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Policy Note

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"There is Security from this Place"

Promoting the Safety and Economic Vitality of Port Moresby's Local Markets

Lessons for Market Renovators

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David Craig and Doug Porter

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Contents

Acknowledgements II
Executive Summary V
Introduction 1
Markets, Security, and Urban Development: Learning from What Works 1
A NEW POLICY ANALYSIS APPROACH: UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITIES 2
Part 1/Phase 1. Markets in Crisis: Learning from Tokarara 7
1.1 TOKARARA NEIGHBORHOOD AND MARKET AT A GLANCE 7
1.2 FUNCTION: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES 8
1.3 FUNCTION: SAFETY AND SECURITY 9
1.4 BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITY: AUTHORITY FROM SELF-HELP AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP 9
1.5 OUTCOMES AND LESSONS 11
Part 2/Phase 2. Critical Juncture and Intervention: Learning from Sabama 13
2.1 SABAMA NEIGHBORHOOD AND MARKET AT A GLANCE 13
2.2 FUNCTION: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY 15
2.3 FUNCTION: SECURITY AND SAFETY 17
2.4 BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITY: VERTICAL AUTHORITY IS RESTRUCTURED ENROLLING LOCAL LEADERS 17
2.5 OUTCOMES AND LESSONS 19
Part 3/Phase 3. Cycles of Growth or Regression: Learning from Gerehu 24
3.1 GEREHU NEIGHBORHOOD AND MARKET AT A GLANCE 24
3.2 FUNCTION: SAFETY AND SECURITY 25
3.3 FUNCTION: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY 25
3.4 BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITY 27
3.5 OUTCOMES AND LESSONS 29
Conclusions and Recommendations: 32
When Renovating Port Moresby's Markets, Where to Focus Attention 32
Practical Actions and Recommendations for Market Renovation Leaders 33
Phase 1: Recommendations for Actions before Renovation 33
Phase 2: Recommendations for Actions during Renovation 35
Phase 3: Recommendations for Actions after Renovation 36

Annex 1: Note on Methods 38
Annex 2: The Three Phases of Market Renovation 39
Annex 3: Market Sketch Maps 40

Executive Summary

This Policy Note presents an analysis of and recommendations on the ongoing renovations of neighborhood markets in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea (PNG). It is part of a program of work under the Urban Safety and Security Technical Assistance Activity that began in the National Capital District, Port Moresby, in late 2014 and is currently continuing in Lae, PNG's second-largest city.

This report is based on extensive fieldwork, interviews, and observations at three Port Moresby neighborhood market sites conducted during 2015: Tokarara (unrenovated), Sabama (renovated 2013), and Gerehu (renovated 2011–14) (see Annex I for more information on the methodology involved).

Neighborhood markets are crucial for the economic vitality, safety, and social life of urban settlements. They need to be safe and secure areas to buy and sell, especially as women have a dominant presence in marketplaces, both as vendors and buyers. But they also need to function efficiently as markets, providing market sellers and their families with a daily income and buyers with fresh, cheap, and abundant produce, and they need to generate revenue to meet operating and maintenance costs.

Port Moresby's markets are by definition sites of economic opportunity. Yet, though all have some leadership structure, many struggle to enforce the rules and to access the resources required for safe, secure, and efficient market business.

Recent renovations of a range of Port Moresby's neighborhood markets have seen new citywide and national leadership emerge that has been able to mobilize the resources needed for renovation and to ensure that safety rules are enforced in and around market areas. They have also been able to bring together local leadership to augment community safety. Although some market renovations have taken a deliberately "gender sensitive" approach, in general, there has been a limited role for women leaders, despite the fact that the benefits from women's political empowerment in these kinds of reforms elsewhere are well documented.

These dramatic and powerful interventions have transformed markets, which are now far more highly regulated. One consequence has been that the range of goods sold at some of the markets has been significantly reduced in favor of fresh produce. Other goods that featured in the marketplace before renovation (hot food, snacks, clothing, manufactures, cigarettes, and especially betelnut [Tok Pisin: *buai*] have been removed and relocated to areas nearby. Renovations have also strongly discouraged men from socializing at markets, where they were frequently gambling, playing games, smoking, and drinking.

These changes have undeniably improved personal safety inside market fences, but trade and patronage within the renovated areas have declined. As a result, it now takes longer for the remaining sellers, predominantly women selling produce, to clear their goods. To improve the viability of their businesses, some have moved outside the market where produce can be sold more quickly and at better prices, but the risks are higher outside too, and safety and security cannot be guaranteed.

The safety of vendors selling snacks, cigarettes, betelnut, and more outside the market fence—often those who have relocated as a result of being expelled from inside the market—has been unevenly affected by the renovations. In some cases, they have become more exposed to violence, including from police enforcing the ban on the sale of *buai*. Some ethnic groups, especially Port Moresby's Motu Koitabu peoples, also continue to feel unsafe in the renovated market areas.

Reduced commercial activity also means that renovated markets have not yet become economically sustainable. Fees collected fall far short of expenses. The costs of market management, cleaners, and security workers are being met only through personal commitments and a special subsidy arranged by high-level leaders; it is not clear that either will be sustained if the political leadership changes.

Building on the improvements in security and market conditions in renovated areas, the recommendations in this Policy Note aim to make both the markets more viable economically viable and the activities in and around them more diverse and attractive to vendors and buyers alike.

The Policy Note draws conclusions and makes recommendations relevant to the challenges faced by market renovators, be they government leaders and administrative officials, donor partners, or local people on whom market renovations depend for success, for each of the three phases of market renovation.

Port Moresby Residents Discussing Safety around a Renovated Market

Sabama used to be the most notorious, the settlement and the market. A "red zone"—you couldn't go in there, or work in there. **Tokarara Village Court official**

Before, [the Sabama market] *used to be too crowded. Buai* [Betelnut]*, smokes, marijuana, a lot of people, gambling, abusing alcohol, abusing the mothers* [vendors]*. There were holdups, raskols* [youth criminal gangs]*, going way back, 70s, 80s, 2000s. It was a no-go zone for some people. Drunks, bag-snatching, unemployed youth. There were some conflicts in the old market,* [ethnic] *Wabags, Taris, Keremas. Buai was the main cause of the problems. Soon as we established this* [refurbished market] *here, there's no face of those doing those* [criminal] *things. People are safe getting off the bus.* [The Moresby South MP] *built the outside security fence, helped to rebuild. Round the shops, he extended the fence. He helped to renew, to repaint the shops. He sealed the carpark.* **Community policeman, Sabama**

Before there's no law and order. Now with people [market staff and security] *picked from the ethnic groups, Engan, Kerema... We stand together and work as a team. You talk together, that's your way to do it.* **Sabama market security staff**

People have changed a lot. It's a mindset change. I think part of it is because of what the minister is doing, especially with the market. I think the market security make a difference; with this development here, people look after the community. You've got the community leaders here, the community police that makes a difference. **Market customer, Sabama**

A lot of the former young guys in trouble, raskols, they have work now, they are inside [the community]. I am one. I'm inside [working as market security]*.* **Former raskol leader, Sabama**

Inside there [the market]*, it's safe. Outside, here, it's not safe for anyone.* **Snack seller, across the road from Sabama market**

Inside, there's plenty of security. This is how we travel, security. There's no movement of criminals here. But the betelnut side [of the road]*, it's not safe. Guys smoking marijuana, sometimes they come and "bighead" against the market.* **Sabama market security**

The buai sellers at the corner, sometimes, we just organize ourselves to push them back [away from the market]*. In the morning, we are organized, we come here early, 5, 6 o'clock, and stand at the corner; as they arrive we push them back. In the afternoon, sometimes we'll make a couple of requests to people from Badili* [Police Station] *to come and push them back. Once we've been there, later they see we've no pretense they will come back. If they are already sitting down, it's harder; if we are community police, not regular police, they will go against us. "Ok, you guys come and feed us. We are just doing this to make our dinner."* **Sabama community police**

The [local Motu Koitabu village] *Kirakira people mostly don't come in here. The place is changed; things have changed but you can't change an adult mentality. They think they might get their bag snatched, ladies harassed. That corner there* [across Gavimani road, including the illegal *buai* market] *is bustling with life. You might get in trouble over there if you are a new person. The community police* [working at the Sabama market] *only go as far as the corner.* **Kirakira (Motu Koitabu) resident**

However, [Governor Parkop] *has noticed that most of the markets in the Moresby South are always half empty "Sabama market is a good market but it is empty all the time. Vendors from Malaoro can move down to Sabama market. But the challenge is for the people of Sabama to change their attitudes and mindsets to attract vendors and customers."*[1]

1 EMTV Gordons Market to be Redeveloped EMTV News October 15 2015
http://www.emtv.com.pg/news/2015/10/gordons-market-to-be-redeveloped-2/

Introduction
Markets, Security, and Urban Development: Learning from What Works

Box 1. Crime and Violence Trends in Port Moresby Settlements: Views from Above and Below

We can't see any reason why things could be getting better. The police are still in serious crisis. Crime statistics are hopeless, and murder rates are high. Corruption is everywhere, and institutions are weak. The traditional and village authority breaks down in the urban context, into entrenched ethnic violence. The settlements are still growing, they are still no-go zones and hotbeds of crime and violence. If you think there's any settlement that is getting better, what's its name? What could possibly be improving things? **Security researcher, Canberra**

Are things better here [in Sabama, a notorious, ethnically mixed "no covenant" neighborhood in Port Moresby] *than they were 10 years ago? Of course. Look around. Ask people. Do you see any raskol gangs here? No, you see a few drunken youths. It's mainly rats and mice we are chasing now. How is that? We did it. The community leaders did it—we cut them off.* **Community leader, Sabama, Port Moresby**[2]

This Policy Note distills work done during 2015 on safety and security in ethnically and socially mixed neighborhoods and informal settlements in Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The prosperity of urban areas depends greatly on the capability of local markets to create secure and inclusive spaces for economic exchange. For decades, however, Port Moresby's markets, instead of actually being observed and understood, have been neglected or seen as zones of illegality, whose unemployed migrants and youth pose crime and violence risks for all.[3] This and the wider stigma about urban settlements (box 1) have clouded appreciation of the central role of local markets as places where different kinds of capital are produced, exchanged, and accumulated.[4] When markets fail to provide a safe and secure trading environment, the impact is directly borne by the most vulnerable in terms of gender, class, and ethnicity, but the wider effects are felt by all city residents.

Crime and violence must feature in any story of security around local markets. An investigation in 2012 by the National Capital District Commission (NCDC)/UN Women Port Moresby Safe City project in six markets documented multiple forms

2 This report makes extensive use of quotations drawn from interviews during the research. These quotations reflect respondents' views alone and should not be interpreted as official positions of the World Bank.

3 M. B. Goddard, *The Unseen City: Anthropological Perspectives on Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea* (Winnellie, NT: Pandanus Publishing, 2005). See also, for example, "PNG Population Growth an Immediate Threat," Radio Australia, October 2, 2012, http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2012-10-02/png-population-growth-an-immediate-threat/1023762; and "Population Growth Fuels Conflict," IRIN, February 2, 2011, http://www.irinnews.org/report/94512/papua-new-guinea-population-growth-fuels-conflict.

4 Citizens create *physical* or *economic capital* as they engage in markets and invest in private and public assets. They produce *cultural or human capital* when they invest in education and urban identities. They produce and exchange various kinds of *legal, political, and social capital* as they maintain relationships, represent and defend their interests, and resolve conflicts with kin, other communal groups and neighbors, traders, service providers, and public authorities. Bourke argues that the marketing of fresh food is one of PNG's biggest economic success stories, one typically undervalued and overlooked by government and international organizations. See R. Bourke, "Marketed Fresh Food: A Successful Part of the Papua New Guinea Economy," *Development Bulletin* 67 (2005): 22–25.

of violence at each.[5] Insecurity restricts women's access to economic opportunities, and existing policing and management have failed to stem the violence. But this violence and failure cannot be the whole story. In the course of this research, too many observers reported improvements in safety and security in recent years, and they were clear about why this was happening.

Some pointed to investment and jobs from a relatively long run of economic growth, others to business-oriented settlers driving out former *raskols* or to the ability of local leaders to prevent the escalation of ethnic or other conflict through mediation. Others pointed to the efforts made by city leaders, together with market authorities and surrounding communities, to upgrade market facilities, environments, and management. This commitment has been unprecedented; at last count, 11 of the city's formally gazetted markets have been or are in the process of being renovated.

The purpose of this Policy Note is to analyze the lessons from this experience. How have investments in infrastructure and facilities, management, and security made a difference in how markets function? What have been the impacts and how have these been felt by the range of people—buyers and sellers, young and old, women and men—who rely on their local market? How can gender, ethnic, class, and economic differences among vendors and buyers be more fully acknowledged in the process of redeveloping markets? And how might "market renovators"—a category of people that includes city leaders and officials, the police, market managers, donor partners, and a host of local people on whom successful renovation depends—design, implement, and sustain their hopes for vibrant, economically inclusive, and secure local markets?

A NEW POLICY ANALYSIS APPROACH: UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITIES

Box 2. "Yu yet cam na lukim" ["You Need to Come and See"]

Unless you go into an area, and know it, you can't know what is going on. So, when people say, "These areas always looks rough, how can people live there?" Well, there must be a system in place, and you've got to know how to ask the questions to find it, otherwise, people don't realize what is in there and working. It's hard to describe unless you see it in specific cases. **Mediator, Sabama**

There's a song about this: "Kerema yu no savi. Yu yet cam na lukim." "You don't know Kerema [a Gulf Province town of mixed reputation]*: you need to come and see."* **Community leader, Vabukori**

This Policy Note represents an effort to *come and see* the *system in place* so as to build an understanding of *what is in there and working*. What has been done to date, where, and what questions and issues were of interest?

The first phase of research comprised over 240 individual and group interviews, conversations, and observations with people in Port Moresby's ethnically and socially mixed settlements and villages, including Tokarara, Gerehu, and Sabama (see Annex I for more information on study methods).

The research aimed to understand how well local markets were meeting their core functions and in particular, to examine the capabilities of institutions involved in governing market operations on a daily basis, as well as during and after renovation.

5 See UN Women, "Making Port Moresby Safer for Women and Girls," Report on Scoping Study Findings (Port Moresby: UN Women, 2012), 6, 7. This report identified multiple forms of violence in Gordons, Gerehu, Waigani, Malaoro, Tokarara, and Hohola markets, finding that "55% of women and girls who participated in the Study reported that they have experienced some form of violence in the markets surveyed," and that "64% of both male and female respondents reported witnessing some form of sexual violence against women and girls (SVAWG) in the markets and vicinity," including several reported cases of rape.

Local markets' *core function* is to provide safe and secure spaces for economic opportunity. Principally this will be achieved through trade between local people, sellers and buyers, most of whom are women and many of whom have particular needs for security and safety.[6] At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that local markets play a number of other roles, as places to congregate, socialize, and maintain a host of relationships that people everywhere associate with the good life.

This study has benefited from recent insightful research on markets in the Pacific[7] The analytical framework begins from the view that how well markets achieve their core function depends on how *capable* they are as *institutions*, that is, as active bundles of rules, roles, and resources underpinning the economic concession. As institutions, markets need to efficiently and authoritatively 1) *enroll* vendors, sellers, managers, and leaders, 2) define and enforce *rules* about what activities (buying, selling, recreation, etc.) may be done in and around the market, and 3) raise and allocate *resources* both from and to support those activities. Moreover, markets especially need to do this by recognizing that how these three core functions are performed is always highly gendered.

