sampling, interviewing more than 44% of the respondents using this selection method. A breakdown of the respondents interviewed for this village report is provided Table 2.

		Total
By gender	Male	28
	Female	8
By age	Less than 25	2
	26 – 39	11
	40 – 55	15
	56 – 70	7
	71 – 80	1
By occupation	Farmers and fishers	7
	Suku council members	6
	Housewife	3
	Government (local) official	3
	Religious leaders	1
	Business	8
	Other	6
	Unemployed	2
By Sampling method	Purposive	9
	Snowball	11
	Convenience	16

Table 2. Sample respondents

3. Description of the village

3.1 Location and Names of aldeia, village borders;

DC-4.3 is a suku in the sub-district of The sub-district in Dili district. The village is located in the east of Dili and covers the coastal areas along a major road which leads to the eastern parts of Timor-Leste. This village borders with the villages of Neighboring suku 1 in the east, Neighboring suku 2 to the south, Neighboring suku 3 to the south-west and Neighboring suku 4 to the west. The border of the village runs along the hilltops to the south while a welcome sign to the west indicates the border Neighboring suku 4. In the east, the border with Neighboring suku 1 is marked by turn-off at a location called Bairo 2 which leads to the beaches at the back of the sub-district statue. A small settlement of around 20 households is also located adjacent to the turn-off.

There are three aldeias in DC-4.3: DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. Aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 is the most populous and most of its population lives within an area that also includes the sede suku and the local primary school. DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 is located next to DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 is situated on the other extremity.

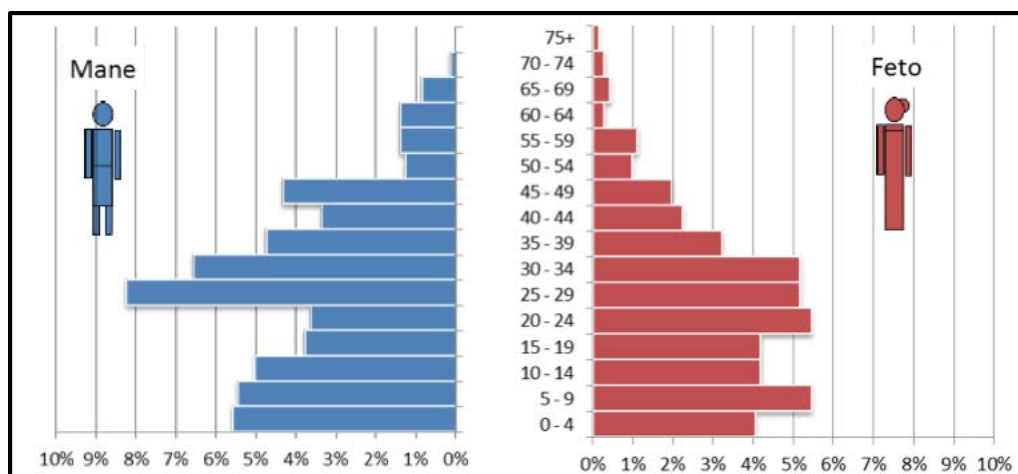
Within the aldeias, we also identified a number of bairrus although they don't have their own governance system. In DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 for example, we identified 2 bairrus in the main settlement. One of the bairrus concentrated around the xefe suku's residence, comprising half of the settlements, while the other is located around the sede suku. In DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 several neighborhoods were noted by the way the houses are concentrated or confined within an area. For example, there is a group of about 20 households behind the newly developed properties at the border between DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 1. We will refer to this settlement as Bairo 1 because of a nearby source of natural spring of the same name. There are also a number of gated compounds inhabited by the expat community in the border between DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 1. The community in DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 is even more spread out except for the smaller bairru of Bairo 2, where up to 20 households are located. However the population in this bairru is a mixture of villagers from Neighboring suku 1, Neighboring suku 2 and DC-4.3. Most of DC-4.3 is uninhabited.

Outside of DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, the rest of the villagers live quite spread out. Many of the dwellings are situated near the main road however others can live quite high up in the hills and without any road access such as the Bairo 1 for example. Some villagers also live in quite isolated areas such as Bairo 2.

There is practically only one road which links DC-4.3 to the outside. This road, the only main road that services the village, runs along the coast entering from Dili in the west and exiting at the other end of the suku through the hills of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2; it also provides an alternative route to the eastern districts of Timor-Leste.

3.2 Population; Ethno-linguistic groups;

According to the 2010 official government census published in the Sensus F6 Fila Fali, the total population of DC-4.3 was about 700 distributed into 100 households. Men outnumber the women by 1.25 or 56% of the total population. The disaggregation of the population by age groups shows that 30% of the population is below the age of 14 while 67% of the population is within the productive age, between 15 and 60 years of age. Only 5% of the population is older than 65. Graph 1 provides a disaggregation of the population by gender and age.



Graph 1. Population disaggregated by gender and age group

The latest data on the population was supplied by the village council. The village census conducted in 2013 showed that the local population doubled in the space of 3 years. The number of households also expanded by more than twice that of 2010. Up to 60% of the population lived in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 with DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 having the least number of people with only 15% of the population spread around 34 households. Female outnumber their male counterpart by 1.34 or 57%.

Aldeia	Male	Female	Total	HH
DC-4.3-Aldeia 1	152	216	368	64
DC-4.3-Aldeia 2	93	128	221	34
DC-4.3-Aldeia 3	401	511	912	108
TOTAL	646	865	1511	251

Table 3. Population figures according to village council's 2013 census

Other than Tetum Praça, spoken by over 70% of the population, Mambai, Makasa'e and Kemak languages are also registered as mother tongues with significant number of speakers according to the Sensus Fó Fila Fali. Proportionally, Mambae is spoken by over 15% of the population, Makasa'e by about 5% and Kemak less than 5%. Other minority languages reported by the census include Baikenu, spoken in Oecusse, Galoli of Manatuto, and Naueti from the Viqueque region. A substantial number of speakers, 10%, also speak non-Timorese languages, which is reported in the census under "Other".

3.3 Suku Profile (poverty/development indicators)

According to Sensus Fó Fila Fali, 64% of houses in DC-4.3 are made of bricks. It's among one of the lowest rates in Dili district bar those sukus which are located outside of the urban area such as Neighboring suku 1. However more than 86% of the houses actually have iron roof much like the rest of Dili while 78% have concrete flooring.

Presently, electrical power is connected to almost every home with the exception of the small settlement of Bairo 2. However, according to the 2010 census, more than 81% of the population used electricity, biogas and

solar energy to power their lighting in line with most other sukus within the urban capital.

Adequate sanitation facility, defined by the Sensus Fó Fila Fali to include pit latrines with adequate ventilation and septic tanks, was present 70% of the households whereas in urban Dili, this proportion was between 80 and 100%. Nearly 70% of households also had access to water whether piped to, or pumped near the dwelling, including those which had indoor plumbing.

Luxury items were also prevalent in the local households. More than 30% of household had a motor vehicle, double the proportion for Dili while nationally, it's only 5%. A motorbike is owned by 38% of households, a figure closer to Dili at 35% but more than twice the national figure, 14%. Up to 60% of households also own a refrigerator whereas in Dili as a whole, only 36% of households do and throughout Timor-Leste, only 11%. Radio and television are present in 67% and 58% of households respectively. Nationally, only 24% of households own a TV set and 33% owns radios. Mobile phone penetration is 82%.

3.4 Livelihoods/Economic Development Profile

The 2010 government census reports that 51% of the population in DC-4.3 is employed while 47% is considered inactive. The unemployment rate was 2% whereas in Dili it was 8% and 5% nationally.

Only 18% of the population in engaged in agriculture whereas nationally, this figure is 61%. The villagers grow both seasonal and permanent crops including coconuts (over 10% of households), cassava (15%) and corn (15%). Some households also cultivate rice and coffee however these crops are grown outside of the suku. Rice is for example grown in the neighbouring suku of Neighboring suku 1, which the xefe suku himself is also involved. Coffee on the other hand is grown in the central regions of Aileu. However, for DC-4.3 in general, the crops are highly dependant on the rain.

Up to 58% of households rear animals including chickens, pigs, goats and buffaloes. But most of the cattle in DC-4.3 are free ranging. Herds of goats and buffaloes were observed to roam around freely DC-4.3 looking for pasture. While stray pigs also abound, there was also an established piggery in the xefe suku's bairro.

Although the 2010 census didn't mention any fishing, this activity seems to be one of the main sources of income for various households in this village. In DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 for example, we came across a number of respondents whose main income was generated through open sea fishing. A respondent in the neighbourhood of Bairro 1 can make up to \$20/day from this activity alone.

Other activities which generate income include firewood trade and clean-up activities around public spots, in particular around the beach. These activities generate very small income and involve generally the elderly members of the community the younger population, particularly in the clean-up activity.

However the most significant industry around DC-4.3 seems to be related to the tourism sector. Restaurants dot the road between DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 and Bairro 3. The xefe suku operates a large restaurant on the beach near his house in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 while the xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 owns a facility in the Bairro 3 area. In other areas however, many of the restaurants are actually owned by villagers from other sukus in Dili. The staffs in these restaurants also come from other villages including Neighboring suku 1 and Neighboring suku 2, as well as other villages from Aileu, Lospalos, and Baucau. Local villagers are also employed in these establishments as builders and as security guards.

Real estate is also another sector which is bringing in a lot of investment locally. Villagers with access to land have been cashing in on the demand for land in DC-4.3 including one of the respondents who was paid \$90,000

during a land deal he made with Korean investors. In the Bairo 1 neighbourhood, many of the land around the area have been sold off to investors who have build luxury apartments leased to the expat community. Some of the locals have also been hired in these projects whether as builders or as security guards. The xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 also benefited from the real estate boom and manages a number of properties leased to expats. Demand for land in the area is not showing any sign of abatement with more prospective buyers trying to convince other local villagers to sell their land. Other larger players such as the Timor Plaza group have acquired major hilltop and beach properties in DC-4.3 with plans to establish multi million dollar resorts in these locations. These activities point to positive prospect for employment in DC-4.3 in the near future.

3.5 Social/Human Development Profile;

The literacy rate among the youth, those aged between 15 and 24, is 75%, a figure much lower compared to its parent district, Dili, 93%, or even to the country as a whole, 79%. In the same category, the literacy rate in DC-4.3 is also higher among women, 77%, than men, 73%.

The 2010 census also reports that school attendance rate in DC-4.3 is very low compared to both district and national rates. In DC-4.3, only a little over 30% of school aged children are at school. The rate for Dili is over 40% while nationally it's greater than 35%. More than 45% of children have left school while those who never attended school can be as many as 25% of the children. In both cases, the situation is worse compared to Dili. The proportion of dropouts is also very high compared the national rate at under 30%.

At the time of census, around 28% of the population over 5 is enrolled in primary school, 9% in pre-secondary and 12% in secondary school. Around 12% of the population is enrolled in university but less than 5% were enrolled in vocational training or other non-formal educational institutions. However, up to 37% of the population had no education, a proportion that's significantly larger when compared to Dili at 17% and slightly worse compared to the country as a whole at around 36%. Enrolment rate in DC-4.3 is 79%, higher than the average for Dili which is somewhere between 60% and 80%.

Up to 51% of all childbirth in DC-4.3 in the 5 years prior to the census received assistance from health professionals. In Dili as a whole, 68% received professional assistance while nationally it's 34%. Some villagers still practice homebirth in the case of a respondent in the neighbourhood of Bairo 1, the distance and the cost associated with travel to the nearest health facility have been a major consideration affecting this choice.⁴

3.6 Access to public works projects, inefficiencies, leakages;

A number of settlements in DC-4.3 have no access to basic infrastructure including roads, water and electricity. The neighbourhood of Bairo 2 in DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 has no access to water or electricity. There is a well in Bairo 2 but the water is salty and would dry up at the peak of dry season. The water is used only to feed the cattle and for washing. In Bairo 1, the situation is less dire. A natural spring near the settlement provides some water, though at much reduced volume during dry season. Villagers only use this source for washing. For consumption, they rely on water taps located significantly far from their homes.

There are water pipes in DC-4.3 which run alongside the main road all the way until the The sub-district area. However the pipes only distribute water to homes near the main road. Other villagers such as those in Bairo 2 have to rely on these taps to collect their clean water by using private taps of nearby homes. Unfortunately, this source of water also became out of reach recently following the installation of usage metres and charges for water use.

⁴ DC-4.3_20140815_Respondent 29_Fisher (notes)

Villagers in Bairo 1 are also deprived of access to the main road while in Bairo 2, villagers still have no access to electricity.

Public transport is also difficult. They don't serve many areas of DC-4.3, in particular the aldeias of DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. In fact, villagers in Bairo 2 have no access to public transport. To get to Dili for example, villagers have to walk for more than 5 km and then catch a taxi on the return trip.⁵ These cost of these trips are also relatively high. For villagers in Bairo 1 for instance, it can cost up to \$6 for a return trip to Dili.⁶ The lack of public transportation also restricts access to key public facilities including health and education.⁷

There is only one primary school for the entire suku located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. Access to the school is of particular difficulty to villagers in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. Even in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, children walk up to 1.5 hours just to reach the school.⁸ Continued education beyond primary school presents another set of difficulty. The location of the nearest secondary school at least 3 km away from DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 and it's a private school. Some children have to move in with families in Dili in order to access school while others just simply drop out.

Access to health facility is also another major issue. The nearest clinic is located in Neighboring suku 7, at least 10 km away. Although the national hospital is closer, the administrative setup of the local public health system restricts attendance to villagers without a prior referral from a local health post. There are plans to build the suku's first community health centre in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, however it will not be sufficient to facilitate access to villagers who live far, particularly in areas such as Bairo 2.

3.7 Reoccurring problems

Access to water is frequently cited as a recurring problem for villagers in Bairo 2 and Bairo 1.

