

**EAST TIMOR  
NATIONAL SURVEY  
OF  
VOTER KNOWLEDGE  
(PRELIMINARY FINDINGS)**

# Table of Contents

FOREWORD	3
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	4
METHODOLOGY	12
Part 1: National Mood	17
Part 2: Civic Education	30
Part 3: Voter Education	42
Part 4: Media	59
Part 5: Language	71
Part 6: Recommendations for Civic and Voter Education	74
Part 7: Demographics	77

## FOREWORD

This report presents the findings of the first ever random nationwide survey to assess East Timorese political opinions and knowledge. Conducted in February and March 2001, and sponsored by The Asia Foundation, the survey sought to gather essential information about the views and knowledge of the electorate in a critical year for East Timor's political development.

The survey results are intended as a resource for all, but particularly as a guide for policymakers and practitioners to better target election support programs in East Timor in 2001. It is also intended to serve as a baseline from which any organization can measure the success of specific projects and assess the progress of democratization over time.

The survey involved 1,558 in-person interviews of potential voters in a total of 392 *Aldeia* in 196 villages in all the 13 districts of East Timor. It addresses critical issues related to the national mood; voter and civic education issues; access to media; language use and preference; and demographics. The methodology of the study is explained overleaf, following a summary of the survey's most important findings. The report also contains recommendations for voter and civic education initiatives.

To conduct the survey, The Asia Foundation partnered with and trained the NGO Forum's *Kelompok Kerja Pendidikan Pemilih* (KKPP-Voter Education Working Group), without whose substantial involvement this project would not have been possible. Some 69 KKPP members representing 21 NGOs carried out the field work and data entry over a month-long period. The dedication and commitment to non-partisanship of these individuals was commendable. The international survey research firm, AC Nielsen, also played an invaluable role, by working together with The Asia Foundation and the KKPP to design the questionnaire and train the staff who carried out the field work, as well as conducting the data compilation. The Asia Foundation would like to express thanks to USAID for its financial support for this project.

This is the fourth in a series of democracy surveys sponsored by The Asia Foundation in Asia. The first was a national voter education survey conducted in Indonesia in advance of the 1999 elections. The second was a follow up survey in Indonesia in August 1999, and the third was carried out in Cambodia in 2000.

The Asia Foundation, currently involved in East Timor in election support programs focusing on voter education, domestic election monitoring, media development and the constitutional development process, welcomes comments on this report.

The Asia Foundation  
Dili  
May 2001

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## NATIONAL MOOD

- 75% of East Timorese feel that the country is heading in the right direction.
- Pessimism about the country's direction is slightly stronger among younger respondents and concentrated mainly in Dili and Baucau and in areas of recent conflict (Viqueque, in particular).
- To 63% of East Timorese who say that the country is headed in the right direction, the calmer situation and the end to violence are strong indicators that the country is headed in the right direction. Economic recovery was the second most popular reason, but cited by far fewer respondents.
- Women are considerably more likely than men to refer to the problem of violence. Younger East Timorese, too, are far more likely to refer to violence than older East Timorese.
- Among the 12% of East Timorese saying the country is headed in the wrong direction, the main reason cited is riots and violence, followed closely by economic problems, high prices and unemployment.
- 26% of all respondents say that nothing has improved in the country. For others, improvements include greater freedom, the transitional government and preparations for independence, and improved security.
- When asked about problems in the country, violence and political conflict dominated the answers, and were regarded by 29% of respondents as the two biggest problems facing East Timor.
- 60% of East Timorese, and younger East Timorese in particular, disagree with the statement that the government does not care about them.
- East Timorese overwhelmingly feel free to express opinions where they live.
- Levels of concern about security within East Timor and at the border with West Timor are fairly high.
- Perceptions of security at the border are colored by perceptions of internal security. Unexpectedly, those most concerned about border security tend to live in the districts furthest from the border.
- Younger East Timorese expressed the greatest concerns about security.
- There is a lot of concern about corruption, collusion and nepotism in current and future government structures.
- Those with greater access to information and with higher levels of education express greater concern about corruption, collusion and nepotism.
- 42% of East Timorese say that they have had to reduce purchases of basic goods due to price increases. 27% say that they have remained unaffected by price increases.
- The eastern districts in East Timor have been hit hardest by price increases.
- A large majority of East Timorese are confident of a happy future for East Timor.

## CIVIC EDUCATION

- 54% of those polled are interested in politics. Men, younger East Timorese and those with higher levels of education are more interested in politics.
- There is little clear understanding of the meaning or implications of democracy. 36% understand democracy as freedom of speech. 11% of respondents defined democracy in cautionary terms. No-one equated democracy with elections.
- A majority of East Timorese view the government in paternalistic terms. Those in the east more strongly assert that the government and people are equals.
- Tolerance for free expression appears to wane in the context of political party campaigning. While 81% of East Timorese say that they feel free to express their opinions, only a slim majority, 53%, support all political parties holding meetings in their areas.
- There is less tolerance for political party activity in Dili and Baucau.
- 64% of those who consider political party competition a bad thing are concerned about the potential for violence and riots.
- A large majority of East Timorese support the idea that women should be as active as men in positions of political leadership. Young East Timorese are less likely to hold this opinion, and women are no more likely to be stronger proponents than men of equal participation in political leadership.
- Over half the population, 56%, do not know anything about East Timor's constitution.

## VOTER EDUCATION

- 32% of eligible voters in East Timor have not heard about Civil Registration. Those East Timorese without access to media and in the more remote east and west of the country are least aware.
- While 75% of eligible voters have heard that there will be an election this year, only 30% know that the election is scheduled for August 30.
- Only 5% of eligible voters correctly stated that the election will be for a Constituent Assembly. 61% think the upcoming election is for the presidency.
- 94% of respondents said that they would vote. This does not guarantee a large turnout, though, since a majority believe the election to be for something other than the Constituent Assembly.
- Only a slim majority, 52%, said that voting in the 2001 election will make a difference. Men and better educated East Timorese are more confident of the impact of voting.
- There is a lack of knowledge about the political parties that currently exist.
- Riots and political party-related violence are the two most prominent concerns expressed in relation to the electoral process.
- 56% of respondents indicated that the presence of election observers would increase their confidence that the election will be free and fair.
- While a majority of respondents expressed a preference for both East Timorese and foreign election observers, only 7% specifically expressed a preference for foreign observers.

## MEDIA

- Radio is the most widely accessed medium in East Timor.
- Despite 34% illiteracy nationwide, more East Timorese are reading either newspapers or magazines and newsletters than are watching television.
- Younger and better educated East Timorese are listening to radio and watching television more often than those who are older and less educated.
- The eastern four districts of East Timor have particularly low levels of radio listenership.
- Radio UNTAET is clearly the most popular radio station in the country and is popular across all major demographic categories.
- Television viewership and VCD ownership is heavily concentrated in Dili.
- The peak time for watching television and listening to radio is 17:00 - 21:00.
- *Suara Timor Lorosa'e* (STL) is the most widely read newspaper in East Timor, with 72% of those who read a newspaper saying that they read STL most often.
- While *Tais Timor* is the most widely read periodical, East Timorese publications with much smaller print runs are more widely read in four districts.
- Tetum is the most widely spoken and understood language by those accessing media in East Timor.
- Indonesian is a practical language for use in media.



