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Factors that affect the use of public marketplaces

(Case studies on the importance and factors that affect the use of government-established marketplaces in Dili, Timor-Leste)

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Abstract

Since Timor-Leste became independent in 2002, the government has made a number of significant efforts to improve the living conditions of the people. Among the efforts is the initiative for establishing or building public marketplaces throughout the country, including in Dili, the capital city of Timor-Leste. Through these public marketplaces, the government expects that people, especially lower income earners, and the poor, will engage in basic economic activities that eventually contribute to better their social and economic life. Despite this well intentioned initiative, many of these public marketplaces have been observed to be underused. Indeed, in Dili, a number of local media reported or raised the issue of vendors' and buyers' dissatisfaction and abandonment of government-established public markets, particularly over the past four years. This study, hence, intends to find out what has been actually going on.

By focusing on two government-established marketplaces in Dili as qualitative case studies, this study explored market stakeholders' perceptions on the importance of a public marketplace and factors that may affect the use of such a market. Specifically, this study investigated market stakeholders' views regarding the government's initiative for establishing or building public marketplaces, the factors that affect the use of a public marketplace, and how vendors and buyers were involved or participated in the planning process for establishing public marketplaces.

This study has found that market stakeholders in general welcomed the government's initiative for establishing a public marketplace for various reasons. A public marketplace can serve

important functions such as a source of livelihood and economic income, particularly for lower income earners and the poor. Dili's public marketplaces have also provided a mechanism for strengthening, or promoting public order and hygiene, and can be used as a means for public meeting, public education and promoting social cohesion.

This study also discovered various factors that affected the use of public marketplaces in Dili. These factors include non-strategic location of public marketplaces: they are far from the population centers and the main roads, and poor transport options. There had been a lack of basic facilities, such as water, electricity and toilets. The security situation in public marketplaces had been non-conducive for doing transactions; procedures for accessing vending stalls in public markets had been unclear and issues of corrupt officials. Furthermore, the vendors' attitude and custom of selling practices and no participation of vendors and buyers in the planning process for establishing a public marketplace also affected the use of a public marketplace.

Based on the findings and discussion, the study concludes that the presence of the government's public marketplace is important as it has values economically, socially and environmentally. The study also concludes that the interdependences of market facilities (for example, availability of running water, electricity and toilet), location or distance of a market to vendors and buyers, clear regulations, better management, and the involvement of stakeholders, particularly vendors in the planning process for establishing a public marketplace should become the principal guidance in order to optimize the effectiveness of a public marketplace. By taking into consideration these important principles, the problems of abandonment of a public marketplace may be prevented.

Dedication and acknowledgments

I would like to dedicate this Master thesis to my beloved parents, mom Leonora Boavida dos Santos and dad the late Jose dos Santos Maucaba'e for their unconditional love and great care to make me become the person I am today. Especially to dad: you may not see the accomplishment of my Master studies, but I hope I made you proud. Special dedications also go to my wife, Senhorinha de Carvalho, who has shown a great love and commitment to look after our three lovely little daughters whose innocent voices and laughter made me always feel happy and cheerful despite being away from home during the course of the study.

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Abbreviations and glossaries

ANP	Autoridade Nacional do Petroleu (The National Petroleum Authority)
CPLP	Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (Community of Portuguese Language Countries)
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DRTL	Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste
Fretilin	Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente / the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoTL	Government of Timor-Leste
HoD	Head of Department
IGOs	International Government Organizations
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
MP	Member of Parliament
MPS	Major Project Secretariat
MTCI	Ministry of Trade Commerce and Industry
MUHEC	Massey University's Human Ethics Committee
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NSDP	National Strategic Development Plan
RDTL	República Democrática de Timor-Leste
Rp.	Rupiah / Indonesian legal currency
SoS	Secretary of State

Tim Tim	Timor Timur / East Timor
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	United Nations Administration Mission in East Timor
UNSSG	United Nations Special Secretary-General
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
WB	World Bank

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. 1 Background

Timor-Leste was colonized by the Portuguese for four and a half centuries. Following the departure of the Portuguese in 1975, Timor-Leste was annexed by Indonesia and declared by the Indonesia its 27th province in 1976. After 24 years, nevertheless, Timor-Leste finally became free from Indonesia through a United Nations-administered popular consultation which was held in August, 1999. However, the process towards a full independent Timor-Leste after the popular consultation was extremely challenging. The United Nations Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), which was created to be in charge of preparing the process, was faced with a difficult situation in terms of lack of human resources and supporting physical infrastructures that were already demolished and burnt down by pro-Jakarta militia members. This bad condition forced the UNTAET to start the transitional process from zero.

In terms of infrastructure, not only public offices, school buildings or hospitals, but also basic economic facilities such as public marketplaces in which people, particularly lower income earners and the poor (for example, small vegetable and fruit vendors, hawkers) depended on were also destroyed. Nevertheless, these small vendors, like other East Timorese people in general, did not easily surrender to the difficult situation, and they continued to utilize ramshackle public markets to sell their wares to survive. In Dili, for example, in 2000, vendors sold their local products next to the broken Mercado Municipal (municipal market), Comoro and

Becora public markets that had been established by the Portuguese and Indonesia governments respectively.

Following the restoration of the independence of Timor-Leste on 20 May 2002 in which Timor-Leste assumed full sovereignty and responsibility over its whole territory for the first time in its history, public marketplaces remained important, particularly for lower income earners and the poor. Even, it can be said that the demand for public marketplaces increased significantly after the independence. According to a government official, whom I talked to during the fieldwork, many community leaders and members that the government visited during the preparation of the first national development priorities in 2004, indicated access to public market as an important priority, particularly in remote areas. Indeed, according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), about 80% of farmers in Timor-Leste had to walk at least two hours to a sub-district center for a public marketplace in order to sell their wares or products (UNDP, 2006, p. 29). The Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) is well aware of the importance of public marketplaces for the people and committed to respond to their needs. Indeed, as indicated in the latest Timor-Leste's National Development Plan, public marketplaces, together with other infrastructure (for example, roads, bridges, ports, water, electricity and telecommunication), are expected to assist the poor to do basic economic activities to improve their life (GoTL, 2011).

Nevertheless, some of the public marketplaces were seen to be ineffective as vendors did not use them. For example, in Dili, particularly over the past four years, government-established public markets such as Manleuana and Taibesi were claimed by some local media to have been underused or abandoned by vendors and buyers (TVTL, 2012, para. 6; Timor Lorosa'e Nacao-

Diario, 2013, para. 6; Sel, 2014, para. 9). Vendors and buyers continued to do transactions in the streets rather than in public markets although the government has asked them to utilize the public markets. In Tabesi, rather than selling in the market, vendors and buyers created their own street market in Halelaran. At the same token, although the government has tried, several times, to relocate vendors in Comoro street market to Manleuana market, vendors continued to abandon the public market and go back to Comoro market.

1. 2 Justification, aim and objectives

It is because of the above reasons that I have been inspired to find out what has been going on. Therefore, utilizing two government-built public markets as qualitative case studies, the aim of the study was to explore the factors that affect the use of a public marketplace in Dili, Timor-Leste. The study has three objectives:

- a) To explore the views of market stakeholders (vendors, buyers and policy planners) on the government's initiative for establishing a public marketplace
- b) To explore the perceptions of the market stakeholders on factors that may affect the use of a public marketplace
- c) To investigate how vendors and buyers participated or got involved in the planning process for establishing a public marketplace

Although public marketplaces had been introduced during the Portuguese time in East Timor in the 20th century (Hicks, 2012; Maia, 1995; Metzner as cited in Hicks, 2012, p. 57-58; Lazarowitz as cited in *History of Timor*, n.d. p. 10) and continued to exist during the Indonesian time, and until now, it is hard finding any academic studies, particularly in Dili over the past five decades,

that explored the dynamics and factors that may affect the use of a public marketplace. Therefore, it can be expected that the findings of this study would contribute to fill this gap.

1. 3 Time and scope of research

The fieldwork for this study was being carried out between 23 June 2014 and 01 August 2014. Nevertheless, the analysis of the case studies covered the periods between 2010 and early July 2014. This was because it was estimated that during these times the issue of the use of government-established public marketplaces came into existence. The location for data collection was only in Dili, and the sites for data collection included four local marketplaces, namely two government-established public marketplaces, Manleuna and Tabesi and two street markets, Halelaran and Comoro. It should be noted that, although the data collection activities took place in four marketplaces, the focus of the research was only on the government-established public markets. This was because Halelaran street market was shifted to the Taibesi public market and Comoro street market was shifted to the Manleuana public market.

1. 4 Research respondents

There were 23 research respondents interviewed for this study. They consisted of two groups.

The first group: market stakeholders, who were the main research respondents, were:

- a) eight selected vendors (1 male and 1 female) from each market: Halelaran, Comoro, Taibesi and Manleuna markets
- b) eight selected buyers (1 male and 1 female) from each market, and
- c) two policy planners / government officials who were dealing with public local market promotion and development

Meanwhile, the second group of the research respondents comprised five local resource persons, namely one academic, one economist, two village chiefs and a Civil Society Organization (CSO).

1. 5 Research outline

This study comprises seven chapters. Chapter Two presents literature on the dynamics of local marketplaces in other countries. It comprises definitions of marketplaces, the roles of local marketplaces, possible reasons for a government's intervention in establishing public marketplaces, factors that affect the use of a local marketplace, and the concept of participatory approach to development which was used to analyse vendors' participation in building, or establishing public marketplaces in Dili.

Chapter Three explains the approach and methods that I have applied to collect data to answer the research aim and objectives. The chapter begins with explaining the motivation for the research. It then explains the research approach. The following section describes three specific methods used for collecting data, ethical considerations, and the methods used for data analysis.

Chapter Four provides information about Timor-Leste and government's public marketplaces. It briefly describes the profile of Timor-Leste as a country, its location and how people call it, its ethnicity, language and demography and the economy. In terms of public marketplaces, the chapter illustrates trade and the existence of public marketplaces during the Portuguese colonial occupation, the Indonesian times, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and after Timor-Leste's independence.

Chapter Five brings the issue under investigation closer to the field in Dili, where the case studies and study sites were located. This chapter has two sections in which the first will provide a brief description of Dili, which will cover its topography, political administration, its demography and livelihood of the people. The second section will touch upon public marketplaces in Dili, with a special focus on Taibesi and Manleuana public markets. The chapter provides information about public marketplaces that were established in the city of Dili during the Portuguese and Indonesian era. The chapter ends with a summary.

Information on the research findings is provided in Chapter Six. In this context, the chapter covers findings for the three research objectives mentioned above. Specifically, the chapter describes the perceptions of the respondents on the government's initiative for establishing public marketplaces in terms of jobs or livelihood and source of economic income, city management, and promoters of social interaction. The chapter also describes the views of the respondents on factors that may affect the use of public marketplaces such as distant location, lack of basic facilities, unclear procedures and corruption, security, and attitude and custom. Furthermore, the chapter describes how Manleuana and Taibesi public marketplaces were established in Dili and whether vendors got involved or participated in the planning process for establishing the markets.

Chapter Seven discusses the key findings, or results of this study, by comparing them with the literature and context.

Chapter 2: The Dynamics of Local Markets and a Participatory Approach to Development

2. 1 Introduction

This chapter aims to identify the development literature on the use of local marketplaces, particularly those that are located in urban areas or cities and established, or funded by the government, which become the main focus of the thesis. The chapter specifically begins by describing the notion of marketplaces. After this, the description of the roles of marketplaces in the economy, society, culture, politics and religion are provided. The next will be on some policies or general reasons that can be arguably used by many governments for establishing public marketplaces. Furthermore, the chapter explains factors that affect the use of local marketplaces, and prior to the summary section, the chapter describes the importance of the participatory approach to development, which will cover brief discussion on the discourse, values and challenges of community participation in a development planning process. In addition to these factors are suggestions by some authors on how to address such challenges. The participatory approach was included in this thesis as a guide when analyzing the importance of vendors' participation in the planning process for establishing public markets in Dili. This is related to objective three of the research as indicated in Chapter One.

2. 2 Definitions of marketplaces and various terms used for government-established public markets

It is likely that nearly everyone: politicians, economists, business people and scholars at the global, regional, local, urban or rural areas, are familiar with markets and marketplaces. People

have seen and utilized markets and marketplaces for different purposes. Nevertheless, the literature has pointed out that the definitions, interpretations and meanings of markets and marketplaces differ among authors or scholars (Temin, 2006; Casson & Lee, 2011; Feinman & Garraty, 2010; Smith, 2011). The root of the word 'market' also remains debatable among etymologists in English development literature (Davis, 1952). Some say that the word "market" has derived from a French word "*market*" while others believe that the word "market" has its origin in Latin language, "*mercatus*". Interestingly to note, is that despite arguably having a different root, both '*market*' and '*mercatus*' are said to bear the same meanings, which is 'to sell' or 'to trade' (Davis, 1952, p. 153). This thesis, however, only focuses on markets as a place, or building, particularly those which are established officially by the government. The following, provides information on the definitions of marketplaces and various terms used by many governments to refer to public marketplaces as cited by some authors.

The Dictionary of Economics describes that a market was originally a building and still is for some goods, for example, cattle or vegetable markets, and for some services, for example, Lloyds for insurance (Black, 2002, p. 288). Likewise, Shepard (2013) states that the term 'market' was initially used to refer to permanent structures. This physical concept, nevertheless, changed to 'marketplace' later. Meanwhile, Feinman and Garraty (2010) describe "marketplaces as physical places in which market exchanges are generally conducted at customary times" (p.170). They also consider "marketplaces as the physical infrastructure which are defined as the arena where face-to-face market exchanges are conducted" (Feinman & Garraty, 2010, p. 172). In a similar vein, Hornby (2010, p. 941) states that "a market is an open area or building, where buyers and sellers of goods and services meet". Others define the urban marketplace as

“the physical agglomeration of small traders and producers” (Dewar & Watson, 1990, p. xi) or as small settlements like periodic markets in villages or large settlements in towns and cities (Hudson and Goodall as cited in Ofori, 2012, p. 784).

In addition, Bromley (1997) states that market-place trading involved the regular occurrence of agglomerations of traders in market buildings, open squares or streets. Such agglomerations can either, be daily or periodic markets, and comprise major outlets for fresh food stuffs and cheap manufactured goods. These marketplaces are often government or parastatal funded buildings or venues. Bromley’s fieldwork conducted in the Municipality of Quito, Ecuador in 1998, observed that people used three different types of marketplaces for transaction. These include market buildings (*mercado*), the open-air market (*plataforma*), and the market in the street, or other public space. The author likened market buildings, which were typically permanent structures, to daily markets as most of the transactional activities that took place within the buildings happened almost everyday. Bromley further reexplained that a formal market was a marketplace that is realized and governed by a special government body or department; it is normally associated with a concentration of transaction at a specific location (Bromley, 1997; Bromley, 1998).

On the other hand, Casson and Lee (2011, p. 14) distinguished between formal and informal markets. According to them, formal markets are markets whose transactions took place in a particular marketplace where infrastructure such as market halls were provided and regulated by rules or regulations. In contrast, informal markets are markets that happen in an open area such as in the street corners or the doorstep. Some refer marketplaces to market centres and market towns, which are associated with settlements (Mitchell & Hofstra, 1995). The settlements

could be small such as periodic markets in villages or large such as daily markets in towns and cities.

The literature review also noted different terms used by many developing countries' government to refer to government-established public marketplaces. For example, Hansen's (2004) study on marketplaces in Lusaka, Zambia, points out that the President of the state had used the term "a well-managed place" to refer to government-built marketplaces (p. 68). Fascinated by the open-air markets that he visited during his official trip to Israel in 1994, the then President Chiluba, after his return to Zambia, decided to build a market, which was envisaged to play a similar role to those in Israel. The new marketplace was equipped with ultra-modern facilities, which was believed to attract and contain more market participants, particularly street vendors. In the context of Dili, Timor-Leste, the government has also built fancy market buildings. For example, Manleuana and Taibesi markets have attractive infrastructure and have been equipped with modern facilities including air conditioned rooms. The Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) refers the markets to as '*mercado integradu standar internacional*' (integrated markets with international standard), '*mercado publico*' (public market) or '*mercado modernu*' (modern markets) because the markets, according to the government, have both fancy buildings and modern facilities compared to other market buildings in the districts.

Table 1 categorizes, depending on its context, the various terms into three main categories, namely government-funded markets as formal or public markets, as indoor or enclosed markets, and as commercial centres, mall or plaza.

Table 1: Various terms used by governments to refer to government-established marketplaces

Category	Terms used	Authors
1. Formal or public markets	“Municipal formal market”	Mehta & Gohil, 2013, p. 279
	“Formal sector market”	Middleton, 2003, pp. 77-78
	“Public market building”, “municipally owned public market”	Weng, 2013, p. 50, Project for Public Space Inc, 2003, p. 6; Bromley, 1997
2. Indoor or enclosed markets	“Shopping popular”	Pádua Carriery & Murta, 2011, p. 218
	“Enclosed markets with stalls”	Donovan, 2008, p. 30
	“Centrally managed enclosed shopping centre”	Rajagopal, 2010
	“Enclosed market”	Middleton, 2003, p. 73
3. Commercial centre, mall or plaza	“Commercial centre”	Middleton, 2003, p. 85
	“Government-built malls”	Donovan, 2008, p. 30
	“Shopping malls” or “shopping center” or “shopping plaza” and “market sites”	Ofori, 2012, pp. 784-5
	“Vendor’s mall”	Cutsinger, 2000, p.69
	“Plaza”	Peña, 1997, p. 370
4. Others	“Landmark”	Roever, 2005, p. 34
	“Ultra modern market”, “designated market”, and “a well-managed area”	Hansen, 2004, pp. 65, 68
	“Bazaar”	Ahad et al., 2013

Source: Herdade dos Santos (as adapted from references)

Based on the above definitions of marketplaces, it can be argued that many authors characterized marketplaces as a specific place either held in enclosed, or in open spaces, which are established and controlled by a legal authority, for example, the government. It is also noted that regardless of the different definitions provided by authors and various terms referred to by governments, both authors and governments seemingly agree that marketplaces serve the same function as a venue where both vendors and buyers meet for transaction or other purposes. The next section discusses the role and benefits of a marketplace in the areas of economy, social, culture, politics and religion.

2. 3 The role and benefits of marketplaces

The role and benefits that marketplaces offer to human beings have been long recognized in many regions even since the pre-industrial era (Smith, 2011; Blanton & Fargher, 2010). The following describes the role and benefits that marketplaces contribute to its users in general, and particularly to the lower-income households and poor families. These roles and benefits are classified into four groups. The first group is the provision of economic income and a source of livelihood. The second is a social bond; the third role is the promoter of culture; and the fourth is the role of marketplace in politics and religion.

2.3.1 Marketplaces as economic income and a source of livelihood

One of the most common benefits of marketplaces that are familiar to the contemporary society is that markets serve as sources of economic income for vendors. Here, the function of the market is purely economic, to increase wealth. Bitzenis and Marangos described a local market transactions as “a process in which individuals interact with one another in pursuit of their

separate economic objectives” (as cited in Feinman & Garraty, 2010, p. 170). To support the economic objectives of markets, money has been created to facilitate the transaction (Pearce, as cited in Ofori, 2012, p. 784). Indeed, there is hardly any market transaction these days without the involvement of money. Vendors or producers sell their products in the market because they expect that buyers will come to buy their goods or services with money (Guell, 2010, p.17).

For the lower-income people or the poor, markets or marketplaces can serve as sources of livelihood. A number of studies carried out by the UN Women agency in different environments, have indicated how the existence of markets or marketplaces have encouraged rural and urban poor households to improve their lives. For example, it was discovered that urban poor women in Fiji utilized marketplaces as a source of livelihood to resell local commodities that were bought from rural women (UN Women, 2010).

2.3.2 Social roles of marketplaces

Markets or marketplaces have existed in the era of pre-modern societies (Casson & Lee, 2011; Blanton & Fargher, 2010; Geraghty, 2007; Feinman & Garraty, 2010; Temin, 2006; Rotstein et al, 1970). Nevertheless, it could be argued that the objectives of markets at that historical time were significantly different from today’s markets. If today’s markets are mostly driven by economic and financial profits (Guell, 2010 p.17), markets in the pre-modern society were mostly meant for friendship and social relations. In fact, the pre-modern societies, relatives, aristocrats, farmers, traders, ecclesiastical leaders, tribes, rulers and landlords utilized practices of barter and gift-giving and gift-taking to get to know one another and to strengthen family

relationships, spirituality and social harmony (Hyde, 2007, p. 142-146; Rotstein et al., 1970; Smith, 2008). Gift-giving and gift-taking activities are purely social because they are not intended to increase wealth or faster economic interest although gift givers might implicitly expect that gift takers would do the same thing on another occasion (Rotstein et al., 1970). A gift establishes a feeling-bond between two people, or a group of people, because gifts-givers do not impose interest or profits from gifts-receivers (Hyde, 2007, p. 72-73). Hence, the value that a gift brings to its receiver tends to stay longer or live for good whilst the value of money as in pure market economy, regardless of its amount, will normally run out and perish quickly.

The literature also indicates that the social roles of markets, or marketplaces, have been practised worldwide. This is evidenced from the existence of a number of studies carried out in different world continents that described about the social roles of marketplaces (see “markets in Africa” by Bohannan & Dalton, 1965 or “urban markets in developing countries” by Dewar and Watson, 1990 or “Pacific marketplaces” by Brookfield, 1969 or “markets in Latin American countries” by Bromley, 1997). Even, in the US and the UK, until now, the roles of marketplaces as social forums are still seen in some areas. For example, in a study entitled “Markets as Sites for Social Interaction” in the United Kingdom, it was found that markets have played important roles as places for social interaction for local communities as in the markets, any members of the community and other people, regardless of background and ethnicity were seen in the markets (Watson & Studdert, 2006). The inclusion of the social roles of markets or marketplaces practices in developed countries in this thesis is considered necessary because I personally believe that the role of markets or marketplaces in the social aspects, regardless of the location, is still valid and may be relevant, particularly in the context of Timor-Leste.

As there can be informal, yet important exchange of information at a local market, it can be argued that markets also promote social and community cohesion. For example, as described by Hunt (2007) in his studies on consumer interactions in some local farmer markets in Maine, USA, in addition to economic advantages, the openness, enthusiasm and ability of farmers and buyers to talk to each other (for example, on issues like seasonal products, use of chemicals) has shown great fun and increased mutual relationship and understanding among farmers or consumers and between farmers and consumers. Similarly, Gillespie et al revealed that in local farmers markets, economic interactions combined with various social interactions, make the markets valued community institutions (as cited in Brown and Miller, 2008, p. 1300). In addition, Fletcher (as cited in Johnson, 2013, p. 318) explains that “Markets bring people out in a common space, thus create and fostering community ties”. In this context, it could be argued that in a local market, members of a newly established community who may not know each other before hand, may have a chance to interact and get to know each other, hence contributing to strengthening the sense of community and togetherness.

A market can also act as a focal point and as a hub of connections, interconnection and social interaction that ties social harmony (Watson & Studdert, 2006; Gell, 1982, p. 473-477). Gell described that the Dhorai market of Bastar District, India has played an important role as the hub or node where people from various social status met weekly. Gell observed that not only different kinds of traders, but local and non-local, tribal and non-tribal groups had congregated in the Dhorai market for different purposes.

From the above explanation, it could be said that a local market as a social forum is the one that is, open to everybody to participate at any time and any place, welcoming all members of the

society and community regardless of their backgrounds. Different tribes, locals or non-locals, family, relatives, neighbours, friends, women, men, rich or poor, the disabled, young or adult all can utilize marketplaces to meet, communicate and share information about their daily lives.

2.3.3 Markets as entertainers, promoters and preserver of traditional culture

In places where people live far from one another, where there are no public places for entertainment or bringing people together, marketplaces could take up this function. As people from different backgrounds normally congregate in marketplaces, many have utilized marketplaces to perform traditional cultures. In Zanzira, Ivory Coast, villages around the marketplace sent their women dressed with their cultural and traditional outfits to entertain people by dancing (Meillassoux, 1962, p. 291). Similarly, Gell (1982), after making an observation in the Dhorai market in a rural village of India, stated that the Dhorai market was not only a place for commercial activities but also a culturally ceremonial occasion. Gell saw some of the Dhorai market participants wore saris and ornaments with oiled hair carried out cultural ceremonies in the market (p. 471). In addition, in Afikpo, Nigeria, a local market was used as a place of ceremonials where community members can carry out traditional rituals, parade and dance (Simon & Ottenberg, 1962, p. 127). This ceremonial performance is normally conducted during events such as celebration of harvest or survival or recovery from being seriously ill. This role is very important, not only because of the entertainment values that a local market plays but also the fact that by doing so, a local market functions to preserve and promote local culture and wisdom.

2.3.4 The role of markets in politics and religion

This section considers the relationship of markets, politics and religions. It can be argued that the relationship of markets and politics are not new. Markets contribute to the political development of a city (Ahad et al., 2013; Ligt, 1993). In fact, it is noted that many places which were used for market transaction activities in the pre-industrial era were often transformed to become new administrative cities (Ligt, 1993; Smith, 2009; Feinman & Garraty, 2010). Farmers and traders congregated in certain specific places established by the Roman authorities to exchange goods. These transaction activities normally attracted more people to come and live in the area. As a result the Roman Empire then set up their military bases in the areas. These new settlement areas then developed to be a new administrative city under the control of the Roman Empire.

Similarly, in a study on market practised by the Guro tribes, in Ivory Coast, it was revealed that political motivation also played an important role in the opening of a local market. The founder of a market who was normally famous and wealthy, a "*Fua*" did so with the purpose to seek social and political recognition. Once a "*Fua*" opened a market, people from the community attending the market would soon recognize his wealth. At the same time, the place or ground where the market was taking place became his jurisdiction. In this context, a "*Fua*" could, at any time, assign his people to maintain order and security on the area (Meillassoux, 1962, p. 291). To relate this story to the current government-funded marketplaces, for example, in Dili, it could be argued that by establishing a marketplace, the government expects to gain legitimacy from the people.

In the same way, in a study on bazaars in Iran, Ahad et al., (2013) found that bazaars had played very important roles in Iran, not only as economic dimensions, but also in political, social,

religious and educational spaces. As bazaars normally attract people to congregate, many religious places and schools buildings were also built in the vicinity of the area. As a result, bazaars were further developed to become a city. Bazaars have become the main indicators for development of Iranian city hubs, or administrative centers (Ahad et al., (2013).

Marketplaces also can be used to teach religions, or other beliefs. In fact, many religious leaders often preach at marketplaces. Many different religious services, books, pamphlets and emblems are also distributed, or sold in marketplaces.

Indeed, some catechism classes that I attended when I was still a child were undertaken in a marketplace. In the late 1980s, I saw some Islamic leaders preaching in local marketplaces in rural areas of my district. In the late 1990s, I also witnessed many Balinese people building religious temples in marketplaces in some villages in Singaraja, Bali. They prayed and exercised their faiths and beliefs in these marketplaces.

The literature so far has provided some important roles of markets. These include the roles of markets in socio economic development, culture, religion and political administration. We have noted that the existence of a marketplace often has a strong linkage with a political decision, for example, the government. The next section discusses some justifications which many governments use to establish a marketplace.

2. 4 Government's justifications for establishing marketplaces

Depending on the context, one could argue that the policy for having a marketplace may come under the responsibility of a central government, a local government or a combination of the two. Whatever the policy option is, the decision for having a public marketplace must have been based on some justifications. This literature review has identified and classified four reasons that can be argued as the main justifications for many governments of developing countries to

be responsible for the provision of marketplaces or market buildings in cities. These reasons include economic income for people and the country, formalization or institutionalization, city management, and hygiene and public health.

