TATOLI!
PUBLIC PERCEPTION SURVEY 2018

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Asia Foundation is pleased to present Tatoli, the Timor-Leste Public Perception Survey 2018. This survey conducted across all 13 municipalities and with over 1200 adults provides a snapshot of the diverse range of attitudes of Timorese people towards government and development. Featuring responses about government, institutions, wealth and the economy, women and service delivery, Tatoli allows for key insights into current sentiments with the opportunity for comparisons with previous surveys.

We are grateful to Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia for their continued support for this survey. We would like to extend our special appreciation to Timor-Leste Research and Advocacy Network (TRAIN) for data collection, Carmensa Soares for oversight of enumerators and to ORIMA Research for data analysis. Thanks to Laura McDowell and Ruth Mackenzie for editing and Landry Dunand for design.

Finally we would like to acknowledge the willingness of the respondents from across Timor-Leste who took the time to answer our questions and collectively contributed to a better understanding of their perspectives.

Pauline Tweedie
Country Representative
Timor-Leste
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. NATIONAL MOOD AND RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF Timor-Leste</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Direction of the Country</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Main Challenges</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Role of Government</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Military</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Role of Individuals in Timorese Political Life</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. WEALTH, THE ECONOMY, AND JOBS</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 State Budget</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Personal Economic Situation</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Women in Public Life</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Women in the Economy</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Most Important Issues Facing Women</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. SERVICE DELIVERY</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Health</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Education</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Water and Sanitation</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Roads and Transport</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Maintenance of Services</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Party Affiliation</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND MEDIA</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. DEMOGRAPHICS</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018 is the sixth edition of its kind produced by The Asia Foundation in Timor-Leste. Since 2013, the poll has gathered the views and opinions of Timorese men and women living across the nation’s thirteen municipalities. By asking many of the same questions in each poll, the Foundation has been able to capture changes in public perceptions and priorities over time. Some questions have also been added and modified to adapt to the nation’s ever-changing context and direction.

The 2018 poll shows that while the majority of respondents remained optimistic about their nation’s direction, concerns for the future were rising. Less than 60 percent (56%) of the population thought the country was going in the right direction, compared with nearly three-quarters (73%) of respondents who felt this way four years ago (in the 2014 survey).

Lack of economic diversification was seen most often as Timor-Leste’s biggest single national problem, cited by more than a third (35%) of respondents. Roads and bridges (14%) and corruption (9%) were also mentioned often as sources for national concern. Within Dili, lack of jobs was mentioned by almost a quarter of respondents (24%) as the biggest national problem, though only three percent of respondents living outside the capital shared this view.

In relation to gender equality, the vast majority of respondents supported increased participation of women in public positions. The poll revealed more than four out of five respondents (84%) thought it would be good if more women entered politics, and more than three in four (78%) wanted a boost in the number of women in the police force. However, the poll also showed widely held, counter-productive views about why more women were not occupying public positions. For example, more than a third of total respondents (35%) believed the main reason behind the shortage of female political leadership was that “there currently are no qualified women”.

The 2018 poll also highlighted growing divergence in the views and priorities of people based in the nation’s capital of Dili, as opposed to those living in the rest of the country. This difference was evident in data collected about economic wellbeing, prioritization for government investments, access to information, and the delivery of services. In Dili, residents reported higher rates of satisfaction with their personal finances as well as government services relating to health, roads, water, and sanitation compared with the rest of the country. However, Dili residents were also more likely to perceive safety and security as a major threat, and express frustration with difficulties in accessing education and training.
Recognition of the differing priorities and experiences of Timor-Leste’s citizens living across the country serves as a reminder to avoid development models heavily centralized in Dili. With the majority of citizens living outside the capital, it is imperative that the needs of all are considered equally. Without careful consideration of Timor-Leste’s different rural and regional areas, national initiatives may not meet the needs of the majority of people. Further, it is likely that unemployment rates in Dili will continue to rise as people migrate to the capital in search of jobs and better living conditions.

We hope that the information conveyed in the *Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018* will be of use to people, organizations and policy-makers interested in a wide variety of areas of Timor-Leste’s development. The poll reveals data concerning citizen perceptions of government approaches, programs, policies, corruption, elections and leaders. It also reveals insights into how citizens access information and services, as well as their overall concerns, perspectives and priorities.

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**METHODOLOGY**

**Sampling**

In 2018, the Foundation surveyed 1,256 adult respondents from all thirteen municipalities of Timor-Leste. The sample was stratified by municipality 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 *Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018* was conducted in Timor-Leste between 30 July and 20 August 2018. Surveyors interviewed a random, representative sample of men and women aged 17 and over. The Foundation’s survey team designed and coded the survey questionnaire using Samsung Galaxy tablets. The survey was conducted through face-to-face interviews at the household level by 13 teams comprising of 51 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.