Access to water is particularly difficult for villagers who live far from the main road such in Bairo 1 or those in the fringes of the village such in Bairo 2. New water pipes have been laid

- There is only one school located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. Children from DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 walk long distance to get to school. From DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, children can walk up to 1.5 hours to get to school. The katekista's children leave home at 5 am for a 7.30 am start. Better off families take their children to school on motorbikes or taxi. It becomes even more difficult to access education when the children move on to high school. The nearest school is in Neighboring suku 5, even further by DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 standards. Children who have families living in downtown Dili move to stay with them in order to attend school. Others just drop out.
- There is no health facility in the area. Villagers in DC-4.3 are referred to a clinic in Neighboring suku 7 for consultations. They can't access health facilities at the National Hospital because of the way the health system is set up.
- Villagers in a bairru in DC-4.3-Aldeia 2, near the xefe aldeia's residence, have no access to water or sanitation facility. Members of about 20 households in this area still use the nearby creek for their defecation. They can't have toilet in their houses because they don't have access to water. There is a natural spring about 10 minutes walk from their homes. But the water has a bitter taste and is used only for washing and cleaning.

⁵ DC-4.3_20140808_Respondent 2_SubsistentFarmer (notes)

⁶ DC-4.3_20140815_Respondent 29_Fisher (notes)

⁷ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes); DC-4.3_20140815_Respondent 29_Fisher (notes)

⁸ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 11_Katekista (notes)

3.8 Brief Historic Profile

DC-4.3 used to be a fishing village with scant population back in the Portuguese period. There was no road or any other public infrastructure. The Portuguese set up a tourist spot in the Bairro 3 which became one of Dili's attractions. After Indonesian invasion, some villagers began to move into the area for various reasons. Some moved there because they married local men or women or because there was no other land available in Dili. Still others were resettled in the area in connection with the Indonesian invasion. These included former prisoners who were interned in Atauro island. They were resettled here first.

Later on, in the early 1980s, community members from Baucau also moved in and settled in DC-4.3 in particular in the DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. Other rural villagers were drawn to Dili by the prospect of education and jobs and those from Baucau found DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 a natural place for them settle because their relatives or fellow villagers have already been living there.

The aldeias of DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 used to be part of suku Neighboring suku 2 while aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, known prior to the 1999 Referendum as DC-4.3, was part of Neighboring suku 4. In the early period of Indonesian occupation, a prominent pro-Indonesia leader successfully lobbied the Indonesian government to turn DC-4.3, incorporating DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, with him as the xefe suku. He remained xefe suku until 1999 when Timor-Leste voted to break away from Indonesia at the referendum.

Indonesia further developed the area to maintain its touristic character, opening a road along the coast all the way to Neighboring suku 1, linking it to the national road that connects other districts.

Following the 1999 referendum, the retreating Indonesian army and the pro-Indonesia militia members destroyed much of the village. Although, according to a respondent, the pro-Indonesia villagers only destroyed their own properties,⁹ they also laid waste to much of the government infrastructure. These included the local primary school, the DC-4.3 clinic, and the sede suku. Abandoned Indonesian properties, private or public, were taken over by the East Timorese.

In the independence period, DC-4.3 boomed driven mainly by real estate activities. Many, drawn by the beaches and the scenic views that DC-4.3 offered, moved into the village buying large swathes of land in DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, from the beaches to the mountain sides. The East Timorese political elites have also carved out their own territories in the area. Several top government officials also live in DC-4.3. Various investors have also moved in developing various properties in the area to lease them out to expats on missions in Timor-Leste. Timor Plaza group has a large hold in the Bairro 3 where a golf range has been established. Behind the statue of The sub-district, Timor Plaza has also been granted rights to develop the beaches-side properties stretching as far as the border with Neighboring suku 1. Concrete walls have been constructed to seal off the beaches from public use. Meanwhile, Timor Plaza is also busy flattening the top of a hill behind Bairro 3 for more real estate development projects.

A NUREP was also appointed following Indonesia's retreat to be the head of the suku. The NUREP, Respondent 10, resigned after a land dispute involving a top government official. He was replaced by an interim xefe suku. In 2005, the first suku election was held. Two candidates competed for the xefe suku position in the election. Candidates aligned with the then ruling party, FRETILIN, lead by current xefe suku Respondent 25, won that race. The second election was held in 2010 and was organized based on the pakote system. Political parties were barred from the process. However only one pakote, headed by current xefe suku, competed.

The 2006 crisis affected mainly the Baucau community of DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. The crisis began after a group of

⁹ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes)

soldiers from the F-FDTL were expelled. These soldiers then mounted a rebellion against the state, plunging the country in to a deep crisis. Over 200,000 people became displaced and moved into IDP camps. Villagers from other suku attacked the residents of DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 and tried to evict the Baucau community from DC-4.3. Tires were burned and rolled down from the hill behind the aldeia with the aim of setting fire to the homes below. Many villagers took went back to Baucau while others were took refuge in IDP camps such as in downtown Dili itself. However, many displaced people also sought refuge in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. The crisis peaked with the attempted assassination of president Top government official and subsequent killing the ring leader.

4. Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 Identity

Generally, membership of a village community called DC-4.3. However, the communities identify themselves with different reason such as lived there for long time, born there and know the history of DC-4.3, bought land there, married with local man and woman and doing business there. Additionally, there are a miscellaneous of ways villagers identify themselves in DC-4.3. The identities can be based on a number of groupings: by administrative division, by ethno-linguistic groupings, by geographic location, by party affiliation, and by religion.

By administrative division, identity based on membership of aldeia is the most basic. In the suku DC-4.3, community identify themselves with the three aldeias mainly DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. These aldeias are formed along the ethno-linguistic groupings where two aldeias mainly DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 are most speakers of Tetum and other minority dialect while the other aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 is mostly speak of Makasae where they came from Baucau and mostly identified themselves with the member of *Sagrada Familia* and respect one of the freedom fighter *L-7* as their *Katuas*.¹⁰ Local political elites with connection to suku council are also strong supporters of FRETILIN and a number of community in DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 identify themselves with PD party. However, There are also individuals who do not profess any sympathy, support or affiliation to political parties or *Sagrada Familia*. Outside of Baucau community, villagers readily admit they don't support any political group. During the 2006 crisis, villagers tried to help each other disregarding their ethno linguistic origin.

In other side, membership of Catholicism is almost all. However, there is a community who has been converted to the 7th day Adventist.¹¹ Additionally, the youth identify with the group or *bairo* in aldeia. This exists when the time of Christmas, in order to establish Christmas scene in each bairo to celebrate the Marry Christmas and Happy New Year. There are including those some individual who is being identified themselves with their activities mainly by the livelihood; fishers – Respondent 23, Respondent 18, business group, taxi driver, project workers. Besides that, there are powerful national leaders that also reside in the suku.

There are several identification of Villagers themselves, the first point is who have always lived there and born there¹². They are original land owners but have steadily sold off most of it. These are people like Respondent 23 and the village council ansiaun and the xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 1. Most villager who live up in hill, they

¹⁰ DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 9_Responsable OPMT Sagrada Familia_(Note) P. 2

¹¹ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 7_Paraplegic (notes). P. 1

¹² DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 18_Fisherman (notes). P. 1

DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 19_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 1AndLiaNain (notes). P. 1

identified themselves as people of Neighboring suku 2¹³. It is however generally accepted that the hills along DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 to The sub-district belong to Neighboring suku 2. In fact some of the local villagers in these hills are from Neighboring suku 2 who used to farm in this area but ended up settling in the area. Nevertheless, a number of villagers in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 is registered in Neighboring suku 2 but is administered by DC-4.3 said;¹⁴

“In the beginning this jurisdiction was belong to Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring suku 2, the flat was part Neighboring suku 5 and the mountain was belong to the Neighboring suku 2”. (00:50).

DC-4.3 villagers on the other hand are making a similar claim mainly due to the fact that they have always lived here or have lived here for many years. The conflicts emerged when villagers from Neighboring suku 2 tried to sell lands in DC-4.3. In one such instance, DC-4.3 villagers in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 put up resistance and drove the Neighboring suku 2 villagers away only for the latter to return with their own reinforcement. Weapons such as spears and machetes were also used in the confrontation.

Administratively, while aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 is dominated by the Baucau community and the population in this aldeia is concentrated in a particular area and the villagers are connected to one another by a common language of Makasa’e. In DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2, the population is more spread out. The other two aldeias seem to share other common characteristics. A football team for example is represented only by players from the two aldeias. In this instance, the name of the team itself excludes DC-4.3-Aldeia 3: like CAFA, which stands for DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. They are originally from different places some from Neighboring suku 7, aileu, Viqueque and other places. During 2006 crisis, villagers in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 were attacked for the perceived support for the Lorosa’e, the ore of the Lorosa’e villagers is made up of the Baucau community, concentrated by and large in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. During the 2006 crisis, this community faced ferocious attacks by villagers from neighboring suku because of their origin. The non-Baucau villagers also refer to this community when they reflect on the 2006 crisis to represent the Easterners and while the Baucau community suffered various communal attacks, the other villagers were mostly unaffected by the crisis.

“We were together to approach for those from Neighboring suku 2 and Neighboring suku 5 which is assaulting us. We told them that this is political game do not fall into this game otherwise you will be a victim, but they even insulting me”.¹⁵

High numbers was confessing their identity as freedom fighter during resistance Participation in the resistance. This are political prisoner E.g. Respondent 7 and his wife, veteran e.g. xefe suku and former xefe suku and those who took refuge in the mountain during Indonesian invasion¹⁶ and those who stayed e.g. lia-nain during the Indonesian invasion. In spite of that community identify themselves as land owners due to inheritance and those who moved into the area e.g. Respondent 23 owns lots of lands in the Bairo 3 area. Lia-na’in in the DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 area.

The educated elite *intellectual* and national leader often identified with profession and carrier. This identify by the ordinary community members who is doing fishers and businesses.

¹³ DC-4.3_20140815_Respondent 27_Builder (notes) P. 1

¹⁴ DC-4.3_20140815_Respondent 28_SellsFish (Note) P. 1

¹⁵ DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 7_Businessman_(Note) p. 1

¹⁶ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 10_Businessman_(Note) p. 2

4.1.2 Power and Vulnerability

Generally, powerful people in the community or society are those are in the top position of the local leadership with having experience and leadership background is the main characteristic of village governance and village group such as xefe suku, catechist and xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 have related experience since Indonesian time¹⁷.

*“He has been assuming as xefe aldeia for three periods. Started form first governance until now. Before independence, he assumed the position as RK started from 1994 (xefe aldeia) while their father was assumed as RT. RK is higher position rather than RT”.*¹⁸

Xefe suku and xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 are from Baucau, they are also participate in the resistance including Respondent 7, having attained at least secondary education or higher like suku secretary, being male (gender based), have access to wealth such as land and capital, having formal political position at national level. Local leaders, e.g. village council and catechist, they can solve villagers problems, look after the people, close to the people, has leadership capacity and experience in leadership. In other side, some other leaders of politicians and businesses; national politicians, e.g. presidents, ministers, members of the army and resources ownership, e.g. having of land and capitals.

Aside from suku sources of petty cash for village administrative works, suku council incentive and suku has motorbike¹⁹, they have their own resources like xefe suku and xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 run restaurant in the area, having good standard of housing and guest house which is could making many as their resources. In other side, integration into key resistance organizations, e.g. FRETILIN/OPMT²⁰ and Sagrada Familia and integration into key institutions, e.g. the Catholic church. Formal leadership positions in the national political structure; some elected, such as the President, others, appointed, such as ministers, some from F-FDTL and access to education, in particular those who live closest to Dili and formal election and in the case of suku council

Regarding the wealthy powerful community members control of employment and support of local project, integration into resistance organization Sagrada familia, OPMT which is attached to the Fretilin usually control over membership and control over resistance narrative, the local formal leaders is controlling the finding assistance for the vulnerable, notifying villagers when government releases subsidy payments, control of government subsidies, conflict mediation and prevent conflict from taking place, provide legitimacy to land purchase/sales negotiations, appoint villagers to lead groups and provide authorization for villagers who want to occupy state lands in the area. Those who have formal positions at national level also controlling of aid for vulnerable community members, involving in conflict mediation and has public influence. E.g. pressure on villagers to stop environmental damage around areas where they live. The educated also control the leadership of government's local projects and has ability to deal with government paperwork.

Baucau clique in the formal village governance like xefe suku, Xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, Ansiaun and former xefe suku, Respondent 10. Those who live longest in DC-4.3 (original settlers) such as xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, Lia-na'in, suku council members and suku secretary. There is also wealthy business owners that integrate into local governance structure like xefe suku, xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2, Respondent 15 and Respondent 14. Other powerful villagers which has connection to key institutions mainly

¹⁷ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 19_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 1AndLiaNain (notes). P. 1

¹⁸ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 19_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 1AndLiaNain (notes) p. 1

¹⁹ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 17_VillageSecretary (notes) p. 2

²⁰ OPMT; women group attached to Fretilin party

Respondent 7, coordinator of FRETILIN, Respondent 9, coordinator of Sagrada Familia (women's section), Current and former xefe suku, catechist, community leader and educated individual who has knowledge and skill also consider to be part of local governance structure such as Respondent 21, PAAS and Leaders of the FSGL²¹.

Suku DC-4.3 particularly aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 is mostly reside by Baucau community²², this clique has influence in the local governance structure. Generally, they call one another as brothers, sisters and in laws and when link to the *Sagrada Familia* organization then L-7 is their *Katuas*²³. Thus, xefe suku and xefe aldeia of 17 abril are related and suku secretary is the niece of Lia nain and xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and also related to the male youth representative. Moreover, the sister of xefe suku is the head of FSGL and xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 is related to xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 through marriage and the village secretary is family related to the women representative and youth male representative²⁴.

Mostly, people who live up in hill and hill side which is border to Neighboring suku 1 is being consider to be marginalized due to lack of to access facility and subsistent. There have not public transport which is connect to the place, school, community center, potable water, electricity and health post. In other side, women relegated to performing tasks traditionally associated with women, not given equal right to inherit family wealth. There is also widows, single parents and less educated people, disabled difficulty in accessing facility or events, e.g. Respondent 21, elderly and poor not having regular visits, not consulted nor not invited by local authorities (xefe suku and xefe aldeia) to suku activities, e.g. Respondent 24 and his wife. Moreover, elderly and poor do not get consulted or invited to participate in village activities. In the case of Respondent 2, distance to sede also makes it difficult for him to participate and Respondent 21, paraplegic, cannot move much, and never participates in village activities even when invited;²⁵

My condition puts a lot of limitation on my life. Maybe that's why the government doesn't hear our voices. So, maybe thorough (this interview), the government can hear and become aware that we are some of the most vulnerable people.