Case Study Sites

Tokarara/June Valley: a market that has fallen into apparent dereliction, with no fence, formal management, or security. Yet it is still popular. Although interrupted by police raids and conflict over control of the market's *buai* trade, community leaders provide amenities, security, and justice/mediation.

Sabama: has had a grim reputation for limited safety and security, especially at its market. Things are changing, however, as new and maturing local leadership (community/ethnic, political, police) have combined to renovate the market and find new ways to resolve disputes and engage youth.

Gerehu: a large mixed neighborhood (or group of neighborhoods) whose market had become unsafe for trading vendors and customers. New leadership from the NCDC and UN Women in the Port Moresby Safe City program has transformed this market. It is much safer, but still faces economic challenges in the aftermath of renovation.

Terms	Defining Questions	Examples in PNG Mixed Urban Settlements
Core Function	What problems does the institution respond to? What is the purpose of the institution?	Secure, inclusive economic opportunity and subsistence family income provision, largely by women (local markets)
Rules	What are the rules of the game?	Markets are economic concessions; their rules define specially regulated places where selected, safe economic activity happens, usually led by women
Roles	Who is enrolled and how? Doing what? Benefiting how?	Leaders (including women leaders), management, local authority figures (including law and justice), police, market vendors, customers, youth
Resources	How and by whom is it resourced?	Revenues, taxes and fees, market sales, vendor and buyer time (including unpaid family work), security and management costs

6 Urban markets in PNG, as throughout the Pacific, are highly feminized, with women traders comprising the vast majority. See UN Women, "Pacific Markets and Market Vendors: Evidence, Data and Knowledge in Pacific Island Countries, Literature Review and Annotated Bibliography" (Suva, Fiji: UN Women, 2011), http://www.academia.edu/8810213/Pacific_markets_and_market_vendors_Evidence_data_and_knowledge_in_Pacific_Island_Countries._Suva_Fiji_U.N._Women.

7 For example, Y. Underhill-Sem and others, "Changing Market Culture in the Pacific: Assembling a Conceptual Framework from Diverse Knowledge and Experiences," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 55, no. 3 (2014): 306–18.

Institutional capability is the sum of…	Defining Questions	Evaluative Questions
Efficiency	How efficiently does it do what it does?	Are market opportunities readily accessible, affordable, timely, and sustainable (for women in particular)?
Power and authority	How well does it engage and include?	Are markets and their leaders able to grasp together/organize rules (security), roles (including customers), resources (revenues, profits)?
Outcomes and legitimacy	What are its results/ outcomes and for whom?	Are markets inclusive, enabling leadership of women and access of vulnerable people and generating timely profits/ revenues/ safety for all those involved?

Capable market institutions need to be *efficient* in two ways. First, they must enable individuals—again, specifically women—to buy and sell affordably and quickly on a day-to-day basis so as to provide family subsistence. Second, over time, they need to ensure that there is a balance between the revenue generated by the market and the costs of maintaining the facilities, services, and safety it provides. Capable exercise of *authority* requires that market institutions sustain *pacts* that *grasp* together (that is, engage and include) the authority of those in leadership roles (both vertical authority, from the state and horizontal authority from the community); it also needs to ensure that rules *reach*[8] and are observed by all and that resources are accumulated to keep the market and its vendors in business.

The capabilities in efficiency and authority will produce *outcomes* that can then be considered for their *legitimacy*. If markets are efficient in enabling a wide range of vendors and buyers—and especially women buyers and sellers for the most part—to operate safely and profitably, they will be respected as legitimate. In other words, outcomes will not be seen as legitimate unless the rules are fairly enforced, irrespective of gender.

At any particular point in the life of a market and its renovation, the challenges can vary. To illustrate, this report uses the experience of markets in Tokarara, Sabama, and Gerehu to tell and analyze the story of renovation in three phases (see Annex II for a Table of the Phases). Each part of this note corresponds to a different phase of market renovation; the story of each phase will show the different mix of capabilities as described above.

Phase 1: Ongoing crisis. The condition of most Moresby markets before their renovation, when the market's basic functioning (security and secure economic opportunity) is far from optimal. The case used here to illustrate this phase is the Tokarara market.

Phase 2: Critical juncture, intervention, and renovation. The period when markets are undergoing renovation and when new investments are being made, new rules are being introduced and different arrangements are set up made to govern the market and how it relates to the wider community. Sabama is an excellent illustration of what it takes to successfully renovate a market.

Phase 3: Cycles of growth or regression? Changes made as part of renovation will either be sustained or undermined. Renovated markets must adjust to their new situation in the urban political economy and consolidate their gains as safe sites of economic opportunity, in cycles of growth attracting vendors, resources, and leadership commitment. The case here is Gerehu market.

8 This note frames institutional authority in terms of grasp and reach, much as it is understood in terms of the "infrastructural power" of states. See M. Mann, *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1988).

Special note on context and the conditions for success: public investment, buai, and policing

Soon after beginning this research, it became apparent that the success of market renovations was highly sensitive to conditions that could rapidly change. Three features illustrate this most clearly.

First, successful renovations depend not just on sufficient resources, but also on their flexibility and the speed in which and length of time they are available. In 2015, it was clear that the spate of renovations under way in Port Moresby depended on two relatively new instruments of public financial management, namely, the District Services Improvement Program (DSIP) and its provincial/capital district equivalent, the Provincial Services Improvement Program (PSIP). DSIP grants, for instance, amounted in 2015 to a K10 million per annum available for investment by each of Port Moresby's Open Member Members of Parliament (MPs). But, as this report will show, just as important as the quantum of funds is the degree of discretion provided to MPs as to how the funds are allocated and the kinds of expenditure they can cover. The speed and flexibility of spending actions possible under these instruments created favorable conditions for engaging people into the renovations, imposing new rules and regulations, and staying the course well beyond the completion of the civil works involved. But it is seldom the case that instruments of public spending have these particular qualities, and it should not be taken for granted that these kinds of funds will be readily available in the future.

Second, markets (and the women traders and vendors who rely on them) are also especially sensitive to the shock of rapid changes in management and to the unintended effects of regulations that have not been fully thought through. During 2015, the sale and public consumption of betelnut (*buai*) had been banned in the National Capital District. *Buai* is "by far the country's most important domestically marketed cash crop,"[9] and the ban affected both urban markets and surrounding settlements.[10] *Buai* also sits close to the symbolic core of the public's perception of PNG's cities as disorderly, dirty places, with unsafe, neglected public areas (box 3). A large urban constituency supported the ban on *buai* sales, but by mid-2016, it was back in the markets as the sales ban was lifted. Typically, local markets suffer from being underregulated and as a result, women vendors, for instance, face unrestricted informal "charges" and other gender discriminatory norms and practices, largely at the hands of the males who manage and otherwise dominate the marketplaces.[11] The imposition and then subsequent lifting and modification of the *buai* ban underscored the dramatic impact that regulation can have on market vitality, showing how these impacts are immediately felt not just in the incomes of women vendors but in safety and security, both around the market and in the home. It soon became apparent also that renovation can sometimes lead to the overregulation of markets and other unintended effects, including for the most vulnerable—women, girls, the poor—in whose name the renovation process is promoted.

Third, one knock-on effect of the buai ban brought home that the success of market renovations will also depend on factors that lie beyond the reach of most renovation efforts and, indeed, are not easily remedied by wider public policy. To enforce the *buai* ban, the NCDC's police reserve became actively involved with the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary (RPNGC). As many observed, one wholly unintended effect of the ban was that certain police officers were alleged to have become players in the *buai* market by reselling the confiscated substance. The raiding of *buai* selling sites by many different policing units has damaged the reputation of the police, especially after fatalities occurred at Hanuabada (a Motu Koitabu community in Port Moresby) in early 2015,[12] and also contributed to increased levels of insecurity within markets and the surrounding areas. Indeed, many people interviewed for this report expressed anger over this situation. Nevertheless, the wider message is that renovations depend on pacting between powerful players—

9 M. Allen, R. M. Bourke, and A. McGregor, Cash Income from Agriculture," in *Food and Agriculture in Papua New Guinea*, ed. R. M. Bourke and T. Harwood (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009), 286.

10 T. Sharp, "*Following Buai: the Highlands Betelnut Trade, Papua New Guinea*" (Phd thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 2012).

11 Underhill-Sem and others, "Changing Market Culture in the Pacific."

12 See "The Hanuabada Issue is Not About the Buai Ban, It is About the Enforcement of the Ban," Masalai (blog), January 24, 2015, https://masalai.wordpress.com/2015/01/24/the-hanuabada-issue-is-not-about-the-buai-ban-it-is-about-the-enforcement-of-the-ban/

political, administrative, formal, and informal—and any reforms that proceed without securing real commitments from the police are unlikely to succeed.

Box 3. Betelnut [*Buai*] and (Male) Marketplace Violence

It's always about buai. The fighting. There's always a group who want to control the buai market. When they get drunk, they like to complain about the other people who come in. So a Wabag man is here, from here, but then he will also go outside and get his family from Wabag to come in and sell too. And the Wabags are selling cheaper, and it brings the price down—they want to get all the customers. So, the others don't want the outsiders to come and steal their customers. And they try to challenge [the newcomers]*, physically. They kick over the stall. And then the situation becomes worse. The family come and join, and the fight gets going.* **Tokarara vendor**

Safety and security here is not guaranteed; the police come in any time. The police drive into the market and start chasing market buai sellers. They flee and take cover around us, then police come to our table and destroy our goods. We all run away leaving our things. **Tokarara female snack vendor**

Part 1/Phase 1.
Markets in Crisis: Learning from Tokarara

1.1 TOKARARA NEIGHBORHOOD AND MARKET AT A GLANCE

Tokarara, with a population of roughly 50,000,[13] including June Valley and the GoMoSaSePo[14] settlement, is an ethnically mixed area that combines informal settlement and working class housing along with corporate enclaves for better-off residents. Tokarara market has served the local neighborhoods as a fresh produce market since the 1960s when the suburb developed.[15] In the mid-1990s, a series of accidents and violent events marked a turning point. In 1996, when the market had spilled out onto the road front, a car accident resulted in revenge attacks that saw stallholders killed. Attending police fought with vendors and destroyed much of their infrastructure. NCDC security was withdrawn, and the market stalls retreated to behind the previous market fence line. The fence was still partly intact when UN Women did their preliminary assessment of the market in 2010, but it is now gone, bar one shard to the rear of the market. Tokarara ranked third for violence against women, and first for violence against men[16] (see Annex III, Tokarara Market Sketch Map).

Tokarara market

Photo: David Craig/Worldbank

In 2015–16, Tokarara market was at a low ebb. Investment by the NCDC in market security had ceased, and the market fence no longer protected the market perimeter. The market was in long-term crisis; still a major "*buai* and cigarette" market with some hot food and fresh produce, but there was also decayed infrastructure, no obvious leadership or management, and regular violence related to *buai*. Yet buyers and sellers continued to do business in daily and weekly routines, and livelihoods were being generated. Recognized local men, some living in the market, were paid by informally collected fees to clean up the rubbish, which was hauled away by an NCDC contractor. Security of a kind worked along similar lines, bolstered by the regular presence of Village Court magistrates, a female court clerk, and male Peace Officers [court bailiffs].

Clearly there was a "system in place" at Tokarara, which sustained some order. Yet although the market was safe enough, even enjoyable for some, including men and women, school pupils, and middle class residents, it was felt to be insecure by others. The fact that Tokarara's market was a known spot for selling *buai* meant that from late 2013, it became a major site for policing, which transformed but did not displace the trade.

13 National Statistical Office, "National Population & Housing Census 2011: 'Count Me In'" (Port Moresby: National Statistical Office, 2013).

14 GoMoSaSePo is an abbreviation of Goroka, Morobe, Simbu, Sepik, Popondetta, all points of settler origin.

15 The 1966 census showed the Moresby population expanding rapidly from 24,730 in 1960 to 41,848 in 1966. Reported in Commonwealth of Australia, "Territory of Papua Report for 1970" (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1970). 77.

16 UN Women, "Making Port Moresby Safer for Women and Girls." The six markets surveyed were Gordons, Gerehu, Tokarara, Waigani, Hohola, Lareva, and Malaoro.

1.2 FUNCTION: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

Box 4. Tokarara Market Daily/Weekly Routine and Patronage[17]

- Trade at the beginning of the week is slow, the end is busiest. Sundays are quiet.
- The morning: 5:30–8 a.m. 50–90 vendors (around twice that of Sabama, excluding the Sabama *buai* site), selling breakfast/convenience cooked food, *buai* to people on their way to work/school/study. Customers in the market at 7:30 a.m.: 300 (Monday), 320 (Wednesday, Friday); the majority are males earlier in the morning, with heavy *buai* sales from around 20 vendors.
- The middle of the day slow time: 35–80 vendors, around 100 customers at 12 noon, for produce, cigarettes, marijuana, hot food, socializing. *Buai* sellers often dispersed by late morning, but sales continue from other stalls. Small majority of women customers.
- The evening peak (especially at the end of the week): 80–150 vendors (around 50 percent more than Sabama), 250–300 buyers at 5 p.m., with the largest numbers coming and going between 4:40 and 6:30 p.m.; a significant majority are male. Students and schoolchildren, people finishing/coming home from work, buying the day's food on the way. Chicken, vegetables, evening meal herbs, convenience snacks (cucumbers, cans, fried food, hot food).
- Unlike better-fenced markets, vendors cannot leave goods on site. Various adaptive measures are taken, including purchasing wholesale only small amounts of fresh vegetables daily; heavy discounting at day's end; storage at home or in adjacent houses for a small fee.

The market was providing economic opportunities (box 5), but the appeal was also strong for males who congregate in different areas of the market for *buai* and gossip with friends, perhaps selling a few things on the side. For them, informal arrangements provide enough security for the market to remain an attractive place, but their presence and activities create fear and insecurity for others.

Box 5. Opportunities at Tokarara

People look at this place, they don't see us. They don't see this place, they only see dirt and rubbish, buai and young guys staring at them... Tokarara is the best market; we love it. People here are friendly. We are human beings down here! This is our market! **Male market customer**

This is a place for being with friends, for sitting with friends. When someone is looking for someone, they'll hear where they are at the market. It's how we are. It's good. We have a mix: mostly Highlands, but some Papuans. …They are happy to sit [with their produce] *out the back; they don't fight over space.* **Woman market regular**

What's good about this market? First, the food is fresh. Food must be fresh, because fresh food sells faster. If it's not fresh, you are forced to sell it at a discount. The vegies here come straight from Gordons [wholesale market]*, they sell fast. Second, buai. Buai is how people here live; you can sell quick. Early morning, already you have made enough for the day.* **Youth selling marijuana**

17 A census of market vendors and customers was taken at 7:30 a.m., 12 noon, and 5 p.m., Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

1.3 FUNCTION: SAFETY AND SECURITY

There are plenty of stories of youth and minor crime (pickpocketing, bag snatching, public drunkenness, harassment of stallholders) in the market space and of fights over *buai* sales, but the market lacks the dire reputation that Sabama market had before it was renovated (box 6).

