

LBS Village Report:
P.1 (Ermera 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

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 P.1, a remote mountainous village in the district of Ermera, to provide some of the answers.

The aim of this study is to provide a picture of existing governance system in the suku of P.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, 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.

Some of the main findings in this village report for P.1 include:

- Villagers will tend to collaborate towards projects which everyone has stake in and are willing to sustain a project for long periods of time. The construction of the local chapel for example has taken nearly 20 yet it remains uncompleted. The villagers will contribute not only cash but also labour. However, cash contribution is problematic as it largely depends on the health of the local economy. Contribution in general is also subject the villagers' satisfaction in the progress of the project. Contributions could be disrupted if the community loses confidence in the implementation process or in the project in general. Community support for public projects is vital to their success.
- Community participation in the local projects can enhance implementation process. Not only do the villagers feel that they are entitled to be informed about public projects in their suku, they also want such information in order to better monitor the process as well as to enforce accountability.

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 focus on the aspects that correlate with the presence or absence of the state, and the level of violence and veterans presence. For this report, the sampled village is rural and has low presence of veterans, i.e. less than the regional average. In the sub-district, the average proportion of veteran population in each village is around 4%. Additional sampling criteria concerns the village's main industry that it consists of an export oriented cash crop. Through discussions with key informants at the District level (the DA and the District PNDS Coordinator) the researchers narrowed down the choices to the village of P.1, which according to informants, had higher output in terms of cash crops in comparison to the other two villages.

The data for this qualitative study were obtained using semi-structured interviews conducted throughout the 10th and the 20th of March. All interviews were conducted face-to-face at various locations, including at meeting places, residence, and workplaces (village office, rice paddocks, and police stations). 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 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 the PNDS District Coordinator. 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. in their rice paddock), 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 and this group includes all of the suku council members. Other respondents include teachers, police officers and local businesses leaders. A total of 26 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	15
	Female	11
By age	26 – 39	12
	40 – 55	9
	55 - 70	3
	Uncertain	2
By profession	Farmers	17
	Suku council members	6
	Public servants, including police officer	2
	Katekista	1
By Sampling method	Purposive	6
	Snowball	10
	Convenience	10

Table 1. Characteristics of respondents

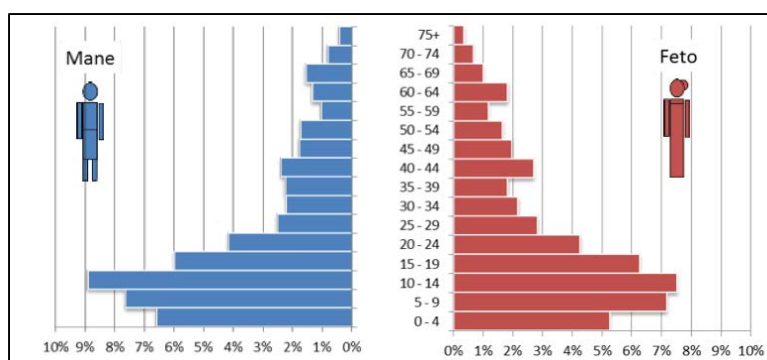
3. Description of the village¹

The village of P.1 is relatively remote. It is one of 8 villages that make up a sub-district of in Ermera district. There are 7 aldeias in P.1: P.1-Aldeia 1, P.1-Aldeia 7, P.1-Aldeia 4, P.1-Aldeia 5, P.1-Aldeia 3, P.1-Aldeia 2 and P.1-Aldeia 6, all spread throughout a steep mountainside. P.1-Aldeia 1, sometimes referred to as *sentru* (centre),

¹ Unless otherwise stated, data for this report is sourced from the government's 2010 population census.

is located in the centre of the village and hosts the suku office, the newly built police station, the suku office, and the local school (*escola bárika*). P.1-Aldeia 2 and P.1-Aldeia 3 are located near P.1-Aldeia 1 while P.1-Aldeia 6 sits at the base of the mountainside. P.1-Aldeia 4, P.1-Aldeia 5 and P.1-Aldeia 7 are located at the top of the mountain and away from the main road. A major river flows through the village, where one of its sections also forms a natural border with other adjacent suku. This river floods regularly in the wet season, producing disastrous results for local farmers as the floodwater destroys farms and causes landslides. The road to P.1-Aldeia 6 becomes inaccessible during wet seasons because of this river. P.1 is surrounded by the villages of 5 other villages and the border of another sub-district.

According to Census 2010 the total population of P.1 is about 2,300 and is comprised by 413 households. Almost 45% of the suku's population is between the ages of 10 and 14 years with males outnumbering females at 51%. A more detailed breakdown of the various age groups in P.1 is provided in Graph 1.



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

There is no official census data which provides further breakdown of the population at aldeia level. However, the village administration also carries out its own yearly census with the 2013 results provided in Table 2. This suku census provides further details of population data at aldeia level.

Aldeia	Households	Male	Female	Total
P.1-Aldeia 1	132	345	317	662
P.1-Aldeia 2	84	194	151	345
P.1-Aldeia 3	87	240	208	448
P.1-Aldeia 5	53	114	105	219
P.1-Aldeia 4	67	150	146	296
P.1-Aldeia 7	93	225	248	473
P.1-Aldeia 6	123	296	267	563
TOTAL	639	1,564	1,442	3,006

Table 2. 2013 suku population census, prepared by suku council

The 2010 Census also says that over 80% of the population in P.1 speak Mambai with Tetun Prasa coming second at around 10%. Kemak, the main language of the adjacent sub-district, is spoken by 2% of the population.

Unlike other suku in this region, electricity is yet to reach P.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.

Most of the houses in P.1 is very simple and tend to rely on local material in its construction. Nearly 70% of houses their walls made from either bamboo or wood, which unlike concrete walls, offer little in terms of insulation from outside elements. Although 75% of the houses are covered with corrugated iron, 80% of all houses still have soil or clay floors.

Up to 80% of the houses still have clay floors, 75% corrugated iron.

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, Ermera has 95% prevalence and nationally 90%). Kerosene is used by 2% of households while only 0.24% has access to electricity.² Mobile telephone penetration is 40%.

Banking and other financial services do not exist in the village. There are burgeoning credit associations which offer savings/lending services, however these facilities are only open to association members. The nearest banking service in the area is in Gleno, the district capital.

A US based cooperative³, operates the only clinic in P.1 yet this facility is usually unstaffed as well as located in an isolated area, far from population centres. The nearest health post is located in the adjacent suku, itself situated at the top of the mountain. The health post in the neighboring suku provides regular services, including to expecting mothers, for the surrounding population provided that villagers make the ascend to reach it. In P.1 only 2% of childbirth receive assistance from health professionals⁴ while most women continue to deliver at home aided by traditional midwives.⁵

The literacy rate for people aged between 15 and 24 in P.1 is 44% with 46% for males and 41% for females. In Ermera, the literacy rate for people in similar category is 58% and 79% nationally. However, adult literacy is

² Presumably these are household which are located near the border with other suku that already have access to electricity such as Neighboring Suku 1.

³ NCBA (National Cooperative Business Association) <http://www.ncba.coop/> runs one of the largest cooperatives in Timor-Leste, mostly in the coffee growing regions where it is also involved in the local coffee trade. As part of its program, NCBA also sets up health clinics in these regions where it offers free medical care to local farmers. These clinics are called CCT (Clínica Café Timor).

⁴ ADB (2013). Least Developed Sucos, Timor-Leste. *Pacific Studies Series*. Asian Development Bank., p. 42

⁵ A villager delivered all her children at home as she expects another. Delivery is assisted by her mother in-law who lives next door. P.1_20140220_Respondent 27_housewife, farmer.docx (notes), p. 1

only than 25%. Sensus Fo Fila⁶ (2010) estimates that over 60% of the people in P.1 never attended schools. Net primary enrolment rate is 39% but secondary school completion rate is less than 10%.⁷ The 2010 census also lists 13 people as having a university degree although suku council data for the same year⁸, provides a vastly different figure. Accordingly, 52 people had completed university education with 7 of them having the equivalent of a masters' degree. These graduates concentrated around the aldeias of P.1-Aldeia 1, P.1-Aldeia 3 and P.1-Aldeia 7. There were also 34 people registered as university students.

Around 60% of households in P.1 are involved in agriculture, producing corn (in around 60% of households), cassava (~55%) and coffee (more below). Fruits and vegetables are also cultivated by a large proportion of the households. There is also a small amount of coconut (cultivated by over 10% households) and rice (less than 5% of households) farming. Animal rearing exists in 66% of the households with over 50% of them keeping poultry and pigs. Goats and buffaloes are less prevalent.

Because of the mountainous topography, rice cultivation in P.1 is very limited compared to the other villages in the sub-district. Coffee is the biggest cash crop with most villagers having access to a farm with varying sizes. Over 50% of households are involved in the coffee industry. The harvest is mainly sold to NCBA and Timor Corp. The Japanese government agency, JICA, is also involved in the local coffee industry having signed contracts with a group of local producers. However, last year's harvest has been particularly bad with some farmers barely making close to \$100.

Besides farming, there are also retailing activities in the village with kiosks being the most common. A small number of the population is employed as public servants- serving as police officers, teachers, agricultural technicians, and members of suku council. The ministry of education is the largest local employer having 20 teachers on its payroll including 14 permanents and 6 contracts.⁹

P.1 has 57.58% employment rate compared to the national rate of 41.59%.

P.1, and two neighbouring villages are part of a group of three closely related villages. The three villages form a *estasau* (station), an administrative area within the Catholic institution. There are plans for this station to be upgraded to a parish in the future that centres around P.1.

During the violence that followed the 1999 referendum, most of the village was spared. Only About five houses in P.1-Aldeia 2 were burned down without any casualties. The villagers were rounded up in the village centre and were awaiting deportation to Indonesia. Nevertheless, the then xefe suku intervened on behalf of the villagers and managed to save them, avoiding their forced displacement. Since independence, two formal suku leadership elections have taken place. The first was in 2005 and the second in 2010. The next suku election is set to take place in 2015.

⁶ Booklets containing census data specific to sukus and respectively distributed.

⁷ ADB (2013). Least Developed Sucos, Timor-Leste. *Pacific Studies Series*. Asian Development Bank., p. 42

⁸ Data posted on suku office.

⁹ P.1_20140219_Respondent 25_School Director.docx, p. 1 (transcript)

4. Social Cohesion

4.1 Formation of Social Cohesion

4.1.1 *Power and Vulnerability*

Powerful community members tend to be associated with the liurai family, the Catholic Church, elected leaders and the *intelektuál*. The family of the local liurai is powerful because its members have historically ruled over the area. Although the formation of local authority has moved on from a hereditary system to a system of democratic election, their power and influence remain present in village life. Members of the liurai family are regularly elected to formal positions in local governance, including as xefe suku. In addition, the family also owns vast amounts of land around the village and has provided patronage to other institutions, both formal and non-formal, through the granting of these lands. Key local institutions which have benefited from this patronage include the Catholic church, the suku administration, the local school system and the police.

Outside of the local aristocracy, individuals associated with the Catholic Church also wield some form of power within the village. Local Church representatives, such as the *katekista* (catechist) generally controls the religious proceedings such as baptism and marriages. Couples intending to get married for example must participate in a series of seminars organized by the katekistas. Katekistas also open and close public meetings by leading the prayers as well as provide spiritual guidance to community members. Further to this, they have the power to exert themselves and shape local discourse by virtue of their spiritual and religious authority. They invoke religious rhetoric in their speeches and provide another view of existing community issues.

Formal leaders are primarily accumulated in the suku council, lead by the xefe suku. The power of the suku council is legitimized through elections therefore can speak and make decisions on behalf of the villagers. Being part of the formal governance system also provides the suku council members with power as government is viewed as the institution with the highest authority over the country and the village. Next to the locally elected leaders, their wives also hold some power, in particular over women in the village. The wives of the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias are expected to lead the women in village activities:

We coordinate directly with the xefe aldeias' wives to manage the women's participation in these meetings, specially those community members who are very vulnerable.¹⁰

Another group of powerful community members include what is referred locally as the *intelektuál* or the intellectuals. These are individuals who possess university education or are teachers. They are considered as powerful because of their formal education and knowledge which enables them to see things from a different perspective and voice their opinions on issues they don't feel right about. Ability to voice opinion publicly is also considered as a trait of powerful and influential people. People who have this ability, whether male or female, with formal education or not, are elevated because they can speak on behalf of the community or bring about issues which others are uncomfortable to bring forward.

Vulnerable members of the community are identified in general as including widows and orphans, people with disabilities, the poorer members of the community, defined in principle as those having poor housing, and those living far from population centres where public facilities are usually located. This group of people is considered as vulnerable because their condition prevents them from being sufficiently independent and/or take full participation in community activities. Adults without children, either because they never conceived,

¹⁰ P.1_20140213_Respondent 9_village secretary (IR).doc, p. 5

the children have moved away or they have died, are also considered as vulnerable because it constrains their support network, in particular when they encounter problems.

Women are marginalized and are often excluded in the decision making process. Where women participate, their involvement is usually limited to traditional roles associated with them, such as food preparation, hosting of guests, and decorations as part of preparation to host community events or festivities. A *lia-na'in* adat describes women's participation in public events more succinctly during the following exchange about female participation in conflict mediation:¹¹

Interviewer: *Are there any female lia-na'in?*

Lia-na'in: *Yes there are. The women include the lia-na'in's wives. They are all included. They also participate. Our wives also participate. The other women also participate.*

Interviewer: *Is your wife also a lia-na'in?*

Lia-na'in: *She is also involved such in food preparation, yes. But they are not involved in solving the problems but they help with cooking and the like.*

Interviewer: *Then are men the only ones involved in the mediation?*

Lia-na'in: *Only the men are involved. Women, if she is involved in the case, she can participate in the process, in mediation of the problem.*

Interviewer: *If she is not involved, can she participate?*

Lia-na'in: *She wouldn't have anything to be listening to, she wouldn't have anything to be talking about.*

4.1.2 Identity

There are four ways villagers use to identify themselves. The most basic unit of identity is the membership of an *uma-lisan* or *uma-lulik*. This form of identity tends to be more stable irrespective of residence, in that villagers would always refer to their *uma-lisan* as a point of start to any conversation about their origins. Geographically, they can also refer the location of their *uma-lisan* as their place of origin, which could be within a *bairru* (sub-aldeia) or an *aldeia*. Sometimes the names of an *uma-lisan* is the same as the name of a *bairru* although there can be multiple *uma-lisans* within an *aldeia*, or even a *bairru*.

A more general form of identification relates to a villager's place of origin or where the parents or grandparents came from. Community members from neighboring villages who have settled in P.1 continue to identify themselves as belonging to their village of origin even though they, or even their parents, were born in the current location. Members of P.1 community living in the neighboring *suku* also identify themselves in a similar fashion.

Villagers also identify themselves by the *suku* where their residence is registered officially. This is used largely for administrative processes and for local elections. For example, community members who have moved away to another village continue to be registered in their former village and would seek the assistance of the *xefe suku* of their original village to sign their papers. In some cases, the original *xefe aldeia* or *xefe suku* are also invited to help mediate and resolve conflicts. They would also vote in that village's election. With the construction of the local chapel, villagers who have moved to Dili also continue to give cash contributions as well as work on the construction.¹²

¹¹ P.1_20140211_Respondent 3_Lia Nain (TR).docx, p.14

¹² P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 9

Membership of the Catholic Church is overarching. It transcends all other identities and unites everyone within the suku and beyond its borders. Community members not only identify themselves as belonging to the Catholic faith, they also hold a stake in the organization. Membership of this identity is most visible through the mobilization of the entire community to participate in Church projects. Furthermore, the communities of P.1 and Neighboring sukus also form a collective identity within the Catholic community. During Church-connected public events, community members from these three villages would cooperate as one entity for their *estasaun*.

4.1.3 *Conflict and conflict mediation*

Conflicts in the village generally revolve around domestic and land disputes, and tension between rival martial arts gangs. With domestic disputes, the main issue often involves questions of infidelity between couples which can sometimes turn violent and result in physical assaults. Land disputes are more common during planting season when demand for farmland increases. The boundaries between farmlands are often unclear and has overlapping claims. Conflict over right to access farmlands also results in violence. However the violence resulting from tensions between martial and ritual arts gangs tend to be overwhelming and affect the whole village. The rivalry between these gangs is played both nationally and at village level, however the consequences are more profound among their followers in the rural villages. The last time these gangs clashed, the results were devastating with a recorded fatality and destruction to properties.

Conflict mediation usually involves the aldeia lia-na'in, the xefe aldeia and the xefe suku, the Catholic Church, 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 xefe aldeia are called in to mediate. Higher village authorities such as xefe suku or the suku council are involved when the conflict becomes complex and with a threat that it may escalate further and turn violent. Church representatives such as the katekista or *ketua umat* are usually involved in these mediations whether at aldeia or at suku level.

For minor misdemeanors and low level violence, mediation is performed by local authorities, primarily the lia-na'in, who also issues fines. These fines involve cash or material payments by the culprit towards the victim in addition to the culprit having the responsibility to pay for the *administrasi* (organization of the mediation process) and *dapur* (preparation of food and drinks for everyone taking part in the mediation process). To prevent further escalation, these payments towards administrasi and dapur are increased with each repeated offence and mediation. For more complicated cases where lia-na'in alone is unable to find solution, the xefe suku and church representatives are also involved in the mediation. In these cases, if the parties agree to a peaceful solution then they would sign a declaration in front of other witnesses. Otherwise, the next step would be to file a complaint with the sub-district police, therefore entering the realm of formal legal procedure. When the conflict becomes violent and turns into a criminal case, the police is called in and will handle the process. Suspects can be detained and remanded for 72 hours in the sub-district until charges are laid.

The resolution to the clash between ritual arts groups required intervention by national authorities, both political and administrative. The district administrator, members of parliament and the president of the republic also intervened due to the severity of the violence. The government even issued a degree banning martial arts groups, which although technically does not cover the conflicting gangs in P.1, the law also discouraged continued activities by these groups, in particular KORKA and KOLIMAU. Locally, in the aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 6, the xefe aldeia also launched his own initiative by working with village estensionista to establish a farmers' group which sought to unify the members of the opposing gangs. The name of the farmers group was also created to reflect the reconciliation between the two groups while their energy was refocused towards agricultural activities.

