

TIMOR-LESTE

2016 TATOLI!

Public Opinion Poll

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WHO WE ARE

The Asia Foundation is a nonprofit international development organization committed to improving lives across a dynamic and developing Asia. Informed by six decades of experience and deep local expertise, our work across the region addresses five overarching goals — strengthen governance, empower women, expand economic opportunity, increase environmental resilience, and promote regional cooperation.

Headquartered in San Francisco, The Asia Foundation works through a network of offices in 18 Asian countries and in Washington, DC. Working with public and private partners, the Foundation receives funding from a diverse group of bilateral and multilateral development agencies, foundations, corporations, and individuals. In 2016, we provided \$87.8 million in direct program support and distributed textbooks and other educational materials valued at \$9.5 million.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Asia Foundation would like to thank the Australian Government for its support through our institutional Partnership Program *Support for Good Public Policy*. The Foundation would like to thank our dedicated team of enumerators of the Timor-Leste Research and Advocacy Network (*TRAIN*) for their tireless efforts in data collection, quality assurance and providing a survey of such high quality.

Foreword

Timor-Leste under the VIth Constitutional Government has made great progress in the collection and utilization of evidence in policy making. Initiatives such as the newly established Unit for Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation within the Office of the Prime Minister and various other planning units in other ministries are indicative of an increased emphasis on the important role that data and empirical evidence play in governance. The Asia Foundation is proud to support the government through many research and analysis initiatives in various sectors including transport, justice, security, and tourism, as well as governance more broadly.

Public opinion polls are one of the most common and effective ways to track national trends. These are used globally to assess the views of citizens regarding a range of issues pertaining to service delivery, interaction with their governments, issues and problems faced, as well as people's priorities. The Asia Foundation has substantial experience in conducting these types of surveys, and does so in nearly all our eighteen country offices throughout Asia.

Here in Timor-Leste, the Foundation has successfully partnered with the Australian Government to implement a series of public opinion polls since 2013. Over the course of the past four years, the aim of these polls was as much to identify and refine the optimal survey methodology as it was to collect and analyze data. Given the small population in Timor-Leste, we need to be cognizant of potential interviewer bias, as well as variance of data between the highly urbanized population in Dili, and the rest of the country.

The current survey instrument is the culmination of very close consultations with the donor, sector experts and a myriad of Timorese institutions and stakeholders to inform the questions and topics for the betterment of public policy formation in Timor-Leste.

Through this, the fifth and final *Tatoli!* Public Opinion Poll under the Foundation's Australian Government-funded *Support for Good Governance* program, we hope to equip policy makers in the incoming VIIth Constitutional Government, as well as those engaged in specific service sectors, with a clear understanding of people's perceptions toward government, services, and their own priorities.

The Foundation therefore shares this information broadly, and hopes that this data will contribute to a better understanding of where the needs of the people lie and how best to address these through policy response.

Through this work, we also aim to continue to build the capacity of our dedicated local partners who work diligently to conduct data collection, as well as further develop their skills in data analysis and presentation.

We are grateful to all those who participated as respondents to this survey, and would like to thank them for their time and trust in the Foundation in answering these often personal questions. We are hopeful that the information in this survey will help inform better policy outcomes that lead to an overall improvement in the lives of all who so generously shared their time with us.

Much gratitude to the team of dedicated enumerators, quality assurance officers and Foundation staff who worked diligently to ensure the successful implementation of this project. Respectfully,

Susan Marx
Country Representative
Dili, Timor-Leste, April 2017

Key Findings

National mood and direction

- Fewer people in 2016 feel that the country is going in the Right Direction versus the Wrong Direction than in 2014. In 2016 only 58 percent of respondents felt that the country is going in the right direction (compared to 73% in 2014); conversely 32 percent of respondents felt the country is going in the wrong direction (up from 25% in 2014).

Biggest problems faced

- More respondents (32%) identified economic issues (including diversifying Timor-Leste's economy) as the biggest issue facing the country, as compared with basic services and infrastructure like roads and clean water in 2013 and 2014;
- Nearly two-thirds (64%) of respondents believed that the biggest issue facing them both at a community and individual level in 2016 is roads and bridges which was also cited as the biggest concern in 2014;

Government programs and expenditure

- Most respondents were very aware of ongoing government infrastructure programs, including ZEESM (61%), Suai Supply Base (42%), Tibar Port (26%), but much less so for government-led institutional reform efforts including public administration reform (9%), public finance reform (6%) and social audit initiatives (4%);
- More than a third of respondents (36%) believe the government should be spending most of its money on roads. Almost one in four respondents (24%) believe most of the government's expenditure should be spent on education and training and 8% felt it should be spent on health.
- Nearly half of all respondents (48%) believed it better for communities to pay higher taxes, if it means there will be more services. Twenty percent believed it better for communities to pay lower taxes, if it means there will be fewer services.

Personal economic situation

- More respondents in Dili (88%) believed their economic situation to be "good" or "very good" compared with only 51% of respondents in the rest of the country;
- More respondents in Dili (79%) held that their economic situation has improved over the past two years, as compared with respondents in other parts of the country (53%);
- Employment patterns between Dili and the rest of the country are very different, with 80-95% of respondents in some municipalities engaged in farming, while only 19% of respondents in Dili are. Conversely, 25% of Dili respondents indicated that they did "other work" while only 4% of respondents in the rest of the country are engaged in work other than domestic or farming;
- A majority (63%) of respondents indicated that they or a family member receive some form(s) of government transfer such as veteran's, disability, elderly, bolsa de mae or a government or parliamentary pension. Fewer respondents in Dili (46%) than elsewhere (68%) receive a form of government assistance.

Service Delivery

Health

- Health services in Dili are functioning to a higher standard than outside of Dili. Between 85-88% of respondents in Dili indicated their clinic to be clean and have reliable electricity and running water – while only 68% of respondents in the rest of the country felt their clinic was clean either "always" or "very frequently" and 58% indicated reliable electricity and water;
- More than twice as many respondents in Dili (67%) indicated that they either always, or sometimes must pay for health services, as compared with 30 percent of respondents from the rest of the country;
- When asked about desire to use contraceptives, 44 percent of respondents said they would either always, or very frequently use contraception to space children if available;
- Ambulance services seemed reliable throughout the country where 80 percent of respondents in Dili and 75 percent of respondents in the rest of the country indicated that if needed, an ambulance service was available;

Education

- A high percentage of respondents (86% in Dili, 72% in the rest of the country) believed that their children's school buildings and facilities were clean and safe most of the time;
- 68 percent of respondents reported that the option of receiving a school meal was available to their children at school, most of the time;
- Teacher attendance is cited as very high in both Dili (86%) and the rest of the country (82%);
- Children have access to books and teaching materials in Dili 78 percent of the time, and for the rest of the country 75 percent;

Water and sanitation

- Functionality of water pumps remained an issue where less than half (45%) believed the water pumps at their water station to work well, and nearly a quarter (23%) indicating that the pumps "never worked". There is a big difference between Dili (5%) and the rest of the country (29%) for this view;
- Two thirds of respondents (66%) cited that they "always" or "very frequently" had access to toilets, conversely 15 percent stated that they "never" had access to a toilet;

Roads and transport

- Nearly half of all respondents (45%) believed that the roads in their sub-district were "very rarely" or "never" in a good condition. This number was much higher in rural areas (56%) as compared with urban areas (12%);
- Access to land public transportation services are not equal across the country. While 70 percent of urban respondents indicated that they "always" or "very frequently" had access to public transport, only 22% of respondents in rural areas "always" or "very frequently" had access to mikrolet or bus services.

Maintenance of services

- Nearly a third (32%) of respondents opined that government services and infrastructure such as roads, bridges and water pumps are "very rarely" or "never" fixed when they break;
- When asked which government service was in most need of repair in their area, nearly four in

ten respondents (38%) said roads; one in four (25%) said education; and almost one in five (17%) said access to water;

- For Dili respondents, the service most in need of improvement/repair was education (46%), followed by roads (21%) and access to water (19%).

Women's participation in society

Political participation

- Support for more women in politics was high across the board with 86 percent of respondents believing it would be "good" if more women entered politics in Timor-Leste;
- Despite a positive attitude toward more women in politics, nearly a third (32%) believe the reason there are not more women in leadership positions is for a lack of qualified female candidates;
- Only half of respondents held the view that a woman could be elected as prime minister of president, or "any public office", while 12 percent of respondents felt the highest office a woman could potentially hold is that of *xefe suku*;

Education

- More women (40%) than men (30%) indicated that they never attended any formal schooling;
- Nearly twice as many men (9%) as women (5%) hold a university education.

Employment

- Unemployment for women (5%) is slightly lower than for men (7%);
- Far fewer women (4%) than men (13%) indicated that they work somewhere other than a farm or engaged in domestic work;
- Women (11%) are ten times as likely as men (1%) to be engaged in domestic work including caring for family or elderly family member.

Earnings

- Women in Timor-Leste, on average earn less than their male counterparts, except at the highest earning levels (between \$1,000-\$3,000 and above \$3,000) where 1 percent of both men and women claim this level of income;

Biggest problem facing women

- Men and women respondents (35% respectively) both agreed that the biggest problem facing women in Timor-Leste is violence against women. This belief was more commonly held in the rest of the country than in Dili;
- Respondents in Dili believed that “safety and security” was the biggest challenge facing women;

2017 Elections and political party affiliation

- Ninety-eight percent of respondents indicated their intent to vote in the 2017 elections;
- While slightly lower than in 2012 (32%), FRETILIN remained the favored party in 2016 (29%). This was followed by CNRT (17%); PD (5%); PLP (4%); and Frente Mudança (1%);
- The main driver for voters to vote for a particular candidate was their role in the independence movement (58%) over previous leadership experience (8%), education or qualification (7%).

Perceptions of corruption

- Across the board, the institution viewed as most corrupt was the Education system. Overall 68 percent of respondents, and 91 percent of respondents in Dili felt this way.
- Registry/permit services, suku councils and political parties were perceived as having some level of corruption by 64 percent of respondents, followed by the health system at 63 percent.
- Further, 62 percent of respondents believed procurement tenders (government contracts) have some level of corruption.
- Institutions viewed as *least corrupt* include the FFDTL where only 51 percent of respondents felt it had any corruption at all, followed by INGOs at 50 percent and National NGOs and the media (each at 52%);

Role of individuals in Timorese politics

- Not surprisingly, the most admired figure in Timor-Leste remains former Prime Minister, Xanana Gusmao (33%), followed by the Bishops of Baucau and Dili (each receiving 11%). Other resistance leaders mentioned include Lù Olo (8%), Mari Alkatiri (6%), Taur Matan Ruak (6%), and Dr. José Ramos Horta (2%). Current Prime Minister Dr. Rui Maria de Araújo received 1% of responses.

Introduction

Tatoli! 2016 is the fifth edition of our public opinion poll in Timor-Leste. Since 2013, *Tatoli!* has gathered the views and opinions as expressed by nearly 5,000 (total number over four years) Timorese men and women, from all thirteen municipalities. The repetitive nature of the survey captures a snapshot of public opinion, and, more importantly, any changes in public perceptions that may have occurred over time.

Tatoli! 2016 reveals both a nation that is changing rapidly, but which remains inherently optimistic about the future, and a commitment by the people to the betterment of their own wellbeing. In 2016, Timorese are generally more pessimistic about the direction of the country, and more concerned with the economic future of Timor-Leste as a nation. Indeed, the poll shows that less than 60 percent of the population thinks the country is going in the *right direction* as compared with nearly 75 percent two years ago. This survey also highlights the continued disparity between people's perceptions of where the government *should* be spending its money, and where the government's budget allocation actually goes.

With regards to the programs of the VIth Constitutional Government, the survey shows a very high level of optimism, as the vast majority of respondents indicated overwhelming support for a range of ongoing government initiatives. This is contrasted, however, with a view that the government could be doing better, and that the most limiting factor is not availability of funds, but rather in how the government is allocating its resources.

Despite the emergence of a new political party in the lead-up to the elections, and a concerted effort by the young, educated elite to focus more attention on the younger generation, it appears that Timor-Leste in 2017 will continue to vote predominantly based on links to the resistance movement. Contrasting the claim that people were motivated more by *Issues and Programs* than *Political Parties and Individuals* in their vote choice in 2012, respondents still listed the role that party played in the independence movement as the single most important attribute when considering voting for a particular party in 2017.

Perhaps not surprisingly, name recognition and support for particular leaders remain high. Meanwhile, a closer analysis of some of the patterns of support in particular municipalities for certain parties and leaders raises some questions on the role of individuals in campaigns in Timorese elections. Notably, throughout the survey, variance between genders were almost negligible. In most instances, the most pronounced differences occur between Dili and the rest of the country.

Views on the biggest issues facing women reflect a much different outcome than in the past survey, largely because the survey added *Violence Against Women* as a possible response. Nationally, this was identified as the most pressing issue facing women today, followed by *Safety & Security* and *Access to Water & Sanitation*. The analysis in this report provides further insight into these and other perceptions.

Methodology

Sampling

In 2016, the Foundation surveyed 1,243 adult respondents from all thirteen municipalities of Timor-Leste. The sample was stratified by municipalities and gender using most recent population estimates from the national census of 2015 of the General Directorate of Statistics, Ministry of Finance.

Data Collection

The 2016 *Tatoli!* Public Perception Survey in Timor-Leste was conducted between 25 November 2016 – 8 December 2016. The survey interviewed a random, representative sample of men and women aged 18 and over. The Foundation survey team designed and coded the survey questionnaire onto Samsung Galaxy tablets, and the survey was conducted through face-to-face interviews at the household level by 13 teams and a total of 49 enumerators. Enumerators were sourced from the Timor-Leste Research and Advocacy Network (TRAIN), and quality assurance was provided by the Foundation’s own survey team.

Data Quality

The 2016 survey drew on a new method of data verification identified as the *maximum percent match statistic*.¹ The statistic measures the maximum percentage of responses which match any other respondent in the dataset. For example, a 0.8 statistic means there is 80 percent similarity between the two given survey questionnaires. Since abnormally high similarity could indicate fraudulent responses as collected by the enumerator, such datasets are flagged,

¹ Kuriakose, Noble, and Michael Robbins, “Don’t get duped: Fraud through duplication in public opinion surveys,” *Statistical Journal of the IAOS Preprint* (2015): 1-11.

investigated, and may be omitted from the analysis. In this survey, four data points were identified as carrying greater than 95% similarity, and thus omitted, reducing the survey’s final sample from 1,243 to 1,239.

Margin of Error

For the 2016 *Tatoli!* Survey, a simple random sample of 1,239 respondents were surveyed in all thirteen municipalities. The maximum margin of error for this simple random sample of $n=1,239$, estimated proportion $p=0.5$, and at the 95 percent confidence interval is ± 2.8 percent.

Tatoli! is intended to be a national survey and the survey methodology was designed to provide an adequate margin of error for this purpose. However, in some instances a comparison of individual municipalities may be of interest. Due to the smaller sampling sizes, the margin of error will naturally be substantially higher. Dili Municipality was oversampled to allow for comparisons between the capital and the remainder of the country.

Figure 1 below provides the calculated margin of error at 95 percent confidence interval for each of Timor-Leste’s 13 municipal samples.

Municipality	Sample	Margin of Error (95% CI)
Aileu	47	$\pm 14.3\%$
Ainaro	64	$\pm 12.3\%$
Baucau	129	$\pm 8.6\%$
Bobonaro	104	$\pm 9.6\%$
Covalima	72	$\pm 11.5\%$
Dili	303	$\pm 5.6\%$
Ermera	128	$\pm 8.7\%$
Lautem	64	$\pm 12.3\%$
Liquica	74	$\pm 11.4\%$
Manatuto	48	$\pm 14.1\%$
Manufahi	54	$\pm 13.3\%$
Oecussi	72	$\pm 11.5\%$
Viqueque	80	$\pm 11\%$
National	1239	$\pm 2.8\%$

Figure 1 – Margin of error for municipal level analysis

Comparison with Previous Tatoli! Surveys

The survey questionnaire underwent a major update in 2015 to account for a desire for more in-depth analysis of key issues than was allowed for in the rapid polling approach originally employed. The survey drew from cross-sectoral expertise from donor, non-government and civil society organizations in Timor-Leste to inform thematic sections of the questionnaire. Due in large part to the unexpected change in government in 2015, it was an opportune time to redesign an instrument that is aimed at better evaluating the performance of government.

There remain many similarities with previous versions of the *Tatoli!* Survey, and wherever possible, we have identified the trends as compared with earlier versions. At the same time, in 2016 the changing nature of the political landscape required the addition of certain new options, and in some instances, entirely new questions.

The full questionnaire is provided as Annex 1.