Box 6. "The Market is Okay, but…": Safety at Tokarara

I think look back, since 2013, 14, 15, it's better now. Before that there were too many raskols. But they've gone. Some, they killed them: they die! Now, it's a very nice place here. **Woman vendor**

The Tokarara market is dominated by Eastern Highlanders, many of them live at Goroka Lodge [neighborhood]. *The market is okay, but young men from the community come and disrupt the market when they are drunk. They come and collect fees when they are not supposed to. They also come and ask for free cigarettes and sometimes get free buai too.* **Tokarara resident**

We always tell our pupils in the morning, don't go through the market, but a lot of children want cooked food, and it's hard for us to stop them. People do hold up small boys, the girls are all scared walking through there. We are always looking around, afraid. I don't think there's anyone providing security in there. **Local school teachers**

1.4 BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITY: AUTHORITY FROM SELF-HELP AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP

The economic opportunity and security achieved in Tokarara market is co-produced by the community itself (box 7). Although this can involve direct action, it is not simply vigilantism but is instead linked to wider personal security in Tokarara, which depends on being known within the local communal order, on having *savi pes* [a known face], and on sustained investment by local leaders.

Box 7. Basic Self-Help in Security at Tokarara Market

People are sick and tired of it, the violence, the thieving, pickpockets, the people who want to make trouble. They are not always there at Tokarara market. But if they do come, it's not safe, even for them. The local public forget about the police, and they do it on their own. "We stay here! You like it or not! You do it again, we'll bash you." The whole public will go for the person: We say "Wanpela taim ol holim yu, em pinis blo yu" [when the crowd have hold of you, you're done for]. *People are often nearly killed; out in a normal suburb* [outside Tokarara], *people would be dead.* **Market focus group, Tokarara**

Vendors and customers who are not known are regarded with suspicion. Locals, including children, (box 8) will combine their efforts to surveil or expel outsider threats, thus co-producing a form of security based on identity. Conversely, outsiders (including police) often use their anonymity to raid the market. Scuffles, fights, and full-scale ethnic battles emerge when outside actors try to muscle into the *buai* market, but newcomers also have multiple possibilities for making their way in, through multiple urban identities involving family, friendship, broad ethnic group, and/or local street residence.

Box 8. Security from Inclusion in the Community

It's when new people come here, people from outside. They might have relatives here, and they come to sell buai. You know there's going to be trouble. Someone will get drunk, he'll walk past their table, you know, and give it a little push—buai on the ground. And then it starts, and sometimes it will involve the whole neighborhood. There was one fight, it involved two groups, both from Goroka [Highlands], *one from June Valley, the other from down [toward Waigani]. Hundreds involved, all from a small buai fight. It all comes back to buai.* **Market regular**

There is no shortage of public will to produce security and safety at the market, nor is there a lack of involved community leadership.

Table 1. Grasping of Local Authority at Tokarara Market

Leaders Active in Governing Tokarara Market	Leadership, Experience, Connections					
	Community/ Ethnic Leader	Village Court Official/ Mediator	Church Leaders	Public Servant	Lives at Market	Business Owner/ Manager
Matthew	√	√	√	√		
James	√	√	√	√		
Frank	√	√				
Poso		√			√	
Micah				√		
Chen						√

Market-related leadership reaches out horizontally across the community and includes many ethnic leaders, as well as local law and justice actors. As table 1 depicts, local leaders who personally commit their time to governing the market space each draw on several sources of local authority and fiercely assert that they govern this space unaided (box 9). Indeed, as will be shown, their reach vertically, to police, Village Courts, municipal authorities, and leadership, is quite uneven.

Box 9. "We are Doing All This Ourselves"

This market we control ourselves; it's not run by NCDC. We are doing all this ourselves. It's well established already. People here assist themselves. We take responsibility, everybody is responsible. We charge fees: 1 kina [US$0.33]. *There's no argument about paying that tax. We have a common concern for the market. When the market cleaners go round and collect, we don't harass them.* **Vendor**

There is security from this place. There is no "official" market komiti [committee], *only* [the Village Court Peace Officer] *and myself. We are there all the time because we're working at the Village Court; when I'm not busy, I always come down. We are always the first on the spot if there's trouble, especially Sundi. That's the komiti, there!* **Village Court official**

The impact of public order from the Village Court

People involved in mediation and the Village Court are actively enrolled in creating law and order in the public market. The Tokarara Village Court, which meets every Monday toward the rear of the market site, considers many cases related to market activities (such as drunkenness and fighting, violence linked to market takings, swearing or slander among stallholders) and has a respected profile in creating public order. The female court clerk estimated that 40 percent of the cases they heard had some connection to the market (box 10). Male elders, court officials (including peace officers who act as Village Court bailiffs), local mediators, and market users themselves handle most violent disputes.

Box 10. Mediators in the Market: Village Court Officials Talk about Public Order at Tokarara Market

[The market] *belongs to all of us. I say, "You didn't bring this piece of land from outside. So you can't say 'no' to this one or that one. It didn't belong to your father's grandfather." We are very much aware as to the groups in the market. We take it on ourselves to mediate; we live together with them, we know them, we know those who only survive by selling betelnut.*

Lots of market issues come up [in mediation]*: stealing, market spaces, jealousy. We have to go in between and make them understand competition in the market is a good business thing. If one person dominates the market it's not good. We try to create this environment; people accept it with glee. But a stupid idiot with two cartons of beer can dismantle it all.*

The market's safe on Mondays, because we [the Village Court people, magistrates, clerk] *are there. Mark* [the Village Court chair] *is saying all the time, "this is a public space." Ok, but it doesn't always get in.*

1.5 OUTCOMES AND LESSONS

Inclusive security requires vertical as well as horizontal authority

For all of the efforts local leaders put into maintaining security and economic opportunity, the market remains vulnerable because it lacks strong links to higher level authorities and pacts with political leaders. As a result, the market does not have the physical capital needed to reinstate the market fence (or to undertake any upgrading of facilities), nor is there budget to pay for formal security. Without strong vertical links to the police or political leadership, it is difficult for market managers to restrict trading activities or to curtail raiding by criminals or the police.

Although Tokarara market shows how local leaders can try to grasp together the authority to create security through horizontal (that is, across local community) links and pacts, it also shows the need for effective links to vertical authority—to leadership able to enroll all local actors and impose a new regulatory capability and to mobilize public funding. Even a Village Court magistrate (see box 11), with strong local respect and the formality of his office reaching to the vertical authority of the justice system, lacks the capability to deal effectively with the police.

Box 11. The Limits of Informally Grasped, "Horizontal" Local Leadership

We the people are running it. The leaders here are men of the community, community leaders, from Kerema, Goroka, Papuan, Highlands. But the government doesn't recognize us; we put our lives at risk, so government should do something. They should put on some kind of community watch here, get five young boys to watch the market, government should give them a uniform, youth looking after their own streets. The community rely on this market: they need proper fencing down here! So people can do their daily work without too much cost. In 2012, right here, the governor came, big meeting, and promised we would have a new market. Well, here we are!
Market regular

I mediate police brutality, family problems, fatherless, motherless children. I take part in many things, I have a lot on the agenda. It's very, very upsetting for us when sometimes the police don't do their job properly. There's no fence at the market, so it's hard for us to do anything about the police here. They just come here and help themselves. They come from all over Moresby; the market committee get beaten up. **Community leader**

Vertical authority and the regulation of policing, *buai*, and violence

The magistrate's remark that it has proven difficult to grasp vertical authority is demonstrated in the policing arrangements at Tokarara market. The lowest official policing presence, the locally appointed Village Court peace officers, lack support from even police at the privately funded supermarket "cop shop," the police post at the adjoining supermarket, as well as from the Waigani police, who seldom come to the market itself. Meanwhile, mobile police from outside Tokarara often raid the market many times in a single day.

The Village Court peace officers' embarrassment at their lack of reach speaks well of their desire to be more effective than circumstances will allow. In the end, however, the reach of regulation at the Tokarara market during this study was limited primarily by the fact that one portion of the market—the *buai* trading place—was deemed illegal.

Box 12. Limits of the Peace Officer and Privately Contracted Policing: Peace Officers Speak

We are only known in our own area, we might subject ourselves to unnecessary danger if we attempt to serve a summons outside of our area. Especially because we do not have uniforms like police so people will not know that we are peace officers [Village Court bailiffs]. *The cop shop guys, they stay in the cop shop. Every time we ask them will they come, they will say they need to get authorization from the commander at Waigani. So, they will be there for the supermarket, because he pays, but not for the community, for the market, even though they are the RPNGC* [official police]*! Because they are paid to look after the supermarket. If you have money, everything is possible.*

Box 13. The police, *Buai*, and Insecurity: Market Regulars' Descriptions

Since the buai ban, [the sellers] *know they're risking all their money to bring it and sell it. It's over K 1000 for a big bag; if they are caught, they'll make a big loss. Right now, it's only the strongest buai sellers that are operating. Others just gave up; once they were caught, bags gone, they gave up.*

Well, yes, the police been here several times this morning already. It's different units, each one different; they from all over. So they come here and raid the buai sellers. We don't know where they are from, but it's not here.

Headline lessons: Phase 1

Learn about what is there and working already in the existing market: no matter how bad it looks, there is a system in place…

- Who can contribute knowledge about making the market safer: vendors and buyers, especially women
- Who is selling what at what times of the day and making a good daily income
- Why people come to the market (food and other "uses"), and who is currently selling or buying outside but would like to be included
- How is the market currently being managed, what revenue is raised, who pays, who receives, and who uses the revenue
- Who is helping to make the market safer: community leaders, vendors, effective or potential market managers

Part 2/Phase 2.
Critical Juncture and Intervention: Learning from Sabama

2.1 SABAMA NEIGHBORHOOD AND MARKET AT A GLANCE

Sabama was established in the 1960s as a low/no covenant neighborhood[18] on state land to the southeast of the city. After a slow start, its population grew rapidly and is today ethnically mixed. Eastern Highlanders joined Kerema, Gulf, and Goilala people and live adjacent to (indigenous) Motu Koitabu communities, especially Kirakira. Sabama's reputation as a rough and violent neighborhood characterized by *raskol* gangs and ethnic conflict grew rapidly, alongside its even more infamous neighbor, Kaugere. Census figures from 2011 put the population of the Kaugere/ Kirakira/ Sabama area at 20,759, up 25 percent from 2000.[19]

Sabama's first residents are now grandparents. Their children, many of whom as youth added to the reputational problems that Sabama later experienced, are now mature adults. As in other settlement neighborhoods, Port Moresby's housing crisis has meant that many formal sector employees now live in Sabama, often in extended families. Former *raskol* gangs have not institutionalized but have been largely overcome by a combination of Eastern Highlander communal hegemony and the maturing of both youth leaders and a range of other institutions (church, sports, schools, local mediation). Crime and violence certainly remain issues, but by many local accounts, overall security in Sabama has been improving for some time (box 14).

Box 14. Community Leadership and Market Safety

I don't actually think there have been major problems in [Sabama] *with law and order for some time now. We had minor problems in here, Christmas, New Year. But we did work together as a team, and tried to minimize law and order problems in the community.* [In] *2008, 9, we had the Community Development Committee. There are 29 ethnic groups here in Sabama, mostly looking after themselves. The population is growing, but really there are no enemies here: the groups are friends, even best friends now. We are combined. We can come together, brainstorm, and make a toksave* [announcement] *to the people. We mediate if there's trouble. There are no bigheads now. Young people, raskols still come up, but we are on top of them. There used to be gangs, but we cut them off. We cleaned up this place; we are happy to see it this way.* **Community police**

Until the early 2010s, Sabama's market was a notorious "Phase 1" site of public disarray (box 15), resembling other *buai* and cigarette markets like Tokarara. A scattering of small wooden tables and seats, with clusters of waiting people and sun umbrellas across a dusty, unfenced site (see Image 1: Pre-Renovation Sabama and the sketch map in Annex III). Market fees collected were not circulating back to market maintenance by the NCDC. Market managers, on the NCDC payroll but irregularly paid, were also accountable to the Moresby South Markets Board, which, in turn, was ambiguously accountable to both the NCDC's markets division and the local MP. A different NCDC agency employed private

18 Low/no covenant land has few requirements about the quality of housing built on it. Self-help building is encouraged.

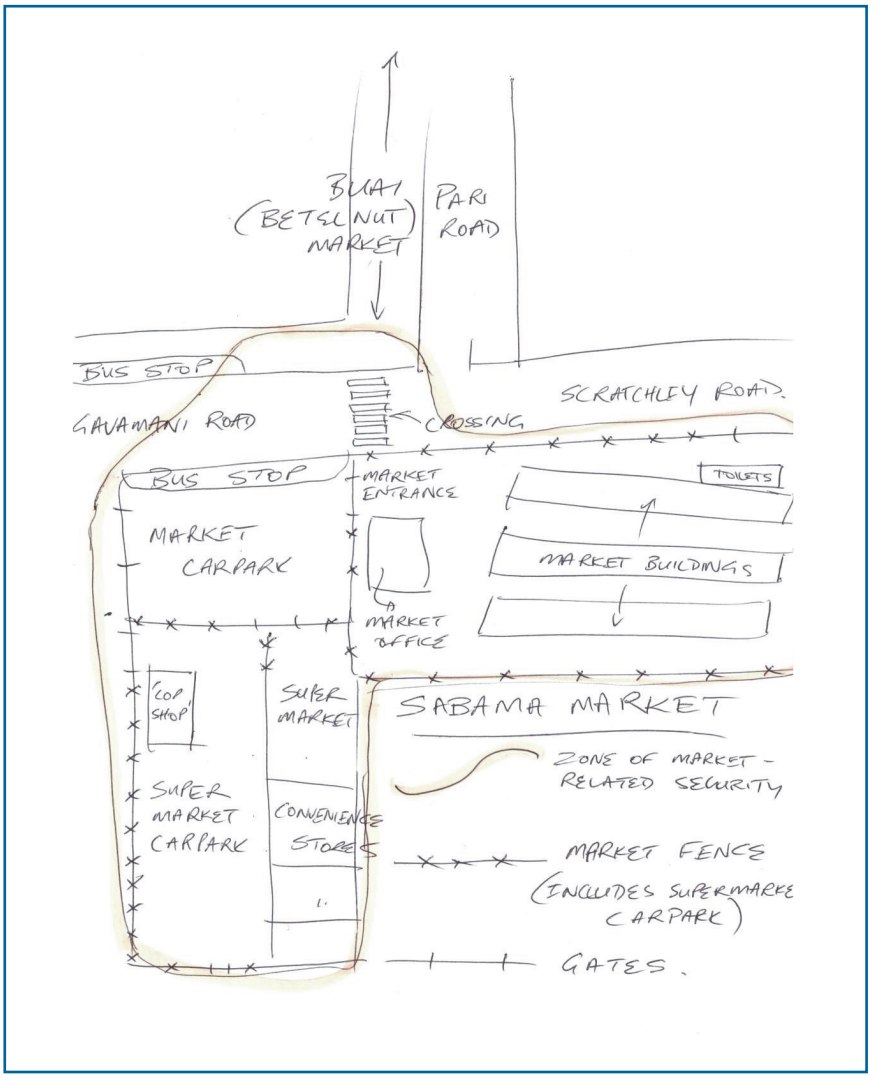
19 National Statistical Office, "National Population & Housing Census 2011.

security guards who had very little accountability to market managers. Despite the apparent chaos, the market was packed in the evenings and toward the end of the week. *Buai*, cigarettes, and drinks were sold in the road front, and fresh food sellers were located in the rear. Hot cooked food (fried fish, baking, breadfruit) was available on-site, which was popular with people looking for breakfast en route to work or school.

Sabama Market Pre-Renovation.

Photo:David Craig/Worldbank

Sabama Market



Box 15. "I have fled for my life while shopping in [pre-renovation] Sabama."

