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**BUILDING A NATION:  
AN EXPLORATION OF  
TIMOR LESTE'S  
POST-CONFLICT BUILT  
ENVIRONMENT**

**RYAN MCCAULEY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the role of the built environment within the context of post conflict Timor Leste and explores its ability to visually evidence the nation's complex social, cultural and political histories. Through the use of photographic documentation I explore the physical legacies of colonial governance and foreign occupation in contrast to new development and contemporary vernacular architecture. The interrelationship of these contrasting influences is explored through my visual research as I combine them to provide documentation of Timor Leste's contemporary built environment.

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## INTRODUCTION

Building a nation: An exploration of Timor Leste's post conflict built environment has developed out of a strong interest in architecture and the built environment and its ability to create and define both its makers and its inhabitants. Architecture or built forms of varying descriptions are in constant view and use every day in the lives of everyone. At the most basic level the built form functions as life preserving shelter and at its most complex it functions as a work of art or precise engineering that facilitates basic needs such as water consumption, power generation, agricultural development and transportation. All forms of the built environment whether basic or complex, public or private, however, begin to illustrate broader themes of the culture and society in which they have been constructed.

The need for fresh water lead to the construction of the Roman aqueducts which employed advanced engineering techniques to divert water from far away sources towards Roman urban centres. The ability to control nature for their own purposes symbolised their advanced civilisation acting as both functional architecture and civic propaganda. In a similar way, the rise of modernist architecture was a reactionary movement that sought physical, built solutions to the social issues that western society experienced post World War II, such as the need for affordable housing. Technological developments that fuelled the mass availability of construction materials including steel and glass, enhanced by economic development and cultural revolution, began to shape societies around the globe. More recently and more specifically, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001 illustrated to the world the power of architecture and its ability to create, image and define not only individual identity but also national identity and ideology. The ability of a piece of architecture, of bricks and mortar to produce and sustain an image of key ideas and beliefs is at the heart of my research project as I seek to understand the role of architecture and the built environment in the post conflict context of Timor Leste.

Just as architecture speaks to social, cultural and political circumstances within society through a three dimensional constructed 'image', the medium of photography allows us to construct a highly controlled image by deconstructing the whole and creating a more specified narration of the three dimensional 'built' image. My aim through the course of my visual research is to utilise photography's ability to condense both structure and space in order to assemble a visual sample of the varied influences at work within Timor Leste's contemporary built environment. Visual signs and symbols that are evident within the built environment such as corporate logos, regionally and historically specific styles, such as colonialism, and varied construction materials and techniques begin to narrate the various influences evident within the landscape.

Over the course of my thesis I will discuss why the built environment is an important area of study in relation to contemporary issues of Timor Leste and investigate the role of colonial, post colonial and neo colonial influences within the built environment. I will explore the relationship of photography to the built environment and situate my practice within current and historical photographic and visual practice, specifically investigating the role of visual media in creating narrative links through visual methodologies. Through the exploration of these methodologies, I will return to exploring how the contemporary built environment is becoming a space of visual hybridity as range of influences are compared and contrasted between one another.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALISATION

2012 has been a pivotal year in the history of Timor Leste, South East Asia's youngest nation. 2012 will see Timor Leste celebrate ten years as an independent nation, it will bring the third democratically elected government and the withdrawal of the United Nations Mission to East Timor. The road to peace and democracy in Timor Leste has been paved with conflict and foreign occupation. Located just above Australia and at the bottom of the Indonesian archipelago Timor Leste is geographically and strategically placed within the Asia-Pacific region (Fig. 1 & Fig. 2) – particularly in relation to Australia as the largest Pacific economy, as was clearly evidenced through the Japanese invasion during WWII. Gaining independence in May of 2002 the newly formed Democratic Republic of Timor Leste has been subject to a long and bloody history of colonisation and occupation. Portugal first colonised Timor Leste in the mid 1500's during their eastern expansion, and with the exception of a brief period during WWII when Australia controlled Timorese affairs during the Japanese invasion and occupation, Portugal ruled until 1975. Following the revolution that overthrew the military dictatorship in Portugal in 1974, Timor Leste was released from colonial rule into the governance of the FRETILIN party on the 28th November 1975. Independence however was short lived as Indonesia began their full-scale invasion on the 7th of December under the claim by the Indonesian Government that the FRETILIN party was communist in political orientation. More than 25 years of brutal Indonesian occupation ensued where a conservative estimate of 100,000 people (although United Nations documents suggest the number could be as high as 200,000, nearly half of the entire population) were either killed directly by the Indonesian military invasion or military activity during the occupation or by famine and disease which were directly related to the occupation. Indonesia was largely unhindered in their occupation of Timor Leste, as all major political powers in the region passively accepted the declaration by Indonesia of Timor as its 27th province. The plight of the small nation was only sporadically featured in the foreign

media as Indonesia tightly controlled access to its latest acquisition. In 1999, a UN sponsored referendum on whether Timor Leste would remain under Indonesian rule or become an independent nation. With a 98% turnout, nearly 80% of East Timorese voted in favour of independence resulting in swift and violent retaliation by the Indonesian military systematically destroying 3/4s of all the buildings and infrastructure in Timor Leste. This destruction of architecture, infrastructure and the built environment was also echoed during civil unrest in 2006, and has been witnessed in numerous conflicts worldwide through the course of time such as Kristallnacht and the destruction of culturally significant monuments during the Bosnian conflict.

## ARCHITECTURE AND CONFLICT

For centuries architecture has played a pivotal role in conflict throughout the world. Conflict has shaped many cities over the course of history through the creation of fortifications, castles, supply routes, and detention camps. In recent history there has however been a shift in focus towards the investigation of how targeted destruction of the built environment is demonstrative of specific cultural, political and socially motivated violence. Architecture is political. Architecture is social. Architecture is cultural. These three statements underline the importance of the built environment and illustrate its elevated position especially during periods of conflict when it is representative of the enemy ideologies and thus subject to targeted destruction.

One of the most prevalent examples of specific targeted destruction is that of the Kristallnacht, or “night of broken glass” in 1938 undertaken by the Nazi regime. Hitler ordered the destruction of Jewish synagogues, homes and businesses as a symbolic act of his future plans for the Jewish race. Robert Bevan in his discussion on the role of architecture in genocide suggests that “the attack of buildings was a rehearsal for an assault on people who had been progressively dehumanised, and humiliated, a softening up process for the killing to come. It was also an act of cultural genocide in its own right. (Bevan, 2007, p. 31)”. The targeting of specific architecture was also highly evident in the Bosnian conflict throughout the 1990’s as culturally significant sites befell military bombardment. This destruction of culturally significant landmarks is in fact illegal under the Geneva Convention which states that ‘all effort should be exerted to retain culturally important sites as the development of technology and warfare saw greater destruction than ever before in World War II’. There is however a loophole that was actively exploited during the conflict in the Balkans which allows for the destruction of cultural monuments ‘only in cases where military necessity imperatively requires such a waiver’ (Bevan, 2007).

The destruction of the sixteenth century Ottoman Stari Most Bridge at Mostar in 1993 is perhaps the most well known visual example of such destruction to come out of the Balkan war. Croatian writer Slavenka Drakulić replied to his own question of “why do we feel more pain looking at the image of the destroyed bridge than the image of massacred people?” in an article in *The Observer* in November 1993 quoted by Bevan.