CHAPTER 1

Demographics

The age distribution of respondents is shown in Figure 2 below:

Age	Respondent
18-24	9%
25-34	26%
35-44	22%
45-54	20%
55-64	13%
65 and over	9%
Don't know	1%

Figure 2 – Age distribution of survey respondents

Two out of three respondents nationally (67%) indicate that they work on their own farm, while a further 4 percent indicate that they work on someone else's farm. While only 6 percent of the national sample indicate that they were unemployed or looking for work, one in five respondents (21%) from Dili are unemployed.

The 71 percent of respondents who indicated that they work on a farm were asked additional questions relating to agriculture in their sub-

district. While the majority of respondents (75%) state that they have access to enough good quality seeds to grow their crops, a third of respondents (33%) indicate that they cannot find nor afford fertilizers to use on their crops.

A similar proportion (29%) does not have adequate water available to use on their crops. A third of respondents (30%) do not have access to a farmer education program in their sub-district. Of those who do have access to a farmer education program (59%), the majority (59%) indicate that they learn from and use the new methods from the extension program in raising their crops. In terms of income, three out of four respondents nationally (74%) state they earn less than \$50 per month – of which nearly half (48%) indicate that they earn no income at all.

There is a clear correlation between earning potential and proximity to the nation's capital. While 45 percent of respondents in Dili indicate either no income, or earning an income of less than \$50 per month, this was the case for almost twice as many respondents (83%) outside of Dili. Furthermore, a greater proportion of female (79%) than male (70%) respondents indicated that they had an income of less than \$50 per month.

In terms of education, more than a third of respondents (35%) never went to school. This response was lowest in Dili municipality (11%) and highest in Baucau municipality (61%).¹ While university education was indicated by only 7 percent of respondents nationally, the rates of university education in Dili were triple those of the nation (22%).

While almost a third of university educated respondents (30%) indicate that they do not have an income, across the board they showed higher incomes. Thirty-three percent of this group earn an income of between \$100-\$300 per month (33%), 10 percent between \$300-\$500 per month and 8 percent earn over \$500 per month.

¹ Municipality Baucau was not oversampled in the study and thus carries a margin of error of 8.6%

CHAPTER 2

National mood and relations with the government of Timor-Leste

In each survey, respondents are asked whether the country is moving in the right direction or the wrong direction. As compared with the latest survey in 2014, which used the same scale as this questionnaire, the results show a marked decline in the optimism for the direction of the country. This section discusses the overall mood of the country as well as provides some insight into perceptions toward the role of the government.

2.1 Direction of the Country

Tatoli! 2016 shows a decline in the percentage of Timorese who believe the country is going in the **right direction** versus the **wrong direction**. The findings in this section showed one of the highest variances between 2014 and 2016 with less than two-thirds (58%) of respondents in the 2016 survey indicating that Timor-Leste is going in the **Right Direction** compared with nearly three-quarters (73%) in 2014. Contrastingly, the percentage of respondents who feel that the country is going in the **Wrong Direction** is nearly a third in 2016 (32%) compared with only a quarter (25%) in 2014.

An even greater variance was observed for people under the age of 25, where 80 percent of respondents under 25 in 2014 selected right direction compared with only 50 percent in 2016. Similarly, in 2014, only 17 percent of respondents under 25 said the country was going in the wrong direction, more than doubling to 41 percent in 2016.

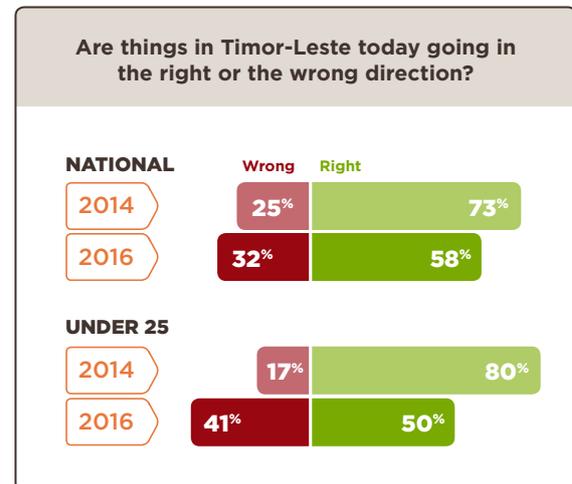


Figure 3 – Is the country going in the right or wrong direction?

Notably, three quarters (75%) of people in Dili feel the country is going in the right direction, as compared with the rest of the country where it is barely over half (53%) of respondents. Only half of young people (age 18-24) believe the country is going in the right direction, while nearly two thirds (65%) of respondents aged 25-34 feel optimistic about the way things are going. Manufahi (83%) and Oecusse (81%) held the most positive outlook for the direction of the country.² Contrastingly, the most negative perspectives were found in Liquica (57%) and Bobonaro (56%).³

² The Survey did not oversample in these districts, as such a margin of error of between 11.5-13.3% apply for this analysis.

³ Margin of error range 9.6-11.4%

2.2 Main Challenges

Biggest problem facing the nation

The single biggest problem facing the country as identified by all respondents is Timor-Leste’s economic future (which includes economic diversification and depleting oil reserves). Nearly a third of respondents (32%) identify this followed by jobs (11%), corruption (10%), and roads and bridges (9%). This is in stark contrast to a similar poll in 2013 where roads ranked highest (11%) followed by economic problems/poverty (8%), security/crime (6%).⁴

When disaggregated between Dili and the rest of the country, the country’s economic future still outranked all others, including infrastructure and basic services. Specifically, “Timor-Leste’s economic future” is the main concern for one in three respondents (35%) outside of Dili, and nearly one in four respondents in Dili (23%). Of greatest concern to Dili respondents, however, is access to jobs (29%). Corruption follows, with roads and bridges the only basic service included in the top four concerns nationally.

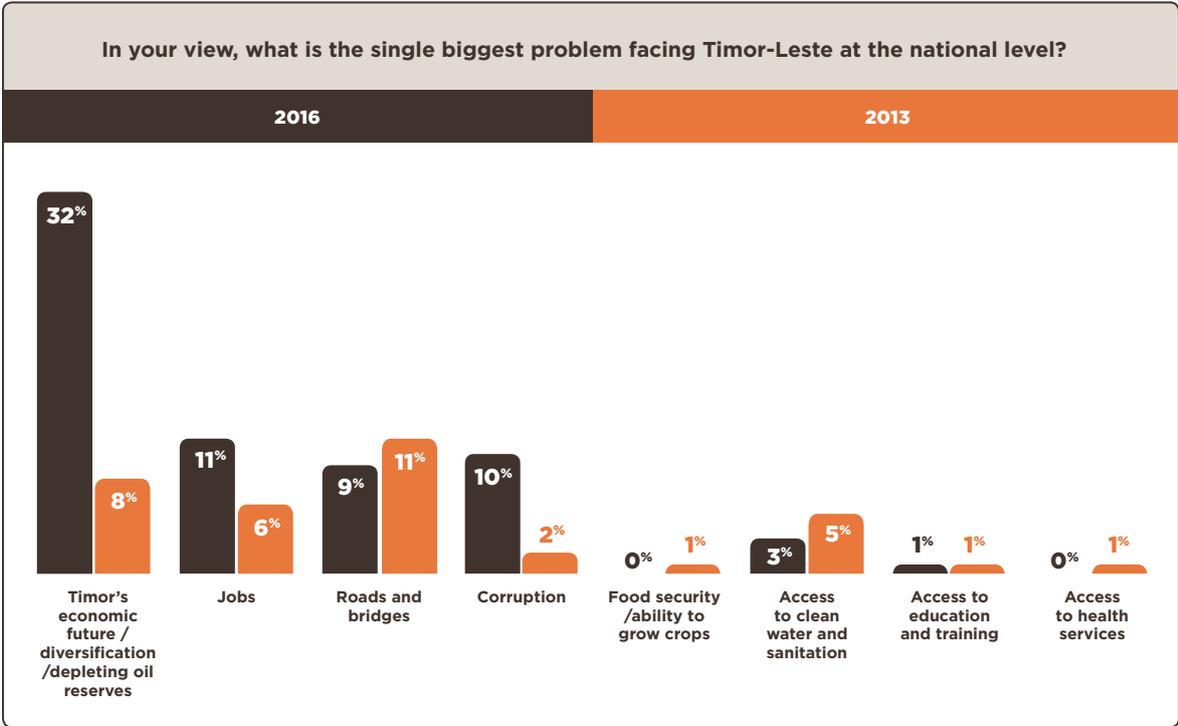


Figure 4 – The biggest problem facing Timor-Leste

Biggest problem facing local area

When the focus shifts down to the local area/ community, responses are much more in line with surveys in 2013 and 2014. Specifically, when considering their local area, respondents were more likely to focus on basic services and infrastructure.

In 2016, nearly two-thirds (64%) of all respondents to the survey indicate that “roads and bridges” remains the biggest challenge faced by their community (in line with 2014). This is followed closely by access to water and sanitation (60%) and electricity (44%). Figure 3 shows the breakdown of main issues facing the local area and the difference between Dili and the rest of the country.

⁴ The 2013 poll had a markedly higher “don’t know” rate at 28 percent, coupled with 6 percent who refused to answer, which is responsible for the comparatively lower percentages in responses for that year.

Roads and bridges remained the biggest concern for respondents living outside Dili with 7 out of every 10 respondents indicating that is the *main* issue facing their community daily.

Conversely, respondents in Dili cited access to water and sanitation at nearly an equal percentage (68%), indicating that rapid urbanization has continued to place a burden on stretched public services in Dili and, despite proximity to many amenities, basic services remain lacking.

Following the massive electrification throughout the country, less than half of all respondents (44%) cited “access to electricity” as their main concern.

Biggest problem on an individual level

The main concerns cited on an individual level are almost identical as in the local areas. Overall 64 percent of all respondents cited the poor condition of roads and bridges as their biggest challenge (this was slightly higher for respondents outside of Dili and slightly lower for Dili respondents).

The next two challenges—access to water and sanitation, and access to electricity—also correspond to the issues faced by communities. While 61 percent of respondents nationally cite access to water and sanitation as the biggest problem facing them, in Dili this is the biggest problem for nearly three-quarters (74%) of respondents. Access to electricity remained at 43 percent for all respondents.

		DILI	REST OF COUNTRY
What is the single biggest problem facing Timor-Leste at the national level? 	Timor’s economic future	23%	35%
	Jobs	29%	6%
	Corruption	7%	11%
	Roads and bridges in poor condition	7%	10%
What are the biggest problems facing the people of your area? 	Roads and bridges in poor condition	46%	70%
	Access to water and sanitation	68%	57%
	Access to electricity	46%	44%
What are the most important issue(s) facing you (as an individual) today? 	Roads and bridges in poor condition	54%	67%
	Access to water and sanitation	74%	58%
	Access to electricity	39%	45%
What is the most important issue facing women in Timor-Leste today? 	Safety and security	31%	14%
	Violence against women	13%	41%
	Access to water and sanitation	25%	4%

Figure 5 – Biggest issues identified nationally, locally and individually

It is not surprising that roads and bridges remain the biggest concern for so many communities and individuals. Given that 75 percent of the population live in rural areas, most Timorese people rely on (public) road transport to access vital social services and wider economic and family networks. Roads therefore play a fundamental role in access not only to employment and basic services (health and education) but also for participation in community and other religious and ritual affairs.⁵

2.3 Role of Government

Function of government

Six out of 10 respondents identify the most important function of government to be the provision of health services (62%).⁶ Less than half (46%) of respondents believe the government's most important function is to build roads, while a third (32%) identify its main function as ensuring justice.

Similar proportions of people believe the most important function of government as being related to the provision of jobs and opportunities to earn income (30%), to supply electricity (29%) and provide education for children (27%). More than half of respondents from Dili (60%) believed the most important function of government was "to build roads", while the most important function identified by the majority of respondents in the rest of the country (65%) was "to provide health services".

Influence on government

Despite a general lack of public consultation on policies and programs, Timorese feel increasingly that they can influence the government. In

⁵ A Political Economy of Public Transportation in Timor-Leste." The Asia Foundation, 2015.

⁶ Prior to being asked questions on the function of government, respondents were read a definition. The following text comprises this definition: "When we refer to the "Government of Timor-Leste" we generally refer to all of the institutions that make up the government. For example, in Timor-Leste, this includes the office of the Prime Minister and the appointed Ministers who run ministries; the office of the President; the National Parliament; and the Courts. The Government of Timor-Leste also includes security bodies like the PNTL and the FFDTL."

the 2016 survey, nearly 90 percent (88%) of respondents either "strongly agreed" or "agreed" that they can provide feedback to the Government of Timor-Leste, so that the government can take into account the views of the people.

This represents a more than 31 percent increase since 2013 when 57 percent of respondents felt they either have "a lot" or "some" influence over government; and a 21 percent increase over a similar question in 2014 where 67 percent held the same view.⁷ This perception holds for both men and women, as well as Dili and the rest of the country.

Government performance

Out of all respondents, 65 percent believe the Government of Timor-Leste is doing a good job at carrying out its responsibilities, while 22 percent believe the government is doing a bad job. Interestingly, while only 9 percent of respondents from Dili believe the government is doing a bad job, more than one in four (26%) respondents from the rest of the country believe the same.

When respondents were asked what is preventing the government from doing the best job possible, more than a third of respondents (37%) stated that the government *has* enough money, but it does not allocate it well. This view was shared by the majority of respondents from Dili (60%), but less so by respondents from the rest of the country (30%).

In line with national perceptions (10%), 13 percent of respondents from the areas outside of Dili believe corruption to be the greatest hindrance to the government, while contrarily only 2 percent of respondents from Dili believed the same.

Sources of information and the media

Nationally, the majority of respondents identify their source for news and information as being television (56%), and a similar proportion of respondents identify radio (46%). As presented in

⁷ In 2014, the *Tatoli!* Survey questionnaire asked respondents "How much do you think the government hears and considers your views?" In 2016 this question was worded: "I am able to provide feedback to the Government of Timor-Leste, so that they are able to take into account the views of the people"

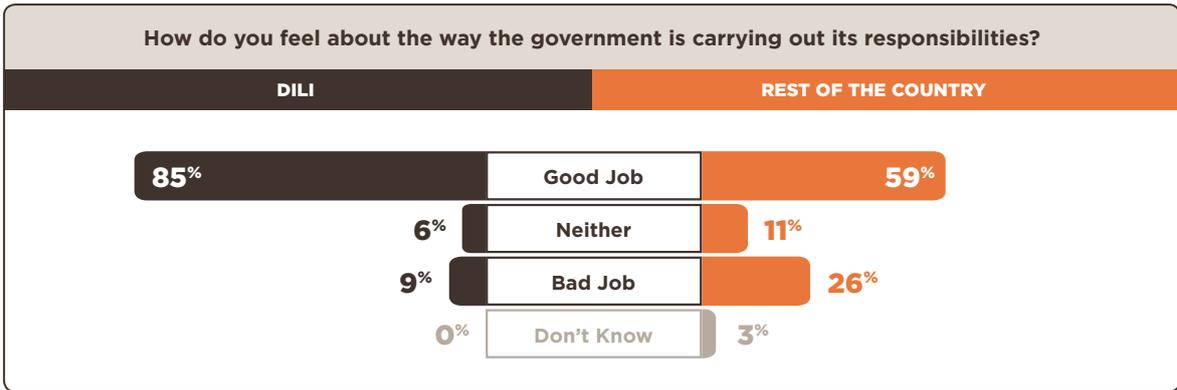


Figure 6 – Perceptions of government performance

Figure 5 below, there is variation in information sources between urban and rural respondents. Respondents from urban areas illustrate strong usage of televised, radio, and print media sources. Despite increased access to internet and uptake of Facebook in urban areas, a limited proportion of respondents (15%) identify social media as their source for news and information. In rural areas, use of social media for news and information is far more limited (2%), instead relying almost equally on radio (46%), television (44%) and *suku* councils / local leaders (42%).

When asked about the role of the media in Timor-Leste, half of the nation’s respondents (51%) state that the media should be independent and able to publish stories that are critical of the government without government control or restrictions. Although only one in five respondents (23%) believe that the government has the right to control the way in which the media publishes information about the government, this sentiment was greater in Dili, where almost one in three (30%) respondents feel the same.