**Margin of Error**

For the *Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018*, a simple random sample of 1,256 respondents was surveyed in all thirteen municipalities. At the national level, the maximum margin of error for this simple random sample of n=1,256, estimated proportion p=0.5, and at the 95 percent confidence interval is +/- 3.3 percent.

The survey methodology was designed to provide an adequate margin of error for the purpose of a national poll. 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.
The table below provides the calculated margin of error at 95 percent confidence interval for each of Timor-Leste’s 13 municipal samples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICIPALITIES</th>
<th>SAMPLE</th>
<th>MARGIN OF ERROR (95%CI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aileu</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>+/- 14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ainaro</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>+/- 14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baucau</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>+/- 10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobonaro</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>+/- 11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covalima</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>+/- 13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dili</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>+/- 6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ermera</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>+/- 11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lautem</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>+/- 15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquica</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>+/- 12.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manatuto</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>+/- 16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufahi</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>+/- 15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oecusse</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>+/- 13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viqueque</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>+/- 13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>1256</td>
<td>+/- 3.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In each survey, respondents were asked whether the country was moving in the right direction or the wrong direction. As compared with the previous 2014 and 2016 surveys, which used the same scale as this questionnaire, the results show a further decline in the optimism for the direction of the country. This section discusses the overall mood of the country and provides some insight into perceptions toward the role of the government.

1.1 Direction of the Country

While the majority of citizens were optimistic about the future of Timor-Leste, fewer people in 2018 felt that the country was going in the right direction compared to 2016 and 2014 polls. The 2018 poll showed 56 percent of respondents felt that the country was going in the right direction, a drop from 58 percent in 2016 and 73 percent in 2014 who held this view. More than a third (37%) of respondents felt the country was going in the wrong direction (up from 32% in 2016 and 25% in 2014).

The poll also revealed higher levels of optimism from people living in Dili compared to those in the rest of the country. Two-thirds (66%) of respondents from Dili felt that the country was going in the right direction, while only about half of respondents (52%) from the rest of the country shared this view. Such perceptions perhaps align with Timor-Leste’s Dili focused development.
1.2 Main Challenges

BIGGEST PROBLEM FACING THE NATION

When asked about the biggest problem facing Timor-Leste on a national level, the most frequently cited response was lack of economic diversification, as mentioned by 35 percent of respondents, followed by roads (14%). For respondents living in Dili, lack of employment was cited as a major concern (24%), while in the rest of the country, roads and bridges (18%) and corruption (9%) were considered significant national problems.

BIGGEST PROBLEM FACING LOCAL AREAS

When considering the problems faced by their local communities, respondents were more likely to focus on basic services and infrastructure. More than six in ten people (61%) indicated that the lack of functional roads and bridges was the biggest challenge faced by the community (similar to 2016 and 2014). The second biggest challenge faced at the community level was access to water and sanitation (51%), similar to 2016. Access to education and training (35%) was identified as the third most cited problem, taking over third place from lack of access to electricity in 2016. Safety and security threats continued to be mentioned as a problem at the community level, cited by a quarter respondents in 2018 and 2016.

Perceptions of major issues faced at a community level differed significantly between respondents based in Dili compared with those living across the rest of the country. In Dili, threats to safety and security were most commonly cited (53%) followed by lack of access to education and training (45%). However, outside of Dili, the most commonly cited community problems were poor conditions of roads and bridges (68%), lack of access to water and sanitation (53%), and access to electricity (38%).
BIGGEST PROBLEM FACING INDIVIDUALS

As with the biggest problem faced at a community level, lacking road and bridge infrastructure was also named the most prevalent challenge at the individual level. Overall, 57 percent of respondents cited the poor condition of roads and bridges as their biggest challenge, slightly fewer than the 64 percent of respondents who said the same in 2016.

Other major problems for respondents of the 2018 poll, on an individual level, included water and sanitation (53%), access to education and training (38%), and access to electricity (35%).

In Dili, at individual level, more than half of respondents (54%) cited access to education and training as a major issue, followed by access to water and sanitation (49%) and threats to safety and security (46%). Across the rest of the country, respondents believed the biggest problems faced individually were the poor condition of roads and bridges (63%), lack of access to water and sanitation (54%) and lack of access to electricity (39%).