In any case, villagers may not always follow these norms for conflict resolution. The villagers can also refer to other authorities, in particular around their vicinity to assist in conflict mediation. The oldest male in the around the neighbourhood, usually an elderly, can also be involved in the mediation, typically around domestic disputes. However, villagers will also involve the police directly if the need arises and as one of the respondents explained:

*If we call the grandfather to help resolve it (a domestic dispute), but the problem persists, we just call the police. If the xefe suku and the xefe aldeia can't come, we just call the police. They come and make arrests and take the perpetrator away. What else can we do?*¹³

4.1.4 Welfare

Most of public facilities are concentrated in the aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 1. These facilities include the local primary school (*eskola bászika*), the chapel, water tanks, a public toilet, the suku office (also serves as venue for community meetings) and the police station. The main road also cuts through centre of P.1-Aldeia 1. Of these facilities, a number of them have been placed right next to the xefe suku's house including the suku office, the public toilet and the water tank. The local chapel is also located behind the family home of the xefe suku.

Outside of P.1-Aldeia 1, there is a recently built community centre in P.1-Aldeia 7. A *eskola filiál* (school branch) also exists in P.1-Aldeia 6. Both P.1-Aldeia 7 and P.1-Aldeia 6 are two of the more remote aldeias in P.1-Aldeia 1. On the main road between P.1-Aldeia 1 centre and the Ladibau river, there is a private clinic operated by CNBA/CCT.

Access to public facilities is more difficult to villagers who live far from population centres. Lack of transportation facilities, poor roads, and the difficult terrain further complicate access. School attendance tends to be disrupted in the wet season due to rain as the only method for children to get to school is walking. Access to public water is also fraught with difficulty for many villagers, in particular those who do not live near the water tanks. In fact over 60% of the population still relies on natural sources of water such as springs and creeks to fulfill their daily water needs. Living far from population centres also prevents villagers from taking place in other community activities such as public meetings because community centres where these meetings are held are located in the population centres such as the suku office in P.1-Aldeia 1.¹⁴

4.1.5 Development Priorities

For basic infrastructures, both powerful and marginalized community have similar priorities. They include road access to all aldeias, electricity, and improved water access. In aldeia P.1-Aldeia 6, community members have also identified a bridge over the Ladibau river as a priority and have proposed for the construction of this bridge in their suku development priorities. Furthermore, a retaining wall and storm water drains are also identified as a development priorities, specifically for P.1-Aldeia 6 which battles regularly against flood caused by the Ladibau river.

Housing is a pressing issue for both the powerful and the vulnerable as most of the houses in P.1 don't differ much in terms of its general simplicity. However, while the more powerful community members would tend to include housing as one priorities among others, the poorer villagers tend to place a higher stress on this necessity. The marginalized community members would promptly indicate housing as an issue that needs addressing, sometimes as the one single priority. The marginalized community members also highlight access

¹³ P.1_20140213_Respondent 5_Vulnerable.docx, p. 3

¹⁴ P.1_20140214_Luta Hamutuk public meeting (obs).docx, p.2; P.1_20140220_Respondent 27_housewife, farmer.docx, p.1

to water and sanitation facility as an important necessity yet to be made more accessible. Community members who live far from the village centre where most of the water tanks are located, continue to collect their water from natural sources, such as creeks or springs.

Powerful community members further identify new school buildings, including education facilities for remote areas, and health posts such as SISCAs as a priority for the village. Improvement in local roads and access to credit facilities are also identified as important for local businesses.

4.1.6 External Cooperation

The border between the P.1 and the neighbouring villages is unclear.¹⁵ The border between P.1 and neighbouring suku seems to overlap around the aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 2t. A particular *bairru* (sub-aldeia) of P.1-Aldeia 2t for instance, local residents include a mixture of households from both the neighboring suku and P.1.

The populations of P.1 and its neighbouring villages also move freely across their sukus and cooperate more closely compared to other nearby villages. Villagers from Neighboring suku 2 have moved and settled in P.1, while some from the latter have settled in the neighbouring suku while maintaining connection to their original village, to their *uma-lulik* and their ancestral land, or to the formal village leaders for administrative purposes. The Catholic Church has also combined the communities from the villages of P.1 and neighbouring sukus, into an administrative unit called *estasaun* (station).

There is regular cooperation among communities from these three villages whether in public or private projects. Large public construction projects requiring mass mobilization, such as road constructions, tend to involve the assistance of villagers from the neighbouring sukus. Public events relating to the villages in the region also provide an avenue for collaboration among suku communities. Villagers from P.1 can be mobilized to participate in activities taking place in the neighboring villages, in particular Neighboring suku 2 and neighboring suku, and vice versa. These joint activities are often related to church and government events such as local visits by state dignitaries, and the community members cooperate as a group.

Furthermore, a number of public facilities jointly used by the neighbouring villages are located in neighboring suku 1. Villagers in P.1 regularly go to a health clinic neighboring suku 1 for their check-ups. Local churchgoers also go to neighboring suku 1 to participate in mass services and hear announcements about events in their villages. In the aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 7 on the other hand, the local community centre is being jointly used by a number of aldeias from the surrounding sukus. These regular encounters between the villagers from various sukus ensure communication between community members from various areas.

4.2 Conceptualizations of people and power

In the following section, the profiles of six community members will be provided to illustrate the local conceptualization of people and power or vulnerability.

4.2.1 Powerful community members

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

Respondent 11, 54. Respondent 11 lives in the aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 3 but his presence can be felt throughout the suku. He is a *katekista* and a *ministru*, a community member who has been given the power by the Church to conduct local mass services and administer communion. In the deeply Catholic community, Respondent 11

¹⁵ P.1_20140211_Respondent 8_Xefe Suco_preliminary interview (notes).docx, p. 1

is the most important local representative of the Church having the ability to speak and make decision on its behalf. He has been very active in promoting the Church's agenda locally, including the implementation of local projects, in particular the construction of P.1's chapel. He was a member of the village council in the previous mandate.

He participates regularly in public meetings in the capacity of an ordinary member the community yet he is expected to lead prayers to open and close the sessions. Respondent 11 is also a vocal community member and speaks up regularly at public meetings. Participants in the meeting pay attention to his intervention and occasionally take his words as final, including an occasion where he singlehandedly named individuals to represent the suku to participate in a training in Dili organized by the an NGO called Luta Hamutuk.

Respondent 11 also leads two key community groups. The first is the Cooperativa group, which counts nearly all of the suku council members. The other is a group of local coffee producers which has signed a contract with the Japanese agency JICA to supply it annually with the group's coffee harvest. He controls the financial resources of the Cooperativa group, which receives regular membership contribution.

He is very critical of the way government projects have been implemented locally and blames the suku council for its lack of consultation and inclusion of other villagers. However he also has very close working relationship with members of local government structures.

For Respondent 11, roads are an important component of village economy therefore their construction and improvement is a primary development priority. Another development priority is the establishment of credit facilities to help local businesses expand their operations.

Respondent 8, xefe suku, 44. Respondent 8 is the son of the local liurai and the xefe suku, a position which he has held since 2010, and the local coordinator of the *Partidu Demokrátiku* (Democratic Party). Like his family, he also possesses various properties in the suku including an area which has been leased to MAFF to establish a green house. He used to live in that area until he became xefe suku and moved closer to the village centre, near his father's house where the suku office is also located.

He is also involved in other community projects including the construction of the local chapel. He is the head of the committee in charge of its construction and has sought to rally the community to support the project whether through manual work or cash contribution. He also actively lobbied construction companies to support the construction of the church resulting in contribution of 120 sacks of cement in 2010. Personally, he also contributed 40 sacks of cement on the basis of a loan to the project.

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. Some of the projects which he has had direct control over their implementation include suku's basketball/volleyball court funded by SSYS and the construction of the local sanitation facility funded by the TROCAIRE.

For Respondent 8, assisting his village in overcoming the continued threats of natural disasters is a priority. The aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 6 suffers constantly from landslides and floods during the wet season. He would like

to see the construction of a retaining wall near the river to prevent further disasters and improve coffee production.

Respondent 28, 41 is the MAFF (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries) local technician, or *estensionista*. He once studied to become a priest but never managed to complete the course. Prior to becoming the *estensionista*, he worked for various NGOs in the agricultural sector.

As *estensionista*, he provides supports to local farmers by helping them establish community groups and link them to MAFF. Agricultural assistance provided to local farmers by MAFF are delivered through Respondent 28 who effectively controls its distribution. He also provides the farmers with technical advice on farming methodologies including trials of new crops in the area.

Respondent 28 has control over the farming groups which he helped establish. He calls the meeting for these groups which must always count his presence. When he is not able to attend a scheduled meeting, the meeting would be postponed. He has power to intervene in the decisions made by group members as well. For example, he can pressure the groups to appoint individuals of his choosing to hold certain responsibilities, such as keeping group's resources, namely agricultural tools. He also controls the distribution of fuel for local farmers, including the only hand tractor operating in the village that had been donated by MAFF. Furthermore, he also makes proposals for group activities, helping them to access government or other NGO support. He has helped these groups to establish pig farms, start seedling projects, as well as trials of new crops in the local farms.

Respondent 28 is also a local youth leader connected to the Catholic Church. Because of this position, he was invited by the community to take part in the mediating process between two ritual arts gangs involved in a deadly clash in 2011. Other entities involved in the mediation included members of parliament, the district administrator, the police and the suku council. He continues to influence on these gang members directing them away from gang membership to focus on agricultural activities. The prime example of this is the P.1-Aldeia 6 agricultural group, Koko Unidade P.1-Aldeia 6 Anan, which he helped establish.

4.2.2 *Marginalized community members*

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

Respondent 5, 30s is a widow, a mother of a number of children, and a subsistence farmer. She lives in a bamboo-clad hut away from the village centre towards the river. She lives with her mother, both of whom have an estranged relationship with her brother who married a woman from the village of a neighboring sub-district, also part of Ermera district. Although they own a coffee farm nearby, the local patriarchal customs meant that her brother now has control over it. Her brother would take priority over the coffee harvest by harvesting the beans and leaving whatever is left for them to harvest.

Her family originally came from an aldeia in neighboring suku 2 but they have settled in P.1 for many years, even before she was born. They continue to identify themselves as belonging to Neighboring suku 2 mainly because that's where their *uma-lulik* is located. However they also continue to be registered in their former village and sometimes would invite their former *xefe aldeia* to help them resolve problems.

However she also participates in local community activities including in the construction of the local chapel. She has provided cash contributions as well as participated in the construction by cooking for the workers. She is also a member of P.1-Aldeia 2's agricultural group, Roto Haburas, which Respondent 28 helped to set up. But she seldom hears from the local *xefe suku* or the *xefe aldeia* and rarely takes part in any other community activities nor does she know anything about the suku's programs.

For her, the most important priority is housing pointing out to her modest home as the primary example.

Respondent 22, 48 has been a widow for more than 10 years and has no children. She lives alone in a modest house provided by the government recently. Her house is close to P.1-Aldeia 1, the suku centre. She is a subsistence farmer and owns a small plot near her house where she grows mainly coffee.

No one else outside of her relatives help her when she encounters problems. She survives on her own. Her income comes mainly from her coffee farm which produces around two sacks during harvest. She sells her coffee for \$0.25 per kilo. She has also worked for the \$3 dollar SEPFOPE employment scheme as well as in other village projects, where she got paid in rice and oil, to earn extra income. She found out about these jobs through the xefe suku.

She fetches her water from a water tank nearby, built during Indonesian period under an AusAID assistance program called Bia Hula. But during the dry season, she would have to travel farther to get the water. She and a lot of people who live nearby wash their clothes at a well far from her house. She goes to neighboring suku 1 for her medical check-ups like every other villagers in P.1. She receives seedlings from NCBA green house located further down the road towards the river. This year she has received 24 coffee seedlings. Respondent 28 informed her about the seedlings.

She is a member of a farmer's group which meets every Tuesday although she can't recall the group's name. The group is involved in rice and cassava cultivation as well as in the provision of farming services like weeding. The group has 15 members and is lead by a local farmer. She joined this group because it provides members with training and access to seedlings from MAFF. In the past, she used to be a member of the Grupi Feto Badinas.

She participates regularly in church related activities, usually announced during mass services. At other times, the local catechist also informs her about these activities. Recently she joined other villagers to conduct general cleaning around the suku in preparation of an event to receive the statue of Virgin Mary. Later in the week she will participate in a meeting regarding the suku's preparation to receive the statue of Virgin Mary. A temporary chapel is also being built by the community to house the statue and she has been taking part in its construction activity regularly. She has also provided contributions to the construction of the suku chapel in P.1-Aldeia 1. Besides church projects, the construction of the water tank next to the xefe suku's house also benefited from her contribution, namely food to feed the workers.

She voted in the last suku election and voted for the current xefe suku and xefe aldeia. During the electoral campaign, the xefe suku and his pakote visited her and told her she should vote for someone who truly loves the people.

Respondent 22 has little idea about some of the key development projects taking place in her village, including the road repairs a couple of hundred metres from her house, the school building project, or the newly built police station. She is too busy with her own subsistence to pay attention. And when she does hear about these projects, she usually hears it through a conversation with other villagers. However, for development projects which affects her daily activities such as farming, she usually hears it from Respondent 28, the MAFF extensionista. Respondent 28 informed her about the irrigation project in the P.1-Aldeia 1 rice fields.

For Respondent 22, if she were to ask the government to help her and her village, she would ask for assistance with her income in order to cover for her food. The period between the harvests is particularly dire as their

income is all spent. She complains that she has no tables or chairs and she has no money to buy them. “We are poor here”, she says.

Widows, orphans, and adults who have no children are considered as vulnerable. These people have great difficulties looking after themselves and their children. Living far from the main population centre is also a cause for vulnerability.

Respondent 23, 26 is a farmer from Neighboring suku 2, who moved to settle in P.1 with his family in the 1980s. He lives with his widowed mother and other extended family members, on a hill located away from the main road. Their house itself is located near the river, at the other extremity of the village. The children in his household attend the local primary school in P.1-Aldeia 1.

When they moved to P.1 for the first time in the early 1980s, they occupied this area because it was unclaimed as it was part of the wilderness or *rai fuik*. They obtained permission from the then xefe suku to settle in this area.

Today they own a small plot near their house, however, ownership of this plot is also claimed by another family who lives nearby. The overlapping claim has resulted in violent disputes in the past causing the police to be involved. Both the xefe sukus of Neighboring suku 2 and P.1 were also involved in the mediation of their dispute.

Although he and his family live in P.1, they continue to maintain contact with their former village. His official papers are signed by neighboring suku 2 authorities and when he experiences hardship, he would contact the xefe aldeia of neighboring suku 2 and the xefe suku the same village. His *uma-lisan* is however based in neighboring suku 1 where part of his clan also lives.

He is not a member of any agricultural group set up in his aldeia and his participation in village activities is limited to the construction of the chapel where he has contributed both materials and labour. However, he has not taken part in the construction of the temporary chapel, mainly because his xefe aldeia has not informed him about it.

There are no health facility nearby and he is not aware of the CCT clinic on the way towards the suku centre. However, when he or his family need medical attention, they would visit the clinic in neighboring suku 1.

5. Institutions and power [7 - 10 pages]

5.1 Constellation of village groups

5.1.1 Local Governance Profile

The village council is the primary local government institution in P.1. The council is headed by the xefe suku and includes a PAAS¹⁶ 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 *ansiann*, and a *lia-na'in*. The village council was elected during suku elections which is organized every five years. Since 2010, 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.

¹⁶ PAAS stands for Pessoal de Apoio Administrativo do Suku or suku administrative officer

The suku 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 the head of the suku council and represents the village. He, with the assistance of the xefe aldeias, is in charge of the welfare of the villagers, including managing responses to local disasters and conflict mediation process. He also preside over 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 (*Estatat*). 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. Individually, each 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. The ansiaun, or the council elder, and the lia-na'in, primarily focus on counseling and conflict mediation.

The suku is further divided into seven aldeias. Each aldeia is lead by a xefe aldeia who is assisted by a lia-na'in adat and a kablehan. The xefe aldeia's role is to tend 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 level. The lia-na'in adat helps the xefe aldeia mainly in conflict mediation and handles the traditional processes of the mediation. The kablehan is in charge of the general security in the aldeia and sometimes, also assists the xefe aldeia in communicating with other villagers such as going door-to-door to make announcements.

Informally, the Catholic Church also has its own local structure headed by katekistas and a *ketua umat*. There are a number of katekistas operating in the village. They lead prayers during community events or public meetings as well as run seminars for couples intending to get married. The most senior katekista, Respondent 11, also officiates mass services and administer holly communion in place of the parish priest. Respondent 11 is known locally as *ministru* for the important role he plays in the community's religious activities. The local faithful is lead by the ketua umat. The ketua umat is also involved in decisions about local Catholic Church activities and speaks on behalf of the faithful during public meetings.

5.1.2 Suku Group Profiles

Agricultural groups formed by Estensionista

This type of group is represented mainly by farmers and has been formed in all aldeias with varying success. Estensionista Respondent 28, the village local MAFF staff was responsible for their creation. 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.

- **P.1-Aldeia 1 Haraik An** (also known as Natar) is based in P.1-Aldeia 1. The group is lead by local a farmer. It currently has 20 members, but started with 25 when it was first created in 2010. The group is engaged mainly in rice cultivation. This group also provides services to other farmers clearing weeds around coffee plantation. This activity also provides the group with a source of income. In 2013 the group managed to save up to \$1,000 through various activities. Part of the savings is loaned to group members to be paid

back during harvest season. In addition, this group has also benefited from various government projects . Group members have been recruited to construct the irrigation system around this area while MAFF has provided the group with a hand tractor. In the dry season the volume of water drops and disrupts their farming activities as it becomes more and more difficult to irrigate their farmlands. The group has a hand tractor provided by MAFF, however, the tractor is being serviced or maintained for over four years.