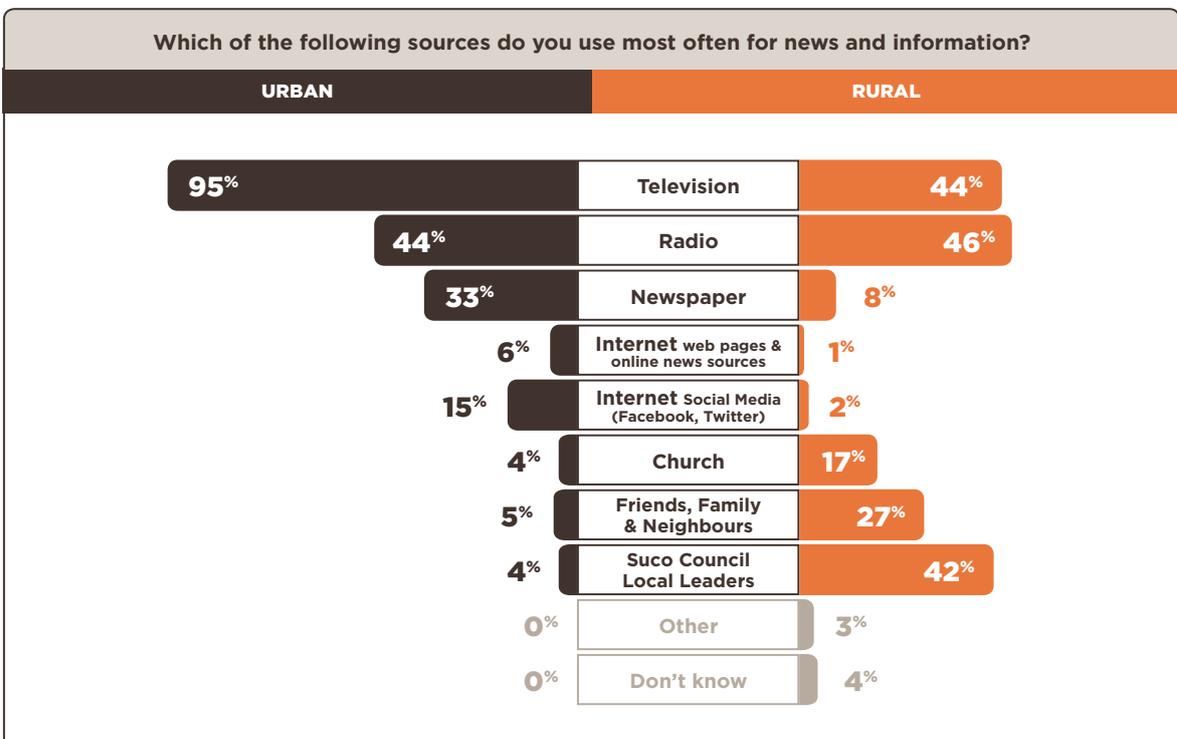


Figure 7 – Main sources of news and information

CHAPTER 3

Wealth, the Economy, and Jobs

Previously, little was known about citizens' understanding of and engagement with the state regarding revenue generation and allocation. To shed light on citizens' familiarity with how the budget is funded and expensed, *Tatoli!* 2016 asked respondents to share their views on where they believed the money should come from, and what they thought the government did, or should spend its resources on.

The survey questionnaire asked respondents a series of questions on the economy as it relates both to the country as well as individual economic wellbeing, including an individual's ability to obtain employment and generate wealth.

3.1 State Budget

To understand citizens' understanding of government revenue and expenditure patterns, respondents were first asked to identify who they believed controlled the state budget, followed by a specific question on state reliance on certain sectors. Finally, the survey probed citizens' willingness to pay taxes to generate more government revenue.

Who controls the state budget?

Over 60 percent of respondents opined that "the government" has the most influence and control over the state budget. This view was expressed nearly uniformly in all municipalities (ranging on average between nearly 50% to as high as 81% of respondents), with the exception of Manatuto, where only 15 percent of respondents believed that "the government" had control over the state budget.

Less than 20 percent indicated the "national parliament" controlled the budget, and only six percent believed that "the people" had most influence over the state budget. Once again Manatuto was the outlier, where a third (33%) of respondents believed that "the people" managed the money.⁸

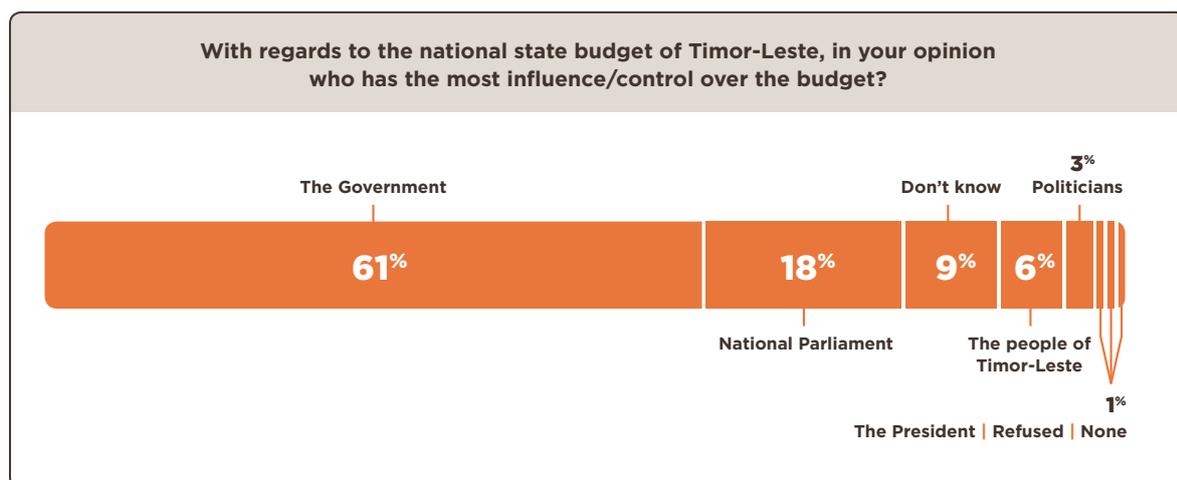


Figure 8 – Perceptions of control and influence over state budget

⁸ Municipality of Manatuto was not oversampled and therefore carries a margin of error of 14.1%

CITIZEN RESPONSES VS GOVERNMENTAL BUDGET

Where should the Government of Timor-Leste be spending the majority of its money?

PROPOSED 2016
STATE BUDGET

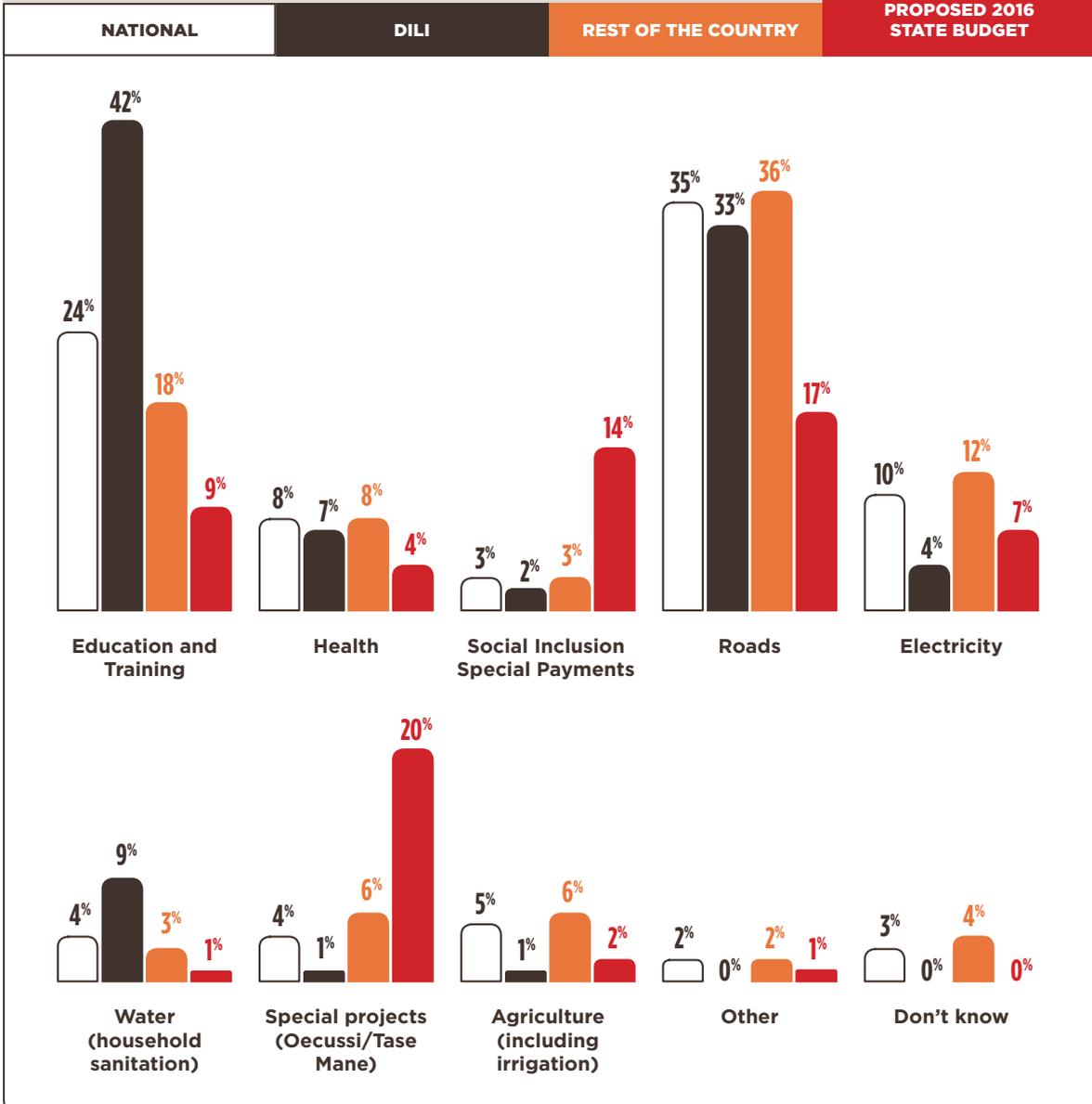


Figure 9 – Comparison of desired versus actual government expenditures

Where do state funds go?

There exists great disparity between the way in which people *think* the government should be spending its money, in comparison with the way in which the government *actually* spends its budget.

More than a third of respondents (36%) believe the government should be spending the majority

of its money on roads. Almost one in four respondents (24%) believe the majority of the government's expenditure should go to education and training, while only 8 percent believe the majority of the government's money should be spent on health. While there was no variance in responses between men and women, almost half of respondents from Dili (42%) indicate

the priority should be education and training, whereas only 18 percent of respondents from the rest of the country held this view.

For reference, in 2016, the Government of Timor-Leste allocated 45 percent of its budget to infrastructure, 9 percent to education, and 4 percent to health.⁹

Government infrastructure projects

Respondents exhibit high levels of awareness towards capital intensive infrastructure-related projects, but are less aware of institutional reforms being led by the government.

In terms of awareness, respondents were most aware of the ZEESM special economic zone in Oecusse (61%), almost half of respondents (42%) were aware of the Suai Supply Base (*Projeitu Tasi Mane*) and more than one in four respondents (26%) were aware of the Tibar Port development.

To your knowledge, which of the following are current or recent government programs/projects?		
INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT	Suai Supply Base	42%
	ZEESM	61%
	Tibar Port	26%
INSTITUTIONAL REFORM	Public Administration Reform	9%
	Public Finance Reform	6%
	Social Audit Initiative	4%

Figure 10 – Comparison of awareness regarding government infrastructure versus institutional reform projects

Respondents were subsequently asked which of the government’s special programs were *most* important. An equal proportion of respondents believe the Suai Supply Base (32%) and the *Zonas Especiais de Economia Social de Mercado* (ZEESM) (31%) to be most important.

⁹ Lao Hamutuk “Allocation of proposed 2016 State Budget” November 2015, retrieved from: <https://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/OGE16/WholeBudgetCashOct15en.jpg>

Conversely, less than one in ten respondents were aware of government-led institutional strengthening activities, which include the public administration reform (9%), public finance reform (6%) and the government’s social audit initiative (4%).

The survey findings suggest that government, media, and leaders of Timor-Leste have been more successful in communicating capital intensive infrastructure projects to the country’s population, more so than they have been at communicating institutional reform. Despite this, once provided with information regarding the initiative, more than three out of four respondents believe the social audit initiative (79%), public administration reform (78%), and public finance reform (81%) to be beneficial to the people of Timor-Leste.

Government revenue through taxes

In light of the ongoing efforts by the government to reform its revenue streams and introduce a more comprehensive tax regime, respondents were asked about their willingness to contribute taxes if that meant they would receive better services (like healthcare, education, and roads).

Just over half of respondents (56%) indicated their willingness to pay taxes for better services, while a third either disagreed or strongly disagreed (33%). Notably, in Dili the appetite for paying taxes for better services was much higher, with 82 percent of respondents indicating as such, while residents in the rest of the country showed a lower probability (48%) of wanting their “community” to pay more taxes for better services.

Openness to taxation also correlated strongly with education level, with less than half (46%) of respondents who never went to school showing a willingness to pay taxes, compared with nearly ninety percent (85%) of people with university education or higher.

A closer analysis of Survey respondents who indicated that they receive government transfers such as *bolsa de mae*, disability pension, and old age pension showed a lower probability of

wanting their community to pay more taxes, despite the promise of better services.¹⁰

Recipients of the old age and disability pensions in particular were also more likely to hold the belief that government should continue to rely on oil/gas revenues to maintain the state budget, rather than taxation.

3.2 Personal Economic Situation

When respondents were asked more broadly to rate the economic situation (income, jobs, savings, assets, land) of their family today, the disparities between respondents from Dili with those from the rest of the country was apparent. While seven out of eight respondents (88%) from Dili believe their economic situation to be either “good” or “very good”, only four out of eight (51%) respondents from the rest of the country believe the same.

In 2014, when The Asia Foundation last conducted this public opinion poll, four times as many respondents (35%) than in 2016 (8%) indicated that the economic situation of their family is worse than it was two years earlier. Similar proportions of respondents in 2016 (59%) and 2014 (63%), however, believed their economic situation to be better than it was two years before.

Notably, analysis demonstrates a positive relationship between level of education and the rate to which respondents indicated that they consider their current economic situation to be “good” or “very good”. Namely, 75 percent of respondents with an education level of university or above indicated their economic situation is either “good” or “very good”, as compared with only 51 percent of respondents with no formal education. The same is true when asked how the current economic situation compares with two years ago—the higher the education level the

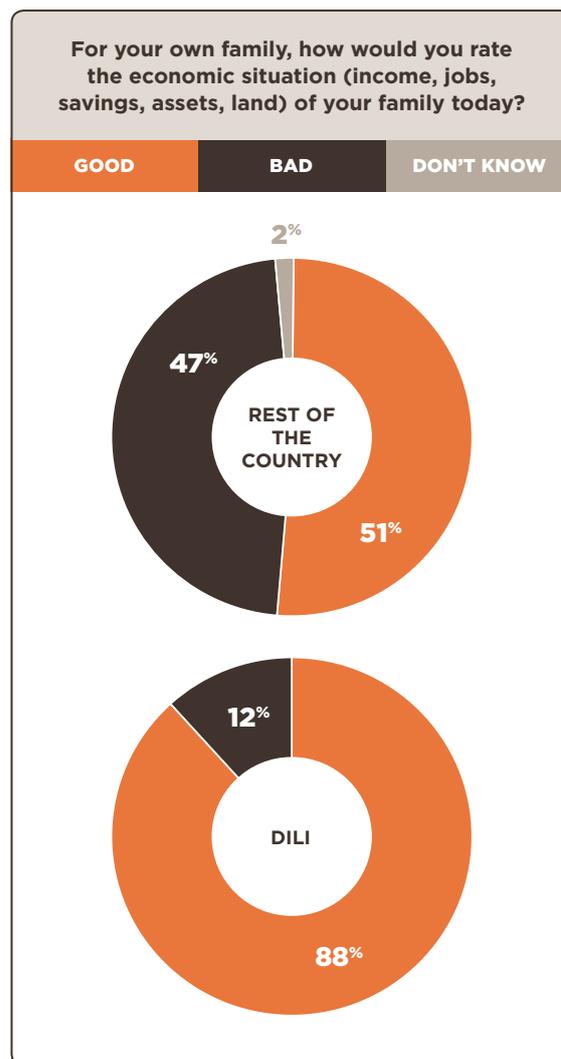


Figure 11 – Condition of family economic situation

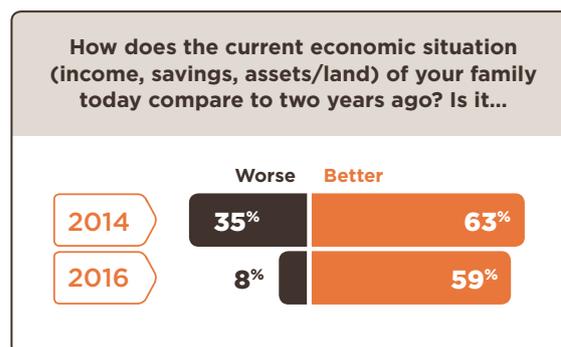


Figure 12 – Comparison of financial situation today as compared with two years ago

¹⁰ Additional analysis by Diana Greenwald, University of Michigan.