2.4.1 Economic income for both the people and the government

Economic income generation could be argued as the main reason for the establishment of government-funded marketplaces. Dewar and Watson (1990, p. xi) stated that “an urban marketplace is a potentially powerful policy instrument that can be used to facilitate the effort of the urban poor to generate income”. By providing strategic marketplaces or buildings, the government expects that everybody can use these as having, or gaining an equal opportunity to improve their own economic lives, and the nation in general. In this context, not only business or wealthy people would populate and utilize marketplaces for trading but, more importantly, the lower-income households such as farmers, fishermen, cattle raisers, retailers and other disadvantaged groups as well. Infact, marketplaces and trading are usually used simultaneously. This means that most buyers and sellers usually exchange commodities in a marketplace. In other words, no exchange transaction is carried out without a marketplace (Douglas, 1975; McCarthy and Perreault, 1990 and Schrimper, 2001 as cited in Ofori, 2012, p. 784).

On the other hand, government-funded marketplaces can also become an important additional revenue source for the government. Vendors and producers of all types of businesses using the markets are charged with tax and user fees, even though the amount may vary among these people. The literature indicates that many urban government-funded marketplaces have been meant for clearing off street vendors. These informal economies are often unilaterally accused

by the government as tax-avoidant (Donovan, 2008; Pádua Carriery & Murta, 2011; Setšabi & Leduka, 2008; Middleton, 2003; Rajagopal, 2010; Bhowmik, 2010; Hunt, 2009; Roever, 2005; Brown, 2006; Hansen, 2004; Bromley, 1978). Hence, one of the options to solve tax avoidance is by subjecting informal vendors into a formal and regularized marketplace that would make it easier for the government to collect tax from them.

2.4.2 Institutionalization and city regularization or management

Institutionalization is defined as “a process through which something, or someone, becomes part of an organized system, society or culture, so that it is considered normal” (Hornby & Turnbull, 2010, p. 807). By establishing a marketplace, the government will gain control over market participants who will have to act according to the government’s rules and policies (Hansen, 2004; Donovan, 2008; Dewar & Watson, 1990). One rule, for example, might make vendors sell their produces only in a formal marketplace established by the government. Another rule is that the commodity produced or sold, and the price of the products, should also follow the standards established by the government (Hansen, 2004; Donovan, 2008; Dewar and Watson, 1990). In this way, rules and regulations on the operationalization of marketplaces are institutionalized and governed by the government. The government is not only considered as the legitimate representation of the people, but also is believed to have structures, facilities and legal powers in place to enforce laws.

Regularization of street vendors and city management can also be arguably considered as a reason for having urban government-funded marketplaces in many developing countries. This is evidenced from a great number of efforts made by the governments to regularize by forcibly

relocating street vendors to government-assigned marketplaces. The above mentioned researchers and authors have pointed out that despite street-vending activities being recognized as having a positive impact on the livelihoods of poor households, many governments have, unfairly and unilaterally accused street vendors as creating disturbances, littering and dropping rubbish, causing traffic congestions, and other crimes such as drug trafficking and pickpocketing. The unauthorized occupation of public spaces, including public properties such as buildings, or empty lands by street vendors, have been used by many developing countries' governments to justify the immediate establishment of marketplaces to contain the problem. In fact, based on studies conducted by Hunt (2006) and Donovan (2008) in Bogota, Colombia and in Lusaka, Zambia (Hansen, 2004), it was found that the government's public marketplaces in both cities had been built to contain relocated street vendors.

In this context, one can argue that by controlling and regularizing street vendors, through the establishment of legal and authorized marketplaces, governments can expect to implement or manage a city which is clean, safer, less traffic congestion, and conducive to its people or visitors (Project for Public Spaces, 2003). Governments expect to have a city whose, cultural and historical places are protected and preserved. A well-organized city can also enhance the image of the city at national and international levels. A clean, safe and conducive city would attract domestic and international tourists which eventually would bring in income for governments.

2.4.3 Hygiene and public health

Public or government-funded marketplaces can also play a role in guaranteeing or ensuring hygiene and public health. By having an established marketplace, a government wants, not only to regularize street vending activities, but also protect both vendors and buyers from harsh weather, because they can do the transaction in a building that protect them from rain and heat (Pádua Carriery & Murta, 2011; Dewar & Watson, 1990; Hunt, 2006; Donovan, 2008). In studies on issues affecting the success of markets conducted in some places in Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America countries, it was revealed that market buildings actually contribute to keeping the products healthy and hygienic to consume by the public (Dewar & Watson, 1990). Furthermore, a government-funded marketplace does not only provide adequate infrastructure like shelter for market participants to do transactions, but also other facilities (such as refrigerators, coolers, cleaning equipments, garbage removal) that can be used by vendors to keep their produces fresh.

The section has presented four justifications that arguably have been used by many governments for building or allocating a marketplace. These arguments include the benefits that a marketplace contributes to the economic income of vendors and to the government, formalization or institutionalization of marketplace activities, controlling unauthorized street vending activities and ensuring public health. In the next section, the literature describes factors that may influence the optimal use of a local marketplace.

2. 5 Factors that affect market use

No matter how sophisticated a marketplace is, it has not value if people are not utilizing it. Despite governments having the principal responsibilities for establishing marketplaces, due to

their comparative advantage and legal powers, this position does not guarantee that the process towards the realization of marketplaces always goes well. The following describes some factors that can affect a local marketplace to function well, or fully. These factors include: complex formal regulation, distance and location, transaction costs, access to information, and political motives. These factors provide for comparative consideration with the findings after fieldwork in Dili.

2.5.1 Complex formal bureaucracy and corrupt officials

The following illustrates how the complexities of bureaucracy influence the use of a public marketplace. In some places, in order to occupy a stall of a government-funded marketplace, vendors have to complete forms. By completing the forms, the government wants to ensure who and how many vendors were using the stalls. Hence, it would be easier for the government to collect revenues through taxes and user fees. Nevertheless, this might not be a good approach, since not all vendors are able to read and write, especially in places where illiteracy became an issue. In East Timor, during the Indonesian period, the provincial government launched a decree which required all vendors who wanted to sell their products or produce in government markets, to be registered. I observed that this policy only benefited traders who came from West Timor, Jawa, Sumatra, Irian Jaya, Maluku and Sulawesi because they can read and understand Bahasa Indonesia printed on the forms. On the other hand, many Timorese vendors were automatically excluded from the process as they did not understand the terms or language used in the forms. The many different layers that a vendor had to pass through in order to submit the forms, also discouraged many Timorese farmers from using government market buildings.

Some government officials may also take the opportunity (the complex bureaucratic procedures in completing documents) to ask for bribes from the vendors. In his book entitled "The Other Path", De Soto, (1990, 134-144) described how government complex bureaucracies impede economic activities. The author discovered that small business enterprises in Peru had no other choice, but to bribe government staffs, in order to go through the complicated procedures so that they could proceed with their business activities. Because of the complex bureaucracies, the poor not only spent money, but also much of their time in trying to complete forms, which would have been spent for other productive and profitable activities if the system were not complicated. As a result, De Soto observed that many small business activities and vendors chose to operate outside the formal system, for example by selling in the street. The same case happened in Downtown Belo Horizonte, Brazil as described by Padua Carrieri (2011, p. 218). Padua observed that relocated street vendors in the government's market (Shopping Popular) complained about market building managers who arbitrarily and illegally asked vendors to pay additional rental fees. As a result, vendors claimed that their income and profits had been severely disturbed.

2.5.2 Location and distance

A successful marketplace is one whose location is attractive and familiar to its users. Markets should take place in areas where people can easily gain access, or where people normally get together. From the pre-modern society until now, places such as river sites, fair grounds, suburban villages, estate headquarters, beaches, terminals or ports, landing places, historic monuments, religious and court yards, and population centres or business hubs often have been used as a marketplace, where traders and buyers meet to exchange things (Casson and

Lee, 2011; Feinman and Garraty, 2010; Mehta and Gohil, 2013). This was so because these places are believed to be the sites where people congregate, where people could easily approach.

According to a study aiming at identifying factors influencing market participation by small holder farmers in Kenya, it was found that only a small proportion of the total outputs produced by the farmers was taken to the more lucrative, but distant urban markets (Omiti, Otieno, Nyanamba & McCullough, 2009). Similarly, based on a study on Market Participation Behaviour of Smallholder Dairy Farmers in Uttarakhand, the result showed that the distance to market has negatively impacted the intensity of market participation in the hills (Bardhana, Sharma, & Saxena, 2012). In addition, Pender, Place, and Ehui (2006) claimed that a community with absolute advantage in producing a specific good or produce, may have little, or no comparative advantage (low profitability) if the products offered are far from roads, and urban markets.

Furthermore, Weng (2013) discovered that a marketplace that was built on a previously used open-air market, or on a site which is familiar to market participants, has the least possibility to lose its customer base (p. 86). Vendors and customers who know each other because of their long engagement in an already well-functioning, or familiar marketplace, normally have good emotional bonds. This emotional bond often mutually benefits one another, for example, in price negotiations. This situation, however, may change in a newly established marketplace where vendors and customers do not know each other.

In this context, one could say that a marketplace which is located near residential or business centres, facilitate both vendors and buyers, particularly the lower-income households or the

poor to participate. In one part, vendors know for sure where they are going to sell their products while, in another part, buyers do not have to wander in search of the goods or services that she or he wants to buy. With a marketplace which is familiar to its users, people do not have to incur unnecessary spending prior to arriving at the marketplace. The poor would find it difficult, or inconvenient to spend any transport fee, just in order to bring them to the marketplace, or they do not need to allocate a great amount of time just in order to buy a bunch of vegetables or a pile of fruit.

2.5.3 Transaction costs and user fees or tax

Transaction costs and user fees could also affect the use of a local marketplace. A number of studies have indicated that costs associated with access to information, costs incurred with deliver a product to a marketplace, high marketing margins, cost of searching for a trading partner with whom to exchange, the costs of screening partners, of bargaining, monitoring and enforcement, rents, utility bills and income tax, can negatively affect small farmers or the urban poor (Nwigwe et al., 2009; Machura, 2001). For these disadvantaged people, these costs may mean no participation. For example, in a study carried out on small holder market participation on maize supply and fertilizer demand in Kenya, it was revealed that transaction costs had significant negative effects on market entry and intensity (Alene et al., 2008). They cannot afford the accumulative amount of time, energy, and cash that they have to spend in order to exchange their produce with some cash (Alene et al., 2008; Key et al., 2000).

There were also some studies that showed relocated vendors experienced income declines due to high utility bills, rental cost or tax (Donovan, 2008; Gomes Alzate as cited in Donovan, 2008,

pp. 41-42). Donovan's study on street vendors in Bogota discovered that despite having improved conditions in the government-built markets, the relocated street vendors experienced significant decline of incomes because they had to spend a higher costs for utility bills and income tax. As a result, some vendors were discouraged in using the market. In the same token, in Barbados, West Indies, it was found that relocated street vendors in a government mall were concerned about the permit fee to sell in the mall was very high (Cutsinger, 2000, p. 69).

For small vendors, the financial income that they gain from selling in a marketplace often only suffices to buy a one-day meal. Therefore, one could argue that the poor's endeavours to meet their daily basic needs will be affected if they have to take away this tiny income to pay a rent for using a stall in the market. As a result, many lower-income vendors may choose not to participate, or use a formal marketplace (Donovan, 2008).

2.5.4 Asymmetrical access to information

One of the reasons why governments want to institutionalize a market is because asymmetrical access to market information is experienced by different market participants (Chowdhury 2006; Zanello, 2012; Makhura, 2001). Some sellers and buyers cannot get correct and complete information on what to produce or sell and where to purchase goods or services they want. On the other hand, some sellers and buyers may easily get better access to market information, hence, make them produce better outputs with better prices or buy good things with lower prices.

In two separate studies relating to the use of mobile phones and radios by rural households in Bangladesh and Northern Ghana, Chowdhury (2006) and Zanello (2012) discovered that

access to information, affects households' participation in a market. Households that receive market information, for example, on the prices of agricultural goods, or other business related information, either through mobile phones or radio showed greater enthusiasm to participate in any market activities, compared to those who do not. Meanwhile, Makhura (2001), based on a study entitled "Overcoming Transaction Costs Barriers to Market Participation of Smallholder Farmers in the Northern Province of South Africa", revealed that access to market information, *inter alia*, is an important determinant of market participation. Some information that may be useful, and encourage farmers to participate, includes information on food crops provided by government's agricultural extensionists, location and proximity to markets. In this context, one could argue that by having a government-funded marketplace, the government wants to ensure that vendors and buyers, small or big, have equal access to market information. In other words, vendors (for example farmers), because of government information, produce or sell what is demanded by the market, while buyers or consumers on the other hand, know exactly the price of the goods or services that they will pay. Without clear information on the price of a good or service, uninformed poor vendors or buyers can be easily cheated. Market participants who have better information and knowledge are more likely to participate in the market (Makhura, 2001).

2.5.5 Political motives and exclusive planning

The community, generally, benefits from marketplaces in many ways, and the government's inputs are therefore appreciated. Through government-funded marketplaces, members of a local community could not only sell and buy their daily basic needs but, more importantly, they know that what they sell and buy are legally and hygienically protected. This is because the

government often controls goods and services being transacted in government-funded marketplaces. Nevertheless, the literature shows that some government-funded marketplaces are politically motivated. Marketplaces have been built to target a specific group of people, such as street vendors. In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in the first decade of the last century, because the elite wanted the city to resemble those of France, and to satisfy the European visitors in the city, the elite decided to relocate street vendors who occupied public spaces to the government's newly built marketplaces which were located outside the city (Pádua Carriery & Murta, 2011).

It is also noted that marketplaces which are mostly built by political motives tend to be exclusive and underestimate the interests of those whose lives would be directly affected by a development project or programme, hence, only represent the political will of a certain group of elites. For example, in a study entitled "Designs for Natural Markets: Accommodating the Informal" in India, Mehta and Gohil (2013) found that one reason why street vendors continued to exist even though they had been relocated to newly built markets, was the absence of government inclusive planning. The market was, in this case, not designed according to the need of the vendors. Mehta and Gohil, further suggested that strategies for market design for addressing issues pertaining to natural markets, such as finance for construction of infrastructure and provision of amenities, and mechanism for allotment of the designated spaces to the vendors, needed to be developed through multi-stakeholder consultations, involving government authorities, planners, police, vendors and other community members.

Similarly, in two separate studies conducted to improve Food Supply and Distribution (FSD) in Accra, Ghana and the Ivory Coast, revealed that there had been conflicts between street food traders and government authorities. Street food traders boycotted the newly built marketplaces

as they were not involved and consulted (Hubbard & Onumah, 2001). In a similar vein, based on Middleton's (2003) studies in Quito, on the efforts to relocate street vendors into government-funded marketplaces, it was revealed that the programme had not been successful, partly because proper feasibility studies had not been carried out, but mainly because policy planners did not consider the participation or commitment of the traders. Dewar and Watson (1990) , after they had documented and analyzed about 66 markets in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Arab, also recommended the importance of policy planners to involve people in market designs and administration (pp. 11 and 15).

Based on the above information, one could argue that failure to involve vendors in a marketplace planning process does not only create dissatisfaction among marketplaces users but can also lead to ineffective use of a marketplace. These findings remind market policy planners that in order for a public market to really benefit people, the views of people (vendors and buyers) must be sought and heard. Their involvement in the planning or designing process can enhance their sense of ownership.

Throughout this section, I have presented a number of issues that may influence the use of a local marketplace. For example, I have noted that in some places complicated bureaucracy, transaction costs, location and distance, access to information, political motives and lack of people participation in market planning and designs can potentially affect vendors and buyers from using a local marketplace effectively. Given stakeholders' participation in a local market planning process is important, and that one of the objectives of this study is to analyze how vendors and buyers and development providers (government) participate and interact mutually in a local market planning process, it is important to have a general idea of the concept of

participatory approach to development. The below describes in brief the dynamics of the concept of participatory approach to development.

2. 6 The concept of participation in development intervention

The following sub-sections describe the idea of participatory development. The section discusses the discourse of participatory development, its values and challenges as well as some suggestions on how to address the challenges.

2.6.1 Why participation in development matters?

Since it became prominent in the mid-1970s, the concept of participatory development has increasingly played an important part in the global development agenda (Chambers, 1993; Mohan, 2007; Pieterse, 1998). The participatory approach to development has been coined as a response to the ineffectiveness of mainstream economic growth, external, rigid and top-down development models in tackling poverty, rising income inequality and deteriorating environmental problems (*ibid*). It is noted that governments of developing nations, donors, development agencies and NGOs all have incorporated 'participation' in their development assistance schemes (White, 1996). Participation is believed to provide significant and multiple advantages to both development agencies and communities throughout the development processes. For example, a participatory approach can be used as forum to discuss and make a collective decision on community issues that affect people's lives as individuals and as groups (Hart, 1992; Paul, 1987). Community participation is also believed to empower a community to make decisions about their own problems (Arnstein, 2011; Hindsworth & Lang, 2009, pp. 7-8).

According to Thomas (1994) participation changes the perspective of development beneficiaries from being simply an object to being the subject of development. In this way, it can be argued that development beneficiaries can become active drivers of the development rather than passive listeners. Participation can also engender consciousness on an individual or a community to realize about social conditions around them (Stockes, 1995; Freire, 2000). Stiglitz (2002) states that if people participate genuinely in an activity, they tend to accept the result of the intervention, regardless of the outcome. On the contrary, a community may also reject a product or result that is imposed on them from outsiders, even from the government, if they are not involved in the process. In this context, one could argue that in order for a development intervention project to benefit the main beneficiaries or targets, these beneficiaries should be involved in the process, including at the planning stage. The more the wider community participates in the development planning process, the more comprehensive and stronger the plan is (Burby, 2003).

For policy planners, the community involvement in the early developmental stage not only helps reduce the growing public pessimism about the government, but also increases transparency, improve legitimacy, incorporate knowledge, experience and expertise of various participants (Creighton, 2005). It also represents democratic decision-making processes and generates community acceptance or buy-in. Hence, a participatory approach will support the implementation stage, encourage ownership and create sustainability in the end.

2.6.2 Challenges of community participation in a development project or programme

Since its introduction in the 1970s, the concept of a participatory development approach not only gained popularity, but was said to add value to development projects. An evaluation of several development projects by the WBInA, showed that most produced sustainable outcomes due to strong link with active and informed participation from the poor and women (World Bank's development reports as cited in Rahnema, 2010, p. 130; World Bank's evaluation report as cited in Farrington, Bebbington, Wellard, & Lewis, 1993, p. 102). The concept, nevertheless, is not without challenges (Chambers, 1993; Mohan, 2007; Pieterse, 1998). For example, some advocates of the concept are concerned that, not only participation is motivated by different interests, but also the real meaning of participation itself is not clear, and has often changed over time (Farrington, Bebbington, Wellard, & Lewis, 1993, p. 102; White, 1996, p. 143). According to Rahnema (2010), participation may be either manipulative or spontaneous. Furthermore, community participation does not always produce positive outcome. For example, according to a study on development projects in Northern Pakistan, while community participation improves project outcomes in non-technical decisions, increasing community participation in technical decisions had actually led to worse project outcomes (Khwaja, 2004).

In some societies, participation does not exist, as it is not their normal practice. Participation may not be active in a community or society which has been repressed, where freedom of speech and assembly are not permitted (Freire, 2000). Participation for these societies becomes a big issue; participation from the community does not come automatically.

Power relations and dynamics may also affect meaningful participation from people (Arnstein, 2011; Holte-McKenzie et al., 2006; Parkinson, 2009; Vernooy et al., 2006). It is commonly agreed that in nearly all existing communities there are always power and political structures

that have become barriers for participation to flourish. As a result, some significant voices from less influential groups such as minority and indigenous peoples may not be heard or paid attention to. Meaningful participation implies power sharing among service providers and beneficiaries. Nevertheless, many development agencies, NGOs or some government branches are reluctant to genuinely involve people because they are afraid of losing influence or legitimacy. It is also thought that subalterns do not have the capacity to carry out any activities entrusted to them (Duta, 2013; Tandon, 2011) or in the words of Arnstein, the powerlessness are seen as sick people, suffering mental illness which cannot be trusted (Arnstein, 2011, p. 7).

Participation also becomes a problem when it is tokenistic. This type of participation comes in the form of top-down consultation with exclusive and pre-established agenda; it over simplifies the complexities of the society, underestimates local conditions, the users' needs and potential (Arnstein, 2011). Farrington, Bebbington, Wellard, and Lewis (1993) used the terms "breadth and depth" participations to distinguish between fully engaged and shallow participation. According to these authors, participation is full when participants are engaged in all phases of the activities from identification to decision-making process, whereas breadth participation refers to the involvement of a wide range of people. However, often participants are only involved during the information sharing, or consultation process.

In addition, the consultation process itself remains problematic as it is not clear who should be consulted, whether people want their voices to be represented, or not (Catt and Murphy, 2003). Furthermore, it is difficult to ensure whether policy planners who do the consultation really incorporate what people told them (Arnstein, 2011). Applying a participatory approach in any development programmes is challenging, and some development agencies and pundits have

come up with a number of strategies that may help manage the issues. The following presents some techniques suggested by experts or development organizations that can be considered when applying the concept of people or a community participation approach.

2.6.3 Some suggestions to address challenges to participation in development

Owing to the above challenges, and in order to encourage development workers to continue applying the concept, many development agents and experts have come up with mechanisms trying to improve the quality of the concept including how to measure its effectiveness. For example, some state that participation should be understood as a process. According to Uphoff (1985), participation is not like a dam or bridge that can be built ,but it should be developed. Others say that participation as a behaviour cannot be imposed on from above (top down) or external people, rather it has to come from an individual, or groups; it grows phase by phase until it becomes part of the community (Kumar, 1994; Freire, 1972).

According to Freire (1972), participation can be nurtured inside or outside a family, and through formal and non-formal education within a society. Within a family, the children can be taught about participation via communication or other means. Whereas in formal education it can be done by adopting a participatory administrative system inside the schools, asking students to do assignments, school tour to community social events and the use of participatory methodology during teaching-learning processes (Zakus & Lysack, 1998). Meanwhile, in the community, the process can be developed through social events such as sports activities, political and other awareness programmes. Furthermore, some state that in order to create a strong social capital

within a community requires the establishment of contacts and networks (Putnam, 2001; Butler, 2005).

Another mechanism is on how to measure the effectiveness of the participation itself. In this regard, some have suggested the importance of analyzing how the community gets involved (process) and what the product or outcome of such an involvement is (Todd, 2001; Innes and Booher, 1999). According to Todd, Innes and Booher, any development intervention or agreements made without a fair, open, inclusive and accountable processes, is not legitimate. Without these process indicators, the outputs and outcome of such a participation, development or agreement will potentially fail to deliver a result or outcome; people may show minimal sense of ownership and may not benefit from it.

Others suggest that before applying the community participation approach, it is imperative that development agencies, organizations or planners have a clear purpose in mind regarding the objectives of having a community or people involved in a development activity (Brody et al, 2003). For example, whether a participation approach is used to educate, enhance capacity, to delegate decision making powers or just to get the perceptions of the community on a plan or programme. These objectives also require different involvement techniques. For example, if the participation is meant to get the perceptions on a plan or policy, then consultation might be better used. This technique of people involvement surely will differ from the one that tries to grant decision-making powers to the participants. Brody et al. (2003, p. 246) have suggested six alternatives that planners may consider when applying a community participation approach. The alternatives are: 1) administration, which refers to determining timetable or agenda and allocating resources; 2) objectives (as stated above, it is crucial to have in mind the purpose and

reasons for involving the public or the community); 3) to define when the community or the public will become involved (for example, in the early stage or continuum throughout the process); 4) targeting refers to who should be involved (for example, organizations, people or who are the stakeholders); 5) techniques (as stated above, either participation of the people or community is done through survey, public hearing, workshops, focus group discussion, and so forth.); 6) to determine types of information and how to disseminate it.

2. 7 Summary

The chapter presents the dynamics of government-funded local markets and participatory approach to development. The first part of this chapter provides some definitions and terms that refer to local marketplaces, the benefits and roles of local marketplaces, and some reasons why governments want to invest in a local marketplace and factors that might influence the use of such markets were presented. The chapter also illustrates the vibrancy of the concept of community participation in development programmes, which briefly cover the rationale of the concept, challenges and some proposed solutions to cope with such challenges.

As indicated above, there are various definitions and terms given to a government local market. The chapter also shows that the existence of a government-funded local marketplace can be very helpful for its users, particularly people who live surrounding it. For example, lower-income households or the poor can utilize it to sell their products or services to improve their living conditions. They can also buy their daily basic needs from a local marketplace to sustain their life. A local marketplace can also facilitate the members of a local community to know each other better. A local marketplace creates and strengthens a sense of togetherness and unity

among the community members. A local marketplace can also facilitate friendly interaction between local community members with people who come from other places to use the marketplace.

Despite the above mentioned benefits that a government's local marketplace may offer, this chapter also indicates that, in reality, these benefits might not happen as wished. As shown in the case studies in some countries, many local markets have not been used effectively and efficiently as a result of various factors. For instance, such markets are often located far from vendors and buyers, population and commercial centres, therefore only certain people can access the markets. Such markets may also have been built to target a group of people, for example, street vendors. This is true, particularly in urban cities. Many local markets also have been assigned, or built without asking or consulting vendors and buyers who would utilize the markets. Some local market authorities also charge high user fees. Others imply that vendors must complete complicated documents without explaining the process transparently if they want to use vending stalls in a local market. These situations and conditions often cause vendors and buyers to create their own way of transaction, selling in the street, for example.

The chapter also briefly discusses the rhetorics of a participation approach which touches upon the meanings, advantages, challenges and proposed actions that might be considered in addressing the challenges. The will be used as a base for analyzing why vendors and buyers should be involved in establishing public markets (for example, Manleuana and Taibesi) in Dili. The next chapter describes the approach on how I have collected the data to answer the research aim and objectives for this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3. 1 Introduction

Methodologies are not only considered as research strategies, but also more importantly, rigorous processes that support researchers in the production of legitimate information (O'Leary, 2009, p. 89). There is no good, or bad methodology (Greener, 2011, p. 20). The selection of methodologies, either quantitative or qualitative, or a mixture between the two is dependent upon the context, whether or not the approach chosen can work well in the place where the data collection will take place (Scheyvens & Storey, 2014, p. 65), the type of research and research questions, its purpose and utility in generating better data (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003, p. 59; Darlington & Scott, 2002, p. 119-121). This chapter explains the approach and methods that I have applied to collect data to answer the research aim and objectives. The chapter begins with presenting motivation for the research, followed by the research approach. After this, the section I describes three specific methods used for collecting the data, ethical considerations and the methods used for the data analysis.

3. 2 Motivation for the research

I have to recognize that my interest in this research topic was following my engagement in development studies courses. Through the development studies courses, I have become aware that development interventions such as development policies, programmes and projects are considered successful only when they are based on, or tailored to, the needs of the beneficiaries, rather than on the interests of the planners, politicians and outsiders. I became

aware that through this way a development intervention seems more relevant, it increases the beneficiaries'sense of ownership on the outputs they produce and aspire to. A development intervention which is done in this way, has a stronger foothold and a greater chance of improving the life of the beneficiary economically, politically and socially.

Nevertheless, I realize that throughout its process, a worthwhile development intervention does not always happen as wished. While, in one part, one could argue that there have been improvements in basic health services, education, democratization and economic development in some areas due to development interventions, on the other part, many interventions also produce negative externality effecton a society (Kothari & Minogue, 2002, pp. 1-15). Problems such as environmental impact, poverty and inequality not only affect the disadvantaged, but also many of the various development programmes do not resonate with the needs of the development beneficiaries as they are planned exclusively without involving or asking the opinions of the beneficiaries. As a result, it is not uncommon to see many development programmes and projects are not really utilized or enjoyed by the people, particularly those who they aim to assist. In Dili, for example, over the past four years or so, although the government has established a number of public markets, vendors and buyers who were supposed to utilize the markets were mostly seen doing transactions in the street instead of in the markets. It is this issue of disconnection between government's intention and vendors' practice that has encouraged me to find out what the factors are that have affected vendors and buyers to not utilize the markets.