I witnessed arguments over market spaces, tables and goods being overturned, vendors threatened with knives for lowering their prices. Even buyers are harassed for buying from vendors of their choice for more quantity and lesser prices. And in all these cases, the perpetrators are Highlanders. Kirakira [Motu Koitabu] *people don't sell in there. Pick-pocketing and petty crimes in and around Sabama are mainly caused by* [ethnic] *Goilalas, Daru, and Kerema. I have been threatened in a bus on my way home and willingly surrendered my bag. I have been pickpocketed and I have fled for my life while shopping in Sabama market… very bad experiences.* **Motu Koitabu woman**

Sabama market has experienced a radical and (in one local's words) "miraculous transformation" as a result of the 2013 renovation.[20] The market was reestablished as a fresh produce market, with sections selling different items, including: vegetables and fruit, drinks and snacks, cooked food (but not cooked on-site), cigarettes, some fish, and meat. Banned was the sale of packaged groceries (which would have competed with local supermarkets); "mini goods" (small imported manufactures and mobile telephones, sourced from retailers) clothing, and *buai*. As described below, security and management arrangements were radically changed. And over the two years since renovation, the market has retained its opening day gleam. The floor tiles at the front entrance are polished daily, and it is hard to find a single cigarette butt among the decorative pebbles and concrete floors. Tables are clean, and immaculate toilets are staffed by fee-collecting locals. There is no graffiti in the market or on the adjoining businesses (which have also been renovated).

Sabama's market is a strong example of a Phase 2 intervention. It has, like other Moresby markets, experienced a critical juncture,[21] at which the old patterns of crisis have been overtaken by the entry of new actors, leading to new rules and resources. The market site, already specially marked as an economic concession, provided a great opportunity for a discrete project, where leaders were able to focus their efforts and pact together to apply special resources and reach specified outcomes. This intervention has fundamentally changed the market's capability in terms of function, efficiency, authority, and legitimacy.

2.2 FUNCTION: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Located at the main intersection and bus stop in the community, Sabama market functions as a convenience location for local purchases. Clients buy cigarettes, snacks, and *buai* across the road at the outside, illicit part of the market, when going to and from work or school. Children might be sent on errands to pick up some herbs or an onion. It, like many markets, has a supermarket and other stores and stalls alongside, selling baked goods and fresh and hot foods.

Box 16. Local Resident, Market Regular

Sabama is more of a community-based market. It's mainly [ethnic] *Eastern Highlands, but it's a mix, like* [the community]. *There are only one or two other* [vendors] *from Kirakira* [a nearby Motu Koitabu village], *and they don't come often. You don't get outside customers, you don't get outside vendors. It's not a big market where you get all the big vendors. Everything in here revolves around the community. The working class* [professional, formal sector] *people normally don't do their marketing here. They go outside, they get off the bus at Malaoro* [market]. *If they are late, then it's here. Even the Pari* [Motu Koitabu] *people don't come marketing in here; the Kirakira people mostly don't come in here. The place is changed; things have changed but you can't change an adult mentality. They think they might get their bag snatched, ladies harassed.* **Sabama regular**

20 Television news stories about the market can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EgC5iVmM1S8; and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O0oDo5ddkM0.

21 G. Capoccia and R. Kelemen, "The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism," *World Politics* 59 (2007): 341–69.

Aside from some wholesaling of cigarettes, the Sabama market is entirely retail. Most of what is sold is bought elsewhere at Gordons and Malaoro markets. This can diminish the freshness of its goods, but homegrown vegetables and herbs are also sold by people from Sabama and Central Province. The market is open from 5:30 a.m., with security shifts running from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and from 6 p.m.to 6 a.m. (box 17). Goods are securely left overnight in the market. In the morning, breakfast food, mainly cooked, is sold at the front of the site. In the busy afternoon, chicken (sold by Engan families) and fish (caught by Motuans) occupies the central area. Cigarettes are sold at the rear (by Southern Highlanders).

Box 17. Sabama Market Daily/Weekly Market Routine

- Trade at the beginning of the week is slow, the end is busiest. Sundays are very quiet.
- The morning peak: 5:30–8 a.m., around 30 vendors (overwhelmingly female, at a ratio of up to 10 to 1), selling breakfast items, cooked convenience food to people on their way to work/school/study. Customers 7:30–8:30 a.m.: 140 (Monday); 180 (Wednesday, Friday).[22] Mostly male customers, up to 3 to 1.
- The middle of the day, slow time: a maximum of 20 vendors (4 to 1 female), 11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m., around 100 customers, buying produce, cigarettes. Men and women customers in equal numbers.
- The evening peak (especially at the end of the week) 4–6:30 p.m., 50 vendors (at least 4 to 1 female), 550–620 buyers (slight predominance of women); students and schoolchildren, people finishing/coming home from work, buying the day's food on the way. Fish, chicken, evening meal herbs, convenience snacks (cucumber, cans, fried food).

Certain kinds of businesses once included in the Sabama market relocated to areas near the fenced market site and across the road from its carpark and bus stop. Hot food sellers operate from private and commercial premises; convenience goods sellers sell cigarettes, matches, and lighters, some snacks and drinks, and *buai*. Early in the morning and late in the afternoon, these informal sites adjacent to the renovated market area are very active with business that is not being done inside the market, meaning a loss of custom inside the fence. As has occurred also in Gerehu, Sabama's renovated market offers restricted economic opportunity to a limited range of vendors. Views about the overall outcome are varied (box 18).

Box 18. A Range of Economic and Safety Outcomes at Sabama Market

The market has only local sellers—there's not much variety of products. There's not much buying power; selling buai is prohibited, so trading is slow now. But security is good, it's clean, hygienic, orderly. **Local resident**

You stop covering up and tell him the real stories of the market. Tell them we are losing customers, losing money. NCDC and the authorities need to know that we are losing money. **Market vendor**

Before, yes you would have more people. You would have the buai, the Coca-Cola Pepsi iceblocks. But I personally think it's very good that there is no buai. Malaoro [market] *is much cheaper, as is Koki* [market]*, that's where I shop; better quality and more variety, like the fish market there.* **Market customer**

22 The research team undertook a census of market vendors and customers in the periods of 7:30–8:30 a.m., 11:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m., and 4:30–6 p.m., Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

2.3 FUNCTION: SECURITY AND SAFETY

Physical renovation of the formal site has created clean and secure spaces for vendors and customers. The fence restricts access to two gated entrances and thus secures the concession. The fenced market is unanimously regarded as a safe zone for person and property in Sabama; no respondent could recall a serious security or theft incident *inside the fence* since renovation. In areas immediately adjacent to the market fence, in the carpark and bus stop, harassment was reported to have significantly declined.

Box 19. Security inside the Sabama Market: Market Regulars Talk

Inside the fence, it's good, it's safe. We have never had a stealing incident in here, around this stall, around any stalls.

It's a breeze of fresh air, no, no drinking around here, no one carrying beers into the market. There's no buai, there's no alcohol inside the fence. If someone tries something, we can catch him, we can hand out spot fines straight away. If we see someone going in we can stop him. We can talk to him. We've got a [community] *policeman standing at the gate. We can talk to the police, here. It's people's attitude, now: we talk, people comply.*

2.4 BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITY: VERTICAL AUTHORITY IS RESTRUCTURED, ENROLLING LOCAL LEADERS

Sabama's market renovation required significant leadership (box 20). With this, it was possible for pacts to be made between senior political officials, significant new resources to be mobilized, and new rules to be introduced and enforced. It also became possible to create new management arrangements that would bind market staff through powerful lines of accountability to political leaders, and to actively draw local community authority into the mix, in particular, ethnic and community leaders, mediators, and community police. This assembly of political power (vertical and horizontal authority), rules, and

Sabama Market Following Renovation.

Photo: David Craig/Worldbank

resources also offered opportunities to marginal groups (gender, ethnic, youth) and was seen as wholly legitimate by the market users interviewed for this study.

The local MP created a pact with the NCDC governor, took control of Sabama and other Moresby South markets from under the NCDC, dismissed the Moresby South Markets Board, and extended allowance payments to key Sabama community leaders. The pact between the MP and the NCDC governor made local market renovation an example of political signaling around urban cleanliness, pride, and safety, embodied in several actions, including infrastructure investment and regulation of *buai* sales.

Resources for the renovation came from the Moresby South Electorate's DSIP,[23] as well as from the National Capital District's PSIP and recurrent budget funding allocated by the NCDC Governor Board (of which the MP is a member). The rules attached to DSIP and PSIP funding enabled the entire renovation to be managed in a "project mode," in which the MP's electoral district administration acted as project manager, thus directly handling contracting, appointments, supervision, and payments. These processes, guided closely by the MP are not uncommon in District Development Authority contexts.

23 DSIP funds are allocated to District Development Authorities (DDAs), the Boards of which are chaired by MPs. DDAs were designed to have a high level of discretion, enabling more direct responses to local demands, and a range of public- private and other partnerships.

The Sabama market renovation project had vertical reach into higher levels of government and was also able to reach horizontally to bring leaders together across a diverse community. Thus, resources were channeled into new physical capital assets (market fence and buildings) and management arrangements (including the hiring of local leaders in market roles).

Box 20. Leadership and Inspiration at Sabama Market: Residents and Market Regulars

The most important thing [the local MP] *did was building the market. This had impact beyond the market.* [The Member/Minister] *is working in partnership, with the governor, private companies, contractors, with everyone.* **Market customer**

The Minister and [Badili Police Station Commander] *support us. Day and night the commander comes and sits and talks with us. He'll stay and eat with us.* **Community police**

Vertical authority: market governance and management

High-level leaders were conscious of the benefits of showing quick results. The MP abolished old institutional arrangements and instigated a new Moresby South markets regimen in which the Board, chaired by the MP, became responsible for all market management and staffing, with the exception of rubbish collection (which remained under an NCDC contract). All market revenue is retained by the Markets Board, which is supplemented by an NCDC allocation of K 40,000/month to meet the expenses of markets under its responsibility, including Sabama. The payroll is managed by the Board, which provides NCDC monthly with a list of payees, against which a single check is written to the Board.

Sabama market's administrative, cleaning, and security personnel were selected by the market manager, with some MP direction. They include roughly 50 people, including, at the time of the research, 12 community police, 12 security officers (including a Village Court peace officer and the former leader of a loosely formed youth gang), and eight cleaners (all remunerated equally), in addition to the market management team. Women, however, are not yet equally represented; there is one in management, four in community policing, none in security, and four in cleaning. Appointment and discipline procedures contrast greatly with the previous regime; where accountability between staff, managers, and senior officials was formally lose and malleable, attendance and performance are now closely supervised, and discipline, including termination, was routine and direct.

Enrolling vertical authority: a pact with the police

In contrast to Tokarara, Sabama market benefits from a rare pact between the market Board and on-site management and the local police at Badili Station. The station commander has been given the post of deputy chair of the Moresby South Markets Board. Although Badili police were rarely seen at the market in early 2015, they have a good reputation and respect the market's own arrangements. Police from elsewhere are not so trusted, however. The market clerk related, "They came around here a few months after we opened. I just told them to go away and come back only when you've hired some Sabama boys."

Box 21. Cooperation between Two kinds of Community Policing: a Market Customer's View

The Badili [community policing unit] *community police, that makes a difference. The community police come, they have a friendly approach to the community, they build up the trust with the youths and the young ones. Those youth, now, are involved in social activities, games and sports.*

Enrolling horizontal authority: engaging a wider circle of local leaders

Community leaders (in particular those living and/or working close to the market) have been personally enrolled by the MP to surveil the site and those involved around it. The degree to which these links have been personalized is made clear by the fact that Sabama's Community Development Committee (CDC), developed under Port Moresby's LLG arrangements, was not the means by which the MP engaged with local leadership. The CDC consisted of leaders chosen by the community from 29 ethnic groups, as well as various subcommittees, including law and justice. The MP publicly stated that he would not recognize the agency of the CDC and had not

activated previously appointed ward committee positions. However, local business women, ethnic and church leaders, and a woman Village Court magistrate are all enrolled, and as Gerehu (below) shows, more women could profitably be engaged at all levels.

Table 2. "Grasping Authority" at Sabama Market: Multiple Hats of Market Staff

Community Police/ Security/Staff	Lives Close/ Adjacent	Community Ethnic/ Youth Leader	Village Court/ Mediator	Local Business/ Vendor	Church Leader	CDC official
Peter	√	√	√		√	√
Tom	√	√	√	√		√
Sarah	√			√	√	
Mike		√	√		√	
Janet		√	√		√	√
Bob		√		√		√
Robert	√	√				
Isaiah	√			√		

Instead, the MP implemented what is locally recognized as a "team" approach, enabling more direct political patronage in which both loyalists and community leadership (including some represented on the CDC and its committees—see table 2) could be appointed directly into market positions. Direct patronage is also reflected in the particularly flat organizational structure of market management. Hierarchical contests between leaders enrolled in formal positions (including, for example, the security manager, cleaners) are minimized. The direct connection between the MP, his trusted officials, and all the people on the market payroll—typical of a "project mode" type of management—carries a superior authority to any nominal position in the management hierarchy.

2.5 OUTCOMES AND LESSONS

The reach of the new rules, inside and outside the formal market concession

Sabama market's new regime of rules, roles, and resources has transformed how it functions, both in terms of security and as an economic concession. Security and safety inside the formal market concession, referring to the area inside the new market fence, have been positively transformed. Certainly, invisible forces undermine the market for some; there is talk of sorcery, for example, of people cursing because buai has been banned or because they missed out on a job, and this is enough to make some stay away. But the main beneficiaries of improved security and amenities are clear: those who were most vulnerable before the renovation, that is, women and girls. But a transformation has also occurred in two other areas that include activities and people that are also important to Sabama's functioning as a local, settlement market. These include the area that is immediately adjacent to the

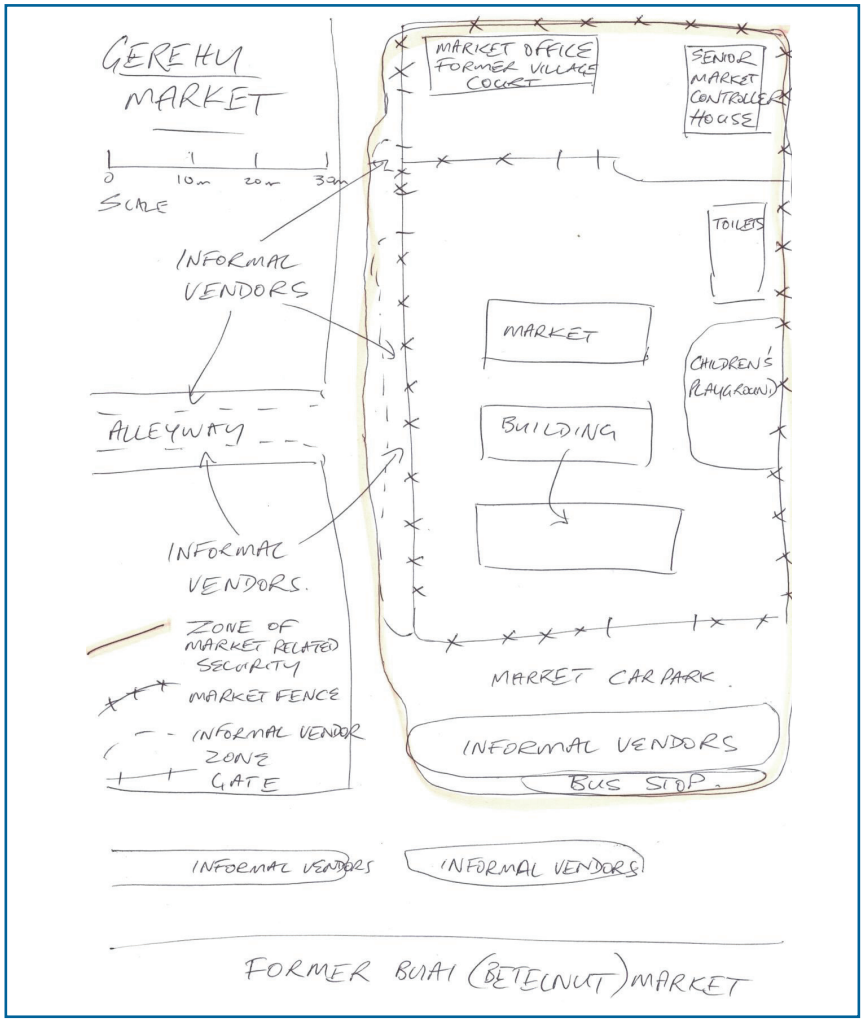
Box 22. A Customer Reflects on Changes Related to Local Leadership

People have changed a lot. It's a mindset change. I think part of it is because of what the minister is doing, especially with the market. I think the market security make a difference; with this development here, people look after the community. We got the leaders, elders into the market, and stopped this nonsense. Some of our [raskol] *boys are leaders now. Once they were employed by the market, they stopped everything. Before there's no law and order. Now with people* [market staff and security] *picked from the ethnic groups, we stand together, Engan, Kerema... We stand together and work as a team. You talk together, that's your way to do it.*
Market customer

market and another, just across the road from the renovated market. Ultimately, what happens in these two areas will impact directly on the security and economic vitality of the area inside the market fence.