- **Talitú Malirin**, based in P.1-Aldeia 7, is lead by the xefe aldeia. The group has 25 members and was formed in 2010 and currently farms beans, snow peas, cattle feed as well as is engaged in aquaculture. It also runs a seedling production and has its own greenhouse. With the assistance of the estensionista, the group is also experimenting with wheat cultivation. This group earns an income by selling its own farm produce and currently holds a revenue of \$100 . This cash income is divided among its members. The main issue faced by this group concerns the lack of adequate farming equipment.
- **Roto Haburas**. This group is based in P.1-Aldeia 2 and is lead by a villager, who used to be a member of village council during the Indonesian period. This group has 15 active members. It was first formed in 2011, however, encountered problems because members lived too far away from each other that had a serious impact on group's activities. The estensionista then reorganized the group to include only villagers who lived near each other. This group is currently engaged in seedling production, an initiative supported by *Seeds for Life* through MAFF. The group is trialing different breeds of potato, corn and cassava. Last year the group made \$400.
- **Foho Leten** is based in the remote aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 4 and was established in 2011. This group is lead by a local farmer. This group derives its income through the sales of its agricultural produce and made \$170 last year.
- **Biluha Rema** is by far one of the more successful groups of this type. It is based in P.1-Aldeia 3 and is lead by the local xefe aldeia. This group started with 25 members when it was established in 2010. However, following an internal dispute, nearly half of its members left, taking a chunk of its savings with them. Currently only 15 members remain as the group's leader tries to convince the other members to return. The group is engaged in fishery, animal husbandry and vegetable farming. It also provides services to other farmers such as weeding. A women's sub-group has also been formed as part of the group. This sub-group focuses gardening activities near the members' homes. The group's savings currently amounts to over \$3,000 and is reinvested in form of loans to other members with a 5% interest.
- **Koko Unidade P.1-Aldeia 6 Anan** is headed by a local youth who is also a farmer. The xefe aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 6, Respondent 21, was involved in the group's creation in 2012. The members of this group were drawn from the two main ritual arts gangs then operating in P.1, KOLIMAU and KORKA. Although the group's principal objective is to engage in agricultural activities, its other aim was to help bridge the two gangs which were involved in a violent clash in 2011. The name of the group itself was created to reflect these two gangs.
- **Kairoma** is based in P.1-Aldeia 5. The local xefe aldeia is the head of this group. It was formed in 2010 and has 20 member. The group is involved in cultivation of cattle feed, vegetables and peanuts. FAO has also provided support to the group to start a pig farm. Unfortunately the farm was not very successful as the pigs perished.

Businesses and Cooperatives

- **Cooperativa**. The only notable cooperative group in the village is the Cooperativa. This group was established in 2010 as part of a UNDP program to develop village based cooperatives. The group's membership, 19 in total, includes almost all of the suku council members, namely the xefe suku, the xefe

aldeias and the village secretary. Local business leaders have also joined this group. The group's principal objective is to provide financial services to its members, mainly in the form of savings and loans. Its main source of income is made up by membership contribution. The group also tries to expand towards other investments including an initiative to produce latrines to be sold to local villagers. There are also plans to start a *loja do povo* (people's shop) to supply goods locally. The group currently has a savings of more than \$3,000.

- **Respondent 11' coffee trading group.** This group has 15 members and was set up and lead by Respondent 11. This group has been engaged by the Japanese aid agency JICA to supply it with coffee at an agreed price.

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 2010 and their mandate is set to finish in 2015. It was conceived in 1997 to raise funds and construct the suku's chapel. 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 to contribute to the construction of the chapel.
- **Committee for the reception of the statue of Our Lady.** This group was formed recently to organize the suku's preparation to receive the statue of Our Lady which is touring the villages in the rural areas. The committee is tasked to build a temporary chapel to house the statue as well as organize other details for this event. The committee is headed by Respondent 7, the lia-na'in in the suku council. The committee's secretary is Respondent 9 who is also the village secretary, and the head of local primary school, holds the position of treasurer. In addition, there are also different individuals responsible for liturgy and logistics (Respondent 21, xefe aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 6). Membership to the group is open to all community members professing the Catholic faith. The group's announcement are usually made during mass services.

Women's groups

- **Grupu Feto Badinas.** This group was set up by the mother of the xefe suku in 2011. It aimed to start vegetable gardens around group member's houses. Members of the group would take turns to work on each other's vegetable gardens in a rotation system once a month. The group fell apart as the leader of the group insisted that members only worked on her garden plot. Group's members also included all three female suku council representatives.
- **Mothers' group.** This group was formed to compete for the local school's contract to provide school meals to students. It is lead by the wife of a former xefe suku. The group has seven members and their main activity is to supply meals for the local school.

Martial arts and ritual arts groups

There are five groups of this type operating in P.1. Nevertheless, 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. These groups have been largely absent in the village since 2011 however their activities have always been shrouded by secrecy.

- **PSHT.** This is the only martial arts group to have conducted activities in the village. The leadership of the group is based in Dili. Locally it has around 10 members.
- **KORKA** is a ritual arts group and is lead locally by a farmer from P.1-Aldeia 3. The group was involved in a major clash with its rival KOLIMAU resulting in at least one fatality and the destruction of properties around the aldeia P.1-Aldeia 7 and P.1-Aldeia 3. The group is estimated to have around 100 members in P.1.
- **KOLIMAU** is represented in P.1 by a villager of the aldeia P.1-Aldeia 7. The group is estimated to have around 100 members locally.
- **12/12 (doze-doze)** and **7/7 (sete-sete)** are smaller in size compared to the other ritual arts groups. Each group has less than a dozen members in the village and appears to be part of larger groups based outside of the village. They don't have a leader in P.1. They have largely stayed clear of any conflict involving the ritual art groups.

Political parties

All of the major political parties have branches in the village. The CNRT party is lead by former xefe suku Respondent 17, who is also related to the current xefe suku. The FRETILIN party is represented by Respondent 25, the director of the local school. The current xefe suku, Respondent 8, leads the local Democratic Party (PD) while another former xefe suku heads the Socialist Party of Timor (PST).

5.2 Formation of village governance

5.2.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

The suku council provides the linkage between villagers and higher level government authorities. Government projects implemented by villagers are controlled and managed by the suku council.¹⁷ Community members also look up to suku council for help during natural disasters or to mediate conflicts and request for state assistance, for example during natural disasters, are also forwarded to the council. Furthermore, the suku council also distributes information about government programs, pensions, and public events to the community by placing them on noticeboards at the suku office. Lists of names of elderly persons eligible for benefit payments are posted at the suku office, for instance.

The suku council also controls the movement of the population in and out of the village, whether by visitors or settlers. For example, NGOs who conduct public information sessions in the village are required to involve the suku council in the process. Residents who move to P.1 to settle also needs the suku council's authorization before they can occupy public lands. The xefe suku, as the head of the suku council, also speaks on its behalf and represents it at community events, public meetings, and official government meetings at the sub-district or district offices.

Decisions for the village are made by the suku council. The council itself meets openly and community participation in the discussions is welcomed. However only council members have the right to vote, usually by a show of hand. Nevertheless, for important decisions which affect the whole village, the council also seeks to involve the community in the process.¹⁸ The process of selecting the village priorities is explained by the xefe suku as follows:

¹⁷ P.1_20140212_Respondent 4_Farmer_P.1 (TR).docx, p. 2

¹⁸ P.1_20140212_Respondent 8_Xefe Suco P.1 (TR).doc. p. 2

*We pay a visit to the aldeias. The villagers in these aldeias make the priorities and each aldeia put forward its priorities. And then seven priorities are forwarded to suku (council) and the suku council members, xefe suku and xefe aldeias, the representatives of social groups, take a vote. [...] Before the visit to the aldeias, we would announce the schedule to the villagers so that everyone can participate at the meeting and the villagers can select for themselves what they want implemented in their aldeia and in their suku.*¹⁹

Within the suku council however, the xefe suku holds the most power. The process for his elevation 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*. 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.²⁰ These facts provide the xefe suku with tremendous 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 members²¹ or decide who to include in a particular process.

5.2.2 Financial Management

The suku council receives funding from the government to pay for government sponsored projects implemented locally by the villagers. With this type of funding, the xefe suku is primarily in charge of managing the project's cash. The xefe suku receives the cash on behalf of the suku council, keeps it, and manages its disbursement. Decision about disbursement is made in consultation with other council members, in particular with the member representing the social group for which the project is targeting.²² Again, not all council members are involved in this process nor are they informed about it.²³

5.2.3 Collective action among groups

The suku council regularly cooperates with the Catholic Church in various activities. This cooperation is further facilitated by the fact that a number of suku council members also lead local Church committees implementing Church projects. The xefe suku and the secretary lead a committee in charge of the construction of P.1's chapel while the council lia-na'in heads another committee organizing preparations for the reception of the statue of Virgin Mary in the village.

Implementation of local church projects always involves members of the suku council, whether in formal capacity or not. The council also cooperates with local church representatives to mobilize the community in implementing church projects. Public meetings to discuss church projects are jointly organized by the *ketua umat*, the katekista and the suku council while xefe aldeias organize the recruitment of workers and collect household contributions towards church projects.

In any case, the community benefits from this cooperation as Respondent 11 explains:

¹⁹ P.1_20140212_Respondent 8_Xefe Suco P.1 (TR).doc, p. 2

²⁰ P.1_20140212_Respondent 4_Farmer_P.1 (TR).docx, p. 1

²¹ A decision to select village priorities as part of the PNDS roll-out process was made exclusively between the xefe suku and a xefe aldeia at the xefe suku's house.

²² P.1_20140219_Respondent 25_School Director.docx, p. 5; P.1_20140219_Respondent 26_women's rep (TR).docx, p. 2

²³ P.1_20140219_Respondent 26_women's rep (TR).docx

*The church and the state work together. The two of them work together because the church is looking after the soul and the state is working for the body.*²⁴

Furthermore, the local church representatives and the suku council also reinforce each other through their collaborations and cement community trust towards both institution.²⁵

The suku council also collaborates with other sukus but maintains closer cooperation with with P.1 and Neighbouring suku 1.²⁶ The xefe sukus can mobilize their villagers to perform work in the neighbouring sukus. For example villagers from P.1 were sent to perform cleanup activities in Neighbouring suku 1 in preparation for the reception of the statue of Virgin Mary, which was visiting their region.

5.2.4 *Communication strategies*

Communication between the suku council and the community is usually conducted through door-to-door visits. The xefe aldeia and the kablehan 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 noticeboard 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).

5.2.5 *Governance rules*

Members of the suku council receive a monthly salary of \$40. The salary is paid every three months. Every member of the suku council, including the xefe aldeias, have an alternative member who will step in if the council member becomes incapacitated or resigns from his or her position. The alternative members, however, do not receive a salary from the government. Nevertheless sometimes members can disregard these rules. When a council member leaves his or her position for example, the xefe suku can take over that council member's responsibilities rather than inviting the appropriate alternate for replacement. Alternate council members can also move to occupy other positions inside the suku council. The council position of *ansiaun* (community elder) was filled in this way.

5.3 *Formation of village groups*

5.3.1 *Leadership, Power and Decision making process*

The president, as the leader of the group, holds most of the power and dominates the overall leadership of the group. For example, the president can take control of a group's cash, a responsibility that normally rests with the treasurer.²⁷ Other than Respondent 28's groups, the presidents of the church construction committee and the Cooperativa group also hold the group's cash.

Leadership positions in the village groups tend to be filled by powerful members of the community such as xefe aldeias, xefe suku, the katekista or immediate relatives of the liurai. Almost all of the xefe aldeias occupy leadership positions in the agricultural groups formed at the aldeia level by the estensionista. Of the other suku council members, the xefe suku presides over the current construction committee overseeing the project to build the village chapel while the lia-na'in holds leadership position in another committee tasked to organize

²⁴ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 19

²⁵ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 16

²⁶ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 21

²⁷ P.1_20140219_Respondent 28_estensionista (TR).docx, p.8

preparations for the reception of the statue of Virgin Mary. The village secretary also holds the position of secretary in the chapel construction committee. The katekista heads the Cooperativa group while the xefe suku's mother lead a local women's group.

Powerful individuals also impose their will on group decisions. This includes appointing people to leadership positions within a community group as happened with Biluha Rema group.²⁸ Individuals like Respondent 28 can also make decisions on behalf of the group which he helped set up. After a brief explanation, members just agreed with him without any further discussion. Similar imposition was also reported with the women's group namely the Grupu Feto Badinas. The group's leader, mother of the xefe suku, forced its members to work on her garden contrary to the original plan to have rotation around everyone's plot. In the Cooperativa group however, Respondent 11 tends to dominate the discussion in group meetings by speaking at length, a style that he also uses in public meetings outside of his group.

5.3.2 *Financial Management*

Respondents report a form of equity and transparency in financial management within community groups. In principle every group member has a turn to keep its cash and during the regular meetings, the cash is counted in front of everyone and then transferred to another member to keep. However, this is not always the case. In certain groups, such as the Cooperativa, the leader keeps the cash, but is still obliged to count the cash in front of every member during group meetings. But this requirement was not evident during one of Cooperativa's meetings. The meeting proceeded for over an hour with discussions dominated by the leader however no cash was produced or counted in front of group members.

Funding for public projects usually come from three sources. For central government programs managed by suku council, funding is provided by the government through the relevant ministries. Other than the government, NGOs and international aid agencies also fund public projects. However the most important contribution to public projects come from community members through regular annual contribution. Public projects such as the construction of the local chapel attracts regular community contribution as every villager is stakeholder.

Community groups also raise funds through membership fees paid weekly during a regular meeting. The membership fee ranges from between \$0.50 and \$1.00 and is saved by the group. Some groups have accumulated up to \$4,000 in the process of several years. This cash savings is then reinvested in the form interest bearing loans to other group members. The interest rate can be as little as 5% and as high as 60%. In principle, borrowers would pay the loans after coffee is harvested however, repayment remains difficult. Events such *lia-mate/lia-moris*, or issues relating marriage and deaths, may come up during the harvest season and borrower may divert their earnings towards these affairs instead of fulfilling their debt obligation. Some farmers' group also provide paid services such as weed clearing to other farms as a source of income. The payment for this service is collectively owned and goes towards the group's savings.

Cash is handled by group leaders for the most part instead of the treasurer. And since banking services are nonexistent locally, the cash is stored at cash handler's home. However some groups such as the Cooperativa are also beginning to explore ways of setting up a bank account.

²⁸ P.1_20140217_Respondent 19_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 3.docx

5.3.3 *Collective action among groups*

Cooperation among villagers is most significant between members of the same group. Among the smaller aldeia-based farmers group, members get together regularly to work as hired labour for other farmers. Cooperation between community groups of this type is less certain however, instead a form of competition characterizes a group's behavior towards others. Group leaders tend to undermine the achievements of other groups during the interviews, an attitude suggestive of a desire to see less success in other groups.²⁹ The leader of one particular farm group did not hint at any attempt to provide assistance when asked about his thoughts regarding a disaster which affected another group's farm following a flood overnight.

*I don't know (if they have sought help). It's very likely that they would the village estensionista. They have reported to the suku office. But because there are many of them ... sometimes they don't collaborate (with other people). They can work it out by themselves.*³⁰

Cooperation is more straight forward on an individual basis. Housing construction for example attracts not only relatives, but also neighbours and friends. The activities are usually planned by the owner of the new house but assistance is provided without any cost except for food. However, villagers can also cooperate spontaneously and the most frequent example of this is when they assist vehicles bogged down by mud on the main road which runs through their suku. Villagers who live near the main road do not hesitate to provide assistance and cooperate with the passengers to move the vehicle from the mud trap.

5.3.4 *Communication strategies*

Community groups meet regularly to discuss their group issues as well as to pay their membership dues. The leader of the group is in charge of announcing and reminding group members about these meetings. For smaller groups, these announcements are made by going from door-to-door. Text messages and telephone calls are also used, in particular by groups such the Cooperativa. However, because of difficulties associated with distance, some groups change their membership criteria to take these difficulties into account. The Roto Haburas group selects its membership based on the distance between each member to facilitate communication.

For the aldeia based groups, the meetings are usually held at the group leader's home. But as one of the group leaders explains, sometimes the venue of the meeting can change based on the group's activities occurring on that day:

*We can meet for up to twice a week. We can also meet in the coffee farms. When we finish in the afternoon, we would share information before we part. Tomorrow, we go to another (farm) ... and we continue to share information.*³¹

The meeting can take place anywhere members happen to be together including during group work. Whereas for groups which are open suku-wide members, their meetings are usually held at the suku office. Such groups include the Cooperativa or the church construction committee.

5.3.5 *Community rules*

There are a number of rules which govern villager activities. Some of these rules include:

²⁹ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p.13

³⁰ P.1_20140217_Respondent 19_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 3.docx, p. 4

³¹ P.1_20140217_Respondent 19_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 3.docx, p. 6

- *Enforcing participation in group activities.* Community groups has a rule to enforce participation of their members in group activities according to some respondents. Group meetings are compulsory for all members to attend. Those who fail to participate are levied with a fine, between \$0.25 to \$1.00. Almost every community group has this rule instituted into the workings of their organization.
- *Rotation system.* This system is usually applied to group works, whether in construction or in cash handling. In construction projects, workers are organized into groups taking turns to work at a particular site for a period of time. In cash handling, every group member gets to keep the group's cash for a period of time and then pass it on to another member. This system of rotation ensures equity and fairness among individuals involved in a group activity.
- *Women's participation.* Women's participation in community activities are usually limited to the roles traditionally assigned to them, in particular cooking and making preparations to receive and host guests. Whether in construction of public projects, during conflict mediation, or local celebrations.
- *Volunteerism.* There is a certain degree of willingness to help each other and to expect nothing in return. Villagers readily help other community members without invitation when the need arises and without any inducement except the expectation that the goodwill will be reciprocated in the future.
- *Invitations.* With projects where food (e.g. lunch) is provided, volunteers would only participate if they are directly invited. Volunteers will not come uninvited to avoid the appearance of being needy.
- *God's justice.* This is perhaps more relevant with the ongoing appeals to contribute towards the construction of the local chapel. Individuals or households who do not make contribution towards the project will not receive any sanction from the community but perhaps will have to deal with justice as given by God.³²
- *The tarabandu.* The primary traditional rule in the village is tara bandu and is applied as a community contract to stop a particular deed from repeating. The tarabandu involves traditional ceremonies, usually animist in its form, and offerings to spirits, the *matebian*. Once the tarabandu ceremonies are concluded, contract is symbolically represented by the head of a buffalo and other traditional artifacts that are placed in a location accessible to public view. This serves to remind community members about a particular decree that they have passed into a traditional law. In the past, the tarabandu was used to end the violent clashes between rival ritual arts gangs in the area. Tarabandu was also used to stop domestic violence and to ease the burden of marriage and kinship exchanges between community members. Annually, the villagers also perform ceremonies to call the rain. The ceremony is performed by village elders and the *lia-na'in*. Just before the start of the wet season, the elders begin by beating the drums and gongs around the village to announce the start of the ceremony and invite villagers to take part. Then they would head to a location near the main lake where a natural spring is located. The ceremony takes place at this spring accompanied by traditional prayers called *hamulak* and offerings. Then the elders collect the water from this spring and distribute it to other community members who will mix it with water in their storage in the expectation that more water would come during the wet season in the form of rain.