4.1.3 Formal and informal community rules (norms)

DC-4.3 has taboos in specific area like part of the beach in the northern most corner of *Bairo 3* beach is considered as *lulik* lots of drowning has taken place in this area, there is a fresh water spring in the DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 hill. This spot has a guardian, an octopus. Villagers who use this spring cannot bring soot covered pots to be washed in this spring. If they do, it will drive away the octopus and the water. The last time it happened, the spring dried for 5 years and an elderly lia-na'in called *kuku* are used to find groundwater. One of the estate developers used a kuku to find water in his property.

There is male inherit family wealth among the non-Makasa'e speakers in the aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 1. Baucau community in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 still obey and worship the *ilhās/jita* (magic) which distribute by *Katuas* L-7 during resistance against Indonesian occupation.²⁶

A tarabandu used to be traditional informal rules. However, it is now use as main formal rules with the intervention of the government side like *limpeza jerál*, waste management which is organized by suku council

²¹ FSGL; Village cleaning program management team

²² DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 9_Responsable OPMT Sagrada Familia_(Note). p. 1

²³ DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 9_Responsable OPMT Sagrada Familia_(Note) p. 1

²⁴ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 17_VillageSecretary (notes) p. 1

²⁵ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 7_Paraplegic (note) p. 3

²⁶ DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 7_Businessman_(Note) p. 2

and facilitated by the government and NGOs which is including prohibition of tree felling in the area, slash and burning and The sub-district area considered as holly, observation of modesty, morality and enforced.

4.1.4 Conflict and conflict mediation

Land disputes don't seem to be represented in local narratives about conflicts. Whenever villagers are quizzed about their experiences with local conflicts, their response mostly excluded cases of land dispute. It could be that by conflict, villagers immediately understood it as physical violence whereas land disputes rarely gets physical. Yet, land dispute is perhaps one of the biggest causes of conflict in the area.

There were several conflicts involving disputes identified in the process of this survey. The most serious of these cases involved a violent confrontation between local villagers and villagers from Neighboring suku 2, located in the hills behind Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring suku 7, after the latter attempted to sell the lands in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1.

In the northern end of Bairo 3, a businessman is trying to expel a local villager, Respondent 22, from a property which the former said to have purchased during the Indonesian period.²⁷ Within the same locality, another respondent, Respondent 23,²⁸ also reported how his wife and her brothers were embroiled in a longstanding dispute over land inherited from their parents. The brothers sold the family land and divided the profits excluding the sister in the process. The xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 was also involved in a dispute with another villager over a property behind his house.

Neither is aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 unaffected by the land issues. Respondent 10, a former xefe suku, was involved in a bitter dispute with a Portuguese investor over a property which the latter used to open one of the first restaurants and bars in the area. Former president Top government official intervened on behalf of the Portuguese investor prompting Respondent 10 to resign from his position as xefe suku.²⁹ Later on, current xefe suku was himself embroiled in a dispute with a senior F-FDTL officer. Seeds for future land conflicts are also being sown in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 after individual land prospectors, apparently with the support of the xefe suku and the local xefe aldeia, began to survey and lay claim to areas behind the village where a road is being opened to connect to General's property. Villagers who live nearby are unhappy that they are being pushed out of lands which they believe they have a right to because they have always lived in the area.

Public facilities are also affected by these disputes. Two cases of land dispute have hindered the construction of the local health post and the extension of the local primary school. In DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 for example, the location of the former community health centre, built during the Indonesian period, has been repossessed by a local villager who then went on to sell it to a property developer. Now, new apartments have replaced the old health centre. In the location of DC-4.3's only school, a dispute with a local villager caused years of delay to extending the school building. Although part of the land was successfully recovered to allow for the extension of the school to take place, the villager still holds on to the other half which, according to the xefe suku, has been identified as the future location for the village's community health centre.

A steady raise in demand for land in DC-4.3 since independence has pushed property prices to an unprecedented level. The local subsistent fishers and farmers, the de facto land owners, suddenly found themselves sitting atop of a huge wealth and began to sell the lands, from the coast to steepest of mountain

²⁷ DC-4.3_20140813_Respondent 22_TaxiDriver (notes); DC-4.3_20140813_Respondent 1_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 2 (2nd interview); DC-4.3_20140817_Respondent 37_CommPolice (notes)

²⁸ DC-4.3_20140813_Respondent 23_Fisher (notes)

²⁹ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 10_Businessman_(Note) P. 1

sides. One of the respondents for example netted US\$90,000 in early 2000 having sold a parcel on the side of a hill to Korean investors. The rush to profit from the sales also pitted villagers against each other as they began to make claims on lands with unclear title. Villagers from Neighboring suku 2 for example considered the whole of DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 as theirs based on claims of traditional ownership. They tried to sell a parcel of land in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 but were met with resistance by local villagers and retreated only to return with reinforcement and prepared for a violent confrontation. In Bairo 3, the male members of a family sold the family land to the Timor Plaza group without consultation with their sister and pocketed the proceeds. The sister was instead expelled from the land. Another villager facing eviction from a property in Bairo 3 is demanding up to US\$160,000 to transfer the land which he claimed as his by virtue of his decades long settlement in the area. The high demand for land also caused much scarcity in the village denying space even for public facilities such as schools or clinics.

Departing Indonesian government apparatus and nationals also left behind properties that became the focus of conflict among various claimants. A villager in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 for instance insisted that an Indonesian had passed on his property to him prior to his departure. However the village council denied this claim and demanded that the property be turned over to the local school to extend the existing school building. Parents and other government authorities also joined forces to force the villager to relinquish his claim. In DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 on the other hand, local villagers were adamant that any property which was once owned by the Indonesian government should automatically transfer ownership to the new Timor-Leste government. However, another villager claimed that this particular land was taken from him by force during the Indonesian period to build the local clinic therefore he had every right to recuperate it. He went on to sell the land to a property developer. In the case involving the former xefe suku, Respondent 10, the property, formerly owned by Indonesians, had passed on to the Timorese government. The Portuguese investor used the property subject to an agreement with then xefe suku, that he would employ East Timorese in the new establishment. Violation of that agreement ended in a row between the xefe suku and the investor who then recruited a top government official to his defense. Former xefe suku said;

“The official who is related to this man came again and point hand to me that I am the one who threat his cousin and asking money from his cousin and telling me that I am not suitable to be a xefe suku. But I rejected all his accusation”.³⁰

Other owners simply sold their property to different buyers as is the case involving the xefe suku. A beach-side property in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 had been sold to two different buyers including one of Timor-Leste’s prominent businessman. Then the girlfriend of a senior F-FDTL commander moved in claiming the land as hers by inheritance. The xefe suku intervened and a row erupted with the F-FDTL commander.³¹

Land disputes tend to be very complex and sometimes the issues are left unresolved. Mediation also requires mediation by external actors including local formal authorities and powerful national figures.

In the case of the dispute between Neighboring suku 2 and DC-4.3 villagers, the xefe suku of both villages stepped in to mediate and were assisted by their respective lia-na’in. A traditional mediation process was used to settle the disagreement with a feast organized at the end of the meeting. The mediation took place at the katekista’s house in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and both parties agreed for Neighboring suku 2 to retain control of lands on top of the hill with the rest going to the DC-4.3.

Some disputes also escalated to include physical violence and in such circumstances, the police is called in to

³⁰ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 10_Businessman_(Note) p. 3

³¹ DC-4.3_20140816_Respondent 25_XS_2ndIntnotes p. 1

stop the confrontation. However, police presence is also viewed with suspicion that they may be working in favour of one of the parties in the conflict.

In Respondent 22's case, Rui (name changed) called in the Task Force (a PN'TL unit, now defunct) to take the former away and incarcerated following a scuffle involving the businessman's staffs. But Respondent 15 denies that there were any scuffle at all. According to Respondent 15 however, there was collusion between the businessman and the police force as the latter acted in a way that clearly showed they were on the businessman's side. The businessman also recruited thugs to intimidate Respondent 15 from giving up his claim according to the both Respondent 15 and the xefe aldeia. Respondent 15 also relies on the xefe aldeia and the xefe suku for support. The xefe aldeia, who also has a property inside the disputed area, has advised Respondent 15 to maintain his position. The xefe suku has urged for the case to be heard before the court because according to him, the land which the businessman is claiming was once an Indonesian government property. The community police officer also helped Respondent 15 by negotiating his release from detention following the scuffle. However, during a separate conversation with the officer, he clearly placed Respondent 15 in the wrong and backed the businessman's claim that the latter had in fact bought the whole property during the Indonesian period, that Respondent 15 is just a squatter.

Mediation of local disputes can also involve powerful players from the national political leadership. Some of these figures live in the area while others are reached through personal connection, some forged during resistance against Indonesian occupation, others through family linkage.

A top government official was brought in to help mediate the dispute between Respondent 10 and a Portuguese businessman³². In the first case, Respondent 10 gave up and then resigned from his position as xefe suku. Respondent 10 explained how the top official, sided with the Portuguese investor and accused him of laying. Respondent 10 rejected the accusation and out of disgust against top government official, he resigned as xefe suku. With the latter involving the current xefe suku, the dispute ended amicably with the F-FDTL commander agreeing to convince his girlfriend from leaving the property. However, the case is still in the court pending an investigation to determine whether there was indeed the first buyer to have purchased the land.

The dispute between Rui (name changed) and Respondent 15 also involved powerful political figures. Rui (name changed) invited his brother-in-law, to accompany him during a negotiation with Respondent 15. During the negotiation, Rui (name changed) also threatened Respondent 15 that he would also bring a top government official to the case as Respondent 15 was proving to be hindering national development. According to Respondent 15, Rui (name changed) said:

*If you do not give up the land to be used for development, then Xanana will come down himself.*³³

The prime minister did come to see him according to Respondent 15 but it was only to advise him to continue on with his usual activity.

The court was also involved in the case involving Respondent 23's wife and her brothers. According to Respondent 23, the court decided that the land should be divided equally among the siblings including the proceeds from the sale and whatever land that's left. But the brothers chose to ignore the court ruling while she was evicted from her home by Timor Plaza who now owns the land. Fortunately for her, Timor Plaza cleared some area behind her former property as well as provided her with materials to build her new house. Nevertheless, her dispute with her brothers was never resolved and they have ceased all relations since the

³² #DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 10_FormerXS (notes), p. 1

³³ DC-4.3_20140813_Respondent 22_TaxiDriver (notes), p. 2

beginning of the conflict. When their mother died, her brothers took control of the funeral process and excluded her and her family from taking part.

In the case of dispute involving the local primary school, the xefe suku played an important role in pressuring the occupant to give up his claim. Parents of the local school children were also mobilized to apply pressure on the occupant. Outside of the suku leadership, officials from the government's department for land and property issues, and the sub-district administrator were also engaged on the side of the school. In the end, the xefe suku threatened the occupant that he would take the case to the court:

"The land dispute was resolved because the xefe suku involved the officials who were in charge of land issues. They came, as well as the sub-district administrator, and the Dili district administration, to speak to him, "you take your documents to the court. If you win, the land is yours." He didn't have documents so he was too afraid to show up. So they said, "since you are occupying this land, we will just compensate you." So they (the government) gave him \$5,000 that's how it was solved."³⁴

Negotiation with the former occupant is ongoing as the village council is seeking to recuperate then entire land in his possession in order to build the local clinic. The occupant however has left Dili following the 2006 crisis and has now settled in Viqueque.

As for the other property in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, villagers as well as the formal village authority appear to have run out of options after a developer built various luxury apartments on the site. There are no move to have the land returned to the government in order for the village's clinic to be built.

Villagers generally paint their suku as a place devoid of conflict. Other conflicts in the area like the family of former XS (his son) and the suku council, in particular actual xefe suku and dispute about who is actually the leader of the youth in the suku. Due to this, the son of former xefe suku organize de facto youth group which was led the son of the former xefe suku. However, it was not acknowledge by the local authority and the community. Moreover there is small scale of domestic violence, physical assaults which is caused by largely by visitors to the area. Conflicts are caused by personal disputes or alcohol abuse. There were a number of homicides reported in the area very recently. However according to local villagers, these cases did not involve local villagers. The corpses of the victims were either brought to DC-4.3 by the current or dumped there. Sexual harassment and assaults mainly involving visitors who come to the area to exercise. Attackers wait for them in the more isolated areas and ambush them during darker periods in the day.

Physical assaults usually caused by alcohol abuse, usually takes place at local bars and involves outsiders, tension between business owners, who are from outside of the village³⁵, and local villagers caused by land dispute between villagers in Neighboring suku 2 and DC-4.3, homicide this case usually occurred in other places but victims' corpses were dumped in DC-4.3 and sexual harassment due to lack of security provision, in particular by the PNTL.

In DC-4.3 particularly for the aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 most of the Personal and private dispute sometimes intervene or contact L-7 to mediate due to their membership of the Sagrada Familia³⁶ or otherwise police intervened directly when the case is consider as a criminal. Another domestic violence used to begins with xefe aldeia for the mediation, then move to xefe suku and lia-na'in if it could not be settle than forward and end up at the court. For physical assaults and violence normally call the police, and suspect taken to police station in

³⁴ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes), p. 2

³⁵ DC-4.3_20140809_Respondent 6_Student(Note) p. 1

³⁶ DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 9_Responsible OPMT Sagrada Familia_(Note) p. 2

Neighboring suku 7.

Land dispute is one of the most common issue in suku DC-4.3, its happen due to the sides do not have any ground for land border, this cause disputing between people from Neighboring suku 2 and villager from DC-4.3 itself violent clash between Neighboring suku 2 and DC-4.3 villagers resulted in damages to local properties. Additionally, there is disputing on land which being sold for twice, occupy the land without informing the land lord. It usually affect to who bought the land in that area and ordinary community who has not link with the national leaders.

There is also fighting between the youth within the suku or with youth from the outside of the suku due to alcoholism³⁷, conflicting with restaurant owner or other company owner due to hiring the worker from outside the suku instead of hiring the local workers³⁸. In other side, there has used to sexual harassment women, mainly expats, discouraged from using the stretch of road between Bairo 3 and The sub-district for exercise

4.1.5 Development Priorities

Young people need to access more training to help them obtain employment. Need to establish youth facilities, e.g. youth centre, to help provide training, a centre for women to undertake training activities, need transportation facility to get to Dili, villagers need better access to health facility, currently villagers have to go to Neighboring suku 7. businesses need flood prevention around Bairo 3 area and reliable water supply, promotion of local tourism through better facilities, security provision for local tourist spots, meet demand for secondary education, health facilities as current facilities are too far, continuation of reforestation activity around DC-4.3 and entertainment space in Bairo 3 area for promotion of tourism.