## LANGUAGE

- The survey data confirm the strength of Tetum as a practical and preferred language. More East Timorese understand Tetum (91%) than any other language and can read and write Tetum (58%) than any other language.
- Tetum was overwhelmingly selected, by 80% of respondents, as the language of choice for election related information. Local languages were the second most popular choice at 17%, substantially more popular than Indonesian (3%).
- The use of local languages is strong and widespread: A majority of East Timorese (57%) identify a local language, other than Tetum, as their mother tongue. The remaining 43% cite Tetum. However, while 83% understand at least one local language, only 16% of East Timorese can read and write a local language.
- Portuguese is the only language that has a strong gender bias. While 21% of men can speak Portuguese and 19% can read Portuguese, this can only be said of 12% and 8% of women, respectively.
- Age is a significant determinant of language ability, with younger East Timorese relatively more proficient in Tetum, Indonesian and English and older East Timorese relatively more proficient in Portuguese.
- While 96% of those under 25 speak Tetum, this can be said of 77% of those over 50. 83% of those under 25 can speak Indonesian, as opposed to only 27% of those over 50. 27% of East Timorese between the ages of 35 and 50 can speak Portuguese, as opposed to only 11% of those under 25.
- Those East Timorese with little or no formal education rely far more heavily on Tetum and local languages (82% speak Tetum, 90% a local language). Just 6% of this group have Portuguese language ability and 32% of them can speak Indonesian.
- The level of illiteracy in East Timor is still extremely high (34%). Country-wide, 41% of women are illiterate, compared to 31% of men. Illiteracy is highest in Ocussi (69%) and lowest in Dili (20%) and Manatuto (18%).

## CIVIC EDUCATION -- RECOMMENDATIONS

**Target Group:** All voters

**Emphasis:**

- Fundamental Concepts of Democracy. Few East Timorese know anything about democracy and none polled equate democracy with elections. 40% of respondents revealed basic knowledge of rights but there are limits to the support of rights of others (especially in regard to political party campaigning).
- Representative and Accountable Government. With the country's first democratic election approaching, a majority of East Timorese still view the government in paternalistic or authoritarian terms.
- The Benefits of Political Party Competition. Approximately half of the East Timorese polled are wary of political party competition.
- East Timor's Constitution. Few respondents know that a process is underway to draft East Timor's constitution -- one of the most important steps of which is the upcoming election.

**Media:**

- Radio is the most effective medium to use (particularly between 17:00 and 21:00).
- There should also be a concentrated effort to educate and engage *Chefes de Suco* and to encourage public discussions at the village level.

**Specific Target Groups:**

- Women in particular should be targeted for information on the fundamental concepts of democracy through village-based discussions.
- Equal political participation by men and women should be addressed more specifically with young East Timorese and women. Young East Timorese are more likely to access all media and understand Tetum and Indonesian, while radio and face-to-face discussions would be more appropriate for women.
- Programs in Oecussi should give extra attention to discussing the role of government and the constitutional drafting process. Given high illiteracy rates and low media coverage in the districts, public discussions should be used.
- East Timorese in Lautem, in particular, need information on East Timor's constitution. Public forums supplemented by radio would be most effective.
- While residents in Viqueque, Aileu, Liquica and Bobonaro feel most free to express their opinions, they are less likely to accept political parties expressing themselves. These districts, together with Dili and Baucau, would benefit from campaigns about political party competition. Media coverage is relatively high in these districts.

# VOTER EDUCATION -- RECOMMENDATIONS

**Target Group:** All voters

## **Emphasis:**

- Civil Registration. Public knowledge about civil registration is an immediate priority given the fact that one-third of respondents are unaware of the civil registration and that the deadline for eligible voters to register is June 24.
- Who will organize the election. Voters also need information about who is organizing the election (given the recent creation of the Independent Electoral Commission).
- The purpose of the upcoming election. Only 5% of respondents know the answer.
- Information on the parties who register and why political party campaigning is beneficial. There is little knowledge nationwide of the political parties that currently exist and little tolerance for competition between them.

## **Media:**

- Radio is the most effective medium to use (particularly between 17:00 and 21:00).
- There should also be a concentrated effort to educate and engage *Chefes de Suco* and to encourage public discussions at the village level.

## **Specific Target Groups:**

- Information on Civil Registration and the election is critically needed in the more remote eastern and western districts. Unless media coverage can be rapidly improved, this information must be provided in public meetings or door-to-door.
- Older East Timorese should also be targeted for civil registration and election information. Older East Timorese have less access to media and are less likely than younger East Timorese to speak Indonesian, so a face-to-face approach using Tetum or a local language is needed.
- Programs should engage the political parties themselves to address the concerns of East Timorese in the four eastern districts about party competition and the potential for violence.
- Anti-violence initiatives should engage women, younger East Timorese, and students prior to the election. Younger East Timorese access a variety of media and are more likely than women nationwide to speak Indonesian and Tetum.
- Women and those in the western districts of Liquica, Ainaro, Covalima and Manufahi should be targeted concerning the benefits of participating in the election process.
- Information about the role of election observers should focus primarily on Dili and Baucau. While Dili enjoys good media coverage, relatively speaking, more direct approaches are needed in Baucau.

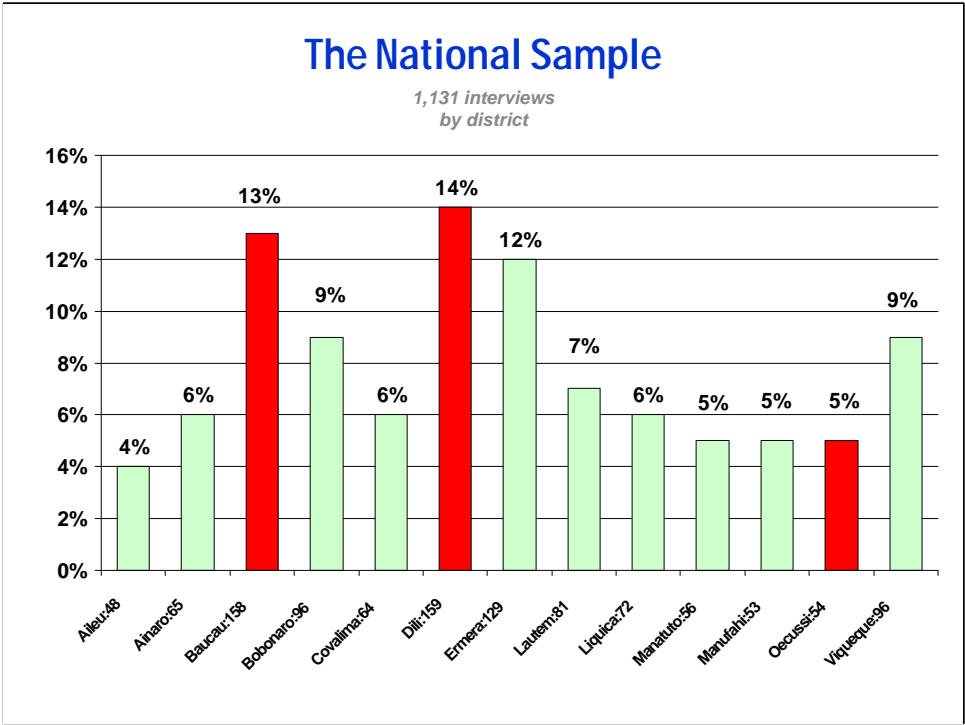
# METHODOLOGY

## Methodology

- The research was conducted in two phases:
  - Phase 1: Informal focus group discussion among participants from NGO Forum in Dili, February 2001.
  - Phase 2: Quantitative -- national survey, 1,558 in-person interviews, potential voters in every district in East Timor, March 2001
- Fieldwork was conducted by the NGO Forum's Kelompok Kerja Pendidikan Pemilih (KKPP, Voter Education Working Group) in East Timor.