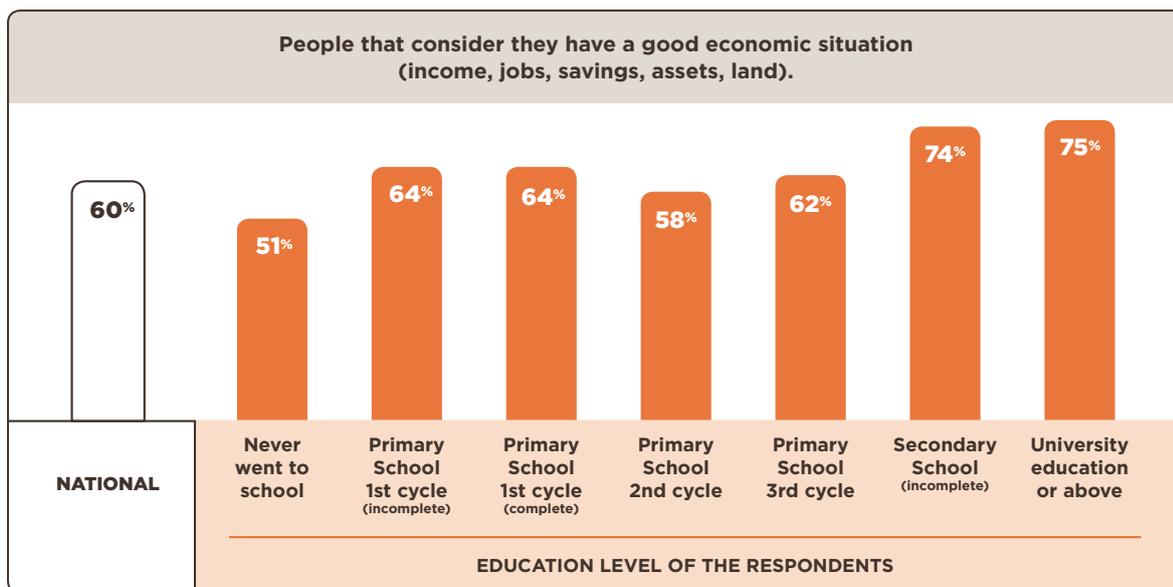


Figure 13 – Breakdown of respondents’ views on their economic situation

higher the perceived rate of improvement. Conversely, while 7 percent of respondents with no formal education indicated that their economic situation is either “bad” or “very bad”, no respondents with a university education or above gave this response.

Employment

By expressing the economy as a function of employment and wealth, it is evident in Figure 14, that the country’s rural areas are economically weaker than urban centers.

The type of employment in which respondents engage clearly corresponds to the high dependence on subsistence farming in Timor-Leste, and the lack of diversified economy through jobs in manufacturing, tourism, and other sectors. This is particularly true outside of Dili, as is evident in the variation in the type of employment of respondents across geographic locations.

While between 80-95 percent of respondents in the mountainous regions of Ermera, Manufahi, Alieu, and Ainaro as well as the coastal municipalities of Liquica, Bobonaro, and Covalima indicated that they work on “own farm”, this applied to only 16 percent of Dili respondents. Interestingly, 69 percent of respondents in Baucau work on their own farm and 12 percent on another farm

(including that of a family member) as compared with the national average of only 4 percent of respondents working on someone else’s farm.

In Dili, employment patterns are very different from that of the rest of the country. Only one in six Dili respondents work on their own farm (16%) or another farm (3%) while one in four Dili respondents indicated that they do work other than farm or domestic work (25%). In comparison, only one in every 25 (4%) respondents outside of Dili indicated that they engage in “other” work.

Insofar as unemployment, respondents who consider themselves as “unemployed/seeking work” are far greater in Dili and other urban areas than outside of Dili or in rural areas. Overall, slightly less than 6 percent of respondents indicated that they are “unemployed” or seeking work – though when broken out between Dili and the rest of the country, Dili’s unemployment rate is nearly twenty-fold (21%) that of the rest of the country (1%). This variation could to a large extent be due to the high number of people who travel to the capital in search of work or for education purposes.

In terms of employment, three out of four respondents from Dili (76%) believe that they and their family need to travel a long way to find a

	DILI	REST OF COUNTRY
My family and I have to travel a long way to find a job	76%	49%
My family earns enough to pay for the things we need	87%	61%
I am able to borrow money when I need it	83%	73%
I am able to save money to spend at a later time	88%	77%
I will have enough food to feed my family in the next year	86%	62%

Figure 14 – Economy as a function of employment and wealth

job, whereas half of respondents (49%) from the rest of the country believe the same.

Such perceptions may be a result of the majority of Dili respondents being based in Dili for the primary purpose of employment. In terms of ability to earn money, 87 percent of respondents from Dili agree with the statement that their family earns enough to pay for the things that they need. Meanwhile, 61 percent of respondents from the rest of the country believe the same.

A greater proportion of respondents from Dili (83%) are also able to borrow money when they need it, than respondents from the rest of the country (73%). Further, 88 percent of respondents from Dili agree that they are able to save money to spend at a later time, while 77 percent of respondents from the rest of the country believe the same. Lastly, when respondents were asked whether they have enough food to feed their family in the next year, 86 percent of respondents from Dili stated that they do, in comparison with only 62 percent of respondents from the rest of the country.

Perceptions of prosperity

Most respondents (85%) believe that it is the government’s responsibility to ensure that people are prosperous. This was particularly true in Liquica, where nearly all respondents (97%) felt this way.

Contrastingly, residents in eastern municipalities were less likely to say it is the government’s responsibility to ensure people are prosperous. The

lowest rate of this response occurred in Viqueque, where only 50 percent of respondents felt this way.

Further analysis of the data showed that recipients of disability, old age, and *bolsa de mae* (at a lower statistical significance) payments were more likely to agree with the statement that it is the government’s responsibility to ensure that people are prosperous.¹¹

Government transfers

Overall, slightly less than two thirds (63%) of respondents indicated that they or a family member receive some or multiple of the following government payments: veteran’s, disability, elderly, *bolsa de mae*, or a government or parliamentary pension.

Municipalities in the central part of the country (including Manatuto, Manufahi, Alieu and Ainaro) as well as the east (Viqueue and Lautem) seem more likely to receive some combination of government payments.

Figure 15 represents a comparison of government payment recipients once those who *do not receive any payments have been removed*. In Dili, less than half of respondents (46%) receive any payments, with 53 percent receiving none as compared with those outside of Dili, where 68 percent receive some form of government assistance, and 31 percent receive none.

¹¹ Additional analysis by Diana Greenwald (PhD candidate), Department of Political Science University of Michigan

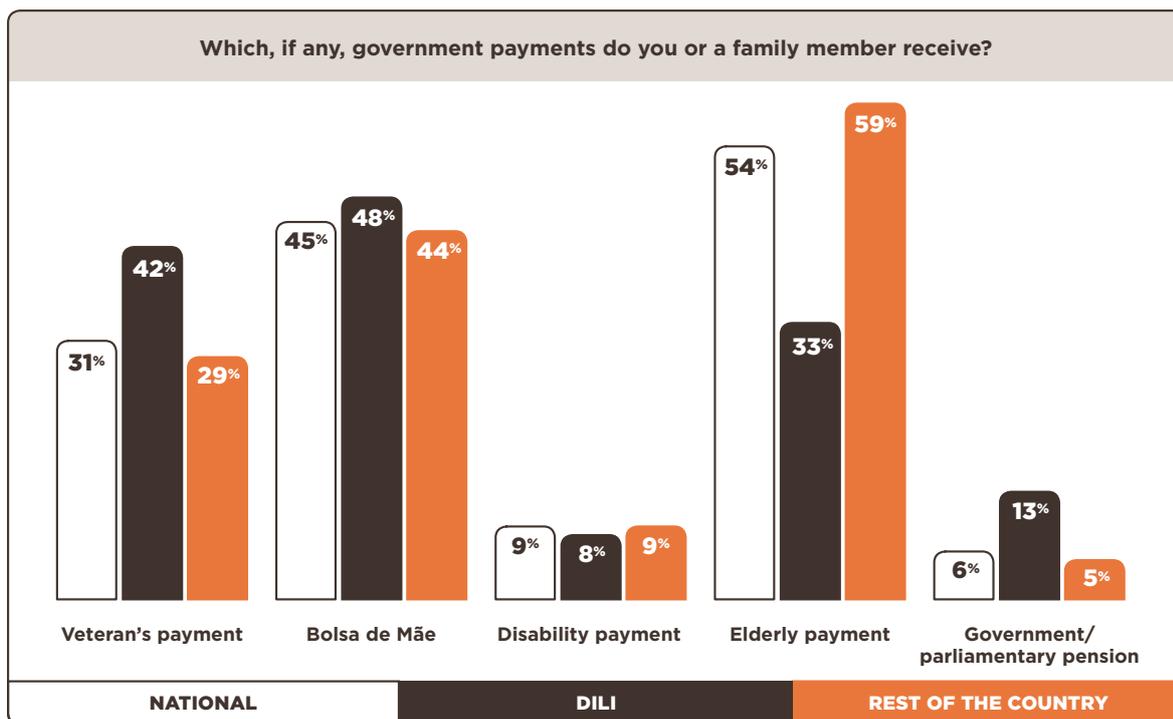


Figure 15 – Government payment recipients

Veteran's Payments

The percentage of respondents who receive veterans' payments is the same for respondents from Dili and respondents from the rest of the country (20%).

The municipality with the highest reported rate of veteran's payments is Oecusse (37%) followed by Ainaro (28%), and then Manufahi and Baucau (24% each). The lowest reported rates of veteran's payments occurred in Covalima (8%) and Viqueque (10%).

Elderly Payments

Nearly nine out of every 10 respondents over the age of 65 (87%) indicated that they receive an elderly pension. In Dili, 100 percent of respondents over 65 indicated this.¹²

Notably, overall, 40 percent of families outside of Dili receive an elderly pension, while only 15 percent of families in Dili indicated that they receive this payment. A greater proportion of recipients

with no or a lower level of education, as well as rural respondents, receive an elderly payment.

Bolsa de Mae

Nearly 10 percent more respondents outside Dili (31%) receive *bolsa de mae* payments, as do respondents from Dili (22%). In Dili, the percentage of *rural* respondents who receive this payment is more than twice the rate (41%) than *urban* dwellers in Dili (20%).

The municipalities with the highest percentage of respondents receiving this form of assistance were: Alieu (68%), Oecusse (53%), and Ainaro (45%). Slightly more women (31%) than men (26%) indicated that they or a family member receive this payment.

Government and Parliamentary Pensions

Only 4 percent of respondents indicated that they receive a government or parliamentary pension. The highest rate of pension recipients is in Ainaro, where 18 percent of respondents indicated they receive this benefit. Oecusse and Dili are the municipalities with the second highest rate of government pensioners, at 6 percent of respondents.

¹² The survey did not use an over sampling for any age ranges. The margin of error for this analysis ranges between 4.7-11.8%.

CHAPTER 4

Service Delivery

In the 2016 *Tatoli!* survey, the Foundation sought to support the work being done by development partners and the Office of the Prime Minister through the initiative to conduct social audits of the delivery of such services. This was done by including in the survey questionnaire key questions with regards to health, education, water and sanitation, roads and transport, and the maintenance and provision of these services by the Government of Timor-Leste.

4.1 Health

With regards to health services at the sub-district level, respondents in Dili reported higher quality, access, and availability of services than respondents from the rest of the country.

While 88 percent of respondents from Dili indicated that their health clinic is either always or very frequently clean, only 68 percent of respondents from the rest of the country believe the same.

While 85 percent of respondents from Dili believe their health clinic to always or very frequently have electricity and running water, only 58 percent of respondents from the rest of the country believe the same.

The Government of Timor-Leste, through the Ministry of Health, aims to provide accessible and affordable health services for all Timorese people by ensuring that health services through Community Health Centres, Health Posts, Mobile

Clinics, integrated community health services (SISCa), as well as National and Referral Hospitals are provided free of charge. Despite this, two out of three respondents (67%) from Dili and almost one in three respondents (30%) from the rest of the country reported to either always or very frequently have to pay to see a doctor or nurse. While in Dili this may be a result of the proliferation of private medical clinics, in rural areas outside of Dili, it may be due to fraud or corruption. With the exception of Dili, the municipality with the highest proportion of respondents indicating that they either always or very frequently have to pay to see a doctor or nurse was Ermera (67%).¹³

Disparities between Dili and the rest of the country continue with regards to provision of medicines. While 84 percent of respondents from Dili indicated that health clinics either always or very frequently have medicines available when their family needs them, only 64 percent of respondents from the rest of the country believe the same.

Interestingly, when respondents were asked whether they or their family would use methods of contraception to space children if they were made available, almost half (44%) of respondents nationally said they would always or very frequently. The municipality with highest proportion of respondents who said they would always or very frequently use methods of contraception to space children if they were available was Manufahi (87%) and the smallest proportion was in municipality Manatuto (4%).¹⁴ Manatuto also had the greatest proportion of respondents who said that they don't know (38%) whether they would or would not use methods of contraception if they were made available, in comparison to the national sample (6%).¹⁵

¹³ Municipality Ermera was not oversampled in the study and thus carries a margin of error of 8.7%

¹⁴ Municipalities Manufahi and Manatuto were not oversampled in the study and thus carry a margin of error of 13.3% and 14.1% respectively.

¹⁵ Ibid.

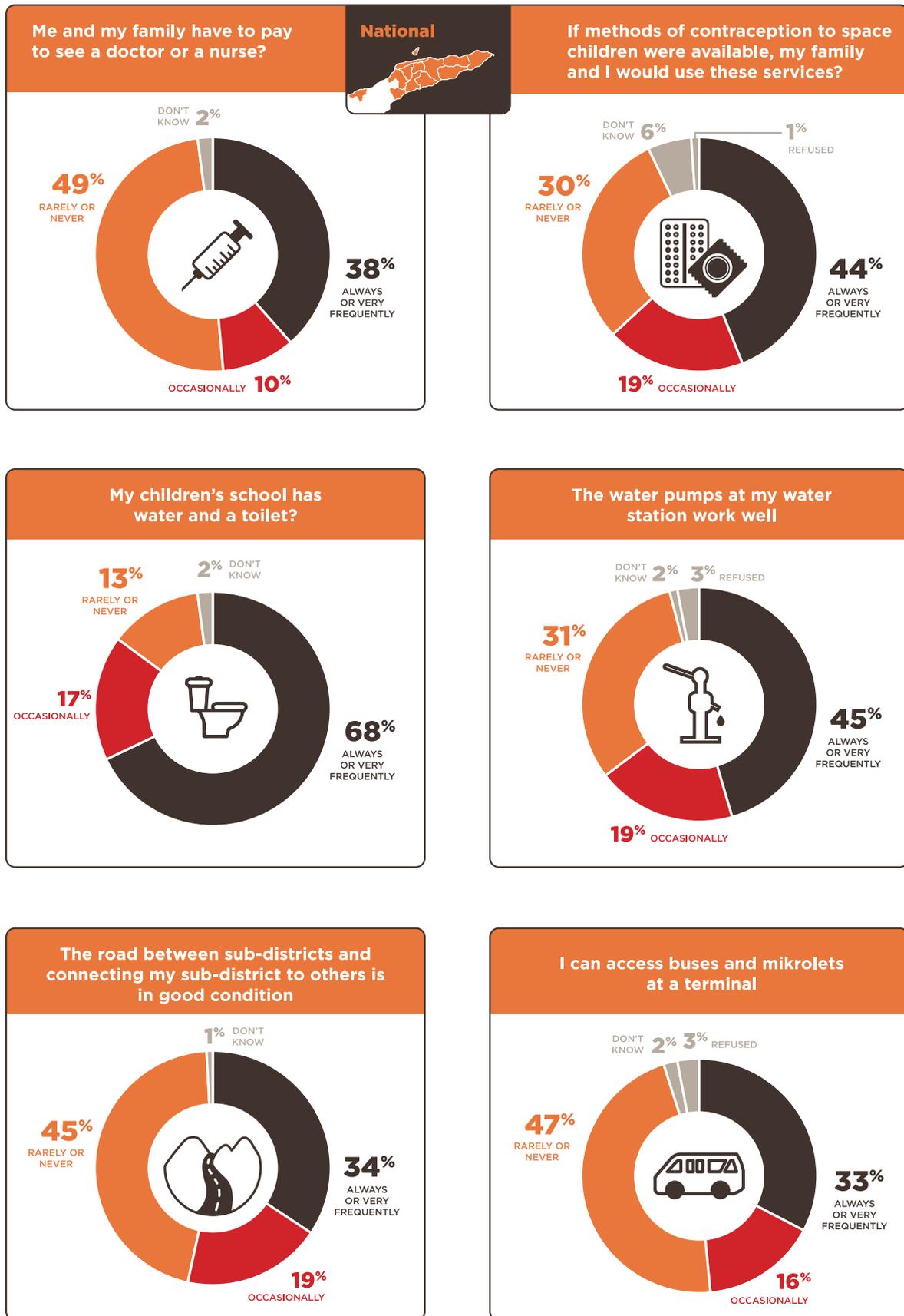


Figure 16 – Comparison of access and quality of services between Dili and sub-districts.