There are several development priorities for powerful community members such as youth facility or youth center, health post, Secondary school facility as extension to the current primary school, public transport, reforestation and go-kart arena.

Different development priorities for marginalized community members between who live around the suku and far from the suku. While the development priority for those live close to suku is youth center and public space such as parks around the beach recreation and health center, the necessity of community far from suku is potable water, electricity and road access to the community who is live up in the hill and for those who stay at the border of Neighboring suku 1. Elderly and very low income families do not access adequate housing or enough income to sustain their families or pay for their children's education. Moreover, the a number of disable people as accessibility;³⁹

It's important (for the state to provide facilities accessible to the disabled) because we also need to move around in this land. But if we cannot move around easily, how can we conduct our activities? And how are we going to contribute our ideas to this nation? We can't because we are stuck in the same place day and night. We cannot go anywhere. But if the state provides us with the facility, we can apply our skills to help other people-Respondent 21

Respondent 24, one of vulnerable said;

"An elderly villager who stayed up there, normally asked as to take the water when she was alive. We gave her because she needed the water. We are poor so we had to help each other though the

³⁷ DC-4.3_20140817_Respondent 38_DirectorInsight (notes) p. 1

³⁸ DC-4.3_20140809_Respondent 6_Student (Note) p. 1

³⁹ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 7_Paraplegic (notes) p. 3

other people have ever not allowed us to take water at their house.”⁴⁰

Generally, the need of health post, public transport connection to DC-4.3 and for a number of in border with Neighboring suku 1 is also nonexistent, school of kindergarten, junior and senior high school, food and housing are both to be the same either for those who close and far from the suku. Some fishers also asking for the boats, nets and motors.

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

4.2.1 3 profiles of powerful community members

Xefe Suku

Respondent 25 xefe suku DC-4.3, he has been leading the village for 2 periods since 2005. During his leadership he initiatively constructs the chapel with his own money and hires the worker and mediation to miscellaneous problem within the suku. Respondent 3 a house wife who stayed close chapel said;

“Xefe suku hire the skill builder to construct the chapel and some of the community also assist the builder to work on concrete for the wall....the money was keep with xefe suku and no one complaint regarding the money that keep with xefe suku because he contribute more than the ordinary villager, the budget for the foundation construction was responsible by xefe suku, he use his own money”⁴¹

Xefe suku also identify himself with the sagrada Familia organization, Fretilin and as a key supporter of the leader of KRM (*Consello Revolucionary Maubere*) Mauk Moruk.

Has experience in this suku after serving as an army in 1982, he assumed position as xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 from 1987. Was elected as a xefe suku from 2005 up to present. Aside from that, he served as a coordinator of Fretilin for sub district of The sub-district and while serving as xefe suku in 2005 he also worked as an investor, running big restaurant near suku office. Additionally, leading FSJL in DC-4.3 and has an agricultural group known as Neighboring suku 1-Baucau operate in Neighboring suku 1 rice field with about 100 members.

Respondent 7-Fretilin coordinator

As a Fretilin party coordinator for suku DC-4.3 he is respected as a one of the resistance from the year of 1976-1977. He was in the jungle for three years. As a Fretilin coordinator he also identifies himself as a membership of Sagrada Familia as well.

He also being respected and mentioned by respondent that as a political prisoner due to rebellion in Marabia against Indonesian occupation was exile to Atauro for four years. Former xefe suku said;

“Respondent 7 is the coordinator of Fretilin and I am the vise-coordinator... he can be coordinator because he was also involve in the resistance and was exile to Atauro for sentence”⁴²

As a Mambae speaker from Aileu who lives in the area and has significant wide of land that he occupied since 1984 among the most of Baucau clique which is mostly dominated by Makasae speaker.

⁴⁰ DC-4.3_20140813_Respondent 24_VulnerableMember_(notes) p. 1

⁴¹ DC-4.3_20140008_Respondent 3_Housewife_(notes) P. 1

⁴²DC-4.3_20140810_Respondent 10_FormerXS(note). P. 2

Katekista

Was appointed by the chaplain priest to be a catechist, leading the choir group⁴³ and religion teacher in DC-4.3 primary school⁴⁴, just moved there in 1990s. However, his wife lived here since 1982, he lived in Taibessi previously but originally from Hatubuilico, Ainaro. His wife moved to DC-4.3 because of the conflict during Indonesian invasion. She is related to the Lobato family including the Nicolau Lobato, national resistance hero. His wife's family lived in the area before she moved in.

He was placed here by the Catholic church to replace the local catechist in 1993. Padre Monteiro, the parish priest, appointed him. The katekista whom he replaced was relocated to Neighboring suku 1. He's also a member of the Conselho Pastoral, a parish body in charge of local church activities.

4.2.2 3 profiles of marginalized community members

Respondent 24 and wife

Belong to Baucau, reside in DC-4.3 by 1984, he moved to DC-4.3 to stay there. His wife who has 54 years old also works as a cleaner in The sub-district paid \$. Dollars a day which is work three days a week while rock seller in her free time at the main road on beach side.

Was exile to Atauro as well and was hit and electrocuted by Indonesian due to misinterpretation of translator. However, he was not found fault. Since that time, he was fine but after many years then he got worse with his sickness.

His name was register for several times by parish representative, first lady team and even his name also has been recommend by suku council for the assistance due to poor and the house has been damage but there is no follow up.

"It was not asked by me. The only mana came to my house to tell me that they want to help me to build my house but it has not been built yet until now. I just wait until lazy."

He got elderly pension but not enough because there are 8 people live in his house. Actually ten people but two children are staying with their uncle in Baucau so only eight are living in that house. His eldest child has more than 20 years old. He has finished his study at senior high school and wants to continue his study to the university but the economic power of his family is low so he could not continue his study and unemployment now. He buys pulsa every month for electricity. He stated it is too expensive to buy the credit for electricity and pay for the water every month. Sometimes he does not have money and he pays the water once a year.

Respondent 21

He moved from Viqueque to DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 in 2008. Part of the reason he moved to Dili is due to his disability as he is a paraplegic:

"I am from Viqueque, but because of my situation, life in the foho would not be easy. So we moved here beginning from 2008"⁴⁵.

The road condition to his home is terrible as it goes up in steep rocky slope. His house and those of his relatives are located towards the back of the settlement, against the mountainside. He gets up there on wheelchair or on

⁴³ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 17_VillageSecretary (notes). P. 3

⁴⁴ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes). P. 3

⁴⁵ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 7_Paraplegic (note) p. 1

his taxi, which he bought in 2010.

Respondent 21 is a paraplegic and is disabled from waist down. He had an accident in 2000 after falling from the top of a coconut tree. Now he moves around with the aid of a wheelchair and his wife's assistance. He spends a lot of time during the day reading his bible by the beach. However, he is a trained nurse in the Indonesian period.

He has been receiving the government's disabled subsidy since 2008. However he seems to be managing quite well. He had bought a house at another location prior to moving to DC-4.3. He also owns a taxi and a motorbike and runs a kiosk. His children use the motorbike to commute to school in Aitarak Laran. Other than running the kiosk, he also helps others complete their government forms and paperwork to access government assistance or subsidies and he gets a percentage from the payments.

He is a member of the 7th Day Adventist, a denomination within the Christian church. He converted from Catholicism in 2008 having been disillusioned with it. He told a story about how the Catholic mission removed him from a home he was staying back in early 2000 in Dili (Fatumeta) following his hospitalization:

Ideally people of the (Catholic) mission should be more understanding. A greater understanding. They are the ones who spread the gospel to everyone else. In reality they don't practice (the message of the Gospel). That's why I say that the priests only talk but don't practice (what they preach). So in 2003 I converted.

He converted to 7th Day Adventist after meeting a friend who's a member of this church in Viqueque. He used to be a 'radical Catholic' he said. During our conversation, he quoted various passages in the bible to make his point, comparing the difference between Catholicism and his church. However he regards these acts of persecution as part of his mission to spread the gospel, drawing on parallels with early Christian evangelists to explain why people like him must face these tests.

All of us have faces these problems. In the process of conversion, we faced a lot of persecution and torture. We are verbally abused, threatened and a lot of things. Even my wife was dragged to the court (because) we had destroyed an image (religious). We were accused of defamation but we said it was our private affair.

He also adopted or sponsored up to 16 children and some of them have gone on to get jobs in the government, NGOs, including another who's studying to become a pilot in the Philippines.

Both his children attend the Muslim school in Kampung Alor called An Nur. He sent his children to An Nur because according to him, the Muslims tend to have more respect for other people's faith. Additionally, An Nur allows students to take Saturdays off for religious reasons, something other schools won't allow. His religion considers Saturday as sacred day. So his children can have this day off to concentrate on prayers at home. He is not worried about the possibility that his children may convert to Islam.

The children spend about \$3 each for transport and lunch. The school charges them \$6 per person per month.

He and his wife run a kiosk by the side of the road, the land was offer by the ansiaun. He says that he sets the plans for the kiosk while his wife operates it. For example, he plans what stocks to buy and his wife shops for the items.

He is not going to the xefe suku because there was no information and no accecibility at suku office and did not visited by catholic church as he is membership of 7th day Adventist. The only time he went there was to make his *kartaun eleitorál*.

He gets paid the disabled subsidy every six months. Xefe suku and xefe aldeia inform him when the payment is available. And he was helped by MSS and BNCTL with his registration at the sede suku. Was interviewed by many interviewers including the team of the first lady group to ask his idea about development priority in DC-4.3.

5. Institutions and power

5.1 Constellation of Suku Groups

Committee to organise 12 Nov celebration (2013)	Community
Grupu Feto Foinsa'e	Community
Tarabandu group	Community
Local Businesses	Community (business)
FRETILIN Suku Branch	Community (political)
CNRT	Community (political)
Partido Democratico	Community (political)
UNDERTIM	Community (political)
OPMT	Community (political)
FOSKA	Community (religious, youth)
Chapel construction Commision	Community (religious)
Committee to organize innauguration of DC-4.3 Chapel	Community (religious)
Capela Chapel 1 choir group	Community (religious)
Sagrada Familia	Community (resistance movement)
CAFA (DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 DC-4.3-Aldeia 2)	Community (youth, sports)
FSGL (Fundo Serviço Gestão Lixo)	Government
PSF (Promosaun Saúde Familiar)	Government
Community Police	Government (security)

KRM	Political
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5.2 Formation of village groups

5.2.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

In terms of village groups, majority leaderships are taken by the people those have connection to resistance movement by participated in the resistance during Indonesian occupation to fight for the independence. These leaderships normally lead village groups like political parties and other local institution relate to resistance movement including Sagrada Familia and OPMT. In some certain group such as church group is actually led by villagers who have involved in Catholic Church for long time and village leaderships as well. For instance, Capela Chapel 1 Choir group is led by catechist of Capela Chapel 1 in DC-4.3 while the committee to organize inauguration of DC-4.3 chapel was led by xefe suku and three xefe aldeias in the village. Aside of church groups, formal leadership as well as its memberships lead community sport group such as Junior Team of CAFA group and hygiene group like FSGL that led by xefe suku.

Furthermore, educated or people who have attained secondary education are usually elected to the leader of the groups established by community members themselves. A part of education level, the people who have leadership experiences and proven capability also frequently appointed by the people to lead the village groups especially committee for 12 de Novembro in 2013, senior team of KAFA group and also women group.

In regard with leadership styles, mostly leaderships are non-participatory. The decision making of Sagrada Familia group is usually done by coordinators of the group and just inform to the memberships after the decision is made. Members are not involved to decide or comment on the decision that have made. The same case also happened with church groups that the decision is only made by catechist in consultation with parish priest of Neighboring suku 7 parish. On the other hand, leaderships of political group like Fretilin party are participatory because the decision is actually made in member meetings that everyone share the opinions and reach a consensus building.

For some certain village groups such as FSGL and PSF, community leadership like xefe suku with his memberships in village council appoint some of village council members as well as community members those are trusted by local leaders to involve in the leadership. According to respondent, community members were not involved in selecting leaderships of these groups because local leaders especially xefe aldeias have known well their community members, thus, just appointed by them to involved in the group. In regard with Sagrada Familia group and committee of organizing the inauguration of the chapel, the leaders attained position through appointing by senior leaders based on the member leadership experiences and proven capability.

Obtaining positions by default is applied for church groups including Capela Chapel 1 choir group and chapel construction committee that catechist becomes the leader of these groups because he is working as catechist to lead the chapel of Chapel 1 of DC-4.3. Differently with the other groups, the leaderships of political party especially Fretilin attained position through a formal election that voted by members of Fretilin within the village.

Regarding to the membership joining of local groups, the involvement in the resistance is determined on involving in political parties as well as Sagrada Familia group. Villagers who participated in fighting for independence from Indonesian occupation are involved in Sagrada Familia, however, most memberships are from Baucau and have relatives with L-7 because he is the initiator of this group. In regard with Fretilin village branch, militants of this political party who involved since the resistance are the member of the party. All

community members those are unemployed are involved by village leaders to involved in FSJL to clean the main road in DC-4.3 as well as involved in PSF to participate in SISCA program that organized in the village. Furthermore, youths and children those close to Catholic Church are motivated and invited by catechist of the chapel to join Capela Chapel 1 choir group.

In certain village groups such as Fretilin suku branch, the election is conducted periodically to re-structure the leadership of the party in the village. Regular meetings are also organized among the members of the party to talk and evaluate the activity regarding to Fretilin. In these meetings, all members or most villagers in the village normally participate in the meeting. Moreover, the chapel construction committee that provides report to parish priest of Neighboring suku 7 parish on the progress of construction and building expenses. Though, the report is written by the committee leaderships but villagers or members of committee are excluded from the progress reporting. Aside of those groups, the committee of implementing Tarabandu that led by xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 also provides report to the Asia Foundation because the ceremony on implementing it was granted by Asia Foundation.

In relation with accountable to the suku or aldeia population and its members, accountability of leaderships to the members is not applied in some local institutions throughout the village. In fact, villagers are not included in decision making such as Sagrada Familia group. Most groups also do not have member meetings to report the activities to the members or population in the village.