1.3 Role of Government

Over half (56%) of respondents identified building roads as the most important function of government. This was followed by 41% of respondents outside of Dili who believed keeping the country and its people safe was most important.

Safety and security was viewed a bigger priority in Dili, with more than half (52%) of respondents stating the most important function of government was to keep the country and its people safe. Across the rest of the country, building roads was viewed a more important government function, as cited by 56 percent of respondents. In Dili, education (37%) and jobs (28%) were also commonly cited as important government functions. For the rest of the country, safety and security and electricity were tied for second most cited responses (41% each).
INFLUENCE ON GOVERNMENT

Despite a general lack of public consultation on government policies and programs, most citizens (89%) claimed that they were in a position to provide feedback to the government. This perception held for both female (86%) and male (91%) respondents, and both in Dili and the rest of the country.

GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

Overall, more than half of respondents (57%) stated that the Government of Timor-Leste was doing a very good job (9%) or somewhat good job (48%) at carrying out its responsibilities. On the other hand, almost of third of respondents (32%) stated the government was doing a somewhat bad job (29%) or very bad job (3%). People outside of Dili were more critical of government performance with 32 percent saying they are doing a somewhat or very bad job compared to only 23 percent holding this view in Dili.

When respondents were asked what was preventing the government from doing the best job possible, more half of respondents (52%) cited misallocation of funds. This view was held by a higher percentage of respondents in Dili (66%) than the rest of the country (47%).

Nine percent of respondents from outside of Dili believed corruption by government officials to be the greatest hindrance to the government, while only one percent of those from the capital felt this to be true.
2.1 Corruption in Institutions

Since achieving independence, Timor-Leste has endeavored to establish the legal frameworks and other protective measures to curb ongoing challenges with actual and perceived corruption. While the country has made significant gains, Timor-Leste is still ranked 105th of 180 nations on Transparency International’s annual Corruption Perception Index for 2018.

To ascertain the level to which citizens believed specific institutions in the country were affected by corruption, the Tatoli Public Opinion Poll 2018 asked respondents to rate 25 institutions from “not at all” to “extremely” corrupt.

Overall, people living outside of Dili perceived greater levels of corruption than those living in the capital. Among non-Dili respondents, corruption ranked as the second most often cited factor, mentioned by 12 percent of respondents, in preventing the government from doing the best job possible (after misallocation of funds at 46%). Meanwhile, corruption was only cited by one percent of Dili based residents as a driver of government failures.

When asked to identify the single biggest problem facing Timor-Leste at a national level today, corruption was the third most cited problem among respondents both outside of Dili (9%) and in Dili (11%). Corruption trailed lack of economic diversification (35%) and roads and bridges (14%) as most cited national problems.

The education system and political parties tied as the institutions most likely to be perceived as corrupt, cited by almost three-quarters (73%) of respondents. Government ministries were believed to be at least somewhat corrupt by 72 percent of respondents, Parliament by 69 percent and the Council of Ministers by 68 percent. Half (50%) of respondents believed that INGOs were involved with some level of corruption, similar to the 55 percent of respondents who believed the same about international businesses and embassies.
Institutions perceived to be least corrupt included the Timor-Leste Defense Force (FFDTL) and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), with the highest percentage of respondents citing they were “not at all” corrupt, at 32 percent. International business had the second highest result for being “not at all” corrupt at 28 percent, followed by embassies at 26 percent.

2.2 Military

The Timor-Leste Defense Force (FFDTL) has been regarded as less corrupt than most other government institutions since 2016. In the 2018 survey, respondents were questioned about the necessity of FFDTL’s existence. The majority of respondents cited that FFDTL was needed both for external threats (84%) and for internal threats (88%). In addition, the military was perceived as a highly disciplined organization by most (84%) of the survey respondents. Furthermore, there was strong perception (47%) that the military could order government, however, more than half (51%) disagreed with the statement that military always used its power appropriately.

2.3 Role of Individuals in Timorese Political Life

The most admired national figure in Timor-Leste remains former Prime Minister, Xanana Gusmao, with his popularity increasing since 2016. In 2018, 42 percent of respondents named Gusmao as the person they most admired, up from 33 percent who did the same two years prior. His popularity was similar both within and outside of Dili (43% and 41% respectively) but varied significantly across individual municipalities, being most admired in Aileu and Covalima (each 71%) and least admired in Baucau (4.2%).

Around the country, following Gusmao, other popular national figures were the Catholic Bishops Dom Basílio do Nascimento and Dom Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo (each shared 10%) and the current President Francisco Guterras Lu-Olo (8%). Other resistance leaders mentioned included Mari Alkatiri (4%), Taur Matan Ruak (4%), and Dr. José Ramos Horta (2%).