Similar proportions of respondents from Dili (80%) and the rest of the country (75%) state that if someone in their community needs an ambulance, it will come. While access to medical transportation services is relatively high, the availability of skilled birth attendants and midwives is inconsistent throughout the country. While in Dili 82 percent of respondents either always or very frequently have access to a skilled birth attendant / midwife, 68 percent of respondents from the rest of the country indicated the same. Further, while the municipalities of Oecusse (100%) and Ainaro (95%) had the highest proportion of respondents that either always or very frequently had access to birthing attendants in their community, the municipalities of Lautem (20%) and Manatuto (10%) were much lower.¹⁶

Despite inconsistencies in the availability, access, and quality of health services provided to the citizens of Timor-Leste, respondents are satisfied overall, with 86 percent of respondents nationally believing that doctors and nurses are always or very frequently helpful and take good care of them and their family. This view is shared by respondents from Dili (85%) as much as the rest of the country (86%).

4.2 Education

Three out of four (75%) respondents from across the country believe school buildings and facilities that their children attend are clean, safe, and in good condition either always or frequently. While there were slight differences between the perceptions of school cleanliness and safety between respondents from Dili (86%) and the rest of the country (72%), the most significant outlier was in municipality Lautem, where less than half of respondents (43%) believed the same.¹⁷

¹⁶ Municipalities Oecusse, Ainaro, Lautem and Manatuto were oversampled in the study and thus carry a margin of error of 11.5%, 12.3%, 12.3% and 14.1% respectively.

¹⁷ Municipality Lautem was not oversampled in the study and thus carries a margin of error of 12.3%

Looking more specifically at aspects of water and sanitation within the education system, the 2016 *Tatoli!* questionnaire asked respondents whether their children's school has water and toilet. While only 2 percent of urban respondents stated that their child either very rarely or never had water and toilets at their school, 16 percent of rural respondents stated the same.

From the perspective of nutrition at school, two out of three respondents (68%) stated that their child always or very frequently has the option to receive a daily meal at school. This perception was relatively consistent throughout the country, with the exception of municipality Viqueque, where only 8 percent of respondents believe the same.¹⁸

In terms of quality of education, respondents were asked a number of questions relating to availability and access to learning materials. Similar proportions of respondents from both Dili (86%) and the rest of the country (82%) stated that their children's teacher attends regularly. Similar proportions of respondents from Dili (78%) and the rest of the country (75%) also stated that their child either always or very frequently access to necessary books and teaching materials at school.

Despite this, slight disparities exist between respondents from Dili (85%) and the rest of the country (72%) who state that their child either always or very frequently can understand the language used by the teacher in the classroom and in the books at school. While the national average is three out of four respondents (75%) stating that their child either always or very frequently can understand the language used by the teacher in the classroom and in the books at school, a notable outlier existed in the municipality of Lautem where less than half (44%) of respondents believed the same.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

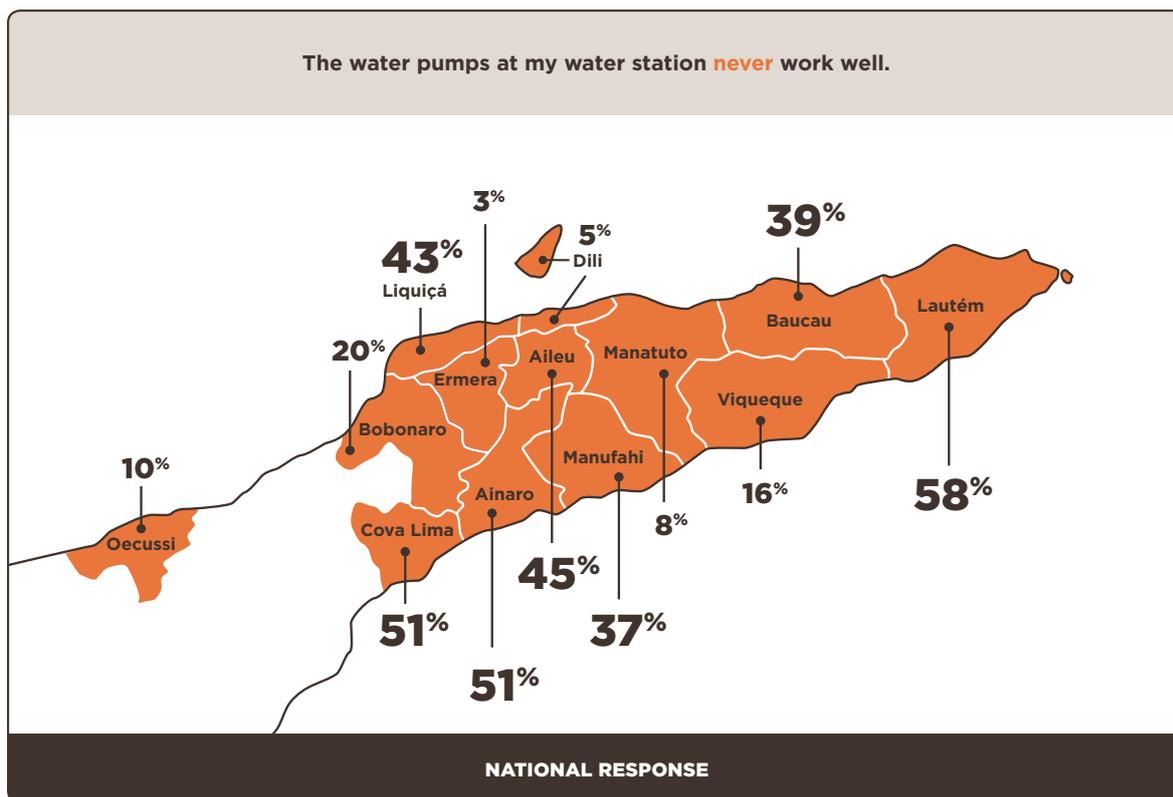


Figure 17 – Location of poorly functioning water stations throughout the country

4.3 Water and Sanitation

While the survey questionnaire asked questions relating to water and sanitation within the country’s education system, questions relating to water and sanitation were also asked more broadly. In the context of infrastructure in their sub-district, less than half of respondents (45%) believe water pumps at their water station to work well always or very frequently.

Almost one in four respondents (23%) stated that water pumps never worked. While only 5 percent of respondents from Dili share this view, 29 percent of respondents from the rest of the country believe the same. More than half of respondents from Ainaro (51%), Covalima (51%), and Lautem (58%) stated that their water pumps never work.²⁰

Respondents were also asked whether they have access to a toilet at or very near to their home. Two thirds of respondents nationally (66%) stated that they either always or very frequently have access, while 15 percent stated that they never have access. Interestingly, only 1 percent of respondents from Dili stated that they never have access to a toilet either at or very near to their home, while almost one in five respondents (20%) from the rest of the country believe the same. This proportion was more than double the national average in the municipalities of Baucau (37%) and Covalima (40%).²¹

²⁰ Municipalities Ainaro, Covalima, and Lautem were not oversampled in the study and thus carry a margin of error of 12.3%, 11.5% and 12.3% respectively

²¹ Municipalities Baucau and Covalima were not oversampled in the study and thus carry a margin of error of 8.6% and 11.5% respectively

4.4 Roads and Transport

Almost half of respondents nationally (45%) believe the roads between sub-districts and connecting their sub-district to others is either very rarely or never in good condition. Almost five times as many respondents from rural environments (56%) than from urban environments (12%) held this view.

Given Timor-Leste's rainy season extends for at times over half the year, the use of bridges is imperative to transport and connectivity. In light of this, the 2016 *Tatoli!* Survey asked, with regards to infrastructure in their sub-district, whether respondents have access to bridges during the rainy season. Two in five respondents (40%) indicated that they very rarely or never have access to bridges. While this rate was mirrored in rural environments (48%), this view was not as frequently shared by those in urban environments (11%).

Given the central role that public transportation plays in mobility for most Timorese around the country, this survey went beyond only investigating the quality of roads and bridges. Respondents were also asked about the level of access they had to mass transit facilities such as *mikrolets* and buses.²²

While 70 percent of respondents from urban environments said they either always or very frequently have access, a similar proportion of respondents from rural environments (59%) indicated the opposite, that they either rarely or never have access to *mikrolets* or buses at terminals. This view indicating a lack of access to transport facilities is shared by nearly all respondents in Aileu (94%), Lautem (98%), and Manatuto (100%).²³

²² Our research in 2015 confirmed that land public transportation was the most important mode of transport used by the majority of Timorese to access economic, social, government, and cultural services. *A Political Economy of Public Transportation in Timor-Leste.* The Asia Foundation, 2015.

²³ Municipalities Aileu, Lautem and Manatuto were not oversampled in the study and thus carry a margin of error of 14.3%, 12.3% and 14.1% respectively

4.5 Maintenance of Services

Given the major focus by the government to improve infrastructure, there should be greater attention paid to maintenance and upkeep of existing and future infrastructure investments. The state budget, however, consistently omits funding for maintenance of services and infrastructure. To gauge insight into the quality and functionality of infrastructure investments, the survey asked respondents about the current state of government services. Respondents were also asked whether roads, bridges, and water supply systems are fixed when they break.

Almost one in three respondents (32%) nationally indicated that roads, bridges, and water supply systems are either very rarely or never fixed when they break. This view was shared by a similar proportion of respondents in rural environments (40%), but a notably smaller proportion of respondents in urban environments (8%). This fact is probably partly related to the highly centralized nature of the Timorese state wherein most procurement, as well as maintenance and repair services, are managed out of the capital, and not effectively decentralized.

Reflecting on questions relating to government service provision, respondents were asked which government service they believed needed to be most improved in their area. Nationally, nearly four in 10 respondents indicated roads (38%), one in four respondents indicated education (25%), and almost one in five respondents indicated access to water (17%). In the nation's capital Dili, education was identified as needing most improvement (46%) followed by roads (21%) and access to water (19%).

CHAPTER 5

Women's Participation in Society

Timor-Leste, even after 15 years of independence, remains a highly patriarchal society. As such, the social fabric, both economically and politically, remains highly gendered and unequal. Women who run for political office often face a double burden of an increased public role, with ongoing and significant caregiving responsibilities at home. This survey provides important insights into deeply held beliefs by Timorese on why more women do not occupy decision-making positions.

5.1 Women in Public Life

Women in politics

The survey indicates that 86 percent of all respondents believe that it would be “good” if more women entered politics in Timor-Leste (96% of respondents in Dili held this view) – however, nearly a third of total respondents (32%) believe that the main reason for the dearth of female political leadership is that “there currently are no qualified women”.^{24 / 25}

Similarly, nearly a quarter of respondents (22%) felt that “women aren’t interested in becoming political leaders” (32% of respondents in Dili felt

²⁴ *Tatoli! 2016* Q40. In your opinion, would it be good or bad for Timor-Leste if more women entered politics?

²⁵ *Ibid.* Q41. In your opinion, why are there more men than women in high office?

this way). A few municipalities differed in their responses relating to the most important reason why there are not more women political leaders. Specifically, nearly 40 percent of respondents in Manufahi cited the fact that “men are naturally better leaders than women”, while a third of respondents in Baucau believe the most important reason is that “a women’s role is in the household, not in public office”.²⁶

Beliefs like these perpetuate the notion that women are less capable and qualified than male counterparts, and that structural inequality is not to blame for low participation. These beliefs, however, are in line with the Foundation’s quantitative research on violence against women which found extremely high rates of gender inequitable views among both men and women in Timor-Leste.²⁷

Perceptions of gender equality

Many men, and even men in power such as the current Prime Minister, have publicly stated their commitment to gender equality and other important initiatives like ending violence against women. However, this is not a common trend throughout the parliament, government, or the country.

Indicative of this fact is that only half (50%) of respondents to this survey believe that a woman could/should be elected to the office of President/ Prime Minister or “any public office”. Lautem was the outlier with three in four respondents (75%) indicating that a “women can be elected to any public office”.

One in six respondents (16%) felt that the highest office a woman could/should hold is that of minister or member of parliament, while 12

²⁶ MoE for municipal level data on this analysis between 8-13%

²⁷ Our research found that 83% of women and 71-80% of men (in Dili and Manufahi, respectively) agreed with the statement, “a woman’s most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.” Furthermore, more than half of all women and between 37-50% of men believed that a man is justified in hitting his wife if she doesn’t satisfactorily complete the household work. The Asia Foundation. 2016. *Understanding Violence against Women and Children in Timor-Leste: Findings from the Nabilan Baseline Study – Main Report*. The Asia Foundation: Dili. Pp.85-86.

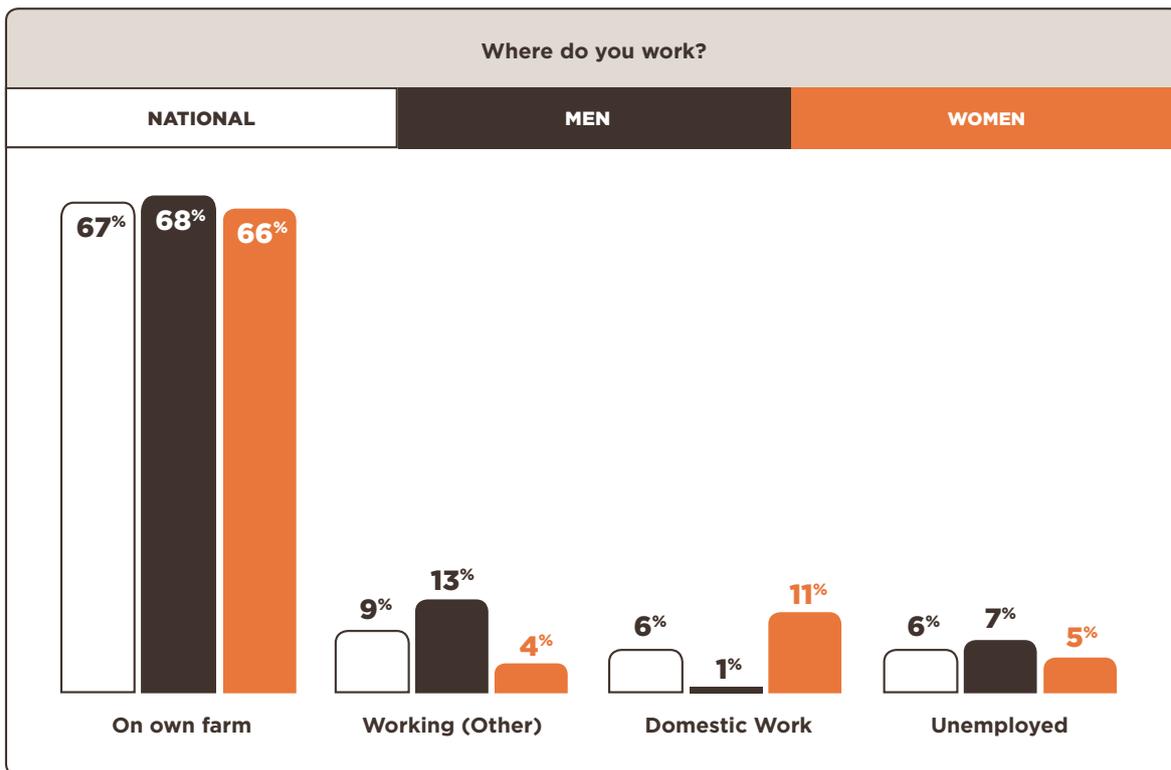


Figure 18 – Comparison of workplace between men and women

percent of respondents believe the highest office a woman could/should hold is that of *xefe suku*. Notably, nearly half (46%) of respondents in Manufahi felt this way.

Our research and monitoring of parliamentary and council meetings show that women’s issues, and women council members even, continue to face discrimination and even harassment from much more powerful male counterparts.

Education

Overall, more women (40%) than men (30%) never attended school. While fewer people in Dili overall indicated that they have no formal education, once again, more women (13%) than men (10%) indicated that they never attended formal schooling.

While the number of university-educated Timorese remains low overall (7%), nearly twice as many men (9%) as women (5%) have a university education or above nationally. In Dili,

one in four men (26%) and less than one in five women (18%) have a university degree or higher.

5.2 Women in the Economy

Employment

While the unemployment rate for women (5%) is slightly lower than for men (7%), more than three times the number of men (13%) indicate that they work somewhere other than on a farm, or doing domestic work, than women (4%). Of those women who selected “other” for current work, 37 percent work for the government, 17 percent for an international organization (including INGO, Embassy, or multilateral), 16 percent work for a local NGO, and 16 percent teach at a school. Ten percent of women who selected “other” indicated that they own their own small business.²⁸

²⁸ Margin of error for this analysis is 19.6%.