Some village group leaderships such as Respondent 7, former xefe suku, leaders of Sagrada familia and women's branch are offered the legitimacy by participation in the resistance. People select and consider these leaders of political village institutions because they participated in fighting to get the independence. Meanwhile, Fretilin's suku coordinator is given the role through an election that is voted by militants of Fretilin in the village. In regard with Catholic Church groups such as Catekista and leaderships of chapel construction committee are respected as the leaders because of their closeness to the leadership hierarchy. For instance, Catekista is offered the legitimacy by parish priest to lead Capela Chapel 1 Choir group as well as leader of chapel construction committee because he is working closest with parish priest to organize all activities relate to the chapel in DC-4.3.

Furthermore, leadership of Tarabandu group is given the position through appointment by default. In this case, xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 was appointed because he leads the group of villagers that took place in the TAF training that was facilitated by the Asia foundation. However, there are also several leaderships like leaders of FSGL and PSF that attained the legitimacy through appointment by village council members. There was a somewhat nominal election that took place for electing leaderships of FSGL. However, candidates have already been preselected by xefe aldeia to come to the meeting where no one else was presented. Similar fashion also happened with PSF that leaderships are offered the role through appointment by local leaders.

Relate to power using, leaderships of CAFA group use their authority to motivate young people within the village to join football team, train football players those have joined the group and support the team to donate some money for buying the water as well as uniform for the group to be used when they play the football either train or against to other team. Catholic Church group leader such as catechist normally uses his supremacy to motivate villagers and youths especially catholic followers to participate in the construction of the chapel in the village. Aside of that, he also motivate youths to involve in the choir group of Capela Chapel 1 and encourages villagers to take part in religious activities organized in the village or Neighboring suku 5 Church. Moreover, Fretilin branch leaders usually utilize their power to inspire its militants to vote for Fretilin and its candidates, organize meetings regarding to the party in the village and maintain resistance narrative in accordance with Fretilin's official position.

However, leaderships of *Sagrada Familia* utilize their authority to ask and collect cash contributions by members to be used in organization's activities. FSGL leaders use their power for recruiting workers to work for cleaning main road in DC-4.3 after they have been selected by *xefe aldeia*, monitor and pay who conduct clean up activities. Report writing on groups' activity is also conducted by the leaders of FSGL to submit to sub district and district government authorities. A part of those groups' leaderships, heads of PSF normally use their supremacy to transmit the information about SISCAs program to villagers to participate in SISCAs visits in the village.

Regarding with decision making of village groups, leaderships of majority village institutions make the decision alone without involving the members. Coordinators of *Sagrada Familia* made the decision on cash contributions by members of the group while members did not take part in this decision making. Similar approach also occurs with choir group and chapel construction committee that decisions are only made by catechist. For example, Catechist appointed *xefe suku* to be the head of the committee prior construction the chapel. Afterwards, he also decided about the chapel construction on how the chapel was built. Relate with Committee of Tarabandu, president of committee who actually *xefe aldeia* of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 decided on where to get the bins made as well as ordering the announcement board to be made.

Nevertheless, the decision is made neither by villagers or leaderships of the group while it just made by external agent such as *xefe aldeia*, *xefe suku* and other village council members. This method of decision making is applied for several village groups including PSF and FSGL. Village council members had a meeting to discuss and reach a consensus building to decide the people those involve in the structure of PSF. Furthermore, the *xefe aldeia* decided on who they should select to involve in FSGL by providing them a list of names. Then, candidates those shown up in the meeting conducted a show hand election to establish the structure of the group. Voting is not used by most village institutions except Fretilin and FSGL that applied the election to make the decision relate to the organization's activities or structure.

5.2.2 Financial Management

In case of village group resources, every village institution has its own resource to support it to implement group activity throughout the village. National Fretilin branch is the primary resource for village Fretilin branch to provide it with funds to organize political activities. FSGL is funded by Dili district administrator while PSF is granted by Ministry of Health with little supported from Asia Foundation through providing four days training for the members of PSF. A part of those groups that funded by external agents, there are also a number of groups that donated by its members. Members of *Sagrada Familia* provide token cash contribution whenever the need arises, however, not every member should contribute. Only members those have money can contribute to the group. CAFA group is also just funded by leaderships of the group for uniform and water expenses. Furthermore, some community members or catholic villagers provide larger cash donations to the chapel construction committee to construct the chapel of Chapel 1 DC-4.3. Token cash contribution is also done by parishioners for construction of the chapel as well as inauguration of it.

In terms of the planning process of financial resources, mostly groups' financial management is decided alone by leaderships of the groups themselves or donators of the groups. It was identified in *Sagrada Familia* group that the expenditure is just decided by coordinators of the group. In regard with FSGJ, financial management is planned by district administrator that president is paid \$90 per month, treasurer is paid \$70, secretary got paid \$50 per month and labor are paid \$3 per person a day. Moreover, catechist and parishioner planned on what need to be bought for the chapel construction, however, there was also some certain villager who decided himself without any planning to buy ceramics to assist on construction the chapel.

The group resources are normally administered by group leaderships specifically coordinator or president of the group such as village Fretilin branch and Sagrada Familia group. For Fretilin one, the administration is usually handled by coordinator of village Fretilin branch while Sagrada Familia group is managed by the women coordinator and later brings it to Baucau to celebrate the year of Sagrada Familia. Similar fashion with CAFA group is that group resources are administered by the president of the group. In comparison with FSGL, the resources are usually controlled or distributed by xefe suku. Xefe suku receives the funds from Dili district administrator and gives it to the deputy of the group of FSGL then offers to her treasurer to pay the workers. Furthermore, xefe suku who was in charged as president of committee to organize inauguration of the chapel controlled and handled the resources to inaugurate the chapel. However, the resources of construction of chapel were administered directly by catechist of the chapel.

In general, funds and materials of village groups are kept by treasurer or perhaps kept by president of the group. Due to the village groups that do not have their cash, money for organization's activities are usually stored at the keeper pockets or house. Some certain groups such as village Fretilin branch, Sagrada Familia and committee for Tara Bandu, leaderships like president or coordinator of the group keep the fund that donated for organizing the groups' activity with them in their pockets or at home to spend for the events' expenditures. For committee of inauguration of the chapel, xefe suku kept the money that collected from villagers with him to use for inaugurate the chapel. As well as FSGL that the money if kept by xefe suku with him to distribute to the workers.

On the other hand, there are also several groups that do not include too much money like Capela Chapel 1 Choir group, committee for the chapel construction, CAFA and PSF. With choir group, the equipments of the groups are kept by catechist at his house that actually used for training of singing. The money is not involved in this group to be used. Furthermore, the materials that contributed by villagers for constructing the chapel were just stored at the chapel while fund were kept by catechist at his house. In comparison with CAFA group that the money is spent for football matches expenditures, thus, money has been used during the matches and no leftover money that need to be kept. In regard with PSF, money is not involved in the group therefore no money is kept by either leaderships or members of the group as well.

For obtaining information on group expenditures, memberships or villagers virtually do not access to the information about the group spending owing to the lack of reporting conducted by leaderships to the members including Sagrada Familia group and chapel groups. Reporting is only done by few village groups such as Fretilin village branch and FSGL. Fretilin village branch leaderships normally report the spending to its militants through six months meeting in the village. Meanwhile, leaders of FSGL and also xefe aldeia transmit the information on clean up the road with its payment to the workers through visiting the villager houses to be contracted for this work.

5.2.3 Collective action among groups

Most village groups in DC-4.3 cooperate with a number of groups either external or internal of the village. As village council is an important government institution in the village, almost village institutions cooperate with its members in order to get the support to implement groups' activities in the community. A part of village council, there are also several agencies both government and non government that cooperated by village organizations for diverse reasons. It was identified that Fretilin village branch work with National branch, Sagrada Familia group with L-7 as the leader or initiator of the group, FSGL cooperates with district administrator and PSF collaborates with Ministry of Health, SISCAs and Asia foundation for different needs. Furthermore, committee for Tarabandu and church groups such as committees for construction and inauguration of the chapel cooperate with villagers and parishioners in Neighboring suku 5 and Neighboring

suku 7 churches.

In case of planning of group cooperation with other groups, majority village institutions' cooperation is planned by donors or initiators who established the group. These village groups are formed at village level to support initiators to facilitate their program within the community. For instance, district administrator established FSGL to facilitate road cleaning program, village council established the committee of Tarabandu to assist them to implement the ceremony of tarabandu in the village, etc. Furthermore, church groups' cooperation is settled by parish priests and catechist that community members and village council members are needed to be cooperated to obtain contribution on constructing and inaugurating the chapel while Sagrada Familia groups' collaboration is just planned by its leaderships to collaborate with certain villagers to be donated to realize its activity. However, cooperation of village groups with local governance is planned by each group within the group in order to get support from village council members.

Regarding with supervision, a number of village groups are not been supervised neither by donors nor memberships of the group. There are only several groups including Fretilin village branch and committee for Tarabandu send the activity reports to external agents that have been granted the group. It can be seen that Fretilin village coordinators normally send the activity report to National branch as well as the committee for Tarabandu provided the ceremony expenditures' report to Asia Foundation. A part of that, supervision for coordination between village council and FSGL done through workers recruitment and payment that conducted directly by local leaders.

Group donation is main push for village groups to cooperate with villagers and other donors such as international agent, ministries and top government players to get fund for organization's assistances. In this case, Fretilin village branch works with national branch in order to be given the information and funds to implement Fretilin program in the village, FSGL leaderships cooperate with district administrator through grants that provided to implement its program such as clean up the road throughout DC-4.3, PSF donated by Ministry of Health through SISCA to realize its program and also committee for Tarabandu assisted by Asia Foundation by offering grants to organized the ceremony of tarabandu. Furthermore, chapel groups such as committee for the chapel construction and chapel inauguration worked with villagers especially catholic followers to donate the money or kinds to construct the chapel and inaugurate it after the construction done.

Aside of grants, assisting on organizing institutions activities and training are other boosts for village groups to cooperate with external groups to realize group events in the village. In regard with this, village council is an important group to be cooperated by most village institutions like Sagrada Familia, Fretilin, FSGL, PSF, chapel groups, sport group and committee for tarabandu in order to help groups on organizing the people to implement the activities of village groups in the village. However, PSF cooperates with Asia Foundation through capacity development that provided by Asia Foundation and church groups work with parish priest to coordinate on religious activities such as community contribution, prayers and masses that need to be conducted in the village. In addition, Sagrada Familia also cooperates with Sagrada Familia group in Baucau to donate the money for Baucau group to celebrate the anniversary of Sagrada Familia in Baucau.

Community members those involve directly in village groups cooperate by playing the role as memberships of the group. Meanwhile, for villagers who do not involve in some certain village groups also cooperate with those groups by contributing the money or materials and participate directly in the activity of the group. In regard with memberships of the group, villagers those involve in Sagrada Familia normally contribute the money to implement its events as well as militants of Fretilin that usually participate in the meetings and other events relate to the party that organized in the village. However, relation with external villagers, villagers including xefe suku collaborate with church groups by donating the money and materials to build and inaugurate the chapel.

Moreover, villagers cooperate with FSGL by involving directly in the activity of the group to work for clean up the road from DC-4.3 to The sub-district. Villagers those have freed time frequently contracted by FSGL and village leaders to participate in the work. Similar case also occurs with PSF that is cooperated by villagers to turn up for SISCA program that is organized by SISCA in the village every month.

5.2.4 Communication strategies

In terms of socializing group activities to the members, members are usually informed through word of mouth that socialized by coordinator of Fretilin branch and other militants those have heard about the activity. Coordinator transmits the information first to the people he meets then those militants spread this information to the other militants. The same fashion of communication is used by leaderships of Sagrada Familia to inform their memberships. Besides, phone call is sometimes also used by heads of Sagrada Familia to call members those are not met or live away from the other members.

Furthermore, multi strategies of communication such as home to home visits and words of mouth are used by PFS, FSGL leaders and xefe aldeia on spreading out the information of activities of PSF and FSGL. In this regard, xefe aldeia is main counterpart of PSF and FSGL leaderships to socialize its activities because the only xefe aldeia knows well his villagers. A part of this, shouting on loud speaker along the street is also applied by xefe aldeia and health authorities to assist PSF leaderships to socialize SISCA program to the community in the village. If health authorities have informed the villagers then local and PSF leaders do not need to conduct the socialization to the community members.

Due to the information that just transmitted by mouth words, the information is frequently closed to the people those live away and do not meet the other people who have known the information on groups' activities. People who do not own mobile phone are sometimes excluded from accessing to the information regarding Sagrada Familia group's activities. In addition, village group such as FSGL, majority of villagers are still blocked from the information about work for cleaning up the road throughout DC-4.3 because the xefe aldeia only visits and informs specific villagers those are unemployed and have freed time. As well as villagers those lived in Neighboring suku 1 where far away from village center are always not informed regarding to the communication strategies that used by village groups such as shouting along the street, words of mouth and home visiting.

5.2.5 Creation and termination of groups

Village groups are created to assist government projects in order to implement national programs locally through appointment by individuals external to the group is the major objective for establishing government institutions in the village such as PSF, FSGL and group of construction of top government official's house. FSGL is created to help district administrator to monitor waste management around the coastal area in DC-4.3, PSF is established to support Ministry of Health and village council members to transmit the information to the community on SISCA program in the village while group of construction of president house is established to help him to handle the construction of his house. In regard with church groups, chapel choir group and committees of construction and inauguration of the chapel were formed to assist catechist and parishioners on church activities including managing chapel construction and inauguration ceremony.

Asides of those groups, village political branches such as Fretilin and Sagrada Familia are established to organize local members to support national structures. For instance, Sagrada Familia is created to organize members in the village to collect money to support and channel them to the resistance. Youth groups like Red Devil and Fosca are formed to help religion authorities to organize catholic activities in the village. However, CAFA is established by villagers to implement their own activity in particularly sport activity in DC-4.3 and also villagers establish fishing groups in order to get the assistance from the government.

In case of group termination, several committees were terminated due to the mission of leaderships that completed. With this regard, committees of the chapel construction stopped their activity after the chapel was completed as well as the group for president house construction that terminated after the project was completed. Furthermore, the committee for organizing some certain events such as committee for inauguration of the chapel, committee for Tarabandu and committee for 12 de Novembro just played their roles at the moment of organizing the ceremony, however, their tasks were terminated after ceremony was done.