Perhaps because we see our own mortality in the collapse of the bridge. We expect people to die; we count on our own lives to end. The destruction of a monument to civilisation is something else. The bridge in all its beauty and grace was built to outlive us; it was an attempt to grasp eternity. It transcends our individual destiny. A dead woman is one of us – but the bridge is all of us forever. (Bevan, 2007, p.26)

This is a profound statement about the universality of architecture and its ability to represent much more than a means of crossing a river or protecting us from the elements, architecture is personal and collective at the same time. Such display of attachment, not only to specific structures, but more importantly to the ideas, ideologies and memories that are created in and through the built form are incredibly important and need to be understood. However, destruction cannot be undone and is only the beginning of the future. This has led me to investigate not only the role of destruction, but more importantly for me, the role of regeneration and reconstruction.

This shifting emphasis from the destruction of the built environment to a focus on what is taking its place in terms of reconstruction is becoming a key discussion within architectural theory and is also being echoed within contemporary photographic practice. Artists such as Richard Mosse, Guy Tillim, Antonio Ottomanelli, Simon Norfolk and Peter Biolobzeski are all turning towards an investigation of new construction, hybridisation of existing space or lasting legacy and contemporary use of historical space. It is interesting to note that this transition is happening within Mosse and Norfolk’s own practice as previously their focus had been on decay and destruction as opposed to new spatial forms.

Thus, My decision to focus mainly on the reconstruction effort within Timor Leste rather than the locations of destruction is motivated by the desire to visualise positive development within a nation where the majority of research conducted focuses on it’s tragic past.

Photography traditionally has fetishised and spectacularised conflict through its use in the media. Mark Reinhardt and Holly Edwards link traumatic images to the creation of national identity (Reinhardt, Edwards, & Dugganne, 2007) and when the majority of the images disseminated within mainstream media in recent history involve scenes of conflict and death the vision of the nation becomes inherently negative. Susan Sontag critiques this relationship of photography, trauma and the media, boldly stating that “being a spectator of calamities taking place in another country is a quintessential modern experience (Sontag, 2003, p. 18)”. Attempting to distance myself from such scenes of calamity and with memories myself of burning churches and foreign military personnel being played across news headlines I wish to investigate the visual signs of positive development and emphasise these as opposed to re presenting turbulent histories.

Photography has also shared a long tradition with notions of landscape and the built environment. The first recorded image by one of the founders of modern photography, William Fox Talbot, was of a window and became a commentary on the ability of photography to portray a window to the world. In 1975 the New Topographics exhibition at George Eastman House in Rochester, New York redefined photography’s relationship to the landscape and in particular the built environment. The banality and attempted neutrality – as Lewis Baltz concedes that neutrality is not attainable within the real world (Heifmann, 2010, p.97) – utilised a remarkably deadpan approach in order to document the urban development that was prevalent within post-war America. This has been an approach which I have attempted to employ through my own practice as I sought to explore and document the landscape whilst after employed a selective editing process in order to define potential statements I wished to make. This has the benefit of a wide source of material with multiple potential focal points but this has created difficulty also as I attempt to convey a concise overview of the contemporary built environment. The critical element however of the New Topographics exhibition lay in the criticality it brought to landscape photography through the politics of representation that it employed. The New Topographics imbued the landscape with cultural significance through representation as a photographic object, specifically selected and packaged so that the viewer may in turn unpack the meaning for themselves.

## COLONIALISM: A BUILT LEGACY

The need to expand one's physical territory and preside over vast landscapes is a desire that is rooted firmly in the history of human nature and endeavour. The Greek and Roman empires had an insatiable lust for the continued expansion of their empires and domination of local people that had previously occupied the lands they sought. This expansionist idealism has continued through history and developed into various forms such as imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. There are very few nations that have been free of colonial imposition at some point in history with France, Britain, Germany, Portugal, Spain, and The Netherlands being the leading perpetrators of colonial expansion.

The South East Asian region has had a particularly long and complex history of colonial rule and foreign governance with nearly all of its collective nations (Thailand being the main exception) at some point or another being ruled or occupied by European colonial powers or the United States of America. The Philippines were ruled by both Spain and the United States of America (1898–1946), Great Britain controlled Brunei, Malaysia and Singapore whilst the French colonised Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. The Netherlands established the territory of Indochina or the Dutch East Indies which consisted of what is currently the Indonesian Archipelago. Portugal also expanded into the Dutch East Indies as they established control of the eastern half of Timor Island and the small enclave of Oecussi after sporadic fighting against the Dutch. Japan also controlled the entire South East Asian territory, including Timor Leste, at certain points as it forcefully pursued its expansionist policies during World War II.

As many of these nations were coming to grips with new found independence wide spread decolonisation ensued as the major European colonising powers focused on rebuilding their homeland post World War II. During this period however Timor Leste was being reunited with its colonial patriarch Portugal. This continuing colonial relationship had, for over three hundred years,

influenced the built environment of Timor Leste and continues to bear witness to a colonial past as the newly independent nation seeks now to create its own unique and distinctive national identity.

Colonial nations brought with them language, custom and other intangible things from their homeland but as nations have developed, reformed and created new identities for themselves post independence, such intangible things have often been superseded by new or traditional alternatives. In many colonial out postings however, a more defined and tangible legacy remained through the construction and development of the built environment. This legacy continues to perpetuate colonial ideals through its position in the post colonial landscape. When discussing the physicality of colonial legacies throughout the world, India, Brazil and Algeria are but a few examples of a distinct spatial legacy left by their colonial histories.

## COLONIAL INDIA

The colonial legacy in India is spatially well defined and at the time was incredibly precisely prescribed in terms of stylistic construction and even its visual depiction. Both photography and technical drawings were widely distributed throughout the British Empire and used as a form of colonial propaganda. Swati Chattopadhyay discusses the relationship between the construction of colonial architecture and infrastructure in India and the way in which it was depicted by James Ballie Fraser and Thomas and William Daniell. She explains the importance of the depiction of these new structures as a means of illustrating the forward facing, future orientated view of the British colonial rule (Chattopadhyay, 2005). Among the views depicted by both the Daniell brothers and Fraser only a minority were of the native areas of the city and they too were visually loaded by depicting areas of trade and commerce which was a key element to the colonial mission. However they were still represented as scenes of chaos and untidiness compared to the elegantly rendered, clean and crisp façades of imperial buildings.

Figures 3 and 4 clearly show the illustrative techniques used by the Daniells and by Fraser. The Daniell brothers contrast the regimented logical and imposing imperial structures to the haphazard nature of everyday life in Calcutta at the time. They further display the contrast between the native culture and the technologically superior colonial power through the contrasting of transportation modes with the horse and cart largely displayed at the right of the frame and then depicted at an irregular scale there are servants carrying and tending to a master. Fraser creates a similarly hectic scene in the foreground of many of his works of Calcutta. In *A View of Scotch Church from the Gate of Tank Square* (Fig. 5), the beautifully white, glowing image of the church radiates from the centre of the image strongly opposed to the darkened foreground which consists of local workers constructing infrastructure leading towards the British imperial buildings in the background. The structures chosen to be documented by both artists are highly significant of the colonial mission as purportedly a more cultured and civilised society. The courthouse is representative of the civility of a culture based on law and order, in which

each and every citizen has an equal right to defend their rights. The church is also another highly recognisable symbol of the civilising mission of the colonial programme and is incredibly important in many of the colonial outposts as they sought to convert the native populations and save them from their unholy living. The heavy use of specific stylistic features and overt symbolism used in these images helps to illuminate the importance and power that not only the architecture itself held in the colonial and imperial landscapes but how it is in turn depicted and represented to further enhance such ideas of legitimisation of power and occupation. exegesis.