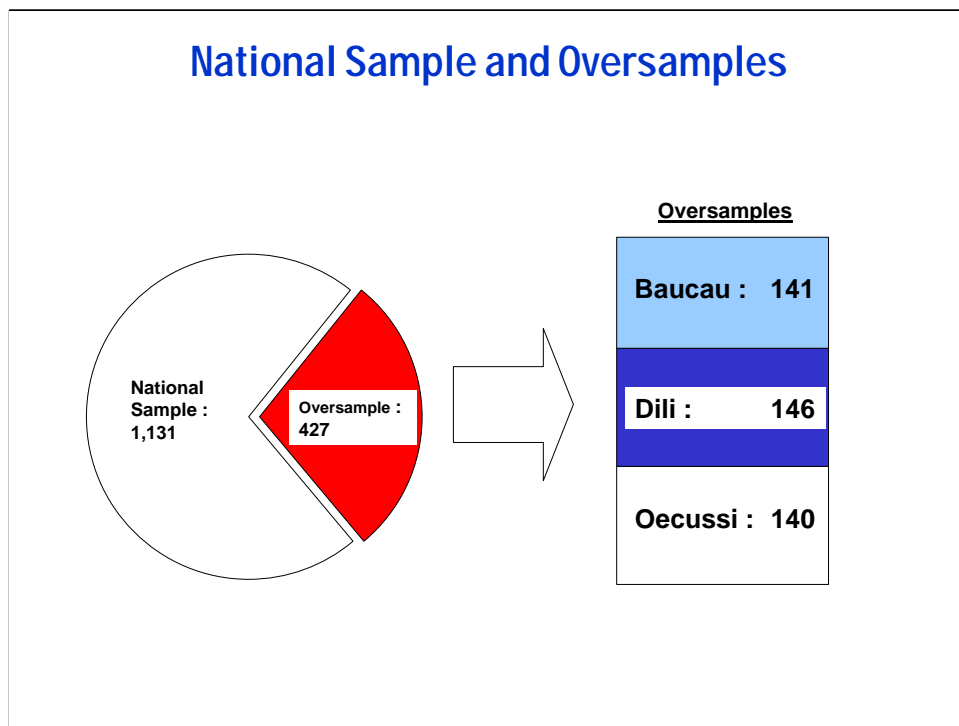
## Representativeness of the Sample

- Because the sample is truly national and random, the survey results represent all parts of the population in their correct proportions. Demographically, the poll results are either identical or close to the real population.
- As a result, the survey findings closely reflect the public in terms of gender, religion, urban-rural balance, education, and age. The findings regarding public opinion are thus likely to be representative as well, within the survey's margin of error.



- This poll is the first country-wide random survey ever of East Timorese's views on elections and politics.
- The survey is based on a representative national sample of 1,131 interviews, drawn in proportion to the eligible voter population of each region. This yields an error margin of +/- 3%.
- Every voter in the country had an equal chance of being interviewed. Thus, the survey represents the views of almost all potential East Timorese electors.

## National Sample and Oversamples



- In addition to the random national sample, we oversampled several areas of particular interest.
  - Major urban areas: Dili and Baucau
  - Enclave area: Oecussi.
- In the oversample areas, 427 interviews were done, giving a total sample of 1,558 when added to the national sample.
- When national results are presented here, the oversampled areas are weighted down to their correct proportion of the national population, so that they are not over represented.

## Sampling Methodology

- The basic sampling method used for the national representative sample (of 1,131 potential voters) was multi-stage random sampling with the following stages:
  - Stage 1 :Selection of *Suco* (village-sized urban and rural administrative units) with probability proportionate to population.
  - Stage2 :Random selection of *Aldeia* (neighborhood administrative units) by interval method.
  - Stage 3 :Random selection of households, by interval method.
  - Stage 4 :Selection of respondent by Kish Grid.
- Suco were selected by statisticians using a Master Frame of all *Suco* provided by the Civil Registry in Dili.
- 8 respondents were selected in each *Suco*; 4 in each of two randomly selected *Aldeia*.
- KKPP interviewers in the field prepared lists of Aldeia using information received from the *Chefes de Suco*. *Aldeia* for inclusion in the study were selected using random-number tables.
- Households in each *Aldeia* were then mapped and listed, and respondent households were then selected by using an interval of 1 in 5 households. A random start-point household was pre-selected by the statisticians.
- All potential respondents in each household were then listed (in age order) and a random Kish Grid procedure was used to select a respondent for interview.
- Potential respondents were defined as adults aged 17 and older.
- One respondent was interviewed in each household.



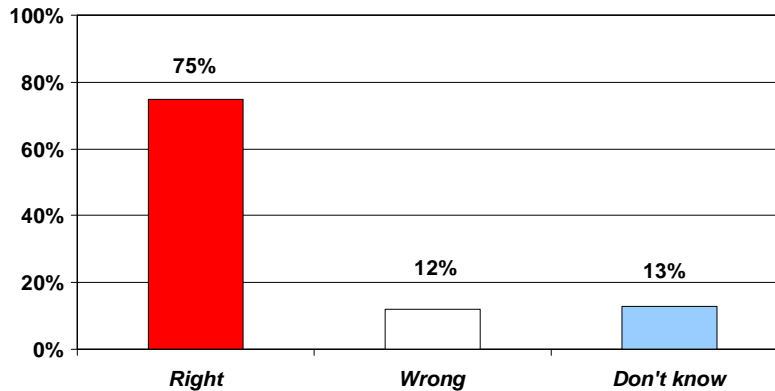
# Part 1: National Mood

## NATIONAL MOOD -- SUMMARY

- 75% of East Timorese feel that the country is heading in the right direction.
- Pessimism about the country's direction is slightly stronger among younger respondents and concentrated mainly in Dili and Baucau and in areas of recent conflict (Viqueque, in particular).
- To 63% of East Timorese who say that the country is headed in the right direction, the calmer situation and the end to violence are strong indicators that the country is headed in the right direction. Economic recovery was the second most popular reason, but cited by far fewer respondents.
- Women are considerably more likely than men to refer to the problem of violence. Younger East Timorese, too, are far more likely to refer to violence than older East Timorese.
- Among the 12% of East Timorese saying the country is headed in the wrong direction, the main reason cited is riots and violence, followed closely by economic problems, high prices and unemployment.
- 26% of all respondents say that nothing has improved in the country. For others, improvements include greater freedom, the transitional government and preparations for independence, and improved security.
- When asked about problems in the country, violence and political conflict dominated the answers, and were regarded by 29% of respondents as the two biggest problems facing East Timor.
- 60% of East Timorese, and younger East Timorese in particular, disagree with the statement that the government does not care about them.
- East Timorese overwhelmingly feel free to express opinions where they live.
- Levels of concern about security within East Timor and at the border with West Timor are fairly high.
- Perceptions of security at the border are colored by perceptions of internal security. Unexpectedly, those most concerned about border security tend to live in the districts furthest from the border.
- Younger East Timorese expressed the greatest concerns about security.
- There is a lot of concern about corruption, collusion and nepotism in current and future government structures.
- Those with greater access to information and with higher levels of education express greater concern about corruption, collusion and nepotism.
- 42% of East Timorese say that they have had to reduce purchases of basic goods due to price increases. 27% say that they have remained unaffected by price increases.
- The eastern districts in East Timor have been hit hardest by price increases.
- A large majority of East Timorese are confident of a happy future for East Timor.

## Direction of the Country

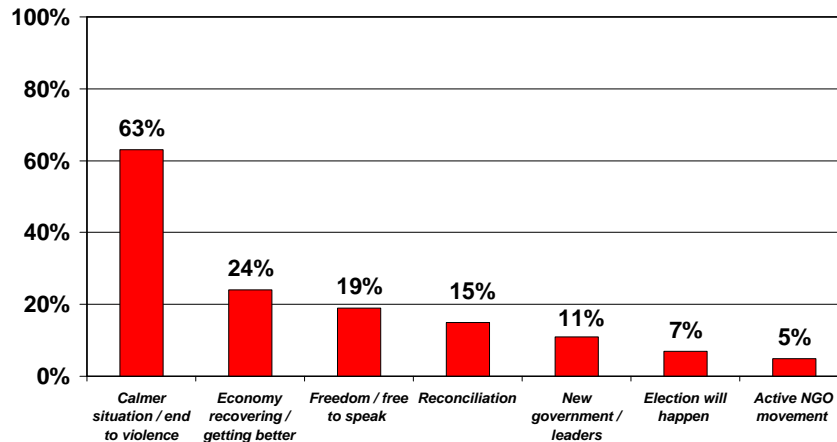
*Do you think East Timor is heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?*



- Most East Timorese are optimistic about the future of the country. A large majority, 75%, feel that East Timor is heading in the right direction while just 12% believe that the country is heading in the wrong direction.
- Optimism is shared by men and women in roughly equal proportions, and pessimism is slightly stronger among younger respondents: 21% of students interviewed said that East Timor is heading in the wrong direction, as did 16% of those under the age of 25.
- Pessimism is concentrated mainly in Dili and Baucau and in areas of recent conflict. 27% of those in Viqueque (the site of violent communal clashes just prior to survey fieldwork) said that East Timor was heading in the wrong direction, as did 23% in Manatuto, 20% in Dili and 17% in Baucau.
- Respondents in Aileu, Covalima, and Liquica are the most optimistic, with only 1% or less of respondents in these districts saying that East Timor was heading in the wrong direction.