5.3.6 *Creation and termination of groups*

Most groups that currently exist in P.1 have been formed through cooperation with someone or a group from the outside. According to Respondent 11, the involvement of an external motivator is necessary because the villagers do not normally come up with such initiatives themselves.

³² P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 5

*The people are unmotivated. They need a sponsor to say, "hey let's start a group. We will be better off if we are involved in a group. Only by joining a group can we be together. Only by joining a group can our lives improve." [...] Other people have given us a push. Today we are very motivated.*³³

The local extensionista has been instrumental in creating a farmers' group in every aldeia. These farmers' group are formed to facilitate cooperation between MAFF and local farmers such as the provision of agricultural materials, technical advice and trials of new crop species. These groups usually have between 20 and 25 members at inception and concentrated exclusively on farming. Later on their activities also spread to cover savings and loans, and labour for hire. International agencies such as UNDP have also provided assistance to villagers to form community groups. The assistance in this case also included trainings on organizational and financial management. The Cooperativa group was initiated through the assistance of UNDP.

Many groups in P.1 have been dissolved. One of the main causes of a group's termination involves the loss of trust in the leadership. The tendency of leaders to control and dominate group activities has not played well among members and has lead to termination of groups. Differences of opinion between group leaders can also end in a group's demise when they cannot bridge their differences. Individuals are also motivated by the prospect of earning additional income through membership of the groups. When their expectations are dashed, they lose motivation and stop taking part in group activities. Again as Respondent 11 inferred:

*And another reason (for a group's termination) is the members, they are only after money. So they just got involved in the groups to be able to change their life. So he only wants money. He doesn't want to join the group only to suffer. So 18 groups were established, it began to decrease, until only these 3 groups (Biluha Rema, P.1-Aldeia 1 Haraik An and Cooperativa) remained*³⁴

Group termination can also be uneventful in that member participation in group activities become less and less frequent until the group completely ceases all its activities. The Grupu Feto Badinas stopped after members became disappointed with the way the group's leader managed its activities. The leader of the group and the xefe suku's mother tried to impose her will on other members.³⁵

5.4 Explanatory cases

Cooperativa group

The Cooperativa group was set up in 2010 as part of a program implemented by UNDP to develop village based cooperatives. There group has 19 members and includes nearly all of the suku council members including the xefe suku, the village secretary and a number of xefe aldeias.

The group is lead by Respondent 11. Although the group was set up initially to have term limits for its leaders, the leadership now rests firmly in the hands of Respondent 11. Term limits no longer apply and according to Respondent 11, the group decided to hand him with the leadership position because he is regarded as honest and capable. Furthermore, unlike the other groups, Cooperativa's leadership is singular. It doesn't have a secretary or a treasurer.

The Cooperativa group is by far the most influential in P.1 not least because of the composition of its membership. The group has cooperated with NGOs and groups from other districts to set up a venture to supply the village with goods and contribute towards community welfare. It developed a program to produce

³³ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p.15

³⁴ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p.13

³⁵ P.1_20140215_Respondent 18, womens rep suku council (notes).docx, p.1

latrines to help the community deal with open defecation as part of an initiative to improve local sanitation facilities. Its other plans include the setting up of a local store to supply the village with other goods. In the past, the group was involved in selling telephone credits to local villagers.

Cooperativa derives its income from regular membership contributions, \$1 of which is paid during the group's regular Friday meeting. So far the group has saved more than \$3,000 in cash. Other than cash, it also has latrines which it produced but was unable to sell locally due to the high price, \$95 per unit, it charges the locals. The group's cash is being reinvested in form of loans to its members at a determined interest rate. Members often borrow the cash prior to the coffee harvest and repay the loans after harvest. In the last round of loans, members took \$60 and repaid \$102 after seven months. The group's cash is held by its leader, who keeps it at his home. There are plans underway to open up the group's bank account.

Decisions regarding loans and interest rates are made collectively. The group gets together to decide whether to allow other members to borrow its cash. Interest is also collectively determined by setting an amount by which the borrower must include in the payment of the loan, instead of a percentage.

The group has in the past cooperated with an NGO based in Liquiça district to produce latrines, as those mentioned previously. The cooperation was prompted by a program to tackle the problem of open defecation: *Comunidade La Soe Fo'er Arbiru* (CLSF). Group members received training from the NGO as well as funds to produce the latrines. The latrines were destined to be sold locally however, the community was unable to buy them because of the high costs involved. The cooperation with the NGO from Liquiça then stopped because the former stopped further funding.

Communication between group members is conducted by phone, usually through short text message services. Respondent 11 usually contacts the group members to either remind them about meetings or to make other announcements. However, sometimes he also visits the members at their homes if they can't or do not have access to a phone. The group usually meet at the suku office.

Members must participate in the group's regular Friday meeting. Members who miss the meeting are given a fine of \$0.50 payable at the next meeting. The absentee is also required to justify his or her absence. According to Respondent 11, at the group's meeting, the leader, who is also the cash holder, also presents the members with the group with the cash. It is also a requirement for the cash to be counted in front of everyone. However, observations made during one of Cooperativa's meetings did not suggest any amount of cash being counted nor did the members made available the \$1 weekly contribution.

Biluha Rema group

Biluha Rema was set up as part of Respondent 28's initiative to establish farmers' groups in every aldeia. It was established in 2010 with 30 members. However, 5 members soon withdrew from the group. The group is lead by Respondent 19, who is also the xefe aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 3. The leadership of the group has not always been held by Respondent 19 however he has played an important role in selecting the group's leaders, including himself.

A male farmer, was the first leader of the group. But he went to Dili and activities within the group stopped. So I handed (the leadership) to someone called XX. But (XX) declined. So I said, 'that's OK'. I will lead it myself. I have been leading this group since 2010.³⁶

³⁶ P.1_20140217_Respondent 19_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 3.docx, p. 1

Currently there are only 15 members remaining after 10 of them left the group following an internal disagreement over the handling of a pig farm project funded by MAFF.

Members contribute \$0.50 to the group every week during the group's regular meeting. In three years the group has accumulated a savings of \$4,500. However, as some members were having difficulties, they suggested that the group's cash savings be loaned out to them. So the group also began to provide loans to its members. However the loan repayment has been difficult and some members actually decided to leave the group instead, taking their share of the group's cash with them.

The value of the last loan provided to the members was \$50. The loans are usually made out during the wet season and repayment made during the coffee harvest period. For the \$50 loan, borrowers are expected to repay \$70 including the interest. According to Respondent 19, the interest rate is decided by the group.³⁷ At present, the group's savings has been reduced to just over \$1,000. The 10 members who left the group also took their share with them. About \$1,700 remain in the hands of borrowers. The group also provides farming services, for members and non-members of the group. These services, such as clearing of weed around coffee plants, also provides the group with another source of income. The services are charged between \$1.50 and \$2 per member.

The group normally meets once every week. However in the wet season, members only meet every fortnightly because of the rain. The leader of the group is in charge of making announcements to the members, including group meetings. He goes to every member's house to make these announcements. The meetings can take place anywhere depending on the group's activity. If they happen to be undertaking a farming service at a particular place, they can sit down and conduct their meeting right there.

6. Public goods [7 - 10 pages]

6.1 Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

The research team identified 24 public projects in P.1 which have been implemented as part of various programs including a multi-agency initiative. The program, implemented in Ermera and Oecusse districts, included road construction, water and sanitation projects and employed local villagers in the construction. Some of the more significant projects include the following:

- **P.1 chapel.** This chapel is located in P.1-Aldeia 1 near the xefe suku's house and the suku office. Construction of the chapel began in 1997 however there were a number of pauses in its process and today the project remains uncompleted. It is being funded through community donations and private contributions, particularly from companies managing local construction projects. In 2010, the construction involved a budget of over \$3,000 where the walls of the building were erected. This construction is ongoing.
- **Opening of road to P.1-Aldeia 6.** This project was initiated by the villagers in P.1-Aldeia 6 through the leadership of a veteran of the resistance. The community selected this project because P.1-Aldeia 6 had never had any form of road access the the community had been using the riverbed to reach the hamlet. The project opened a road to P.1-Aldeia 6 for the first time. Implementation of the project involved cooperation with villagers from other sukus, namely from Neighboring suku 2 and Neighboring suku 3 which contributed workers on a voluntary basis. This project was completed.
- **Road construction to aldeia P.1-Aldeia 6.** This project is part of a wider program implemented locally. The road works began in 2011 and was completed in 2012 with the rehabilitation of old, and the

³⁷ P.1_20140217_Respondent 19_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 3.docx, p. 2

construction of new roads. Villagers in the aldeia were involved in the construction as paid laborers and received oil and rice as payment. The construction work was supervised by the xefe aldeia and was monitored by the CDO (Community Development Officer) and the xefe suku. Although the construction has been completed, accessing the aldeia remains problematic during wet season.

- **Irrigation system in P.1-Aldeia 1** (Phase 1 and Phase 2). P.1-Aldeia 1 is the only area in P.1 that supports rice cultivation. Rice farming has existed in this area for generations, however, lacking proper irrigation. The first phase of the construction began in 2011 which covered half of the existing rice fields. Members of the local farmers' group, P.1-Aldeia 1 Haraik An, were involved in the construction. In 2012 a second phase was launched to complete the irrigation system. However this time the construction encountered problems with the construction company (different to first phase) failing to fulfill its obligations, including paying the wages of workers. The construction for the second phase was not completed and the construction company has abandoned it.

The remaining projects are listed in the following table:

Name of project	Location	Date	Project type	Objectives	Status
Temporary chapel Type of project: Community	P.1-Aldeia 1	2014	Building construction	Construction of temporary chapel to house visiting statue of Virgin Mary and conduct mass wedding	Ongoing
Water tank Type of project: INGO (UNICEF)	P.1-Aldeia 1, next to xefe suku's house	2013	Water	Water supply to the village and to local school	Uncompleted
MCK Type of project: INGO (TROCAIRE)	P.1-Aldeia 1	2011	Sanitation	To provide public toilet facilities	Completed
Water pipes Type of project: INGO (COMPASSES)	P.1-Aldeia 2, P.1-Aldeia 5, P.1-Aldeia 4, P.1-Aldeia 3 and P.1-Aldeia 6	2013	Water	To supply water to remote villages	Completed
Electric posts Type of project: Government	P.1	2011	Electricity	Part of national electrification campaign by the central government	Uncompleted
Eskola Báziku Type of project: Government	P.1-Aldeia 1	2012	Building construction	Construction of school building for primary education	Completed
Community centre	P.1-Aldeia 7	2013	Building construction	Facility to provide space for local activities	Completed

Type of project: Government					
Police station Type of project: Government	P.1-Aldeia 1	2013	Building construction	To build police stations in every sub-district nationally	Completed
Retaining wall Type of project: Government	P.1-Aldeia 1	2014	Road	Road repairs on a section of main road which had fallen off	Uncompleted, abandoned
Private clinic Type of project: Government	P.1-Aldeia 1	2010	Health	Part of NCBA/CCT' community health program to build health facilities around coffee producing regions	Completed
Suku office Type of project: Government	P.1-Aldeia 1	2007 - 2008	Building construction	To house suku administration office and space for village activities	Completed
Basketball/volleyball court (SSYS) Type of project: Government	P.1-Aldeia 1	2012	Construction	Provide sporting facility for suku	Completed
Pig farm (Biluha Rema group) Type of project: Government	P.1-Aldeia 3	2013	Construction	To start a pig farm and distribute the piglets to other groups	Completed

6.2 Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1 *Project selection and decision-making process*

Selection process for public projects can be open and participatory. The process for selecting suku 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 then vote on two of them to be taken to the suku council. Voting on these priorities can be through show of hands or in some cases, unanimous decision. However, suku development projects are decided by the suku council before they are sent further to the district for final consideration. The aldeias are only involved in identifying these projects.³⁸

³⁸ P.1_20140213_Respondent 9_village secretary (TR).doc, p. 2; P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p.20

However, the xefe suku and other suku council members can also take it upon themselves to select projects for the suku. The decision to build a TROCAIRE (an Irish aid agency) funded sanitation facility close to the xefe suku's house was made exclusively between the xefe suku and the village secretary. They only informed the villagers after the decision was made, yet the community was not satisfied.³⁹ Another decision on the suku's latest development priority was also similarly made by the two men at the xefe suku's house.⁴⁰

Community projects often involve initiatives from individuals outside of the group or NGOs. Respondent 28 for example has worked with the farmers' group which he set up to initiate a number of projects, including irrigation, seedling and pig farming. Nevertheless, group members decide whether to participate or not, in the project. In other cases, outside organizations such as NGOs or international agencies, also invite the villagers to participate in their projects. Some projects of this type include water and sanitation programs.

The government through relevant ministries also select projects to be implemented locally and the villagers are only included in its implementation. The local volleyball court was selected by the Secretary of State for Youth and Sports. Community projects funded by the government also requires government's approval before funding can be provided, for example the pig farming project implemented by the Biluha Rema group.

The Catholic Church also influences the villagers in project selection, the construction of the local chapel being a prime example. The project was compelled by pressure⁴¹ from the Church on the basis that every other sukus, even aldeias, have already got a chapel except for P.1:

*The parish priest always says that in some aldeias they (the villagers) already constructed their own chapels. But some sukus (such as P.1) are unable to. They remind us during mass and during parish meetings.*⁴²

Yet, the decision to go ahead with this project was made by the community.⁴³

6.3 Project planning

Besides the government, community members are the primary financial contributor of locally initiated projects. The contributions are usually organized along individual households and are collected when the need arises. For major projects which take long periods of time to complete, the household contributions are collected annually. However, contributions of this type are largely dependent on the local economic situation, itself driven mainly by annual agricultural harvests. Fluctuations in the price of coffee and unfavourable climate conditions tend to reduce quantity and quality of the harvest and disrupt household contributions. The sustainability of projects which depend on this type of financing is rather fragile. The elderly members of the community have a more stable income stream in the form of state pensions and have since become a reliant source of contribution. The chapel construction committee have tapped into their financial support after contributions from the other villagers stopped.⁴⁴

The central government also funds local projects, whether as part of wider government programs or proposed by community groups. With these projects funding is provided by the government while implementation is carried out by the villagers, whether through the suku council or through community groups.

³⁹ P.1_20140212_Respondent 8_Xefe Suco P.1 (TR).doc, p.5

⁴⁰ Observation made during field work.

⁴¹ P.1_20140212_Respondent 8_Xefe Suco P.1 (TR).doc, p. 3; P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 2

⁴² P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 9

⁴³ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 18; P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 2

⁴⁴ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 27

Financial resources are managed by group leaders or committees in charge of project implementation. With projects implemented by smaller community groups, the cash is often controlled by the leader of the group even when a treasurer is present in the structure. For groups with large membership base, financial management is more transparent. The group's leadership consults with each other on matters regarding expenditures and provide reports to members regarding the state of the finances. These reports are delivered during their group meeting.

6.3.1 Project implementation

Recruitment for large projects are usually coordinated by the xefe aldeia. The xefe aldeia can go door-to-door to invite villagers or convene public meetings and register the prospective workers, men and women. One of the community members invited to a suku construction activity includes Respondent 6, a vulnerable community member from the aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 7:

When we hear about (public) works in the suku, we would go (take part) ... When (the xefe aldeia) invite us, we would go (take part).⁴⁵

The female youth representative in the suku council is also involved in organizing the recruitment of women to take part in these activities.⁴⁶ However not every women can participate. For families with children, women's participation is limited as they prioritize household duties. For the church construction activity, a mother from aldeia P.1-Aldeia 7 says that:

Only the men participate because we have (to look after) our children so we don't have time to go (take part).⁴⁷

For the women who participate, their role in the project is usually limited to cooking and the preparation of coffee for the workers.⁴⁸ They do not participate in the manual construction work.⁴⁹

Participation in the projects also encounter its own bottlenecks. Door-to-door announcements sometimes only result in the participation of those who have received such visit. Other villagers, in particular those living far from population centre, or away from the xefe aldeia's own residence, may not take part. This was one of the issues discussed during a community meeting to prepare for the reception of the visiting statue of Virgin Mary. The committee in charge of the preparations pointed out that only the people close to the xefe aldeia turned up to take part in the preparation works around the site of the temporary chapel.⁵⁰

Recruitment for large projects involving payments is usually coordinated by the xefe aldeias who registers the names of the prospective workers.⁵¹ With the COMPASSES road project in P.1-Aldeia 6, where workers were paid with food, the xefe aldeia called a community meeting and invited villagers who he says were fit enough to participate in the construction. In the P.1-Aldeia 6 road construction, the workers involved were,

⁴⁵ P.1_20140212_Respondent 6_vulnerable_P.1-Aldeia 7 (TR).docx, p. 1

⁴⁶ P.1_20140219_Respondent 26_women's rep (TR).docx, p. 2

⁴⁷ P.1_20140212_Respondent 4_Farmer_P.1 (TR).docx, p. 1; P.1_20140220_Respondent 27_housewife, farmer.docx (notes), p. 1

⁴⁸ P.1_20140212_Respondent 6_vulnerable_P.1-Aldeia 7 (TR).docx, p. 1; P.1_20140213_Respondent 5_Vulnerable (TR).docx, p. 1; P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 11

⁴⁹ Observation at the construction of a temporary chapel in the suku. P.1_20140210-20_Observations.docx, p. 1

⁵⁰ P.1_20140218_community meeting RE visit by statue of Virgin Mary (obs.).docx, p. 2

⁵¹ P.1_20140220_Respondent 21_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 6 (TR).docx, p. 1; P.1_20140214_Respondent 12_farmers.docx, p. 1

*[t]he young people, the moms and dads who still have the strength to do work, and the widows, such as the vulnerable (community members) who are still strong. ... The (COMPASSES) program specified that only people with enough strength would do the work.*⁵²

Where the work is paid in cash, such as the \$3 scheme rolled out by SEFOPE, recruitment excludes individuals who already receive regular income including a salary and government pensions. People in this group include the elderly and the public servants. Only those registered are eligible to work and receive payments, which can be made in form of food, specially rice, beans and oil, as well as cash. Payments are made only after the xefe aldeia or the xefe suku have inspected the work and provided their approval.

For major community owned projects, such as the local chapel, recruitment also follows a similar pattern as described previously. On top of the xefe aldeia's effort to invite the villagers, the church also makes announcements about construction activities and issue invitation to the parishioners. Church projects do not involve payment and workers are only provided with lunch and coffee.