With regards to economic contribution and domestic burden, overall, women are more than ten times as likely to be engaged in domestic work (11%) than their male counterparts (1%). This ratio is true in Dili as well, where 31 percent of women indicated that they are engaged in domestic work including raising a family or caring for an elderly/disabled individual, as compared with only 3 percent of men.

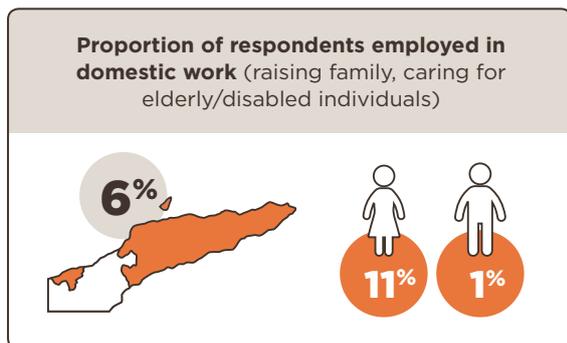


Figure 19 – Proportion of men and women engaged in domestic work

Earning potential

As in many other countries around the world, *Tatolil* 2016 results show that women in Timor-Leste across the board earn less than their male counterparts. Nearly 10 percent more women (79%) than men (70%) earn below a cumulative \$50 per month (this includes respondents indicating “no income” or “less than \$50 per month”).

Nationally, 14 percent of men earn between \$100-\$300, while only 9 percent of women indicated this income.²⁹ The discrepancy in Dili is far greater where nearly one in two (47%) of male respondents reported earning between \$100-\$500, while only slightly more than one in four (27%) women reported this level of income. Notably, the difference in earning between \$500-\$3,000 and above \$3,000 between men and women is statistically insignificant, both at 1 percent for national respondents.

²⁹ Current legal minimum wage in Timor-Leste is \$115 per month.

5.3 Most Important Issues Facing Women

Across the board, both men and women respondents (35% respectively) agreed that violence against women is the single biggest issue that women face in Timor-Leste today.³⁰ Notably, this belief was higher for respondents outside of Dili, where four in 10 (41%) hold this view as compared with only one in 10 (13%) of respondents in Dili.

Respondents in Dili hold that “safety and security” (31%) is the biggest challenge for women. Slightly more men (35%) than women (28%) hold this view.

The second most cited problem for Dili respondents is “access to water” (25%) where twice as many women (33%) as men (17%) hold this view.

The third most cited problem for Dili respondents was “violence against women” where 13 percent of Dili respondents felt this was the biggest problem facing women. More than twice as many men (17%) as women (8%) in Dili held this view. Notably, “access to health care” ranked as one of the lowest overall challenges faced by women across the board with only 1 percent of either men or women selecting this option regardless of geographic location.³¹

³⁰ Our research found that 59% of ever-partnered women in Timor-Leste have faced one or multiple forms of violence against women. This percentage is one of the highest in the region. The Asia Foundation. 2016. *Understanding Violence against Women and Children in Timor-Leste: Findings from the Nabilan Baseline Study – Main Report*.

³¹ As the survey added the clause “including ante-natal and family planning” in parenthesis in the questionnaire, it is possible that this may have influenced the responses given the highly conservative Catholic context.

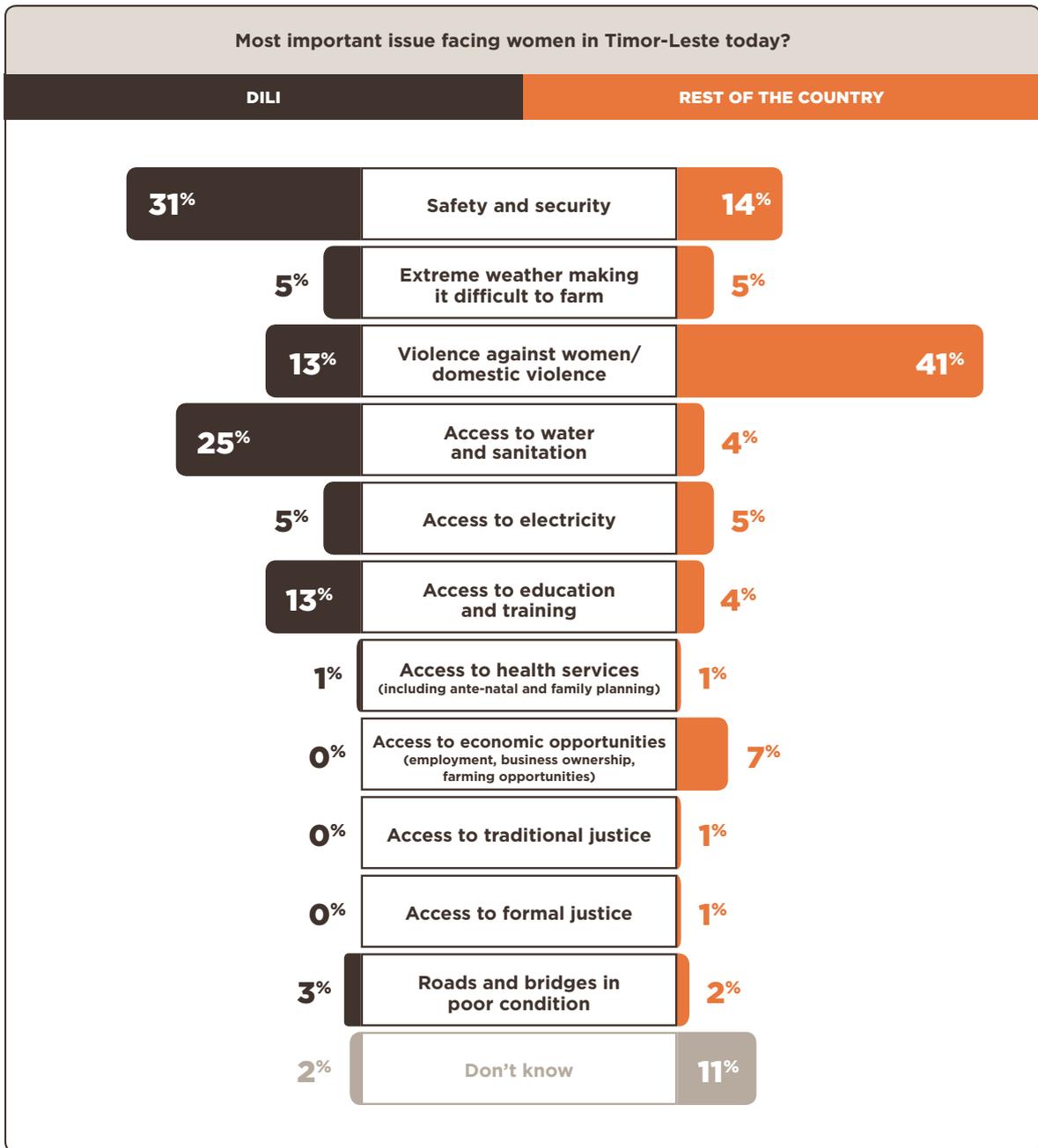


Figure 20 – The most important issue facing women

CHAPTER 6

2017 Elections and Political Party Affiliation

As *Tatoli!* found in previous years, reported interest and participation in elections are extremely high nation-wide. When asked about voter habits and intentions, 98 percent of respondents indicated that they did vote in the 2012 parliamentary elections (only 2% did not). Similarly, when asked whether they intend to vote in the 2017 parliamentary elections, 98 percent said yes, and only 1 percent said no.

Notably, turnout for the 2017 presidential election was lower than anticipated at 71 percent. Analysts speculate that three factors contributed to this outcome: (i) the election was largely uncontested, with a clear favorite in Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) candidate Lù Olo; (ii) the National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction (CNRT) did not put forward a candidate, resulting in a possible a lower turnout of CNRT party voters; and (iii) accessibility – both in so far as access for people with disability and the elderly, but also the distance traveled to the polling stations in general.

Expectations are that the parliamentary election scheduled for July or August 2017 is likely to be more closely contested, with a higher voter turnout.

6.1 Party Affiliation

The survey asked respondents which party they voted for in the last parliamentary elections, and which party they intend to vote for in 2017.

While it is apparent that such a question is sensitive (36% of respondents in 2012 and 40% of respondents in 2016 either refused to answer or selected “don’t know”), as far as party affiliations are concerned, there is little change except for the emergence of the Popular Liberation Party (PLP) in the 2017 elections.

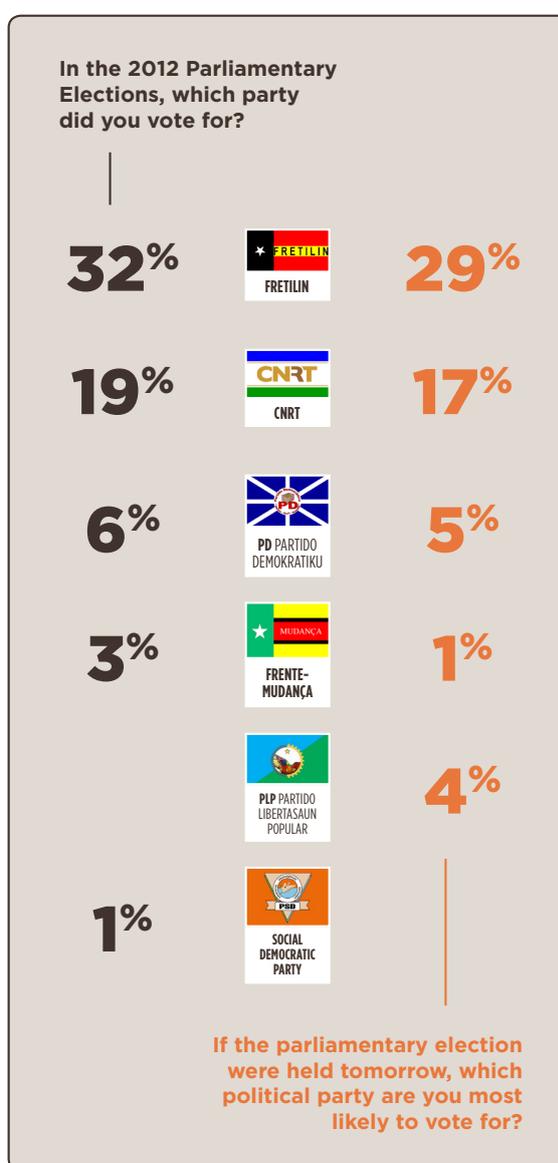


Figure 21 – Variance in party preference in voting in 2012 and 2017

In trying to understand why voters choose an individual candidate in an election, this survey confirms that Timor-Leste politics remain highly personality-driven, with a large majority of voters still basing their selection on a candidate's role in Timor-Leste's independence movement, rather than on the candidates' specific experience or qualifications to hold office.

The above finding is particularly interesting given that it directly contradicts findings in 2012 in which "issues" were ranked far higher by respondents than ties to a particular candidate in terms of influencing their votes (See Figure 21).

When asked about the most important attribute for a political party, again the role of the party in Timor-Leste's independence movement response prevailed as the primary reason.

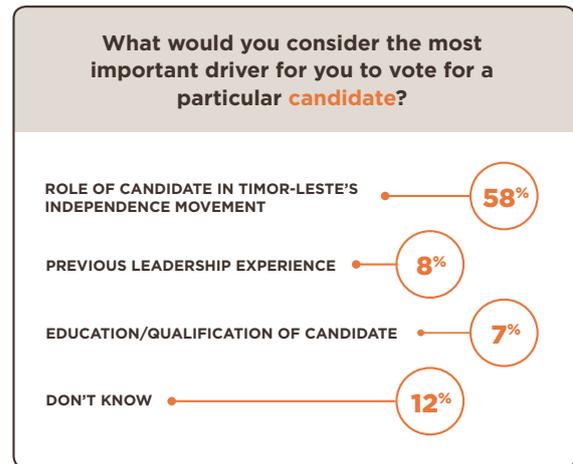


Figure 22 – Most important driver when voting for a candidate

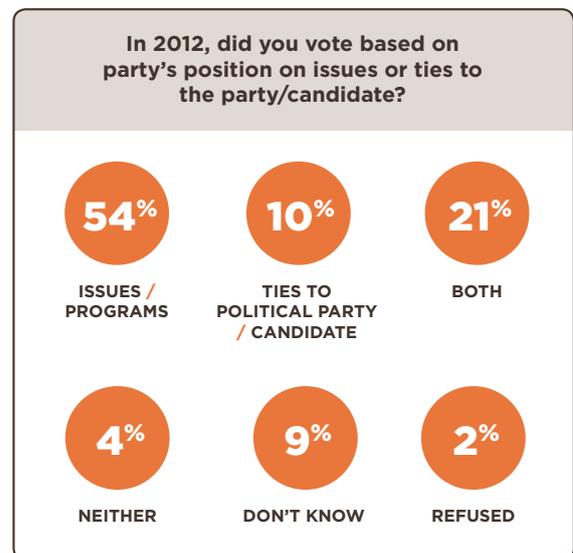


Figure 23 – Driver for voting for a particular party in 2012

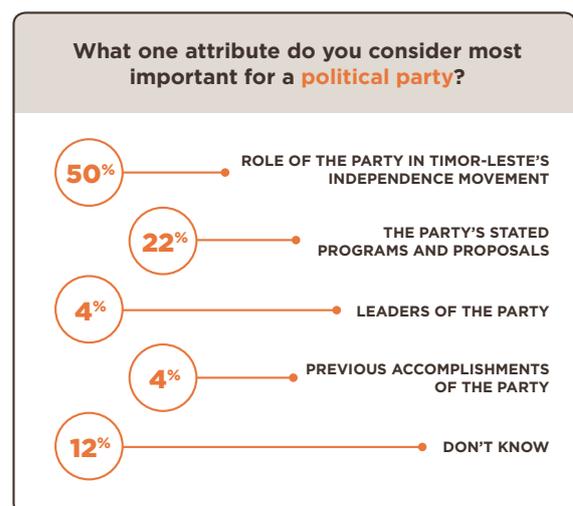


Figure 24 – Most important attribute for a political party

CHAPTER 7

Individuals and Institutions

7.1 Corruption in Institutions

Since achieving independence, Timor-Leste has endeavored to establish the necessary legal frameworks and other protective measures to curb ongoing challenges with actual and/or perceived corruption. While the country has made significant gains, including a notable improvement between the 2015 and 2016 global ranking, Timor-Leste is still ranked 101 out of 176 nations on Transparency International's annual Corruption Perception Index for 2016.³²

To ascertain the level to which citizens believe that specific institutions in the country are affected by corruption, *Tatoli!* 2016 asked respondents to rate 19 institutions from "not at all" to "completely" in accordance with the rate to which they believed the institution is corrupt.³³

Corruption ranked as a bigger problem with respondents outside of Dili, than with those in Dili when compared to other drivers behind, for example, "government failure" or the "biggest

problem facing the nation". Specifically, among non-Dili respondents, "corruption" ranks as the second biggest reason for preventing government from doing the best job possible at 13 percent (after misallocation of funds at 30%).³⁴ Meanwhile, "corruption" is only the fifth-cited driver for government failure for respondents within Dili.

Similarly, when asked to identify the single biggest problem facing Timor-Leste at a national level today, once again corruption was the second most cited problem among respondents outside of Dili (11%), only after Timor-Leste's economic future (35%). Compare this with corruption as the sixth-most cited reason for Dili respondents (6.5%) after jobs (29%), the nation's economic future (24%), access to clean water and sanitation (9%), roads and bridges (7%) and land issues (7%).

However, despite respondents outside of Dili viewing corruption overall as a much bigger problem and threat to governance in Timor-Leste, rates of perceived corruption within individual institutions were *far* higher for respondents in Dili, than those outside the capital.

Most corrupt institutions: education, registry, suku councils, political parties, and health system

The institution that performs the worst in terms of perceived corruption is the education system, with 68 percent of all respondents indicating that the education system in Timor-Leste is corrupt to some level (a little, moderately, significantly, completely).³⁵ This number is a staggering 91 percent for respondents in Dili. Figure 25 provide a representation of the institutions with the highest perceived level of corruption.

The education system also has the lowest percentage of respondents who believe that it is "not at all" corrupt, at 18 percent (though one

³² Transparency International *Corruption Perceptions Index 2016* access at: <http://www.transparency.org/>

³³ A public belief that an institution is corrupt is obviously not evidence of any actual corruption. Furthermore, the question did not identify in which way a given institution was perceived to be corrupt.

³⁴ *Tatoli!* 2016 Q16: What do you think is preventing the government from doing the best job possible?

³⁵ We use a 5-point scale from "not at all", "a little", "moderately", "significantly" and "completely". Percentages therefore include recorded perception of corruption to any extent. Values only exclude "not at all" and "refused".