3. 3 Qualitative case study approach

This study utilizes a qualitative case study approach. A qualitative case study is a strategy of acquiring knowledge directly from its natural context (Punch, 2005, pp. 144-148). It is considered well suited to dealing with an event that has many aspects not easily examined by other approaches. A qualitative case study is a helpful way of investigating an issue in detail, depth and breadth, which affects the system as a whole. Yin (2014) states that a case study is normally used when a researcher is interested in understanding a real and current social phenomenon, when a researcher wants to answer the questions of “how” and “why” and when the subject dictates the researcher (p. 2). Case studies may include people, institutions and events, and they can be studied individually, or as a group, depending on the purpose of the research.

The qualitative case study approach is mostly utilized in this research because the study has the proclivity to involve detailed investigation. In this case, I want to gain rich and in-depth information about something real and recent that affects the lives of a certain group of people. For example, I want to know why government-funded marketplaces (the case studies) are not utilized by vendors and buyers.

As a qualitative case study researcher tries to understand a case in detail, which is often too broad and complex, it is suggested that a case study researcher should have a clear definition of the scope of the study. This includes demarcating the geographical and analytical boundaries, focus of the study as well as types of data collection methods (Punch, 2005, p. 145; O’Leary, 2010, pp. 174-5; Yin, 2014).

In the context of this study, the geographical boundary and analysis of the case study of which knowledge is drawn upon is defined as follows: a) the study only focuses on two government-funded local marketplaces; b) the data collection, nevertheless, took place in four local markets namely Manleuna, Comoro, Taibesi and Halelaran; all are located in Dili; c) the period of the research only counts from end of June 2014 to the first week of July 2014, and d) the analysis only concentrates on specific factors that affect the use of local markets in Dili, and whether the markets serve their purpose that is being utilized by vendors and buyers, and whether or not vendors and buyers, participated in the market planning process or their views had been sought out. The data collection methods were a document analysis, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and field observations. The next section explains how these methods were used during the fieldwork.

3. 4 Data Collection Methods

Data are important elements which, without them, it would be impossible for any researcher to answer the issue under investigation. The following sections elaborate on how the data has been collected by utilizing the methods as mentioned above.

3.4.1 Document analysis

The use of a document analysis has been part of many social studies and is often considered as part of secondary data (Scheyvens & Storey, 2014, p. 44). Documents do not only contain relevant information, particularly about the subject under investigation, but they are considered stable in the sense that they can be reviewed repeatedly once they are available. They also

have specific meaning in that they contain exact names, reference and details of an event and settings (Yin, 2014, p. 106).

Documents are broad and can range from informal personal letters, emails, diary to formal administrative documents produced by an organization including the government. From the government side, documents produced include project proposals and reports, statistical and census data, programme evaluations, financial and programme policies, regulations, rules and other procedures. Important documents can also come from the social media, particularly electronic printed ones, articles, for example (May, 2002, p. 191).

Although the benefits documents offer are great, its selection and access are not always easy; some documents can be difficult to find (Scheyvens & Storey, 2014, p. 44). Indeed, in the case of this study, I found it hard to access important documents that I believe could have provided me with information related to the case studies under investigation. For example, I wanted to get access to formal project progress reports, minutes or project final evaluation reports produced by the government. I believe that these project reports would have provided me with information on how the two government-established markets, Manleuana and Taibesi had been built. I was trying to ask about this when talking to relevant government officials, but it seemed difficult to do so. As a result, I was not able to get clear and fixed information on the total number of vending stalls in each market, how many of the vending stalls have been booked by vendors, what the facilities provided in the market were, how much user fees or taxes had been collected, who were the project board members, how often meetings (meeting minutes) or follow-up meetings took place, and who participated in the meetings.

3.4.2 In-depth semi-structured interviews

The second data collection method for this research was by conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews. This method is considered helpful because it allows flexibility for a researcher and research participants to explore additional themes as they come up. This means that the researcher does not control absolutely the process as would be the case when using a quantitative approach which is dictated by structured and standardized questions (Mason, 2002). A qualitative approach allows the research participants to express their ideas and to even come up with some suggestions that might not be thought of, or asked by the researcher. This contributes to making the data become richer and meaningful.

Indeed, I experienced Mason's explanations above during my interviews with the respondents of the study. It gave not only me, but also the respondents a great flexibility to explore additional themes as they came up. During the interviews, I did not control absolutely the process but I had lived, and had dynamic interactions with the respondents. I found that the respondents seemed to be more active, or engaged, when they were asked to express their views. I was even surprised seeing some female vendors expressing their views more fluently than male ones.

To facilitate the interviews, a number of questions were prepared in an interview schedule. The questions were grouped into three themes according to the research objectives. The themes were: 1) government initiative for establishing public marketplaces; 2) factors affecting the use of government-established marketplaces; and 3) vendors' and buyers' participation in market planning processes, or whether their views had been sought out. For vendors, I specifically

asked for information on the average income that they could make in a day. The questions were adjusted according to the category of respondents and the theme. For example, questions for local resource persons, for vendors, for buyers and for government officials were adjusted accordingly (see Annex1).

As indicated in Chapter 1, there were two groups of respondents interviewed: the main respondents (18 people) and 5 local resource persons. The local resource persons were people who I believed have knowledge and interest in the case under investigation, hence, would provide me with insights related to the case under investigation (Yin, 2014, pp 110-111).

Both the main respondents and local resource persons were purposively selected. For vendors and buyers, the identification and selection process began with collecting information on what types of goods normally people want to buy if they go to a local market. For this, I asked seven friends of mine, and most of them said that they usually buy *produtu lokal*¹(local products) or *obralan*² (second-hand apparels) when they go to a local market. I then carried out twelve-time preliminary observation, three in each of the four targeted marketplaces - Manleuana, Taibesi, Halilaran and Comoro to see closer the situation in the markets. In the markets, I observed that most vendors in fact sold local products and second-hand apparels. Many buyers were also seen buying local products and second-hand apparel when they were in the markets. After the preliminary observation, I then decided to select the potential respondents based on the two types of goods or products.

¹ In the original language Tetum: *Produtu lokal* comprises all types of vegetables, fruits, food staple (maize, rice, peanuts, beans, cassavas, sweet potatoes)

²*Obralan* or *OB* comprises second-hand clothes such as t-shirts, jeans, trousers, shorts, socks, shoes, sandals, bags, etc.

In general, I did not have a difficult time when I approached these potential respondents to ask for an interview. Matson (2002) said: interviews can also be termed conversation. I applied this term when asking vendors and buyers for an interview. For example, instead of asking for an interview, I said to them if I could have a conversation with them about their perceptions of factors that affect market use. In Dili, *intervista* (interview) to some people sounds too formal, hence, can create awkwardness. However, when we say *conversasaun or dada lia* (conversation), it has an informal and easy meaning, hence, will not create a distance between the interviewer and the respondents.

In total, I had sixteen informal conversations with vendors and buyers; all were carried out in the markets. There were no appointments in advance because I did not want the vendors and buyers to come up with well-prepared answers. The conversations with vendors, nevertheless, were conducted during the least busy hours, when they were not doing transactions, or when not too many buyers were coming to their vending stalls.

For one of the government officials, I sent an invitation letter in advance. Meanwhile, for the other one, I went to his office to make an appointment. Nevertheless, the interview with the latter was conducted in the field, in *Taibesi* market, while the former, the interview was carried out in his office. The two government officials were a National Director for market promotion and development and a Head of Department for tourism development; both are under the Ministry of Trade, Commerce and Industry (MTCI). The same procedure went to the local resource persons; the interviews were done after making appointments in advance and all were undertaken in their office respectively.

3.4.3 Field observation

Field observation can also play an important role in generating good evidence for a qualitative case study researcher (Yin, 2014, p. 115). By observing, a researcher sees what people actually do in their natural environment. This is important, particularly in societies where people are not culturally expressive, or they may just not have time to be interviewed. Nevertheless, a good field, or direct observation, may require a researcher to also utilize other senses. According to Gilham (2000, p. 45), “observation means watching what people do, listening to what they say; and sometimes asking them clarifying questions”. In this case, we could argue that observations imply a researcher to be physically and mentally active. The acts of watching, listening and asking clarifying questions are done with full concentration. Only through this full concentration can meaningful data be recorded, analyzed and interpreted.

On the other hand, Scheyvens and Storey (2014) state that observation can be used for both quantitative and qualitative approaches. While quantitative, observations may include simple technical tasks such as counting how many vehicles passing through a certain point in a given time, in the qualitative, observations involve analysis and measurement of human behaviours that may imply subjective assessment of what is really taking place in a given environment (p. 41).

Despite this, observation may also cause participants to feel uncomfortable, hence, may not contribute to providing information needed by a researcher. Participants, particularly those who are from a culture, or society, which is never exposed to, or interact with, external people, or were under repression for a long time, may feel uncomfortable due to being watched. Because

of this, it is deemed necessary for a researcher to get some initial background information on the intended participants of observation (Myers, 2013, p. 141). Luckily, in the context of Dili, I did not have difficulty with respect to observations. People in the markets, including the target participants, did not show signs of being disturbed by my observation. This may have been because they have experienced observations before. Indeed, when I thanked one of them for having agreed to have a conversation with me, said: "it is fine I have seen people make interviews and observations before". So, depending on the context, sometimes a researcher is required to obtain consent or inform his or her presence or research activities prior to conducting the observation (Drew, 1980, p. 56).

In addition, since I am myself originally a Timorese, have lived in Dili and often visited the markets, particularly Halelaran and Comoro, over the past three years, I was not really worried about how to make contact with respondents, I am well aware of the culture and environment. I was, nevertheless, still paying attention to my attitude while carrying out the observation. I also prepared other technical requirements before going to the field as explained in Section 3.5 on "ethical consideration".

The field observations took place in the four marketplaces: two government-established markets (Manleuana and Taibesi) and two street markets (Halelaran and Comoro), all of which were in Dili. The objective of the observations were not only to identify potential vendors for interviews according to the types of products as mentioned above, but also to analyze (supported by data from interviews) the effectiveness of the markets. In this context, the observation focused on counting the number of vending stalls for local products and second-hand apparels available and being used or occupied by vendors, particularly in the government-established markets.

Also observed were the number of relatively cheaper forms of public transport that accessed the four markets. In this case, *mikrolet* (the public transport mostly used by lower income earners or the poor in Dili), was chosen for observation. For this, an observation schedule was prepared. For this purpose, twelve observations, successively, were carried out starting from 24, 28, 29 June and 1, 5 and 6 July, 2014; twice a day, between 6:30 – 7:30 in the morning and 6:30 – 7:30 in the afternoon. These dates comprised normal market days and the busiest market days. Saturdays were the busiest days, while Tuesdays were normal market days.

The selection of dates of the observation was done purposively to anticipate relocation of the street markets by the government to the government-funded markets, which happened mostly on the second week of July, 2014. This was so that I could get a general perception on the condition of each market respectively before the relocation. Meanwhile, for the time of the observation, those mentioned hours were selected because it was the time that people normally go to the markets. In the morning, many working people (government civil servants and NGOs staff) have not yet gone to work, while in the afternoon, they come back from the office. The next section I describes considerations that I must bear in mind before, during and after interacting with the respondents.

3. 5 Ethical Considerations

Any research projects imply good mutual interaction between a researcher and research respondents. Because of this, a researcher needs to respect and value his or her research respondents. In other words, research respondents can only participate meaningfully in the

project if they feel comfortable; that their reputation and privacy are respected (Yin, 2014; Laerd Dissertation, 2012).

Research considerations include maintaining a good image of Massey University and protecting humans involved in the research processes. Although the research that I was carrying out was not representing Massey University--the research was for my own interest--but because I had used Massey University's attributes (for example, the name of the University and logos) as printed on invitation letters for interviews, consent forms and information sheet forms, I always tried to avoid any wrong doings during, and after the completion of the fieldwork. This was so that I can always preserve the reputation of Massey University. On the other hand, protection of humans comprises protection of the rights, duties, dignity and physical bodies of research respondents and also the researcher.

In this study, I started the ethics preparation by completing the Massey University's Ethics Committee (MUHEC) ethic forms. The process also involved a Development Studies Programme's in-house ethics meeting with two supervisors and one staff member, where a variety of issues were discussed in detail. The process also involved information about the approach that I would apply when engaging the respondents, including the rights and duties of the respondents that they may exercise should they agree to participate in the research. Following the recommendation of staff, I applied for low-risk notification to MUHEC. After three weeks, I received a confirmation from the Committee that my study was classified low risk, that the study would not cause potential harm either to me or the research respondents.

In the field, prior to the interviews or conversations, each respondent was given two forms: an information sheet and a consent form. The information sheet provided information about myself as researcher and student of Massey University, the objectives of the research and rights and duties of the respondents that they may want to exercise prior, during and after the conversation. To vendors and buyers, I read out the information as well before each interview to make sure that all was well understood. All respondents that participated in the study also signed a consent form. Both the information sheet and consent forms were written in *Tetum*, the language spoken and understood by the respondents. Luckily, all respondents agreed that I could record the conversations. Upon data collection, a researcher is normally faced with a greater challenge, that is, how to put the data into meaningful narratives. Hence, data analysis is important. The next section explains how I did the data analysis.

3. 6 Data Quality and Analysis

Good data are the ones that can help a researcher answer the research questions. Therefore, a researcher should make an effort to only generate data that is relevant and beneficial to the case being investigated. By applying relevant and appropriate multiple data collection tools for a qualitative case study researcher is well assisted when producing a balanced data analysis. This is because the conclusion drawn following the data analysis will undergo a crosscheck investigation (triangulation) to test the consistency of the data. For example, the data obtained through interviews in Dili, was compared with observation, or with documents also collected (Punch, 2005, p. 241; O'Leary, 2010, p. 115).

The combination of the three - triangulation processing, does not only serve as a cross-check mechanism, but can also compensate for the weakness of the other (Scheyvens and Storey, 2014, p. 66). Data generated from a case study is considered strong evidence of the case being examined, thus strengthening the overall findings (Yin, 2012, 2014).

Data generated through the application of multiple methods could become large and unmanageable. Therefore, a qualitative case study researcher needs to understand data analysis methods. For this reason, this research utilizes a data analysis framework process introduced by (Miles and Huberman, 1994). According to them, in order to come out with valid and reliable data, a qualitative case study researcher may apply three data analysis components namely data reduction, data display and drawing and verifying conclusion (Miles & Huberman as cited in Punch, 2005, p. 197).

Miles and Huberman, (as cited in Punch, 2005, p. 197) states that a data reduction process happens continually throughout the research lifespan. It can happen in the early stage (through editing, segmenting and summarizing), in the middle stage (through coding, memoing, finding themes, clusters and patterns), and in the last stage (through conceptualizing and explaining). A data display refers to a situation where a researcher tries to organize, compress or assemble relevant and related data for easy analysis. This process can be done through the application of graphs, charts, tables, and so forth. By following through the first and second analysis process, a researcher will find it easily to draw a conclusion.

Before analyzing the data, I transcribed the interview data and then translated it from its original language, *Tetum* to English. I always did this as soon as possible after an interview was carried

out. I did not wait until all interviews had been completed, in anticipation of spending a huge amount time and energy. In addition, I noted down anything from the field observation that I thought relevant. Sometimes I consulted friends to cross check, or confirm the English translation but without revealing the identity of the respondent, in case I was still confused about the meaning of some verbal expressions produced by the respondents.

I always did the data analysis immediately after I transcribed and translated any interviews. I did not use any software, but did it manually by using different colorful markers, I often highlighted key words or patterns identified, edited the transcript and gave explanations. I then grouped them based on the thematic research questions. For example, I identified data on respondents' views on government's initiatives for building, or allocation of a local market under categories, or patterns such as job providers, economic income and livelihood, public order, and social interactions or patterns such as location, facilities and access as "factors that affect the use of a local market".

The same procedure applies to data from field observations. I coded, categorized and matched data from field observations that were relevant to the patterns mentioned above. For example, the types of jobs or vendors that I observed in the markets such as local product vendors, restaurant and kiosks operators, second-cloth vendors, and shoe-fixers, were put under the same category as job providers, or livelihood. I also created a table to illustrate the amount of public transport accessing the markets that I saw during the field as presented in Table 7 on the structured observation schedule in the findings chapter.

The data analysis occurred throughout the lifespan of the research. In this case, I did the analysis on an individual basis, one by one, depended on which interviews and transcript were completed first. I continued to review the analysis until there were no new patterns; that the reduced data did not miss the main points, that the patterns identified and assembled were already meaningful to answer the research objectives.

3. 7 Summary

A research project is never without research methodology and methods. While the methodology may refer to the approach either qualitative, quantitative or a combination of the two, methods can be said as the tactics deployed to collect the data. Like the approach, the strategies or methods to collect data can be multiple.

In this chapter, I have pointed out the procedures utilized to collect data for the studythe study has utilized a qualitative case study approach supported by three data collection methods: document analysis, in-depth semi-structured interviews and field or direct observations to generate the data.Before engaging with participants in the field, this preparation involved a careful ethics procedure.

The chapter also discussed how I have applied the three methods during the fieldwork, for example, how I engaged the respondents, where the study has taken place, what have been the questions, what methods I used to analyze the data and how I did it. The next chapter describes Timor-Leste and its public marketplaces.

Chapter 4: Timor-Leste and formal public marketplaces

4. 1 Introduction

This chapter provides information on Timor-Leste and the existence of public marketplaces in the country in general. The term 'public marketplaces' in this context has been used to refer to any marketplaces built or established formally for public use by and during either the era of the Portuguese occupation, Indonesian provincial government, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL). Therefore, the chapter is split into two sections. The first section provides brief information on the profile of Timor-Leste, which covers the location, its ethnicity, language and demography and the economy. The second section illustrates the existence of trade and formal public marketplaces during the Portuguese colonial occupation, the Indonesian times, the UNTAET and after Timor-Leste's independence. For section two, a short introduction on marketplaces during the pre-colonial era is presented first, followed by a summary.

4. 2 Timor-Leste's profile

The following sub sections illustrate the characteristics of Timor-Leste according to the three aspects mentioned above.

4.2.1 Timor-Leste

The República Democrática de Timor-Leste or Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (DRTL) is the newest country in the millennium (Molnar, 2010). It restored its independence on 20 May 2002 after it went through a two-year transitional period under the United Nations (UN). Situated

in Southeast Asia, the country is located in the eastern part of the island of Timor. It is bordered to Indonesian West Timor province (*Nusa Tenggara Timur*) in the west, and Darwin, Australia in the South. DRTL has a land area of about 15,000 square kilometers (Gunn, 2011) and includes the enclave of Oecusse (about 163 km to the west coast); the island of Atauro in the north of Dili (about two hours by ferry), and the islet of Jaco in the eastern tip of the island (about three hours by car). Like most of the tropical countries in South East Asia, DRTL only has two weather seasons, namely rainy and dry seasons. Normally the rain falls between November and April while, between December and March, the country is abundant with sun shine.

Originally, this half island nation was known to its people as *Timor Loro Sa'e* (Timor rising sun), a name derived from *Tetum praça*, the language spoken widely in East Timor (Hull, 2002). The Portuguese colonial power, however, after their occupation of *Timor Loro Sa'e* in the sixteenth century, called it *Timor-Leste* or *Timor Oriental* to distinguish it from the western part - West Timor of the island (Molnar, 2010, p. 27-36), which had been under the Dutch administration powers in the seventeenth century. West Timor became part of Indonesia in 1949 (Gunn, 2009, p. 294). It is this geographical and historical division that has distinguished DRTL from West Timor, between Timor-Leste and Indonesia. During the Indonesian time, *Timor Loro Sa'e* was called *Timor Timur* or *Tim-Tim*. After the independence, *Timor Loro Sa'e* has declared its official name as *República Democrática de Timor-Leste* (RDTL). Yet, DRTL is also well known to the world as East Timor. Throughout this paper, East Timor or Timor-Leste is used to refer to DRTL.

4.2.2 Ethnicity, languages and demography

Despite being one of the smallest countries in the world, in terms of geography and population size, East Timor is a multi-ethnics country (Molnar, 2010, p. 26), characterised by a number of

local dialects and languages spoken across the country. The first inhabitants of Timor-Leste are said to have arrived from the Australoid and Melanesian people (National Statistics Directorate, 2010, p. 1). The majority of the population is of Malay-Polynesian and Papua origin, while the minorities include Chinese, Arabs and Europeans (GoTL, 2015). At present, there are 32 dialects spoken by its people (NSD & UNFPA, 2011, p. 11). The dialects mostly spoken include *Kemak* and *Bunak* in Bobonaro districts; *Mambai* in Ermera, Same, Aileu, Ainaro and some part of Liquica districts; *Tokodede*, mostly in Liquica District, *Baikeno* or *Dawan* in Oecusse enclave district, *Fataluku* in Lospalos district; *Makasa'e* in Baucau and Viqueque districts; *Galolen* in Manatuto district; and *Tetum* comprising *Tetum Terik* (in some parts of Same, Manatuto, Viqueque and Suai) and *Tetum Praca*, mainly used in Dili. *Tetum praca* is the lingua franca of the country and declared a national language. The country has also adopted Portuguese as one of its national languages. Meanwhile, Bahasa Indonesia and English are considered working languages (The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, 2002). It is estimated that only 5.8 percent of the East Timorese people speak English, and 13.5 percent speak Portuguese (U.S Department of State Background Note, 2007).

The population of DRTL has increased significantly, particularly over the past four decades. This can be seen from the results of population counting between 1980 and 2010 (NSD & UNFPA, 2011). For example, during the Indonesian period, there were two censuses conducted. The first one was in 1980, where the population was said to stand at 555,350, and the second, in 1990, with a total population of 747,557, including migrants from Java, Kalimantan, Sumatera, Sulawesi, West Timor, Papua and Maluku (Widjajanto, 1990). Meanwhile, following Timor-Leste's independence until now, there have been two censuses carried out by the government.

The first one was in 2004, with a total population counted of 923,198 while the recent one was in 2010 where the population amounted to 1,066,409(NSD & UNFPA, 2011). DRTL has the highest fertility rate in South East Asia with 5.7 children born per woman (National Statistics Directorate, 2010). This high birth rate since 2004 makes Timor-Leste's population density stands at 71 per square kilometer, (NSD & UNFPA, 2011, p. xvi) and the population growth rate the highest in the Southeast Asia and Pacific Region (GoTL, 2010). In terms of its Human Development Index in the world, Timor-Leste is rated at 0.502 in 2010 positioned the country at 120 out of 169 countries globally (UNDP as cited in National Statistics Directorate, 2010, p. 2). Most of its economically active population still relies on the public sector for job employment, as progress in the private sector and industrial development still lacks behind (Lundahl & Sjöholm, 2006, p. 7). The next section discusses Timor-Leste's economy.

4.2.3 Economy

In general, the economy of Timor-Leste comprises three sectors namely agriculture, oil and gas, and tourism. The majority of people's lives depend upon agricultural products (GoTL, 2011). Agriculture also plays a significant role in terms of trading in the country. In fact, most of the trading activities in Timor-Leste involve agricultural products. Coffee, cacao, sandalwood, candle nut and copra are some of the export crops in the international market. In 2012, it was estimated that these export commodities – non-oil exports contributed US\$ 30.8 million to the state income with coffee shared over 60 percent (US Commercial Service, 2013). Meanwhile, some of the agricultural food products which are used as daily consumption include rice, maize, beans, peanuts, cassavas, sweet potatoes, local vegetables and fruits. These food crops are also available in local markets throughout the country. There are also small and medium sized

manufacturing industries (for example, soaps, food and fruits) that contribute to trading activities in the country.

Timor-Leste is also rich with oil and natural gas, both offshore and onshore. The offshore resource includes oil and gas in the Timor Sea, which is currently exploited jointly with the Australian government (National Statistics Directorate, 2010; ANP, 2008). The onshore resources comprise oil, manganese, copper, gold, silver, chromite and marble. At the moment, nevertheless, only the offshore resources have been mostly exploited. It was noted that the revenues from oil and gas from the Timor Sea in 2012 recorded at US\$ 9.82 billion and is estimated to increase and reach US\$ 14.60 billion by 2015 (United Nations Development Programme, 2011, p. 63).

The proceeds from oil and gas have played a significant role in the government's annual budget and expenditure over the past 5 years (ANP, 2008). Given that oil is a scarce natural resource, the country has passed a petroleum law to govern and regulate the use of proceeds from the petroleum. This means that revenues from oil and gas will be used as seed money to develop the non-oil sectors. In fact, most of the government's expenditure has been allocated to build infrastructure facilities, including marketplaces or roads and bridges to facilitate easy access to local markets and tourism development. Indeed, as is always reported in the government's budget transparency portal website, most of the budget and expenditures have been allocated for infrastructure and capital development since 2010 (GoTL, 2010a).

Timor-Leste is also blessed with beautiful natural landscapes. In the coastal areas, it does not only have marine and coral resources, but also white and black sand beaches. Meanwhile, in the mountainous areas, there are fountains, jungles, waterfalls, nuts, coffee and sandalwood

plantations. Metiaut suburb in Dili, for example, has a beautiful white sand beach along with an attractive landmark statue of *Cristo Rei* (Christ the King), which is the second largest statue in the world after the Rio de Janeiro's in Brazil. Atauro island and Jaco islet have rich marine resources and beautiful pristine beaches as well (GoTL, 2011). These all, if well exploited and developed, can attract domestic and international tourists, which will contribute to boosting the economy. Local people can sell their local products to domestic and international tourists in small market stalls prepared by the government.

As indicated earlier, the agriculture sector contributes significantly to trading activities and has become part of the economy of Timor-Leste. Most of the products being traded in local marketplaces are agricultural products. The government also has utilized much of the revenues from the petroleum fund to build infrastructures, such as, road, bridge, marketplaces to facilitate access to local markets and tourism development. The next section explores trade and marketplaces in the country since the pre-colonial era.

4. 3 Trade and formal public marketplaces in Timor-Leste

As mentioned in Chapter 2, trade and marketplaces are interrelated despite each of them having different meanings and functions (Ofori, 2012; Feinman & Garraty, 2010). For example, while trade may focus more on goods or services to be exchanged, or who the sellers and buyers are, a marketplace is more about the physical location where sellers and buyers meet to do the exchange, or where the trade is performed. In other words, a seller and a buyer, normally, need a place to meet, before an exchange takes place. The following illustrateshow trade and public marketplaces have existed in Timor-Leste.

4.3.1 Trade and marketplace in the pre-colonial era

Although there has not been much literature on the exact patterns of trading system during the pre-colonial era available, based on some writings or articles (see Gunn, 2011; Molnar, 2010; Lamoureux, 2004; Chrystello, 1973), it could be argued that trade and marketplace had actually existed during the pre-colonial time. The above authors indicate that, apart from internal barter, the ancient Timorese people are said to have been contacted by foreign traders seeking sandalwood in the island. Chinese traders, for example, have been said to have visited Timor since the sixth century (Lamoureux, 2004, p. 5). The Chinese needed the sandalwood for producing candles, perfumes and for religious prayers. Among the Chinese were traders and sailors from India, Java (*Sriwijaya Kingdom*) and Arab. There is no information on the exact place, or how big the size of the marketplace, or whether it was carried out in a house or building, but places along the beach can be estimated to have been used for marketplaces. In fact, some authors have indicated that trades, or market transactions during the pre-colonial era, mostly took place in coastal areas (Molnar, 2010; Lamoureux, 2004; Chrystello, 1973). This is understandably reasonable, as not only such places were closest to the boats of the traders or sailors, but also for security reasons. It was also said that many local kings, who usually carried out the transactions with the foreign traders, lived in coastal areas. The exchanges were mostly conducted between Chinese sailors or traders and local kings. In terms of the medium for exchange, the Chinese traders were said to exchange ceramics, silks and clothes for sandalwoods, meanwhile, Indian traders were said to sometimes have brought horses from Arabia in addition to clothes to be exchanged for sandalwoods (Lamoureux, 2004). There is no information on when (market day) and how often (frequency) traders met for the transactions, as

in the case of our times, but it could be argued that any day they met for the exchange can be referred to as a market day. From this, we could say that marketplaces, for example, beaches, did exist in the pre-colonial era. The next section describes trade and markets during the European colonial period in East Timor.

4.3.2 Trade during the Portuguese era

Portuguese sailors and navy came to the island of Timor in the sixteenth century because of their interest in the sandalwood trade (Molnar, 2010). Their first contact with the indigenous people of the eastern half of the island (now Timor-Leste), nevertheless, was said to have been pioneered by Dominican Catholic missionaries. The Oecusse enclave was the first place where the Portuguese made contact with the people of Timor-Leste.