Members of Timor-Leste’s newer generation of leaders were cited as most admired less than one percent of the time. This finding confirms both the paramount role of the most revered resistance figure, Xanana Gusmão, as well as the prominent role of religious identities within Timorese society. Newly elected president Francisco Guterras Lù Olo was most admired among former and present members of government.
Prior to 2016 survey, 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, the Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2016 asked respondents to share their views on where they believed budget money should come from, what they thought the government did, and what it should spend its resources on.

As with 2016, the 2018 survey 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 measure 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?**

Majority of respondents (60%) agreed that “the government has the most influence and control over the state budget”. This view was expressed nearly uniformly in Dili and the rest of the country. Less than a quarter (24%) of respondents indicated “the national parliament” controlled the budget and only 4 percent believed that “the people” had influence and control over the state budget. The disaggregated data suggested that a slightly higher percentage of people both in Dili (29%) and the rest of the country (22%) believed that “the national parliament” had influence over the state budget.

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**With regards to the national state budget of Timor-Leste, in your opinion who has the most influence/control over the budget?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dili</th>
<th>Outside Dili</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIONAL PARLIAMENT</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICIANS</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PRESIDENT</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WHERE SHOULD STATE FUNDS GO?

Overall, a third of the respondents (34%) believed the government should be spending the majority of its budget on roads. Twenty-eight percent of respondents believed most government expenditure should go to education and training. Only 8 percent believed most of the budget should be spent on health, and 6 percent believed the government should spend most of its money on electricity and special projects. There was a slight variance between female and male respondents with more females (36%) believing that the government should spend more money on roads, compared with males (33%). Conversely, more male respondents (30%) believed that the government should spend more money on education and training, while fewer female respondents (25%) felt the same. Geographical disaggregation shows that more than a third (36%) of respondents from Dili indicated that more money should go to education and training, whereas only 25 percent of the respondents from the rest of the country held this view.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Only a minority of poll respondents demonstrated knowledge of major government programs and reforms. The highest percentage of respondents (45%) was aware of the ZEEMS special economic zone in Oecusse. More than a third of respondents (38%) were aware of the Suai Supply Base project (Tasi Mane), close to 30 percent (29%) knew about the PNDS (Programa Nasional Dezenvolvimentu Suku or National Program for Village Development) and almost one in four respondents (24%) were aware of the Tibar port development. Less than one in 10 respondents knew about government led institutional strengthening programs, including the social audit initiative (5%), public administration reforms (4%) and financial reforms (3%).

Respondents were subsequently asked which of the government’s special programs were most important. By far the two projects prioritized by respondents were the Suai Supply Base (23%) and ZEEEM (22%). These projects were followed by the PNDS (13%) and Saude no Familia (Health and Family) (9%).

In your view, where should the Government of Timor-Leste be spending the majority of its money?

To your knowledge, which of the following are current or recent government programs/projects? (Multiple response)
Survey results show that the government, media, and leaders of Timor-Leste have had limited success in communicating key information to citizens about both capital intensive infrastructure projects, and, to a greater extent, institutional reforms. Despite this, once respondents were provided with more information about these projects, more than three out of four respondents (81%) believed that the social audit initiative benefited the people of Timor-Leste. Public administration reforms (83%) and public finance reforms (84%) were also widely supported.

**GOVERNMENT REVENUE THROUGH TAXES**

Considering 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.

When asked to choose between the statements “it is better to pay higher taxes, if that means that there will be more services provided by government” vs “it is better to pay lower taxes, even if it means that there will be fewer services provided by government”, the majority (55%) expressed their willingness to pay higher taxes for more services. Twenty percent said they would prefer to pay lower taxes, even if that meant less services, whilst 17 percent were neutral in their position. In relation to the quality of services, 61 percent agreed that “it is better to pay higher taxes, if that means that there will be better quality services provided by government” while only 13 percent though “it is better to pay lower taxes, even if it means that there will be poor quality services provided by government”.

Willingness to pay taxes for better services has increased from 48 percent in 2016 to 55 percent in 2018. Notably, in Dili the appetite for paying taxes for better services was much higher, with 69 percent of respondents indicating as such. Residents in the rest of the country showed a lower probability (51%) of wanting their community to pay more taxes for better services. Openness to taxation also correlated strongly with education level, with only 45 percent of respondents who never went to school showing a willingness to pay higher taxes for better services, compared with 69 percent of people with university education or higher.