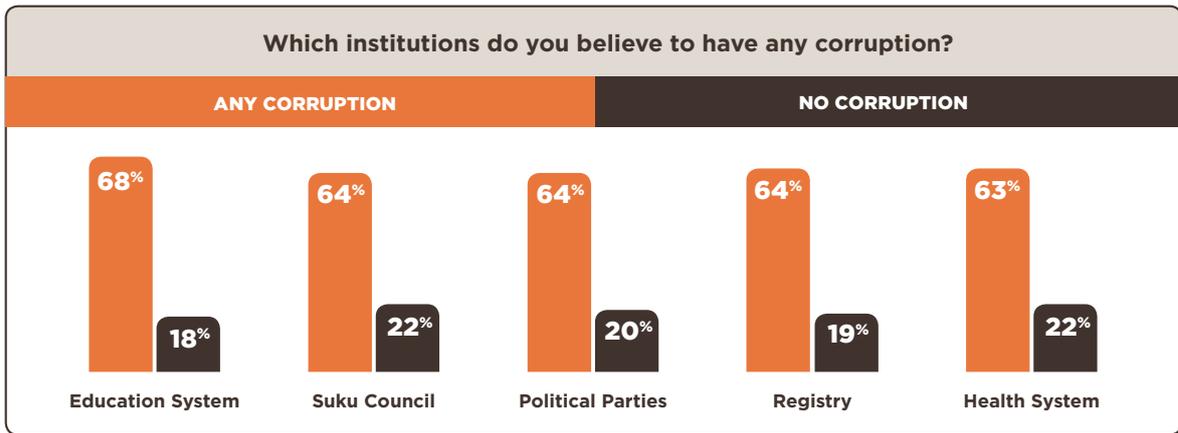


Figure 25 – Institutions believed to be corrupt

in five respondents outside of Dili hold this view), and the highest percentage of respondents who believe it is “significantly” corrupt, at 11 percent.

The second highest rate of perceived corruption is shared between the registry and permit services (including registry for births, marriages, licenses, and permits) political parties and *suku* councils, all at 64 percent. Once again, the perceptions of corruption for these institutions are much greater in Dili than the rest of the country. In Dili, 84 percent of respondents believe corruption to affect political parties, 83 percent of respondents hold this view for the registry and permit services, and 86 percent of respondents in Dili hold that *suku* councils have some level of corruption.

In third place of the most corrupt institution at 63 percent is the health system. Once again, over 90 percent of respondents in Dili feel that the health system exhibits varying degrees of corruption, while over one quarter (27%) of respondents outside of Dili feel that the health system has “no corruption at all”. Notably, two in three respondents (67%) in Dili indicated that they “always” or “very frequently” have to pay to see a doctor or nurse in the past six months, as compared with only 30 percent for respondents outside of Dili.³⁶

³⁶ Notably, there has been a proliferation of private fee-for-service health facilities in Dili which offer shorter wait times, greater selection of services, and may be a driver for the higher rate of payment for medical care in Dili, whereas most residents outside urban centers have no other options outside government-provided health care facilities.

Overall, 62 percent of respondents believe procurement tenders (government contracts) have some level of corruption. This view is held by 84 percent of respondents in Dili. Notably, the highest result in the category of “completely” corrupt was reserved for this government function/institution, resulting in 7 percent of respondents overall holding this view (10% for Dili respondents). Contrastingly, nearly one quarter of respondents outside of Dili feel that government procurement is “not corrupt at all”.

Least corrupt institutions: FFDTL, NGOs, and the media

Institutions held in high regard included the Timor-Leste Defense Force (FFDTL), who had the highest percentage of respondents who felt that it was “not at all” corrupt at 32 percent, and only slightly more than 50 percent of respondents who felt it had any corruption at all. International non-governmental organizations (INGOs) had the second highest result for “not at all” corrupt at 31 percent, followed by national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the media, both at 29 percent.

Notably, less than 50 percent of respondents believed that INGOs had any corruption, and only slightly more than half believed national NGOs and the media had any corruption at all.

7.2 Role of Individuals in Timorese Political Life

Referring specifically to national figures, in 2016 there is still no contest as to whom Timorese admire the most. More respondents (33%) cited former Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão, followed by two members of the clergy (11% each). Other admired resistance heroes include: Lù Olo (8%), Mari Alkatiri (6%), Taur Matan Ruak (6%), and Dr. José Ramos Horta (2%). Current Prime Minister Dr. Rui Maria de Araújo received 1 percent of responses.³⁷

This finding confirms both the paramount role of the most revered resistance figure, Xanana Gusmão, as well as the prominent role of religious figures within Timorese society. Newly elected president Lù Olo scored the highest among former and present members of government, including outgoing Prime Minister, Dr. Rui Maria de Araújo.

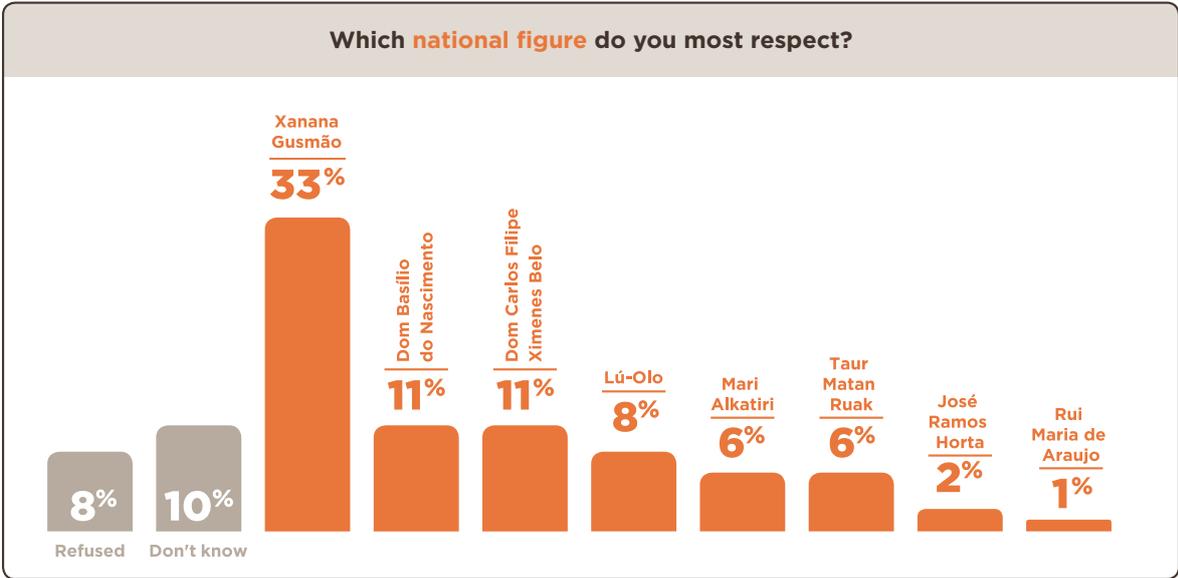


Figure 26 – Most respected leader in Timor-Leste

³⁷ *Tatoli!* 2016 Q45. Which national leader/figure do you most admire/respect?



The Asia Foundation

THE ASIA FOUNDATION TIMOR-LESTE
TIMOR-LESTE TATOLI SURVEY – NOVEMBER 2016
(version: November 22)

A. BASIC INFORMATION

First, I want to ask some basic information about yourself.

1. What is your age?
[INSERT INTEGER, > 17]

2. I would like to know about your occupation. Are you currently working on your own farm, on someone else's farm, doing other work, taking care of the home (such as watching over children or elderly family members), retired, a student, or looking for work?

1	Working on own farm
2	Working on other farm (including family or community farm)
3	Working – other
4	Domestic work (raising family, caring for elderly/disabled individuals)
5	Retired
6	Student / in training
7	Unemployed / seeking work
8	Other (specify) _____
88	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

[If Selected option (1) or (2) in Q2]

2a. Since you indicated that you work on a farm, I'd like to ask you a few questions about agriculture in your sub-district. To what extent do you agree/disagree with these statements.

No.	Aspect	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK	NA
1	I have access to enough good quality seeds to grow my crops	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	I can find and afford fertilizers to use on my crops	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
3	There is water available for me to use for my crops	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
4	There is an agriculture extension program (farmer education) available in my community	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
5	I learn from, and use the new methods from the extension program in raising my crops	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

[If selected option (3) in Q2]

2b. [Ask those who selected "Working – other"] Where do you work?

1	With a private firm/company/hotel
2	With the government
3	With an international organization (NGO, UN, World Bank, Embassy)
4	With a local Non-Government Organization/Civil Society Organization
5	Own business (e.g. loja, kiosk, construction company, catering, etc.)
6	Teacher at school/university
7	Police/armed forces
8	Other (specify) _____
9	(Don't read out) Don't know
10	(Don't read out) Refused

3. What is your average monthly income?

[enumerator to select after response from respondent]

1	Less than \$50 a month
2	\$50-\$100 per month
3	\$100-\$300 per month
4	Between \$300-\$500 per month
5	Between \$500-\$1,000 per month
6	Between \$1,000-\$3,000 per month
7	More than \$3,000 per month
8	I do not have an income
88	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

4. What is the highest level of school that you completed?

1	Never went to school
2	Primary School 1 st cycle incomplete (commenced but did not complete grade 1 – 3)
3	Primary School 1 st cycle complete (finished grade 3)
4	Primary School 2 nd cycle (finished grade 6)
5	Primary School 3 rd cycle (finished grade 9)
6	Secondary School, incomplete
7	Secondary School completed (grade 12 or classes 1-3)
88	University education or above
99	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

B. CONCEPTS OF AND RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF TIMOR-LESTE Now I want to ask you some questions about Timor-Leste as a whole ...

When we refer to the "Government of Timor-Leste", we generally refer to all of the institutions that make up the government. For example, in Timor-Leste, this includes the office of the Prime Minister and the appointed Ministers who run ministries; the office of the President; the National Parliament; and the Courts. The Government of Timor-Leste also includes security bodies like the PNTL and the FFDTL.

Of course, programs and services that the government provides to people, cost money. In some countries, there are natural assets like oil, gas or other minerals that can be sold to pay for services and goods, but in most countries the people of that country also contribute a part of their salary or the value of their properties to the government, this is called 'tax' (imposto/finta Portuguese), pajak (Indonesian) I would like to ask you some questions about your experience of and perceptions (ideas) of the "Government of Timor-Leste":

5. In your view what is the most important function(s) of government?

[Do not read out options / multiple answer]

1	To keep the country/people safe
2	To ensure justice
3	To provide jobs and opportunities to earn money
4	To provide health services
5	To provide education for children
6	To build roads
7	To supply electricity
8	To provide payments to people (pensions/other payments)
9	To maintain the nation's treaties and international agreements
10	To collect taxes and other revenue to provide services
11	Other
88	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

6. Generally speaking, do you think things in Timor-Leste today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?

[Do not read out, single answer]

1	Right direction
2	Wrong direction
88	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

7. To what extent do you agree with these statements (strongly disagree to strongly agree) [read out scale after each statement]

No.	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK	NA
1	It is the government's responsibility to ensure that people are prosperous	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
4	I would be willing to pay tax to receive better services (healthcare, education, roads, etc)	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
5	I am able to provide feedback to the Government of Timor-Leste, so that they are able to take into account the views of the people	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

Every year, the government prepares a national state budget. In that, they decide in which sectors to spend the government's money. Most of the government's money comes from a special bank account of revenue from Timor-Leste's oil and gas. I am now going to ask you a few questions about the way in which the government spends money.

8. With regards to the national state budget of Timor-Leste, in your opinion who has the most influence/control over the budget? [read out, single answer]

1	The Government
2	Politicians
3	National Parliament
4	The President
5	The people of Timor-Leste
6	Foreign donors
7	None of the above
8	Don't know (Don't read out)
9	Refused (Don't read out)

9. In your view, where should the Government of Timor-Leste be spending the majority of its money? [read out, single answer]

1	Education and Training
2	Health
3	Social Inclusion/special payments
4	Roads

As you know, the Government of Timor-Leste designs and implements programs and policies that relate to the administration of the country and that should benefit the people. Now I would like to ask you about some specific recent government programs and policies to see how you feel about them.

11. To your knowledge, which of the following are current or recent government programs/projects [read out options and select all that apply]?:

1. Suai Supply Base (Projeitu Tasi Mane)
2. A special economic zone (ZEESM) in Oecussi
3. Tibar Port
4. Public Administration Reform
5. Public Finance Reform
6. Social Audit Initiative
7. All of the above
8. None of the above
9. Don't know (Don't read out)
10. Refused (Don't read out)

Statement 1: The government of Timor-Leste relies too much on funding from the oil and gas sector. Individuals and businesses in other sectors should pay more taxes to pay for public goods and services (such as schools, hospitals and roads)

Statement 2: The government of Timor-Leste should continue to rely on funding from the oil and gas sector. Individuals and businesses in other sectors should not be taxed more now to pay for public goods and services (such as schools, hospitals and roads)

- a. Agree more with statement 1
- b. Neutral
- c. Agree more with statement 2
- d. Don't know/refused

12. The following question is with regards to resource management. Since natural resources (like oil and gas) refinement and export is only one of the ways a government can generate revenue, most governments find alternative ways, including in many instances asking people to pay something to the government, this is called taxes. With regards to resource management and taxation, which of the two statements do you more agree with:

Statement 1: The government of Timor-Leste relies too much on funding from the oil and gas sector. Individuals and businesses in other sectors should pay more taxes to pay for public goods and services (such as schools, hospitals and roads)

Statement 2: The government of Timor-Leste should continue to rely on funding from the oil and gas sector. Individuals and businesses in other sectors should not be taxed more now to pay for public goods and services (such as schools, hospitals and roads)

- a. Agree more with statement 1
- b. Neutral
- c. Agree more with statement 2
- d. Don't know/refused

13. The following is a brief description of some of the ongoing government programs. I would like to know, in your opinion, how beneficial do you think each of these programs are to all the people of Timor-Leste on a day-to-day basis? (read out the scale after each option)

No.	Initiative	Not important at all	Not important	Neither	Somewhat important	Very important	Don't Know	No response
1	A program that allows communities to give feedback to the government on its performance on service provision	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	A program that allocates a large amount of the government's budget money to try and develop the industrial and processing capacity for oil and gas in one district to contribute to adding revenue for Timor-Leste	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
3	A program that will help ensure the government officials and public servants are more qualified and professional	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
4	A program that allocates a large amount of the government's budget money to establish a trade and industrial centre in one of the country's 13 municipalities	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
5	A program that tries to fix the budgeting system of the government to make sure more money goes to services that people and communities need	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
6	A program that will build a new port for imported and exported products to be sent and received from Dili	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

10. I am going to read two statements to you please tell me which one you agree with more:

Statement 1: It is better for our community to pay higher taxes, if that means that there will be more services provided by government

Statement 2: It is better for our community to pay lower taxes, even if it means that there will be fewer services provided by government

- a. Agree more with statement 1
- b. Neutral
- c. Agree more with statement 2
- d. Don't know/refused

14. Which ONE of the following government programs do you think is the MOST important for the benefit of all the people of Timor-Leste today (read out options; select one, do NOT read 'all of the above, or none of the above' select that if the person volunteered that options)

1. Suai Supply Base (Projettu Tasi Mane)
2. A special economic zone (ZEESM) in Ocussu
3. Tibar Port
4. Public Administration Reform (making government officials more professional)
5. Public Finance Reform (making budgets more responsive to needs)
6. Social Audit initiative (program that gives communities opportunity to give feedback to government)
7. All of the above (don't read out)
8. None of the above (don't read out)
9. Don't know (Don't read out)
10. Refused (Don't read out)

15. Now that you have been thinking about the government and the policies and programs that it is implementing in Timor-Leste, how do you feel about the way it is carrying out its responsibilities? Is it doing a very good job, somewhat good job, somewhat bad job or a very bad job? (read out; single answer)

1	Very good job
2	Somewhat good job
3	Neither good nor bad job
4	Somewhat bad job
5	Very bad job
88	(Don't read out) Don't know

16. What do you think is preventing the government from doing the best job possible? (Do not read out, unless they say they do not understand, single answer)

1	The government does not have enough money/budget to do its job
2	The government HAS enough money, but it does not allocate/use it well
3	Not enough human capacity/skills
4	Too many priorities to focus on
5	Corruption by government officials
6	Nepotism in government institutions/appointments based on relationships and not on merit/qualifications
7	Poor leadership
8	Lack of accountability of decision makers to citizens
9	None of the above (i.e. the government is doing the best job)
10	Other [please specify]
88	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

17. In considering the role of the government, which of the following statements do you most agree with?

Statement 1: The government should do what the people tell it to do, it is there to serve the people

Statement 2: The government knows what is best for the people, it should do what it thinks is most important.