The sandalwood trade continued to be one of the major commercial activities during the Portuguese era, particularly between the sixteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Even, it could be said that the trade interests for sandalwood had intensified and had become more competitive by this time. This can be seen from the existence of more traders and transactions at that time. For example, on one hand, the Portuguese and the Dutch struggled for political and commercial legitimacy in the island, on the other hand, a new group of merchants came to the fore, competing for sandalwood along with the Chinese. This group, also known as black Portuguese, or *Topasse*, was actually of mixed descendents of the Portuguese sailors and traders, or army, as a result of intermarriage with local women (Gunn, 2011; Molnar, 2010). These creolized merchants, whose numbers continued to increase, grew up and lived along coastal areas of Oecusse.

It was also noted that by this time, apart from sandalwood, there had been wax, honey, wine, candles, clothes, sandals, tobacco, canelas and slaves traded in Timor. The last commodity, slave trade, was common during the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (Gunn, 2011, p. 8). Like before the colonial era, most of the transactions were estimated to happen along the beach as it was the place where the colonial powers and the *Topasse* lived. Furthermore, most Timorese local kings resided in the coastal and low land areas. Often the colonial powers utilized these local kings to facilitate smooth sandalwood transactions and established their legitimacy in the island.

The scope of commercial transactions continued to expand and intensify when the Portuguese moved further to the interior eastern part of the island and established a new resettlement in Dili in the second half of the eighteenth century, around 1769. By 1844, Dili was declared open to foreign shipping (Castro, 1867, p. 336-360; *History of Timor*, n.d., p. 51-56). During this time, Chinese Macau's commercial vessels visited Dili annually. Other foreign ships were also noted to come to Dili. This situation demanded the Portuguese ruler at that time to build a local custom in Dili by the end of the eighteenth century to manage the trade activities in the island. This custom played a significant role in being the source of income for Timor Portuguese at that time. The income collected from the custom was utilized by Portuguese administrators to pay fees and salaries of its officials.

It was noted that during the Portuguese era, there were three currencies used for commercial transactions (Hicks, 2012; *History of Timor*, n.d.). For example, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese launched *Pardao* (a silver coin currency commonly used in Portuguese

overseas) and later, changed to *Pataca* which was only used in Timor Portuguese. *Pataca* was then replaced by *Escudo*, which was the Portuguese national currency and only valid until 1975.

Although the commercial activities dropped in the late eighteenth, or early nineteenth century as a result of a decline of sandalwood, the commercial activities returned to normalcy, and continued to expand after the introduction of coffee and copra in the late nineteenth century, and early twentieth century respectively (Molnar, 2010; Gunn, 2009; Gunn, 2011). Whereas coffee had been mostly planted in cooler mountainous areas, such as *Liquica*, *Ermera*, *Aileu* and *Same*, coconut trees for copra had been grown mostly in low land and coastal areas throughout East Timor.

Despite the introduction of coffee and copra as commercial crops, it was only in the twentieth century that the Portuguese administration power ostensibly decided to introduce a more inclusive trade activity that involved all Timorese people, particularly the poor. This is evidenced from the existence of formal public marketplaces in some areas of Timor-Leste (Maia, 1995). According to Maia, by this time, the Portuguese colonial power, through belated five-year development plans, began to promote local market halls and marketplaces, in which farmers could sell their agricultural products and livestock. He states that, the third phase of the five-year development plan, *Plano do Fomento III*, implemented in the 1960s and early 1970s had resulted in the building or allocation of a number of important infrastructures and facilities both in urban and rural areas. These facilities included public marketplaces, water supply systems, electrifications, public sanitation facilities (laundries, public toilets) and storehouses. Public marketplaces during the Portuguese time were classified into two, namely '*bazar*' or bazaar,

which was normally used to refer to marketplaces in rural and mountainous areas, and '*mercado municipal*' or municipal market, for marketplaces in urban areas.

Further evidence that shows the existence of formal marketplaces during this time, is provided by Hick, in his anthropological studies entitled "*Indexing social space: a marketplace in East Timor*" between 1966 and 1967. Hick saw a number of public marketplaces spread in *Viqueque* District. These marketplaces included the central market in *Viqueque* district town, *Lacluta*, *Uato Carabau*, and *Uato Lari* (Hicks, 2012). A public marketplace was also seen in *Baucau* district at that time, although the market was estimated to have been built in the first half of the 20th century (Metzner as cited in Hicks, 2012, pp. 57-58). According to Metzner, *Baucau* public marketplace was the most competitive marketplace in the eastern region of Dili due to its strategic location.

In the study that took place in *Viqueque* market, Hicks observed that various interesting events could be seen in the market. These events ranged from economic transactions, pastime (cockfighting) activities, religious affiliation and ritual ceremonies. He also witnessed that marketplaces became meeting points for people with similar or different tribes, Timorese and Chinese, highlanders and lowlanders, rural and urban, educated and illiterate, women and men.

In addition, Lazarowitz described that *Mercado Semanal* (weekly market) in East Timor looked very lively with all the various activities going on (*History of Timor*, n.d. p. 10). For example, in 1975, in two separate local marketplaces, one in Dili and another one in Ossu sub-district, in the southeastern part of East Timor, Lazarowitz observed that the two local marketplaces served similar activities, both economic and social functions. Lazarowitz said that he did not only witness barter of agricultural goods, or commercial transactions that involved legal tender, but

also social and cultural events. In the markets, people performed traditional dances and cockfights.

During the periods between 1960 and 1975, marketplaces, in general, were said to open twice a week (Hicks, 2012). The selection of the market days, which was mainly done by the Portuguese colonial administration, was also different from place to place, depending upon the situation and circumstances in each place. Sundays were the busiest days, though. This was because the majority of the government officials and military officers did not work on a Sunday.

Nevertheless, there is no information on the exact number of public marketplaces built or assigned during the Portuguese period. Some of these local marketplaces, together with other facilities built during the last 15 years of the Portuguese occupation were even damaged during the invasion of the Indonesian troops into the island. The following will explore trade and marketplaces during the Indonesian period.

4.3.3 Trade and marketplaces during Indonesian times

Indonesia sent its troops to Timor-Leste in December 1975 only nine days after East Timor declared its unilateral independence on 28 November 1975 following the Portuguese ruler abandoned the island. Indonesia justified that their intervention was to contain the spread of communism after the Vietnam War period (Burr and Evans as cited in Molnar, 2010, p. 47). The Indonesian government also, prior to the invasion, declared internationally that they had no intention to occupy the island. Indeed, Indonesia's Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, Adam Malik, wrote a letter to his counterpart Ramos Horta in 1974, clearly stating that

Indonesians respect the rights of every nation, including East Timor, if they choose to be independent (Lloyd, 2007). Below is the content of the letter:

“The independence of every country is the right of every nation, with no exception for the people of East Timor..... whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence can be assured that the government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both countries” (Adam Malik’s letter to Ramos Horta as cited in Lloyd, 2007, p. 76).

The reality in the field, nevertheless, ran counter to the statement made by the Indonesian Foreign Minister. The Indonesian regime that was based in Jakarta really annexed East Timor and declared it its 27th province in July, 1976 in spite of condemnation and oppositions from the United Nations.

Soon, after the illegal annexation and in order to convince the Timorese people to accept Indonesian presence in the island (Molnar, 2010, p. 49), the Jakarta regime and its allies launched intensive development programmes in the war-torn island that was so poor due to the neglect of the Portuguese colonial ruler for four and a half centuries. Economy growth, agriculture and infrastructure development and improving health and education conditions became Jakarta’s most important agenda. To realize the ostensibly well intention agenda, the Jakarta regime mobilized huge financial resources into East Timor. As a result, during the periods from the 1980s through the early 1990s, East Timor experienced significant positive trends in terms of economic growth and *per capita* income, compared to two of its neighbouring provinces, Nusa Tenggara Timor (West Timor) and Nusa Tenggara Barat (Soesastro, 1995). The Indonesian regime believed that by improving the economic condition of the people of East Timor, the Timorese people would immediately forget the dream of being an independent

country. At the same time, those countries that still questioned the forced integration of East Timor into the Indonesian territory, would accept it as the best solution.

In order to support a viable and long term development, the government of Indonesia promoted trade and basic economic activities. These were considered the backbone for the economy of the province. Infrastructures for socio-economic activities were built throughout East Timor (Kameo, 1995, p. 54). Many market halls and marketplaces were constructed and assigned in many places, including in some remote mountainous areas. Some Portuguese-left markets that were half damaged were also rehabilitated. As a result, trade and commercial activities intensified. Although there was no written information due to the full destruction on official documents and buildings in 1999 following the referendum, based on my experience and knowledge, as well as some people I talked to during the fieldwork, by 1999, there had been more than 100 market halls and marketplaces built and assigned in 64 sub-districts including some in remote villages throughout East Timor. The provincial government also phase by phase authorized daily markets, instead of weekly ones in districts and sub-districts, particularly in capital districts and urban cities.

The objectives of building or allocating these basic economic infrastructures, particularly in rural mountainous areas, nevertheless, were mostly driven by a security and military agenda (Molnar, 2010). On the surface, the provincial government always said the markets were there to help the people to do economic activities, which would improve their living conditions, but behind the screen, the existence of the markets, along with the roads that accessed the remote areas, were actually to facilitate the military-manipulated government to control the Timorese people. For example, while the roads facilitated military vehicles to transport military equipments and

personnel (Molnar, 2010; Gunn, 1997), marketplaces in remote areas were treated as a mechanism to control villagers from contacting the guerilla or independent fighters who were thought to hide in the mountains. There had been also incidences that the military utilized these markets to smuggle coffee, nuts or sandalwood that the military took by force from the farmers.

The role of trade and marketplaces in socio-economic and cultural terms during Indonesian time had not changed much compared to the last periods of the Portuguese colonial occupation. Commercial, social and cultural activities, as mentioned above, were still seen in many marketplaces during the Indonesian times. Catholic and Muslim preachers were also seen in some marketplaces, for example, in Liquica district, where I am from, I saw a number of white screen cinemas as well as musical bands performed and shown in the markets, particularly during the weekends. As a Timorese who was growing up during the Indonesian times, I always witnessed these activities when I went to a local marketplace.

Even though produce traded in the markets were mostly local foods and livestock that were common and unique to Timor-Leste, new commodities and goods from Java were also sold in many local marketplaces. For example, *tempe and tahu* (tofu and processed beans) and hygienic materials such as cleaning powders, soups, toothpaste, toothbrush as well as kitchen utensils became available. In short, the products traded, were more various in terms of both quantity and tastes. By this time, all the transactions had to use the Indonesian currency, *Rupiah (Rp.)*. The Portuguese's currency *Escudo* including Portuguese language were withdrawn from the market or prohibited.

During the Indonesian period, vendors occupying vending stalls were charged. According to my experience in my home town in the late 1980s, a vegetable vendor was charged *Rp.* 50,- and

Rp. 250.- for selling livestock. I also observed that at the beginning, vendors did not stay in the markets, but by the early 1990s onwards, vendors could occupy and stay in trading halls or houses in the marketplace.

This important progress, however, failed to win over the heart of the Timorese people and the international community. The well-noted economic development that East Timor had achieved during the 24 years was mostly enjoyed by non-Timorese people (Molnar, 2010). Most of the commercial transactions only benefited the central government in Jakarta, the army and non-indigenous traders from Sulawesi, Java, Bugis and Lombok. These non-indigenous traders occupied most local market halls and market places throughout the territory. Often conflicts happened in many local marketplaces between Timorese traders and the Indonesian merchants because of the struggle for vending stalls or social jealousy. This situation, compounded with unresolved political issues, triggered increased oppositions from the Timorese people.

Human rights abuses (e.g. tortures, kidnappings, killings, rapes) became the worst record in the Indonesian history. Demand for independence inside East Timor and at the international level continued to increase until it peaked in 1999 in which the Portuguese and Indonesian governments, due to increased pressure from the International community, signed an agreement on 5 May 1999 asking the United Nations (UN) to organize a popular consultation to determine the future of the people of East Timor (Sue, 2007; UNTAET, 2001). The next section explores trade and local marketplaces during the UN missions in East Timor. Although there had been a number of UN missions in East Timor between 1999 and 2011, the following section only focuses on two of them, which were established before East Timor became an internationally recognized independent country.

4.3.4 The United Nations (UN) in East Timor

In response to the joined request by the Indonesian and Portuguese governments, the United Nations, through a Security Council resolution number 1246 (1999), established a mission for East Timor. The mission which was called the “United Nations Mission in East Timor” (UNAMET) officially opened its office in Dili on 11 June, 1999 (Sue, 2007; UNTAET, 2001). The mission was mandated to organize a popular consultation to determine the future of the people of East Timor. The people of East Timor, through a direct and democratic vote, were asked to opt whether they accepted a broader special autonomy, but remained within the Indonesian territory, or rejected the autonomy, which would lead the nation to become an independent country. The mission was also authorized, after the popular consultation, to oversee a transition period regardless of the result of the vote.

When UNAMET arrived in East Timor, most of the commercial and basic economic activities had stopped functioning. Most public marketplaces had quitted operation as sellers and buyer did not go to the markets for being afraid of the deteriorating security situation in the whole territory. While Indonesian traders had left East Timor, most of the Timorese local product vendors and traders, on the other hand, took refuge in the mountainous areas waiting for the referendum day, which had been scheduled for the 30 August 1999. The situation became uncontrolled and worsened following the announcement of the result of the referendum on 4 September 1999.

The result of the referendum showed the majority of the Timorese people rejected the autonomy package proposed by the Indonesian government. In response to this, the United Nations, through another Security Council resolution no. 1272 (1999), created a new mission called the

United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) on 25 October 1999 (Sue, 2007, pp 29-39). UNTAET was given a two-year mandate to prepare East Timor to become a full and sovereign independent nation. UNTAET's mandate included the following elements:

- To provide security and maintain law and order throughout the territory of East Timor;
- To establish an effective administration;
- To assist in the development of civil and social services;
- To ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and development assistance;
- To support capacity-building for self-government;
- To assist in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development (Sue, 2007, p. 30).

As mentioned above, following the announcement of the result of the referendum, the condition of East Timor had become chaotic and uncontrolled; it was in an extremely devastating situation indeed. Nearly, all development outputs and outcomes achieved during the 24 years of Indonesian occupation had been destroyed. Not only private properties but also public infrastructures and facilities such as government offices and market buildings, which support the basic economic activities of the people, had all been burnt down by the military-backed militia members. The World Bank (WB) estimated that because of the destruction of such a big scale, the economy of East Timor in 1999 suffered a 45 percent decline compared to the three years before the referendum (World Bank, 1999).

To prepare the war-torn East Timor towards its independence, UNTAET worked in partnership with various international humanitarian and development organizations, International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), International Government Organizations (IGOs), UN agencies and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

Under the UNTAET coordination, a number of small and medium-sized business activities began to operate in East Timor. Restaurants, hotels, car rentals and private houses for rental started to operate. For instance, it was noted that the UNTAET Business Registration Unit between December 1999 and March 2000 issued about 2,500 application forms and 350 certificates. For a self- or group-owned business, a US\$ 10 was charged, while for a big company, the fee charged was US\$ 100 (World Bank, 2001).

UNTAET also worked in close coordination with the World Bank to identify and rehabilitate local market infrastructures and facilities throughout East Timor. For example, in 2001, the WB launched a project named: "East Timor-Second Small Enterprise Project". The project aimed to generate employment, accelerate economic growth, and improve competition through providing a small medium enterprise line of credit and capacity building on private sector development (World Bank, 2001). The project had three components and one of them was to finance community-based rehabilitation of market infrastructures.

The project was created in response to the increased numbers of farmers and vendors who resorted to sell in the streets or sidewalks outside the local market halls or buildings that had been destroyed. The project found that marketplace infrastructure could serve as a means to improve the economic condition of the people, and as a social public meeting for everybody. By rehabilitating a marketplace infrastructure, it was anticipated that many people would benefit

from it, and that it would give multiple advantages in terms of job employment for the local people and facilitate improved trade conditions. The construction itself would also offer some construction skills for the builders.

When the performance of the project was evaluated in 2008, it was discovered that 70 out of 71 targeted market projects were rehabilitated and reconstructed in East Timor (World Bank, 2008). This included 34 small rehabilitated markets, 14 large rehabilitated markets,, 15 small newly constructed markets, and seven large newly constructed markets. According to the project evaluation report, these market halls represented fifty percent of the total markets rehabilitated or built since 1999.

Although a significant number of market infrastructure and facilities have been rehabilitated or built in East Timor during the UNTAET period, not all of these projects had been implemented according to plan (World Bank, 2008). Consequently, some of the markets were not utilized. *Loes* and *Vemase* markets, for example, were not used because the locations of the markets were far from the villagers. The *Vemase* market was said to be situated 10 kilometres away from the centre of the village. Similarly, a large market in *Gleno* was cancelled because no consultation with the community was made. The location of the market was also isolated and inaccessible by public transport (World Bank, 2008). According to the evaluation report, some of these projects were built without a proper needs assessment, or not based on a consultation with the community or the advice from the Project Implementation Unit (PIU), but politically influenced by the government, who took over some of the project activities following East Timor becoming independent. The following section presents information on formal public marketplaces after East Timor's independence.

4.3.5 Trade and marketplaces after independence

As indicated previously, Timor-Leste actually had declared itself independent on 28 November, 1975 by the *Fretilin (Frente Revolucionaria de Timor-Leste Independente)* or Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor. This declaration of independence, nonetheless, was not recognized by most of the countries in the world at that time (Molnar, 2010; Gunn, 2011). After 27 years, however, Timor-Leste finally became an internationally recognized independent country following the restoration of its independence on 20 May 2002. Despite this unprecedented historical political event, the country faced a far greater challenge, particularly on how to free the people from hunger, poverty, illiteracy, health and economic constraints.

The government of Timor-Leste is well aware of, and committed to settle these challenges. This commitment can be seen in the completion of the National Strategic Development Plans (NSDP) in 2011, which set the vision that the country wants to achieve by 2030 (GoTL, 2011). One of the components of the NSDP is economic investments that will generate jobs for the East Timorese people. For this, the government has devised friendly legal commercial procedures as an enabling environment that will encourage national and foreign investments (GoTL, 2011, p. 224).

The government has also invested in infrastructure to facilitate access to market. For this, roads and a significant number of marketplaces have been built and rehabilitated throughout the country. According to government reports, there have been 67 rural markets built during the periods between 2007 and 2012 (GoTL, 2012, p. 54). Another 32 agricultural mini markets have

also been built in the districts to facilitate circulation of agricultural products to capital or urban cities (GoTL, 2011, p. 118).

Despite this, as indicated in the introduction chapter, many of the government-built and – rehabilitated public marketplaces were not used effectively. Many of the markets including in Dili were empty, or only few vendors and buyers have utilized them, particularly over the past four years.

4. 4 Summary

Throughout the chapter, two groups of information have been presented. The first group is on the features of Timor-Leste in terms of its location, population and economy, while the second group is on trade and the existence of formal public marketplaces in the pre- and post-independence of Timor-Leste. The context of the profile of Timor-Leste shows that, despite Timor-Leste's harsh life in the past, and that it had to start the nation building process from scratch, the country has a potential and promising future. The country is blessed with both oil and gas resources and beautiful landscapes which, if well developed with supports by increasing qualified human resources, will generate significant revenues to improve the standard of living of its people. Timor-Leste is also strategically situated between two powerful countries, Australia and Indonesia, that can be an advantage for the country in terms of economy, knowledge, information and technology.

In terms of trade and formal public marketplaces, this chapter indicates that actually the people of Timor-Leste are not newcomers to both. While trade had existed since the pre-colonial era, public marketplaces were introduced in the 1960s. The chapter also shows the dynamics of

trade and public marketplaces in Timor-Leste throughout the history of Timor-Leste. The growth and decline of trade or public marketplaces are not only influenced by each other, but also by changes in administrative powers, wars and political decisions. The next chapter illustrates Dili and Taibesi and Manleuana public markets, which have been utilized as the sites and case studies for the research.

Chapter 5: Dili and officially established public marketplaces

5.1 Introduction

Chapters Two and Three explain respectively the general dynamics of public marketplaces in other countries, and Timor-Leste. This chapter aims at bringing the case under investigation closer to Dili, where the fieldwork for this study has taken place. Section two of this chapter provides a brief description of Dili, which covers the topography of Dili and its political administration, its demography, and livelihood of the people. Then, the chapter touches upon officially established public marketplaces in Dili, particularly Taibesi and Manleuana public markets, which have been utilized as case studies for this study. Before describing the features of the two markets, nevertheless, I briefly provide information on all the public marketplaces that have ever been established in Dili during the Portuguese and Indonesian era.

5.2 Dili

5.2.1 Topography and political administration of Dili

Dili is the busiest and most populated city of Timor-Leste. Nevertheless, in terms of land area, it is the smallest district which only covers 364 square kilometers (GoTL, 2014). Dili is situated in the northern coast, approximately sixtykilometreseast from West Timor Indonesia or 720 kilometers North West from Darwin, Australia. In the southern part of Dili lays rugged mountain terrain, while in the northern part, stands the island of Atauro, which is only 25 kilometres from Dili. Atauro can be easily reached by a machine-generated boat in thirty minutes. Dili is tropicaland only has two seasons where the rainy season occurs between December and March while the dry season happens between April and November.

It is believed that Dili has become the capital of Timor-Leste since the second half of the eighteenth century - 1769 (Gunn, 2011, pp. xxii, 71). This happened after the Portuguese moved its colonial governmental administration from Oecusse to the region. Oecusse is an enclave located about 80 kilometers to the west of Dili and was the first place the Portuguese had established contact with the people of what was then East Timor. During the period of Indonesian illegal occupation, from 1976 to 1999, Dili was also declared the capital city of East Timor. During this period, Dili was divided into four sub-districts: Dili Barat (western Dili), Dili Timur (eastern Dili), Atauro, and Metinaro. Despite that, during both the Portuguese era and Indonesian time, Dili was not a capital of state but province. The Portuguese considered Timor-Leste as one of its overseas provinces, while Indonesia declared *Timor Timur* / Tim-Tim (East Timor) its 27th province in 1976.

From 2000 to May 2002, East Timor was under the auspices of the United Nations. At that time, Dili and other parts of East Timor were governed by Sergio Viera de Melo, the United Nations Special Secretary-General (UNSSG) in East Timor. From this period on, Dili had become the true capital city of Timor-Leste as an independent and sovereign nation. At present, in addition to being the capital of Timor-Leste, Dili is also considered a district, which is headed by a District Administrator. As a district, Dili is split into six sub-districts, namely Vera Cruz, Na'in Feto, Metinaro, Atauro, Dom Aleixo and Cristo Rei.

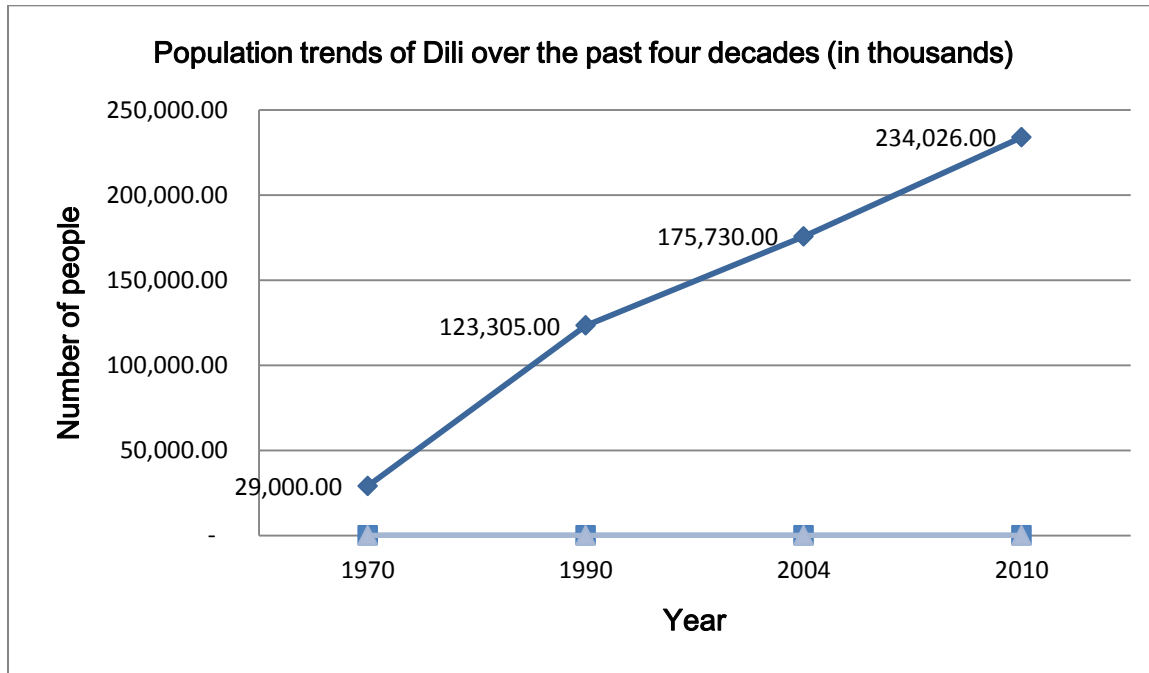
5.2.2 Demography

Owing to its strategic location, and the fact that nearly all social, educative, economic and political activities have taken place in it, Dili has become an attractive place that pushed the

highest rapid urbanization compared to other urban areas in the country. This has resulted in a significant increase in its population, particularly over the past four decades. According to an incomplete census data put together by Portuguese administration in the early 1970s, Dili's population was standing at about 29,000 people including Atauro, about five percent of the total population at that time (Chrystello, 1973, p. 11). In 1990, fifteen years following Indonesian annexation of the country, Dili's population had become 123,305 people, 16 percent of the total population of East Timor (Widjajanto, 1990, p. 2). However, Dili's population at that time included migrants from Java, Kalimantan, Sumatera, Sulawesi, West Timor, Papua and Maluku.

In the next fourteen years, in 2004, when the country ran its first census after separating from Indonesia through a United Nations-administered popular consultation in late 1999, Dili's population went up to 175,730 people with a total of 26,114 households (National Statistics Directorate, 2006). The number of the population continued to increase, based on the latest census held by the government in 2010, to become 234,026 people with total 35,224 households (NSD & UNFPA, 2011). The male population constitutes 53 per cent and the female population is 47 percent. This rapid demographic change makes Dili the most populated area of Timor-Leste with a population density of 636 per square kilometre. Graph 1 below shows how the population of Dili has increased significantly between the periods of 1970 and 2010. Although the size of Dili's rural area is bigger, standing at 303.99 square kilometres than the rural at about 64.13 square kilometres 82 percent of its population presently lives in the urban area. The male population constitutes 53 per cent and the female population is 47 percent (*ibid*).