The land immediately adjacent to the market, at the bus stop, carparks, and pedestrian areas, is a transitional area of informality just outside the gate, through which people transit to the market and where things are sold that may be prohibited in the market or can be more conveniently obtained at the bus stop, such as snacks, cigarettes, or *buai*. At Sabama, conditions of safety and security in this area are dynamic. Security continues to be negatively affected by the continuing prevalence of carjackings at the intersection and pedestrian crossing. But a positive spillover of the market renovation has occurred in this area, and this is because the effective physical reach of the market's security workers and Sabama community police includes the bus stop on the market side of the road, the supermarket carpark, and the Gavamani Road crossing.

Gerehu Market



Just across the road from the Sabama market is the Pari Road *buai* market. This area is packed in the mornings and evenings, but safety is directly affected by the fact that this is where activities that have been expelled from inside the market (*buai*, marijuana, hot food) are found. In this area, fights and other street crime by youths is common, including carjackings, as is serious raiding carried out by police patrols. Three stabbing deaths occurred here during 2015, and another in early 2016.

Box 23. Shifting Boundaries and Security at the Sabama Market

Inside, plenty security. This is how we travel, security. There's no movement of criminals here. The betelnut side, it's not safe. Guys smoking marijuana, sometimes they come and bighead against the market. **Market security**

The community police just organize this area [inside the market]*. Outside they are not strong. The community police are too old; they should employ young people to go and enforce. When they are employing commu-nity police, most of the youth are being missed out. Most of the issues are created by the youth; when youth are employed they can decrease the crime issues. Now, the buai sellers they try to come back towards the market. They pushing back up to the corner. The police push them back. They are still pushing up.* **Market vendor**

Thus, as a result of the renovation, the character of Sabama market, referring to its geography, security, and commercial and other activities was 'split'. The Pari Road buai market boundary most clearly marked the edge of both exclusion and vulnerability. Here occurred unregulated commercial contest and violence between vendors and others, as well as violent acts of suppression by police. These events were often violent because the boundaries of the area were not defined and there were constant territorial battles as a result. Police, both community and constabulary, sought to push the informal sector out and enforce the area of legality immediately around the market. The area's illegal status complicated decisions by authorities as to where the market boundary was and which goods were allowed where. It was violent because of the uncertainty of rights in that area; the people entering it were already stigmatized as "informal" or youth or "illegals," and thus violence in suppressing them is, in effect, morally sanctioned.

Ethnic inclusion/exclusion at the renovated market

Local Motu Koitabu people, especially those from Pari, Vabukori, and Kilakila, still avoid Sabama market. In part, this is because fresh cases of carjacking and robbery have burnished strong memories of vulnerability in and around the market. The history of urban settlement and territory is also still felt in the form of an invisible line[24] delineating what was once the end of Motu Koitabu land and what became the start of "Highlander country," that is, the mixed settlements of Sabama and Kaugere. This line runs down the middle of Gavamani Road. Even recently, a local (Motu Koitabu) vendor was told, "What place are you from? You go to your market; this one, we voted for the Minister, so he has made it for us."[25]

Box 24. Feeling Safe at Sabama? Motu Koitabu Responses

There are no raskols like before: just youth, now. The ones now, they use the crowd, they mix with the crowd, around 5,6,7 in the afternoon. If there's rain, that's a good time, their informants stand outside, waiting. A car comes, two or three guys walk out on the crossing, the car stops, the gunmen come from the crowd, and hold up the driver. The other boys push the passengers out. We [Motu Koitabu people] *don't feel safe around Sabama, though we've never been to the market. Before, there was too much harassing of women. Nowadays that's already been fixed in our mind. But it's still happening, right now, in front of our eyes!*
Motu Koitabu resident, Kirakira

24 This kind of territorial line is a core element in urban settlement, especially in relation to perceptions of safe and unsafe zones and communities on this or that side of the tracks, the road, the city. See, for example, S. Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

25 In Tok Pisin: "Yu blo wanem hap? go long market blo yu, dispel em mi votim Minister so Minister wokim blo mipela."

Exclusion and distrust are also registered in the lack of Motu Koitabu presence among market management, security, community police, and vendors. The market and its structures are widely regarded as a part of the wider dominance of Highland populations in Sabama. Motu Koitabuans also avoid the market because they fear alleged Highlander sorcery. Security tends to be closely linked with ethnic affiliation and the control of assets and infrastructure. Prejudice, discrimination, and hegemony coexist on both sides, and this is reflected in the composition of the market's workforce and patronage. Market-related (Highlander) leaders expressed both ethnic pride and frustration about this, alleging Motu Koitabu unwillingness to participate in the market and wider community and describing a basic Papuan reluctance and timidity.[26]

Gender inclusion at the new market

The clear outcome of market renovation has been that market vendors selling only fresh produce have been made "formal" within the fence and currently experience much improved safety here and in the immediately adjacent area. Activities involving trade and consumption that disproportionately involve males have been expelled from the market; sitting, drinking, talking, buying *buai*, and smoking are discouraged or banned in the renovated area (box 25).

Box 25. Sabama's Something out of a Dream, but I Can't Use It: a Male Perspective

Now there's no place in there for us to sit around and have a gossip. We grew up in a village, sitting round talking, pigs and dogs. Then we came to the city… Sabama is dead. Before, it's like the wild west. Now, it's too regulated. Everything in there is too organized, this here, that there. At Sabama, it's always, hey, what are you doing. You don't do that here. You do that elsewhere. People want to experience the different sides of life, like in a village setting. They want to sell goods quickly. [Malaoro], *it's crowded, it's busy, it's exciting. There's no money in Sabama, no life. The local member has given me something out of a dream at Sabama, but I can't use it. It's healthy looking, but I can't eat it. My wife used to sell iced water inside old Sabama. Now she just sells outside the market.*
Sabama male resident.

The absence of males spending "discretionary" money on cigarettes and *buai* and the presence of male sellers buying goods within the market area have had less desirable knock-on effects. The market now offers a narrower range of goods and has fewer uses. Thus, the remaining vendors attract fewer customers, and as demand has softened, the market has become the site of close competition between large numbers of women vendors selling more or less the same thing. There has been an impost on both their profitability and time, which has led to reduced incomes. Women vendors are safer in renovated markets, but they must compete in (and with) largely male-dominated markets where foot traffic and spending power determine income.

Efficiency and sustainability

Changes in market geography, largely as a result of decisions about which activities, and thus people, will be included or excluded, directly impact on the market's efficiency and sustainability. Presently, efficiency and sustainability depend on the favorable conditions enabled by the "project mode" used to carry out the renovation. It is doubtful whether the political attention, special administrative arrangements, and subsidized budget created by this modality will be sustained. By definition, a project's modality is used for a limited duration, and at some point, its responsibilities to enroll people (leaders, managers, staff), ensure performance according to particular rules, and raise and manage sufficient resources to sustain operations will need to be returned to routine administrative arrangements, or perhaps to new arrangements not yet envisaged. The sustainability of the renovated market will hinge on how quickly it becomes efficient during and after the transition period.

24 "We Highlanders are strong-headed people; the Papuans are scared people. This suburb is being looked after by Eastern Highlanders."…. "I know this is not the right thing to say, but I don't like Motuans much; they don't contribute to anything in this community."

Table 3. Monthly Revenue and Expenditure, Sabama Renovated Market

Revenue in PNG Kina (PGK)		Expenditure in PNG Kina (PGK)	
1. Stall & facilities fees	PGK 4,000–6,500	1. Staff wages	PGK 32,200
		2. Market manager salary & expenses	PGK 3,000
2. Spot fines	PGK 100	3. Electricity	PGK 3,000
Subtotals	**PGK 4,100–6,600**	Subtotals	**PGK 38,200**

Source: Interviews and market records.
Note: Maintenance covered by NCDC citywide contract; office expenses met by Moresby South Markets Board; services (water, garbage) covered by NCDC citywide contract.

The reality is that the current number of market vendors, even with the vender fees, do not yield sufficient revenue to sustain the market as an independent cost center. Market expenditure (up to K 34,000 per month), spent on wages and utilities and not including rubbish removal costs, can be eight times in excess of market revenue. This deficit is met by an NCDC subsidy to the Moresby South Markets Board. From this point of view, the market is highly inefficient, but the way forward to greater efficiency hinges on increasing the range and depth of economic activity in the market. Neither the steps toward this nor the accompanying changes in market management over time are clear. In the meantime, the market is fiscally dependent on decisions taken by the Moresby South Markets Board, which has two features of note here: first, the revenues generated by its remit fall far short of its outgoings and second, it has the prerogative to allocate transfers from the NCDC by grant or subsidy as it sees fit, including to various other markets. Thus, Sabama is vulnerable to competing priorities and not least to changes in Board membership made at the behest of the local MP.

Markets across Port Moresby have not been profit makers for the city administration. In principle, local markets should not require a recurring subsidy. Across the globe, and Port Moresby should not be any different, local markets usually generate substantial revenue streams for the city in which they are located. Unfortunately, in some situations, malfeasance and corruption often mean this revenue does not return to cover the costs of operating, maintaining, or periodically upgrading facilities. It is this reality that has likely underpinned the crisis of neighborhood markets in Port Moresby. That said, any assessment of the costs and benefits of the Sabama market redevelopment should not just weigh the balance of revenue and expenditure at the market site, but also include the market's positive externalities, that is, the wider safety, security, physical, social, and symbolic capital that the renovated market generates.

Headline lessons: Phase 2

Urban leadership must build the right people into a "credible pact" that can include and protect all and bring the benefits of diversity into the market.

- Bring together community leaders and organizations (from all ethnic groups) and include them in the staff
- Especially, try to include representatives of the Village Courts and community police as well as women leaders, and make sure security is not just wansait [from one ethnic group]
- Build a relationship with the police, so they come (and help) when needed

Include multiple uses (snack food, or, as at Koki and other Moresby South markets, a special secure and separate place for *buai* selling, clothing, mini-goods stalls) in the reopened market: **Don't prune (or cut out) what doesn't need pruning!!**

Part 3/Phase 3.
Cycles of Growth or Regression: Learning from Gerehu

3.1 GEREHU NEIGHBORHOOD AND MARKET AT A GLANCE

Gerehu is a large suburban development in Port Moresby's western area, fringed by informal settlements, with a population of roughly 41,720 in 2011 and an average household of 7.7 persons. Its central business area, which dwarfs the adjoining market, contains several supermarkets, schools, a bus station, a police station, and a wide array of informal sellers. The market occupies a marginal location tucked behind these main shops and away from the main bus stop, and this means it misses out on much of the morning and evening work and school transit snack trade. It is accessed most easily by car for those residents with a vehicle (and who shop mainly, though not exclusively, in the supermarkets). Most sellers, however, are from the less well-off parts of Gerehu. Some market patrons come from Central Province (Rigo) or even the Highlands, staying with relatives while they sell durable produce, especially sweet potatoes.

Prior to redevelopment, Gerehu was managed under the NCDC's Health Department. Market operations and maintenance competed poorly with the immediacy of public demand for front-line health services, and as a result, Gerehu faced the same "Phase 1" crises of deepening deficits in infrastructure, security services, and waste disposal seen in Tokarara. The crisis was exacerbated by institutional cleavages, in which, for instance, security services were contracted by the NCDC under a citywide political patronage arrangement. The security vendor performed poorly, amid allegations of ethnic bias and the complicity of security workers in illegal activities, and in general, there were few incentives to reform. Rubbish collection was poorly done under similar arrangements; rotting rubbish merged with a muddy underfoot to leave the market pungent. Gerehu's location at the rear of the supermarket shopping precinct, behind an alley dominated by illicit traders, added to its marginality. Groups of young men occupied the central sheltered tables, selling marijuana, drinking, socializing, and harassing market vendors.

Gerehu market's renovation was initiated by the UN Women–supported Port Moresby Safe City partnership with the NCDC, which aimed to "enable (women and girls) to move freely and safely, and increase their rights to utilize and enjoy public spaces."[27] Gerehu market's crisis was presented in human rights terms: civic duty-bearers were clearly failing to uphold the rights of vulnerable rights-holders. The renovation began in 2012 with a ban on the sale of *buai*, cigarettes, and alcohol, and it also included a restructuring of staff and management; the reorganization of waste collection and refurbished stalls, toilets, and water points; and the installation of storm water systems. The refurbishments were done in consultation with the users, mainly women, incorporating their concerns and needs, in specific regard to safety, shelter, and comfort. When reopened in October 2014 after civil works, wider "behavior modification" efforts were announced, including gender-based anti-violence activities, a trialing of a community policing model, the construction of a playground and two additional shelters, and the introduction of a mobile phone–based bill pay system ("MiCash").[28]

27 UN Women, "Making Port Moresby Safer for Women and Girls," 5.

28 UN Women Papua New Guinea, "Gerehu, Gordons and Koki Markets: Progress Review and Transport Baseline," Draft Report, Port Moresby Safe City Program (Port Moresby: UN Women, 2016).

3.2 FUNCTION: SAFETY AND SECURITY

Box 26. Gerehu "Before and After"[29] Gerehu Market Vendors

Before *After our sales, some people followed us and were trying to pull* [steal] *our bags. Sometimes when people are drunk, they stand in your way and you have to pay them before you go out.*

The market is not really safe. At night there is no security. We leave our leftover vegetables and go. Then men come and cut open the bags and steal kaukau, potatoes, bananas, and coconut. In the morning, we come and see. We bring our complaints to the police station, but the police do not help us.

After *Now the market has come good, there's no rubbish inside, we've got cleaners, we look after the toilet, security can stand at the gate. If anyone's fighting inside the market we can get the police. We have a good contact with the police.*

This market was a car theft zone, in the carpark. You'll never see that now, you won't see women afraid to stop their cars. Now, the women, come stop their vehicle, come in, walk around, then go, get in their vehicle and go home, nothing.

Gerehu market's focus on women vendors and their safety inside the market has enhanced safety for all those operating inside and—to some extent—around the market.[30] The market is now a safe haven, and traders have access to running water and clean basic facilities. Vendors can leave goods on-site overnight. Safety has dramatically improved for customers, who can now leave their cars in the carpark and shop with confidence. As at Sabama, no one interviewed had seen or experienced any serious violent incidents inside the fence since the renovation.