## Right Direction

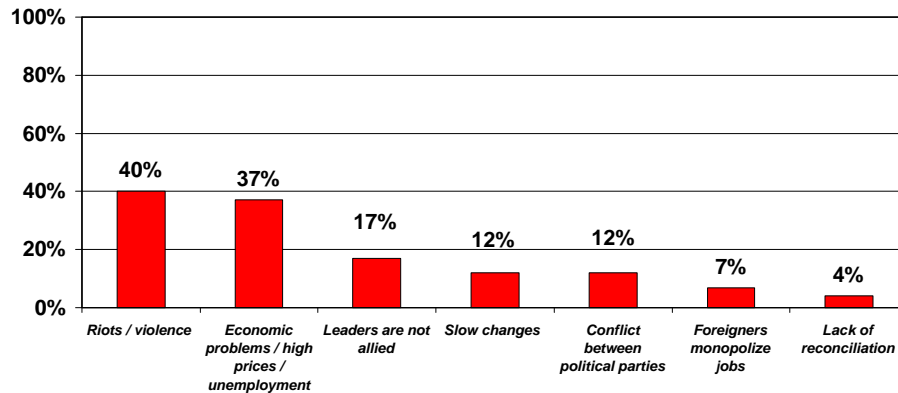
Why do you say that ?  
(Reasons given by 5% or more of the 75% who said that East Timor is heading in the right direction. Up to 2 responses given.)



- To 63% of East Timorese who say that the country is headed in the right direction, the calmer situation and the end to violence are strong indicators that the country is headed in the right direction.
- Economic recovery was the second most popular reason, given by 24% of respondents, followed closely by freedom of speech (19%), reconciliation (15%), and new government leaders (11%). Only 7% cited the upcoming election as a step in the right direction.
- Younger East Timorese are less likely than older East Timorese to credit reduced violence for their optimism about the direction of the country. 51% of students and 58% of those under 25 years of age cited reduced violence. While students and those with at least a high school education referred positively to reconciliation, only 10% of those over 35 years of age referred to reconciliation.
- There are strong regional discrepancies. 98% of those in Aileu mentioned economic recovery, true for only 3% of those in Viqueque. A significant proportion of those in Dili and Baucau referred to the improving economy (41% and 29% respectively).
- 59% of the residents of Viqueque credited new government leaders and the upcoming election for steering East Timor in the right direction, perhaps signaling that residents of Viqueque see the potential for political solutions to recent communal violence.

## Wrong Direction

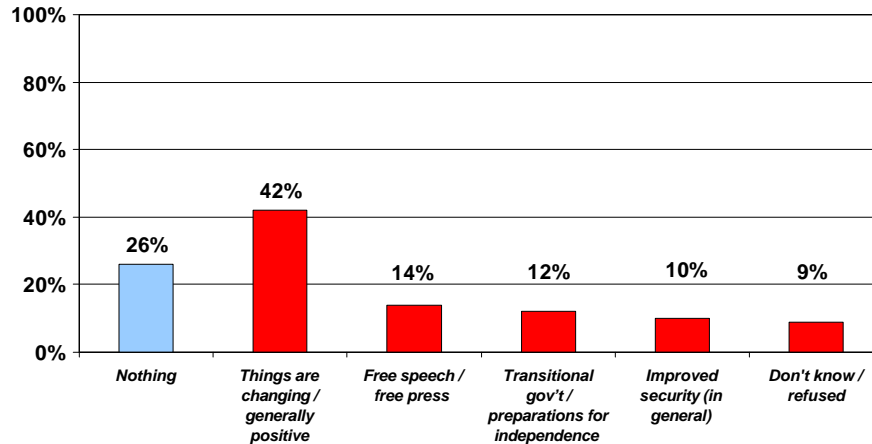
Why do you say that?  
 (Reasons given by 4% or more of the 12% who said that East Timor is heading in the wrong direction. Up to 2 responses given.)



- Among the 12% of East Timorese who say that the country is headed in the wrong direction, the main reason cited is riots and violence (40% of respondents), followed by economic problems, high prices and unemployment (37%).
- Women are considerably more likely than men, by a margin of 53% to 30%, to refer to the problem of violence. Younger East Timorese, too, are far more likely to refer to violence than older East Timorese, with 53% of students, 45% of those under 25 years of age, but only 18% of those over 50 years of age responding as such.
- Residents of Viqueque and Baucau are most likely to refer to the problem of violence (65% in Viqueque and 57% in Baucau) -- perhaps, once again, reflecting communal violence in these two communities just prior to survey fieldwork.
- Economic problems were cited in greatest frequency by residents of the two largest cities, Dili (47%) and Baucau (30%), and by those in Manatuto (92%) -- an overwhelming majority that may reflect the fact that Manatuto suffered particularly extensive destruction in 1999. Since a significant percentage of Dili and Baucau residents mentioned economic recovery as a reason the country is heading in the right direction (see previous table), these data may point to significant economic polarization in these two cities.

## Improvements in East Timor

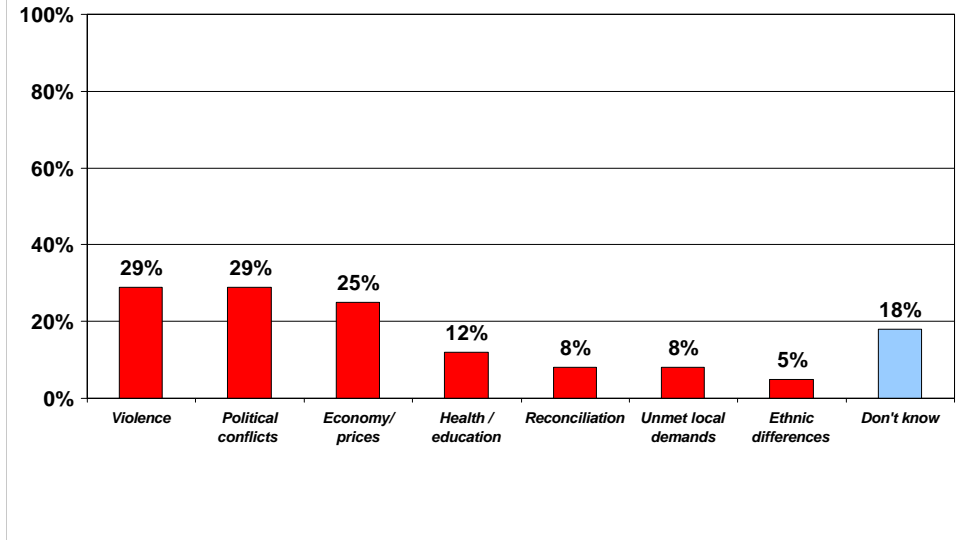
What, if anything, has improved in East Timor ?  
(Responses cited by 5% or more)



- While 42% of East Timorese believe that things are changing positively (without being specific), 26% said that nothing has improved.
- While not shown on the table above (which only shows answers given by 5% or more of respondents) only 4% of those polled cited the economy as a factor that has improved.
- The other improvements identified include free speech (14%), the transitional government and preparations for independence (12%) and improved security (10%).
- Those East Timorese exposed to the media are more likely to cite free speech and freedom of the press as improvements -- an answer given, for example, by 25% of those with access to television and 20% of those who read magazines and newsletters.
- Freedom of speech was also cited by 67% of those in Aileu and 26% of those in Viqueque.