Nevertheless, there are some groups that terminated owing to the lack of owning the assistance. For example, fishing groups are terminated because they never got the assistance from the government and sport group like CAFA group that stopped their activity because they do not have football field to play.

6. Village Governance

6.1 Formation of village governance

6.1.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

DC-4.3 village is currently led by Fretilin package therefore leadership positions in village governance of DC-4.3 are all engaged by Fretilin militants who mostly are also Sagrada Familia members. In regard with DC-4.3 area where largely occupied by community from Baucau, some village council members including the head of the village and xefe juventude of some bairros come from Baucau such as xefe suku, xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 and xefe juventude of aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. However, relation with DC-4.3 that mostly occupied by businessmen, some local business leaders also take part in village governance positions. For example, xefe suku is the head of a restaurant, xefe aldeia has some guest houses, PAAS also owns a restaurant, etc. Furthermore, majority of leadership poses in the village governance are taken place by family members of village secretary like xefe aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, Lia nain, first women representative, female youth representative and male youth representative. Police member who placed by commandant in the village is taking the position as community police officer for DC-4.3, meanwhile, catechist takes role as leader of catholic religion in the village.

Relation with village governance leadership styles, village council is a little bit non participatory due to lack of community consultation regarding to the decision making in the village. It was once mentioned by a respondent that village council just make the decision themselves without any consultation with the community. Perhaps the xefe suku makes decisions with little consultation with other village council members who tend to agree with him. Moreover, community meetings are also infrequently held by village council to be consulted including village prioritization meetings. The only village council has monthly meetings in order to discuss the progress of activity in a month and identify the need of the village.

Regarding with religious structure, decisions are normally made by catechist and parish priest. After then, they announce the decision to the community to ask donation from villagers.

For village council, the election was organized by the government through *pakote* in 2009. Every candidate of xefe suku formed his own *pakote* by independent *pakote* or representative of political party. With this case, actual xefe suku formed his *pakote* to represent Fretilin political party in that term. Xefe suku included individuals who he thought would have a good working relation with him were selected to join his *pakote*. He selected individuals on the basis of their political affiliation and to some extent membership of the organization of Sagrada Familia. Aside of xefe suku, community members also supported xefe suku to invite individuals to take part in xefe suku *pakote*. Experience was also taken into account as in the case of xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2.

I was selected by the community to involve in pakote.... Xefe suku invited me, and accompanied with villagers also invited. If I was only invited by xefe suku, I would not involve in pakote because the only a single person could not influence many people.⁴⁶

There were two *pakotes* competed in the election of village council in previous election including actual xefe suku *pakote* and loser *pakote* that was led by Olivio (name changed). Community also just appointed youths who have leadership experience and proven capability to be the xefe juventude of bairo or aldeia in the case of youth structure within the village. On the other hand, leaderships such as parish priests have right to appoint individuals to lead church activity throughout DC-4.3. In this, catechist of the chapel and catechists of bairo are appointed by parish priest based on the length of the involvement of individuals in the church.

Accountability to the suku and aldeia population in DC-4.3 exist through election that sometimes conducted to make the decision, in particularly the decision about establishing committees to help village council on organizing national events in the village. Furthermore, village council meetings are held in open space, therefore, villagers are allowed to participate. However, accountability sometimes not exists effectively as in the case of reporting to villagers. Regular report is just sent to sub district authorities while villagers are not reported neither about village decisions nor financial report.

Generally, local governance leaderships are given the legitimacy through formal village election that voted by community members in the village. Villagers consider as their heads and respect because these individuals are elected by them to be the represent of community to link villagers to the government. Running business and participation in resistance against Indonesian occupation are offered the power to village leader as in the case of xefe suku that selected to be the xefe suku to be respected by everyone because of his involvement in the resistance. In additional, membership of political organization or actively involving in political organization such as Fretilin and Sagrada Familia are also given the legitimacy by the community.

I have always participated in Fretilin's campaigns, so they know that I am really an active member. That's why they appointed me. I also have Fretilin's membership card.⁴⁷

Moreover, power is also can be given through appointment by villagers for individuals those have leadership experience like youth represent of bairo and aldeia. In regard with church structure in the village, the legitimacy is given directly by parish priest on the basis of individuals' participation in the church activities.

In case of using the power in local governance structures in DC-4.3, xefe suku who the head of the village normally uses his role to sign papers and becomes witness to land purchases, organizes meetings, performs government programs through Ministry of Estate and Administration in the village, submit community priorities such as boats and other equipments of fishery. Village council members usually apply their power to resolve disputes and conflicts within the community. Hence, villagers commonly contact the village council to help them on solve the conflict in the village. Furthermore, village council hears villagers complaints and needs, including development needs and takes action to solve in out.

Xefe aldeias uses the roles to convene villagers to meet at sede suku to participate in national program implementation such as PNDS, First Ladys' visit, etc. Youth representatives are in charged to organize sporting activities and support youth sporting groups in the village to realize sporting activities within the village or against another team from outside of the village. However, there is another faction of youth group located in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, near the xefe suku's house that is not regularly consulted by the youth representative

⁴⁶ DC-4.3_20140808_Respondent 1_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 2 (notes).docx.p.4

⁴⁷ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes).docx.p.3

on community activities. This group conducts its activities on its own without the involvement of the youth representative. Meanwhile, village secretary who commonly called PAAS is in charged to write financial report to submit to sub district governance and facilitate villagers to provide the declaration and recommendation letters to the community.⁴⁸ In regard with church structures, catechists use their role to organize religion activities as well as collect cash contribution from the community.

Village council members are the ones making village decision with xefe suku in leading position. Normally the xefe suku calls meetings with whole members of village council to make relevant decisions including decision on village priorities. Villagers are rarely involved in decision making regarding to the village issues containing the prioritization of village needs.

Only we sat together and did not include the villagers in this prioritization because we are working as villager leaders, we know well about the community life. We know their life because we are in the village everyday and take care of their life.⁴⁹

However, in some circumstances, all members of village council are not involved by xefe suku and his secretary in the decision making as in the case of deciding on village operational expenditures as well as the date of monthly meeting. The only they both plan and decide what need to be bought in the month. Furthermore, the xefe aldeia decides villagers those can involve in FSGL activities and village management team for PNDS program.

In regard with church village structure, the decision about cash contribution by community and activities that need to be organized in the village are made by catechist as well as priest of Neighboring suku 7 parish. Villagers are just informed after the decision is made. Meanwhile, decisions in the structure of youths in aldeia and bairro about how to organize events in the village are made to together with youths in aldeia or bairro.

Community regular meeting is hardly ever organized by village council in DC-4.3, however, it's just held on the basis of the information dissemination by government individuals to the community or some programs that to be implemented like PNDS program. Nevertheless, village council itself has regular meeting that is organized every month. Relate to this regular meeting, village council does not have fix date for monthly meeting. It depends on xefe suku and all village council members' available time importantly it's not held in weekend. However, the meeting also would not be held on if the xefe aldeias do not show up in the meeting, the meeting would organized if all village council members participate in the meeting. Aside of regular meeting, there are also other meetings facilitated by village council such as meetings regarding to conflict mediation and events in the village. In terms of type of decisions have made by village council, some decisions are made about village priorities, establishing FSGL structure, PSF group, establishing committee for Tara Bandu and village expenditures.

Decision is normally made by xefe suku first then discuss among village council members to make the final decision through a consensus building. The decision that made by xefe suku should be back up by whole village council members including the xefe aldeias.

The XS makes the decision, we, the xefe aldeia and all the members of the village council will give him support and that's it. If we don't agree with his decision, we would intervene in order to review the decision.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 17_VillageSecretary (notes).docx.p.2

⁴⁹ DC-4.3_20140815_Respondent 25_XSDC-4.3 (notes).docx.p.2

⁵⁰ DC-4.3_20140808_Respondent 1_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 2 (notes).docx.p.6

However, decision is perhaps just made by consensus building but sometimes the election is need to be conducted to reach the final decision. According to XA DC-4.3-Aldeia 2, voting occurs when village council decides on particular development projects implemented in the suku, e.g. electing a president to manage the implementation process, the treasurer, the secretary, etc. They would use a show of hands or with participants writing their choices on a piece of paper and then counting them at the end such as conducting during decision about aldeia's development priorities. For example the village council was involved in an election process to select villagers to head a limpeza project or FSGL structure funded by District administration.

Owing to lack of community meetings held by village council, the decision making process is not too transparent to the community. Most villagers are not involved in the meetings therefore they do not know on the decision has made by village council and how to make it. Villager are sometimes only aware by xefe aldeia about the decision have made such as village prioritization.

6.1.2 Financial Management

The main source of funding for the village council is \$100 of village incentive that is paid every month by the government to use for village operational expenditures. This money is funded through district administration and received directly by village secretary at district of Dili. Aside of this, village council members receive their salaries from the government that each member get paid with different amount of salary based on the position they occupy. The xefe suku is paid \$165 per month, xefe aldeias are paid \$125 per month per xefe aldeia, village secretary gets paid \$115 per month and the other village council members are paid \$45 per month for each member. In this case, the xefe suku get highest paid from the other village council member because he is the head of village council and village as well.

Furthermore, village council also gets some funds from NGOs as well as government from some specific events and projects. For example, Asia foundation provided \$1,200 to implement Tarabandu in the village and government offered \$500 once to village council to organize the celebration of 12 de Novembro in 2013 in DC-4.3. Grants are ever provided by NGOs to village council to organize relevant training in the village or to take part in activities outside of the village.

For village operational fund, xefe suku is normally in charge of the funding. Though, it was managed by xefe suku himself but it is taken by him and village secretary because both of them xefe suku and village secretary signatures required by bank to withdraw funds, provided by district administration. The decision of spending the village operational fund is only made by xefe suku and his secretary while the other village members are not involved in the decision of village operational expenditures. However, in regard with village fund that provided for some specific events by external agents, money is usually managed by small committee that established to organizing the specific ceremony of projects. For instance, the money for Tarabandu that provided by Asia Foundation was managed by committee for Tarabandu where led by xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. In the case of training expenditures and going out for activities are managed by xefe suku. Each member of village council only has right to handle the member salary that given by district administration.

For operational matters, the xefe suku and village council cooperate to plan the village expenditures. The xefe suku usually controls the expenditure process assisted by his secretary. The xefe suku makes the decision to handle the money as treasurer to make the purchase. However, xefe suku also sometimes cooperates with other village council members depending on the type of activity organized by village council. For example, if the activity relates to sports, then xefe suku cooperates with youth representatives in the village council on

organizing that activity.⁵¹ Village council members only plan the expenditures on their salary because it has been paid for them and used for personal needs to work for village.

With expenditures about national ceremonies, xefe suku normally has meeting with all village council members and committee's for organizing the ceremony's members to plan the expenditures for the ceremony such as the ceremony of Independence Day, 12 de Novembro, etc. Meanwhile, xefe suku only cooperates with village secretary to plan about the expenditures for the training or any activity either in the village or outside of the village.

Some parts of village incentive such as for motorbike maintenance is kept by xefe suku and stored at his house while the money for village administration is stored at village secretary house.⁵² According to xefe suku that it's a small amount relative to his own personal cash, hence, he just keeps it with him at his house. The incentive for training expenditures need to be organized or attended by village council is also just stored by xefe suku at his house. However, the incentive for village council members is taken by every member and managed by each member him or herself. It is not kept only by a person because it is granted for every members based on the position they have.

Moreover, the treasurer of committee to organize the ceremony stores the money for the ceremony at his or her house. e.g. the treasurer of committee of organizing the ceremony of 12 de Novembro keeps the money at her house. In contrast with the committee of organizing Tarabandu, the money was divided by president of committee to each section of the committee such as socialization, logistic, consumption and section of construction to keep the money. Then, each responsible of the section kept the money with them at their house during the ceremony was organized. Afterwards, the leftover money gave to village secretary to keep as the cash of village council.

70% from village operational fund is normally used for village administration like maintain computer, printers and snacks for meetings depending on how they manage while the other 30% is spent for maintain and fuel for motorbike that used by xefe suku. Perhaps this money especially the money for village administration is not used up in a month then they add the leftover village incentive to the village cash to use for next month or other activity. With funds for national events, the money is spent for the ceremony expenditures including sporting activities, foods, etc. For instance, the money for celebrating 20th of May is normally used to organize the ceremony of Independence Day. Similar case applies for incentive for training that the village council uses the money to buy snack or meals and other training needs.

There is no effective monitoring done neither by the government nor villagers on village expenditures. The only monitoring that happens is regular financial expenditure that produced by village secretary and forwarded to the district governance in particular the district administration in order to receive more budget disbursement. However, the financial report is never read out or published to other village council members and community members to know about the expenditure.

Normally, villagers are not privy to the expenditure process and there is no inclination by village council members, in particular the XS, to make this process more transparent. Note that the amount of cash available for operational matters is very small in comparison to what the xefe suku or the xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 for example personally handle.

⁵¹ DC-4.3_20140808_Respondent 1_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 2 (notes).docx.p.5

⁵² DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 17_VillageSecretary (notes).dpcx.p.2

6.1.3 *Collective action among groups*

What village institutions does the local governance structure cooperate with?

Village council cooperates with multi village institutions throughout the village. Xefe suku cooperates with church groups, Fretilin branch and Red Devil. In the regard with church group, he led the committee of organizing inauguration of the chapel and donated some money for building the chapel. Membership, as in the case of Fretilin branch that involves since resistance until now as well as all the members of village council as village council is Fretilin package. Aside of Fretilin branch, most village council members cooperate with Sagrada Familia group as memberships of the group. Xefe suku and xefe aldeias assist Red Devil group in conflict mediation. Moreover, xefe aldeias support PSF and FSGL groups to transmit the information regarding to the village group activities in the village. For example, each xefe aldeia informs villagers in his aldeia to involve in cleaning up activity that manage by FSGL. The xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 collaborates with the committee of organizing Tarabandu as the president of the group.

Lia Nain works with CAFA group to lead junior team of CAFA group while women representatives cooperate with OPMT as memberships of the organization. Catechist, as in regard with conflict mediation, he collaborates with village council to provide his house and involve in conflict mediation in the conflict between DC-4.3 youths and Neighboring suku 2 youths.