## POST COLONIALISM

The colonial structures erected to sustain and support all facets of colonial life such as government palaces, court houses, churches, fortifications, and other such structures have developed through the course of colonial occupation and became more numerous according to the duration and scale of the colonial mission. The sheer physical nature and permanence of these structures that, at one point in history had been symbolic of an empire that would last forever, is made complicated when such empires cease and colonial governance comes to an end.

South African photographer Guy Tillim has been one of the key photographic practitioners over recent times who have sought to investigate the role of architecture and the built environment in conditioning histories of colonialism. His work *Avenue Patrice Lumumba* has been of particular influence throughout the course of my project. Following a path marked out by streets and avenues bearing the name of the African leader, Patrice Lumumba who was disposed in a coup shortly after winning freedom for the Congo from Belgium rule, Tillim photographically investigates a range of infrastructure and architecture constructed during colonial rule. Tillim subtly displays the displacement of colonial idealism that gave rise to these structures and repositions them within their post colonial context with delicate precision.

Maltz-Leca so eloquently describes Tillim's use of the subdued colour and tonal palate in his work suggesting "Drained of color, these photographs assume a waxen caste that intimates a siphoning of energy and aspiration: the workers in Tillim's administrative offices, for example, appear as torpid tenants of earlier infrastructures, caught between the weight of their colonial past and the burden of their postcolonial future (Maltz-Leca, 2011)". The visual relationship Tillim sets up between the past and the present utilises a strong subtlety that demands the viewer spend time engaging with the image to comprehend the narrative within. For example in Tillim's *City Hall offices, Lubumbashi, DR Congo, 2007* (Fig. 6) the plant in the

foreground extends upwards from its makeshift flower pot marked “chloride” clinging to life against all odds. On the other side of the desk the office worker visually mirrors the struggling plant and we can’t help but draw parallels between the two. Karen Irvine, curator of the exhibition at the Museum of Contemporary Photography explains that the colonial structures located upon passages of land bearing the name of Lumumba the “idealism and decay of the African dream (Irvine, 2011)” have come to be represented. The subjects within images such as that mentioned above and *Typists, Likasi, DR Congo, 2007* (Fig. 7) all exist within an outward display of decaying colonial idealism yet their humanity and stubborn defiance exhibited through Tillim’s capture of their resolute work ethic, and determined gaze the structures of colonial idealism now house the beginning of a new African dream.

My approach to the colonial landscape has appropriately differed from Tillim’s as there is a much more prevailing use of colonial culture visible within the landscape. Three hundred years of colonial rule has left a significant visual mark on the built environment of Timor Leste and can be experienced through dilapidated and decaying monuments of traditional Portuguese colonial governance but it is also widely evident through new interpretations. Documentation of a colonial prison near Liquica (Fig. 8) and the market place in the old town in Baucau (Fig. 9) allow for a view of the early colonial period and the subsequent abandonment of both the physical sites and the government that they fronted. These relics of colonial history are however contrast with new structures such as the chapel located in the new police training barracks in Dili and the stunningly painted ossuary on the road west from Dili to Maubara. The immaculate exteriors and the significant religious connotations that these structures are imbued with are crucial in the post colonial landscape of Timor Leste. They are symbolic not just of a colonial past but of an enduring colonial legacy that has managed to inscribe itself not only within the colonial past but also within contemporary Timorese Beliefs. (Note – Missionaries were the first people to make contact with the people of Timor Leste and throughout the course of the colonial period brought the catholic church from Portugal and converted large numbers of Timorese. Many common sources such as Lonely Planet suggest that up to 90% of the population are Roman Catholic).

As an incredibly youthful nation, Timor Leste is confronted with an education system still on the mend and unable to accommodate the number of students whom express interest in studying at a tertiary level. The role of education and the infrastructure that facilitates it is immensely important. This is acknowledged by Aurelio Guterres, rector of UNTL as he highlighted the importance education as an integral part of development as from education arises and sustains healthcare and economic growth which will be key when oil revenues begin to subside (Guterres, 2012).

The main campus for the national university of Timor Leste (UNTL) in Dili asserts the duo tone walls that abound within colonial Portuguese architecture and which are also evident in some of Tillim’s works. The pale tone however has been ramped up and boasts a deep green mimicking more so the mountains of Timor Leste than the pastel shades of Portuguese architecture. Figure 10, the security guard peering from his post surrounded by the green barrier is reminiscent of earlier periods – both colonial and that of unrest – but is contrasted by the new structure below where not even the plastic wrap (Fig. 11) has been removed fully from the seats before they are exuberantly used by students eager to learn. Each class room contains large wooden desks (Fig. 12) that dominate the modest space. The desks consume half the image, bursting out from the frame and standing in place of the students who have just finished their lesson. The whiteboard is full with notes and proclaims active knowledge and education which is linked back to Portuguese roots through language, an enduring legacy of colonial rule and a sign of wealth through the ability to access an education.

The continuation of Portuguese style can also be seen in many other places within the built environment in Timor Leste and is particularly evident within vernacular architecture. The larger and often planned colonial architecture is important in defining specific symbolic attributions such as religion however, it is important that the vernacular be investigated as well as it often alludes to sweeping idealisms created by the authoritative party. I have chosen four specific examples (Figures 13–16) to display within my final exhibition which are representative of many similar constructions throughout Timor Leste. These explorations of vernacular architecture speak strongly to notions of power within the built environment. The pastel hues are representative

of the colonial government and are echoed through the painted exterior of these structures alluding to the aspirations of their inhabitants to acquire similar wealth and power as was once associated with the grand architecture of the colonial empire. The large scale of the images on the wall allows the viewer to enter the image and interact with the tactile nature of the illusionary surfaces, such as the fake masonry created through paint rather than building materials. This ability to engage with the tactility of the surface is enhanced through the direct comparison to the flat, finely finished surface of recently constructed buildings within a new urban development. The opposing sets of images are gridded together to form direct visual comparisons enhancing the banality and standardisation inherent in many of the new structures within Timor Leste (Fig. 17). The fragility of the local vernacular structures which are largely corrugated iron, thin wood or thatched branches is directly opposed to the power and wealth supposed by the use of the colonial colours. The rigidity and stable nature that the colonial structures have come to represent is constructed through materials at use within the new urban development displaying a changing of guard within the power structures of the built environment. Felipe Hernandez comments on Patricia Morton's idea of hybridity within architecture emphasising the social-political effects of hybridisation. "hybrid architectures are a testimony of the deep and complicated procedures through which they emerge (social, political, historical, economic (Hernandez, 2010, p. 87)". These pieces of vernacular architecture are, in a very basic sense, hybrids being composed of basic materials common to local architecture with the inclusion of colonial colours layered upon the front in order to borrow colonial visual culture to access symbolic status inherent within it. As visually effective as it may seem the importance of hybridity and colonialism is the continual separation of the original from the hybrid. Hernandez comments on the relationship between cultural mimicry and Bhabha's concept of hybridisation stating that

If colonial mimicry is the desire for a subject who is 'almost the same but not quite', the hybridity is the term Bhabha uses to represent those discriminated identities which signal the ambivalence of the colonial project. An ambivalence that can be seen in the repetition of cultural signs that emerge already different, as 'mutations' rather than the real thing—a difference that is a sign of inferiority (Hernandez, 2010, p. 65).