## East Timor's Biggest Problems

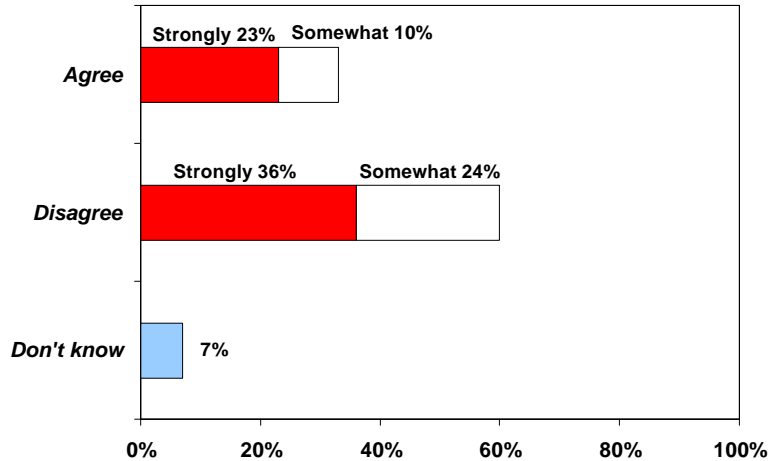
*In your view, what are the biggest problems facing East Timor ?  
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*



- Violence and political conflict dominate people's concerns, and are regarded by 29% of respondents as the two biggest problems facing East Timor.
- Once again, younger East Timorese appear more concerned about political problems and conflict, older East Timorese about economic issues. Only 9% of students cited economic problems and high prices (compared to 18% of those over 50 years of age), whereas 36% of students mentioned demonstrations and violence and 27% mentioned political conflict.
- Violence was of particular concern in Aileu (60%), Viqueque (46%), Baucau (44%) and Dili (33%), while conflict of a more political nature was of particular concern in Liquica (67%). Economic issues were cited in greater numbers by residents in eastern East Timor, namely Manatuto (59%), Lautem (48%) and Viqueque (17%).

## Political Alienation

Some people say: "I don't think the government cares very much about what people like me think." Do you agree?

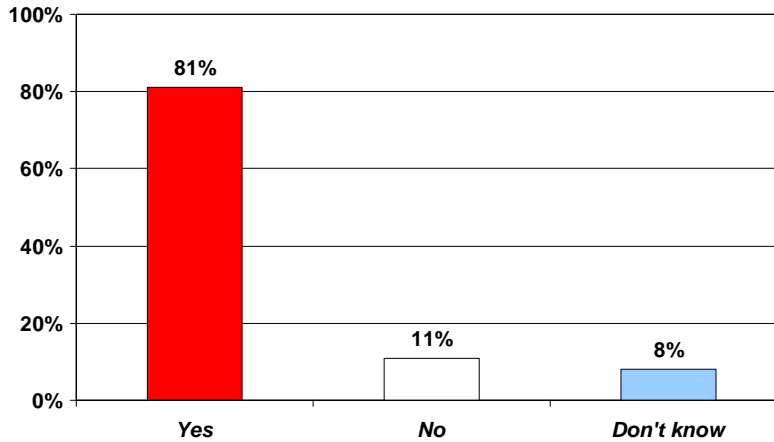


- 60% of East Timorese disagree with the statement that the government does not care about them.
- Younger East Timorese have slightly more confidence in responsive government. 41% of those aged between 25 and 34, and 37% of those under the age of 25 strongly disagreed with the statement above. Only 27% of those over the age of 50 strongly disagreed with the statement.
- There are strong regional discrepancies in reaction to the question above. While 89% of those in Liquica and 68% of those in Oecussi strongly disagree with the statement (this may reflect good local government outreach to the communities in these districts), 59% of those in Lautem, 60% in Manufahi and 31% of respondents in Baucau strongly agree with the statement.



## Freedom of Political Expression

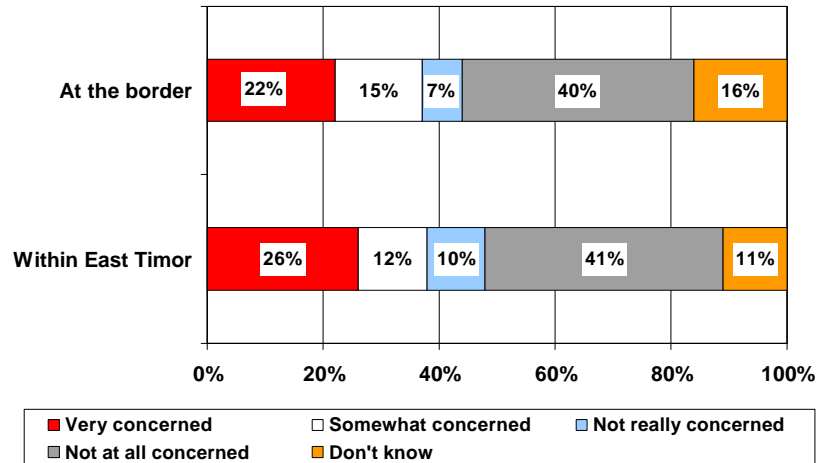
*Do people feel free to express their opinion where you live ?*



- East Timorese overwhelmingly feel free to express their opinions where they live. While 81% of respondents answered that they feel free to voice their opinions, only 11% do not, and 8% are not sure.
- Gender, age and level of education do not seem to be important determinants of who is more or less likely to feel free to express his/her political opinion.
- Rather, there are stronger regional discrepancies. Over 89% of East Timorese in Viqueque, Liquica, Aileu and Bobonaro districts feel free to express their political opinion (67% of those in Aileu and 26% of those in Viqueque cited freedom of speech as one of the principal recent improvements in the country).
- East Timorese living in the principal urban areas, Dili and Baucau, feel relatively less free to express their opinion, with 24% of those in Baucau and 14% of those in Dili answering “no” to the question above.

## Concerns About Security

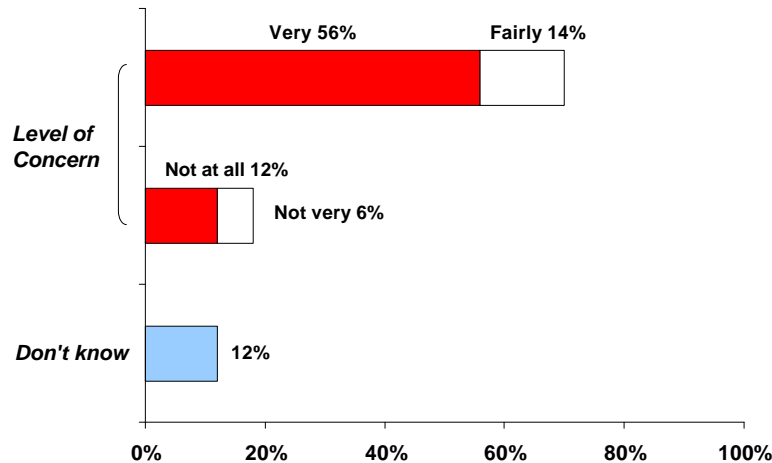
How concerned are you about security within East Timor and at the border (with West Timor)?



- Levels of concern about security within East Timor and at the border with West Timor are fairly high and remarkably similar, with 38% of those polled expressing concern about security within East Timor, and 37% expressing concern about border security.
- Perceptions of security at the border are colored by perceptions of internal security. Unexpectedly, those most concerned about border security live in the districts furthest from the border, namely Baucau, Viqueque, Lautem, and Manatuto. Districts bordering West Timor -- Bobonaro, Covalima, and Oecussi -- expressed the least concern about border security along with Liquica (where 85% responded they are not at all concerned).
- Recent riots in Baucau and Viqueque no doubt served to increase concern in those two districts about internal security, with 66% in Viqueque and 52% in Baucau expressing concern about security within the country. 73% of those polled in Aileu are very concerned about internal security.
- While men and women are concerned in equal measure, younger East Timorese expressed the greatest concerns about security. Of the East Timorese under 25 years of age, 44% are concerned about security within the country and 42% concerned about border security, compared to figures of 31% and 27% respectively for East Timorese over the age of 50.

## Concern About Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism "KKN"\*

How concerned are you about KKN in the current and future government?