Graph 1: Population trends in Dili between 1970 and 2010



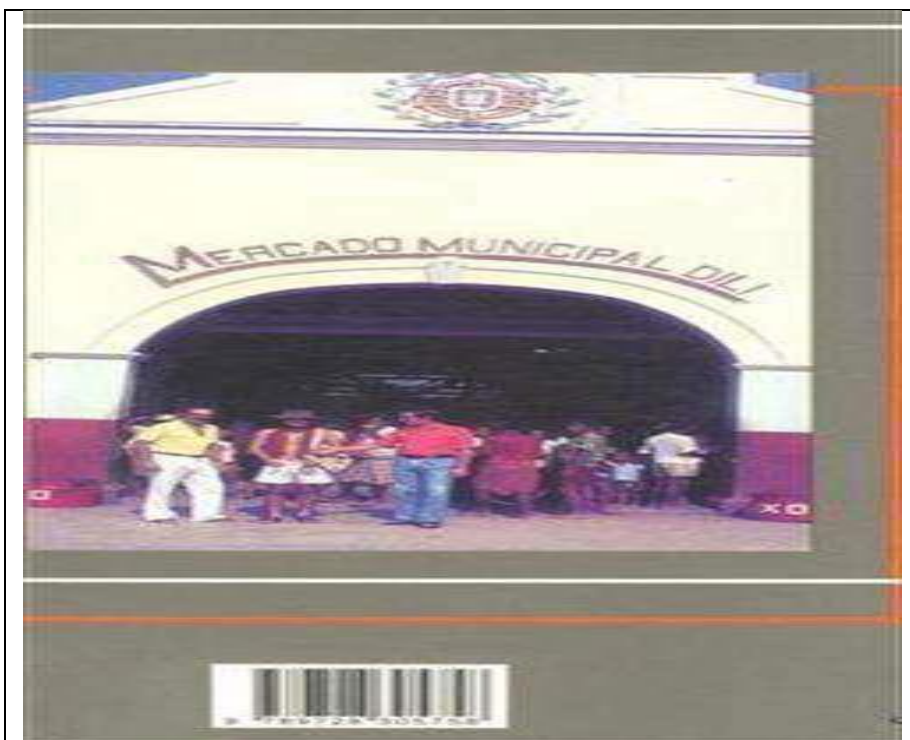
5.2.3 Livelihood of the people of Dili

The livelihood of the people of Dili can be categorized into three sectors namely the primary, secondary and tertiary sector (NSD & UNFPA, 2011, p. 280). The primary sector includes agriculture, forestry and fishing as well as mining and quarrying. Agriculture and forestry are commonly found in the rural areas of Dili like Dare. In marginal places, people also grow local vegetables. Fishing has become the main source of livelihood for the people in the coastal areas such as Atauro, Bidau Metiaut and Hera Metinaro sub-districts. The secondary sector comprises manufacturing and construction. The last category, which employs most of the labour force, includes public administration and defense and compulsory security, wholesale and retail trade, and administrative and support activities. Of the total labour force employed in all sectors (60,801 people), agriculture, forestry, and fishing stands at 15 percent, 11 percent for the

secondary sector and 74 percent for the tertiary sector (NSD & UNFPA. (2010, p. 280). The next section presents brief information on all the public marketplaces built or assigned in Dili before and after Timor-Leste's independence. The following chapter section pays particular attention to Taibesi and Manleuana markets, which have been utilized as case studies.

5. 3 Officially established public marketplaces in Dili

Generally, marketplaces in Dili and other places in Timor-Leste are named after the location of the market. In other words, a public marketplace is familiar to the people by the location or the place where the market is built. There were only three public marketplaces established in Dili town before Timor-Leste's independence. The first public marketplace was built in the 1960s by the Portuguese ruler (see picture 1), a decade before they left East Timor. The marketplace was a building, and nearly all daily local products were transacted inside it. This market was named Mercado Municipal, or Mercado Central, as it is located in Caicoli suburb which is at the center of Dili, near the National Football Stadium. The market was, nonetheless, half damaged during the Indonesian's invasion of East Timor in the late 1975.



Picture 1 Mercado Municipal Dili in the 1960s

Source: Chrystello, 1973, p. 2

During the early period of Indonesian times, Mercado Municipal Dili was rehabilitated for public transactions. By the late 1980s or early 1990s, due to the increased number of vendors, the provincial government of East Timor established two more marketplaces in Dili. One was built in Becora, also known as Mercado Becora, and the other one was in Comoro, also known as Mercado Comoro. Mercado Becora is located in the east, while Comoro market is in the west. These markets were provided with facilities such as water, toilets and electricity. Vendors occupying the market or vending stalls were charged. During this time, vendors in the markets were dominated by Indonesian traders from Sulawesi, Sumatra, Java, Bugis, Kupang and Lombok. In late 1999, nonetheless, the Mercado Municipal, Becora and Comoro markets were

burnt down by military-backed militia members when the majority of the East Timorese people opted for independence through a United Nations-administered popular consultation.

Hence, when the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) was created in October 1999 to prepare East Timor to become an independent country, no functioning formal market building existed. Yet, local vendors utilized the ramshackle Mercado Municipal Dili or Mercado Central (see picture 2) to sell some daily basic needs including vegetables and fruits to sustain their life. In 2000, UNTAET, in collaboration with the World Bank (WB), rehabilitated Becora and Comoro markets to be used as the official marketplaces. In 2001, UNTAET assigned a new marketplace in Taibesi (JP, 2002; *Profile of Dili district,*) suburb to facilitate communities in the area to have a better access to market and daily basic needs.

the dome of mercado municipal dili



Picture 2 Panorama of ramshackle Mercado Municipal Dili in 2000

Source: [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercado_Municipal_\(Dili\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercado_Municipal_(Dili))

5.3.1 Taibesi and Manleuna public markets

Although there have been a number of public marketplaces built in Dili since the independence, this study only focuses on Taibesi and Manleuna public markets, which have been selected as the case studies for this research. Also considered relevant is that both markets meet the definition of public markets as defined by this study. This means that the markets, besides being funded by the government, vendors, may sell various local products in the markets including meat, chicken and fish, clothes, services and basic industrial goods such as kitchen utensils and equipment. In other words, the markets are not assigned for, a particular product or produce, but many, and serve the basic needs of the people.

5.3.1.1 Taibesi public market

As mentioned previously, Taibesi market was established in 2001 during the UNTAET time to facilitate basic economic transactions and access to daily household needs of the population who lived near the area. Although basic sanitation such as water and toilets were provided, there were only some simple vending stalls built at that time. When Timor-Leste became independent in 2002, the government resumed full responsibility of Taibesi market. Some vending stalls were also built in addition to those already constructed by the UNTAET. Since then, Taibesi market has become one of the government's public markets in Dili.

Taibesi market used to be a military barrack or arsenal during the Portuguese and Indonesian times. Taibesi is located in the central southern part of Dili, about two and a half kilometres from Colmera (the city centre) or about four kilometres from Comoro market. Administratively, Taibesi is part of Lahane Oriental village, which is under the Nain Feto Sub-District. The Sub-District has six villages with a total population of 26,592 with 4,015 households (NSD & UNFPA, 2010). Lahane Oriental village itself has a total population of 10,886, the biggest compared to the other five villages.

During the political and military crisis that happened in 2006 / 2007, like other marketplaces in Dili, Taibesi market stopped its operation. Vendors who used to sell in the market, due to a deteriorated security situation, abandoned it. The facilities in the market were damaged and burnt down because of inter-racial and gang fighting. Taibesi market, together with other marketplaces, nevertheless, was rehabilitated by the government in 2010 when the security situation was improving.

Nevertheless, as the rehabilitation works were still ongoing, vendors and buyers already created a street marketplace in Halelaran suburb. By the time the rehabilitation works completed, most vendors and buyers became used to the Halelaran street market and continued to do the transactions there until July, 2014. As a result, Taibesi market was not used effectively, only a few vendors and buyers utilized the market. This situation, compounded by lack of proper maintenance on the market by competent government authorities had caused the market to be in poor condition. In fact, in December, 2013 (see picture 3-6), it was noted that there was no running water in the Taibesi market, the toilet was already broken, most trading houses and vending stalls were damaged and abandoned.



Picture 3 Condition of toilet in Taibesi market

Source: Herdade dos Santos, December, 2013



Picture 4 Condition of local product vending stalls in Taibesi market

Source: Herdade dos Santos, December, 2013



Picture 5 Condition of kiosks and second-hand apparel in Taibesi

Picture 6 Damaged vending stalls for meat and chicken in Taibesi market

Source: Herdade dos Santos, December, 2013.

Source: Herdade dos Santos, December, 2013.

During the fieldwork, however, it was noted that Taibesi market has been mostly rehabilitated. The rehabilitation took place in June, 2014 and was carried out by a private contractor hired by the government. It now covers a total land area of about two hectares. The rehabilitation works were done through an emergency project launched by the government with a total budget of more than US\$ 3 million (*Instalasaun*, 2009, para. 1-7). According to the government, the objective of the rehabilitation and expansion work was to transform the market to be an integrated marketplace with complete modern facilities where vendors can sell different types of

goods and services. The government also planned to build a bigger public transport terminal near the market to give access to public transport which comes from districts outside of Dili. Table 2 below shows types of vending stalls in the market and total-in-use after the relocation of street vendors into the market. The relocation process is presented in section 5.3.1.3. Vending stalls for local product and second-hand apparel were the largest compared to the other.

Table 2 Vending stalls in Taibesi public market after the latest rehabilitation and relocation in June, 2014

Category	Unit available	Unit occupied (in percentage) after relocation of vendors from Halelaran market
Local products	552	Only about 70% completed and occupied, the remaining was still being constructed when the fieldwork took place
Second-hand apparel	322	90%
New outfits or apparels	179	50%
Meat / chicken	40	Work in progress during the fieldwork
Fish	46	Work in progress during the fieldwork
Restaurant	20	Work in progress during the fieldwork
Coconut meat blender machine	10	Work in progress during the fieldwork
Kiosk	107	60% were completed and occupied
Electronics	No information	

Beauty salon	No information	
Jewelry	2	Work in progress during the fieldwork
Mini public transport terminal	1	90% completed

Source: Herdade dos Santos, fieldwork, 2014.

5.3.1.2 Manleuana public market

Manleuana is the name of a suburb in the southwestern part of Dili, about one and a halfkilometres from the Comoro market. By the government political administrative regulation, Manleuana is part of *Suco*³Comoro (Comoro village) which is under the responsibility and control of Dom Aleixo Sub-District. Dom Aleixo Sub-District has four villages namely Fatuhada, Kampung Alor, BairoPite, and Comoro itself. The Sub-District has a total population of *105,154* with a total household of *15,896* (NSD & UNFPA, 2011). The Comoro village itself has the biggest population compared to other villages within the Sub-District. It has a total population of *65,404* people with *8,901* households. In this regard, the Comoro population represents 28 percent of the Dili’s total population.

Manleuana public market may be considered the first large integrated marketplace built in Dili by the government after Timor-Leste became an independent country. According to Gil Alves (as cited in R-4, 2012, para. 11), the former minister for the MTCI, the objectives for establishing the market were not only to facilitate basic economic activities of the people, but also to modernize marketplaces so that vendors and buyers can do a transaction in a better and safer place, rather

³ Suco or village is the smallest political unit in Timor-Leste

than on the street. Manleuna public market was also intended to replace Comoro public market which, after the 2006 and 2007 political crisis, was considered by the government as an unofficial, or street market. According to the government, Comoro market was not big enough to serve the increased number of vendors.

Manleuna market was established in 2009, with a total budget of more than US\$ 2 million. Initially, the construction works were carried out by a single local construction company, but then the works involved nine more local companies to accelerate the process. The construction work of the market was under the direct supervision of the MTCI. Facilities in Manleuna market are similar to those of the Taibesi public market. Manleuna public market was already completely equipped with a mini terminal for public transports. Nonetheless, it was noted that most of the basic facilities did not function. Some vendors said that the government had just installed water in the toilets in June, 2014. Vending stalls for meat, fish and chicken were also newly built. Table 3 below presents information on categories and number of vending stalls in Manleuna market. As shown in the table, the number of vending stalls for local products and second-hand apparel is the largest. Despite having the largest number, and most of them have been occupied due to the relocation, based on the field observation conducted in late June, 2014, only about 30% was occupied. In some vending stalls, such as second-hand apparel, kiosks, despite being booked, the owners were not seen there. A male vendor said that most occupants only wanted to secure the stalls, but did most of the selling in the street.

Table 3 Categories of vending stalls in Manleuana and unit occupied after relocation observed during the fieldwork

Types of vending stalls	Unit available	Total occupied (%) following relocation
Local product	260	90%
Second-hand apparel	414	90%
New outfits or apparel)	70	60%
Kiosks	90	80%
Restaurant	11	No information
Meat or chicken	40	Not operational, reconstruction works were not completed yet
Fish	40	Not operational, reconstruction works were not completed yet
Coconut meat blender machine	10	20%
Electronics	2	0%
Beauty salon	3	0%
Jewelry	2	0%

Source: R-5, 2012; Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014

5.3.1.3 Relocation of street markets to official public markets

The fieldwork coincided with the government's plan to relocate street markets which took place on the first and second week of July, 2014. Halelaran vendors were relocated to Taibesi public market while Comoro vendors were relocated to Manleuana public market. Comoro and

Halelaran street markets, thus, no longer exist and have been officially closed by the government. Nevertheless, it was noted that the relocation happened when many vending stalls were not yet completed. Consequently, many relocated vendors in Taibesi market had to sell their fares on bare dusty ground outside the market building. The government registered all vendors and provided transport to carry vendors' belongings to the two public markets. As indicated below: picture 8, 9, 10 and 11 show respectively the situation when the government relocated the Halelaran street vendors, local product and second-hand apparel vendors in Taibesi public market after the relocation, and vending stalls at their finishing stage. Meanwhile, picture 12 portrays how the Comoro street vendors' belongings were transported to Manleuana public market. And, picture 13 shows how the government used large metal containers to close Comoro street market.



Picture 7 A SoS (male, standing in the middle of the crowd with left hand holding a mask over the mouth) and his staff were explaining and distributing registration forms to vendors to be completed during the relocation process in Halelaran market

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014



Picture 9Condition of the newly built local product vending stalls in Taibesi market

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014



Picture 10 Vendors in Taibesi market checking vending stalls by registration numbers

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014



Picture 11 The view of vending rooms (at finishing stage) for meat and chicken in Taibesi market

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014

5. 4 Summary

This chapter provides background information about Dili, and the officially established public marketplaces in Dili since the Portuguese era until Timor-Leste became independent. From the information, we can see that while the population of Dili has increased almost 34 percent during the past decade, for example, from 175,000 in 2004 to 234,026 in 2010, public marketplaces experience a forth and back pattern. Marketplaces were built and replaced or removed. For example, the *Mercado Municipal Dili*, which was built in the 1960s by the Portuguese colonial government, is now no longer a marketplace. It is now changed to a convention centre. The

same pattern happens to Becora and Comoro markets which were built by the Indonesian government, now no longer public marketplaces. While the GoTL has not decided about the future of Becora market, Comoro market is already declared closed. Vendors in Comoro and Halelalan street markets have been relocated to Manleuana and Taibesi public markets, which have been built and refurbished to become well equipped permanent markets with modern facilities.

This chapter also indicates that all of the public markets seemed to have been established and managed exclusively by government authorities, either by the Portuguese authoritative power, the Indonesian provincial regimes, UNTAET or by the GoTL. No private sectors were entrusted to manage a local marketplace as it might be in some developed countries. The next chapter describes in detail the findings of the study.

Chapter 6: Findings for research objectives

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings of the study. For analytical purposes, all the data collected was grouped into three sections according to the three research objectives. The first section that elaborates findings of the first research objective is divided into three categories which describe successively: respondents' perceptions regarding government's marketplaces as a job or livelihood and source of economic income, as a mechanism for city management (public order, hygiene and safety), and as promoters of social interaction, public education and social cohesion. The second section regarding research objective two is divided into five categories. These include distance/location, basic facilities, non-transparent regulations and corrupt officers, security and safety, and attitude and custom. The last section, for research objective three, describes the category for stakeholders' participation in the planning process.

6.2 Government's initiatives for establishing public marketplaces

The perceptions on the government's initiative for establishing public marketplaces were explored in this study. This section describes the findings for this research objective according to the six categories as mentioned above.

6.2.1 A local market as a job or livelihood and source of economic income

Both data from the field observations and semi-structured interviews showed that many types of work or jobs can be found in local marketplaces. For example, people worked as local product vendors or retailers, second-hand apparel sellers, as fish, chicken and meat vendors, as

cleaners and security guards at restaurants, tailors, kiosks operators, shoe fixers and so on (field observations, 24, 28 and 29 June, 2014; 01, 05 and 06 of July, 2014). Some vendors being interviewed in Taibesi, Manleuana, Halelaran and Comoro markets said that their life really depended on a local marketplace, because in it, they can do any work to sustain their life, pay their education fees, or their children's school fees. Below are quotes by two vendors:

"I think government's initiative for building or allocating local marketplaces is a good one. As a small vendor, my life really depends on a local marketplace. I sell vegetables and fruits in a marketplace. I do not have other jobs. A government-funded marketplace will help me survive" (Male Vendor, Manleuana, 02 July, 2014)⁴

"I think a local market is very important for this country. The government does not have enough works for all of us. So some people must work outside the government. You can find different kinds of jobs in this market. People sell local products, second-hand clothes, fish, chicken, and so on" (Male Vendor, Halelaran, 01 July, 2014)⁵

Bitzenis and Marangos described the market transactions as "a process in which individuals interact with one another in pursuit of their separate economic objectives" (as cited in Feinman & Garraty, 2010, p.170). This statement clearly corresponds with the situation in Dili. A village chief described that a marketplace can create job opportunities or a source of livelihood for the people, particularly the poor and lower-income earners. He said that a marketplace could encourage people to help themselves. It helps them to be self-dependent:

⁴"Ha'u hanoin, governu nia inisiativa hodi aloka merkadu local ne'e diak. Hanesan vendedor ki'ik, Ha'u nia moris depende ba merkadu local. Ha'u fa'an modo tahan ho aifuan iha merkadu local. Ha'u laiha servisu seluk tan. Merkadu local nebe governu hari'l bele ajuda sustenta ha'u nia moris"

⁵ "Tuir ha'u nia hanoin, merkadu local importante tebes ba rai ida ne'e. Governu laiha servisu barak atu fo' ba ita hotu. Tamba ne'e balu tenke buka servisu iha liur. Iha merkadu ne'e ita boot bele hare'e ema halo servisu oioin. Ema balu fa'an produtu local, obralan, ikan, ayan potong no seluk seluk tan"

“I think a local market can be a source of livelihood for the people. Because of a local market, many people become self-dependent. People grow vegetable, raise cattle and sell them in the market; others buy and resell goods and services to survive. A local marketplace can create works for the people” (A village chief: Local Resource Person, 07 July, 2014)⁶

Similarly, one of the government officials said that the main objective of allocating public marketplaces in the country was to facilitate people, particularly the poor to improve their economic conditions:

“The government’s main objective for establishing marketplaces is to improve and strengthen basic economic activities, particularly lower income households or people. Because of this, the government has the duty and is obliged to create good conditions to attract vendors” (Government Official, 17 July, 2014)⁷

The economist (one of the local resource persons) also stated that local marketplaces can function as linkage centres to bigger and modern economic activities in the city which would contribute to economic development of the country

“The government should provide good facilities in local markets because the presence of local markets is very important as backward economic linkages that connect local farmers or producers with retailers or wholesalers and bigger economic entities in the cities” (Economist: Local Resource person, 11 July, 2014)⁸

⁶“Ha’u hanoin merkadu local bele sai hanesan vida moris loron loron ba ema ida nian. Tamba merkadu local, ema barak bele moris rasik, Sira kuda modo tahan, hakiak animal hodi ba fa’an iha merkadu. Balu fali, sosa sasan no fa’an fila fali hodi buka moris. Merkadu local bele fo moris ba ema barak”

⁷“Objetivu principal husi programa hari’l merkadu maka atu hadi’a no hametin ekonomiku baze, liuliu ba population ki’ik sira. Tamba ida ne’e maka governu iha dever atu kria kondisaun nebe diak iha merkadu hodi nune’e bele atrai vendedores sira”

⁸“Governu lolos tenke kria facilidade diak iha merkadu local sira tamba prezensa merkadu sira ne’e importante tebes, sira sai hanesan ‘backward linkages’ nebe liga produtor local sira ho comerciante boot sira iha sidade”

In addition, a female buyer was saying that she was better buying her daily basic needs from a government-funded local market which is populated by local vendors, rather than in a fancy supermarket. According to her, not only that the prices in a government local market are relatively cheaper but more importantly she wanted to contribute to improve the economic condition of the poor. By spending her money in such a market, she shares her money with many lower income Timorese:

“I buy my daily household needs in a local market because that is the place where I could afford. But what is more important is that in this market, economically, we the poor help each other. They (vendors) sell vegetable with cheaper prices I buy with what I can”,
(Female Buyer, Halelalan, 05 July, 2014)⁹

Based on the answers provided above, we could say that a public local marketplace does not only provide jobs but it can become an important mechanism to improve the living condition of its users and a nation as a whole.

6.2.2 City management (public order, hygiene and safety)

There were also views from some of the respondents (government officials, an academic, a female vendor and a male buyer) as cited below, that a government-established marketplace served as a good mechanism to maintain public order and hygiene, prevent street vending activities, traffic congestion and keep vendors, buyers and the environment safe while doing a transaction.

⁹“Ha’u ba hola sasan uma ka’in nian iha merkadu local tamba iha ne’e maka economicamente, ha’u nia kapasidade to’o. Maibe, buat importante liu maka iha merkadu local ami ki’ak ho ki’ak maka ajuda malu. Sira (vendedores) fa’an modo tahan baratu, Ha’u hola tu’ir Ha’u nia k’bit”

“Since the restoration of our independence in May, 2002, most of our people carry out small scale commercial activities in the streets. This is not good because it is not safe as they may be run over by a car. They also litter and pollute the environment because they sell vegetables, meats, fish and chicken in open areas which can attract flies. This is one of the reasons why the government has taken initiatives to build markets. The Taibesi and Manleuana markets in Dili, for example, are expected to solve these problems” (Government Official, 08 July, 2014)¹⁰

In relation to the relocation of street markets, the official said:

“Those vendors that we relocate to this market (Taibesi) are those vendors who used to occupy Halelaran. Halelaran market is considered as a natural street market that occupies a protocol street, where our VIP guests normally pass by this street when they go to *Palacio Nobre Lahane*, Dili. Because of this and in relation to the CPLP conference, in which our government is entrusted to host, all protocol streets must be clear from any street activities” (Government official, 8 July, 2014)¹¹

Similarly, the other official said:

“Some people said that the relocation is due to the “big party” (CPLP) but I want to clarify that the relocation is nothing to do with the CPLP. The relocation has been planned long time ago” (Government Official, 17 July, 2014)¹²

An academic also said that relocation is good to maintain the beauty of the city, hence, attract visitors

¹⁰“Depois de restaurasaun de independensia, ita nia populasaun barak maka halo atividades komersio ki'ik iha dalam ibun. Ida ne'e ladun diak tamba bele fo' amesa ba sira nia vida, kareta bele soke sira. Atividades hanesan ne'e mos bele estraga saude publiku tamba fo'er so'e arbiru deit. Sira fa'an modo tahan, na'an, ikan, ayam potong iha fatin nakloke nebe bele dada lalar. Tamba razoens sira ne'e maka governu foti inisiativu hudi hari'l merkadu. Hanesan iha Dili, por example, Merkadu Mnaleuana no Taibesi bele ajuda prevene ka evita problema sira ne'e”

¹¹“Vendedores sira nebe stake mai iha Taibesi maka sira nebe okupa merkada Halelaran. Mercadu Halelaran ita considera hanesan merkadu natural nebe okupa dalan protocol nebe sei fo imagen nebe ladiak ba ita nia bainaka VIP sira iha Dili kuandu sira hakarak visita ba Palacio Nobre Lahane. Entaun relasiona ba semeira CPLP nebe ita nia governu sai hanesan uma nain, ami nia programa maka ne'e: dalan sira nebe consideradu hanesan dalan protocol tenke mos hosi qualquer actividades”

¹² “Ema balu dehan governu foin muda tamba festa bo'ot (CPLP) maibe ha'u hakarak klarifika katak CPLP laiha relasaun ho mudansa agora tamba planu relokasaun ne'e halo tiha kleur ona”

“I don’t agree with some ideas that the relocation of the street vendors is due to the CPLP because it is not the CPLP that would create a good panorama in our capital city. With or without CPLP we still have to have consciousness to contribute to make Dili a safe and beautiful city. Vendors should sell in those places that the government already prepared but the government must create basic facilities and good access to attract people (Academic, Local Resource Person, 11 July, 2014)¹³

Two respondents, a female vendor in Manleuana and a male buyer in Taibesi also raised safety issues. For example, the female vendor said that a well structured market protects vendors and buyers from the rain and the sun; she said she feels safe and secure selling in Manleuana marketplace. Likewise, the male buyer said that the government-funded marketplaces were good because they facilitate vendors and buyers to do a transaction in a fixed and safe place

“I think all marketplaces that the government assigns are good because they protect vendors from the sun, dust and rain. The markets can also keep our local products away from the dust and flies”(Female vendor, Manleuana, 1 July, 2014)¹⁴

“By having a fixed local marketplace, all vendors and buyers know exactly where they do the transaction. Vendors and buyers do not have to spread everywhere. Vendors must not sell in the streets it is not good for the view of the city” (Male buyer, Taibesi 6 July, 2014)¹⁵

¹³ “Ha’u la aseita ke relokasaun vendedores tamba programa CPLP tamba la’os CPLP maka mai kria panorama diak iha cidade capital. CPLP mai ka la mai, ita hotu tenke iha consiensa hodi halo ordenamento nebe diak atu nune’eDili sai cidade nebe furak. Vendedores sira tenke ba fa’an iha fatin nebe governu aloka maibe governu tenke kria faciliade basica no asesu diak para bele atria ema”

¹⁴ “Ha’u hanoin merkadu hotuhotu nebe governu hari’l ne’e diak tamba merkadu sira nee proteze vendedores sira husi loron manas, rai rahun no udan. Tamba mahon, modo tahan sira sei natin mos husi rai rahun no lalar sei lahobur”

¹⁵ “Quando ita iha merkadu local nebe fixu, vendedores no kompradores sira la persija ba fa’an no hola lemo-lemo, sira ba direktamente iha merkadu fatin nee kedas. Vendedores la persija fa’an iha dalan tamba ne’e ladun diak ba sidade laran”

Based on the above quotes, we could say that a public local marketplace can function to create public safety both in the street (prevent street vendors, traffic congestion and accidents) and in marketplaces (protect vendors and buyers and the products from harsh weather). This all contributes to make a place or city look good and attractive. The next section presents respondents' views on the role of a public local market as a means to educate and strengthen the society.

6.2.3 Promoters of social interaction, public education and social cohesion

Some respondents said that they welcomed the programmes for establishing public marketplaces because such marketplaces can be important means for promoting social interaction, public awareness, and enhancing social cohesion among community members. In a public marketplace, many personal and non-personal discussions can take place. For example, people may talk about their personal diets or kinds of foods or vegetable they normally consume. Others may share social concerns or public issues such as water and sanitation within their community. Through these informal and social discussions, people get to know each other. Below are quotes from two buyers and the economist:

"I often come to this market with my neighbours. In the market, we talk about what food we normally cook for lunch or dinner in the family and where we can buy the ingredients or fresh vegetables. Sometimes, I met new friends or my old friends"(Female Buyer, Comoro, 06 July, 2014)¹⁶

¹⁶ "Ha'u dala barak mai merkadu ida ne'e ho vizinho balu. Dala ruma ami kualia konaba saida maka ami baibain tein ba meio dia ka ba jantar. Ami mos fohatene malu karik iha nebe mak bele hetan bumbu ka modo tahan nebe fresku. Dala ruma mos Ha'u hasoru kolega uluk nian balu"

“A local marketplace may become a good place for community members to share economic and social development issues within their community. For example, they may share water concerns or sanitation issues within their community. I sometimes do this with some people when I come to this market” (Male Buyer, Comoro, 06 July, 2014)¹⁷

“.....wherever and whenever it is, a market can transform to be a public meeting, some people go to a market not only to buy goods but they can also meet their friends or talk to other people.” (Economist: Local Resource Person, 11 July, 2014)¹⁸

“When we relocated vendors to Manleuana, we teamed up with government, police and youth. We also organized and held meetings with vendors in the market, talked to them and community members in the market about reconciliation and forgiveness” (A village chief: Local Resource Person, 07 July, 2014)¹⁹

“During the inauguration of Manleuana market, government, community leaders and representatives of martial art groups came to talk with us, vendors in this market and people around this place to stay peacefully, accept each other. Some cultural attractions and a musical band were also organized to entertain us. Last May, there was also a musical band performed here by some youths to commemorate the independence-day (male vendor, Manleuana, 02 July, 2014)²⁰

On the other hand, an academic, one of the local resource persons said that a local marketplace, regardless of who builds it, can function as a non-formal education arena as well

¹⁷ “Merkadu lokal bele mos sai hanesan fatin ba membru komunidadade local sira hudi truka ideas no experiensia konaba problema ekonomia no social iha sira nia knua laran. Por ezemplu, sir abele koalia kona ba problema be mos ka sanitasaun iha sira nia vila laran. Ha’u mos deve enkuando kolia ho ema balu iha merkadu nee wainhira Ha’u mai hola modo tahan”

¹⁸ Iha nebe nebe no horenebe deit, merkade sempre nakfilak ba enkontru publiku. Ema balu ba merkadu laos atu sosa sasan deit mas iha neba sira bele hetan malu ho sira nia maluk no ema seluk”

¹⁹ “Wainhira ami muda ita nia vendedores sira ba Manleuana ami sempre servisu hamutuk ho governu, polisia no joventude sira. Ami marka enkontru ho vendedores sira iha merkadu Manleu, kulia ho sira nomos komunidadade sira hela iha neba konaba simu malu no perdua malu”

²⁰ “Durante inagurasaun ba merkadu Manleuana, governu, chefe suco no joventude sira representate husi arte marsiais mai kulia ho ami vendedores sira no komunida iha nee atu moris hakmatek no simu malu. Iha mos dansa kulturais no mini band durante inagurasaun hodi halo ami kontente. Iha fulan Maio liu ba mos iha joven balu mai toka iha nee”

because in the market, people or the government, Civil Society Organizations, may give public awareness campaigns, for example, they may educate vendors and buyers or visitors on how to keep the market or the environment tidy and clean, using mosquito nets, and so on. One of the government officials also said that the government plans to provide internet-free-access in the Manleuana and Taibesi markets. This will attract more people to goto and socialize at the markets. Students may also come to the market during free hours to download documents that are relevant to their studies.