This is significant within the post colonial built environment as the status of previous powers inherent through specific social, cultural or political signs and symbols continues to be unattainable even when the body that once owned such symbolism has ceased to actively exist.

Richard Mosse engages the hybridising space and its subsequent political and cultural ramifications through his body of work entitled *Breach* (Figures 18–22) in which he photographs American military spatial interventions into Saddam Hussein's palaces as they appropriate the spaces for their own use. Mosse accentuates the interventions through specific framing devices using the marble walls and pillars either centrally or at the edges almost as tent poles propping up the larger structure in which the foreign constructions reside. The domestication of sites previously used for domination and control acts both to display the power of the American force as able to tame and control the forces of the previous regime yet Mosse points out that "The most interesting thing about the whole endeavour for me was the very fact that the U.S. had chosen to occupy Saddam's palaces in the first place. If you're trying to convince a population that you have liberated them from a terrible dictator, why would you then sit in his throne? (Mosse, 2010)". The palaces themselves have been conquered yet the symbolism of them remains within the eyes of the Iraqi people and thus enhances the image of power the occupying forces within Iraq seek to present. Within the confines of the palace Mosse directs us to search the images and understand that one form of rule is merely giving way to another as marble floors and decorated pillars give way to military symbols, United States flags and banners of propaganda.

In the case of Timor Leste the colonial-esque vernacular structures that allude to past wealth and power are being superseded by new development that appropriates from views of western idealism. To enhance the contrast and shift in this idealistic view of vernacular building, I have combined and gridded the images so the viewer may engage directly with both forms whilst comparing and contrasting them against each other. A new subdivision located at the far eastern end of Dili sits uneasily within the landscape as the standardisation and gleaming white exteriors bear no relationship to most other scenes as depicted throughout my work (Figures 23–26). There is a great sense of ambiguity about the site that opposes the carefully rendered exteriors of the vernacular pieces it sits beside within

the context of the exhibition. The empty foregrounds made up of rock and dust that will one day become sealed roads speak to me of a culture being replaced by the standard urban development of western society.

Edward Said, a key theorist on colonialism suggests that “colonial space must be transformed sufficiently so as to no longer appear foreign to the imperial eye (power space and arch p. 19)”. I am disturbed at this suggestion as I feel that these spaces do not feel foreign, the ambiguity imbued within their standardisation leads me to associate a landscape such as this with new subdivisions within my own nation. This distinct lack of geographical identity is outlined by C. Graham and Maneula Taboada as they state that “a lack of planning and design regulations, alongside significant design influence held by international governments and corporations completing design and construction work in Dili, continue to threaten the representation of Timorese culture in the “fabric” of the developing urban environment (Taboada, 2011, p. 1)”. If developments such as these become widespread then along with large infrastructure projects undertaken by foreign nations such as China and other foreign companies Timor Leste will surrender the potential to redefine contemporary Timorese culture within the urban environment. After over three hundred years of foreign control over large areas of urban design, now is the time to recapture a sense of Timorese culture and create urban landscape that “responds to the unique environmental, cultural and economic conditions of the area (Taboada, 2011, p.2)” and does not settle for the western white box as the new superior form.

## MALAYSIA

Colonial architecture and urban planning have characterised many nations over the course of the colonial and imperial periods. As these nations enter the post colonial period it is important that we investigate how lasting colonial period architecture and infrastructure affect newly the forming nations by either supporting or disrupting their own attempts at defining national identities through the built environment. I would like to now introduce Malaysia as a case study through which to investigate spatial devices used by colonial powers to alter social, cultural and/or political structures for their own purposes and how the indigenous culture counter such devices after decolonisation. This will be contrasted with my own works as I discuss how Timor Leste is reacting to similar situations early in their independence.

Malaysia has had a significant colonial input with Portugal, The Netherlands and Britain all holding control at some point since the early 1500's. Following the Japanese occupation during World War II and the subsequent struggle between nationalist fighters and British powers following the war, Malaysia gained independence in 1957. Encountering political struggle and civil upheaval during the early independent years Malaysia has since developed significantly especially within the built environment. The distinctly calculated development provides a good base from which to compare and contrast similar circumstances and discuss issues around urban development that are arising in Timor Leste's early years of independence as well.

Throughout the period of Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamed's leadership between 1981–2003, Malaysia experienced an incredible rate of urban development that was defined by a series of iconic, state of the art, infrastructure megaprojects. The erection of the Petronas Towers in 1996, in time for the Commonwealth Games two years later, became one of the most significant projects in terms of international recognition. Since the disbandment of colonial power and the establishment of a stable government, Malaysia

had been focused on progressing from its status as a developing nation to becoming a first world, fully developed economic powerhouse within Asia. The development of infrastructure, in particular these large megaprojects, played a key role in the outward portrayal of this development to the rest of the world as it symbolised, with great visual clarity, a new identity for Malaysia to coincide with its new economic development. Mari Anna Fujita describes the construction of the Petronas Towers as “a declaration of Malaysia’s ascendancy onto the world stage”. Tim Bunnell, author of *Views From Above and Below: The Petronas Twin Towers and Contesting Visions of Development in Contemporary Malaysia* goes further to say that “The Petronas Towers’ role in national development is not merely aesthetic, envisioning a state conception of Malaysian urbanity; the building also promotes new ‘ways of seeing’ among citizens. (Bunnell, 1999, p.6)” The promotion of a positive, future orientated, and ‘new’ vision is incredibly important in architectural projects within developing nations as they seek to encourage the greater population and at times more importantly, their voting constituency, that gains are being made and that the nation is developing in a positive direction. The Petronas Towers are a great example of this symbolic view of development as they towered over the skyline and are visible from great distances due to their sheer scale, in a way, every Malaysian person was able to see and experience the new economic prosperity they had been created with even if they were viewing them from confines of one of the lower socioeconomic neighbourhoods kilometres away.

## CIVIC SPACE IN TIMOR LESTE

Timor Leste, as of yet, cannot boast of such megaprojects that conquer world records and display incredibly technically advanced feats of engineering nonetheless there are several key infrastructure projects that are creating a sense of progression and development. Although these projects are not numerous they do significantly change the visual landscape of Timor Leste, especially in Dili, and they begin to construct a new identity for the new nation and its people. There are two main areas of infrastructure development that I explored – the development of public space and areas that are accessible to all, and the development of government buildings.

One of the first spaces I encountered in Timor was the new waterfront development of Largo De Lucidere. During my first trip the Largo De Lucidere was still under development, due to be finished the day before I left and just in time for the celebration of the ten year anniversary of independence. Having recently completed a body of work through which I engaged heavily with recreational spaces, I was aware of the significance of the development of this space. Recreational spaces are democratic; unhindered by barriers such as class, status and wealth, which often determine access to other areas of entertainment. I was fortunate enough to be able to photograph the Largo De Lucidere on the final morning of my first site visit, one day after it had officially opened to the public (Figures 27 & 28). To my amazement there were a number of people enjoying the new space even at six thirty in the morning. The success of this public infrastructure project however was fully experienced upon my return two months later where I was witness to public architecture at its best as a large crowd of people occupied the playgrounds, seating areas and beach front walkway with the futuristic wave like structure at the heart of it all. The social importance of the space was wholly comprehended when a local shopkeeper informed me that previously the land had been used as a camp ground for internally displaced people. The transformation of the space not only

physically into a well designed, spacious, bright and safe space for the public to use but the transformation of the space into a location for people to relax and enjoy themselves is incredibly significant in their journey from the violent past in which opportunities such as created by Largo De Lucidere were not possible.