Village council usually plans and implements collective action in the case of collaboration with committees for organizing national events in the village such as committee for Tarabandu, 20th of May and 12th of November, e.g. village council members have meeting and establish committee for Tarabandu that lead by a member of village council. In regard with FSGL, district administration authorities plan FSGL work with village council for implementing the project however relation with church groups, cooperation with village council is planned by catechist by asking xefe suku to take responsibility in organizing inauguration of the chapel. Aside of this, Xefe suku also has initiative himself to support church authorities to construct the chapel of Chapel 1.

Besides, village council members cooperate and involve in village political institutions, e.g. Fretilin village branch and Sagrada Familia because they involved in resistance against Indonesian for Independence. No one pushes them to participate in these institutions but it is their initiative to involve. Similar case with CAFA group that just lia nain interest to lead junior team.

Villagers are normally not cooperated in the case of identification village priorities because village leaders have known community needs and do not involve community in the meeting. Villagers also sometimes do not turn up for the meeting on information dissemination because of villagers' practices just busy on their particular activities such as business, fishing, etc. Note that during PNDS socialization, only several villagers turned up for the socialization as well as election of PNDS village management team that cancelled because of lack of participation from nominees.

In relation with village council interaction with sub district and district institutions, the xefe suku attends regular meetings with sub district authorities to discuss village needs. Village council members attend training that provided by sub district administration. For example, training that provided for village council members about conflict resolution. Apart of this training, some specific villagers, e.g. villagers those are trusted and appointed by xefe aldeia attend the training about health promotion in sub district of The sub-district. In terms of interaction with district institutions, xefe suku and PAAS normally go to district administration office to take their village operational fund and salary of village council members. In some occasional, xefe suku also invited to attend meetings and events at district level.

Lack of coordination by companies those implement projects in the village with village council is primarily constraint for village council to cooperate with those companies. Due to location of DC-4.3 that placed in ocean part as well as used as tourism areas, villager are busy on their own business and difficult to be encouraged by village council to work with them for village activities. For instance, most villagers are busy on working and business, its' hard for village council to get participation on working for cleaning up the road in the village.

6.1.4 Communication strategies

Xefe aldeias usually goes house-to-house to inform villagers about information dissemination or project implementation from national government or NGOs. Meanwhile, village decisions are rarely socialized to the community. In the case xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 and xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, a loudspeaker is perhaps used to make announcement however there was once said by a respondent that the xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 never uses a loudspeaker to make the announcement for villagers. As in the case of PNDS socialization meeting, villagers were just informed by other individuals have heard the information through word of mouth. Besides, the xefe suku normally invites individuals who he considers as vocal point and trusts through and invitation letter.

Xefe aldeia may not have the necessary resources to visit everyone in the village, in particular those who live on the other extremity of the village. Xefe aldeias also may not have enough resources to even visit every household in his own aldeia.

In my aldeia only two households are very far. The villagers are very isolated so their participation is not high. Even if I inform them (about the activities), how would they get here? They don't have transport. So they can't participate because of distance. So I don't really bother them because they live in a remote area and they don't have the means.⁵³

Loudspeaker may work, but it can be a nuisance. Besides, only individuals who live near the main road can hear the announcements. Moreover, words of mouth also may work for villagers those have movement and live around xefe aldeia house while the other villagers who do not move out and live away from xefe aldeia do not get the information.

There are mixed responses in regard with village satisfaction. Villagers who live at the edge of the village say that the xefe aldeia rarely visits him so he doesn't know much about what happens in the village. Different responses expressed by some vulnerable villagers that xefe suku and xefe aldeia never care of them to raise their priorities such as community house to the government for getting the assistance. For example, Respondent 24 who is considered as a vulnerable villager says his house has broken and he does not have enough money to fix it. He and his wife have struggle to earn money for their daily necessities but the xefe suku and xefe aldeia who live nearby him never take interest to propose to the government to provide the assistance.

If village authorities just sit in their office and never go down to the field, they will never identify the people condition in the base. Even until 20 years, they will not identify the people condition of life. They can find out if they go down to the field to see and heard direct the people life.⁵⁴

Furthermore, a woman who owns a kiosk in front of the sede suku says that neither the XA nor the XS inform her about anything. Both men exclude her from village activities even though she conducts her daily activity right next to the sede suku. However, there are also a number of respondents those are usually visit and have ever been helped by xefe suku state, xefe suku is working very well because xefe suku does not want conflict in

⁵³ DC-4.3_20140808_Respondent 1_XADC-4.3-Aldeia 2 (notes).docx.p.6

⁵⁴ DC-4.3_20140813_Respondent 24_VulnerableMember (notes).docx.p.2

the village and always helps his villagers who need the assistance.

*The xefe suku always helps his population in the village when the people get disaster. When villagers invite him for some ceremonies, the xefe suku with his wife and children always go to attend the ceremony.*⁵⁵

7. Public goods

7.1 Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

7.1.1 *Suku infrastructure project profiles*

The village of DC-4.3 is brimming with projects covering various scales. The private sector is implementing some of the largest projects in the area specially in property development. The government has also stepped in to implement various infrastructure projects the most visible of which include road rehabilitation, restaurant precincts, and recreational sites. However, a lot of these projects have been installed not for local consumption. Some of the local rehabilitation projects for example were put in place by the central government as part of a wider national policy. The private sector projects have been implemented to serve a growing market in real estate development where local villagers are largely uninvolved. We did however document a number of local projects which are relevant in the context of this village report.

Community driven projects

Most of the community projects were located in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 with only two of them located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and DC-4.3-Aldeia 2 respectively. Some of these projects are outlined next:

- **DC-4.3 chapel.** This project is located in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 and is community driven and funded. This is the only chapel in DC-4.3. The original chapel was constructed in 2003. It has been demolished to make way for a new chapel. The project started in 2013.
- **Christmas crib.** Located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, this project was implemented by the youth involved in a group called Red Devil, based in a bairru around the sede suku. It was started in 2006 and serves as a space for local youths to come together and celebrate Christmas. Every year around Christmas season, local youths gather and redecorate the space with Christmas decorations.
- **“Benvindo” sign.** This is a community-based project with funding support from the office of the First Lady. The project involved the construction of a welcome sign for visitor entering DC-4.3 from Dili. Started in early 2014, the construction is ongoing.
- **Storm water drain.** The office of the President of the Republic sponsored this project to build storm water drain along the road which leads to a top government official’s house located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. It was built and completed in 2013 by the local youths, specially those who live in the bairru near the xefe suku’s house.
- **Christmas crib.** Located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, this project was constructed by the youths from the bairru around the sede suku. The objective of this project was to create a space for local youths to get together to celebrate Christmas. It took about a week to complete.
- **Water project.** The objective of this project is to pipe water from a nearby spring to the bairru of Bairo 1

⁵⁵ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 18_Fisherman (notes).docx.p.3

in DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. The project started in 2014 by a number of households in the bairro.

Government and local government project

Most of the government projects are located along the coastal road which connects to Bairro 3 area. The biggest of these projects include road repairs and the rehabilitation of the local tourist spots, in particular in Bairro 3 and The sub-district. According to the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias, the government never consulted with local government institutions about these projects. The contractors were solely responsible for the whole implementation process.

Project Name, Location, type, objectives

- **Road to top government official's residence.** This road, located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, was opened in 2007 by the government to connect top government official's residence to the main road. It was completed in the same year.
- **Extension to local primary school, Phase I.** This is part of the rehabilitation of the existing local school (built by Indonesian government), Escola Filiál DC-4.3, where 3 classrooms were added to accommodate growing local demand for education. Located in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3, the project was completed in 2005.
- **Extension to local primary school, Phase II.** In 2012, the local primary school received another extension for 2 further classrooms to accommodate grades 5 and 6. The project was completed.
- **Restaurant precincts.** There are two precincts located in DC-4.3, one in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1, nearh the local chapel, the other in DC-4.3-Aldeia 2, closer to Bairro 3. The projects were completed in 2008 and 2010 respectively. The government implemented the two projects to respond to growing number of visitors to DC-4.3.
- **The sub-district rehabilitation.** Located in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 2, the project was handled by contractors in 2008 to rehabilitate the area and restore it as a tourism spot. A recreational spot and roadside pavements were added to complete the project.
- **Bairro 3 rehabilitation.** This project carried the same objective as The sub-district rehabilitation before it. The area received new footpaths and walls separating the beach from the road. It was completed in the same year.
- **Road rehabilitation.** There have been various attempts to rehabilitate the coastal road in DC-4.3. The first took place in 2008 following the shooting of President Top government official. The project only included sections of the road from Dili to a top government official's residence. The latest rehabilitation project took place in 2014 just before the CPLP summit in Dili. This time, the whole coastal road was rehabilitated, including widening of various sections. This project is not yet complete.
- **Sede suku.** The village council handled this project, located in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. This is DC-4.3's first village office and construction was completed in 2007.

Private sector driven

Most of the significant private sector development projects are located in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 2. Most of these projects involve real estate built by developers from outside of the suku. Like the government projects, the projects have little to do with local villagers whether in selection or in implementation.

- **Property development on the hills of Bairro 3.** Timor Plaza group also runs this project. A road have been opened to the top of this hill where heavy machineries are flattening the terrain to prepare it for a property development project. The project is ongoing.
- **Real estate projects near Bairro 1.** There are a number of compounded villas with properties on lease to

expats. Various developers including the Timor Plaza Group and an advisor who works for the ministry of finance, built these compounds. They were completed progressively between 2006 and 2014. More properties are still under construction.

7.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

7.2.1 Project selection and decision-making process

Generally, villagers are aware of a certain need in their community, be it to do with education, water access, social or religious activities. With community driven projects, powerful members of the group become the main driver and materialize the project. For example, the youths from the bairru near the sede suku wanted a space where they can get together and celebrate Christmas. However it was the group's leaders, two older males from their neighborhood, who put the idea together to build a Christmas crib.

We got together to come up with this idea with our older brothers (older youths in the bairru). The situation was tense in 2006. So we wanted to get together by starting this project. Our older brothers were driving this idea.⁵⁶

A chapel project in DC-4.3 also went through similar process. The existing chapel was crumbling and without it, parishioners would have to travel far to downtown Dili to participate in mass. The local community needed a chapel in their suku and the church laws also calls for a chapel to be erected in every bairru (suku). However, it was through the katekista and the xefe suku that the project was materialized. The Xefe suku provided the initial investment by building the church's foundation with his own money and then the katekista mobilized the rest of the village to contribute. According to the katekista, every xefe suku wanted to leave a legacy before their mandate finished. The previous xefe suku was responsible for driving the construction of the older chapel and now, the current xefe suku wants to rebuild it.⁵⁷

InBairo 1, two leading members of the local community came up with the idea to install pipes to households in the area where water is scarce and difficult to access. They discussed the project and then invited everyone else to join.

The extension of the local primary school on the other was identified by the teachers in response to increasing demand for space.

With the existing condition of the classrooms, we couldn't teach properly. The children were divided (into different classes) with triplex. When the children banged on these sheets, we couldn't teach. So we told our xefe to write a letter (to the government) so that the government added more rooms to facilitate our teaching activity because the number of students kept on increasing.⁵⁸

The schoolteachers took the decision and wrote to the government for approval.

With community projects, decision-making process was not made through a public meeting. Instead, powerful members of the community just gets a general sense of local need and then act upon it, mobilizing everyone in the process.

Some projects also require consultation with external actors in the selection process. The consultation is necessary because the local institutions in charge of these projects are part of a larger governance structure such as the ministry of education or the Catholic Church. When teachers and parents decided to extend the local

⁵⁶ DC-4.3_20140816_Respondent 30_TimberMillWorker (notes), p. 2

⁵⁷ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 11_Katekista (notes)

⁵⁸ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes), p. 5

primary school to accommodate more students, they needed to cooperate with the ministry of education primarily because the project is owned and funded by the ministry. Similarly, the construction of the DC-4.3 chapel required consultation with the local parish, located in Neighboring suku 7, because of the institutional relationship between the two bodies.

7.2.2 Project planning

Community driven projects are usually implemented without a formal team or a committee to manage the construction process. The construction of the Christmas crib is perhaps a small exception because the local youth group, Red Devil, implemented the project. There is some kind of structure in the implementation process with the leaders of the group were dividing group members into various tasks.

For smaller scale community projects, no planning is usually involved during the construction. The planning takes place spontaneously under the direction of the group leaders and reliance upon advices from a local community member with skills in construction. In the Bairo 1 water project, a professional builder directed the process although he didn't himself take direct part in the construction. Similarly, during the construction of the Christmas crib, one of the group's leaders divided the tasks on the day among the youths present at the site. A local carpenter also helped the youths by advising them on how the structure should be constructed.

With the larger projects such as the chapel and the school building, the planning was done in consultation with their respective head organizations. The katekista designed the chapel and then conferred it with the parish priest who gave it approval. With the school building however, the government was in charge of the planning without much local input.

Like the construction process, financial planning is largely absent in the community driven projects. With the smaller scale projects, villagers either found out that they didn't have enough funds, or had too much, to cover the project during implementation. The villagers involved in the Bairo 1 water pipes got together and contributed \$5 per household only to find out later that they didn't have enough money. The youths involved in the construction of the crib were more fortunate in that they managed to pull together financial resources more than the project needed. The construction of the local chapel however encountered a number of financial issues because of a lack of budgeting. The katekista himself explained that they weren't sure if they had enough resources to back the project. Their plan was to just go ahead with the implementation and hoped that it would attract support from other people along the line.⁵⁹

Resources for the project are usually obtained through donation, whether cash or goods, in community driven projects. Projects which produce common goods, such as the Christmas crib or the chapel, receive contribution from community members who live in the area where covered by the good. For example, only villagers who live in the bairru near the sede suku contributed to the construction of the Christmas crib. The contributions included cash, construction materials, and vehicles. With the chapel, every parishioner in DC-4.3 donated except the non-Catholic.⁶⁰ Contribution to private goods, such as the water project in Bairo 1, was made exclusively by households, which agreed to take part and would be the enjoying the benefits of the project.