“No matter who builds it, a local marketplace can also become a good place for public awareness campaigns. Civil Society Organisations or government can educate people on how to keep the market or the environment clean, including health-related issues such as how to use mosquito nets or contraceptions, etc” (an Academic: Local Resource person, 25 July, 2014)²¹

Summary of findings of the values of marketplaces

This study found that, in general, the respondents welcomed and commended the government's initiatives for establishing public marketplaces for various reasons. For example, a well-functioning government-funded local marketplace can provide jobs and can be a source of economic income for the people, particularly the lower income earners and the poor; it provides a safer transaction environment for vendors and buyers, it serves as a social, informal and educative forum and as a place for having fun. The following presents the findings on factors affecting the use of public local marketplaces in Dili, which is the main objective of this study.

²¹ “Ba ha’u se maka harii Mercado laos questaun, Mercado local bele sai hanesan fatin ida atu fo sensibilizasaun ba tantu vendedores ka compradores sira oinusa atu kria no mantein Mercado mos no diak. Sociedade Civil ka governu sir abele halo ida ne’e iha merkadu inklui informasaun saude hanesan oinusa uza moskitero ka sasan kontrasepsaun no seluk seluk tan”

6. 3 Factors affecting the use of a local marketplace

Although the market stakeholders welcomed the government's initiatives for establishing public marketplaces and commended the crucial roles that such marketplaces may play and contribute to the socio economic development process in the country, the reality in the field did not seem to go on as what was being expected. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Manleuana and Taibesi public markets were reported as being unutilized by vendors and buyers, particularly over the past four years. The second research objective meant to find out what had been going on, what had influenced vendors and buyers to not use the markets. This section describes findings on distance/location, basic facilities, non-transparent procedures, security, and attitude and custom.

6.3.1 Location of a marketplace

There have been a number of studies on marketplaces that show that the location of a market can affect its use. For example, Omiti, Otieno, Nyanamba and McCullough (2009), in their studies of market participation by small farmers in Kenya, discovered that because of the distance of a marketplace, farmers could only manage to bring a small amount of their total production to be sold in the market. Similarly, Bardhana, Sharma, & Saxena (2012) found that distance has negatively impacted many smallholder dairy farmers who wanted to access a local market in the hill area of Uttarakhand.

The data collected for this study also indicated that location of a marketplace matters. The data showed that vendors and buyers tended to go to a nearby public local marketplace rather than a distant one. For example, a female street vendor in Halelaran, when asked why she vended in

the street rather than in the government markets, said that this was so because she lived near the market. Similarly, a male vendor in Taibesi public market explained that he did not go to sell in either Halelaran or Comoro street market, because the two markets were distant from his house. Likewise, a female buyer being interviewed in Comoro street market said that she would rather go to a marketplace that is close, particularly when it is approaching night time. Below are their comments:

“I have been selling in this market for almost one year. Despite not many people came to this market, I prefer selling here because I live nearby this market, I can come and leave the market at any time to feed my pig and chicken”(Female Vendor, Manleuana, 01 July, 2014)²²

“I am selling here because I live near this market. I cannot go to Halelaran or Comoro because I don't have enough money to pay for the transport fee” (Male Vendor, Taibesi, 03 July, 2014)²³

“I think it is normal for a woman to go to a closeby market instead of a far one, particularly at night (Female Buyer, Comoro, 06 July, 2014)²⁴

The data from the field observations conducted in late June and early July, 2014 also showed that most vendors and buyers went to the street markets compared to the government-established markets. Consequently, the amount of produce sold by vendors in Halelaran and Comoro street markets was obviously higher than those in Manleuana and Taibesi public markets. As Table 4 shows, during the busiest days, such as Saturdays, vendors in the street

²²“Ha’u fa’an iha ne’e besik tinan ida ona. Maske ema ladun barak mai hola sasan, Ha’u sente diak tamba Ha’u hela besik iha ne’e. Ha’u bele mai no fila tuir Ha’u nia hakarak hodi ba hare’e no fo han fahi no manu iha uma”

²³ “Ha’u fa’an iha ne’e tamba besik. Ha’u labele ba fa’an iha Halelaran ka Comoro tamba Ha’u osan laiha atu selu transporte ba-mai”

²⁴“Ha’u sente normal wainhira feto sira hakarak ba hola sasan deit iha merkadu local sira nebe besik duke sira nebe do’ok liuliu wainhira kuandu loro kraik ka kalan”

markets could make a maximum gross income of US\$ 20 for local products and US\$ 50 for second hand apparels. On the contrary, vendors in the government-established markets could only make a maximum gross income of US\$ 10 for local products and US\$ 20 for second-hand apparels.

Table 4 Daily average incomes of vendors in Taibesi, Manleuana, Halelaran, and Comoro markets

Merchandise	Government-established marketplaces		Street markets	
Average income from Local products in US\$	Manleuana	Taibesi	Halelaran	Comoro
	Tuesdays.: < 5	Tuesdays.:< 5	Tuesdays.:< 10	Tuesdays: < 10
	Saturdays: < 10	Saturdays: < 10	Saturdays: > 20	Saturdays: > 20
	Sundays: < 5	Sundays: < 5	Sundays: < 15	Sundays: < 15
Average income from Second-hand apparel (in US\$)	average	average	Average	Average
	Tuesdays: < 10	Tuesdays: < 10	Tuesdays: <20	Tuesdays: < 20
	Saturdays: <20	Saturdays: <20	Saturdays: <50	Saturdays: < 50
	Sundays: <5	Sundays: <5	Sundays: .<15	Sundays:< 15

The data in the table is depicted from the interviews with vendors. Source: Herdade dos Santos, July,

2014

It was noted during the field observations (dated 28 June, 2014 and 05 July, 2014) that Saturdays were the busiest market days. During these days, many Dili-based retailers who often went to nearby districts to buy local products, returned Farmers from villages in the hilly areas around Dili, as well as some from other districts such as Aileu, Ermera and Liquica, came down to Dili bringing along with them fresh local products. More buyers went to the markets during these days to buy these fresh local products. Second-hand apparel vendors could benefit from these as the farmers, before returned to their districts, bought some clothes either for themselves, or for their children.

On Sundays, the two street markets were also rather busy because of the churchgoers (field observation, 29 June, 2014 and 06 July, 2014). Halelaran market is near the Balidi Catholic Church, and Comoro market is very close to the Aimutin Catholic Church. Many churchgoers were seen passing by and walked into the markets after the mass. This situation corresponds with some arguments presented in the literature (see Chapter 2) that a successful local marketplace is the one that is located near to places where people normally congregate, for example, courts, military camps or religious places. For example, based on a study on natural markets in Ahmedabad, India, it was found that natural markets which attract many customers, are the ones whose locations are near historical monuments, places of worships, hospitals and public places. These places are considered places where many people congregate (Bhowmic as cited in Mehta and Gohil, 2013, p. 279).

The data also indicated that many of the street vendors interviewed used to sell in Manleuana and Taibesi public markets but had abandoned the markets because they often experienced a

significant decrease of income, their vegetables and fruits become rotten and spoilt because only a few people came to the markets. Below are two quotes from two vendors:

“Brother, I don’t sell in the Taibesi and Manleuana markets because they are located far from town and the population centre. Many of us used to sell in Manleuana market but we abandoned the market because only very few buyers come to the market, only those people who live near the market came to the market. We often experienced bad times: our produces were not sold, got damaged and rotten. In here (Comoro market), I can make up to US\$ 30, especially on Saturdays while in the Manleuana market, the maximum that I can make was only below US\$ 10. Sometimes, nothing at all” (Male Vendor, Comoro, 04 July, 2014)²⁵

“At the beginning when, Taibesi market was built by the previous government, I went to sell there for almost two months. But I then left the market as less people came to the market. I think Taibesi market is a bit cut off from the town that’s why people rarely go to the market” (Female Vendor, Halelaran, 01 July, 2014)²⁶

As Taibesi and Manleuana public markets are more distant from the centre of town and remote from places where people mostly live, not many public transport passenger vehicles can access the two markets. As shown in Table 5, public transport (*mikrolits*) is not easily seen in the two government-funded markets. In Manleuana, for example, it took almost a period of one hour to see a *mikrolet* come to the market in the morning during normal days. Furthermore, on the busiest days and hours such as Saturday mornings, only two mikrolits were seen coming to the market. One of the mikrolits observed in the market even had less than five passengers in it (a

²⁵“Maun, Ha’u la fa’an iha Taibesi ka Manleuana tamba merkadu rua ne’e do’ok husi cidade no sentru populasaun. Uluk ami barak ba fa’an iha merkadu Manleuana maibe ami halai fila mai iha ne’e tamba ema (hola na’in) oituan deit mak ba visita merkadu Manleuana. So sira nebe hela besik iha neba mak ba hola sasan iha neba. Transporte publiku hanesan mikrolet jaran ba iha neba. Uluk pernah ami nia sasan ema lahola, tamba ne’e sasan a’at no estraga deit. Iha ne’e (Mercado Comoro), Ha’u bele hetan to’o US\$ 30 loron ida. Maibe uluk iha Manleuana, a’as liu nebe Ha’u bele hetan maka US\$ 10 loron ida, deves enkuandu lae liu”

²⁶“Iha fofoun wainhira merkadu Taibesi harii husi Ministerio ida uluk, Ha’u ba fa’an iha neba parese besik fulan rua nia laran. Mas depois Ha’u mai fali iha ne’e tamba ema oituan deit maka iha neba. Ha’u hanoin merkadu Taibesi tama liu ba laran, dook husi sidade tamba ne’e maka ema jarang ba”

mikrolet can take up to 10 passengers). A similar situation was seen in Taibesi market as well; no more than two mikrolits passed by the market. In fact, one of the government officials interviewed said that access of public transport to Taibesi market and other markets can be a problem for vendors and buyers not to come to the markets:

“I agree if the vendors said that there were limited buyers buying their merchandizes in Taibesi market maybe because of limited access by public transport. But we are now working together with relevant Ministries such as Ministry of Public Transport to mobilize or direct public transport to pass by the market. In the future, the government is planning to have an integrated market meaning that a local market is fully equipped with water, toilet and electricity as well as a terminal built near the market” (Government Official, 08 July, 2014)²⁷

In Dili, and other places in Timor-Leste, public transport such as taxis, *ojeks* (motor bikes that can take passengers), and *mikrolits* are owned by private individuals. *Mikrolits* are the cheapest forms of public transport. A passenger, in general, only pays between US\$ 0.25 cents to US\$ 0.50 cents for one way trip. Normally, a *mikrolet* takes between 10 to 15 minutes to reach either Taibesi or Manleuana markets from the town centre. This does not include the number of stops made to pick passengers in the street, and traffic congestions. Going by a taxi to Taibesi or Manleuana market can cost between US\$ 3 to US\$ 5 for a one way trip. The cost will increase if a passenger has other things to bring along. Most of the privately owned public transport often chooses to go by roads passing through town, population or commercial centres, as for drivers it is in these areas that they can easily get passengers. Most public and private schools are also

²⁷“Ha’u simu se vendedores sira dehan katak ladun iha transporte publiku asesu merkadu Taibesi. Maibe agora dadaun governu halo ona esforsu atu halo termininal ida merkadu Taibesi hodi nune’e bele atria vendedores no hola na’in siira bele halo sira nia atividades komersio iha merkado Taibesi”

located in the town. As one of the buyers said when asked what the government should do to make a government-funded local marketplace work effectively:

“As a good citizen, we have to obey the law. I agree if the government relocates all street vendors to either Manleuana or Taibesi. The government, nonetheless, must ensure that more mikrolits are going to the markets. At the moment, most mikrolet drivers just want to pass by town and places where there are many people. If it remains like this, then poor people like us, will suffer because we cannot buy things from Manleuana or Taibesi as no public transport” (Female Buyer, Halelaran, 05 July, 2014)²⁸

Similarly, one female buyer in Comoro explained that she does not want to spend much of her time only to buy a pile of cereal foods or bunch of vegetables because she has to wait long to get a public transport.

“Going to which market to buy my daily needs depends upon what I need to buy. But I prefer Halelaran or Comoro street markets to Taibesi and Manleuna public markets, because in the first two, I can easily get any public transport to and from the markets. Not like the Taibesi and Manleuana, where I have to wait for a long time to get onto a public transport. Also, since there are not many vendors selling in Taibesi and Manleuana public markets, you may not find what you need” (Female Buyer, Comoro, 06 July, 2014)²⁹

²⁸ “Hanesan sidadaun diak ida, ita tenke halo tuir lei. Tamba ne’e, Ha’u simu se governu hakarak muda vendedores sira iha dalan ninin ba iha Manleuana ka Taibesi. Maske nune’e, governu tenke manda mikrolet sira liu husi Taibesi ka Manleuana. Labele hanesan agora, chufer mikrolet sira hakarak liu deit cidade laran tamba ema barak. Se Hanesan sidadaun diak ida, ita tenke halo tuir lei. Tamba ne’e, Ha’u simu se governu hakarak muda vendedores sira iha dalan ninin ba iha Manleuana ka Taibesi. Maske nune’e, governu tenke manda mikrolet sira liu husi Taibesi ka Manleuana. Labele hanesan agora, chufer mikrolet sira hakarak liu deit cidade laran tamba ema barak. Se hanesan ne’e entaun, ami ki’ik maka sofre tamba se kareta laiha entaun ami labele ba hola sasan iha merkadu rua ne’e”

²⁹ “Atu ba hola sasan iha merkadu nebe depende ba sasan saida mak Ha’u hakarak hola. Maske nune, Ha’u perfere liu ba merkadu Halelaran ka Comoro duke Taibesi ka Manleuna, iha Halelaran ka Comoro, Ha’u bele hetan asesu ba transporte publiku saida deit iha qualker tempo. Ida ne’e lahanesan ho Taibesi ka Manleuana nebe ita tenke hein kleur maka foin hetan transporte publiku. Nomos iha Halelaran ka Comoro, Ha’u bele hetan sasan oioin tamba vendedores barak fa’an iha neba”

Table 5 Number of mikrolits passed by or accessed the government-established marketplaces and street markets observed during normal and busiest days and hours

Government-established marketplaces (GEM)						
		No. of passengers public transport passed by the market (mikrolet)	Time of observations	Date	Day	Observation conducted by:
GEM	Taibesi	2	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	24 June 2014	Tuesday	Research Assistant
		1	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	24 June 2014	Tuesday	Me
	Manleuana	1	6:30- 7:30 a.m.	24 June 2014	Tuesday	Me
		0	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	24 June 2014	Tuesday	Research Assistant
GEM	Taibesi	2	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	28 June 2014	Saturday	Research Assistant
		2	5: 30 – 6:30 p.m.	28 June 2014	Saturday	Me
	Manleuana	2	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	28 June 2014	Saturday	Me
		1	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	28 June 2014	Saturday	Research Assistant

GEM	Taibesi	2	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	29 June 2014	Sunday	Research Assistant
		1	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	29 June 2014	Sunday	Me
	Manleuana	1	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	29 June 2014	Sunday	Me
		0	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	29 June 2014	Sunday	Research Assistant
Street markets						
Street Markets	Halelaran	5	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	1 July 2014	Tuesday	Research Assistant
		4	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	1 July 2014	Tuesday	Me
	Comoro	5	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	1 July 2014	Tuesday	Me
		4	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	1 July 2014	Tuesday	Research Assistant
Street Markets	Halelaran	More than 5	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	5 July 2014	Saturday	Me
		More than 5	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	5 July 2014	Saturday	Research Assistant

	Comoro	More than 5	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	5 July 2014	Saturday	Research Assistant
		More than 5	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	5 July 2014	Saturday	Me
Street Markets	Halelaran	4	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	6 July 2014	Sunday	Me
		4	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	6 July 2014	Sunday	Research Assistant
	Comoro	5	6:30 – 7:30 a.m.	6 July 2014	Sunday	Research Assistant
		4	5:30 – 6:30 p.m.	6 July 2014	Sunday	Me

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July 2014



Picture 8 A mikrolet came to Manleuana market on one Saturday afternoon

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014

The data showed that a local market which locates near the town and population centre has more comparative advantage than a market which is located relatively far from people. For some vendors, selling in a market that is close to his or her house may give him or her additional chances to take care of his or her family members, or feeding the livestock. On the other hand, for some buyers, a nearby marketplace helps them in time efficiency. A strategic local marketplace may also provide and attract easy access, for example, by public transport. As the data indicated, most vendors and buyers as well as public transport tended to go to Halelaran and Comoro street markets rather than Manleuana and Taibesi public

markets, because the street markets were considered better places and more strategic for vendors and buyers to meet.

6.3.2 Basic facilities

In relation to basic facilities in the markets, lack of running water and functioning toilet and electricity was cited as one of the most important issues that had discouraged people, particularly women to sell in Taibesi and Manleuana public markets.

“I am selling here because the government is still rehabilitating the Taibesi market. It was in poor condition before because there was no water, electricity and most of the vending stalls have been out of order” (Female Vendor, Halelaran, 01 July, 2014)³⁰

“Manleuana market is very good because it has a large area and good building but no water in the toilet and bathrooms. It is not good for a woman like me to go to a toilet without water in it. Here (Comoro market), there is no toilet too but because my house is near, I can visit it whenever I feel like going to toilet” (Female Vendor, Comoro, 04 July, 2014)³¹

“In order for a local market to attract vendors and buyers, the government needs to equip the market with good facilities. For example, the market should have good sanitation and management. Without basic facilities like water, toilet and electricity, vendors and buyers, particularly women, will not become interested in accessing the market. In the past, I sometimes passed by the Taibesi and Manleuana markets and I could see that the condition of the markets, especially the Taibesi was so bad” (Academic, local resource person, 25 July, 2014)³²

³⁰ “Ha’u sei fa’an iha ne’e tamba governu sei hadia hela merkadu Taibesi. Merkadu Taibesi uluk kondisaun ladiak, be’, eletrisidade no fa’an fatin a’at hotu”

³¹ “Merkadu Manleuana diak tebes tamba fatin boot no luan maibe laiha be iha sentina no haris fatin laran. Hanesan feto, ne’e ladiak ba Ha’u kuandu Hau’u sente ba sentina. Iha ne’e (Comoro), sentina laiha, mas tamba Ha’u hela besik, Ha’u bele ba lalais”

³² “Atu atrai ema, governu tenke kria facilidades nebe diak. Por ezemplu, merkadu sira tenke iha saneamentu no jestaun nebe diak. Kuandu be, sentina no ahi lain, vendedores no kompradores liuliu feto sei laiha interese ba merkadu. Ha’u deve enkuando liu husi merkadu Taibesi no Manleuana no Ha’u hare katak kondisoens iha neba, liu-liu Taibesi a’at los”

“Government does not have a good plan for establishing basic economic infrastructure such as local markets either in rural or urban areas. I say this because often we see government-funded local markets built in areas which are not strategic and lack facilities that can attract the population, vendors and buyers to access the markets” (Academic, 11 July, 2014)³³

Indeed, in my preliminary field observations conducted in December, 2013, it had been noted that Taibesi market was in poorer condition compared to Manleuana market. It was hardly distinguishing the exact structure of the market and facilities in it. Most of its building structure was damaged; there was no running water and electricity and functioning toilets. Nearly all local product vending stalls, kiosks and second-hand apparel stalls had been closed and left unattended. Some vending stalls were even utilized as public toilets at night (see pictures 3-6). There were only few vendors running small kiosks, selling local products and second-hand apparel near the marketbuilding.

As indicated by the data, poor conditions or lack of proper maintenance of basic facilities such as water, electricity and toilets in a marketplace can discourage vendors and buyers to utilize a marketplace. Many of the respondents, particularly female vendors have explained that they did not sell in the two government-funded marketplaces, Manleuana and Taibesi markets, because the markets had previously lacked these facilities. Manleuna market, although it had a good building, the water pipe did not work and there was no running water in it. Nevertheless, it was

³³“Governu laiha planu nebe diak atu harii infraestrutura ekonomia basiku hanesan merkadu local sira tantu iha areas rurais ka urbanas. Ha’u hateten hanesan ne’e tamba dala barak ita hare’e merkadu sira nebe governu hariinee ladun strategiku no laiha facilidades nebe diak hodi atria populasaun, vendedores no compradores sira hodu ba uza merkadu ne’e”

noted during the fieldwork that the conditions of the two markets had been upgraded. The next section presents the finding on the procedures for accessing vending stalls in the markets.

6.3.3 Non-transparent procedures for occupying vending stalls

The findings of this research demonstrate that there has been dissatisfaction and concern by some vendors over the process for accessing a vending stall in government-established marketplaces. For example, in Manleuana market, especially during the early period (for example, April, 2012) when vendors were asked to reserve vending stalls in the market. A male vendor described that the process was not transparent because not all vendors had been told the same information. He explained that in order to get a vending stall in Manleuana market, vendors were asked to get a raffle coupon prepared by the government. The raffle coupons, which had been made available in two sizes, big and small, were rolled and put in a box. Vendors were then asked to get a raffle ticket randomly from the box. As a result, some vendors got small raffle tickets while others got the large-sized ones. Following this, vendors were told that those vendors who got small-sized raffle tickets would occupy normal vending stalls (for example, local products), while those with big-sized ones will occupy kiosks. The vendor claimed that some vendors only picked the big-sized raffle tickets because they had been told by their friends or relatives who work for the government.

Consequently, some vendors who were supposed to use kiosks, because they ran kiosks before, only got vending stalls for local products instead. Conversely, vendors who were supposed to utilize local products vending stalls got kiosks. This male vendor said that many of

his friends were unhappy because of the non-transparent process and corrupt officials. Below are quotes from him and another vendor in Comoro market.

“I have been selling here since May, 2012. In order to secure a vending stall in this market, we were asked to get a raffle ticket prepared by the government (the outgoing government). At that time, many of us wanted to come but because the process to secure a vending stall here in Manleuana was not transparent and fair, many vendors changed their decisions. Some became frustrated because they did not get a vending stall (kiosks) that they wanted. Hence, they did not come to sell in this market; some government officials disclosed information to some vendors to select the best vending stalls” (Male Vendor, Manleuana, 02 July, 2014)³⁴

“I want to vend in Manleu market but who can guarantee to us that we would have equal opportunity and fair treatment in obtaining or securing a vending stall in the market? Some vendors, because they have their relatives working in the government, they have better chance of securing good and strategic vending stalls, for example, kiosks. I'd better sell here in this market, until the government relocates us”(Male Vendor, Comoro, 04 July, 2014)³⁵

It was noted during the field observations that kiosks had more relative advantages than local product vending stalls in terms of space and facilities. A kiosk is a relatively larger enclosed stall and in it there is a refrigerator and good glass-made cabinet which the occupant can put his or her merchandise or produce. Pictures 9 and 10 below show the difference between a kiosk and a normal local product vending stall in terms of structure and size.

³⁴ “Ha’u fa’an iha ne’e desde Maio, 2012. Atu hetan fatin iha ne’e, governu (anterior) haruka ami dada rifa. Momentu neba, ema barak hakarak mai fa’an iha ne’e maibe prosesu atu hetan fatin iha ne’e mak tuir kolega balu ladun justu no transparente, tamba ne’e sira lakohi mai. Balu parese frustradu tamba sira lahetan fatin (kios) nebe sira hakarak entaun sira lakohi mai; ema balu husi governu fo bocor informasi ba vendedores balu hodi hili fatin nebe fa’an nebe diak”

³⁵ “Ha’u hakarak ba fa’an iha Manleuana maibe se mak atu fo garante katak ami vendedores sira sei hetan oportunidade nebe hanesan no justu atu hetan fatin iha neba. Ema balu, tamba sira iha familia iha governmu, entaun sira hetan kesempatan diak liu hodi hetan fatin nebe diak, hanesan kios. Ha’u diak liu fa’an deit iha ne’e to’o governu mai muda ami”



Picture 9 Panorama of kiosks in Manleuana market - not occupied

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014



Picture 10 Local product vending stalls in Manleuana market

Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014

In relation to the above issues of non-transparency, a female vendor in Comoro said that some vendors paid some money to some government officials to get information on how to reserve a special vending stall in Manleuana market.

“A friend of mine who is now occupying one kiosk in Manleuana market pays “money-for-cigarette” to some government staff in order to have information on what is the best way to access a kiosk in the market” (Female Vendor, Comoro, 04 July, 2014)³⁶

³⁶ “Ha’u nia kolega ida nebe agora okupa hela kios iha Manleuana fo osan sigaru ba membru governu balu hodi hetan informasaun konaba cara terbaik atu hetan kios”

Furthermore, a male vendor in Halelaran market explained that the government should be wise in managing the distribution of vending stalls. Otherwise, it may provoke conflict among vendors; vendors might get into fights if some vendors have better vending stalls while others do not.

“We don’t want to fight each other to secure a vending stall in any government markets. I will refuse to go to Taibesi market if I have to fight against one of my fellow vendors in this market just to secure a vending stall in Taibesi market. If the government wants to relocate us, they should come and talk to us in a transparent way on how we will get vending stalls; the government should not leave it to us to decide, they should not create another problem for us. We just came out from the 2006 crisis; we don’t want to fight again” (Male Vendor, Halelaran, 01 July, 2014)³⁷

As indicated in the data, corrupt officials and unclear procedures for assigning vending stalls in government-established marketplaces can discourage and confuse vendors to utilize the marketplace. Vendors need transparent processes and professional officials. The data demonstrated that some vendors did not sell in Manleuana markets as they did not like the process for getting access to vending stalls in the market. I was trying to confirm this irregularity with one of the government officials but he said he was a newly appointed official so he was afraid of making comments on the issue. The next section presents another finding in terms of security and safety in marketplaces.

6.3.4 Security and safety in a marketplace

³⁷“Ami lakohi tan atu baku malu ka haksasuk malu tamba deit hakarak hadau malu fatin fa’an nebe diak liu iha merkadu Taibesi. Ha’u sei laba merkadu Taibesi sekarik Ha’u tenke ba hadau malu ho kolega sira hodi hetan fatin nebe diak. Quandu governu hakarak muda ami, sira tenke mai koalia ho ami, esplika ho lolos no transparensia oinusa ami sei okupa fatin iha merkadu Taibesi. Governu labele kria tan problem baa mi. Ita foin sai husi krize bo’ot ida iha 2006, tamba ne’e ami lakohi baku malu tan ona”

The security condition of a marketplace can also affect its use. According to Storr (2009), “markets and peace are positively correlated” (p.290). A transaction in a marketplace is only possible if people (either vendors or buyers) feel safe and secure while doing the transaction. Vendors and buyers must feel free from crimes, fighting, sexual harassment, racial conflicts and extortion. The data revealed that ethnic conflicts that happened in some marketplaces in Dili have negatively affected the existence of the markets. As one of the buyers interviewed said:

‘I think the 2006 and 2007 conflicts that have just ended completely in the early 2011 have also caused people not to use either Taibesi or Manleuana market. The two markets were considered unsafe because they are located in areas where many sporadic fighting between martial art organizations or ethnic groups at that time often happened. This was compounded by the absence of police stations in the two markets. We are lucky that people now seems more friendly and united” (Male Buyer, Halelaran, 05 July, 2014)³⁸

Similarly, one vendor in Halelaran market confessed that she was once extorted by an unknown group of people to pay them some money if she wanted her local products and herself safe.