This transformation of space is echoed further down the coast near the port, which was the location of mass killings by the Indonesian army as they invaded in 1974. Curved bench seats painted in a rich green accented with vibrant pinks echo the vibrant pastels of the Portuguese era now with slightly more subdued and darkened tones, seemingly appropriate for a space so close to where many Timorese lost their lives (Fig. 29). In-between site visits, ten large red swing sets were added behind the curved seats and sit laid out on a raised circle of sand and gravel (Fig. 30). With the graffiti in the foreground and weight of historical violence behind, further enhanced by the desolate nature of the neutral sand and gravel the swings allude to a youthful optimism trapped in a world that lost its childhood innocence a long time ago.

The green and pink of the new tones of the new development are found in more traditional hues around the base of trees in a park not far from the port in the opposite direction. The pale hue of the seat nearly fades into the ground and the green defiantly hangs on the tree. Out from the protection of the shade a seesaw, aloft in its disuse is contrasted against two notice boards with the remnants of electoral posters and a solitary image of a figure signing a document. The addition of a simple object such as a notice board within a space usually associated with youthful ignorance sharply contrasts the playful and somewhat fantastical nature of the seesaw giving an insight into a nation that is both youthful and politically engaged.

On a much grander scale, Timor Plaza is a large scale development that incorporates a shopping complex, apartments and accommodation and a Cineplex in three different structures located on the one piece of land. Timor Plaza towers over much of the humble architecture that surrounds it projecting a gleaming sense of hope and aspiration within central Dili. Contrasted against a local market place (Fig. 31) situated in the open air consisting of no more than basic shelters and tables on which to place their produce, Timor plaza's gleaming white tiled floors seem removed from reality (Fig. 32). The image that sits alongside the market place is unsettling as we view what

seems to be a shop front only to realise that it is merely a tarp with an image of a shop front printed on top. This disassociation from reality is paralleled via the fake palm trees and architectural rendering that proclaims the perfect vision of stage one of Timor Plaza on the bottom floor. Timor Plaza constructs an image of new idealised wealth through its fine finishes and polished surfaces. The democratic nature of the space allows for anyone to enter and partake of the uniquely constructed vision for a developing economy within Timor Leste. Although many of the people who enter the space are not able to engage financially with what is on offer it is perhaps more important that they are none the less able to be a part of a positive forward thinking development. This is accentuated through many activities based within the main foyer which occur most weekends including activities such as singing competitions, mobile phone courses, and fashion shows. Philosopher Henri Lefebvre noted in his work *The Production of Space (1991)* that "monumental space offered each member of a society an image of that membership, an image of his or her social visage as cited in (Webster, 2010, p. 16)" the question is whether the ability to locate oneself within a democratic space of such proportions in a society that has not seen such positive development in many years is more important than the ability to access it through financial means.

The other area of interest in relation to Timor Plaza is as mentioned at the beginning of the previous paragraph, is the shift from a rural, agricultural based form of economy to a consumer driven market based on global capital. Evidence of this transition is evident within the built environment throughout Dili, especially as many people move to urban areas in search of work. Bourdieu critiques the transition from rural to urban in the context of colonial Algeria suggesting that the new urban lifestyle disrupted traditional means of living. Along with new financial pressures inherent in the urban environment Bourdieu explains urban living as "a system of demands inscribed in objective space and asking to be fulfilled, a universe strewn with expectations... having been made for the modern man, the apartment demands the behaviour of a modern man (Webster, 2010, p. 16)". Although not an apartment, Figure 33 is a vivid example of the consumer driven aspect of urban living where consumption is primary condition. Originating from within subsistence based culture the urban dweller hybridises the familiar aspect of creating a dwelling from locally sourced materials and develops and urban interpretation based on the new consumption based society of the 'modern man'.

## LANGUAGE AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Colonialism and foreign occupation alter many facets of culture and society adapting them to fit those of their home nation. One of the most sweeping alterations other than transformation of the landscape is transformation of language. Traditionally the Timorese people speak Tetum of which dialects differ throughout the 12 different regions of the country. Portuguese and bahasa Indonesian however, through colonial rule and occupation, have cemented themselves within Timorese life and provide an incredibly tangled web of linguistic identity politics. When Timor Leste declared its independence in 2002 Portuguese and Tetum were declared the two official languages however at the time many of the elder community who grew up within the Portuguese rule had not survived the Indonesian occupation and therefore Portuguese was known mostly by the educated classes. The majority of the population who had grown up during Indonesian rule were only able to speak bahasa as Portuguese was strictly forbidden during the Indonesian occupation. This mismatch of languages which now includes English through extended contact with nations such as the United States, Australia and New Zealand becomes visible in the built environment and once again illustrates the continued struggle for a single identity. It is also interesting to notice the particular uses for each language and connotations that they provide within the constructed landscape. For example, Fig. 34, a cart left near the market on the eastern end of Dili is stamped with “Buy Local Build Timor Leste” then below is stamped “sosa ha rai laran no hari” Timor Leste” followed by the organisation’s website (in English) below. English acts as the language of the organisation and allows English speaking people which in Timor Leste would consist mostly of either tourists, non government organisation employees, or diplomatic or security based foreign representatives whilst also incorporating the local Timorese who would be familiar with bahasa. Counter to an inclusive bi-lingual approach, we are confronted in another image with a Ford corporation billboard declaring the coming of a new Ford distributor warehouse to Timor

Leste solely in Portuguese, contrasting not only the language differences but the differences in uses for commercial advertising and marketing (Fig. 35). Perhaps the most visual example of the multi-lingual nature of Timor Leste is vividly displayed on the exterior of Timor Plaza (Fig. 36). In the 6 columns displayed in the image, the first is comprised entirely of English. The second, for an Indonesian bank, is appropriately in bahasa. The third column boasts an English panel at the top with Timor Telecoms advertisement below in Tetum. The branding of ANZ bank is easily recognisable to New Zealand and Australian viewers and ironically pronounces “we live in your world”. The final column consists mostly of English with an advertisement for an architecture firm in Portuguese.

## CHINA, FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND NEO-COLONIAL/IMPERIAL VENTURES

After numerous years of colonial or occupied governance, many nations have been faced with the daunting prospect of extreme poverty requiring resources far in excess of what the newly independent nation can afford. This inability to financially sustain and reconstruct basic and fundamental aspects of the nation has in many cases lead to the hard form of colonial power, evident through the active governing of the state, merely giving way to a soft political and economic colonialism born out of economic reliability on international capitalist markets. The term neo-colonialism was first discussed by Lenin as he suggested “political independence... was incomplete unless accompanied by economic independence”. This idea is unpacked by Nikita Khrushchev.

The winning of political freedom is only the prerequisite of complete independence, the achievement of economic independence. In order to preserve and in some cases to re-establish their former domination, the colonial powers, in addition to suppression by force of arms, are resorting to new forms of colonial enslavement under the guise of aid to underdeveloped countries, which brings them colossal profits. (Crozier, 1964, p. 18)

This statement was incredibly pertinent at the time as many of the European colonies in both Africa and Asia were being relinquished and gifted back to their respective heads of state. Over forty years later however Timor Leste and many African nations are still grappling with various forms of Neo-colonial advances with China leading the way.