3.3 FUNCTION: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

As noted, Gerehu market is located away from the main road and bus stop. In the past, it attracted customers going to and from work, including many males, through its rough "*buai* and cigarettes" (and cooked food and gambling) ethos. This core of the market's economy, however, has been dismantled by its new regulatory order and only partially replaced by larger numbers of women trading produce. Currently, the formal market sells only fresh produce (though some cooked snacks, cigarettes, and drinks are sold on the edge of the market carpark. This means that inside the market there are multiple vendors of the same product.

Women vendors, many selling alone, comprise around 90 percent of all vendors, a higher proportion than at Sabama or Tokarara. At the latter two markets, the men were most present at the cigarette stands; at Gerehu, however, where cigarettes are banned, these men market their goods outside the gate in the carpark. Inside, there are mother-daughter teams, and a number of children of vendors play around the market. A number of the vendors were involved in both childcare and craft production (knitting *bilums* [string bags]).

There is no morning peak. Gerehu in the morning is often largely deserted, with only the snack vendors out in front of the carpark doing a brisk trade. There are fewer than five vendors (and a similar number of customers) regularly inside the market at 7:30 a.m., whereas the informal market in the carpark just outside the market fence has a continual stream of customers beginning at 6 a.m. onwards. There, around 15 vendors sell cooked snacks, drinks, cigarettes, and firewood, much of it to patrons of the adjacent local bus stop. Business intensity inside the market increases from 8:30 to 9 a.m., and around 100 vendors operate until the 6 p.m. closing, with no large midday slump, serving a steady flow of 20–35 customers in the market throughout the day.

29 From "Breaking the Vicious Circle of Violence in Local Markets in Papua New Guinea," UN Women News, November 26, 2012, http://www.unwomen.org/ru/news/stories/2012/11/breaking-the-vicious-circle-of-violence-in-local-markets-in-papua-new-guinea.

30 This is clearly evidenced in UN Women "Gerehu, Gordons and Koki Markets," 20, 25.

There are thus 80–100 vendors selling very similar things inside the Gerehu market, all day long and over long time spans. Talking with vendors, it is clear that they simply need to be there all day if they are to sell their goods. Vendors reported taking five or even seven days to sell out of sweet potatoes that sold in three or four days in other markets. The fee of K 2 per day consumed a higher share of profits and was harder to collect.

What this means is that produce vending at Gerehu happens in a situation fairly close to perfect competition, meaning low prices and small margins. However, vendors reported that prices here are not as low as in busier markets, as there is still a basic subsistence level below which even slowly moving stock cannot be sold, while briskly moving stock in other markets can be discounted still further.

Box 27. Gerehu Vendors Describe their Marketing Conditions

The [renovated] *market has advantages and disadvantages. Advantages are it's public, it's safe, it's available. Disadvantages are lack of people* [buyers] *and the large numbers bringing to sell. Outside of the market, it's faster, much faster to sell but also faster to buy, for the buyers. They buy* [outside] *and they come home sooner.*

The problem is some people selling outside. The customer doesn't come in here. To come in here, they have to stop and come over here; they don't want to stop. Everyone wants to come home [from work]*, grab and go.*

Non-lucrative uses, extended hours subsistence: impact on economic subsistence and domestic life

The economy of the new Gerehu market is, like Sabama's, highly truncated. The market does not have a mix of different uses that attract a range of different buyers over the day.[31] This mix, apparent before renovation and at other currently unrenovated markets, would include snacks, phone cards, cigarettes, and *buai* for breakfast in the morning, hot food at lunch and dinner, and meriblouses (women's dresses) and small goods in the afternoons, lucrative perishable meat and fish in the late afternoon, and snacks, drinks, and scratchy-cards after school and work. The mix would also include recreational users, coming to sit, talk, smoke and perhaps play cards and gamble. Instead, Gerehu Market has become a perfect competition monoculture of cheap/non-premium goods for sale, providing a secure but long-won subsistence for its vendors. Higher-value, perishable goods (such as fish, meat, snacks, buai) are excluded, and their potential value lost or dispersed over long selling times.

A bag of *buai* bought wholesale for K 400 can produce sales of K 800, and reportedly in two hours or less, representing a return of up to K 200 kina per hour, including travel to the wholesale market. A bag of sweet potatoes or similarly durable vegetable might realize K 80 kina in sales, and a K 20–40 kina profit. Twenty kina earned in two days provides 250 percent more income per hour than the same amount earned over five days. Gerehu vendors reported a doubling and quadrupling of precisely these selling times, compared to pre-renovation conditions and comparative market situations.

Table 4. Reported Profit Rates and Time to Sell, Sweet Potato and *Buai*

Profit rates/time if sold in…	… 2 hours	…2 days	… 5 days
Kaukau (sweet potato)	-	20%/day	8%/day
Buai	>50%/hour	75%/day	-

31 See J. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961).

That women vendors were experiencing losses because they were unable to sell all of their produce before it began to rot was underscored by the UNWomen's 2016 progress review. As one summarized, "The clean toilets, shower and other facilities are very nice, we are very happy about the safe markets. Our biggest outcry is we don't have enough customers. We spend so much money to sell and most of the times our goods get damaged because the goods stay over" (female vendor).[32]

The extra time taken to sell produce or the costs incurred through the loss of perishable goods potentially impacts on domestic life. One impact is the costs imposed on what are known as the domestic economies. Women vendors need to spend all day in the market, instead of just coming at peak times. The value of their time, in marginal pricing terms, drops to practically zero. Their inability to contribute to domestic economies (unpaid domestic work, emotional economies, including childcare, gardens, home-based vending, crafts) produces family stress. This second flow-on effect was also underlined by respondents to the UNWomen's progress review, in which female vendors expressed concern that "We have women feeling insecure to go home because they didn't sell all their goods knowing their husbands will complain and hit them" (female vendor). On the same theme: "Women experience violence at home be it verbally and physically from their husbands and sons because they have not made money from their sales and so they get beaten up and so that has resulted in more women leaving the markets" (female vendor).[33] A further effect may be felt as a result of efforts by families to diversify their economies, including by sending children and partners into other marketing contexts (for example, to bus stops). The net result is a version of what Geertz called "involution,"[34] wherein women exploit their own labor extensively in order to secure marginal (but essential) gains in income. This is one reason way childcare and craftmaking have become attractive adjuncts to all-day vending at Gerehu.

All of this points to the conclusion that Gerehu market has not recovered from the critical juncture created by its renovation. From the perspective of institutional reforms, this means that the transformation has not yet triggered the kinds of cycles of positive feedback and return[35] that will see more vendors and sellers enrolled and more resources flowing through the market. Long-term viability, then, is likely to depend on continuing external support.

3.4 BUILDING INSTITUTIONAL CAPABILITY

Gerehu's redevelopment was explicitly concerned with reaching beyond the quality of market infrastructure and how it functioned. This ambition also provides useful lessons for future market renovations.

The Port Moresby Safe City partnership and NCDC markets

Although the Gerehu renovation deployed basically the same project modality as was applied in Sabama, its redevelopment did not feature to the same degree the high profile and personalized political patronage seen there. Nor was renovation completed as rapidly, and thus the period of disruption to the market was longer and more pronounced. But political support from both the NCDC governor and the local MP provided the platform on which to mount the ambitious agreement between the NCDC and UN Women. This was not simply about installing "gender sensitive and inclusive infrastructure … in and around the markets" so as to increase the safety of women and girls; its ambit was also to reform "NCDC policies, bylaws, budgets and revenue collection systems" on a continuing basis.[36] The coupling together of high-profile infrastructure with public sector reform and gender rights came at a significant juncture in NCDC's development and was appealing to the newly elected governor.

Consistent with the public sector reform objective, a new Markets Division came into being late in 2014, four years after first being mooted. Another

32 UN Women, "Gerehu, Gordons and Koki Markets,"34.

33 Ibid., 25.

34 C. Geertz, *Agricultural Involution: the Processes of Ecological Change* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 1963).

35 Perri 6, "Institutional Viability: a Neo-Durkheimian Theory," *Innovation* 16, no. 4 (2003): 395–415.

36 UN Women, "Port Moresby: A Safe City for Women and Girls," Project Document, (Port Moresby: UN Women, 2014) 34–62. unpublished

breakthrough signaled a shift from business as usual. Previous security arrangements, involving a citywide, patronage-linked contract with a single ethnic organization, saw allegations of both neglect and extortion. After long insistence from Port Moresby Safe City leadership, security in Gerehu is now provided through a specific NCDC Markets contract with a firm that recruits from different ethnic groups (with a small preponderance of Goilalas).

At the same time, the NCDC governor's political leadership ensured that new resources were available, as in Sabama's case, via DSIP and PSIP funds, to co-finance the renovation, along with Australian government aid channeled through UN Women. These resources, combined with the governor's political authority and the direct execution of decisions through the project modality, made it possible to impose new rules on Gerehu market. These new rules applied to permissible uses and activities in the market and also bypassed administrative hierarchies within the NCDC.

Market management and community involvement

At Sabama, a range of local leaders, including a number of women, create the hinge for the horizontal links between market management, vendors, security, and the community, and the vertical links involving renovation funders and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), civic authority, political leadership, and law enforcement. But at Gerehu, these links are achieved substantially to the credit of two highly motivated women on the NCDC Social Services Department staff and the market's senior controller, also a well-established women's leader.

The Social Services staff, like the senior controller, are supported by project resources to provide official day-to-day leadership for initiatives that correspond to the donor's objectives. This has been important in winning program support from market vendors. For her part, the senior controller (see box 28) is a community and church leader, appointed as a local councilor by a former neighbor, the NCDC governor, with whom she had worked as a political activist. Her links to horizontal and vertical authority at the Gerehu market are thus personal and direct. Her husband is a senior employee of the NCDC Markets Division. She and her husband live in a house at the Gerehu market site, and she spends a great deal of her time in and around the market. Her management is personal and hands-on; when things need protecting, she will physically intervene, and when someone needs reminding of market rules, her voice booms across the market.

Box 28. "Our Boss is Very Strict": The Senior Controller Talks about Managing Gerehu Market

This project was like a baby to me. I worked on it for three years for no pay; when the market controller job came up, I said, that's it, I want to do that. If you talk to the vendors, they will tell you: our boss is very strict. But this woman has a heart for people. At the end of the day, everyone reports to me. They all report. I hold each one of them accountable. The leadership roles we have, well, it all depends on trust: management trust, security trust. If you, me are playing games behind, it won't work. People will know. The politicians, the members too, they have a lot of trust in us. They know I'm one of the women leaders. They know we can do something for this community. We have a plan, looking forward, looking forward a long way!

Pact with the police and community organizations

After a long period of limited responsiveness from the Gerehu police, strong and practical links have been forged between market management and a senior policewomen at Gerehu police. Like market security, this pact in 2015 was extended to include informal sector vendors operating around the market site (next page). Gerehu has also placed a significant focus on attracting community groups to be a part of the project, providing volunteers and delivering their services on-site.

Box 29. Market and Police Working Together

If there's a family matter, and a woman in the market who has problems, beaten up by her husband, I do, I ask them what is happening. We have a referral pathway to the police station. We can bring them in there. If the husband comes back in the market situation, if he's very violent, I'll get the police involved, and he will be charged. If it can be mediated, I will. Most of the women don't know the referral pathway: where is the Ruth [women's safe] *house? Here we linked up with partners on the ground: Doctors With No Borders ran a workshop right here with the VC magistrates. When* [the new women police sergeant] *is on duty at the police, I will send women down.* **Senior market controller**

Vendors associations

Port Moresby Safe City's focus on women vendors has extended to the formation of vendors' associations at Moresby markets. The Gerehu vendors' association has the contract for the immediate cleaning of the market; they also have a committee of named officials with whom management interact on a day-to-day basis. Establishing the vendors' committees was a core part of the initial "awareness raising" and trust building that Port Moresby Safe City undertook at Gerehu, getting the market vendors on board with both the possibility of change and its process.

3.5 OUTCOMES AND LESSONS

Although the particulars vary between Sabama and Gerehu, the fundamental strengths and vulnerabilities of this constellation of institutional capabilities are much the same. The renovation modality, in the hands of favorable leadership, in both cases has proven highly effective at eliminating and replacing atrophied or resistant administration and also fusing together political and administrative authority. This has made it possible to impose new rules on, and direct resources into, highly competitive, fractious, and commonly violent places, while at the same time benefiting from a vocally supportive local leadership. But these positive effects depend on the availability of particular kinds of (highly discretionary) funds, close and trusting relations between high-level political authority and on-ground operators, and a uniquely powerful project modality. Where renovation has been comprehensive, interim arrangements will need to be retained as a minimum condition until new efficiencies enable revenue from market operations to match routine expenditure.

Women in market leadership

Women have had the scope to lead several of the successful elements of the Gerehu renovation. These include the mobilization of vendors (themselves women, organizing into associations); the inclusion of the informal sector; the creation of links with the police and community sector; the high profile of NCDC female staff; and overall leadership that is gender sensitive. Together, they constitute the most powerful set of women-led developments in any Port Moresby market. Experience elsewhere demonstrates that going beyond "gender sensitivity" and directly empowering women into leadership positions, hiring women, such as in NCDC market management, and organizing informal vendors beyond the market (again, mostly women) could add to this success.[37] Sabama market and its governing Moresby South Markets Board should follow Gerehu's example.

Market revenues and sustainability

Gerehu faces similar economic sustainability issues to Sabama, and for basically the same structural reasons. Revenue has improved marginally as a result of the trialing of electronic fee collection technologies, but it remains low, and efforts to increase the harvest of fees are being resisted in several quarters, including by market vendors complaining forcibly that the slow trade means they simply cannot (and will not) pay market fees. The situation remains subject to negotiation. Ultimately, however, an increase in potential revenue from the market will depend on improved trade and this, in turn, is contingent upon attracting custom through a broader range of goods and services on sale at the market or in near proximity.

37 See Underhill-Sem and others, "Changing Market Culture in the Pacific."

Reach of authority: extending the zone, including more uses, making the market more attractive

Like Sabama, the benefits of improved market security are felt outside the fence in the adjacent areas where a range of informal/convenience selling occurs. Gerehu's zones of transition between legality and illegality are different, as *buai* vendors were effectively banished under a barrage of tear gas and police intervention to an informal market site on the edges of Gerehu. However, under an arrangement personally negotiated by the active senior controller and a senior Gerehu policewoman, selected sellers have been allowed to operate closer to the market (box 30), and this is making a significant positive contribution to their safety (and perhaps to the market's overall viability).

Box 30. The Vendors by the (Smaller) Market Bus Stop Speak

Yes, we pay the 2 kina [market fees]*, and we keep our tables inside the market at night. We were sick of getting chased away from outside, from the bus stop. We came to the sanctuary of the market. Inside [the market] it's only garden vegetables. Out here it's cigarettes, drink, snacks. We feel safe here. We keep the place clean, we are organized, we have our own security, our leaders in the market. We are the regulars, the ones who come here all the time. If some bigheads come, we get together and chase them out. Drunks too. The market security will help us sometimes.*

Before, the police came here and terrorized us, turned over the tables, stole the eskis [cool storage bins] *and go. OK, some were selling drinks and buns, well… some were selling buai under the table. But the police beat all of us. If they come, I will try to protect what we have. We keep this place very clean, very tidy. We line up the firewood for sale. We are clean people—don't threaten us!*

These are human beings in here. I am trying to indirectly deal with their difficulty, by finding a way for them to stay here. I can't buy them a packet of rice, they have to eat. It's negotiating; we say, you can do market here, but you have to take care of the rubbish. It's proactive, not reactive. **Sergeant Paulus, Gerehu police, talking about informal trading around Gerehu market**

Trading outside the safety of Gerehu market: incentives and dangers for women

The constrained commercial viability facing vendors at Gerehu market creates strong incentives for them to venture outside the market. However, this takes women beyond the market's zone of security, which has given rise to fears about physical safety.