However villagers are also motivated by compensations such as payments, whether cash or food, when participating in these projects. People's participation in public works such road projects is premised on the expectation that payment of whatever form would be made:

*With regards to the road construction, because there is (payment) of 3 kilos of rice or \$3, the villagers in the aldeia are always waiting for this.*⁵³

Villagers also expect to be involved in such paid works, specially when the work is related to a public project. The construction of the UNICEF funded water tank next to the xefe suku's was contested by some villagers because the xefe suku had not invited them to take part; instead the xefe suku recruited only people close to him.⁵⁴

A system of rotation is also used for construction of large projects which involve numerous workers. This system is applied throughout the whole village whether suku or aldeia projects. For suku projects, such as the chapel construction, workers are grouped around their aldeias and would work up to a week at a time. At aldeias, groupings centre around the bairru (sub-aldeia). The xefe aldeias are in charge with the monitoring of the workers. For paid work such those implemented by COMPASSES, the xefe aldeia is appointed to this position because of his familiarity with his community members and his ability to monitor who comes to work and who doesn't:

*We must monitor the road construction everyday. If there are problems, we must respond to them. Is the work being done properly? We hold the list of names of people who work. We check for who has turned up and who hasn't.*⁵⁵

Community members expect to be informed about projects implemented locally, this way the villagers can at least help with the monitoring.

When a project is implemented in the suku, it should be socialized to the entire community so that the people can [...] provide attention to the project. ... Information (about public projects) should also be shared with the people so that the people can provide a form of control (of the implementation

⁵² P.1_20140220_Respondent 21_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 6 (TR).docx, p. 2

⁵³ P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 9

⁵⁴ P.1_20140215_Respondent 18, womens rep suku council (notes).docx, p. 2

⁵⁵ P.1_20140220_Respondent 21_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 6 (TR).docx, p. 4

*process). If the projects do not have quality, the people will say (something about it) if the authorities won't.*⁵⁶

It is also expected that information about these projects will ensure the project's success:

*When the people are informed (about the projects), they will have good involvement, their attention and observation (for the project) will also be good, they will have active participation. (The outcome) will be good.*⁵⁷

Nevertheless, these sentiments may also reflect a sense of entitlement by individuals to information about projects which are collectively owned, in particular government projects:

*When we do something inside our suku, we must inform each other so we know what it is. It's not for only one person to know. It's not for the men only to know it. It's also a right for the women. We must work together so it can (be successful).*⁵⁸

The recruitment process used for smaller projects is somewhat less transparent. Smaller projects such as those implemented by community groups, and in case of government projects, those controlled by the suku council, does not require large mobilizations. With government projects implemented by the villagers, the xefe suku controls the recruitment on behalf of the suku council and can chose to involve other council members in the process. Other than the water tank mentioned hitherto, the recruitment for the suku's volleyball court projects was also controlled by the xefe suku in collaboration with the suku council's male youth representative. The recruitment process was not publicly announced nor were other council members informed about it. Recruitment for group projects also follow similar procedure.⁵⁹

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 and sand are sourced locally. Community members, specially those who live near the source, such as river beds or quarries, are engaged in the process by collecting the materials for transport. 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 chapel construction, committee members would shop for the materials in Dili, purchase them, and then present the receipt to the group.

6.3.2 Resource management

There are several ways in which various groups manage their resources. For groups undertaking large construction projects, resources are kept in a purpose-built warehouse near the construction site and are overseen by the group's leaders formed into a construction committee. This committee also manages the stock, such as construction materials, and would inform members when the stock is depleted.

With smaller community groups, such as those set up by Respondent 28, members appoint one of their peers to be responsible for the maintenance of their resources. The main criteria for the nomination relates to the location and the condition where the resources are to be housed, that it must a central location accessible to all members alike, and that the materials can be kept safely. The nomination process for of this individual is

⁵⁶ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 16

⁵⁷ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 17

⁵⁸ P.1_20140219_Respondent 26_women's rep (TR).docx, p. 3

⁵⁹ P.1_20140217_Respondent 19_Xefi aldeia P.1-Aldeia 3.docx, p. 5

conducted through consultation with group members. With Respondent 28's groups, he is also involved in the nomination process and has the ability to veto or appoint someone of his choosing.

It depends on who they chose but we should note, where is he going to keep it? Is his place the nearest (to everyone)? [...] Let's say they chose someone who lives (far away). Now, we must intervene on this one and say no, it would be better for you to reconsider. It's better for you to keep it somewhere near (everyone) to make easier (for access).⁶⁰

Distribution of project resources among group members tends to be equitable. All members have equal access to the resources even when they are of limited availability. For example access to donated farm tools among groups established by the local extensionista, Respondent 28. If there are enough farm tools donated, then every member in the group will have access to one. If there are not enough to provide for every member, the tools are instead pooled in one location, for example at the house of a member who has been nominated to keep the materials. Members are free to access these tools anytime but are required to return them when they are no longer needed.⁶¹

A similar pattern of resource distribution also applies to goods intended to benefit multiple community groups, such as farmers' groups. The material is stored at central location accessible to everyone except that it is controlled by a single individual. In the case of government assistance, the associated local government staff, such as extensionista in the case of MAFF, controls the distribution. Fuel for tractors for example stored in a central location:

I always store the fuel (for the hand tractor) in the middle, near the police building in order to guarantee ease of access. And then I would tell the groups how much fuel they can get for use in their rice fields.⁶²

6.3.3 Development outcomes

The village of P.1 has had numerous projects implemented locally. For the most part, these projects are inadequately completed while others are simply abandoned by the contractors. There are also cases where workers left unpaid, namely the irrigation project in P.1-Aldeia 1 and the construction of the community centre in P.1-Aldeia 7. With regards to government projects in particular, villagers regard them unfavorably because of the poor quality which they have to come to consistently produce. There is a widespread view that government projects mainly benefits only the companies contracted for their construction:

I use the main road as an example. It has taken five years to construct. Where is the quality? So this road has been a waste of money. The companies are satisfied, but the people have lost a great deal whereas the money used for this project is the people's money.⁶³

Lack of effective participation by the villagers has been cited as one of the causes of these failures. Community participation for example can enhance a project's implementation because the villagers can help to highlight the problems when they arise and keep the contractors accountable.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ P.1_20140219_Respondent 28_estensionista (TR).docx, p. 28

⁶¹ P.1_20140219_Respondent 28_estensionista (TR).docx, p. 27

⁶² P.1_20140219_Respondent 28_estensionista (TR).docx, p. 25

⁶³ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 16

⁶⁴ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 16, 17

With the construction of the local chapel, funding difficulties has been suggested as one of the main causes of the delay:

In our observation, we all do not have the same lives. Some have money, others don't. So some people contribute while others don't. That's why the (chapel) project has been delayed until today.⁶⁵

The completion of the project itself depends on the funding made available by the local parishioners⁶⁶ which ultimately is contingent upon the local economic situation:

Everything in Ermera depends on coffee. If the coffee grows good beans then we can secure the money from the community. But if the coffee does not grow good beans, then we will be sad because for this year the chapel will remain unfinished.⁶⁷

6.4 Explanatory cases

Construction of the local basketball/volleyball court

The Secretary of State for Youth and Sports (SSYS) rolled out a program to build a basketball/volleyball court in the villages around the sub-district. This project was selected by the central government and villagers were only involved in its implementation. After it was officially announced, representatives of the suku council were invited to take part in a meeting held at the sub-district office to learn more about this project. The P.1 youth representatives in the suku council participated in this meeting as this project was aimed primarily at youth.

The xefe suku controlled and managed the construction of the volleyball court in collaboration with council members, in particular relevant community representatives. The xefe suku was in charge of keeping project's funds, disbursement and coordination of the construction process in collaboration with the male youth council member. After receiving the funds, the xefe suku delegated the male youth council member to be in charge of construction providing him with 60% of the funds. There was no attempt by either of them to involve other community members in this project.⁶⁸

Normally the xefe aldeia would register the names of potential workers at these meetings. For the construction of the volleyball court, however, the youth representative recruited workers through his personal network and four of his friends who lived near the suku centre were invited to work for the project. There was no consultation with other group members or with the community at large. Soon the construction stalled as the youth representative ran out of money before the construction was advanced to a satisfactory level.

Although the community has not been involved in the process, the location of the project, on the grounds of the local primary school, inevitably attracted public attention paving the way to some form of public scrutiny to take place. Construction problems would have sent out a strong signal to attract even closer attention by the public. Realizing that the project was stalling and possible public backlash, the xefe suku confronted the youth representative over the latter's handling of the project. After clashing with the xefe suku, the youth representative abandoned the project and left the village.

As the head of the project, xefe suku took over the construction and used the rest of the funds to its end. During this phase however, xefe suku also involved Juliana, the other council member representing the youth, in the construction. Juliana participated in the project by helping prepare food to feed the workers. The project was completed.

⁶⁵ P.1_20140212_Respondent 7_Lia na'in.docx, p. 2

⁶⁶ P.1_20140212_Respondent 7_Lia na'in.docx, p. 4

⁶⁷ P.1_20140212_Respondent 7_Lia na'in.docx, p. 7

⁶⁸ P.1_20140219_Respondent 26_women's rep (TR).docx, p. 3

Construction of the local chapel

Villagers identified this priority in 1997 in response to the growing the local population and the crumbling state of the existing chapel. According to Respondent 7, the suku council lia-na'in:⁶⁹

*“The decision (to build the chapel) came from the parishioners. Because there are parishioners, therefore there must needs to be a chapel. Every suku has a chapel and ours, we had one in Indonesian period but it’s crumbling. That’s why (the community) made a decision to rebuild it.”*⁷⁰

The local church representatives and the community met and agreed to construct the community’s new chapel.⁷¹ Today the project is being managed by a committee (chapel construction committee) headed by the xefe suku, Respondent 8. The committee was elected by the community at a meeting.⁷²

The financing for the project came mostly through community contribution, organised around households. During the Indonesian period, each household contributed Rp2,500 and up to Rp900,000 was collected.⁷³ However only a small number of households made the contribution. Currently, each household contributes \$20 per year. The xefe aldeia is responsible for the collections including going door-to-door to collect the cash. A church stamp is also used during the collection, perhaps to reassure the community that their contribution is going towards the church’s project.

However this type of contribution is quite unreliable as it depends largely on the local economy, which is driven mainly by coffee. For 2011 and 2012, household contribution has been disrupted due to poor coffee harvest caused primarily by unfavourable climate. A drop in the price of coffee further exacerbated the economy.

During the Indonesian period, the community also donated a prize money received from the Jakarta government. The prize money amounted to a total of Rp2.5 million.

Other contributors include private companies operating in the village, private individuals as well as the elderly who receive government’s old-age subsidy. The private companies operating in the village have donated cements while private individuals, including the xefe suku and the xefe aldeia of P.1-Aldeia 1 contributed other materials, such as timber, for the construction. In 2010, the project had \$3,000 in cash and in the following year, the total community contribution totalled around \$2,700. The elderly members of the community also contributed around \$1,000. The head of the construction committee keeps the project’s cash and receipts.

The committee spends the project’s funds in consultation with the local church representatives, including the *ketua umat*. The committee also provides a report to the community after the project’s cash, obtained from the previous round of household contribution, is thoroughly spent.

The entire community was mobilised to take part in the construction process with each xefe aldeia responsible for organising their own aldeia residents. The xefe aldeias would go door-to-door to invite the villagers to participate as well as announce the timetable. Announcement about these activities were also made during mass services. The female youth representative in the suku council was also involved in the rallying the women in the village to take part. However not everyone usually took part in the construction activity. In some households

⁶⁹ Respondent 7 is the suku council’s lia-na’in and committee president responsible for organizing events to receive a statue of Virgin Mary which is travelling through the suku in the surrounding region.

⁷⁰ P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p.2

⁷¹ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 18

⁷² P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 2

⁷³ Respondent 11, the senior katekista, provides a conversion rate of around Rp1000 to US\$1.00

the women may not participate because they had to look after their children. Other villagers may not turn up because they have other activities such as tending to their farms or because they may not feel well.⁷⁴

Participation in the construction works followed a rotational system and activities took place from Monday to Saturday. Workers were organised at the aldeia by level their xefe aldeias and each aldeia worked for one six days. from Monday to Saturday. The workers are not paid a salary but were offered lunch. Only the men were involved in the manual construction work while women were given the task of preparing food and coffee for the workers.

The construction committee, the katekista and the ketua umat made decisions about procurement. Materials unavailable locally were purchased in Dili. There was no discussion about how the materials should be procured. Committee members decided on what to buy and were only required to show receipts during committee meetings. After the materials were purchased, the committee provided a report on their expenditures and the remaining balance to the community.

A warehouse has also been constructed next to the chapel to house the construction materials and the construction committee is in responsible for their protection.

However since the Indonesian period, the construction of the chapel suffered regular setbacks. Disagreement among the leadership within the construction committee in the early phase of the chapel's construction lead to the abandonment of the project as the committee unravelled. Materials housed near the construction site were also looted following the 1999 referendum.

In the post-referendum era however, financial issues became the main factor behind the delay because the project relies primarily on community contributions. In the past couple of years, community contribution has trickled and then stopped. The local economic conditions were one of the primary causes of the disruptions in the contributions. Unfavourable climate was specially devastating between the 2011 and 2013 reducing the amount of coffee harvested. Community contributions stopped after 2011.

Additionally, a loss of confidence by the community in the implementation process further added further stumbling block. Villagers are troubled by the fact that the construction has not had any significant progress:

The people have lost a bit of trust because in the last period, when the xefe aldeias collected the money, there were some failure. So the people began to lose trust. They say "well, we are contributing the money but the construction is not going anywhere".⁷⁵

So the katekista, the xefe suku and the xefe aldeias began another campaign to regain community trust. They went to meetings at each aldeia to consult with the community. Respondent 11 explained that the Church leaders and local government leaders had to work together in the community consultation in order to regain the trust.⁷⁶ Work on the building stopped in 2011 after parts of the wall were erected. The construction of the chapel remains unfinished.

⁷⁴ P.1_20140212_Respondent 7, P.1 (TR).doc, p. 8-9

⁷⁵ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 19

⁷⁶ P.1_20140213_Respondent 11_katekista (TR).docx, p. 27

7. Conclusions and Recommendations [5 pages]

7.1 Review of key socio-cultural characteristics institutions and public goods (including collective action) and how these could constrain or influence implementation of PNDS

The Catholic church is one of the most important and powerful institution in the village. The most influential people in the village is firmly connected to the church through various roles, whether as local church representative, *ketua umat*, youth leaders, or leader of certain church related groups. Respondent 11 for example is a catechist and a *ministru*, granting him the power to perform mass in the absence of a parish priest and administer holly communion. Respondent 28 is Catholic youth leader and a former priesthood aspirant. Respondent 25, the local school director is the leader of the local congregation, or *ketua umat*. Moreover, key formal leaders are also positioned in leadership positions within committees managing the implementation of local Church projects. These committees have the power to direct community resources towards Church projects whether through public appeals of cash contributions, through lobbying of private companies, or by transferring community asset in that direction.

One of the largest community driven projects in the village is the construction of the local chapel. A lot of community resources has been directed towards this project yet its completion is still very remote. Community participation in Church activities is also more passionate compared with other projects. The construction of the local chapel has counted on the entire community mobilization where labour, cash and materials are contributed regularly.

Although faith-based community projects are excluded from PNDS program, monitoring the management of PNDS resources will be a challenge given the significant influence exerted by the Church on the villagers. The risk of PNDS resources being diverted towards Church activities should be considered.

7.2 Researchers personal experience, beliefs regarding the topic

The researcher has a longstanding interest in poverty and inequality issues in Timor-Leste. He also participates regularly in community group discussions on issues concerning social justice and human rights. This researcher believes 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:
P.2 (Aileu District)
World Bank, PNDS-REP
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. 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 to accelerate community development and achieve the goals of National Strategic Development Plan. PNDS is aimed to empower communities by providing them the opportunity to control public infrastructure projects, improve inclusiveness and participation in community decision making and providing training and jobs. Next, by empowering citizens and establishing an effective mechanism for disbursing on budget funding to implement communities' own development plans, PNDS is proposed to help build up the relationship between Government and its citizens. Third, the program is planned to help improve GoTL policy development, program implementation and coordination, by establishing efficient corporate systems for PNDS which can be used more broadly. To help government achieve these goals PNDS, Research and Evaluation Program (REP) is designed to do Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) activities of the program to provide evidence based innovation to increase the program's impact and to improve the program design and its implementation.

1.1. The aim of the study

QualFS is a baseline assessment and will be conducted before the implementation of PNDS. It is an ethnographic study of the village and looking at local governance, institutions, social cohesion and village infrastructures. QualFS is closely linked to the Qualitative Follow-up study that will explore how PNDS interacts with these three broad themes. Nevertheless, as there is no control group (another set of villages where PNDS is not implemented that is used to compare the impacts to villages where PNDS is implemented), this is not fully an impact evaluation. Hence, the main goal of QualFS is to provide rich ethnographic data on the village that will be used during the Mixed-methods process monitoring and Qualitative Follow-up, for comparisons and benchmarking.

1.2. Summary findings

Collected data reveals that P.2 has a small and united community, since majority of the population come from the same clan. The village council interacts with other village groups such as Modo Fatin and other institutions, health, education, church and other nongovernmental organizations which operate in the village. The presence of Catholic Church in the village is very influential and the parish priest is a powerful person who is not living in the village. The church manages development activities with the village council where villagers worked voluntarily to complete projects implemented by the church. Only food is provided for villagers to complete the projects. Projects which are implemented by external contractors and include payment of laborers have not been successful in P.2. The main contributing factors that led to projects being left uncompleted are underpayment of laborers who work on the project by contractors. Delay in delivery of construction materials by contractors and bad weather condition; such as, heavy raining are the other contributing factors for projects not completed.

Although not all infrastructure projects provide payment for daily workers, there are similarities in labor organization. In all observed infrastructure projects, laborers were recruited locally and organized based on a rotation system. The laborers rotate among individuals and groups. Groups are originating from each Aldeia and therefore rotate from Aldeia to Aldeia and for individual rotation, one works for a week to a month and rests in the subsequent months so that a larger pool of villagers can contribute and benefit from projects.

The village council is tasked to administer village development and decision by voting. Nevertheless, arriving at a consensus is a central part of the process; hence there is a focus on discussion and explanation of decisions. The marginalized groups such as women and vulnerable populations; such as widow, the elders are and other community members who are not in the village governance structure not included in the decision making process for village development infrastructure. The women's representatives in the village are mainly tasked to prepare food for the village council members during meetings or visitors such as sub –district administrator or other entities parish priest and nongovernmental organizations for instance who visit the village. In spite of this drawback, the community members including marginalized and vulnerable population stated that they have their representatives

in the village council (Xefe Aldeia, Xefe Suku, lia nain, women and youth representatives) and they generally trust these representatives to make decisions on their behalf.