Following the withdrawal of the Indonesian military and reacquisition of independence in 2002 Timor Leste grappled with the challenge of development within major areas such as education, health, and infrastructure. With an economy crippled by conflict, comparably little financial means were available to develop, and in some cases completely reconstruct, such essential areas as mentioned above... Along with common non government organisations

assisting essential areas of need in Timor Leste swift economic and resource based assistance was offered by the international community. International assistance came largely from Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, The United States of America, the European Union, China and the United Nations. Amongst these, links between assistance and political and economic strategy begin to play out. Portugal extended its patriarchal links whilst Australia and New Zealand invested in continuing stability within the Asia-Pacific region. Many political commentators suggest that the United States investment was a proactive reaction to the of a fear of Chinese development within the Asia Pacific region.

China has historically maintained close ties with Timor Leste dating back to the 13th century when trade of resources such as sandalwood brought merchants from Chinese shores. China also won political favour with Timor Leste during the Indonesian invasion and occupation being the first nation to recognise their independence both in 1975 and 2002. Along with diplomatic acceptance and support during the Indonesian occupation, China supplied financial assistance to the freedom fighters during the early years and attempted to provide military support however naval intervention by Indonesia and Australian forces successfully stopped the delivery of such support. With the enduring historical relationship between the two nations evident, why does the recent economic aid concern key players in Timor Leste?

While China has provided a small amount of economic aid compared to the other nations mentioned earlier, it has directed the main proportion of financial resource towards the development of key infrastructure. The three main infrastructure projects China has undertaken are all located within Dili and consist of a suite of government buildings. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Presidential Palace and the Ministry of Defence headquarters have all been gifted to Timor Leste by the Chinese government and sit prominently within Dili's landscape. The key to these projects is their highly visible nature which becomes clear as you travel from the airport along Avenida Presidente Nicolau Lobato or Aveinda de Portugal, two highly used roads in Dili (Fig. 37). Loro Horta in his article *Timor Leste: The Dragons Newest Friend* explores China's relationship with Timor Leste and underlines the incredibly visible nature of particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building stating that

The Chinese funded and built Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a rather important structure and has been built in a way to maximize its visual effect. From the descent to Nicolao Lobato Airport in the capital of Dili, first to be seen from the air, are the large and shining Chinese style roofs of the Ministries. (Horta, 2009, p.8)

I was fortunate to be able to photograph all three structures; however I was constrained to photographing the exteriors only for varying reasons (Figures 38–40). As the triptych of Chinese development sits within the rest of the exhibited work the contrasting style is accentuated and perhaps only rivalled in its contrasting nature by Timor Plaza and the Ministry of Social Solidarity building. Each building echoes each other with their generic rectangular nature and bilateral symmetry which is a key design component in Chinese architecture as symbolises balance and harmony. The variations are then differentiated by stylistic differences usually at the rear or in places not accessible to the public. The Ministry of defence curves around the rear of the dominant façade and although circular structures would appear to mimic nature more than the rigidity of a rectangle the building still seems to appear counter to the landscape. The dusty hue of the exterior along with the cool grey of the concrete contrast the green of the surrounding landscape and the eccentricity of the purple vehicle located in the background accentuating the instalment of a structure foreign to local design sensibilities. The orange tiled roof of the Ministry of Foreign affairs building as described above by Loro Horta produces a visually contrasting style yet mimics nearly exactly the styling of the Chinese Embassy which is located a couple of hundred meters down the road. The strong Chinese design is accentuated by the pagoda styled tower that draws the eye from nearly anywhere within the central courtyard and is also clearly visible also from the road ascending above the roofline of the façade. The presidential palace once again keeps in tradition with Chinese design with a strongly symmetrical façade accentuated by an elongated driveway visually clearing any obstruction so that the full impact of the building is appreciated by the viewer. The key difference with the Presidential Palace is the incorporation of the blue styled roof which mimics and might I put, not overly convincingly, the roofs on traditional Timorese spirit houses.

The importance of this in terms of the built environment in Timor Leste is closely linked to architecture's relationship with power and identity.

These three structures all hold incredibly significant symbolic value to the nation of Timor Leste. The presidential palace is symbolic of democracy and leadership which can not be underestimated within a nation that has struggled for its right to govern its people for so long. The ministry of defence is the visual symbol of military might, both to withstand future foreign occupation but also to keep peace which has been so lacking in past decades. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the outward persona of Timor Leste to foreign governments and the location where decisions surrounding foreign economic policy are made which is incredibly significant when the building that is holding such decision making has been gifted by the Chinese government. Jyoti Hosagrahar, in her work *Interrogating Difference: Postcolonial Perspectives in Architecture and Urbanism* suggests that "post-colonial theory has informed thinking around buildings and urban space as symbolic cultural landscapes, that are historically constituted, cultural constructed, political artefacts whose forms are dynamic and constantly negotiated. (Hosagrahar, 2012, p. 73)". These structures are the physical, visual outcomes of economic and political negotiations and constructions; they are politics played out through the built environment and are contributing to a shift towards a new urban Timor Leste defined more and more by politics and foreign investment.

Foreign investment, even through infrastructure projects does not always constitute strong visual relationships towards the donor nation which acts to problematise links between the built environment and foreign aid. Through the Asian Development Bank Japan is also involved in a large ongoing roading infrastructure project (Fig. 41). This project consisting of upgrading much of the nations key roads such as the coastal roads to both Baucau in the East and towards the Indonesian boarder in the West via Liquica and Maubara. Although significantly more useful to the greater public the roading project allows no visual signs or symbols of political and economic assistance. In fact through the use of diptych presentation techniques I contrast the roading project to a pile of rubble found in central Dili. The similarity between destruction and reconstruction is nearly indiscernible and questions the viewer as to which is which. The fallen sign slightly off centre within the image of the roading project alludes to the slow reconstruction process that is often set back and becomes reminiscent of deconstruction as opposed to reconstruction. The centrality of the rock pile with the lush green foliage and fresh clean sky alleviates the finality of the concrete wall in the partnering image creating a sense of life and of future in opposition to past destruction.

## PRESENTATION METHODOLOGIES:

Throughout the body of work I have chosen specifically to work with a gridded structure or by creating triptychs and diptychs. This allows for the viewer to view simultaneously either the range of diversity within a similar style such as the triptych of the Portuguese structures or to dramatically contrast opposing styles, modes and mediums such as within the diptych of the outdoor market and Timor Plaza interior. In a previous experiment I had utilised a slide show of images with coinciding transitional changes to pair multiple images with a single image and also to create a scale at which the viewer could interact with even the smallest of details such as the writing on the façade of Timor Plaza. This experiment proved unsuccessful due to technical issues surrounding the use or lack thereof high definition projection thus losing detail critical to the scale of the projection. It was also brought up that the relationship to visual media such as mainstream news was too prevalent and severely altered the reading from documentary exploration to loaded critique of motion media. My choice of singular printed panels pinned to the wall echoes the fragility of Timor Leste's current state as it begins the first period of self governance in over three hundred years. Having explored the use of single panels incorporating multiple images I feel that although it ties the images together well and directly links each image together it is more appropriate to create individual panels. This accentuates the varied styles and contrasting images, as each image, each site, function as a singular work tied to the greater whole through spatial arrangement. Working within a space comprised of one linear wall with a small section opposite the centre, scale is employed to create visual pace and rhythm throughout the installation, guiding the viewer and encouraging varying spatial engagements with the images. I am well aware that scale within landscape and architectural practice is loaded particularly within certain areas and styles. The New Topographics employed small scale works utilising contact prints and small formats whilst many contemporary practitioners such as Tillim and Biolobrzkeski employ larger scales mainly whilst also at times employ smaller