Exclusion and inclusion, economic viability, and safety

Market renovations need to make clear decisions about the goods and activities that can be included within the market precinct and what will be excluded. As at Sabama, exclusion from the market's economic concession also creates insecurity. This occurs directly, as women vendors seeking better returns venture beyond the fence, and indirectly, as some activities—especially, but not exclusively, those associated with *buai* sales and consumption—are deemed illegal. Where this occurs, the potential returns increase

Box 31. Opportunities and Dangers Outside the Gerehu Market Fence

We need to shift the market. Or we go outside, and they chase us. If we don't go outside, we sit here and wait. **Vendor**

Some sellers choose to come [inside Gerehu market]*. But if you are looking for money for income for sellers they have to go outside. People still have to make a profit; if they want a faster profit, they need to go outside.* **Vendor**

It has to be local people taking ownership of this market and saying "Let's do our marketing here!" I say to them: "Look at yourself, this is for you, this is your place. If you go there [outside]*, well, you will face it. You will be raped."* **Senior market controller**

in tandem with the risk of violence arising from unregulated competition. The security dividend of market renovation initially accrued mainly to women and girls, but the downside is the exclusion from the renovated market area of all commerce and social activities deemed unsuited to them. This becomes self-defeating, as profitability declines and women relocate elsewhere, back into the zones of illegality and violence or, as Gerehu respondents to the UN Women's progress review noted, it can expose women to increased risk of violence at home.

Therefore, decisions about what to include within the zone of renovation, and equally, how to deal with the issue of informal selling outside and beyond the markets, are crucial tests in terms of both market economy and security. Markets that are inclusive will face challenges, but arguably, they also have greater potential to achieve a long-term balance between safety and security, on the one hand, and market economic vitality and sustainability, on the other.

Box 32. Markets for Inclusion and Safety?

We have to look further, look at ways and means to be bringing people in so they can really see what they can bring to this market. It's no good saying, this is formal, this is informal—it's the same women selling things. We have to include the whole lot. Why are they "informal"? Because they are outside the fence! Maybe it is "formal" to be inside, because it is regulated, moderated, that's why. So it goes. But we have to create space for these vendors "outside." It's like, one mother is selling English potato, one selling sweet potato; there's no difference, they are all selling. Some want to sell veggies, some not, it's their choice. So why are some outside? Now, the real concern is violence; now, there's no violence happening [inside the fence]*; it's happening where the "informal" are forced to go, where there's no real control.*
Community developer, Port Moresby

Gerehu Market Entry after Renovation.

Photo: David Craig/Worldbank

Headline lessons: Phase 3

- Support market managers to enforce the rules, and include everyone in the market and keep it clean and worthy of pride
- Be prepared to support the market financially while it recovers from the shock of renovation
- Find new uses/producers/services/community groups to bring into the market to keep it busy all day long, a "one-stop shop" with different kinds of customers: fish, hairdressing, children's health
- Extend the "zone of security" provided by the market out into the surrounding vending and transport areas.

Conclusions and Recommendations: When Renovating Port Moresby's Markets, Where to Focus Attention

The wave of redevelopments of Port Moresby's markets is transforming a core aspect of the city's economy, safety, and security, as well as its inclusiveness and available opportunities Transformative effects in renovated markets include:

- Greatly improved safety for women and girls inside markets
- Better hygiene and amenities
- Some spillover of safety and security in areas adjacent to the markets
- Undoubted contribution to a wider mindset change about a cleaner, safer Port Moresby

Yet, challenges to the durability of these changes remain:

- Markets have not yet become efficient. They are not enabling sellers to sell quickly and buyers to find what they want, nor are they generating sufficient revenue to cover costs.
- As a result, current funding of market renovation relies on exceptional political leadership and pacting.
- Not all ethnic and community groups feel welcome in the new markets.
- Some places and vendors outside the fence have become more vulnerable.
- Police in particular need to be more constructively involved in and around markets.

Markets' institutional capability: authority, efficiency, and legitimacy

This Policy Note uses an "institutional capabilities" framework to think about the successes and challenges of market renovations. Three aspects of institutional capability are worth restating here because they cut across each of the recommendations presented below:

Authority. For markets to operate as concessions (where safe, open opportunities exist for trade), authority is needed so that market institutions can *grasp* together different leaders (vertical and horizontal) into pacts that can ensure market rules have sufficient *reach* to exclude undesirable uses and also ensure that the site is protected, both inside and outside the market fence.

Efficiency. Markets succeed when they make it possible for multiple compatible vendors to enter, compete, and create confidence that goods are available at acceptable prices. This makes markets efficient. But where security becomes the overarching consideration, it can reduce openness to trade as well as the range of goods on sale and the number of other activities around the market. Where this happens, markets begin to decline, and those that remain are less well served because the market has become less efficient.

Legitimacy. It is important that markets are efficient. But where markets are known for affording the customer the convenience of being able to buy a range of items, access services (such as prepared food, beauty services), and achieve other goals (such as meeting friends, caring for children), this commonly makes them inclusive and legitimate. Different ethnicities come to feel secure and have opportunities in and around markets, as do both old and young, women and men, and informal vendors.

It is everywhere challenging to find the right alignment of authority, efficiency, and legitimacy. And this is where the tricky nature of market regulation—the rules of the institution—comes into view. Markets need to trade off inclusiveness (multiple uses, open economic access) against the need to exclude some activities so as to create and maintain security. During market renovation, markets need to be highly regulated spaces because people, rules, and resources should be focused on implementing and sustaining the newly introduced arrangements. But if these conditions persist for too long after the physical renovation has been done,

markets can become overregulated. If the market is unable to respond dynamically to opportunities and demands, authority, efficiency, and legitimacy become misaligned and compromised. And, as this report has shown, this can result in the market being placed at risk.

Practical Actions and Recommendations for Market Renovation Leaders

All of the following recommendations are relevant to all market renovators, including the four following categories of actors:

1. Government leaders, administrative officials, and the police
2. MPs, provincial and district representatives, local-level government presidents and councilors, and traditional landlords and private market owners
3. Agencies—government and/or donor—able to mobilize the volume and kinds of funds needed to support each aspect of the renovation process
4. Local leaders on whom market renovations depend for success: Traditional and ethnic leaders, women's groups, and church and civil society leaders wanting to make their markets and communities safer

Although it is clear that successful market renovation depends on the active involvement of each of these actors, the degree to which one category of actor leads the process or alternately plays a background role varies across different cases. The key lesson, as noted below, is that success depends on various pacts being made between these actors.

Phase 1:
Recommendations for Actions before Renovation

1. Put together a market renovation project team.

Market renovations are more likely to succeed when backed by pacts between higher leaders like the MP, the market owners, and the police. These pacts are not easily contrived by others. But to support the formation and consolidation of such pacts, there is great value in creating a renovation team in which four categories of actors are represented: i) government (senior administrators, the police), ii) political leaders, both official and traditional, private sector, and informal, iii) funding agencies, and iv) local lidamen/meri, drawn from civil society, church groups, and local associations. Exactly who needs to be included in the renovation team will vary from place to place.

2. ***"Cam na lukim" [come and see]: Even where it looks like there is just chaos…***

… understand how the market already works both as an economic concession and as a place to do business, congregate, and socialize.

Understand the different groups who already sell at the market and how they are organized to stay safe and trade advantageously. Each ethnic group will have particular "selling spots," products, and kinds of regular customers, who will buy things from not just one part of the market. They will rely on different customers (men, women, students) at different times of the morning/evening (on the way to and from work), for a range of purposes, not just buying and selling. Make sure all of these kinds of sellers and customers are known, and make plans from the beginning to include them in the new market—or to exclude them, if that is needed to make the market safe for others. However, it should be clearly noted at the outset that markets that work are highly complex. If exclusions must be made, it is important to exclude only illegal activities or activities that from a public health viewpoint are clearly unacceptable. In other words, renovators should avoid pruning what does not to be need pruned.

For safety, each seller (and many buyers) will already be a part of a network of people with *savepes* [local recognition] people they know from their own or other ethnic groups who will keep them safe. They will want that security in the new market if they are going to come and sell there, and plans should thus be made to deal with this mindset. There will be some groups that do not use the market; it will be important to find out who these are and see whether they can be included. Already, some groups are actively excluded by existing vendors; if they are to be safely included, this situation will have to be confronted and managed.

… find out where power lies in how the market is governed. Identify the existing leaders and their relationships in and around the market, especially women vendors, community leaders, business people, Village Court officials, and politicians, and be sure to build them into leadership roles in the renovation activities from the outset.
… and understand the main sources of violence and insecurity. How does insecurity arise, is it because of market design and layout? Does it arise from the sale of certain goods, or ethnic rivalry, or policing practices? What starts it? What time of day? Who bears the brunt of violence? Who is around and able to intervene then? When violence is preempted or successfully mediated, who needs to be involved?

3. ***Sponsor a four-way dialogue to find out what kinds of pacts and agreements can be made in the market to support immediate improvements in safety and security that can be sustained right through the renovation process.***

… Four actors need to explicitly consider the kinds of pacts and agreements possible in this particular market: i) civic authority (council/Markets Board/ market owner/blok chairman), ii) the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, iii) community police, and iv) local leaders (mediators, Village Court officials, civic association, etc.) and vendor representatives.

… Specify what the police commander can and cannot commit to at and around the market site. Empower community police to bridge the gap.

… Ensure that deliberate efforts are made to ensure that the interests of vulnerable, politically less influential groups are reflected in agreements. This may involve specific support to these groups, or the creation of vendors' associations to ensure that their voices are heard in negotiations with more powerful actors. In the likely event that responsibility for the renovation process is carried through a project approach, ensure that the civic authority responsible for the market in the long term is from the start directly accountable for the progress of the renovation process.

Phase 2:
Recommendations for Actions during Renovation

Market renovation creates a major "shock" to the economic livelihood of thousands of vulnerable people. The market itself is economically vulnerable; vendors and customers can move away—and stay away. Moreover, although renovation can result in rapid improvements in safety and security for women and girls, these benefits can be threatened over time, depending on decisions made during the process. Once the renovation begins, the chances of success will be greater if the renovation team can achieve the following:

1. ***Minimize the insecurity of vendors and customers—and the decline in their numbers—during the physical renovation.***

This is not as simple as it sounds. Vendors need certainty. If communication is vague or plans for renovation are uncertain, they will go sell somewhere else and it will be tough to get them back. Avoid complete closure; make a temporary market and make it safe and secure. Signal as early as possible that efforts will be made to include most existing uses/activities inside the new space.

2. ***Ensure that the market staffing reflects the local mix of ethnic groups, young and old, men and women.***

The most practical demonstration of a commitment to inclusion is for market security to reflect the local ethnic mix, and especially to include groups (such as the Motu Koitabu people) who already feel excluded. If this can be done, the market has a greater chance of attracting wide patronage and thus economic success. One way to support such outcomes would be to encourage participants in the pacting during Phase 1 to announce a charter of commitments, among which ethnic, gender, and generational diversity is recognized.

3. ***Find new ways to get community and local law and justice leaders involved on the site.***

Involve the Village Court, community police, local *komiti* members and mediators, and church, sports, and business leaders. Provide them uniforms, market-related ID cards, and a clear charter of duties. Explicit steps should be taken to include indigenous ethnic groups in both management and security.

4. ***Make longer-term financial plans, anticipating that post-renovation expenses will be higher and revenues lower, and that these conditions will last over a longer time frame than first envisaged.***

Successful market renovations need more than a short-term injection of capital for civil works. Rather, success depends on funding incrementally higher recurrent costs over a much longer period of time than it takes to complete the physical works. It generally takes much longer than anticipated for the renovated market's economy to get back on its feet and thus generating revenue. These challenges have a better chance of being addressed if those who must deal with them are confident that there is adequate recurrent funding until the new market is both economically viable and secure.

Phase 3:
Recommendations for Actions after Renovation

Market renovation is like major surgery: it needs time and special measures to enable recovery. Once the physical works are complete, the following actions improve the chances of high returns on the investment:

1. ***Support activities that promote a positive image of the market.***

Invest in ways of raising awareness about the positive impact of the renovation on market safety, employing activities that will welcome all ethnic groups, so as to help build the market's reputation. Survey local residents about how safe they feel in and around the market, and find durable ways to make them feel safe in the wider precinct and as they move to and from market areas.

2. ***Make specific efforts to attract a more diverse range of uses and kinds of leadership and authority to the market.***

After renovation, the vitality and inclusiveness of markets is too easily undermined by overregulating activities that can occur in the market (such as excluding hot food or snack sellers), imposing conservative safety controls, and unduly restricting the access of some kinds of people (or overly favoring only some groups or activities). Identify the different uses that people would or could make of markets, and the different features (including services, such as hairdressing, shoe repair, tailoring) they might want to be able to access there.

- Attract compatible uses: snack sellers, food sellers, and mini-goods and *meriblouse* sellers are compatible with fresh food and do not always attract predators.

- Enable vendors to do supplementary tasks on site, such as childcare, craftmaking and marketing, and laundry. Plan to include a playground or fenced childcare area on the site.

- Make the market a site for community groups, leaders, and activities; women's groups; education, health, and family issues; counseling and church meetings; and even Village Courts or mediations.

- Give youth a place to buy and sell things. Work with local youth to identify enterprises they can set up in and around the market, selling goods or providing basic services.

3. ***Respond to the security needs of people both inside and outside the market fence.***

The credibility of market renovation will initially come from improved safety and security for women and girls inside the fence. But long-term market security, economic opportunity, and legitimacy require improved security in a wider area, and for a wider range of people.

This can be achieved by identifying opportunities to extend market zones of safety out into carparks, formal and informal trading areas, and intersections beyond renovated markets. Some usages—such as trading alcohol and other stimulants—could require a separate fenced zone next to the market, if issues from that area are not to spill over into the market site.

The key aim will be to improve security by including males, youths, and social users of the markets. The separate provision of security for each use, in each area, can also directly improve the scope and scale of activities occurring in the wider market. This can result in improved profitability for sellers and greater revenue to meet market costs.

4. ***Reestablish market management and governance for the long term, but with the ability to change course, act, and adapt.***

If the market management arrangements before renovation worked well, transition back to them after

physical renovation has concluded. More commonly, it will be clear that market governance arrangements before renovation were part of the problem. When market governance arrangements are returned to the mainstream of urban authority governance, experience shows that three areas will be critically important.

…*Ensure there is clear oversight and review of contracting processes*. Bad decisions on contracting out, for example, security or management contracts based simply on least-cost principles or driven by the pecuniary benefits of new contracts can damage or destroy market functions.

…*Make sure hiring is not wanside [biased to kin], but is demonstrably and visibly inclusive*. If *wantok* [kin-based] or political patronage appears to be the basis for hiring, this will bring resentment and failure.

...*Keep lines of accountability between key actors short and direct*. The market manager will need to be able to impose swift penalties on those who do not perform their duties. Security staff need to be closely monitored and disciplined. At the same time, how the manager uses his/her authority will need to be monitored by credible authorities.