The result of this survey demonstrated an improved appetite across the board for paying taxes for more and better-quality services.
3.2 Personal Economic Situation

PERSONAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

Overall, 69 percent of respondents believed their personal economic situations to be very good or good – this was an improvement from 60 percent in 2016.

More respondents living in Dili (80%) reported very good or good economic situations compared to respondents in the rest of the country (65%), a gap that has increased over time. When asked how their economic situations in 2018 compared with 2016, 67 percent of respondents in Dili said things had improved, while only 58 percent of those outside the capital felt the same. Instead, more than a third (34%) of people outside Dili reported that their economic situation had gotten worse since 2016, compared with only 19 percent of people in Dili who shared this view.

The vast majority (70%) of respondents indicated that they earned enough to cover their basic needs, a slight increase from 67 percent in 2016. More people in Dili were able to cover their basic expenses (81%) than people in the rest of the country (66%). Most people (82%) indicated that they were able to save for later. Again, the ability to save for later was more common in Dili (85%) compared to the rest of the country (81%). Most (73%) respondents said they could access loans if needed and 78% said they would have enough food for the next year. A greater proportion of respondents from Dili (76%) were also able to borrow money when they needed it, than respondents from the rest of the country (72%).

There was a positive relationship between respondents’ level of education and the rate to which they indicated their current economic situations to be “good” or “very good”. Namely, 82 percent of respondents with an education level of university or above indicated their economic situation is either “good” or “very good”, as compared with 62 percent of respondents with no formal education.
EMPLOYMENT

Nationwide, 60 percent of respondents worked as farmers, with 56 percent working on their own farms and 4 percent working on someone else’s farm. Meanwhile, 10 percent of respondents performed domestic labor, eight percent were unemployed, six percent were students and 14 percent classified their work as “other”.

In Dili, only 9 percent of respondents worked on farms, while outside the capital, farming was the vocation of 78 percent of those surveyed. Nationally, men (64%) were more likely than women (56%) to work on farms.

Far more respondents in Dili (23%) considered themselves as “unemployed” than in the rest of the country (3%). This variation may, 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. More than half of respondents (53%) nationally believed that they and their family needed to travel a long way to find a job. This sentiment was shared proportionally between Dili (58%) and the rest of the country (51%).

Perceptions of prosperity

Most respondents (84%) believed that it was the government’s responsibility to ensure that people were prosperous. This view was shared almost equally by males and females, both in Dili and around the country.

Government transfers

The vast majority (82%) of respondents indicated that they or a family member received some form(s) of government payment such as veteran, disability, elderly, bolsa de mae (mother’s purse), government or parliamentary pension. Far fewer respondents in Dili (38%) than elsewhere (96%) reported receiving this form of government assistance. Government payments substantially increased in areas outside of Dili from 68 percent in 2016 to 96 percent in 2018, while decreasing in Dili from 46 percent in 2016 to 38 percent in 2018.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Dili</th>
<th>Outside Dili</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working on a Farm</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working - Other</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Veteran’s Payments

Almost one in five (19%) respondents said they or a family member received a veteran’s payment, just down from 20 percent who said the same in 2016. A higher percentage of people outside of Dili (21%) reported receiving the payment, compared with 13 percent in the capital. Nationwide, males were more likely to receive the payment (21%) than females (18%).

Elderly Payments

Nearly three quarters of respondents (74%) over the age of 65 indicated that they received an elderly pension. Notably, overall, 39 percent of families outside of Dili received an elderly pension, while only 8 percent of families in Dili indicated that they received this payment. A greater proportion of recipients with no or a lower level of education, as well as rural respondents, received an elderly payment.

Bolsa de Mae

Respondents outside Dili (29%) were more likely to have received bolsa de mae (mother’s purse) payments, than respondents from Dili (14%). The percentage of rural respondents (30%) who received this payment was twice the rate of Dili dwellers (15%). Slightly more women (27%) than men (23%) indicated that they or a family member received this payment.

Government and Parliamentary Pensions

Only three percent of respondents indicated that they received a government or parliamentary pension. The rate of pension recipients in Dili and the rest of the country was equal.

Which, if any, government payments do you or a family member receive? (Multiple response)
Timor-Leste is a young and vibrant democracy with foundational laws such as the Constitution, the Law of the Education System and the Law of the Health System laying a solid foundation for gender equality. In addition to these foundational laws, gender equality is included in legislation governing equal economic opportunities for women and men in areas such as employment and matrimony. Nonetheless, the social fabric, both economically and politically, remains highly gendered and unequal. Women who run for political office often face the double burden of managing their increased public role alongside ongoing and significant care-giving responsibilities at home. The Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018 provides important insights into the deeply held beliefs of Timorese people concerning why more women do not occupy decision-making positions.