The council has closed collaboration with other government institutions, in health and education as they included teachers, nurses and doctor in meetings to share their opinions on village development priorities. Xefe Aldeias are used as communications arm of local governance structure; they inform villagers on decisions and obtain feedback that is later shared in the village council and Xefe Suku.

2. Methodology

To ensure regional coverage, Timor Leste was divided into five territorial units – Mountains, East, Border, central and Enclave. The mountains territorial unit encompassing, Aileu, Ermera, Ainaro and Manufahi was selected as research site for this round of data collection. The required sampling criteria for this territorial unit are urbanization level, which among other correlates with the presence or absence of the state institutions, the level of violence and veterans' presence. P.2 was sample from all Phase II villages from the mountains territorial units as it is rural and has high presence of veterans, 12%¹. Additional sampling criteria was used to narrow the selection to P.2 as the major resistance activities during occupation as there was active members Celcom² or Cellula de Comunicacao and Nurep³ or *Nucleo Resistencia Popular*, in the village. These persons were tasked to provide food, ammunitions, money, cigarettes and information to the guerillas to continue to resist against Indonesian occupation. Three potential sites were selected prior to the fieldwork. However, through discussions with key informants at the District (The deputy District Administrator and district PNDS coordinator) and sub district levels (Sub District Administrator), the researchers were first directed to another village. However, due to the inaccessible road during rainy season the researchers changed the research site to the village of P.2.

¹ The average percentage of veterans in village for Mountains territorial unit - 8%

² *Celcom* or communication cell is defined as an alternative to the hamlet leadership under clandestine wing when Timor Leste struggled for Independence and the person who holds this position played role as xefe aldeia.

³ *Nurep* or Nucleo de Resistencia popular means nucleus of popular resistance is an alternative to the village leadership and under the command of the sub district administrative secretary

There were three research instrument used for to collect data for this village report. These instruments include instrument on local institutions, social cohesion and public goods. The data was obtained from 31 semi-structured interviews conducted from February10th to February 20th, 2014. Among the respondents, 29 interviews were audio recorded, while the remaining two were captured by handwritten field notes, as these respondents did not provide their consent for audio recordings. In 13 interviews all three research instruments were used. The other 11 respondents were interviewed used two research instruments mainly public goods and local institutions and the remaining 7 interviews used instrument on public goods and people in society. Meanwhile, the team did three observations on relevant village life and activities, such as village council meeting, road repairing activity and observation on one month after death gathering in the village. Types of research instruments and numbers of respondents are shown in the next table.

Research instruments	#of respondents
Local institution, public goods and people in the society	13
Local institutions and public goods only	11
Public goods and people in society only	7
Total	31

Table 1: Research Instruments used

In selecting 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 and Aldeias) or as having power to affect village level development policies, such as parish priest and sub district administrator. For snowball sampling, researchers asked the respondents in the purposive sampling group 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. fixing a road or met on a meeting or working in the garden), or were identified by the researchers as vulnerable. In the 31 interviews, 12 respondents were selected by using

snowball sampling methodology, 9 were selected by convenience and 10 respondents were selected using purposive sampling method. The detail numbers of respondents by sampling, age, gender and by professions are illustrated in the following table.

Respondent characteristics		# of respondents	Total
By sampling	Purposive	10	31
	Snowball	12	
	Convenience	9	
By gender	Female	13	31
	Male	18	
By age	0 -25	2	31
	26 -39	7	
	40 -55	12	
	55-70	3	
	71 -80	1	
	Uncertain	6	
Profession	Teacher	1	31
	Priest	1	
	Role in local governance	8	
	Nurse	1	
	Doctor	1	
	Business women (local kiosk)	2	
	Subsistence farmer	17	

Table 2: Number of respondents by sampling, gender, age and professions

3. Description of the village

P.2 is a mountainous village located in Aileu district and it is one of the eight sukus that make up the sub district. The suku has three hamlets with the varied distance to the village center. These hamlets are: P.2-Aldeia 1, de facto village center, P.2-Aldeia 3 near the village center less than one kilometer and P.2-Aldeia 2 located two kilometers away and close to the main road to a neighboring sub district. The P.2-Aldeia 2 and the other two Aldeia separated by Neighboring Suku 1.



Figure 1: Map of Sukus in Aileu. Source: Seeds of Life

During the field visit population data that was obtained from the village secretary, indicated that the total population had increased to 545 organized in 115 households. The increase from the population size depicted in the 2010 census was explained by high fertility rates and marriages.

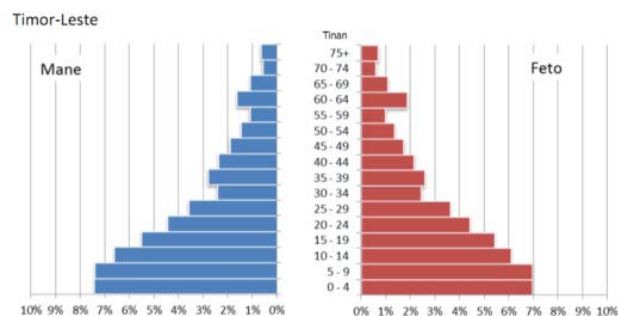


Figure 2: Total Population of P.2 by Gender and Age. Source: Sensus Fo Fila Fali (2010).

The major languages of communication in P.2 are Mambae and Tetum, with the percentage of 52 and 48 percent respectively.

Poverty standard for Timor Leste is 88 cents per day and it is higher in rural areas where the majority of populations live; however, there was no data on the income level for the village. There 20 to 40 percent of the population had good sanitation. These populations have sanitation facilities, such as pit latrine with good ventilation which is connected to a septic tank (Sensus Fo Fila Fali, 2010). In addition, 80 percent of the village populations have access to clean water, for instance, water piped into households, spring water which is protected, collection of rain water and bottle water from commercial markets. 98.8 percent used firewood as the main source of energy for cooking food for households. Only 2.3 percent and 5.8 percent own cars and motorbikes as modes of transportations.

The literacy rate for population aged 15 to 24 is 91 percent. The census in 2010 provides no data on the level literacy for other age groups. Moreover, 41 percent of women in the village have been assisted by qualified health professional during from 2005 onwards. According to census done in 2010 there has been no data on child and mother mortality rates at the village levels. The village has low very low completion rate of university education as the census indicated zero percent earned a university qualification. There only two percent completed a diploma from a polytechnic, five percent completed secondary school, 11 percent completed junior high school level of education, and 49 percent completed primary school and 30 percent of P.2 population five years and over never attended school.

In P.2 98.84% of the community engaged in agriculture with coffee, cassava, mandarin, bananas, kidney beans, corns, green vegetables and pineapple and these the main crops being produced. They use this crop for both consumptions and selling. Additionally, small number of population engaged in business activities such as, small scale trade (kiosk) basic household goods to other community members. These individuals borrowed money from money lender organization called Moris Rasik based in other suku or in sub district to conduct this business activity in the village.

Historically, P.2 was named after a king from a major clan (the main uma lisan)⁴. The people from this clan have spread to each Aldeia in the village. The village was the major site of resistance activities during occupation where majority of them support the independence movement. As a result, the political crisis in 1999 did not affect them. They did not have conflict between independent and Indonesian supporters, but there were four households from P.2 evacuated to West Timor and have not been returned as they were Indonesian army during the occupation. Since Portuguese time until 2009 the village was governed by people from the same clan, passing down the position of Xefe Suku in the same family. The former Xefe Suku took over from his father in 1982 and in 2004 he won the election of the Xefe Suku in the village to continue to hold the position. However in 2009 he lost the election to the current Xefe Suku and the current xefe suku took over the office in 2010. He was the first democratically elected from another sacred house to hold the position as the village chief.

4. Social Cohesion

This chapter will review the formation of social cohesion and conceptualization of people and power in P.2.

4.1. Formation of social cohesion

This part will first describe power and vulnerability of the population and their social identity. Further, the sources of conflict, ways of dealing with conflict, welfare, development priorities and external cooperation of the population of P.2 will be focused upon.

4.1.1 Power and Vulnerability

The community of P.2 mainly comes from one powerful clan or liurai uma lisan (sacred house), and currently spread into three aldeias. There are also other four sacred houses in the village however they all originate from main uma lisan. Persons who are members of Liurai uma lisan have been holding the role of Xefe Suku for many generations. Only in 2010 the current xefe suku was the first from other sacred house has been elected for the position; however, they are still related because the current xefe suku is one of the cousins of the

⁴ P.2 -14-14-02-Respondent 12, community member,TR.docx,p.1

former xefe suku. The generations of Liurai uma lisan which spread into other sacred house also become Aldeia chiefs for Aldeia which they belong to. Even though a democratic election is held to choose Xefe suku, the people of Liurai uma lisan still need to be in the village council because of their sacred house as stated by the Lia nain Suku⁵.

“The former and current xefe suku cannot replace me because of our sacred house. Liurai uma lisan is the king of this village, this sacred house has been the king from generation to generations, we from this sacred house have to be in the village council the local governance structures and cannot replace because of culture”.

Most of the current power holders have land and other source of wealth such as livestock and transportations; we observed most of the village council members had motorbikes. Land in P.2 generally hereditary land and unmeasured; however, they stated there is no difference of land size among community in the village. Both powerful and community members own one to three acres of land as their main resource in the village. Most of powerful members in the village are those who hold positions in the local governance structures as xefe suku and xefe Aldeia, village elder and lia nain. The other powerful person in the village is the parish priest as he controls the church development initiative in the village and he is one of the resource (housing materials and food) holders which community relied upon.

The marginalized and vulnerable⁶ groups of P.2 community are those who are not originated from Liurai uma lisan clan and those who live far away from the village. They have one to three acres of land as their main assets however they do not have other sources of wealth which the power holders have. These groups include community members who are poorly relied on crops, poor and parents who are unable to send their children to school and those who have sick relatives and unable to access health care due to financial constraints and the elderly who has had lost their children who can support them.

⁵ P.2 14-02-14-Respondent 4, Lia nain, TR. docx,p.3

⁶ Powerful is the ability of a person to influence or control the behavior of others while vulnerability refers to community members who are poor, live in remote, rural areas with significantly reduced access to basic social services and economic opportunities.

4.1.2 Social Identity

Generally, the village of P.2 is inhabited by families from the same generations. Therefore, the leaders of the community, elected and non-elected, recent and past governed their own relatives in the village, as stated by a xefe Aldeia of P.2-Aldeia 2 and Respondent 12 a community member. Below is their statement:

Xefe Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 2, Respondent 29⁷:

“All my relatives in this Aldeia, my uncles, aunties, nephews, sister and brothers in the Aldeia”

Respondent 12⁸:

“From generation to generations we are only families live here”.

Nevertheless, there have been intermarriages between various clans also coming from neighboring sub-districts, villages and other parts of Timor Leste. They have inhabited the village and occupied lands for more than decades as stated by a community member, Respondent 14⁹.

“I started to work and build house here when I married my wife from this village, the Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 3 in 1978 and I have lived here since that year.”

4.1.3 Conflict and conflict mediation

Based on our interview, there seem to be no major conflicts in P.2. The minor conflicts that may arise include: land dispute, water scarcity and domestic violence. There is a single water pipe that runs through the village and is shared by two Aldeia – P.2-Aldeia 3 and P.2-Aldeia 1. In the past, some households used the piped water for their gardens or crops, leaving other households further down the pipe without sufficient amounts of drinking water. This is particularly an issue during the dry season, when the water quantity decreases. This has

⁷ P.2 -14-19-02-Respondent 29, Xefe Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 2, TR.docx, p.3

⁸ P.2 -14-14-02-Respondent 12, TR.docx, p.3

⁹ P.2 -14-14-02-Respondent 14, Community Member, TR.docx, p.6)

become the main source of conflict in the village as stated by the former xefe suku, Respondent 9¹⁰:

“We have one piped water only in the village if one family used it all, other community would not get enough water and it’s a big problem in the community”

As a result, the community leaders (xefe suku, xefe Aldeia, catechist) the community themselves and representatives from other institutions decided to establish water usage rules state that the water cannot be used for watering gardens or crops. The community has obeyed it because the enforcement is severe for community who tries to violate. The suspect would slaughter a cow, pig or goat to feed the community and the local leaders for a meal or a day. Providing these is too expensive for the villagers.

Another minor type of conflict is about land disputes within the village and with other villages. Majority of the community own hereditary land and thus borders between lands have been decided upon once and implemented from generation to generation. Thus, if a dispute arises within community over a piece of land the xefe Aldeia, xefe suku, lia nain or the elder in the village or aldeia would be in charge of mediating and deciding the borders and solve it. The problem is solved use traditional or local custom called “*Nahebiti*” within this system the leaders will ask and give opportunity to both opposing factions to present their reasons and perceptions regarding their actions and the person who is at fault would pay some money, kill a goat, a pig or a cow with some sacks of rice and wines to feed the community and leaders for a meal or a day¹¹ The amount of the fined would vary depends on the severity of the problem. The lia nain is the main person who would decide the fine.

The village borders, P.2 with Neighbouring Suku 1 and Neighboring suku 2 have been decided from ancestors prior to the arrival of Portuguese and Indonesia occupation. Recently, however, the borders between P.2, particularly, border between P.2-Aldeia 3 and an aldeia of neighboring suku 2 has been disputed due to overlapping claims leads to youth fighting in the

¹¹ P.2 -14-12-02 -Respondent 6, PARISH PRIEST.docx,p.2

village. This conflict has created tensions for some of the community members living in Dili where a youth from P.2 on his way to Dili was beaten up and almost stab to death by youths from neighboring suku 2. As Respondent 12¹², the assistant lia nain stated:

“Recently, just after the new year, there was conflict between villages; P.2 and Neighboring suku 2, the border between these villages was decided once by our great grandfather P.2, and that community from both villages can use to grow crops but should not grow permanent trees and claim that is belong one particular family. However, these happened and related again to conflict between the youths and the youths went into fighting and some get hurt. Also a youth from this village was assault by youths from Neighboring suku 2 on his way to Dili; they bit him and almost stab him, though he managed to run away”.

The leaders (the xefe suku, xefe Aldeia, youth representatives and the lia nain) from both sukus met through *Nahebiti* to listen to the reasons and perception from both aspects regarding their actions to reach a consensus and resolve the problem; however both suspects and victims did not turn up on that day.

Based on our interview, domestic violence is very low in P.2 because the enforcement for this type of violence is expensive. If it does arise in the community, the xefe Aldeia and lia nain are contacted and involved directly in the resolutions. In the resolution process, the lia nain will ask both male and female to explain reasons for their acts and through their reasons the lia nain decides who is guilty and decides the punishment. The punishment can be expensive; for instance, slaughter a cow, goat, or pig with sacks of rice, wines and some money to feed the community for a meal or a day. As explained by the Respondent 4, the Lia Nain Suku¹³:

“We use our custom to solve problems, such as fine if the problem is severe the suspect can kill a cow, a goat or pig or give some money. For example, 50 dollars, 25 for “nahe biti”¹⁴ and 25 for “lulun biti” with a bottle or two bottles of wine and it depends on the problem”.

¹² P.2 -14-14-02-Respondent 12, TR.docx, p.3-4

¹³ P.2 -14-13-02- Respondent 4, lia nain suku, TR.docx,p.2

¹⁴ Nahe biti or stretching the mat is Timorese process of solving problem where the leaders and community meet to discuss and accord to reach a consensus among opposing factions (Babo, 2004).

4.1.4 Welfare

Water and road infrastructure are in all Aldeia of the village; however, other public infrastructure projects, such as school buildings, health post, and church and village office are all located in the P.2-Aldeia 1. Thus, people who live far away have difficulties to access these facilities, including P.2-Aldeia 2. P.2-Aldeia 2 is located about 2 kilometers away from the village and villagers from this Aldeia found it difficult to send their children to attend the kindergarten school in the village¹⁵. It is too far for five year old children to walk and it is just impossible to walk during the rainy seasons as they need to cross a river or to walk through dirt and slippery road to reach the school.

There is a road runs through the village from Neighbouring Suku 1 to Neighboring suku 2; however, this road is a dirt road and therefore difficult to access during the rainy seasons. During the dry seasons the wealthier community members used trucks to transport their crops to Dili; while vulnerable community members unable to used this mode of transportation due to financial problems. As stated by a 44 year old vulnerable woman, Respondent 20¹⁶.

“It depends on the crops, if I have many crops that would cover the cost of the transport I would take a car if not I will walk from here to the junction to Aileu and catch a car from there and pay one dollar. After selling the crops I would catch a one dollar car to and get off in Aileu junction and walked to P.2. I only take cars when I have enough money so all depends on money”

Although a water pipe runs through the village into most neighborhoods in all Aldeia, it dries up during dry season. The community who lives down hill 30 minutes hill claiming with steep walking path to reach; such as Respondent 20 and her mother with other three families could not access to this water pipe as they live too far down and no water pipe closed to them. There some households in particular in P.2-Aldeia 2 have electricity and other few households in the village have solar panel which they had to provide themselves and installed into their houses.

¹⁵ P.2 - 14-13-02 – Respondent 2, Anciao Suku, TR.docx,p.5

¹⁶ P.2 - 14-17-02- Respondent 20, community member, TR.docx, p.3)

4.1.5 Development priorities

Community members who were in our sample identified that road, electricity, clean water, housing materials and food subsidies during seasons with low yields as their main priorities. There is however, variation between development priorities of powerful and vulnerable members of the community. The powerful community members identified improved road condition as their main priorities, and electricity and clean water as their secondary priorities for the village. While the vulnerable groups, community members who, tend to live in remote, rural areas with poor housing and significantly reduced access to basic social services and economic opportunities identified housing materials as their top priority and food subsidies during seasons with poor harvest, clean water, road and electricity as additional priorities to improve their lives in the village. For instance, Respondent 20, 44 years old, and Respondent 13, 48 years old, stated that providing housing materials for them is very important because their houses are not in good conditions, roofs are broken and fallen apart. Below is their statement:

Respondent 20¹⁷

“Very important for me is zinc or other materials to build a house”.

Respondent 13¹⁸

“What we need is to build our house because the condition of our house is very bad”.