“I happened to have a bad experience when I was still selling in Taibesi market, especially in early 2010. At that time I had to pay some money to a group of young people to protect my local products and myself safe. Those young people even sometimes physically harassed me. The government must provide good security in Taibesi market to prevent this extortion in the future if they want to relocate us” (Female Vendor, halelaran, 01 July, 2014)³⁹

³⁸“Ha’u hanoin konflitu 2006 no 2007 nebe foin maka hotu lolos iha inisiu 2011 bele kauza mos ema atu laba uza merkadu Taibesi ho Manleuana. Merkadu rua ne’e tama iha fatin nebe ema konsidera ladun seguru iha tempu neba tamba ema tuda no serang malu bebeik entre arti marsiais no grupu etniku sira. Iha neba mos, momentu neba, polisi laiha. Ita agora sorte ona tamba populasaun komesa hare malu diak no unidade”

³⁹ “Ha’u pernah iha pengalaman nebe ladun diak wainhira Ha’u sei fa’an iha Taibesi, espesialmente iha inisiu 2010. Iha momentu neba, I tenke selu osan balu ba labarik jovens balu hodi proje hau nia an’ nomos sasan sira. Labarik sira ne’e dala ruma haku’ak ha’u. Governu tenke halo seguransa diak iha merkadu Taibesi para ema labele halo kobransa illegal wainhira governu muda ona ami ba neba”

In relation to security and safety concerns, one of the village chiefs explained that some vendors in Manleuana market left the market and went back to street markets because the vendors were afraid of being attacked by the family and friends of the land owner whose land had been used to build the market. In his answer to the question on the initial planning process for building Manleuana market, he said:

“.....I heard there were conflicts between the land owners with contractor companies or land owners with vendors occupying the market after the works were completed. Land owners demanded for a fair and just compensation. I heard that sometimes land owners and some people threatened vendors and the company. Because of these unresolved issues and conflicts, some vendors had abandoned the market because they were afraid of being attacked. But now everything is okay” (A village chief, 07 July, 2014)⁴⁰

It was noted during the field observations, nevertheless, that compared to 2009 and 2010, the security in both Manleuana and Taibesi markets has improved significantly. Even, the government has also contracted a private company to look after all merchandise in the markets, particularly at night after the authorized transaction hours end. According to one government official, the transaction hours are, for the time, being, between 5.00am and 11.00pm. Vendors are not permitted to stay overnight in both markets (Government official, 08 July, 2014).

The data mentioned above suggests that a marketplace which is not safe and secure can potentially push away vendors and buyers to do a transaction in other marketplaces. As indicated, issues such as fighting between young people, gangsters and ethnic groups, unresolved land tenure issues, sexual harassments, and extortions by unknown groups, have

⁴⁰ “Ha’u rona katak iha problema entre rai nain ho kompanhia nebe halo merkadu no vendedores balu nebe fa’an iha neba iha fofoun. Rai na’in dehan sira seidauk hetan pagamentu kompensasaun nebe justu hosi governu. Ha’u rona katak devees enquandu rai na’in ho ema balu ameasa atu ataka vendedores sira nebe hakarak fa’an iha neba. Tamba ne’e maka vendedors balu lakohi ba iha neba. Maibe agora buat hotu los ona”

been cited as factors that had discouraged vendors or buyers to utilize Manleuana and Taibesi markets. Manleuana and Taibesi suburbs were, at that time, considered by some vendors as unsafe and insecure zones due to sporadic fightings between members of some local martial art organizations in the subarbs. The two suburbs were also seen as mostly dominated or populated by ethnic groups from the western part of East Timor. This presumption made vendors and buyers, especially those who were from the eastern ethnic groups afraid to go to Manleuana and Taibesi markets. On the other hand, vendors and buyers who were from western ethnicities were also afraid of going to Comoro market because Comoro market was seen as mostly dominated by the eastern ethnic groups. There were also issues on how vendors interact with buyers in a market that were thought of as another factor affecting the use of a public market. The next section is about issues on attitudes in attending to customers.

6.3.5 Attitudes in a marketplace

According to some of the respondents, attitude, professionalism and custom can also affect a local marketplace. As two of them were saying below:

“Vendors do not go to Manleuana and Taibesi markets because they are naughty and stubborn. Sometimes vendors said that Taibesi and Manleuana markets do not have good facilities but can they show and prove to me if they have good facilities when they are vending in the street? No, I do not think they have these facilities. I think they are just stubborn but they should change their stubborn attitudes” (Govrnment Official, 08 July, 2014)⁴¹

“Our vendors do not go to Manleuana and Taibesi market because of wait-and-see attitude, they look to the others, if some vendors still sell in the street the others will also

⁴¹ Vendedores sira lakohi ba faan iha merkadu Manleuana no Taibesi tamba sira ulun to'os. Sira balun dehan iha Taibesi no Manleuana, laiha fasilidades nebe diak. Maibe ha'u hakarak husu ba sira atu prova karik sira iha fasilidades nebe diak quandu sira fa'an iha dalan? La'e, Ha'u hanoin sira laiha fasilidades. Ha'u hanoin sira tenke muda sira nia attitude”

do so. They only go to the market if everybody does so. Vendors must change these behaviors. They have to have a conscience to utilize the official markets prepared by the government, now that we have become an independent country, everybody must obey the rule” (A village chief, 08 July, 2014)⁴²

These respondents explained that in order for a marketplace to function effectively, there must be good interaction between vendors and buyers. For example, vendors must learn to change their attitude and behaviors while doing transactions in a marketplace. Vendors must not cough or spit or eat betel nuts when attending a customer. They must serve a customer politely and professionally. Customers should be highly respected and treated well as it is the buyers who will bring the vendors some financial income. A potential customer may choose to go to a marketplace whose vendors are polite and professional rather than to a marketplace where its vendors are rude and impolite. Below is a quote from one of the stakeholders:

“Another issue why buyers do not go to a certain marketplace may be due to vendors that are not professional and polite. Vendors must change the way they do transactions. For example, they must not spit or cough near their merchandise or eat betel nuts while selling in the market. A buyer may not like this hence, will not buy their produces or going to another place” (Government Official, 08 July, 2014)⁴³

Similarly, a female vendor interviewed in Manleuana market said that vendors should keep themselves tidy and clean. They should have a big smile to attract customers. She explained

⁴² “Ita nia vendedores sira lakohi ba fa’an iha merkadu Manleuana ka Taibesi tamba sira hare’e malu, kuandu sei iha balun fa’an iha dalan ibun entaun seluk mos hakarak fa’an iha dalan ibun. Sira so bele muda kuandu hotuhotu muda. Vendedores sira tenke muda sira nia hahalok, sira tenke iha konsiensia atu uza ona merkado ofisial nebe governu prepara tamba agora ita ukun an ona, hotuhotu tenke tuir regulamentu”

⁴³ “Problema seluk nebe kauza kompradores sira la ba iha merkadu ruma parese tamba vendedores sira iha merkadu refere ladun professional atu atende ema hodiak. Vendedoresn sira tenke muda sira nia hahalok wainhira sira hakarak halo transaksaun iha merkadu. Por ezemplu, sira labele so’e kaben ka mear makas ka mama malus besik sira nia sasan. Kompradores balu lagosta no lahola sira nia sasan, kompradores balun hili ba hola iha fatin seluk deit”

that sometimes instead of going to Manleuana, she went to buy chicken from some Indonesian vendors in Kampung Alor market because the vendors there were polite and hospitable.

“Now that we have become an independent country, we should change our behaviours and attitude while doing commercial activities. Many of our friends who are selling vegetables or running a restaurant in a market often are disappointed. They do not keep themselves clean and tidy. Some do not even smile. They have to change this to attract people. Look at the Indonesian and Chinese vendors, they always smile and they keep their merchandise and trading posts tidy and clean” (Female Buyer, Manleuana, 09 July, 2014)⁴⁴

During the field observations, it was noted that the government has put a number of stickers and banners in Tetum language and Bahasa Indonesia advocating or asking vendors to be nice and professional to attract buyers.

⁴⁴ “Tamba agora ita independente ona, ita tenke muda ita nia hahalok wainhira hala’o atividades komersio. Ita nia maluk barak nebe fa’an modo tahan ka loke restaurant iha merkadu balun halo ita lakontente. Sira ladun aruma sira nia sasan ho sira nia an hodiak, balun oin to’os hela deit. Sira tenke muda hodi nune’e bele dada ema. Hare’ tok javanes no chineza sira, sira sempre hamnasa no mos”



Picture 11 Logo put by the government in Taibesi market asking vendors to be nice and professional when attending to buyers

My translation: "buyers are kings". Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014



Picture 12 Logo put by the government in Taibesi market asking vendors to be nice and professional when attending to buyers

My translation: “Quality of Goods (merchandizes) +Cheaper+Respect Customers = Better and More Financial Returns. Source: Herdade dos Santos, July, 2014

Another stakeholder explained that the custom or habit of doing transactions may also influence the effectiveness of a local market. According to this stakeholder, Timorese people, in the past, always did transactions in the streets or under the trees. They feel more convenient in the street rather than in a fancy marketplace. Below is his comment:

“Our people are not used to doing transactions in formally established marketplaces. Our vendors and buyers have been used to doing transaction in the street or under the trees. For them, a marketplace is the street. Maybe because of this custom that they did not want to use fancy government markets” (Government Official, 17 July, 2014)⁴⁵

⁴⁵ “Ita nia populasaun sira laiha costume atu halo transaksaun iha merkadu laran. Ita nia vendedores no kompradores sira iha deit kultura ida nebe hakarak fa’an iha dalan ninin ka iha aihun okos. Ba sira, merkadu maka Estrada ninin. Parese tamba ne’e maka sira lagosta uza merkadu modern nebe governu hari’i”

This stakeholder explained that because of the custom or habit of selling in the street rather than in established marketplaces with modern equipment, some vendors or buyers might feel hesitant to go to Taibesi or Manleuana markets.

From the data and slogans, we can argue that issues of attitudes and professionalism in a public local marketplace may need consideration by vendors.

Summary of findings of factors affecting the use of public local markets

Based on both the semi-structured interviews and field observations data demonstrated above, the study has revealed five factors that can potentially influence the effectiveness of a local marketplace. As indicated by the data, the two government-established marketplaces, Manleuana and Taibesi, did not function optimally, particularly over the past four years, because the markets had been considered not strategically located, lacked basic facilities, were not secure and there were corrupt officials, particularly when assigning vending stalls to vendors. Some of the respondents mentioned that vendors' attitude and unprofessionalism may also affect the ineffectiveness of a public market. As argued by the government officials, the village chief and the female buyer above, vendors did not sell in Manleuana and Taibesi markets because either they were stubborn, not used to formally established marketplaces, or lack entrepreneurship skills and knowledge, especially in promoting their produces and attracting customers. The data also revealed that exclusive planning processes of establishing public markets may also influence the use of a public market. The next section elaborates findings of research objective three on the involvement of vendors in the planning process for allocating Manleuana and Taibesi markets.

6. 4 Stakeholders' participation in the market building planning process

As indicated in Chapter 1, objective three of this research was to investigate market stakeholders' participation for establishing public markets in Dili. In this context, policy planners, vendors, and buyers were asked to describe whether, and how they got involved in the planning process for establishing Manleuana and Taibesi public markets, and whether they liked the process and why. The following describes the findings of the study relating to this research objective.

According to one of the government officials being interviewed, the process for establishing Manleuana and Taibesi public markets has gone through the normal procurement rules and systems that exist in the country. In Timor-Leste, any procurement plan, be it works / infrastructure such as marketplaces, roads, bridges and ports, or services or goods, is initiated by the government's line ministries. This means that each government ministry or department sets their own procurement plans. Depending on its nature, if the planned project proposed by a government ministry is not an emergency one, and the value of the project is equivalent to or exceeds one million US dollars, the process must go through the Major Project Secretariat (MPS) within the Ministry of Finance (MoF) to be appraised. The appraisal process includes the assessment on technical and financial feasibilities, economic and social benefit, market potential, as well as environmental impacts. Manleuana public market had gone through this process, while Taibesi public market did not, because Taibesi market had been considered an emergency project. Both markets, by nature, are different. Below is his statement:

“The building or allocation of marketplaces in the country, including in Dili has gone through a long procurement planning process which included the preparation of the Bill of

Quantities (BoQ). The preparations also covered a viability or feasibility study that takes into consideration aspects such as social, marketing, advantages and disadvantages of the proposed marketplaces”. Not all of them, nevertheless, had gone through this process depending on the nature of the project. For example, Taibesi market had skipped some of the detailed processes as it was considered an emergency project. The process involved a number of line ministries such as MTCI, Ministry of Public Works (MPW) and ADN” (Government Official, 17 July, 2014)⁴⁶

Any infrastructure project that passes the appraisal process, or approved by the MPS, is then submitted to the National Development Agency (NDA) for a quality check and further forwarded to the National Procurement Committee (NPC) for tender processing. The building, or work execution begins after a company is selected, and a project has been awarded. As the project is being implemented, the responsibility for managing the project lies in the hand of the line ministry, or project owner in coordination with the ADN for quality control. All infrastructure works are carried out by either national, or international private companies, which qualify the procurement rules and/ or win a tender processing.

Nevertheless, the data shows that there was no participation from vendors or buyers in the planning process for establishing Manleuana and Taibesi public markets. Although the government disseminated information on the relocation plan to vendors, the government did not seem to have involved, or sought the views of vendors or buyers during the planning process for establishing the two public markets. For example, in one part, the government officials could not confirm whether vendors or buyers were involved or consulted. In the other part, vendors and buyers being interviewed described clearly that they had not been involved in the planning

⁴⁶ “Prosesu harii merkadu iha Timor tomak nebe governu halo inklui iha Dili liu husi planu provizioanamentu ida nebe naruk, inklui preparasaun BOQ. Preparasaun sira nee mos kobre studu de viabilidade nebe foti konsiderasaun aspetu sira hanesan social, marketing, vantajens no disvantajens husi merkadu nebe atu hari’i. Maske nune’e, iha mos merkadu balu nebe harii laliu husi prosesu naruk tamba kondisaun la hanesan. Por ezemplu, merkadu Taibesi halo tamba situausaun emerjensia no involve linha ministeriais balu hanesan MTCA, Obras Publico no ADN”

process, or consulted before the establishment of the markets. The officials being interviewed said the building or establishment process of the two markets had happened before they took charge of the office. As one of the government officials said:

“I do not know much about the process of building Manleuana market because I just became the Head of Department for this office in April last year. I do not know whether vendors participated in the planning process. But we created focal points for vendors in Halelaran market before relocating them to this market, Taibesi” (Government Official, 08 July, 2014)⁴⁷

Likewise, the village chiefs of Taibesi and Comoro, where the two markets had been established within their community, said that they were not well informed about the planning process of establishing Manleuana and Taibesi markets as they are newly elected village chiefs. They did not have the information as the planning for building the two markets had happened before their terms. Even when asked about any documents such as project reports and meeting minutes in relation to the two markets neither the government officials nor the two village chiefs were able to provide them. One of the village chiefs suggested that I could talk to the outgoing officials. Given the time and practicality constraints, I did not manage to interview these people. This situation has become one of the greatest challenges for this study. This situation indicates that filing system and hand-over arrangements between the outgoing and incoming officials may need to be improved.

While the above mentioned respondents were unable to state clearly whether there had been any involvement of vendors during the planning process for establishing the markets, such a

⁴⁷ “Ha’u ladun iha konhesementu nebe diak konaba prosesu harii merkadu Manleuana tamba hau foin sai Chefe ba departementu ida nee iha Abril tinan kotuk. Ha’u lahatene ke vendedores sira participa iha prosesu nee. Maibe ami kria porta voz ba merkadu Halelaran molok muda sira mai ne’e Taibesi”

situation did not happen when I talked to the vendors. While three of the vendors said they had no idea, the other five (total eight) being interviewed stated that they had not participated because they had not been informed of the plan. Vendors stated that although the information on the plan to relocate street vendors was disseminated, they had not been involved in the initial process for establishing Manleuana and Taibesi public markets. There had not even been any efforts made by the government ministries responsible for local markets to inform vendors either through media or directly asking vendors' views regarding the plan for building the two markets. As cited below, vendors lamented that their views were not sought during the planning process; the government seemed to treat vendors as passive citizens who would only accept whatever the government provided:

“I have been selling in this market for almost four years but I never see any government officials come to this market asking us to participate in the process. The government might have involved community leaders such as village chiefs but these local leaders are not vendors. The government should have asked us and consider our views also because we are vendors, we live in and from the market; we know the behaviour of a good market. For me, basic facilities in the marketplace are important but it is useless if there is no transaction takes place in it because the market is located far from population centre. We were only informed last month from the media that the government would come to relocate us to Taibesi market” (Male Vendor, Halelalan, 01 July, 2014)⁴⁸

“The government has often urged the community to participate and contribute in any development plan but I never see any government, particularly MTCI officials come to ask us to participate in the planning process for building Manleuana market. I think the government just talks but never implements. The government likes constructing companies better than us because constructors give the officials money but we do not. If

⁴⁸ “Ha’u fa’an ona iha ne’e besik tinan ha’at ona maibe Ha’u nunka hare’e ema ruma husi governu mai iha ne’e hodi husu ami atu partisipa iha prosesu harii merkadu. Governu parese inklui ka involve lideransa local sira hanesan chefe do sucos maibe ema sira ne’e la’os vendedores. Governu tenke husu ami nuda vendedores, ami hela no moris husi merkadu, ami hatene fatin nebe maka diak ba merkadu hodi dada ema. Tuir Ha’u nia hanoin, facilidades modernu iha merkadu diak maibe sei lafolin kuandu ema lauza tamba dook husi sentru populasaun. Ami so hetan deit informasaun iha fulan kotuk husi media katak governu sei muda ami ba Taibesi”

I had a chance to participate or being asked, I would say to them to rehabilitate this Comoro market rather than building a new one. Comoro market is in the population centre and most of the people have been familiar with it” (Male Vendor, Comoro, 04 July, 2014)⁴⁹

When asked whether they like such a process (they were not involved in the planning process, their views were not sought but local leaders), and what the government should have done before establishing a new marketplace, some of the vendors, as quoted below, explained that they did not like the process as the government seemed to have not respected their views.

“Manleuana and Taibesi markets might look good and beautiful but they do not belong to us, they belong to the government, it is built by the government and company, which did not involve us. So we consider ourselves as strangers. Strangers cannot go and occupy somebody’s property” (Male Vendor, Halelaran, 01 July, 2014)⁵⁰

“If you are a patient in a hospital, and if the doctor examines you, will the doctor talk to you the patient or your brother who is beside you? The government should talk to us as we are the people who will be mostly affected by the programme. I never see anybody from the government come to us in this market. They should not only talk to local leaders” (Female Vendor, Halelaran, 01 July, 2014)⁵¹

⁴⁹ “Governu dala barak husu komunidadu atu partisipa no kontribui ba kuarker planu dezenvolvimentu maibe Ha’u nunka hare’e ema ruma liuliu husi MTCA mai husu ami atu partisipa iha prosesu harii merkadu Manleuana. Ha’u hanoin governu kualia deit maibe nunka halo. Sira gosta liu maka kompanhia nebe manan tender tamba kompanhia konstrutor sira nee bele fo osan ba ofisial sira nee maibe ami labele. Karik Ha’u iha oportunitade ou se ema ruma husi governu mai hasu ami nia opiniaun, Ha’u sei dehan ba sira katak lapersija halo merkadu foun maibe hadi’ak deit ida nee, Comoro. Tamba merkadu Comoro kenhesidu ona ba ema barak”

⁵⁰ “Merkadu Manleuana no Taibesi bele kapas maibe la’os ami nian, ne’e governu ho kompanhia nian, sira mak halo, ami la involve. Tamba nee ami konsidera ami nia an hanesan ema fuik ka bainaka. Ema fuik labele ba okupa fali sasan ema nian”

⁵¹ “Kuandu ita boot moras iha hospital no dotor hakarak koko o, dotor husu ita boot hanesan pasiente ka husu ita boot nia alin ka kolega nebe akompanha o? Governu tenke mai koalia ho ami konaba merkadu tamba ami maka hetan impaktu husi programa merkadu nee. Ha’u nunka hare ema ruma husi governu mai koalia ka husu ami nia hanoin”

“We often talk about ‘transparency, transparency and transparency’ If we participate, we might learn something from our leaders. By involving us (vendors) we are being respected and recognized” (Male Vendor, Comoro, 04 July, 2-014)⁵²

The data also demonstrated that although some vendors and buyers said they had no idea or were not interested in taking part in the process, or meetings on market building planning due to time constraints, they wanted their views to be considered when the government decides to establish a public marketplace. As two respondents (one vendor and one buyer) said:

“We might not attend the meetings because we just do not have time. The meetings can be attended by local leaders but first of all, they should talk with us, our voice should be respected too” (Male Vendor, Halelaran, 01 July, 2014)⁵³

“I have no idea whether vendors and buyers must be included in the planning process: we don’t have time but I think it is good to seek their views” (Female Buyer, Halelaran, 05 July, 2014)⁵⁴

In addition, there was also a view that meetings can only be attended by vendors’ representatives such as vendor unions or local leaders who have been elected democratically.

As one buyer said below:

“I think vendors can participate through their union or syndicate. I do not believe if vendors in Halelaran or Comoro all want to participate in the planning process. We have

⁵² “Ita dala barak kulia konaba transparensia, transparensia no transparensia. Quandu ami partisipa, parese ami bele buat ruma hosi ami nia lider sira. Kuandu sira involve ami, ami sente ema respeitu no reconhese ami”

⁵³ “Parese ami labele tuir enkontru hotuhotu konaba prosesu harii merkadu nee. Enkontru sira nee bele lideransa local deit maka ba tuir maibe uluk nana’in sira tenke husu mos ami nia opinioes, sira tenke respeitu mos ami nia lian”

⁵⁴ “Ha’u lahatene se vendedores ho compradores sira tenke inklui iha prosesu planeamentu, ami laiha tempu, maske nune’e Ha’u hanoin diak mos se governu husu sira nia opiniaun”

our elected village chiefs, they should represent the vendors” (Female Buyer, Comoro, 06 July, 2014)⁵⁵

Summary of findings on vendors’ participation in market planning process

, There had been no involvement of vendors in the planning process for establishing Manleuana and Taibesi public markets. The feasibility studies that the government claimed to have followed have not sought vendors’ views and seemed to only consider the government’s internal procurement rules and systems rather than the vendors’ views. The data demonstrated that although not all vendors would be interested in attending meetings on a market establishing planning processes, they would want their views to be sought. The findings showed that vendors were not happy with the process. Hence, the lack of consultation has affected their motivation to use the government’s public markets. It was also noted that there seemed to be lack of proper treatment of archival files and documents, especially when there is a change of management or power structure within a government institution.

6. 5 Chapter conclusion

By focusing on two government-funded marketplaces, Manleuana and Taibesi, the study that took place in Dili, Timor-Leste, aimed to explore factors that affect the efficacy of the government’s public marketplaces. The study also looked at whether vendors participated or were involved in the planning process for establishing public markets. Regarding research objective one: “respondents’ views on government’s initiative for building or allocation of a marketplace, the study has found that overall the respondents welcomed and commended the

⁵⁵ “Ha’u hanoin vendedores sira bele participa liu husi sira nia sindikatu ka uniao. Ha’u lafiar ke vendedores sira iha Halelaran ka Comoro hakarak hotu participa iha prosesu planeamentu harii merkadu. Ita iha lideransa local nebe ita hili tiha ona, chefe do suco, sir abele representa vendedores sira”

government's initiatives for promoting and developing public local markets, for example, Manleuana and Taibesi markets in Dili. The study discovered that a strategic and well-functioning government-funded local market may make a significant contribution to the socioeconomic development of its users. For example, a public local marketplace may serve as a mechanism that provides jobs for lower income earners and the poor, improve economic income, secure public health and safety, and as an arena for public interaction that can promote social awareness and education and strengthen social cohesion.

In relation to research objective two: "factors that affect the use of a publiclocal marketplace", the study has revealed a number of issues that were considered to have influenced the optimum use of a public local market. The data analysis generated from the four local marketplaces demonstrated that factors such as non-strategic location of a marketplace, lack of functioning basic facilities, insecurity in a marketplace, unclear procedures and issues of corruption, as well as vendors' attitudes and professionalism, have been cited by the respondents to have influenced vendors' and buyers' decisions to use a public local marketplace. The study found that a strategic public local market is the one that is closed to population and commercial centres; the one that can be easily accessed by lower income earners and the poor. The study noted that a simple, but more strategic local marketplace has a greater comparative advantage, compared to a fancy and modern marketplace, but inaccessible to the urban poor.

Interesting to note was that there had been no tax or user fees collected by the government for using any facilities in the markets for the time being. This situation showed that taxes which have been cited in the literature as one of the factors discouraging vendors to use a government-funded local marketplace were not relevant in the context of Dili. Freeing vendors

from paying taxes, in this context, can be seen as a well intention, or means by the government to attract street vendors to leave their old trading places and to move into a government market. Nevertheless, it is crucial that relevant government authorities make it clear to vendors or buyers that there would be minimum charges incurred sometime in the future. This would help vendors to be prepared and get ready when the time to start the charges begins. This process must be governed by a law and must be continuously informed to vendors and buyers in a transparent way.

As to the last research question on the participation of vendors in the planning process, the study has noted that although vendors wanted their views to be sought out and heard, there were no mechanisms in place that they could use to channel their perceptions. It was also felt that the government tended to focus the plan for building or allocating a marketplace on its internal rules, rather than seeking and incorporating aspirations of vendors who are the main users of the markets. The data demonstrated that underestimating, or not involving main development beneficiaries in this context, vendors, in the development planning process, may lead to sabotage and refusal of a development output. The next, which is the last section of this thesis, will discuss the results of the study, provide a conclusion and recommendation.

Chapter 7: Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

7. 1 Introduction

So far, after the introductory chapter that laid out the background and justification of the thesis, this study has presented literature that described about the definitions and roles of marketplaces, some possible reasons or rationales for governments to establish public local marketplaces and why vendors and buyers use or do not use a marketplace as well as the concept of participatory development approach which was later used to analyze vendors' participation in public market planning processes in Dili. This study has also provided information on the methods used to conduct the fieldwork, which resulted in the writing of the findings as described in Chapter 6. The thesis also illustrates the context of Timor-Leste and Dili in particular, where the study took place as presented in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. This final chapter of the thesis links the key findings of the study with the literature and context. Section 7.2 of this chapter discusses key results of the study by linking them to the literature and context. After this, is section 7.3, which will provide some recommendations relevant to the context of Dili. The chapter ends with a brief concluding statement as is provided in section 7.4.

7. 2 Discussion of key results

This section summarizes the key results of the study as already described in Chapter 6 and compares them with the literature and the context in Timor-Leste in general, and in Dili in particular, where the fieldwork took place. Specifically, this section looks firstly at analyzing the government's initiative of relocating street markets to public market halls. Then factors

influencing the access of public markets are discussed and, lastly, this discussion addresses the planning process.