### 4.1 Women in Public Life

#### Women in politics

The survey indicates the majority of citizens (84%) believed that it would be good if more women entered politics in Timor-Leste. This view was held fairly consistently by men (82%) and women (87%).

84% OF RESPONDENTS THOUGHT IT WOULD BE GOOD IF WOMEN ENTERED POLITICS

However, more than a third of total respondents (35%) believed that the main reason for the shortage of female political leadership was that “there currently are no qualified women”. This view was held more strongly by respondents from Dili (42%) than the rest of the country (33%).

Similarly, more than a quarter of respondents from Dili (27%) felt that “women aren’t interested in becoming political leaders”.

Other reasons cited by respondents across the country were that “a women’s role is in the household, not in public office” (15%), and “men are naturally better leaders than women” (12%). Notions relating to women being less capable and qualified than their male counterparts reflect and perpetuate structural inequalities preventing women from actively participating in the community.

#### Women in police

More than three out of four respondents (78%) believed that having a larger percentage of women in the PNTL would improve policing services in Timor-Leste. This view was held by a higher percentage of Dili respondents (84%) compared to the rest of the country (75%).

Do you think a larger percentage of women in the PNTL would improve policing services in Timor-Leste.

78%
More than half of respondents (58%) cited they “always or very frequently” saw female police officers. Notably, 20 percent of respondents nationwide said they rarely or never saw female police officers.

**Education**

Twenty-eight percent of both women and men indicated that they never attended any formal schooling. While women (25%) were more likely to have completed secondary school than men (20%), women were less likely than men to get a university level education (11% and 14% respectively).

**4.2 Women in the Economy**

**Employment**

Unemployment (not working in formal or informal labor economies) was slightly lower for women (7%) than for men (9%). Far fewer women (8%) than men (19%) indicated that they worked somewhere other than a farm or in domestic work. Women (19%) were much more likely than men (1%) to be engaged in domestic labor—such as cleaning, cooking and caring for family members—as their primary work.

**Earning potential**

Women in Timor-Leste on average earned less than their male counterparts, with 45 percent of women and 38 percent of men reporting that they earned between $1 and $50 per month. About a quarter of respondents (27% female, 23% male) reported earning no income.

**4.3 Most Important Issues Facing Women**

A third (33%) of respondents in Dili identified safety and security as the single biggest issue facing women in Timor-Leste in 2018, similar to 2016 (31%). Water access was the second most cited problem for women in Dili, referenced by 21 percent of respondents, followed by obstacles accessing education (15%).

Outside of Dili, only 11 percent of respondents shared the view that safety and security was the biggest issue facing women. Instead, more respondents (19%) prioritized domestic violence as the single biggest issue, although this was a significant drop from the 41 percent of respondents outside Dili who reported the same in 2016.
5.1 Health

Despite inconsistencies in the availability, access, and quality of health services, the majority of respondents were satisfied with the system overall. More than four out of five people (81%) nationally agreed that doctors and nurses were always or very frequently helpful and took good care of them and their family. This is a slight decline in satisfaction from the 86 percent of respondents who shared this view in 2016.

Experiences of the health system varied between respondents living in Dili and those living in the rest of the country. In Dili, 80 percent of respondents indicated that their health clinic was either always or very frequently clean, while only 71 percent of respondents from the rest of the country believed the same.

Respondents from Dili were less likely to report that a skilled birth attendant or midwife was available in their community (57%) than respondents from the rest of the country (68%).

Confidence in the availability of ambulances was also lower in Dili, with 57 percent of respondents stating that an ambulance would always or very frequently be available in their community, compared with 71 percent of those across the rest of the country sharing this view.
The Government of Timor-Leste, through the Ministry of Health, aims to provide accessible health services by ensuring that community health centers, health posts, mobile clinics, integrated community health services, and hospitals are free of charge. Despite this, more than half of respondents (52%) from Dili and more than a third of respondents (36%) from the rest of the country reported to always or very frequently having to pay to see a doctor or nurse.

In relation to family planning, when respondents were asked whether they or their family would be willing to use contraception to space children if methods were made available, almost half (46%) said they always or very frequently would.

### 5.2 Education

The majority (71%) of respondents from across the country believed school buildings and facilities that their children attended were always or frequently clean, safe, and in good condition. This showed a slight drop from the 75 percent of respondents who shared this view in 2016. Positive experiences regarding school cleanliness and safety were slightly higher in Dili (75%) than the rest of the country (69%).