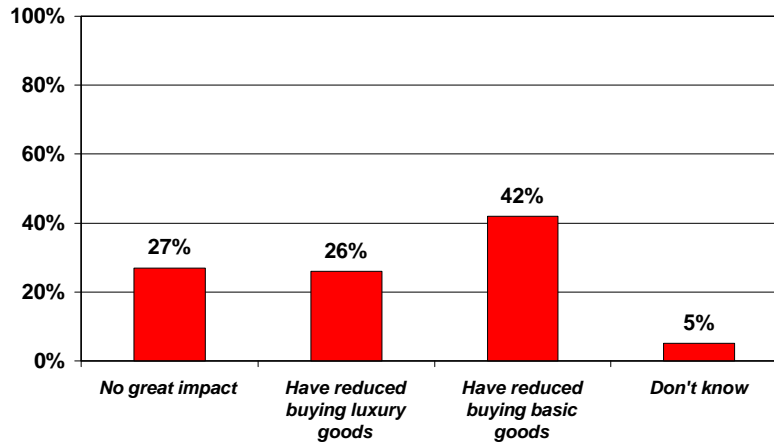


- There is a lot of concern about KKN in current and future government structures. 56% of those polled were very concerned about the incidence of KKN in the current and future governments. 70% were very or fairly concerned.
- Concerns about KKN are closely related to education and information availability: those with greater access to information and with higher levels of education express greater concern.
- Of those respondents with a high school education or higher, 68% are very concerned about KKN, compared to 47% of those with no formal education or who did not finish primary school.
- 65% of those respondents who watch TV and 66% of those who have access to newspapers or magazines are very concerned about KKN.

\* KKN is the widely used Indonesian language acronym for corruption, collusion and nepotism.

## Impact of Prices

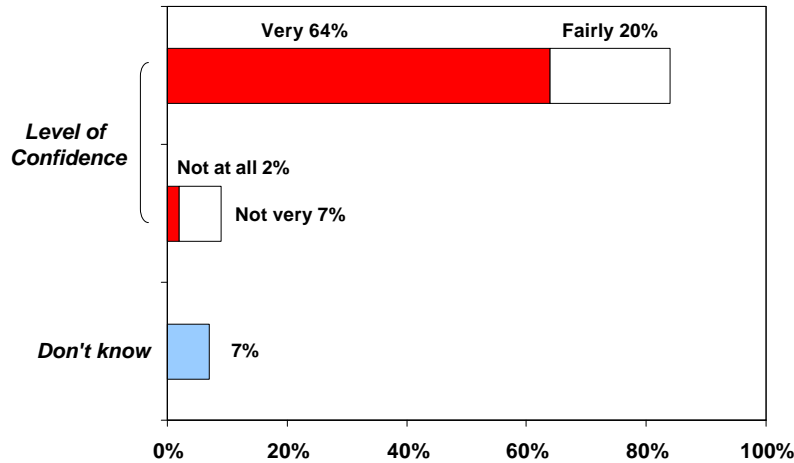
Some people say that prices keep increasing and goods have become expensive. Please choose which statement best describes your family condition.



- 42% of East Timorese say that they have had to reduce purchases of basic goods due to price increases. 27% say that they have remained unaffected by price increases.
- The effect of price increases differs only by district: it has affected East Timorese in roughly equal proportions across age, gender and levels of education.
- The eastern districts in East Timor have been hit hardest by price increases. Lautem (79%), Viqueque (60%) and Baucau (47%) were all above the national average for those who have reduced buying basic goods, as was Oecussi (62%).
- The more central districts of Manatuto (14%), Ermera (29%), Aileu (6%) and Liquica (4%) are relatively better off and respondents there have reduced purchase of basic essentials to a lesser extent.

## Confidence in the Future

How confident are you of a happy future for East Timor?



- A large majority of East Timorese (84%) are confident of a happy future for East Timor.
- Younger East Timorese are less likely to express confidence about the country's future. 55% of students and 56% of those under 25 years of age are "very confident" of a happy future, with 9% of students not confident at all.
- Residents of Dili, Baucau and Manatuto are the least confident of a happy future. 31% of those in Dili, 51% of those in Baucau and 39% of those in Manatuto are very confident of a happy future, while 11% of those in Manatuto are not at all confident. Residents of these three districts are most likely to cite economic hardship as a reason that the country is heading in the wrong direction (see previous table).
- Meanwhile, despite local conflict just prior to survey fieldwork, 91% of those in Viqueque are very confident of a happy future.

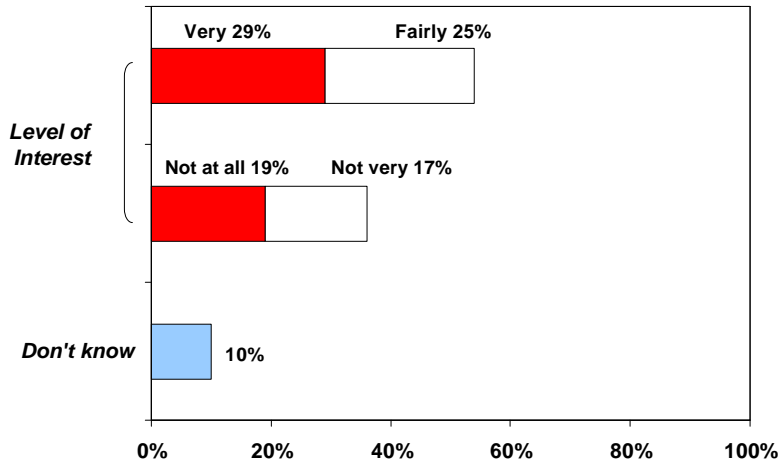
# Part 2: Civic Education

## CIVIC EDUCATION

- 54% of those polled are interested in politics. Men, younger East Timorese and those with higher levels of education are more interested in politics.
- There is little clear understanding of the meaning or implications of democracy. 36% understand democracy as freedom of speech. 11% of respondents defined democracy in cautionary terms. No-one equated democracy with elections.
- A majority of East Timorese view the government in paternalistic terms. Those in the east more strongly assert that the government and people are equals.
- Tolerance for free expression appears to wane in the context of political party campaigning. While 81% of East Timorese say that they feel free to express their opinions, only a slim majority, 53%, support all political parties holding meetings in their areas.
- There is less tolerance for political party activity in Dili and Baucau.
- 64% of those who consider political party competition a bad thing are concerned about the potential for violence and riots.
- A large majority of East Timorese support the idea that women should be as active as men in positions of political leadership. Young East Timorese are less likely to hold this opinion, and women are no more likely to be stronger proponents than men of equal participation in political leadership.
- Over half the population, 56%, do not know anything about East Timor's constitution.

## Political Interest

How interested are you in politics? Very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested?



- 54%, or more than half, of the East Timorese polled are interested (very or somewhat) in politics.
- There is a fairly strong correlation between level of interest in politics and age, gender, level of education, media exposure and geography.
- Younger East Timorese are more interested in politics than older East Timorese. While 71% of students and 57% of those under the age of 25 are very or somewhat interested in politics, this is true for only 47% of those over 50, 26% of whom are not at all interested in politics.
- 60% of men are very or somewhat interested in politics, as opposed to 48% of women.
- 66% of those with at least a high school education are very or somewhat interested in politics as opposed to 44% of those with little or no formal education.



Characteristics of a Democratic Country		Personal Consequences of Democracy	
<i>If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else?</i>		<i>What, if anything, is the most important thing that democracy in East Timor will bring you personally? Anything else ?</i>	
<b>No answer</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>No answer</b>	<b>42%</b>
Freedom to speak	36%	Democracy is freedom	40%
Unity	8%	Unity	5%
Democracy is freedom but has still not been attained	6%	Leaders should listen to the people	5%
Must have limits	5%	Democracy is freedom but has still not been attained	4%
Responsible democracy	4%	Democracy is limited	2%
Mutual respect	3%	Democracy is not important	1%
Depends on the community's awareness	1%		
Sovereignty of the people	1%		

- 43% of East Timorese polled could not give one example of a benefit that democracy would bring to them personally. Explaining this to some extent is the fact that 37% of East Timorese cannot give an answer as to what democracy is.
- 36% of respondents who gave an answer as to the meaning of democracy defined democracy in terms of rights and, specifically, freedom of speech. However, unity was also a popular answer, cited by 8% of respondents.
- Interestingly, 11% of respondents defined democracy in cautionary terms: both suggesting that democracy has not yet been achieved and that democratic development must be within limits (the limits unspecified).
- Of particular note is that not a single person polled cited elections as an important aspect of democracy.
- 43% of women could not reply about the meaning of democracy (as opposed to 31% of men) and 49% of women could not say how democracy might benefit them personally (as opposed to 35% of men).
- Younger, better educated East Timorese are more aware of the relationship between democracy and rights. Greater freedom was cited by 46% of those with at least a high school education and 43% of students as opposed to 29% of those 50 and over and 28% of those with little or no formal education.