4.1.6 External cooperation

The suku is border with nearby sukus, such as Neighboring suku 2 and Neighbouring Suku 1. The P.2-Aldeia 1 is border with Neighbouring Suku 1 and Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 3, while Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 3 borders with Neighboring suku 2. These borders have been decided once by ancestors prior to the arrival of Portuguese and Indonesian colonization and only defined through creeks that run through them. In Indonesian time, primary school in the village was the central point of access for students from all surrounding villages and since 2011 the school also has accommodated junior school students from these villages¹⁹. P.2-Aldeia 2 has no

¹⁷ P.2 - 14-17-02- Respondent 20, community member, TR.docx,p.3

¹⁸ P.2 -14-14-02- Respondent 13, Community Member, TR.docx,p.2

¹⁹ P.2 -14-14-02-Respondent 15, School Teacher, TR.docx,p.1

borders with the other two Aldeia but it borders with villages from other sub-districts. The borders are also defined by creeks. The village council also interacts with external entities such as the church and NGO's operating in the village. The village does not necessarily participating in this process, but is rather visited by these entities. The village council interacts with district and sub district institutions on a monthly basis to attend meetings and discuss village development issues. The xefe suku is invited to attend meetings in the district and sub district levels on projects that take place in the village. During the course of the field study for this report we observed the xefe suku was invited to attend PNDS socialization meeting in sub district level and went back to the village to conduct council meeting to disseminate information to the xefe Aldeia and other council members to prepare their potential villagers to fill in the positions in PNDS structure in the suku. During the meeting the male councilors took turns to talk on mobilizing villagers for PNDS once it comes to the village, but the female representative hardly spoke throughout the meeting.

4.2 Conceptualization of people and power

In this sub section profiles of powerful and marginalized community members are reviewed. The report outlines their positions, roles, in the community and assumed impact on development project.

Respondent 1 is the village chief and play major roles in organizing development priorities for the village as he serves as link between power and resource holders and the village. Historically, he is the generation of clan from the main uma lisan and the son of a hamlet chief (P.2-Aldeia 2) and elected to become xefe suku in 2009. He is now the main focal point for villager to government, development partners as well contact person to contractors and other agencies as he is the formal head of village administrator in the village. He is the key decision maker in the village and assisted by his village council members. He is the president of the council members as he included them in his package to run for election. During his leadership he has exercised a participatory leadership style where he conducts monthly meetings with his council to get their opinions and listen to the concerns of villagers from each Aldeia through the Xefe Aldeia to reach a consensus to make development plans for the village. Through this process he made unilateral decision where he proposes project and gets

no objections from other council members²⁰. Road, electricity and clean water are his main priorities to improve the lives of the people of the village.

Respondent 6 is the priest of the sub-district parish and he overlooks all eight villages located in the sub district. He has his own development agenda for each village in the sub-district. With this development agenda he exercises a participatory leadership style where he meets community members in villages and in his parish to discuss about their needs and make decisions to motivate communities to improve their lives. For instance, he provides solar panel to them to install into the community houses in certain suku in the sub-district. P.2, Neighbouring Suku 1 and Neighboring suku 2, in particular, he identified that these villages produce agricultural crops and there is a need for cooperative house. He invited all the village chiefs of these villages to his parish to discuss the possibilities and they collectively made decision to build a cooperative house in P.2 due to the fact P.2 being central to all surrounding suku. He provided community with construction materials and community voluntarily construct the building. The construction was completed in 2012 for villagers to store their crops. His development priorities for P.2 in particular are: road, electricity and clean water.

Respondent 4, he comes from the Liurai uma lisan and is a member of the village council. He is known by community to be the person who has more knowledge on land borders in the village and respected by the community. He has been the lia nain or owner of words for long time and his decisions have not been challenged by any community members when he exercise his role as lia nain to fine or punish the perpetrators to solve conflicts in the village, though we did not get any evidence during the field work for this village report. Installing clean water and renovating the school building are his village priorities.

As described earlier, vulnerable population of P.2 are community members who are poor, live in remote, rural areas with significantly reduced access to basic social services and economic opportunities. These include the following three persons:

²⁰ P.2 -24-12-02 Respondent 1, Village Chief,TR.docx,p.2

Respondent 20, a female head household, who lives with her mother far away from the village center and main road. They live in a house where roofs were fallen apart, their veranda is unprotected and hence sun and rain can go in directly. There is only a walking path that leads to her house and she has to climb the hill 30 minutes back and forth to reach the main road²¹. In order to get basic household needs, such as rice, kerosene for lighting, salt and peppers she carried crops on her head to bring to Dili. She could not catch a car due financial problems. Times when she does not have enough money to pay the car fee she all the way down to market in Dili. She walks 6 to 8 hours to reach Dili. She has not taken part in any meeting related to village development as she did not get information from her xefe Aldeia. Her xefe Aldeia did not come to tell her about meetings in the village. However, she stated that the local governance structure, including her xefe aldeia could have known that only her and her mother and lives down hill and she is the main provider of food to her mother and it is too far for the xefe Aldeia to reach. That's why the xefe Aldeia does not come to her house. For this reason, she has no role in development priority. Providing housing materials for her is her top priority as the roof of her house is broken. In the last election, she voted for the new xefe suku because the old xefe suku has problem with his eye vision.

Respondent 19, a 19 years old female. Left school in Dili and has to go back to P.2 due to economic problems. The parents could not afford to support her continue her education in Dili. She went back to help her parents working in the garden and brings her vegetables to Dili to sell to pay school fees for her younger brothers and sisters. She also sometimes has to walk due to financial inability to pay fees for public transport which cost \$2 to \$3 per trip. She heard about meetings in the village but did not participate due to the fact that she has to work in the kitchen garden to plant vegetables and other crops. Road and electricity are her main priorities for the development infrastructure of the village.

Respondent 26 a 50 years of age lives in P.2-Aldeia 3. She is the main provider for her household where she has to look after her sick husband and their three children. She has to grow vegetables and other crops to sell to bring her sick husband to hospital and buy food for her children. She used to bring her sick husband to Dili to get treatment when she had money.

²¹ The Road to Respondent 20's house in P.2.jpg

Recently, she has stopped because she did not have enough money. She heard about meetings and projects taking in the village from her xefe Aldeia. Her xefe Aldeia once recruited her to work for a public infrastructure project and got paid three dollars per day. She has no education and she did not want to talk about village development. However, she stated she trusts the xefe suku and the xefe Aldeia to set development priorities to help her and other persons in the village.

5. Institutions and power

5.1. Constellation of village groups

Local Governance Profile

Village council is the governing body of P.2 and headed by the Xefe Suku, Respondent 1 and assisted a by secretary employed by the Ministry of State Administration. The village council has social representatives including, two women's representatives, two youth representatives, one male and one female, one elder or *anciao*, a lia nain and three xefe Aldeia representing the overall community of their aldeia. Each of the xefe Aldeia is based in the respective aldeia to solve problems and maintains welfare of their community.

In P.2, the council has the power to make decision on village development infrastructure and maintain community welfare. The council usually conducts monthly meetings to discuss government, Church, and NGO decisions on public projects and takes part in meetings held by NGO or government entities that takes place in the village²². The council also conducts yearly census to register community of the village based on births and marriages through the xefe Aldeia to update the total number of population each year.

Suku Group Profiles

The village has four major groups called Modo Fatin, Malnutrisaun, PCF (Promosaun Comunitaria Facilitadors or Community Health Promotion Facilitators) and Grupu Katekista or catechist group.

²² P.2 - 14-13-02 - Respondent 2, Anciao Suku, TR.docx, p.3

Modo fatin is an agricultural organization formed by world vision and operating in all three aldeias. The goal of these organizations is to promote crops diversification and kitchen garden. Members of these groups receive vegetable seeds for free from the organization, world vision. The group was formed in 2008 and has membership of 15 based in each aldeia. Modo fatin does not have any financial resources; however, members are entitled to the profit from the sale of vegetables. Quality and frequency of seed reception seeds are the primary complaints of the members.

Grupu Malnutrisaun or malnutrition group is an agricultural group established by World Vision. The aim of this group is to promote kitchen gardens that are used to improve the nutrition outcomes for children under five. This groups is operating in all three aldeias with membership based of eight, the group was formed in 2010. Grupu Malnutrisaun does not have any financial resources; however members are permitted to own the profit they make from selling the vegetables. The groups receives seedling from world vision to grow in their kitchen garden to feed their children. However, the world vision's program to the village has ended and no further seeds provided, the group has been terminated or in active in the village.

Grupu Katekista is a church group, headed by the village catechist. The aim of this group is to organize various church activities, including the teaching catholic doctrine, giving moral support to community and conducting prayers in the village or in their neighborhoods. The group was established in 2008 and the total membership base is nine including the catechist of the chapel. The group does not use any financial resources to conduct their activities or no information on financial resources was obtained during the course of the field study.

Grupu PCF is a health group and headed by the health post doctor. The goal of this group is to conduct health promotion and to assist SISCAs (Servisu Integradu Saude Komunitaria, or Integrated health services at the community level) when it comes to the village. The group was formed in 2008 with membership based of nine, three from and based in each Aldeia. The group members assist the SISCAs activities to take measurement of children, to give information on personal hygiene and sanitation; and information on disease outbreaks for

community to be aware of. The group has no financial resources to conduct activities related to health or simply no information on finance resources of the group was obtained.

5.2. Formation of village governance

5.2.1 Leadership, Power and Decision making process

P.2 village governance can be characterized by strong genealogical linkages between power holders - most leaders in the village come from the previously described Liurai clan. The strong linkages become particularly evident, considering fact that Xefe Aldeia of P.2-Aldeia 2 is the brother of the Xefe suku, while Xefe Aldeia of P.2-Aldeia 1 is the village chief's cousin. Furthermore, the village councilor is Xefe Suku's cousin, while the lia nain is the uncle of the village chief. The leadership style of the council appears to be inclusive; however, it only applies to those who are in the village council, educated as local school teacher, and health post nurse they are participating in most meeting. The representatives of the village council are chosen through a formal, direct election that is organized by the Ministry of State Administration every five years. Villagers elect the Xefe Suku together with a *package* - a group of representatives from various social groups that have been previously selected by the village chief. Once a Xefe suku wins the election, he or she together with the package take up the positions in the village council and are legitimate for five years.

Given the fact village council enjoys the trust of the community, there is a standing assumption that a community consensus is reached, if a village council members take a unanimous decision. Almost all local government structure stated that they included in community in the decision making, including women and marginalized groups; however, this was in contrast with other respondents and was not noted in our observation in the village council meeting. The monthly meetings they have are basically on information sharing on public projects, government decisions, and NGO programs that come to the village. Not every community members in the village gets invited to participate in these meetings, except local school teacher, health post staff and the church representative, and the village council members and the role of women representative in these meetings is also very limited. The meeting we observed, one women representative and a female doctor were present; however, they are passive throughout the entire meeting. The male councilors, xefe suku, xefe Aldeia,

lia nain, village elder or *anciao* and health post nurse were taking turns to talk throughout the meeting. No community decision was made in the meeting we observed.

5.2.2 Financial Management

The village council is not currently using a banking system and the data collected indicates that this institution has also not received and stored any government funds in the village. However, there have been some infrastructure projects where the village council authorized the collection of funds from community. During such instances, the village council appoints a special representative, who is in charge of collecting and storing the funds. The special representative will go personally into each household to collect the funds from community and store it to the Xefe suku or catechist. The xefe suku or catechist will be responsible to procure needed construction materials. Normally, community contribution requires a high level of transparency and accountability and therefore, in P.2 the responsible person, catechist or xefe suku reports their expenditure through meetings held by the village council or by church representatives²³. This report includes how much money they spend and what material they procured for projects or public events.

5.2.3. Collective action among groups

Internally, the local school, health post, and church representatives are among the most common institutions that the village council cooperates with. Cooperation between the Catholic Church and the village council is very notable by the fact that several village council members hold positions in the church^{24,25}. For instance, the lia nain suku is one of the catechists in P.2-Aldeia 1, village elder and xefe Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 2 are the catechists in P.2-Aldeia 2. As a result, the boundaries between the village council and the church are rather blurred resulting in close cooperation between these institutions. This cooperation leads the successes of church and NGO projects in the village. The health post and local school cooperate with the village council due to the fact that they take part in village meetings as well participate in village council activity which takes place every Friday. Externally, the

²³ P.2 - 14-18-02- Respondent 30, catechist -NUREP, TR.docx,p.2

²⁴ P.2 - 14-18-02- Respondent 30, catechist -NUREP, TR, p.3.

²⁵ P.2 -14-18-02- Respondent 23, Suku Secretary ,TR.docx,p.4.

village council also cooperates with nearby villages such as Neighbouring Suku 1, Neighboring suku 2 and Neighbouring suku 3. They work together normally on church and government projects as those projects may serve all these surrounding sukus. Community perception on money involvement has been the main constraint for collective action due to the fact that they do not get paid to do take part in majority of these activities.

5.2.4. Communication strategies

The village decisions are socialized to the community via the xefe Aldeia. Generally, the xefe Aldeia would go to the respective hamlet households personally with the information or conduct community meetings in the Aldeia to announce decisions made by the council. In addition, data indicates that the xefe suku or the village council also conducts meeting in the Aldeia level once in one to two months to announce their decision and update the community in the Aldeia activities they do in the village²⁶. The major information bottlenecks is that information would reach particular households or groups of people who are considered to be more educated and those live close to the village center, but those who live downhill, some women and the elder are not getting this type of information as the xefe does not inform them about it^{27,28}. Overall, the respondents in the sample satisfied with the way the local governance operating in the village²⁹.

5.2.5. Governance rules

Formally, village governance is regulated by ministry of state administration the sub district administration and mandated for five years.

Informally, the village council or the local governance structure do not include or recruit civil servants, such as teachers, nurses or other government workers for paid project as they already have regular monthly income from the government. Therefore, for paid projects the xefe aldeia only go personally door to door that they identify as the poor and needy groups of the population to register their names to work on the project. During the project

²⁶ P.2 -14-12-02- Respondent 1, village chief, TR.docx,p.2

²⁷ P.2 - 14-17-02- Respondent 20, community member, TR.docx,p.2

²⁸ P.2 - 14-17-02-Respondent 21, Community Member,TR .docx

²⁹ P.2 -14-14-02 - Respondent 25, Community Member, TR.docx,p.1

implementation a rotation system is applied where some members work first in the beginning and once they receive their first payment from the contractors they have to rest to allow others to work on the project³⁰. This system has been viewed as effective system for the village due to the fact everyone who is registered to work on paid project get their chance³¹. Tara bandu³² is the only traditional rule in P.2 to ban community to do some activities or actions in the village. For instance, ban on cutting trees, slash and burn and domestic violence³³ and it is enforced through sanctions that will be decided by the Lia nain Suku if it is violated by some of the community members^{34, 35}. However, the data indicated that they do not practice them anymore when the new xefe suku was elected in 2010.

5.3. Formation of village groups

5.3.1. Leadership power and decision making process

Generally the groups of P.2 are not structured, but there both male and female members of the community have being chosen in the leadership positions of the groups to oversee overall activities of the group. The leader of the group is based and conducts meeting in their Aldeia³⁶. Normally he or she invites the members of the group to discuss the groups program or a given issue; for instance, some members withdraw from the group to decide whether or not another person can join in³⁷. This meeting usually held once or twice in a month and the group leader would go from door to door to inform the members of the group. During the meeting each member raises their concerns and either went to vote or unanimously decide to replace the non - active member of the group. However, not all village groups conduct meetings and invite members in this manner.

5.3.2. Financial management

³⁰ P.2 -14-19-02-Respondent 29, Xefe Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 2, TR.docx,p.4

³¹ P.2 -14-14-02 - Respondent 25, Community Member, TR.docx,p.2

³² Tara bandu is a public agreement to enforce peace and reconciliation through Timorese traditional custom or traditional law in the village.

³³ P.2 -14-14-14- Respondent 9, Former Xefe Suku, TR.docx,p.3

³⁴ P.2 -14-12-02 -Respondent 6, PARISH PRIEST,TR.docx,p.1,2

³⁵ P.2 -14-14-14- Respondent 9, Former Xefe Suku, TR.docx,p. 3

³⁶ P.2 - 14-14-12-Respondent 8, xefe aldeia P.2-Aldeia 1,TR.docx,p.2

³⁷ P.2 -14-14-02- Respondent 14, Community Member, TR.docx,p.4

The village groups usually operate without financial resources, hence financial planning is non-existent. Nevertheless, members of groups are allowed to profit from the activities that they undertake - within agricultural groups that provide seedlings for crops, members are allowed to collect profits from the sale of vegetables. The village groups normally only received seeds from the organization to grow and there no financial management involve. There were some activities where the NGO provides drum for villagers to store their crops such as corns, coffee, where the groups' member needs to pay \$10. However, not all members get these drums due their financial constrains.

5.3.3. Collective action among groups

Agricultural groups cooperate when they require workforce for harvesting their crops, such as coffee harvesting requires more workforce. Therefore, they need to inform one another to work during coffee harvesting season based on rotation. One or two working days harvesting coffee on a farm belongs to a member of the group and rotates to the next. They normally do not pay each other if some members of the groups have bigger coffee farm³⁸ due to the fact that they do not use to measure their coffee farms.

The group of Catechist cooperates with the Catholic Church to help in mass in the chapel, church festival such as the anniversary of Saint Paul and Saint Peter and when there is a church project takes place in the village. They work as laborers and organizers of the project. The group of PCF cooperates with the health post when the SISCA team from the sub district level visits the village. They receive and disseminate information to the community or even the xefe aldeia about this visit. They also take measurement of babies and give information about breast feeding to breastfeeding mothers³⁹.

5.3.4. Communication strategies

Community group decisions are often socialized through the specific activities that the groups undertake, such as kitchen gardens, health promotion, and various religious activities. Majority of respondents aware about the modo fatin group in the village, however, the

³⁸ P.2 -14-19-02-Respondent 29, Xefe Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 2, TR.docx,p.3

³⁹ P.2 -14-13-02 - health post nurse, Note.docx, p.1

existence of health and catechist groups were only aware by persons who are in or related village governance structure or hold a positioning in those institutions, church and health post. Community members, who are poor, women, elderly and peripheral household did not aware of the existence of this group as they ever heard of it^{40,41}.

5.3.5. Community rules

There are certain informal community existed in P.2. Some of these rules are:

Volunteerism: people of P.2 are generally having great willingness to help one another and expect nothing in return if they are invited. For example, in our observation, a house belongs to a member of community was covered with mud and he invited his 25 male communities to help him to rebuild his house only in two days⁴².

Rotation system: This system normally applies for both group and individual works in during coffee harvesting seasons and public projects. The groups will work on a coffee farm belongs to an individual group members and take turns accordingly. In the construction project the group or individuals takes to work in construction projects, church and government project that take place in P.2.