One in five respondents (20%) living outside Dili reported that their children’s school rarely or never had water, while only four percent of those in Dili reported the same.

More than half the respondents in Dili (52%) said their children always or frequently had the option to receive a daily meal at school, compared with only 37 percent for children outside the capital.

In terms of the quality of education services, respondents were asked a number of questions relating to learning materials. The majority of people surveyed (74% in Dili and 69% elsewhere) said their children always or very frequently had access to books and teaching materials. Similar proportions of respondents from both Dili (79%) and the rest of the country (82%) stated that their children’s teacher attended regularly.

However, more than a quarter of respondents reported that their children faced significant language barriers in relation to their education. When asked if their children could understand the language used by the teacher in the classroom and in the books at school, 24 percent of respondents in Dili and 30 percent in the rest of the country replied with “never”, “rarely” or “occasionally”.
5.3 Water and Sanitation

Overall, the poll showed that access to water and sanitation was better in Dili than the rest of the country. When asked about the condition of community water pumps, 52 percent of respondents in Dili stated that they always or very frequently worked well, compared with 38 percent of respondents from the rest of the country sharing this view. Outside of Dili, 33 percent of people stated that their pumps never worked, compared with only 18 percent in Dili.

Sanitation facilities were also better in Dili, with 82 percent of respondents from the capital saying they always or very frequently had access to a toilet in or near their home, compared with only 63 percent of respondents living outside Dili. One in five respondents (19%) outside Dili reported to never having access to a toilet near or in their home, while only four percent of those in Dili shared this situation.

5.4 Roads and Transport

People living in municipalities and regions outside of Dili faced much more significant challenges relating to roads and transport than those living in the nation’s capital. Almost half of respondents (49%) outside Dili reported that roads connecting their sub-districts to others were very rarely or never in a good condition. This compares to only 20 percent of respondents living in Dili who faced this same challenge.

Given that 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 Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018 asked, with regards to infrastructure in their sub-district, whether respondents had access to bridges during the rainy season. A quarter of non-Dili residents said there were no functional bridges allowing access to their communities in the rainy season, with 14 percent of respondents in Dili reporting the same.

Public transportation plays an important role in mobility for most Timorese around the country, as confirmed in a 2015 assessment commissioned by the Asia Foundation. This assessment concluded that public transportation was the most important mode of transport used by most Timorese to access economic, social, government, and cultural services. With this in mind, the Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018 asked respondents about the level of access they had to mass transit facilities such as mikrolets (public transport minibuses and buses. Almost half of residents outside of Dili (48%) said they could never access busses or mikrolets at a terminal, an obstacle shared by only three percent of those living in Dili.
5.5 Maintenance of Services

Given the government’s prioritization of improving infrastructure, Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018 respondents were asked whether roads, bridges, and water supply systems in their communities were fixed when broken. Overall, respondents living outside Dili were much more likely to report delays or an absence of maintenance to critical infrastructure. Around four in ten of these respondents reported rare or nonexistent repairs to broken roads (41%), bridges (44%) and water supply systems (39%). Within Dili, 26 percent of respondents said broken roads were rarely or never repaired, 27 percent said the same for broken bridges, and 21 percent for broken water supply systems.

As a follow up to questions about government service provision, respondents were asked which government services they believed needed to be most improved in their area. In Dili, improvements to education services was top priority, cited by a third (34%) of respondents, followed by improvements to water access (22%) and roads (21%). Outside of Dili, roads were the most commonly nominated government service needing improvements (35%), while education (23%) and water access improvements (14%) were also high on people's agendas.
6.1 Party Affiliation

The survey asked respondents which party they voted for in the 2017 and 2018 parliamentary elections. In the 2017 election, almost a third of respondents (32%) cited the FRETILIN party, followed by CNRT at 26 percent. A quarter of respondents (25%) stated that they either did not know which party they voted for, or refused to respond. Other smaller parties that respondents voted for included PD (7%), PLP (4%), and Khunto (2%).

The establishment of the coalition party AMP in 2018 correlated with a lower percentage of respondents saying they voted for FRETILIN. In regards to the 2018 early election, 41 percent of respondents said they chose AMP, 28 percent cited FRETILIN, and 20 percent of respondents stated that they either did not know or refused to respond. PD was cited by 5 percent of respondents, while 2 percent cited FDD.

In the two years prior to the Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll 2018, Timor-Leste had two major elections. Interest and participation in elections was extremely high nation-wide. When asked about voter habits, 97 percent of respondents indicated that they voted in both the 2017 and 2018 parliamentary elections (only 3% did not).