versions. This transition to dominance of large scale work has spectacularised landscape imagery and given it a sense of scale in relation to the viewer. Through my use of a small format digital medium I am limited in the scale I am able to attain but question the need for monumentality in relation to my work. Over all I aim to create a varied visual documentation through which the viewer can be immersed within a synthesis of the contemporary built environment of Timor Leste 2012.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of my research I have photographically explored the contemporary built environment of Timor Leste in order to unpack contrasting influences active within the constructed landscape. Highlighting the ability of architecture and the built environment to image social, cultural and political ideas I have used this as a basis to investigate the role of the built environment in creating and defining Timor Leste. By investigating the various iterations of colonial influence I suggest that although the powers of colonial governance are as alive as the decaying ruins of the abandoned prison and market place, the cultural and social symbols that link the Portuguese culture to status and wealth are alive and well. Through exploration of specific sites constructed with foreign economic aid, notions of neo-colonialism within the built environment have been unpacked underlining the complication of ideas of national identity when structures that should be symbolic of national pride and identity are constructed by foreign governments. The employment of specific photographic methodologies including a straight documentary style and the construction of diptychs and triptychs and grids as a formal mode of presentation allow the viewer to survey the contemporary built environment and engage with the varying elements that construct it as they are compared and contrasted within exhibited work.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 3

James Baillie Fraser (1819), *A View of the Bazaar Leading to Chitpore Road.*

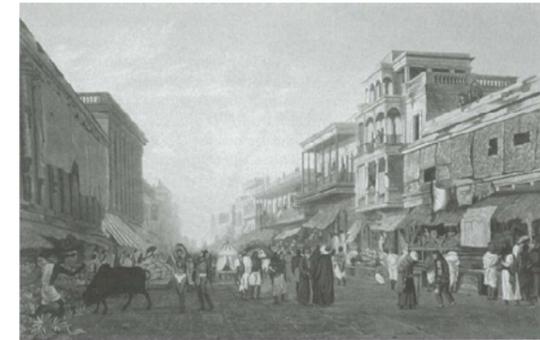


Figure 4

T. & W. Daniell (1786), *North side of Tank Square showing Old Courthouse and Writers' Building.*



Figure 5

James Baillie Fraser (1819), *A View of Scotch Church from the Gate of Tank Square.*

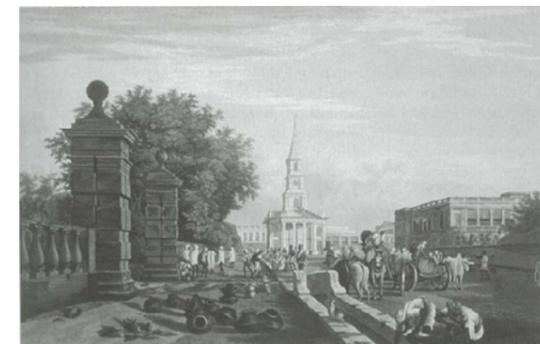


Figure 6

Guy Tillim (2007), *City Hall offices, Lubumbashi, DR Congo.*



Figure 7

Guy Tillim (2007), *Typists, Likasi, DR Congo.*



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

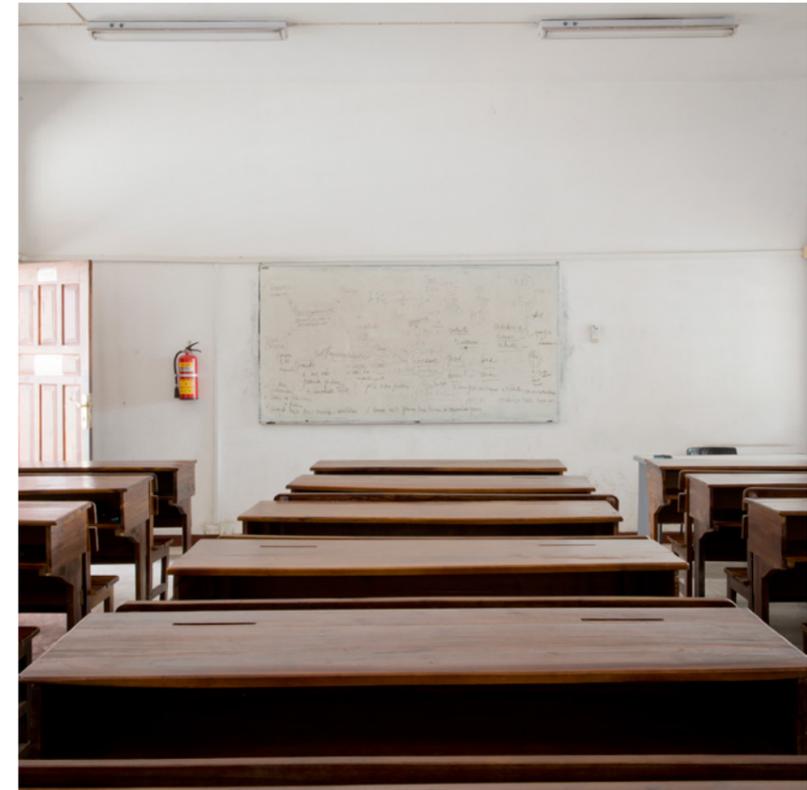


Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18

Richard Mosse (2009), *Provisional office wall partitions within Al-Faw Palace, Camp Victory, Baghdad, Iraq.*



Figure 19

Richard Mosse (2009), *U.S. military telephone kiosks built within Birthday Palace interior, Tikrit, Iraq.*



Figure 20

Richard Mosse (2009), *American dormitories built within Saddam's Birthday Palace, Tikrit, Iraq.*



Figure 21

Richard Mosse (2009), *U.S.-built partition and air-conditioning units within Al-Salam Palace, Forward Operating Base Prosperity, Baghdad, Iraq.*



Figure 22

Richard Mosse (2009), *"Thank you for your service" banner, Al-Faw Palace interior, Camp Victory, Iraq.*



Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32

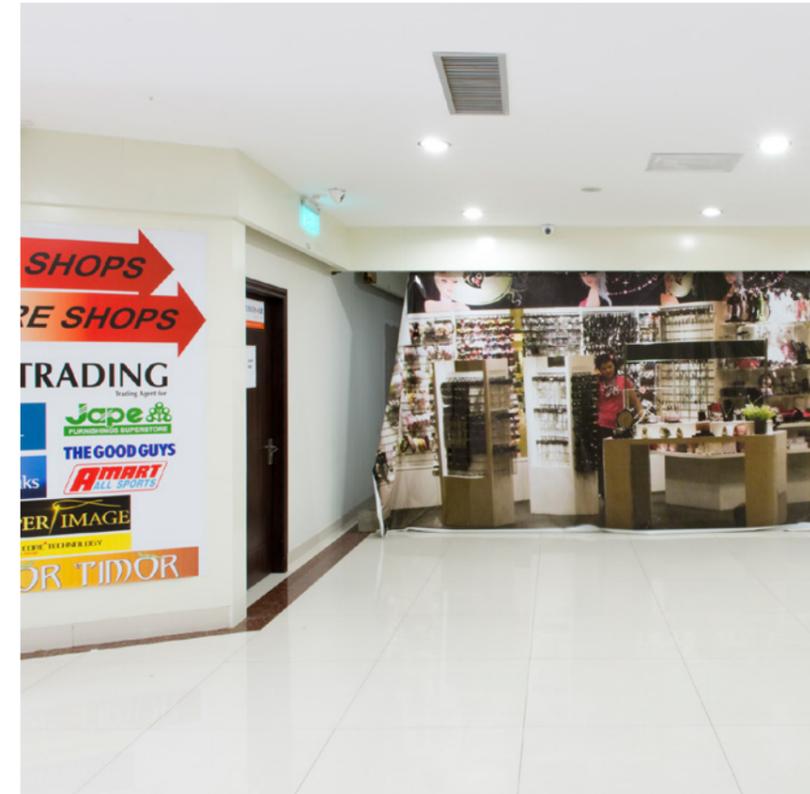


Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36



Figure 37

Proximity example map.  
<https://maps.google.com/>

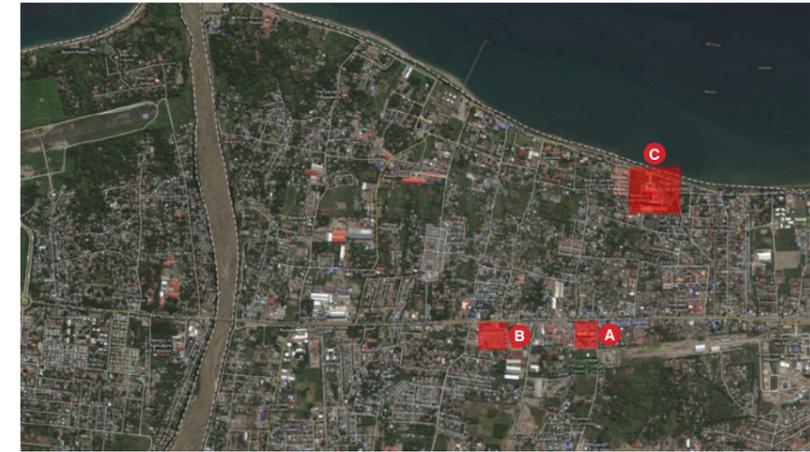


Figure 38

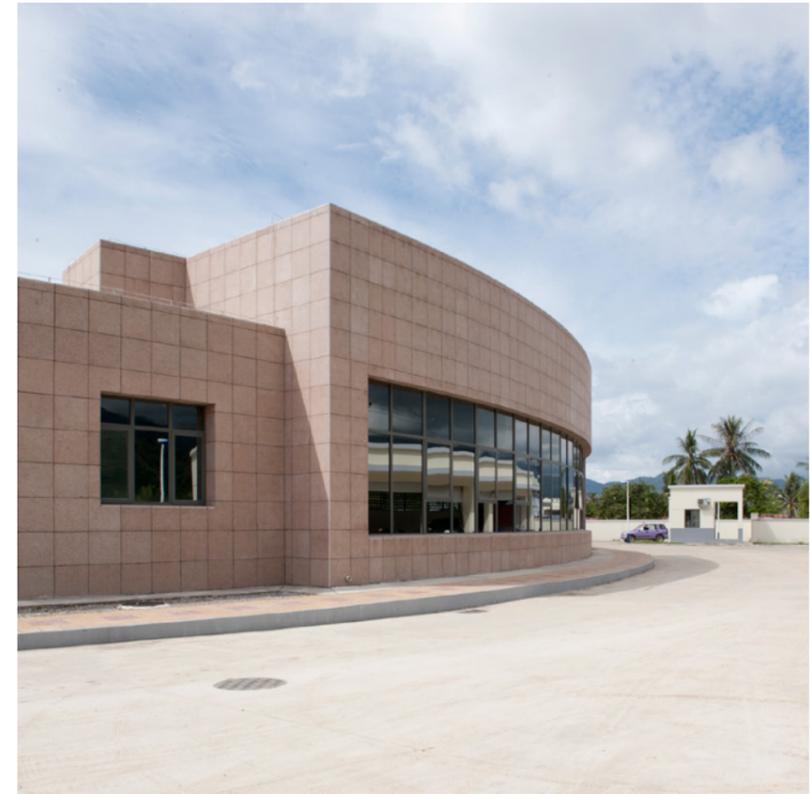


Figure 39



Figure 40



Figure 41



## EXHIBITION PLATES

Plate I

Unnamed street, new residential development, eastern outskirts of Dili. Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012

Appropriated Portuguese pastels. Residential structure. Old Town, Baucau, Timor Leste. August 2012

Unnamed street, new residential development, eastern outskirts of Dili. Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012



Plate II

Ministry of Social Solidarity conference room. Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012

Primary school classroom. Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.



Plate III

Security guard, UNTL. Dili, Timor Leste.  
August 2012.

Armed patrol outside the Resistance  
Museum prior to independence  
celebrations. Dili, Timor Leste. May 2012.

Workers transporting rubbish from Timor  
Plaza construction site. Dili, Timor Leste.  
August 2012.



Plate IV

Brick works during the dry season  
on Comoro River bed. Dili, Timor Leste.  
August 2012.

Retaining wall for new residential  
development, eastern outskirts of Dili.  
Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.

Residential construction, new residential  
development, eastern outskirts of Dili.  
Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.



Plate V

Grass and gravel. new residential  
development, eastern outskirts of Dili.  
Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.

Map of Dili, Ministry of Justice ( X ).  
Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.



Plate VI

Notice board in the foyer of the Chinese built Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.

Security camera outside Timor GAP offices, Upper floor of Timor Plaza stage one. Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.



Plate VII

Rubble. Dili, Timor Leste. May 2012.

New roading development project,  
funded by Japan via the Asian  
Development Bank. Between Luqica  
and Muabara. May 2012.



Plate VIII

Market place for fish and fresh produce.  
Dili, Timor Leste. May 2012.

Timor Plaza stage one, shop filler.  
Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.



Plate IX

Chapel, new police training facility. Dili,  
Timor Leste. May 2012.

Ruins of the Portuguese market place. Old  
Town, Baucau, Timor Leste. May 2012.

Ossuary. Luqica, Timor Leste. May 2012.



Plate X

Entrance way to rural dwelling. Old Town, Baucau, Timor Leste. May 2012.

Urban Dwelling with accumulated rubbish. Dili, Timor Leste. August 2012.

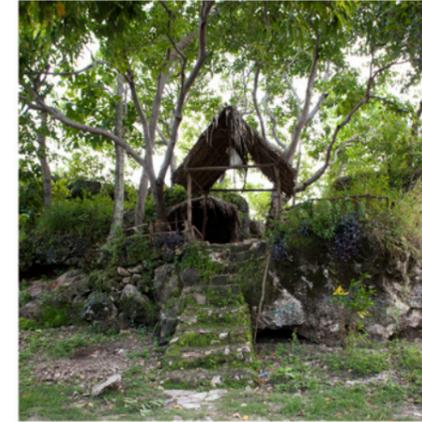


Plate XI

Chinese built, Ministry of Defence (rear).  
Dili, Timor Leste. May 2012.

Information panels with Chinese sign,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Dili, Timor  
Leste. August 2012.

Chinese built, Presidential Palace. Dili,  
Timor Leste. August 2012.



Plate XII

Hotel the Ramelau. Dili, Timor Leste.  
May 2012.

Timor Plaza stage one development  
Façade. Dili, Timor Leste. May 2012.



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Designed by Julie Jeon

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