## Political Culture

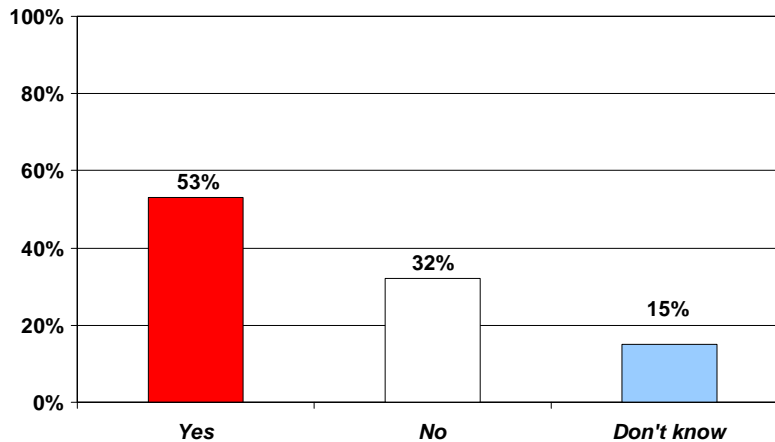
*Which of these is closest to your view of what the government represents?*

<b>Government is the parent, people the children</b>	<b>56%</b>
<b>Government and the people are equal</b>	<b>35%</b>
<b>Government is the boss, people subordinates</b>	<b>3%</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>6%</b>

- A majority of East Timorese continue to view the government in paternalistic terms, with 56% likening the government to a parent and the people to the children.
- East Timorese do not tend to view the government in authoritarian terms (the government as a boss) with only 3% of respondents choosing to define government in this way. However, 10% those in Oecussi described the government in this way.
- Age, education, gender and exposure to media appear not to be determinants of how East Timorese view the government. However, those in the eastern part of the country more strongly asserted that the government and people are equals (67% in Baucau, 52% in Lautem and 44% in Viqueque).

## Tolerance of Political Party Meetings

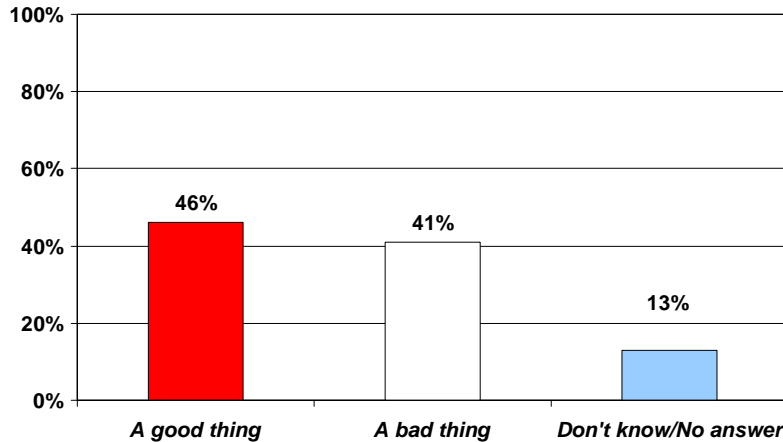
*Do you think that all political parties should be allowed to hold meetings in your area ?*



- Only a slim majority, 53%, support all political parties holding meetings in their areas. A sizeable minority -- 32% or one-third of those polled -- do not support all parties holding meetings in their areas.
- There is less tolerance for political party activity in the larger cities. 41% of East Timorese in Baucau and 40% in Dili do not agree that all political parties should be allowed to hold meetings in their areas. Tolerance for universal party activity is even lower in Aileu and Bobonaro with 60% of those in Aileu and 51% in Bobonaro answering "no" to the question.
- 88% of those in Oecussi and 91% in Manufahi support activities by all parties in their areas.

## Competition Among Political Parties

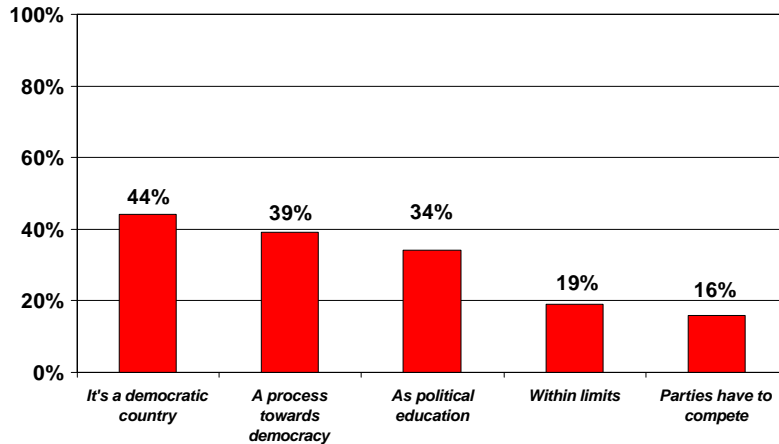
*In the upcoming August election, do you think that competition among political parties is a good thing or a bad thing ?*



- More East Timorese say that political party competition is a good thing (46% of respondents) than a bad thing (41%). However, a majority of East Timorese, 54% of respondents, either consider party competition a bad thing or cannot answer.
- Answers to this question correlate closely with gender, education and geographic differences.
- 60% of women either said that party competition is a bad thing or did not answer (compared to 48% of men).
- 58% of those with at least a high school education consider party competition a good thing, as opposed to only 36% who have little or no formal education.
- An overwhelming 94% of those in Liquica consider party competition a bad thing, as do 57% in Viqueque and 48% in Aileu. However, as mentioned earlier in this survey report, over 89% of East Timorese in Viqueque, Liquica, and Aileu feel free to express their political opinion. Freedom of expression, therefore, has limits and does not always translate into freedom of expression for others -- political parties in particular.
- Tolerance for party competition is highest in Manufahi (68%), Lautem (64%), Covalima (61%) and Ermera (59%).

## Political Party Competition - A Good Thing

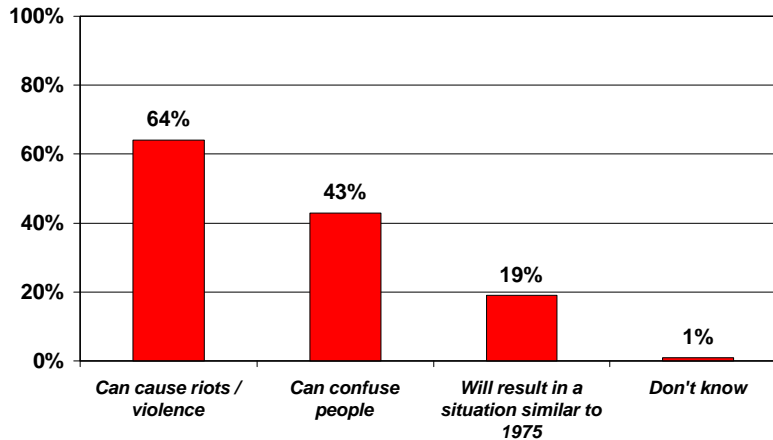
*Why do you say that?  
(Asked only of those who answered that political party competition is a good thing)*



- 44% of those who support party competition say that party competition is consistent with East Timor being a democratic country. Similarly, 39% see party competition as an integral process in East Timor's process of democratization.
- 34% of respondents mentioned that there are educational benefits to political party competition.
- Again, a cautionary note was struck by 19% of respondents who said that political party competition is to be supported within limits (unspecified).