In the 2017 parliamentary election, the majority of voters (70%) said they based their vote on party policy and issues. A further 18 percent stated that they voted with consideration of a combination of political programs as well as admiration for a particular political party or individual. Seven percent said they voted according to political party or individual alone.

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Regarding the 2018 election, respondents were asked “what one attribute do you consider most important for a political party?” Almost half (44%) cited a party’s state programs and proposals, 31 percent cited the role of the party in Timor-Leste’s independence movement, 7 percent cited the leader of party, 5 percent cited previous accomplishments and 3 percent cited the ability to win and offer new ideas.
Nationally the majority of respondents identified their source for news and information as being television (65%), followed by radio (46%), suku (village) councils (20%), friends/family/neighbors (15%), and church (13%). Television news was also identified as the most trusted source of information (64%).

People’s sources of information varied significantly between Dili and the rest of the country. Respondents from Dili reported strong usage of television (96%), radio (40%) and print media sources (27%). Outside of Dili, television (53%) and radio (49%) were accessed at a much more similar rate. A quarter (25%) of people in rural areas relied on their xefe de suku (village boss) and suku (village) councils, and 19 percent relied on friends, family and neighbors. Only 16 percent relied on the church for information. Social media remained a comparatively low source of information, used by 10 percent of respondents outside of Dili.

When asked which television channel respondents watched, RTTL was most often cited (90%), followed by GMN (53%), TV Maubere (17%) and TVE (3%). Similarly, when asked which radio station was most listened to, RTTL was named by the majority (85%) of respondents, followed by Radio Maubere (47%) and community radio (38%). The most read newspaper was Timor Post (85%), followed by Journal Independente (42%) and STL (33%).
Facebook was by far the most popular website, accessed by 91 percent of those using social media, followed by YouTube (40%). However, when asked about accessibility, 64 percent of respondents nationwide said they had no access to the Internet.

In relation to the media’s perceived role in Timor-Leste, half of the nation’s respondents (52%) stated that the media should be independent, and able to publish stories that were critical of the government without control or restriction. However, 22 percent believed the government has the right to control the way in which the media publishes information about government.
Nationally, more than half (56%) of respondents indicated that they worked on their own farm, while a further 4 percent indicated that they worked on someone else’s farm. While only 8 percent of the national sample indicated that they were unemployed or looking for work, these respondents were highly concentrated in Dili with almost a quarter (23%) from the capital unemployed compared with only 3 percent from the rest of the country.

The 60 percent of respondents who indicated that they worked on a farm were asked additional questions relating to agriculture in their sub-district. While the majority of respondents (78%) stated that they had access to enough good quality seeds to grow their crops, a third of respondents (32%) indicated that they could not find nor afford fertilizers to use on their crops. A similar proportion (24%) did not have adequate water available to use on their crops. A quarter of respondents (26%) did not have access to a farmer education program in their sub-district. Of those who did have access to a farmer education program, the majority (62%) indicated that they learned from and used the new methods.

In terms of income, 42 percent of respondents nationally stated that they earned less than $50 per month. A quarter (25%) of all respondents indicated that they earned no income at all. A further gap was observed between Dili and the rest of the country with half of respondents from outside Dili (50%) stating that they earned less that $50 per month, while only 17 percent shared this situation in Dili.

A greater proportion of female (45%) than male (38%) respondents indicated that they had an income of less than $50 per month.

In terms of education, more than a quarter of respondents (28%) never went to school. This response was lowest in Dili municipality (8%) while 35 percent of respondents outside Dili never went to school. While university education was indicated by only 13 percent of respondents nationally, the rates of university education in Dili (26%) were much higher than the rest of the country (8%).

While almost a third of university educated respondents (31%) indicated that they did not have an income, across the board they showed higher incomes. Almost a quarter of this group earned an income of between $100-$300 per month (23%), 5 percent between $300-$500 per month and 3 percent earned over $500 per month.
### Age distribution of respondents

<table>
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<th>35-44</th>
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<td>%</td>
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<td>26%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
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<td>11%</td>
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### Overview of sample

- **1256 respondents**
- **920 working on farm** (60%)
- **336 earning less than $50 a month** (42%)
- **31% never attended any formal schooling**
- **31 primary school 1st to 9th grade**

- **634 men**
- **622 women**

### Timor-Leste

1. OECUSSE
2. BOBONARO
3. LIQUIÇÁ
4. ERMERA
5. COVALIMA
6. DILI
7. AILEU
8. BAINARO
9. MANUFahi
10. MANATUTO
11. BAUCAU
12. VIQUEQUE
13. LAUTÉM
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