Businesses and wealthy individuals also contribute to public projects driven by the community. But their donations only extend to common goods. A Sri Lankan restaurant in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 near the suku contributed towards the construction of the crib and continues to do so every year during Christmas season when the youths decorate it. A timber mill opposite the crib also donated construction material and vehicle to transport

⁵⁹ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 11_Katekista (notes)

⁶⁰ DC-4.3_20140812_Respondent 7_Paraplegic (notes)

decorative materials from Neighboring suku 1. Larger businesses also contributed to the DC-4.3 chapel projects. The contribution varied from token amounts⁶¹ to more substantial donations that included cement and corrugated iron.⁶² A substantial amount of patronage also exists among the more economically powerful individuals in DC-4.3. These individuals usually contribute to these projects whether through cash, material or even labour. The DC-4.3 chapel benefited from both the xefe suku and another local businessman. The Christmas crib project also received a lot of assistance from the nearby timber mill. However, in both cases, the contributors also have personal connection to the projects. For example, they are members of the same religious community which don't normally object to assisting faith-based projects in their village. According to a youth involved in the construction of the crib, explaining donations to the faith-based projects:

*For this type (of project), (donors) don't usually decline to give support because it's about Jesus and God. They always support.*⁶³

The water project in Bairo 1 however received no assistance from businesses or local powerful individuals. Although the project was located amid luxury estates and near the xefe aldeia of DC-4.3-Aldeia 2's residence, the source of contribution to the project did include anyone outside of the group of households which agreed to fund it in the first place. On the other hand, with government projects, the government's own contractor, which manages and implements the project, obtains all construction material.

Completion of community-funded projects depends on the ability of local communities members to fund it. When funding is inadequate and the project stalls, community members involved in the project raise more funds by either lobbying each other or other powerful individuals in the village. In Bairo 1 water project, the villagers discovered that they didn't have enough cash to purchase the necessary materials. So they had to wait another week for more contribution to come in. Furthermore, one of the villagers resorted to donate his own materials, namely pipes, just to make sure that the project was completed. The chapel project however always relied on the availability of materials to sustain the construction process. When the materials were exhausted, the project stops. Although the xefe suku and the katekista lobbied other villagers to help with the completion, including approaching one of the local entrepreneurs, the effort was not enough to ensure completion of the project. But, the main drivers of the project, namely the xefe suku and the katekista, decided to have an inauguration anyway for the chapel.

Generally external actors are not involved in the smaller scale projects. With larger projects, the planning process require external cooperation because, as mentioned previously, the projects are part of a larger institution with branches in the village, and because decision making process requires involvement of these external actors. The planning process for the chapel construction involved the parish priest who oversees Catholic Church assets in his administrative region, including those in DC-4.3. With the extension of the local primary school, the school cooperated with the ministry of education.

7.2.3 Project implementation

Workers for the community driven projects are sourced among local villagers who work largely as volunteers. Community leaders usually mobilize the workers in projects which produce common goods including the provision of inducements such as food and drinks. The katekista was key in using his leadership of the local parishioners to mobilise the villagers to contribute towards the construction work while the xefe suku mobilized everyone else through the village council. Additionally, the xefe suku also hired his own builder to lead the

⁶¹ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 15_Businessman (notes)

⁶² DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 11_Katekista (notes)

⁶³ DC-4.3_20140816_Respondent 30_TimberMillWorker (notes), p. 4

construction. With the Christmas crib, up to 20 local youths, including children, came together to help with the construction. Private good on the hand, such as the Bairro 1 water project, only villagers with a stake in the project were involved in the construction.

Recruitment for government funded projects are the sole responsibility of the contractor. In the extension of the local primary school, workers came overwhelmingly from outside of DC-4.3 although opportunities were presented to local villagers to participate:

Villagers from this bairro wanted \$10 (per day) but the contractors rejected it. One or two of them did come but they only stayed for a couple of days and then they dropped out. They said the work was too hard and the pay too little because it was only \$5 per day.⁶⁴

There is no prior planning involved in the construction of the smaller scale, community driven projects. During construction, workers just turn up to the site without any plan on how the project will be constructed. This was the case with the Christmas crib in DC-4.3-Aldeia 3 and the Bairro 1 water project. There are some planning involved in larger community projects such as the DC-4.3 chapel and the local primary school. The planning was conducted in consultation with their head organizations such as the local parish or the ministry of education. However, while planning for the community owned project such as the chapel was done locally, involving the katekista and the xefe suku, planning for the primary school was undertaken at the ministry of education.

A lack adequate planning continues to present difficult challenges in the construction process. There is no attempt to estimate the amount of resources, whether financial or material, required to complete the projects for example. Instead, villagers just simply get the project started and then address the issues of completion later. This was the case with the water project in Bairro 1 and in the construction of the chapel when villagers realized that they didn't have enough resources to complete the project resulting in various delays.

Similarly, with the construction of the Christmas crib, the Red Devil group had no plan regarding how the structure was to be built. Instead they relied on advice from local experts who were invited during the process to provide feedback on the construction. Whereas with the construction of the chapel, the construction was delayed for sometime when the lead builder abandoned his work to return to his village. The project only resumed when the katekista decided to take over about a year later.

7.2.4 Resource management

Management of the project resources differs between the sizes of the project. Construction materials for smaller projects are stored on site without any form of protection, whether from the elements or from unauthorized removals. Materials for the Bairro 1 project, including spare pipes, are left along the track where the water pipes are laid. No one is in charge of securing the pipes. Materials used in the construction of the Christmas crib were also left on the site and have been quite secure except for local children who sometime remove them to be used as toys.

With larger projects, materials are stored in a warehouse whether using an existing facility or purposefully built. The older chapel building for example was partially converted into a warehouse and was only demolished after the new chapel was deemed complete. With the local school project, the contractor erected a warehouse to house related construction material as well as some of its workers.

Smaller scale community projects also benefit from the reuse of existing materials. Villagers in Bairro 1 reused

⁶⁴ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes), p. 6

materials from the local real estate developments thanks to one of their members who works at these sites as a builder. Furthermore, the surplus pipes are used as spare parts to replace the existing pipes whenever the latter become clogged with algae. The youth that built the Christmas crib reused scrap timber from the local timber mill to build their project.

7.2.5 Development outcomes

Generally, development projects in DC-4.3 are completed with varying degree of quality, but they are serving their intended purpose. The Christmas crib has served as a spot for local youths to meet since its installation in 2006. Every year around Christmas period, local youths get together and redecorate the crib. The water project in Bairro 1 is piping water to a number of households, which initiated the project. The DC-4.3 chapel, although incomplete, is being used regularly for mass, funerals, baptism and other services. There plans to build perimeter fences as well as a bell tower. While the primary school had since received another extension, increasing the number of classrooms.

The sizes of the projects determine whether they succeed or fail. Smaller community projects such as the Bairro 1 water project or the Christmas crib can survive without an elaborate planning process. Obstacles such as funding gap or technical skills can be quickly resolved. Community mobilization towards completion of the smaller scale projects is also easier to undertake compared to their larger counterparts. Larger projects require more complex planning and consume more resources. They become more prone to failure because the community is less inclined to put adequate planning in place. Where they succeed, it's because a larger institution with access to relatively unlimited resources, such as the government, is sponsoring them. This is the case of the extension of the local school where the government had been responsible for planning and implementation. At the same time, faith-based projects also tend to succeed because of the support they receive from local members of their religious group. Parishioners in DC-4.3 ensured that funding kept on coming for the construction of the chapel, which although delayed, continues to receive contribution from the villagers.

The location of the primary school remains an issue in terms of access for villagers who live in the other two aldeias. Furthermore, parents still have to send their children to other schools in downtown Dili since the school only offers primary education. Provision of public transport to the area would help facilitate access to these facilities.

7.3 Explanatory cases

7.3.1 The construction of the new DC-4.3 Chapel

The first and original DC-4.3 chapel was built in 2003. It was built using a mixture of concrete and timber. But 10 years later, the building was beginning to deteriorate and crumble. Without this chapel, local parishioners would have to travel to Dili to take part in mass service.

Parishioners were aware of the state of the existing chapel that it warranted repairs if not demolition and construction of a new building. However, the project materialised through the leadership of the xefe suku whose motive included a desire to leave a personal legacy in DC-4.3. The xefe suku, who owns one of the largest restaurants in the area, pushed for the reconstruction of the chapel. The local katekista, as the Church's representative in DC-4.3, consulted with the parish priest of Neighboring suku 7 who then approved the project.

The katekista designed the chapel with consultation with the xefe suku and the parish priest in 2009. It was decided that the new chapel would be 12 by 16 metres in dimension. The parish priest then appointed the xefe suku to be in charge of the construction.

However, there was no committee or structures put in place to manage the project's implementation. The only plan they had was for the project to be completed before Neighboring suku 7 parish's 50th founding anniversary in 2015. Financial planning was absent. The katekista for example is not aware of the amount of money spent so far on the project. Materials were purchased on a needs basis depending on the stage of the project.

They weren't sure whether the project had enough financial resources to back it up except to just go ahead with the project with the hope that it would attract support from other donors in the process.

But the gamble did indeed pay off. After the xefe suku laid the foundation of the church, using his own resources, other villagers and businesses also began to contribute. Businesses operating in the area contributed materials while a local businessman contributed up to \$1,200 in cash. Community members also jumped in contributing over \$1,000 in the process.

According to the katekista, community members vied against each other in making their contribution. If someone provided a certain amount, another villager would strive to top it.

The katekista was responsible for the project's cash which was used to buy the stone plaque and organise the inauguration ceremony. Donors interested in making contribution to the project contact the katekista to make their donation.

During construction, part of the original chapel was converted into a warehouse to store the material. The other half continued to serve as a space for mass service.

Villagers volunteered their time to work at the construction. The katekista and FOSKA mobilised local youths to participate in the construction work. There was not set schedule about the construction activities. But youths who live near the chapel would just join in whenever there is an activity taking place around the site.

Builders were also recruited to lead the construction activity. The xefe suku recruited a builder from DC-4.3 to be in charge of the construction. Julio (name changed) is an experienced builder who had worked for the xefe suku in the past building his home as well as his restaurant.

Construction officially started with the laying of the first rock on 2 May 2009 but it wasn't completed until 2013. Construction stopped once when the builder went to Baucau and never came back. Construction also stopped when materials ran out and there were no funds available to buy them.

Construction started again in 2012 during school holidays and the katekista decided to take control of the construction.

This time the village council was also involved in the mobilisation of local villagers to take part in the project. The village council's male youth representative organised local youths to participate in the construction. The women who lived near the chapel were also involved by preparing food for the workers. The katekista used some of his own money to buy food to feed the workers while the xefe suku brought in a tractor to clear the land and demolish parts of the old chapel.

The katekista monitored the construction process.

Identification with the Catholic Church motivated the villagers towards the project and ensured that funds kept on coming to prop it up. The katekista and the xefe suku also played a pivotal role in mobilizing the community including members of the village council and the business community. According to the katekista, the local community trusted individuals like himself and the xefe suku who were leading the construction project. However, the project was not fully completed yet it was inaugurated, a ceremony organized by the xefe suku. According to the xefe suku, they had underestimated the costs and the planning process involved in the project.

The building still a considerable amount of detail including the ceiling, lighting, landscaping, and painting in some parts of the wall. The project managers are still waiting for more support towards the project including funding for perimeter fence and a bell tower. However, the space is open for regular including monthly masses, funerals, weddings and baptism.

Unlike the location of other public facilities such as the school or the sede suku, the chapel's location in DC-4.3-Aldeia 1 is somewhat more accessible to more people.

7.3.2 The first phase extension of the local primary school

This project is located in aldeia DC-4.3-Aldeia 3. It involves the extension of additional classrooms to existing building which was built during the Indonesian period to cater for the village's primary education. It's the only school operating in DC-4.3.

This project was selected in response to growing demand for space at the local. At the time of project identification, the building only operated on two classrooms. Students used all the rooms which had to be subdivided into smaller cantons to provide classes for different grades. However, overcrowding and rowdy children made teaching difficult.

The local school teachers, 6 of them, got together and decided to write a proposal to the government for the school to be extended by at least to more rooms. The proposal was sent in 2003. The school secretary, Respondent 16, explained:

With the existing condition of the classrooms, we couldn't teach properly. The children were divided (into different classes) with timber sheets. When the children banged on these sheets, we couldn't teach. So we told our xefe to write a letter (to the government) so that the government added more rooms to facilitate our teaching activity because the number of students kept on increasing.⁶⁵

The government responded and sent down officials to inspect the school building, including the then deputy minister of education. In 2004, the project was approved.

Planning was made exclusively by the government. The schoolrooms are modelled on the existing design built during the Indonesian period. The contract also included provision of tables and chairs. The project cost around \$25,000. The contractor also put up a signboard near the site to inform the public about the project and the costs involved.

Implementation was handled by a contractor which also hired its own workers from outside of Dili. According to the Respondent 16, the contractor brought in workers from Atauro. Local villagers were also given opportunity to work for the project but most declined it because they were offered a salary below what they had been expecting. The construction process took 6 months to complete. It started in December 2004 and was completed in May of 2005. During the implementation process, government engineers visited the site regularly to monitor the construction.

Construction materials were sourced from the Indonesian border town of Atambua because they were cheaper compared to what was available locally. Sand and stone were sourced from the a River in Dili. The contractor also built a warehouse on the site to store the materials as well as to house the workers. A site manager was put in place by the contractor to control the stock.

The project was completed on 12 May 2005 when the contractors handed the keys to the school. The facility

⁶⁵ DC-4.3_20140811_Respondent 16_SchoolSecretary (notes), p. 5

was immediately put to use. However, according to the school secretary, the company used low quality timber for the window frames. The school also complained to the government about it but the government's responded that the small budget allocated was to be blamed for this outcome. Nevertheless, it has not caused any impact on the building's quality.

Maintenance responsibility is shared between the school and the government. Small scale repairs can be organised by the school including replacement to the corrugated iron roofing or repairing damaged doors. Major damages are reported to the government. Fortunately, the new wing hasn't required any repair so far. The students, teachers and the security guards also help with maintenance.

8. Conclusions and Recommendations

8.1 Describe findings that have may have a potential impact on the implementation of PNDS;

Some of the findings that may have a potential impact on the implementation of PNDS are:

Land issues. Land scarcity, driven by unprecedented demand, has caused various disputes to emerge among local villagers. The disputes have already had an effect on construction of local public facilities such as the clinic and the primary school.

Participation. There are various constraints to participation in village activities. The constraints are caused by a number of factors. Many villagers in DC-4.3 live in quite spread out area making communication difficult. However, the more significant issue involves the fact that powerful community members tend to dominate the local processes including decision-making.