…*Prepare for leadership and management transitions*. Be alert to the fact that approaching the market as a special project may be especially suited to the short-term needs of renovation, but that transferring these responsibilities back to mainstream organizations can be fraught with difficulty.

Postscript
The Return of Betelnut to Sabama market, January 2017

In January 2017, the Member of Parliament for Moresby South and Chair of the Moresby South Markets Board oversaw the return of buai [betelnut] selling inside the Sabama market, just as he had done via a separate compound adjoining the larger Koki market where he had also led the renovation. The way this has been handled appears to be entirely consistent with the findings and the Phase 3 recommendations made above.

On a return visit to the market in February 2017, the authors observed what appeared to be dramatic, positive effects from these changes. As was the case before the renovation of the 'buai and cigarette' Sabama market, more than thirty-five buai – predominantly male – sellers occupied a substantial section of the market, towards the rear. The market's security people reported no issues: vendors (and observation) made it clear that a ban on consumption of buai within the market was being upheld. Vege and snack sellers reported increased sales: the market appeared to be much better subscribed than during the buai ban. Vendors said they were much happier and safe inside the fence than across the road. No complaints were heard, though the visit was brief, and certainly a number of market actors had previously expressed relief that buai had been excluded.

Annex 1: Note on Methods

This exploratory and formative piece of research used primary ethnographic and qualitative methods: observation, participation, case studies, and group and individual interviews. It developed and validated initial findings through qualitative sampling strategies. These included snowball sampling and triangulation (deliberately seeking perspectives that are different from those already heard, with differences that are based on accepted social science parameters—see below); multiple points of entry and research team balance and splitting (not becoming dependent on or captured by one person, group, site); sampling to redundancy (pursuing these techniques until little or no new material and perspectives come to light); and sampling for difference (ensuring that the qualitative sample includes the full range of points of view). In urban PNG's mixed settlements, research-significant differences include, at a minimum, ethnic, gender, age, and class, as expressed in roles within both the formal and informal economies.

The study applied theoretical and analytic approaches (drawn largely from international/comparative political science, urban political economy, and historical institutional analysis) to inform the exploration of patterns of institutional development and capability. A further purposive sampling of respondents based on these approaches was a feature of interviews and observations throughout the research.

Each site was visited and observed on multiple occasions over nine months of engagement, with each site the subject of 10–14 days initial intensive ethnographic observation. Extended series of interviews and focus groups were conducted with key actors in and around the markets, and with officials and others in government, administrative, and additional market contexts. Sites were also visited regularly as part of a parallel study of local mediation capabilities, involving many of the same local leaders. Ongoing monitoring of the situation into mid-2016, particularly with regard to the regulatory context of the *buai* ban and its policing, enabled reconsideration of both the analysis and recommendations.

Altogether, more than 240 separate individuals and groups were interviewed across the three sites. Conversations occurred in the familiar mix of Tok Pisin (a pidgin that is a national language in Papua New Guinea) and English, within which much of this "local public" business is pursued. Translation was available on both sides. Confidentiality agreements have been honored in this report.

These investigations enabled a wealth of empirical materials to be assembled. Only the most illustrative of these, however, could be used in the body of the report itself. Conclusions drawn in the report reflect the full range of materials and perspectives assembled and analyzed.

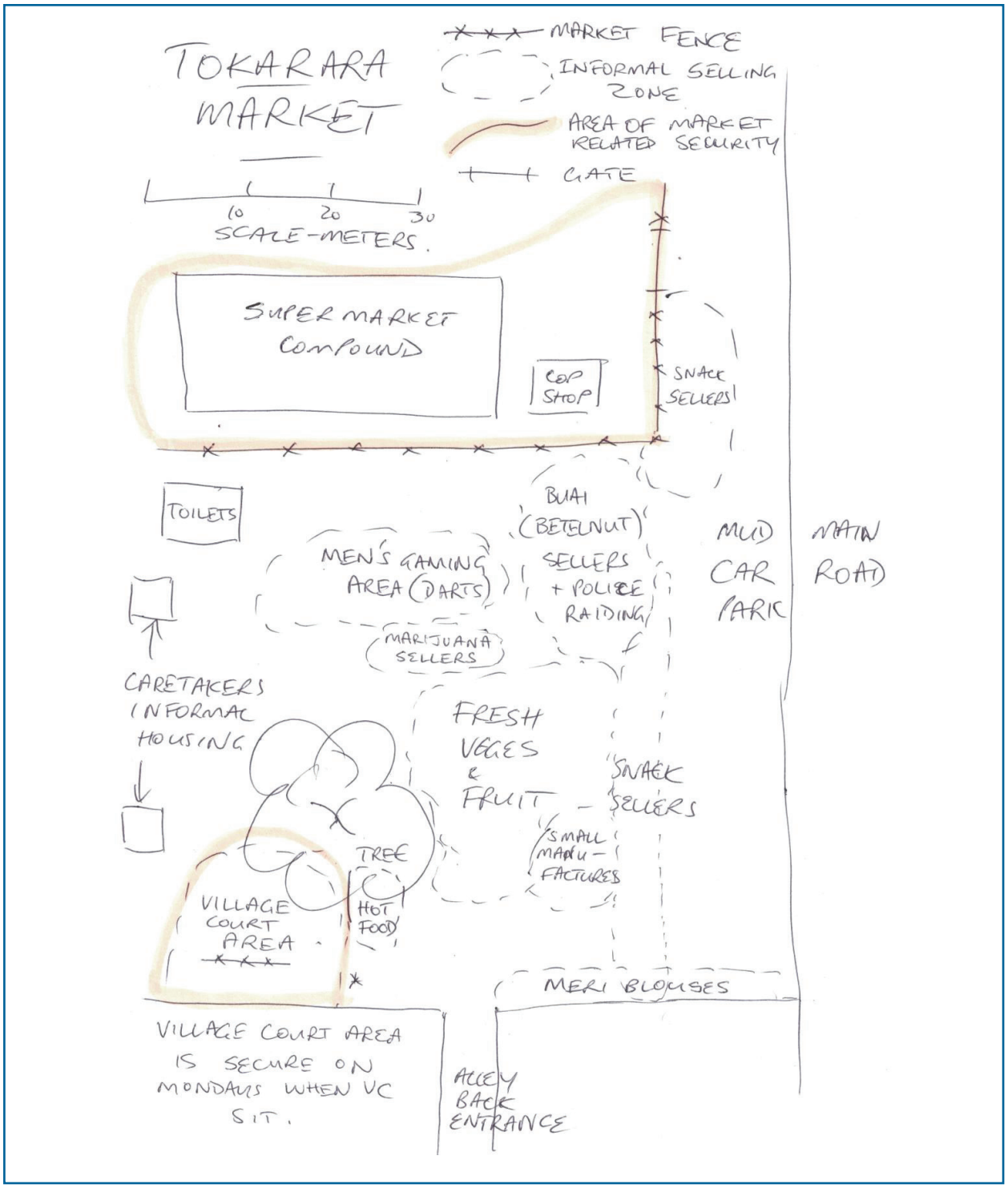
Annex 2: The Three Phases of Market Renovation

Phases of Institutional Reform in Port Moresby Markets

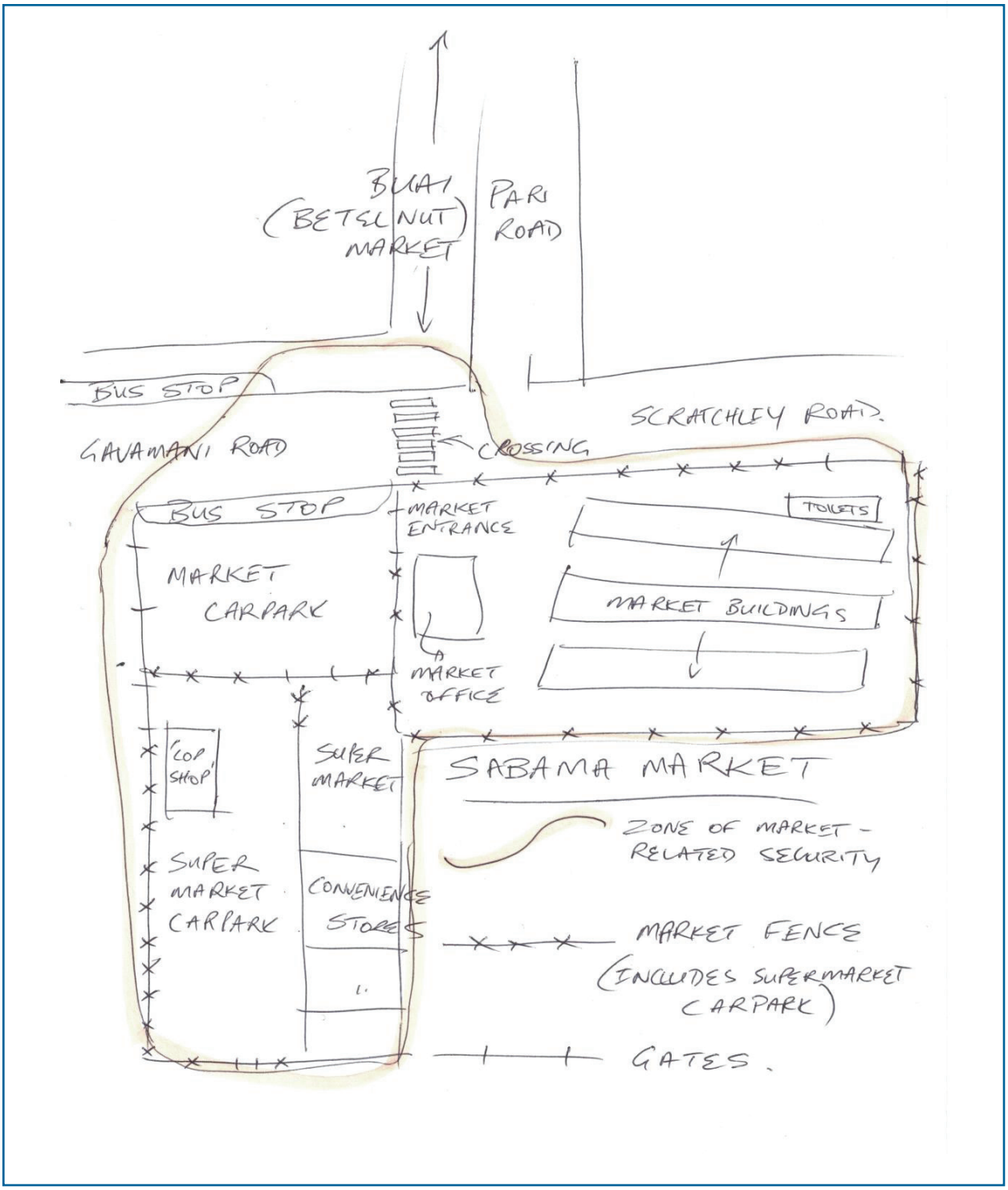
Phases of Institutional Capability	Features of Market Institutions	What it Looks Like on the Ground
1. Before renovation: often ongoing crisis of function	Function as economic concession in crisis: variously regulated and/ or violent competition, contested rules, limited investment or disinvestment	Without physical and human capital (fences, revenue, paid security), local authorities struggle, vulnerable people are subject to violence, exclusion/ reduced patronage
2. Critical juncture/ intervention	Undergoing physical redevelopment and reform of management and governance: new authority, rules, and resources	New leadership grasps resources and enrolls support; secures concession for some safe usages and vulnerable people, but risks overregulation
3. Cycles of growth or regression, consolidating post-renovation gains	Securing long-term economic viability or inclusion or indicating a return to ongoing crisis	Targeted relaxing of exclusion to improve commercial viability, while extending the reach of security beyond the market fence and managing informal zones/usages

Annex 3: Market Sketch Maps

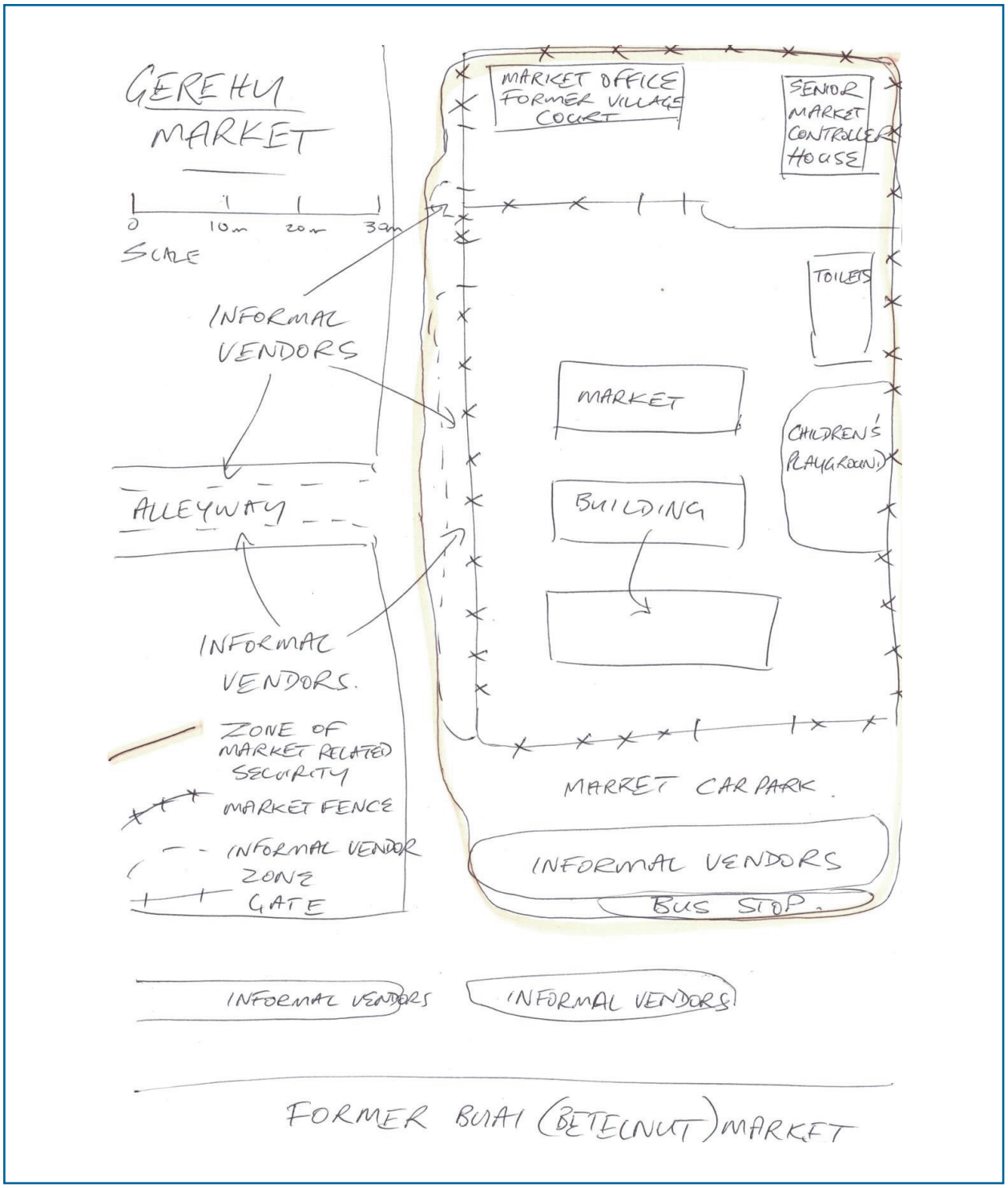
1. Tokarara Market



2. Sabama Market



3. Gerehu Market



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