Traditional rules include: donations during one year and funeral gatherings. If someone passed away in the village the community would come together voluntarily and contribute some amount of money to purchase food materials for the gathering and funeral of the decease⁴³. In relation to brother and sister relationships, brother will bring pig and sister will donate goat, buffalo and some money. Normally, no invitation is needed to attend a funeral gathering in the village, only relatives who are far away they will send someone to inform them to come⁴⁴. However, for other subsequent events such as one month or one year gathering door to door is needed for community to gather together.

If there is a dispute over land, the villagers would consult either xefe Aldeia or lia nain to solve the problem. The problem is solved through gathering such as nahe biti where both perpetrator and victim present their opinion. The lia nain, xefe Aldeia and or xefe suku will

⁴⁰ P.2 - 14-17-02- Respondent 20, community member, TR.docx,p.3

⁴¹ P.2 -14-14-02- Respondent 14, Community Member, TR.docx,p.4

⁴² Observation - Road Repairing (2014.02.19).docx,p.1

⁴³ P.2 -14-18-02 - Respondent 24, Xefe Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 3 ,TR.docx,p.3

⁴⁴ P.2 - Observation - One Month After Death Gathering. (2014.02.18).docx,p.1

discuss these reasons and make decision based on it to mitigate the conflict through fine or sanctions. Water scarcity is a major problem in the village, and since they have only one water pipe that runs through the entire village, they have put in place a water usage rule in P.2. This rule was made by both local governance structure and community together in order to equally share the water pipe and ban community from using it to water garden or kitchen garden⁴⁵.

5.3.6. Creation and termination of groups

Most community groups were formed between 2008 and 2011 were mostly founded by external actors, rather than from joining together the need of the community. Groups are formed to assist with the implementation of government and church programs that are directed to the P.2 community. For instance, Community Health Promotion (PCF) group assist the nationwide Ministry of Health program, SISCA when it comes to P.2, while Catholic Church group assist to teach catholic doctrine and give moral support to the community. Modo Fatin and Malnutrition groups were formed to implement crop diversification.

Since the groups are heavily dependent on external entities, they remain active only when external entities are present and cease operating as these organizations pull –out or stop their operations in the village. These organizations leave because their program to P.2 has ended. In addition, groups were terminated because members stopped participating in activities and discouraged other members to continue being part of the group. There are several reasons for this; include: lack of attention to the group by local government leaders⁴⁶, groups members have to buy seeds by themselves from Dili⁴⁷, and group members find it difficult to cooperate with each other⁴⁸. In all interviews, there is no indication of corruption and nepotism as the causes of group terminations.

⁴⁵ P.2 -14-18-02 -Respondent 26, community Member, TR.docx,p.2

⁴⁶ P.2 -14-14-14- Respondent 9, Former Xefe Suku, TR.docx,p.4

⁴⁷ P.2 -14-14-02- Respondent 14, Community Member, TR.docx,p.4

⁴⁸ P.2 - 14-18-02-Respondent 22 ,School Feeding program,TR.docx,p.3

5.4. Explanatory cases

Water Rule

There is only one water pipe runs through the village to the community in P.2 and nearby villages, Neighboring suku 2 and Neighbouring suku 3. Nevertheless, not all parts of P.2, hence households located in more remote parts of the village remain disconnected from the system. Furthermore, also water scarcity remains a dominant issue, particularly during the rainy season. During periods of increased water availability the community used this water to water their kitchen gardens, however, a gradual decrease of water availability during the dry season led to conflict between various community members, exemplified by quarrelling and swearing at each other because other households overused it.

Responding to the heightened tensions, the Xefe Suku tasked his Xefe Aldeia to invite community members, church representatives to meet and discuss how to use the piped water, so that it reaches more households. After all participants had shared their opinions, they proposed that the water should be used only for washing, cooking and bathing, and proposed a ban on using the water for gardening. After debating the proposal, attendees went through a formal voting process, where all had to raise their hands. The proposal was approved. The rule has been obeyed by all households because the sanction or fine is heavier, such as slaughter a buffalo, goat, and pig with some wine, sack of rice to feed the community for a meal or a day and for villager it is very costly. As a consequence no kitchen garden is near to the water pipes. Instead all the kitchen gardens have moved closer to river or spring where the community has to walk only 5 to 10 minutes to reach.

6. Public goods

6.1. Constellation of Village Infrastructure projects

Suku infrastructure project profiles (Project name, location, type, objective)

The P.2 team identified ten public projects in the village. These projects have been implemented as part of various programs including church, NGO and government's PDL and PDD. Some of these projects are intended to all other sukus surrounding P.2, for example, the cooperative house

and maternity houses are for all other surrounding suku, Neighbouring Suku 1, Neighbouring suku 3 and Neighboring suku 2.

Project	Location	Year	Type	Objective	Status
Primary school building	P.2-Aldeia 1	Old building 1983, new building, 2008	Building constructions	To accumulate students and support teaching activities	Old is broke New one is completed
Water pipe	In all Aldeia	1995	Installing water pipes	To provide water to community	Completed
Maternity House	P.2-Aldeia 1	2009	Building construction	To provide maternity service to the community of P.2 and surrounding suku	Completed
Cooperative house	P.2-Aldeia 1	Unknown	Building construction	Facilitates village administrations	Completed
Health post	P.2-Aldeia 1	unknown	Building construction	To be used by health workers to give basic health service to the community	Completed
Kindergarten school	P.2-Aldeia 1	2001	Building construction	To gather kindergarten children to learn to write and read	Completed
Road	Runs through P.2-Aldeia 1 and P.2-Aldeia 3 to Neighboring suku 2 and Neighbouring suku 3	2013	Road hardening	To facilitate transportation for the community	Uncompleted
Electricity project	Runs through aldeia P.2-Aldeia 1 and P.2-Aldeia 3 to Neighboring suku 2 and Neighbouring suku 3	2013	Installation of electrical post and install electrical wires into households	To give lighting or to power the village	Uncompleted
Chapel renovation	In Aldeia P.2-Aldeia 1, closed to the village office	2013	Building	To facilitate mass and prayer celebration by the catholic church	Uncompleted

6.2. Formation of Infrastructure projects

6.2.1. Project selection and decision-making process

There are multiple avenues, how projects in P.2 are selected and approved. Most commonly, potential development priorities are first discussed in the village council, which after an extended discussion makes a final decision on the particular projects that are going to be constructed⁴⁹. Potential projects that would benefit one Aldeia are first discussed and selected within the Aldeia during a community meeting headed by xefe Aldeia and the xefe Aldeia would bring it to the village council⁵⁰. They did not get any positive response from the government to implement these projects in the village⁵¹.

On the other hand, majority of the currently implemented projects have been selected by external entities in consultation with the xefe suku and xefe Aldeia with no direct involvement of community in this process. The xefe suku is invited to meetings at the sub-district level, where potential suku-wide projects are discussed, while the xefe Aldeia attend meetings for projects that take place in their Aldeia. After information is received from external actors, a community meeting at the Sede Suku is normally held. These meetings are usually attended primarily by village council members, potential laborers and contractors⁵². The female representatives are also taking part in the meeting however their roles is limited to women's job such prepare coffee or food for the guest or male council members^{53, 54}. The Xefe Suku or any council members can propose a plan for implementing the project and recruiting the laborers to the council. After a discussion among the council members there can be both unanimous or vote to approve the proposal to recruit labors.

6.2.2. Project planning

For government projects, funds are provided to contractors through ministries and thus the community is not included in the planning process for government projects. Majority of NGO and church projects the community only received construction for constructions and cooking

⁴⁹ P.2 -14-14-14- Respondent 9, Former Xefe Suku, TR.docx,p.1

⁵⁰ P.2 - 14-14-12-Respondent 8, xefe aldeia P.2-Aldeia 1, TR.docx, p.2

⁵¹ P.2 -14-18-02- Respondent 23, Suku Secretary ,TR.docx,p.3

⁵² P.2 -14-14-02 - Respondent 25, Community Member, TR.docx,p.1

⁵³ P.2 -14-13-02- Respondent 3, Women's representative, TR.docx,p.1

⁵⁴ P.2 -14-19-02-Respondent 27, xefe suku's wife, TR.docx,p.1

materials for women to prepare for lunch. On all observed projects, no fund is distributed to the community to manage; however, contribution from community is collected for church projects. They already have a rotation system in place where one Aldeia is responsible to decide the amount of contribution once in a year for chapel anniversary. Therefore, they use this system to collect contributions for the renovation of the chapel in the village⁵⁵.

There has been constant coordination between xefe Aldeia, xefe suku and external entities for projects which are managed and implemented by external entities such as contractors. This coordination is mostly related to labor recruitment and projects approval by the xefe suku and council members for government funded projects. However, for church and NGO projects the xefe suku coordinates, implements, manages and controls the project throughout its construction cycles. The xefe suku also involve catechist, other council members and other community members in this process.

6.2.3. Project implementation

External actors such as contractors, NGO and church tend to employ labors locally and normally rotation working system is applied. The xefe Aldeia would go to the households of potential labors to give information about recruitment process for the project. A system of rotation is applied between individuals and Aldeia, -for individuals one person works for a month and rests afterwards, while for Aldeia level rotation, each Aldeia would form a group rotate then these groups would work on the project for a set period of time, each replacing other. The Xefe Suku and Xefe Aldeia consider are supportive of this system, as it allows community to equally contribute and benefit, especially from paid projects that take place in P.2⁵⁶.

Materials such as sand and rocks are sourced locally. Sand is collected from local or nearby rivers and rocks are cut or distributed by villagers. Other materials such as cement, nails and zinc are bought from Dili. For government project there are sign boards which show the funding for projects, and non –government projects no fund is handled by the community.

⁵⁵ P.2 - 14-18-02- Respondent 30, katechist -NUREP, TR.docx,p.2

⁵⁶ P.2 - 14-14-12-Respondent 8, xefe aldeia P.2-Aldeia 1, TR.docx,p. 2

Primary constraints of the for project implementation include: underpaid labors, materials run out or delay in delivery and heavy rain. Government projects, electricity and road project; for instance, being left uncompleted because the community found out that they have been underpaid by the contractors who implement the project⁵⁷. Another factor that leads to this failure is the contractor failed to provide necessary construction materials on the project sites when these materials, such sand, cement, electrical post and electrical cables run out. Heavy rain affects both government and non government project in its implementation.

6.2.4. Resource management

Resource for construction is distributed by church, contractors and NGOs. These materials are stored near project sites and in the village office. Resource for government projects were distributed to contractors in national level and managed by contractors while projects from NGO and church were managed by xefe suku and the catechist. These materials are stored in project sites for government projects and for nongovernment projects usually store in the village office as well in the construction sites.

6.2.5. Development outcome

The village of P.2 has had several infrastructure and many of these projects relate to basic infrastructure such as water system, road, electricity and building facilities. These projects have been implemented by multiple entities including contractors. The non government projects, such as cooperative house, sanitation facilities for children and the renovation of the kindergarten school have been adequately implemented. However, some of government projects have been inadequately completed and some simply abandon by contractors. For instance, the installation of electrical post and cables has been abandoned by the contractors and in observation we noted that some of grounding wires to strengthening electrical post were tight on rocks in the village. In addition, the road hardening project has been badly completed and thus it raises serious concerns by the community related to the quality of the projects⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ P.2 -14-14-14- Respondent 9, Former Xefe Suku, TR.docx,p.3

⁵⁸ P.2 -14-18-02- Respondent 23, Suku Secretary, TR.docx, p.5

6.3. Explanatory Cases

Cooperative house construction – Project was completed

The construction of the cooperative was proposed by parish priest, who identified a lack of a facility to store crops in four villages surrounding P.2. The xefe suku was invited through catechist for a meeting on the sub-district level, with the parish priest. In the meeting other village chiefs were also present. After the discussion, all four village chiefs unanimously decided to build the community house. The parish priest suggested to build the community house in P.2, as it is located in the center of all four villages. None of the village chiefs objected to this proposal. During the meeting, the parish priest also stated that he would provide materials and community is required work voluntarily on the construction of the project. The xefe suku agreed to this proposal and assured that he will get their community consent to implement the project.

Xefe suku went back to the village and organized a suku council meeting, during which he informed other councilors about the proposed development project. All members of the council attended the meeting and discussed a recruitment plan and how to divide the work among aldeias. During the discussion, the council members decided that the laborers could be divided into three groups, each group originating from each aldeia. This proposal did not receive any objections, and hence was approved. After the meeting, the village council tasked the three xefe aldeia inform villagers about the project and invite them to register as laborers and work together with the village council members. The xefe aldeia walked from house to house to recruit laborers, however, some households, such as the remote households downhill were not informed about the project.

After labors were recruited, xefe suco receives construction materials; such, as cement, zinc, nails, wood and sand from the parish priest and construction commenced on a rotation basis⁵⁹. For instance, one xefe Aldeia works on the project with his community members and rotate to the next Aldeia⁶⁰. Xefe suco was responsible for managing the materials and implementing

⁵⁹ P.2 -14-18-02- Respondent 23, Suku Secretary ,TR.docx,p.2

⁶⁰ P.2 - 14-13-02 - Respondent 2, Anciao Suku, TR.docx.p.3

the project. Since laborers were not getting paid, these labors stopped coming to work before the project was completed. Community has to work in their gardens or went market to sell crops, community perception that the village council received funds were the other contributing factors to this incident in the construction of cooperative house in P.2.

As a consequent, it ended up only the village council members worked on it, the male councilors do the physical work and the female councilor did the women work which attached to them where they provide food for the male councilors. The council members continue to work on it because lunch was provided to them, the cooperative house is located in their suku, and the parish priest also planned to buy a car for them to transport their fruits to Dili so that they do not need to carry when the project is completed⁶¹. Therefore, the project was completed.

Electricity project: Installation of electrical post and cables – Project was not completed

Electricity project is part of State Secretariat of Electricity's development strategy to provide increased access to power the villages. This electricity project was selected by the national government and the village council was involved in the implementation. The government awarded the project to contractors and contractors went to consult with the xefe suku to recruit labors in the village to work on the project. A community meeting was held as was attended by village council members to decide on the numbers of labor recruited from each Aldeia for the xefe Aldeia to inform their community. The xefe aldeia walked from to house to house in the community to inform them to register in the suku to work in the project.

After all potential labors were registered by the village council or contractor, a meeting was held by xefe suku and was attended by potential labors, contractors and village council to introduce workers to contractors, discuss the daily schedule, working hours and rate the amount of money labors paid in a day before the project starts⁶². Laborers from P.2 worked on the construction based on rotation, one works and rest for individuals and one Aldeia work first and move to the next, which has been established by the village council.

⁶¹ P.2 -24-12-02 Respondent 1, Village Chief,TR.docx,p.2

⁶² P.2 -24-12-02 Respondent 1, Village Chief,TR.docx,p.5

However, community noted that there was delay in delivery of materials during the construction phase. The company that implements the electricity project did not provide materials such as sand, cement, electrical cables and electrical wires to the laborers to continue to work on the project. The labors were also paid 50 percent less compared to other electricity projects that took place in other villages⁶³. The community found out from their visit to the area. Consequently, the labors stopped coming to work at the stage of installing electrical wires of the construction process. Given that that the electricity project also affects surrounding Neighbouring Suku 1 Neighboring suku 2 and Neighbouring suku 3 villages, contractors brought in laborers from other villages to fill in the gaps⁶⁴. Nevertheless, there was a delay in the delivery of electrical posts and cables so also the incoming laborers eventually stopped working on the project .As a result, contractors left the village with the remaining funds, and abandon the project, leaving it uncompleted.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

P.2 is one of the eight sukus that makes up the sub district in Aileu. Since the independence, the village has received several infrastructure projects from both government and nongovernmental organizations. The community of the village is small and united due to their close family ties from the liu rai uma lisan. The village has an active village council and headed by an influential xefe suku. Despite the xefe suku is powerful he exercises participatory leadership style by having monthly meeting with the council to discuss and share their opinion on village development priorities in the village council. The village council also has very good cooperation with other institutions, government, church and NGO in the village to conduct collective action to benefit the whole community of P.2.

The decision making process on village development priorities are made through both vote and unanimously. The latter means the xefe suku proposed a decision during a meeting and no council members object it, while vote is the process where a given topic is discuss and members are allow to openly share their opinions. After several topic selected, they vote for the topics to choose what to do first for the village.

⁶³ P.2 -14-14-14- Respondent 9, Former Xefe Suku, TR.docx,p.5

Information on public works projects usually flows from the xefe suku to the village council, to xefe Aldeia and to the community. The xefe Aldeia is the main messenger between the council and the community as they walk from house to house to disseminate the information. The xefe Aldeia view this as a good leadership style because the community feels that their leader is close to them. The information they deliver mostly on labor recruitment on public work project where the potential laborers are informed to attend meeting or work on the project in project implementation. There are two larger government funded projects which are implemented by contractors include paid worker have been abandoned by contractor and leaving uncompleted. However, three projects which implemented and managed by community xefe with no labor payment have been successful in P.2.

P.2 village groups are Modo fatin, Malnutrition, PCF and Catechist groups. These groups are generally founded by external actors and do not have any financial resources to conduct their activities in the village. Therefore, these groups are active during the presence of external entities and cease when the external actors left the village and active again during coffee harvesting seasons. There are several indicators that have both positive and negative impacts on the implementation of PNDS in P.2. For instance, experience in implementing community projects, small and united community, good collaboration among community and village institutions, active village council and participatory leadership style in decision making process may positively influence the implementation of PNDS in P.2. However, unfair labor payment, delay in construction materials, external factor such as heavy rain may constrain the successful implementation of PNDS.

7.1. Recommendations for PNDS to be effective.

For PNDS to be effective, labor payment rate should be uniform throughout villages in Aileu districts or possibly set a uniform labor payment rate in the national level to implement into sukus. Also, PNDS entities should include the village council to oversee and control projects throughout its implementation process. The village council should be more involve in

implementing PNDS project in P.2. Lastly, the PNDS implementation in villages should consider weather condition into account as it may delay the completion of the projects.

7.2. Limitations of the study

It should be noted that the result of this study should not be generalized to other villages in the mountainous or other regions in Timor Leste for two reasons. First, other village community may have different characteristics such as different family relation, large population and divided community. Second, local governance structure in other suku may be passive and different governing and collaborating styles with other village institutions.

7.3. Researchers personal experience, beliefs regarding the topic

In the past I worked as medical radiation technologist in a hospital in Timor Leste and in my early childhood I have involved in organizing community development planning for my own village where I and other colleagues conducted community meetings in all Aldeia and in the village office to get their opinions. Therefore, the researcher believes that good interaction among village communities with local government and other institutions in the village is paramount to the successful implementation of PNDS.