- a. Agree more with statement 1
- b. Neutral
- c. Agree more with statement 2
- d. Don't know/refused

18. Which of the following sources do you use most often for news and information? (multiple answers, read out)

Television
Radio
Newspaper
Internet web pages and online news sources
Internet – social media (Facebook, Twitter)
Church
Friends and family, neighbours
Suco Council / local leaders
Other: _____
Don't know
Refused

19. Please tell me how you feel about the role of the media in Timor-Leste

Statement 1: The media should be independent and able to publish stories that are critical of the government without government control or restrictions

Statement 2: The government has the right to control the way in which the media publishes information about the government

- a. Agree more with statement 1
- b. Neutral
- c. Agree more with statement 2
- d. Don't know/refused

20. Now I am going to ask your opinion about several aspects of the role of the military in Timor-Leste. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree – strongly disagree (read options after each)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know	No response
Timor-Leste needs a military to protect it from external threats.	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
Timor-Leste needs a military to protect it from internal threats.	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
Timor-Leste does not need a military	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
The F-FDTL is the rightful successor of FALINTIL, which fought for independence	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
The F-FDTL should be able to give orders to the government.	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
The F-FDTL is a highly disciplined organization	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
The F-FDTL sometimes gives orders to the government	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

C. WEALTH, ECONOMY AND JOBS

21. Now I am going to ask your opinion about several aspects of the Economy as it affects you and your family. After each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree – strongly disagree (read out the options after each question)

No.	Aspect	Condition						
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK	NA
	It is possible for me and my family to get a job close to where we live.	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	Me and my family have to travel a long way to find a job	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	My family earns enough to pay for the things we need	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	I am able to borrow money when I need it	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	I am able to save money to spend at a later time	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	I will have enough food to feed my family in the next year	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

22. For your own family, how would you rate the economic situation (income, jobs, savings, assets, land) of your family today? (read out, single answer)

1	Very good
2	Good
3	Not very good
4	Bad
5	Very Bad
88	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

23. How does the current economic situation (income, savings, assets/land) of your family today compare to two years ago? Is it... (read out items, single answer)

1	Much better	
2	A little better	
3	Same (i.e. neither better nor worse)	
4	Little worse now	
5	Much worse now	
88	(Don't read out) Don't know	
99	(Don't read out) Refused	

24. Which, if any, government payments do you or a family member receive? (read out, multiple options)

1	Veteran's payment	
2	Bolsa de Mae	
3	Disability payment	
4	Elderly payment	
5	Government/parliamentary pension	
6	None	
88	(Don't read out) Don't know	
99	(Don't read out) Refused	

D. SERVICE DELIVERY

Now I want to ask you some questions about the government services your family may use. Please tell me about the last six months. (read out the scale after each statement)

25. Relating to **Health** in your sub-district.

No.	Aspect	Condition						
		Always	Very Frequently	Occasionally	Very Rarely	Never	DK	NA
1	My local health clinic is clean	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	My local health clinic has running water and electricity	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
3	Me and my family have to pay to see a doctor or a nurse	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
4	Medicines are available at my local health clinic when my family needs them	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
5	If methods of contraception to space children were available (KB), my family and I would use these services	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
6	If someone in my community needs it, an ambulance will come	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
7	There is a skilled birth attendant/help-er/midwife in my community	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
8	The doctors and nurses are helpful and take good care of me and my family	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

26. Let's continue with aspects relating to the **education** that your children receive. (read out the scale after each statement)

No.	Aspect	Condition						
		Always	Very Frequently	Occasionally	Very Rarely	Never	DK	NA
1	School buildings and facilities are clean, safe and in good condition	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	My children's school has water and a toilet	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
3	My child has access to a toilet at school	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
4	My children's teacher attends regularly	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
5	My child has the option to receive a daily meal at school (merienda escolar)	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

6	My child has access to the necessary books and teaching materials	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
7	My child can understand the language used by the teacher in the classroom and in the books at school	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

27. Let's continue with aspects of **infrastructure** in your sub-district. (read out the scale after each statement)

No.	Aspect	Condition						
		Always	Very Frequently	Occasionally	Very Rarely	Never	DK	NA
	The water pumps at my water station work well	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	The road between sub-districts and connecting my sub-district to others is in good condition	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	There are bridges that allow access in the rainy season	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	I can access buses and mikrolets at a terminal	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	I have access to a toilet at/very near my home	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
	Roads, bridges and water supply systems are fixed when they break	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

28. Of the following services that government provides, which do you think most needs to be improved in your area? (Read out, rotate items, single answer)

1	Education	
2	Healthcare	
3	Irrigation and seed supply	
4	Access to water	
5	Roads	
6	Access for people with disabilities	
88	(Don't read out) Don't know	
99	(Don't read out) Refused	

29. Did you vote in the 2012 Parliamentary Election? (only ask to respondents who indicated age > 22)

1	Yes	
2	No	
88	(Don't read out) Don't know	
99	(Don't read out) Refused	

E. Issue in Focus: 2017 National Election

30. (if selected NO (2) in Q28) What is the most important reason why you did not vote?

	Don't understand/not interested in politics	
	I was not aware of the elections	
	I did not know enough about the parties/candidates	
	Did not know how to vote	
	Did not support any party / candidate	
	Fear of violence / intimidation	
	Personal reasons: too old, sick etc.	
	No time / too busy working	
	Boycott / protest	
	It wouldn't matter who is in power, the situation will be the same.	
	I will follow other people in my household. If they go, I will go to vote.	
	Concerned with cheating on polling or counting process	
	I was too young to vote	
	Other (specify _____)	
	Don't know (Don't read out)	
	Refused (Don't read out)	

31. In a democracy, like Timor-Leste, there are usually a number of political parties who compete in the elections. Each of these parties will have people (candidates) who represent the parties; and in many systems parties and candidates will be expected to explain to the people what that party believes, and what sort of programs and issues they think are important. Now I want to ask you some questions about the elections in Timor-Leste.

31. [if selected YES (1) in Q28] In the 2012 Parliamentary Elections, did you vote based on a political party's position on issues/programs or based on your ties to the political party/candidates?

1	Issues/programs
2	Political party/individual candidate
3	Both
4	Neither
5	Don't know (don't read out)
6	Refused (Don't read out)

32. [if selected YES (1) in Q28] In the 2012 Parliamentary Elections, which party did you vote for? [Don't read out, if they say 'secret' select REFUSED]

	National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction
	FRETILIN
	Democratic Party
	Frenti-Mudança
	Kmanek Haburas Unidade Nasional Timor Oan
	Socialist Party of Timor
	Social Democratic Party
	National Development Party
	Timorese Social Democratic Association
	National Unity of Timorese Resistance
	Timorese Democratic Union
	Republican Party
	PLPA/PDRT coalition
	Timorese People's Monarchy Association
	National Unity Party
	Coligação Bloco Proclamador (PMD-PARENTIL)
	Democratic Alliance (Kotar/Trabalhista)
	Timorese Democratic Party

	Liberal Democratic Party
	People's Development Party
	Christian Democratic Party
	Other (specify _____)
	Don't know (Don't read out)
	Refused (Don't read out)

SECTION 2: 2017 National Elections

33. Do you think you will vote in the upcoming 2017 Parliamentary Election?

1	Yes
2	No
88	(Don't read out) Don't know
99	(Don't read out) Refused

34. What is the most important reason why you might not vote? [read out, single answer]

	Don't understand/not interested in politics
	Not aware of the elections
	Don't know enough about the parties/candidates
	Don't know how to vote
	Don't support any party / candidate
	Fear of violence / intimidation
	Personal reasons: too old, sick etc.
	No time / too busy working
	Boycott / protest
	It doesn't matter who is in power, the situation will be the same.
	I will follow other people in my household. If they go, I will go to vote.
	Concerned with cheating on polling or counting process
	Other (specify _____)
	Don't know (Don't read out)
	Refused (Don't read out)

35. If you were to vote in the election tomorrow, what would you consider the most important driver for you to vote for a particular candidate? [read out, single answer]

	Personal relationship with candidate (family, friend etc)
	Role of candidate in Timor-Leste's independence movement
	Candidate comes from an influential family
	Previous leadership experience (in Government of Timor-Leste or elsewhere)/performance of candidate
	Education / qualifications of candidate
	Gender of candidate
	Religion of candidate
	Candidate was born or lived in the same municipality/community as you
	Ability of candidate to win election
	Your party's choice
	Not corrupt
	I wouldn't vote if there was an election tomorrow
	Other (specify _____)
	Don't know (Don't read out)
	Refused (Don't read out)

36. What one attribute do you consider most important for a political party? [read out, single answer]

	Role of the party in Timor-Leste's independence movement
	The party's stated programs and proposals
	Leaders of the party
	Connection to religion/values
	My family always votes for a particular party
	Previous accomplishments and experience of the party in government (education, health, etc.)
	Ability to win
	Offers new ideas/hope
	Other (specify _____)
	Don't know (Don't read out)
	Refused (Don't read out)

37. In your view, what is the single biggest problem facing Timor-Leste at the national level? [Do not read out, single answer]

	Timor's economic future/diversification/depleting oil reserves
	Land security /land issues
	Jobs
	Safety and security (crime)
	Access to justice
	Weather becoming more extreme (droughts, floods)
	Roads and bridges
	Completing discussions around maritime boundaries
	Corruption
	Food security/ability to grow crops
	Access to housing
	Access to clean water and sanitation
	Access to electricity
	Access to education and training
	Access to health services
	Social Inclusion (care for elderly/disabled/vulnerable groups)
	Destruction of the natural environment
	Preserving Timor's culture and heritage
	Other (specify _____)
	Don't know (Don't read out)
	Refused (Don't read out)

38. Now let's talk about your community. In your view, what are the biggest problems facing the people of your area? [Do not read out, up to 3 responses (if less than 3 they can pick don't know or refuse as other answers to get 3)]

	Safety and security
	Extreme weather (droughts, floods) making it difficult to farm
	Roads and bridges in poor condition
	Access to water and sanitation
	Access to electricity
	Access to education and training
	Access to health services

Access to economic opportunities (including employment, business ownership, farming opportunities)
Access to traditional justice
Access to formal justice
Domestic violence/Violence against women and children
Land related issues
Other (specify _____)
Don't know (Don't read out)
Refused (Don't read out)

39. In your opinion, what are the most important issue(s) facing you (as an individual) today? [Do no read out; up to 3 responses (if less than 3 they can pick don't know or refuse as other answers to get 3)]

Safety and security (including your personal safety)
Extreme weather (droughts, floods) making it difficult to farm
Roads and bridges in poor condition
Access to water and sanitation
Access to electricity
Access to education and training
Access to health services
Access to economic opportunities (including employment, business ownership, farming opportunities)
Access to traditional justice
Access to formal justice
Land related issues
Other (specify _____)
Don't know (Don't read out)
Refused (Don't read out)

SECTION 3: Women in Politics and public life

40. In your opinion, would it be good or bad for Timor-Leste if more women entered politics? (Read out, one response only)

1 Good
2 Bad
3 No difference
4 Don't know (don't read out)
5 Refused (don't read out)

41. In your opinion, why are there more men than women in high office? [Don't read out unless respondent says 'I don't understand', single answer]

A woman's role is in the household, not in public office
I agree women can hold public office, but currently there are no qualified women
I agree women can hold public office, but women are not interested to become political leaders
Men are naturally better leaders than women
People don't want to vote for a woman/discrimination
None of the above
Other (specify _____)
I don't know (don't read out)
Refused (don't read out)

42. In your opinion, what is the highest elected office that a woman could/should be elected to? [read out; single answer]

1 President or Prime Minister
2 Minister/Member of National Parliament
3 Municipal level office (Municipal administrator, municipal department offices)
4 Xefe suku
5 Xefe aldeia
6 Women can be elected to any public office
7 Women should not hold elected office
8 None of the above
9 Other (specify _____)
10 I don't know (don't read)
11 Refused (don't read)

43. In your opinion, what is the most important issue facing women in Timor-Leste today? [Don't read out unless respondent says 'I don't understand', single answer]

1 Safety and security
2 Extreme weather (droughts, floods) making it difficult to farm
3 Violence against women/ domestic violence
4 Access to water and sanitation
5 Access to electricity
6 Access to education and training
7 Access to health services (including ante-natal and family planning)
8 Access to economic opportunities (including employment, business ownership, farming opportunities)

9 Access to traditional justice
10 Access to formal justice
11 Roads and bridges in poor condition
12 Land related issues
13 Other (specify _____)
14 Don't know (don't read)
15 Refused (don't read)

SECTION V: Political party affiliation and institutional recognition

44. If the parliamentary election were held tomorrow, which political party are you most likely to vote for? [Don't read out, if they say it is a 'secret' select REFUSED, not 'other', but this survey is anonymous and no other person will be able to access their identity]

1 CNRT
2 FRETILIN
3 PD (Partido Demokratiku)
4 Frente Mudansa
5 KUNTHO
6 PUDD (Partido Unidade Dezenvolvimento Demokratiku)
7 PLP (Partido Libertasaun Popular)
8 UDT (Uniaun Demokratiku Timorens)
9 C-ASDT (Centro Asosiasaun Sosial Demokratiku Timor)
10 ASDT (Asosiasaun Sosial Demokratiku Timor)
11 PDN (Partido Dezenvolvimento Nacional)
12 PSD (Partido Sosial Demokratiku)
13 KOTA
14 MLPM (Movimentu Libertasaun Povu Mlaubere)
15 PUN (Partido Unidade Nasional)
16 PEP (Partido Esperansa Popular)
17 PR (Partido Republikano)
18 BUP (Blokun Unidade Popular)
19 Partido TRABALHISTA
20 Partido UNDERTIM
21 Other (specify _____)
22 Don't know (Don't read out)
23 Refused (Don't read out)

45. Which national leader/figure do you most admire/respect? [note: list is in alphabetical order] [if they say 'all are important' ask to select ONE only, if they still say all then select REFUSED. You can show them the list.]

Dom Basilio do Nascimento
2 Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
3 Florentina Smith
4 Isabel Ferreira
5 Jose Ramos Horta
6 Kirsty Sword Gusmao
7 Lere Anan Timur
8 Lu Olo
9 Mari Alkatiri
10 Maria de Lourdes Martins Cruz
11 Maria Do Ceo Federrer
12 Maria Domingas Fernandes Alves (Mikato)
13 Maria Paixao
14 Rui Maria de Araujo
15 Taur Matan Ruak
16 Xanana Gusmao
Other (specify _____)
Don't know (Don't read out)
Refused (Don't read out)

46. Why did you choose the person you did in Question #44? [Do not read out, single answer]

I have a personal relationship with the individual (family, friend etc)
Role of individual in Timor-Leste's historical independence movement
Individual comes from an influential family
Role of the individual in Timor-Leste's current development
Education / qualifications of individual
Gender of individual
Religion of individual
Individual is from my municipality/community
Individual takes care of my family
Not corrupt

Other (specify)
Don't know (Don't read out)
Refused (Don't read out)

47. Some people say that it is time for Timor-Leste to hand over governance and leadership of the country to a new/younger generation of leaders. I would like to ask you a few questions about this now: [read options after each]

No.	Aspect	Condition					DK	NA
		Always	Very Frequently	Occasionally	Very Rarely	Never		
1	While I recognize the role and importance of the resistance leaders in Timor-Leste's history, I believe it is time for a new generation of leaders to take over governing the country	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
2	I know that there are qualified individuals in the younger generation with strong academic and professional experience and qualifications who can lead the country	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
3	It is more important for a leader/minister/president to have a good education and relevant experience, than be a resistance fighter	1	2	3	4	5	88	99
4	The young generation is ready to lead Timor-Leste	1	2	3	4	5	88	99

48. To what extent do you perceive the following areas or institutions in this country to be affected by corruption? [read options after each institution].

	Not at all	A little	Moderately	Significantly	Completely	Don't Know	No response	
1	Education System	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
2	Health System	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
3	Judicial System	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
4	Political Parties	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
5	Registry and permit services (civil registry for births, marriages, licenses and permits)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
6	Procurement tenders (government contracts)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
7	Banks and financial institutions	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
8	Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
9	Suku Council	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
10	Police (PNLT)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
11	Military (FFDTL)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
12	National Court	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
13	District Court	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
14	Office of the President	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
15	Office of the PM	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

16	Council of Ministers / other ministers	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
17	Media	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
18	National NGOs	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
19	International NGOs	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

F. INTERVIEWER TO COMPLETE

48.	District							54. Language used for the interview
								1 Tetum
								2 Bahasa Indonesia
								3 Makasae
								4 Mambae
								5 Bunak
								6 Kemak
								7 Makaleru
								8 Galolen
								9 Baikenu
								10 Fatuluku
								11 Seluk: _____
55.								Household number

51. Sex of respondent	
1 Male	
2 Female	
52. Respondent name:	
53. Do you have phone number?	

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