7.2.1 Government's initiative

This section analyzes the government's initiatives of relocating street markets, Comoro and Halelaran to public market halls, Manleuana and Taibesi. It also includes their views on the relocation. The discussion is related to research objective 1: to explore the perception of market stakeholders on the government's initiative for establishing a public local marketplace. I discuss the findings by comparing them with the literature in Chapter 2 and the context in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

For research objective 1, the study found that the government's initiative was welcomed by stakeholders as public marketplaces can serve different, but important functions. For example, public marketplaces serve as jobs, or a source of livelihood and an economic income for people, particularly lower income earners and the poor. Dili's marketplaces can also serve as means for public meetings or social interaction, as places for exchanging information, public education and promoter of social cohesion, and could become a mechanism for creating public order and hygiene.

Bitzenis and Marangos described that in a local market, "people interact with one another in pursuit of their separate economic objectives" (as cited in Feinman & Garraty, 2010, p. 170). Similarly, Guell (2010, p.17) stated that nearly all transactions in marketplaces these days are for financial and economic gain. Guell argued that regardless of the amount generated, the interaction of vendors and buyers in a local market are normally motivated by economic

purposes. Vendors want to exchange their products with buyers' money and buyers want to exchange their money with vendors' products. Both vendors and buyers want to exchange products at the best price and quality. This money-oriented and economic interaction was also found by this study in Dili during the fieldwork. Nearly all of the respondents being interviewed described that a public local market may have some economic advantages to its users and mainly vendors. Indeed, some of the vendors said that they went to sell in one of the local markets in order to get some money to buy food and pay their children's school fees.

In addition, vendors in Dili explained that a public local marketplace can be a source of job or livelihood as well. Vendors described that in a local market they could do different kind of jobs, either selling local products, or working in restaurants, as cleaners, as tailors, or even as shoe shiners. These jobs cannot be found within government's ministries or departments but they are available in local markets. Similarly, one of the government officials also described that marketplaces can become a mechanism where lower income earners, or the poor, can do various types of small work or business activities such as selling local products or operating kiosks to live their life. In this context, the finding of this study seems to go in line with the UN Women's (2010) findings in Fiji. For example, the UN Women document revealed that local marketplaces in Fiji were seen by poor women and farmers both in rural and urban areas as sources of livelihood and economic income because marketplaces had facilitated these disadvantaged people to sell or resell basic food commodities to support their family (UN Women, 2010).

The roles of public marketplaces as places for commercial activities and economic income were also observed in some marketplaces in Timor-Leste during the period of 1966 and 1975 (see

Hicks, 2012; Lazarowitz, as cited in *History of Timor*, n.d. p. 10) as discussed in Chapter 4. Lazarowitz observed that apart from barter, some market transactions in *Ossu's* weekly market (for example, tobacco) involved money. This study argues that the contemporary roles of marketplaces as jobs have continued to be important. Nevertheless, this was not unique to Dili, but similar to other places, or countries as in Fiji. Local marketplaces function as forums for social interactions. The next part describes the role of marketplaces as promoters of social interaction and cohesion and sites for information exchange.

There are many studies, as indicated in the literature, that show the roles of local marketplaces as nodes for social interactions and meetings (see Hunt, 2007; Watson and Studdert, 2006; Dewar and Watson, 1990; Meillassoux, 1962, p. 291; Bromley, 1997; Fletcher as cited in Johnson, 2013, p. 318). This means that in a local marketplace people not only interact as buyers or sellers, but are also meeting friends, relatives and having fun, for example, listening to what people say or music. Watson & Studdert's (2006) studies on "Markets as Sites for Social Interaction" in the United Kingdom showed that in the markets, people do not only sell or buy things, but meet friends, relatives and community members.

Social interactions were also important activities in marketplaces in East Timor during the occupations of the colonial powers such as Portuguese and Indonesia. For example, Lazarowitz (as cited in *History of Timor*, n.d. p. 10) observed in 1975 that in the *Mercado semanal* (weekly markets) of *Ossu* and Dili, people from different ethnicities met each other. There were Chinese, Portuguese and Timorese people of similar linguistic group or out-groups seen in the markets. There were also social entertainment activities in the markets (for example, cockfighting). During the Indonesian time, as mentioned in Chapter 4, in *Liquica* district, particularly in the

1980s, local government often showed white-screen cinema or hired local musical bands to perform at night to entertain vendors and buyers who stayed overnight in the local market before the market day began which was normally on every Saturdays or Mondays. The result of this study showed that social interactions continue to be important aspects in Dili markets. This study found during the field observations that in a public marketplace, people from different backgrounds and ethnicities (for example, *Makasa'e*, *Kemak*, *Bunak*, *Mambai*, rural and urban) still meet and interact with one another. One of the respondents in Manleuana market said that during the inauguration of the market, the government hired a local musical band and some traditional dancers to perform to entertain vendors. In this context, it could be said that through these entertainment attractions, the government was trying to begin the interaction, promote these new initiatives (public marketplaces) and attract vendors and buyers.

This study also found that Dili's public marketplaces were not only places for general public or social interactions, but can serve as sites where important information may be exchanged between community members. As pointed out in chapter 6, some of the respondents described that in a local market, they did not only see their neighbours or old friends, or made new friends, but also that they could have interesting conversations on subjects including happenings in the different communities that they otherwise would not know about. In this regard, this finding seems to go in line with Hunt (2007). Hunt's study on local farmer markets in Maine, USA, indicated that in the market, consumers and farmers not only did economic transactions, but there was an open and friendly exchange of information between consumers and farmers on non-economic matters (for example, . seasonal products, use of chemicals).

Fletcher (as cited in Johnson, 2013, p. 318) describes that as marketplaces bring people in a common space and talk to one another, it can contribute to creating and fostering community ties. This study also found that public local marketplaces in Dili can serve as promoters of community and social cohesion. As the political and military crisis in 2006 and 2007 also severely affected vendors, and since many people from different background and ethnicity that usually congregate in local markets, as indicated by one of the respondents in chapter 6, the government, local leaders, or other interested group may utilize a public marketplace to educate or raise the awareness of people about how to stay united or about the importance of reconciliation among the Timorese. In this regard, one of the village chiefs being interviewed, said that before Manleuna market was inaugurated and open to the public, the government, police, community leaders, youth organization and religious leaders came to the market and talked to vendors and buyers, as well as community members who lived in the vicinity of the market about forgiveness and national unity. In this context, it could be said that public marketplaces can play important roles in strengthening social and community cohesion.

This study also found that Dili's marketplaces can be a place for public education (for example, vendor education). This was evident from the fact that the government put a number of posters and pamphlets in both Manleuana and Taibesi markets, asking vendors to behave, be polite and professional when making transaction with consumers. One of the respondents, as described in Chapter 6, also said that government, CSOs, community leaders or the head of the vendor union may use Manleuana or Taibesi markets to remind vendors and buyers or the public on how to keep the market clean or how to use mosquito nets or contraception materials. The next part describes how marketplaces can function as regulators of public order and

hygiene by firstly providing these and, secondly, using the public information platforms to distribute knowledge on cleanliness and health-related issues.

This study found that one of the government's reasons for building Manleuana and Taibesi public markets were to create public orders and hygiene in public places. As indicated by the data, Comoro and Halelaran street markets were thought of as being in the main roads, hence, often created traffic congestion and traffic accidents. Street vendors in Halelaran and Comoro or other streets were also blamed to be the most responsible people for rubbish scattering on some protocol roads which, according to the government, may not seem good for government's state guests who visit Dili. This finding is similar to some studies on street vendor relocations by the government in other countries. For example, Zambelli (as cited in Pádua Carriery & Murta, 2011, p. 218) indicated that the main reason for the city council government to build the Shopping Popular (indoor market) in Belo Horizonte, Brazil was to relocate street peddlers and toreros from the street. These informal activities were blamed for causing the spread of garbage in the road sites and illegally occupied public space. Similarly, Donovan (2008) describes in his studies on street children in Bogota, Colombia that the reasons for the government to relocate the street vendors to government-built markets were that street vending activities caused traffic congestion, rubbish, hence, could disfigure the image of the city. In this context, it could be said that through government-funded markets, the governments of Dili, Timor-Leste, Belo Horizonte, Brazil and Bogota, Columbia want to ensure public safety and better city management. In Dili, it was noted during the field observation that the government has built offices both in Manleuana and Taibesi public markets to handle issues of security, traffic and rubbish management in the markets.

Despite the above positive sides of government's public markets, it is not always guaranteed that relocated vendors will feel better and safe. For example, issues of complex bureaucracy and corrupt officials may cause new conflicts and result in vendors' abandonment of government's market. For instance, in his book entitled "The Other Path", De Soto, (1990, pp. 134-144) pointed out that some government officers in Peru took advantage of the complex and unclear regulations to seek bribes from small business people. As a result, many small business people preferred to run their business activities outside the formal system, and some became street vendors. This study also found similar cases as de Soto's. Indeed, some vendors in Manleuana and Comoro markets said that they experienced poor management, unclear procedures, non-transparency, and corrupt officials. According to some vendors, as described in Chapter 6, the lottery system that the government implemented as a mechanism to grant access to vendors to sell in Manleuana public market was misused by some government officers to seek illegal additional income from vendors and to practice nepotism. These "corrupt officers" were claimed to have secretly revealed to some of their friends or family members who were also vendors, to only pick a specific type of lottery papers if only these vendors wanted to secure or occupy a better vending stall (kiosks) in Manleuana market. Some vendors even claimed that they had given some money to some government officers to secure kiosks in Manleuana public market. As described in Chapter 6, this non-transparent mechanism and corrupt officers had not only caused dissatisfaction but also discouraged some vendors to use Manleuana public market.

User fees, rent fees or income tax that the government normally charges to vendors for vending or accessing a stall in a public marketplace may also reduce the values and effectiveness that a

public marketplace may offer, as mentioned above. This is because by charging higher income tax or rental fees, it is most likely that small vendors who cannot afford paying these fees will be excluded from using a government's marketplace. For example, small vendors who, because of limited entrepreneurship skills and financial capacity, can only sell very few local products and hence make a relatively small income may feel discouraged using government-built market stalls if the vendors have to pay rental fees or income tax. It will be unwise if these small vendors have to take away some of the tiny income to pay rent fees. In this regard, if this happens, then the development objective to satisfy all people, particularly the most disadvantaged ones, will not be achieved. For example, Donovan's (2008) study in Bogota revealed that some small vendors cannot utilize, or have to abandon the government market because they cannot afford the high rental fees for selling in halls in the government's market. Nevertheless, these issues of being disadvantaged because of fees were not found in Dili because the government, as of now, has freed all vendors from paying any fee for using any facilities in Manleuana and Taibesi.

7.2.2 Factors affecting the use of public markets

This section discusses issues of access to a public local market by comparing the findings of this study with the literature. The issues discussed are related to research objective 2: to explore the perception of market stakeholders about factors that may affect the use of a public local marketplace.

This study found a number of factors that were said to have affected the use of Manleuana and Taibesi public markets in Dili. These factors include: lack of functioning basic facilities, that

markets were not strategically located (the markets were said to be far from the population and commercial centres and the main roads, that are not easily accessed by cheaper public transports), transaction cost, there were unclear procedures and corrupt officers (as already explained in objective 1), security in the markets were not conducive, and that vendors were not involved in the planning process.

Donovan's (2008) study in Bogota revealed that relocated street vendors who vended in government-built markets, could suffer a decline of income, but still enjoyed the improved selling conditions. Donovan's survey on the perception of relocated vendors in government-built markets found that vending facilities in these markets were rated better or higher compared to when vendors were still selling in the streets. According to vendors, in the government markets, they sold in stalls in an enclosed building equipped with basic facilities such as water in which they did not when they were still selling in the streets. In the streets vendors had only utilized blankets and wooden handcarts to display their products. This study, nevertheless, found the opposite. Some female vendors interviewed in Dili said that they did not go to sell in Manleuana and Taibesi markets because the markets lacked functioning basic facilities. They said that although the government had built the new markets, there was no running piped water, functioning toilets and electricity. Indeed, during my preliminary field visits in December, 2013, it was noted that the government markets, particularly Taibesi, had poorer conditions than there were along the street. This study found that the government had already installed and rehabilitated these basic facilities in June 2014 and, for that reason, some vendors have voluntarily accepted the government's relocation programme. The lack of basic facilities in marketplaces discourages participation at all levels. This study found that women, in particular,

felt excluded from enjoying sales experiences similar to men, thus potentially making less income. The next section describes why the distance of a local market to its users may also affect its use.

The literature indicates that the distance of a market to the population and commercial centres may affect the use of a market (Omiti, Otieno, Nyanamba & McCullough, 2009). Omiti et al. discovered that most farmers in Kenya were discouraged and frustrated by the fact that they could not sell their agricultural products in a fancy public market because the location of the market was far from the place where the farmers stayed. Similarly, as indicated in Chapter 4, some local markets (such as *Loes* in *Liquica* District and *Vemase* of *Baucau* District) funded by the WB in Timor-Leste were not utilized by vendors due to the markets were isolated from the community (World Bank, 2008). The result of this study also goes in line with the above-mentioned authors' and of the World Bank's. Although the government said that Manleuana and Taibesi public markets were not far, some vendors and buyers being interviewed in Dili made it clear that they did not go to Manleuana and Taibesi markets because these markets, according to their views, were isolated from commercial and population centres. In fact, the data from the field observation seemed to corroborate the views of the vendors and buyers. It was noted from the field observation that in comparison to street markets, only a few people came to the government-funded markets. As a result, as described in Table 4 in Chapter 6, the income generated by vendors in the government's markets was lower than vendors in Comoro and Halelaran street markets which were located near main roads, population and commercial centres.

However, this study also noted another important finding, that is, the unavailability of relatively cheaper public transport to Manleuana and Taibesi markets. The data from the field observations of this study (see Table 5 in Chapter 6) indicates that there was hardly any cheaper public transport (for example, *mikrolet*) that came to either Manleuana or Taibesi markets. Some vendors and buyers also said that they preferred the Comoro and Halelaran street markets because they can easily access *mikrolets*. Based on these findings, this study contends that although 'distance' affects the use of a market (which was similar to those of Omiti et al), unavailability of cheaper public transport to a market in which lower income earners, or the poor can afford, can also affect the use of a local market. Again, if the needs of the poor or disadvantaged are not considered, development goals just seem to be far from meeting the target.

The literature revealed that transaction fees (the cost that a vendor or buyer must spend before arriving or selling or buying in a marketplace), user fees or tax can also affect the use of a local market (see Alene et al., 2008, Donovan, 2008; Cutsinger, 2000). In relation to transaction costs, Alene et al., in their study on small holder market participation on maize supply and fertilizer demand in Kenya, noticed that transaction costs had discouraged maize and fertilizer farmers to participate in the market. Their study showed that farmers found it hard to compensate all the costs (time, cash and energy) that they had to spend in order to exchange their produce with some cash. The result of this study also seems to go in line with the one in Kenya. In Dili, vendors and buyers who were mostly lower income earners and poor, preferred using *mikrolet* rather than taxis to go to Manleuana or Taibesi market, because taxis were too expensive for them. The data indicated that going by *mikrolet* with their local product to a market

would not cost as much as going by a taxi. Some vendors said that they could not bring their local products to Manleuana market, because taxi drivers asked US\$ 5.00 or more (one way trip), which was too expensive for them. It is also unreasonable for a buyer, who only wants to buy a few bunches of vegetable (US\$ 2.00), to end up spending US\$ 5.00 due to paying an additional cost for a taxi. Some female buyers, indeed, said that they only went to the Halelalan or Comoro street markets because the transport costs were relatively cheaper than going to the Manleuana public market.

This study reveals that racial conflicts and land issues that had triggered civil war also caused vendors and buyers to abandon some markets including Taibesi. The data indicates that most vendors left the Taibesi market because vendors did not feel secure. Even, after the tension of the crisis was turning down in 2010, some vendors were still hesitant to go back to the Taibesi market because they were fearful of being attacked by other ethnic groups. As explained in Chapter 6, a female vendor said that she and some of her friends did not go back to Taibesi market as they still felt traumatized after being attacked, extorted and sexually harassed in the market during the crisis in 2006 and 2007 by some people from other ethnic groups. This finding seems to go against other findings (e.g. Donovan, 2008, p. 41) that stated that relocated vendors in government-built markets felt more secure than in the streets as the government usually provides security in the market that can prevent harassment and pick pocketing. In addition, in Manleuana market, due to unresolved compensation issues between the government and landowners, many vendors were afraid of selling or buying goods from the market as they were threatened by the landowners and their body guards.

The section has pointed out a number of issues that were said to have affected the use of public markets in Dili. As the discussion showed, many of the findings of this study were not really different from those findings in other countries or places as mentioned in Chapters 2, 4 and 5. Nevertheless, issues of unavailability of cheaper public transport, which small vendors and buyers or the poor can afford, is one of the most influential findings of this study in the context of Dili. The availability of relatively cheaper public transport in a public market enables both vendors and buyers, particularly lower income earners and the poor, to use a public market. Another factor that may affect the use of a government-established market is that vendors or buyers were not involved during the planning process. The following section which addresses research objective 3, describes the planning process for building Manleuana and Taibesi markets in Dili.

7.2.3 Participation in marketplace planning

It was argued that when people, particularly the disadvantaged are involved in the development process, they feel they are being respected as their views are sought out and their needs are considered (Chambers, 1993). Furthermore, as development interventions are planned according to the views and needs of the beneficiary, generally people will accept the output or result of such intervention (Stiglitz, 2002). Development beneficiaries become drivers, creators and owners of the results. If this sense of ownership is growing, people will maintain and keep the results of the intervention, hence, sustainability can be expected to happen. This section compares the findings of this study with other findings in the literature and context in terms of vendors' participation in market planning process. This section is related to research objective 3:

to examine whether vendors participated or are involved in the planning process for allocating or building a public local marketplace.

In relation to lack of participation of vendors and buyers in the market planning process, which may also affect the use of a local marketplace, the findings of this study are in line with some of the previous studies conducted in other places or countries as indicated in the literature (see Dewar and Watson, 1990, p. 15; Mehta and Gohil, 2013; Hubbard & Onumah, 2001; Middleton, 2003). For example, Dewar and Watson reveal that public marketplaces in some cities in Africa and Asia had been built without involving broad stakeholders. Dewar and Watson argue that unless the perception of vendors were sought and considered in the design process, a local public marketplace may not succeed. On the same token, Middleton (2003) found that the government's efforts to relocate street vendors into government-funded marketplaces in Quito, Peru did not go as well as planned because, not only that there had been no proper feasibility studies, but also because policy planners failed to consider the participation or commitment of the traders. Likewise, as described in Chapter 5, in *Glenoof Ermera* District, Timor-Leste, the WB cancelled some market projects after learning that the project did not consult or involve local community members (World Bank, 2008). As indicated in Chapter 6, this study also found that vendors in the four local marketplaces being interviewed complained that they had not been involved in the planning process for allocating or building the Manleuana and Taibesi markets. As a result, some of them refused to use the government-funded markets as they considered the markets do not belong to them, but to the government. The study also found that policy planners seemed to have focused their planning process on internal procedures, rather than trying to seek input from those (vendors in this case) whose lives would be directly affected by

the intervention. In addition, there seems to be a lack of proper management or handling of documents from the outgoing officials to the new ones.

The discussion has shown that people's participation in the design and planning for development intervention, particularly in public market building in the context of Dili was similar to some findings in other places or countries as indicated in the literature, that is vendors and buyers were not involved. This non-involvement of vendors has resulted in the disinterest of vendors and buyers to use Manleuana and Taibesi public marketplaces. The government seems to concentrate the process for building public marketplaces in Dili on internal regulations rather than trying to firstly seek the views of vendors and buyers.

Based on the key results and the discussion above, the study concludes that a public local marketplace in Dili does have values and may contribute to the socio-economic and cultural development of the community, the society or the nation as a whole. Nevertheless, this study, based on the findings, stresses that in order to have a highly effective public marketplace that can benefit the people, particularly lower income earners and the poor, it is imperative to consider, prior to establishing such a market, the interrelation of important elements, such as market facilities (availability of running water, electricity and toilet), location or accessibility to vendors and buyers, simple procedures, professional attitude and officials, better management, and the involvement of broader stakeholders, particularly vendors and buyers in the planning process. By involving vendors and buyers or seeking their views, policy planners promote transparency, allow vendors to increase their sense of ownership on the development outputs (for example, marketplaces) created. These interconnected elements should become the mainstay and be taken into account by policy planners. Only by considering these aspects,

issues of abandonment of a local public marketplace, may be prevented. The next section provides some recommendations relevant to this study

7. 3 Recommendations

. This research has identified some recommendations related to the allocation of local public marketplaces, particularly in the context of Dili, Timor-Leste. These recommendations, as mentioned below, maybe helpful, if they are taken into consideration by policy makers, NGOs, private sectors or any development agencies in dealing with the promotion and development of local marketplaces.

7.3.1 Better management of the marketplace

Poor management and maintenance of a marketplace can affect the use of a marketplace. Following the political and military crisis in 2006 and 2007, because of poor management and maintenance, basic facilities in some marketplaces (for example, Taibesi) became out of order. This caused many vendors to become disinterested in utilizing the markets. Because of this, it is imperative that competent government departments have good systems in place to administer the market. The management process should also involve a representative of vendors who can be selected on a rotational basis so that vendors feel a part of decision making processes of the markets.

7.3.2 Regulating and managing cheaper public transport

Most public transport showed no interest in coming to either Manleuana or Taibesi markets which highly impacted on the use of markets by both vendors and buyers and caused poor

market attendance. The government should create a regulation that encourages or facilitates cheaper forms of public transports to the markets, for example, by subsidizing *mikrolets* or taxis so that owners or drivers of *mikrolet* or taxis will not charge too much to small vendors and buyers. At the moment, vendors are freed from any user fees, and taxes charges in both markets, Taibesi and Manleuana, but lower income or poor buyers will find it difficult going to the two markets if they cannot afford the transport costs. If fees were to be introduced, then the government-funded markets may be seen as only benefiting a certain group of people. The government should build public transport terminals in both markets, Manleuana and Taibesi. During the fieldwork, it was noted that only Manleuana has a terminal. On the other hand, Taibesi was still in the process.

7.3.3 Safety and integrated security responsibility in marketplaces

Issues of safety and security in a marketplace may affect the use of such a market. The data for this study indicated that many vendors abandoned Taibesi and Manleuana markets, particularly during the periods between 2006 and 2010 because of racial conflict and unresolved land issues. Because of this, it is crucial that the GoTL, local authorities and community leaders, land owners, religious institutions, youth leaders and women's organizations and police work hand in hand to create a peaceful environment in a marketplace so that people feel secure to go to the market.

7.3.4 Involvement of people, particularly the powerless or the disadvantaged in project design and implementation

Since independence, the government has often urged citizens to participate in the government's development programmes. According to the government, in order to achieve the overarching national development goals, people's participation is absolutely paramount. This "buzzword" of participation appears on many government official documents and interviews (GoTL, 2011; ANU Channel, 2012; PTV, 2013).

Nevertheless, the practice of people's participation in Timor-Leste is mainly manifested in the political arena; it is seasonal during political campaigns only. Participation in development programmes, project planning and implementation, especially by the poor or the main development beneficiaries is not visible. In fact, this study has found that the establishment of Manleuana and Taibesi public markets, although the process might have involved village chiefs or local leaders, vendors and buyers whose life were mostly and directly affected by such a development project, were not involved or consulted. Therefore, this study recommends that development providers such as the government, must create enabling environments for the powerless to learn to participate and identify their own needs, particularly on decisions that affect their basic lives. They should not only be involved after the output has been produced or delivered.

7.3.5 Proper hand-over responsibility

This study noted in Chapter 6 that there was a lack of proper hand-over of responsibility from outgoing officials to new ones and poor management of documents in some government ministries or departments. In fact, when I was asking whether I could get a hard copy of a project report regarding Taibesi or Manleuana market, government officials whom I talked to

said that they did not know, or could not find these documents, because they were newly appointed officials. Therefore, this study recommends that the government must create a system or law that obliges all departments to have a proper file management and hand-over of responsibility before a new officer takes office.

7.3.6 Further study on the effect of petty foreign traders against local small vendors

During the fieldwork, it was noted that there have been many petty foreign traders (for example, Chinese, Indonesian, Sri Lankan, Indian, Vietnamese, Kambodian) spread throughout Dili. These foreign traders used to occupy some vending stalls in government markets. They also sell and resell local products and other daily basic needs. Some of the vendors being interviewed expressed their concerns about the increased number of petty foreign traders. According to vendors, the existence of the petty foreign traders can be a threat that limits the opportunity of local small vendors doing basic economic transactions that would eventually improve their life. Because of this, this study recommends a further study to explore or investigate the effect of the presence of petty foreign traders against local small vendors.

7.3.7 Economic impact on vendors after relocation

Vendors in Comoro and Halelalan street markets have been relocated to Manleuana and Taibesi public markets. Nevertheless, as discussed above, relocating vendors to governmentmarkets cannot be said as a guarantee for vendors' economic income betterment. Because of this, this study recommends further studies to explore the economic impact on vendors after their relocation to government-built markets. The next section provides concluding statement for this study.

7. 4 The final concluding statement

When I came up with the idea to look into the issue of factors affecting the use of public marketplaces in Dili, my purpose was not to find faults and then point fingers to somebody or a particular institution. This is because I always have the inclination to believe that any developmental interventions whether they are infrastructures (e.g. public markets) or goods or service delivery provided by the government, or other development institutions, must have been based such interventions on good intentions, that is to help people to better their situation and conditions. In this context, my inclination was right. I found that the government's initiative for building or allocating public marketplaces in Dili was mainly based on a good will, intention and commitment, that is, to help the citizens of Timor-Leste, particularly lower income earners and the poor to improve their life. Because of this good intention of the government, as described in Chapters 6 and 7, the initiative for establishing public markets was welcomed by vendors and buyers.

Certainly, like other governments or nations, there are always challenges facing the people of Timor-Leste in general, and the government in particular. In this context, for example, the challenges might include those that were already mentioned in the recommendation section of this chapter. But with the humbleness and genuine openness of the government and the people to recognize and accept the challenges, and show high commitment to learn and improve as we go, I am optimistic that we will slowly, but surely, move up toward achieving an equal and just development outcome for everybody, where the needs of lower income and the poor are mostly taken into account.

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Annex 1

Interview guides:

Theme 1: government's initiative for establishing public marketplaces

Questions for resource persons, vendors and buyers:

1. The government has taken initiative to build or establish or rehabilitate many public market places throughout the country over the past four years including in Dili, such as in Taibesi and Manleuana, what do you think about this initiative, can you please explain?"

Questions for government officials:

1. The government has established or built or rehabilitated many market places in the country, particularly over the past four years, including in Dili, such as Taibesi and Manleuana, why and what are the objectives of these? Can you explain please?

Theme two: Factors that may affect the use of government-established or funded public markets

Questions for resource persons and government officials:

1. Some social electronic and printed media, particularly last year had raised the issue of the effectiveness of the Taibesi and Manleuana markets. "According to you what factors make vendors and buyers use or not use the markets, please explain?"

Questions for vendors in the government-funded marketplaces:

1. Why are you vending here instead of in the street markets, please explain? Or what factor(s) motivate you to vend here, please explain? Or do you think what factors make a vendor to sell in a given marketplace, please explain?

2. Would you mind to describe your daily average income that you can make for selling in this market?
3. What day and hours do you think the best or busiest for you in which most of your produces are sold out?

Questions for street vendors:

1. Why are you vending here instead of in the government-funded market or what motivates you to vend here, please explain?
2. Would you mind to describe your daily average income that you can make for selling in this market?
3. What day and hours do you think the best or busiest for you which most of your produces are sold out, please explain? Why?

Question for buyers:

1. Which market do you normally go to buy vegetables or daily household needs? Why? Could you please explain? Or why are you buying here in this market instead of in the street markets or what motivates you to buy here in this market, please explain?
2. Do you think what factors that make a buyer to buy in a given marketplace, please explain?
3. On what day or at what time do you normally go to a local market? Can you please explain?

Theme three: stakeholders' participation

Questions for all respondents:

1. Do you know and / or could you describe the process of establishing or building this market, whether people participated (who and how)?
2. How do you like this process/approach? Could you explain? Do you have any suggestion?
3. Particularly for vendors: "did you ever attend any meeting on the planning for establishing Manleuana or Taibesi market? Why did you attend it, could you explain?"