## Political Party Competition - A Bad Thing

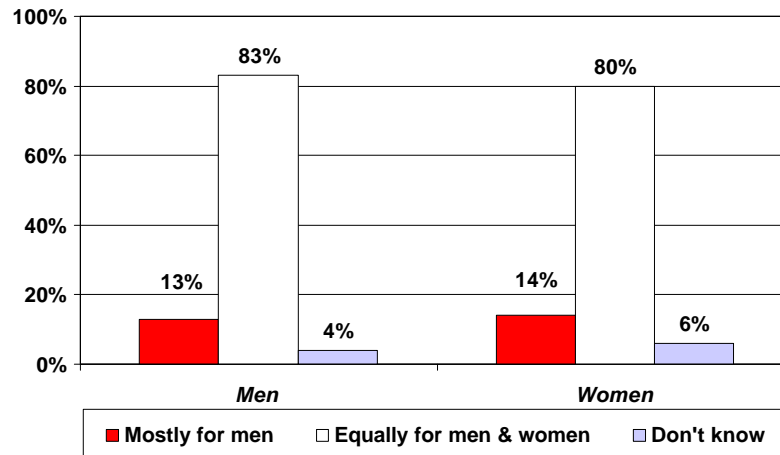
Why do you say that ?  
(Asked only of those who answered that political party competition is a bad thing)



- 64% of those who consider political party competition a bad thing explain this view by citing the potential for violence and riots -- reflecting the generally high levels of concern about the potential for violence in East Timor.
- 43% of those who consider political party competition a bad thing are of this opinion since they feel that party competition will confuse people. This may reflect a lack of basic understanding about the merits of competitive multi-party political systems.
- A significant proportion, 19%, of those who consider political party competition a bad thing referred to the possibility of a similar situation to that of 1975 (when a brief but bloody civil war, caused by feuding between political parties, was fought).

## Gender and Political Leadership

*Do you think that political leadership positions should be mostly for men or do you think that women should be just as active?*



- 83% of East Timorese men and 80% of East Timorese women support the idea that women should be as active as men in positions of political leadership.
- Men and women are equally likely to be of the opinion that political leadership should remain mostly for men (13% of male respondents and 14% of female respondents).
- While the data suggest that women are marginally less supportive of equal opportunity for men and women in political leadership and more supportive of politics remaining a male pursuit, a closer correlation exists with age.
- Only 76% of those under the age of 25 and 78% of students think that women should be as active as men in positions of political leadership. 11% of those over 50 years of age did not offer an opinion.

## Political Leadership : Gender Preference

*Why do you say that?  
(Asked only of those who expressed a preference)*

### Mostly for Men

Culture that is difficult to change	35%
Men and women are different	26%
Religious teaching/law of the church	3%
Don't know / No answer	3%
Even though .....	
Rights of men and women are equal	55%

### Equally for Men and Women

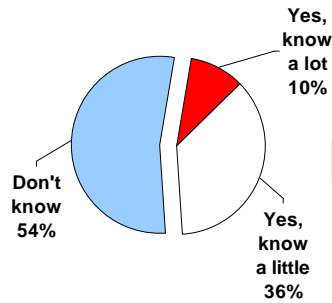
96%	Rights of men and women are equal
6%	Culture
4%	Religious teaching/law of the church
1%	Don't know / No answer
Even though .....	
9%	Men and women are different

- 35% of those who think that politics should be mostly for men cite cultural differences as the reason why. 26% say that men and women are different.
- 55% of those who say that political leadership should be reserved mostly for men qualified this opinion by also saying that the rights of men and women are equal.
- 96% of those who say that positions of political leadership are for men and women equally refer to the principle of equal rights to support their opinion. Only 6% of East Timorese cited culture as a reason for equal participation.
- Few East Timorese refer to religious principles in support of their opinions about gender and political leadership (3% of those who think political leadership should be mostly for men; 4% of those in favor of equal participation).

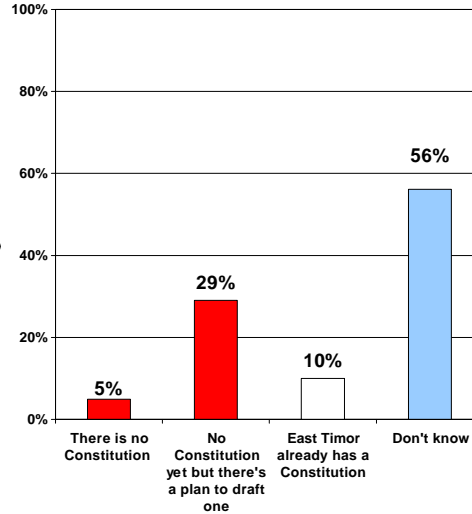


## Knowledge about East Timor's Constitution

*In general, do you know about East Timor's Constitution?*



*What do you know about East Timor's Constitution?*



- Only 34% of the respondents know that East Timor does not yet have a constitution. 29% know that while there is no constitution yet, there are plans to draft one.
- Over half the population, 56%, do not know anything about East Timor's constitution.
- 10% of all those polled mistakenly think that East Timor already has a constitution.
- Those with access to television and radio have no greater understanding of the constitution -- 60% of those who watch television and 53% of those who listen to radio answered "Don't know" to the question. However, 43% of those who read magazines/newsletters and 39% of those who read newspapers know that there is no constitution yet but there are plans to draft one (as opposed to the national average of 29%, and 29% of those who watch TV and 34% of those who listen to radio).
- While knowledge about East Timor's constitution is low in the more remote districts -- 89% of those in Oecussi and 86% of those in Lautem do not know about the constitution -- knowledge is also low in the two largest cities: 71% of those in Dili and 50% of those in Baucau saying that they do not know.

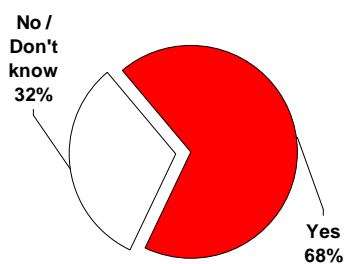
# Part 3: Voter Education

## VOTER EDUCATION

- 32% of eligible voters in East Timor have not heard about Civil Registration. Those East Timorese without access to media and in the more remote east and west of the country are least aware.
- While 75% of eligible voters have heard that there will be an election this year, only 30% know that the election is scheduled for August 30.
- Only 5% of eligible voters correctly stated that the election will be for a Constituent Assembly. 61% think the upcoming election is for the presidency.
- 94% of respondents said that they would vote. This does not guarantee a large turnout, though, since a majority believe the election to be for something other than the Constituent Assembly.
- Only a slim majority, 52%, said that voting in the 2001 election will make a difference. Men and better educated East Timorese are more confident of the impact of voting.
- There is a lack of knowledge about the political parties that currently exist.
- Riots and political party-related violence are the two most prominent concerns expressed in relation to the electoral process.
- 56% of respondents indicated that the presence of election observers would increase their confidence that the election will be free and fair.
- While a majority of respondents expressed a preference for both East Timorese and foreign election observers, only 7% specifically expressed a preference for foreign observers.

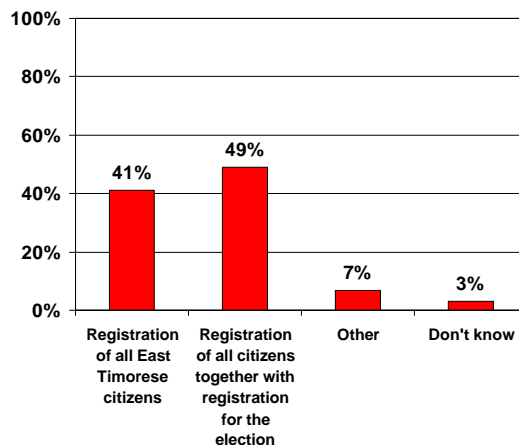
## Awareness of Civil Registration

Have you heard anything about civil registration?



## Understanding of Civil Registration

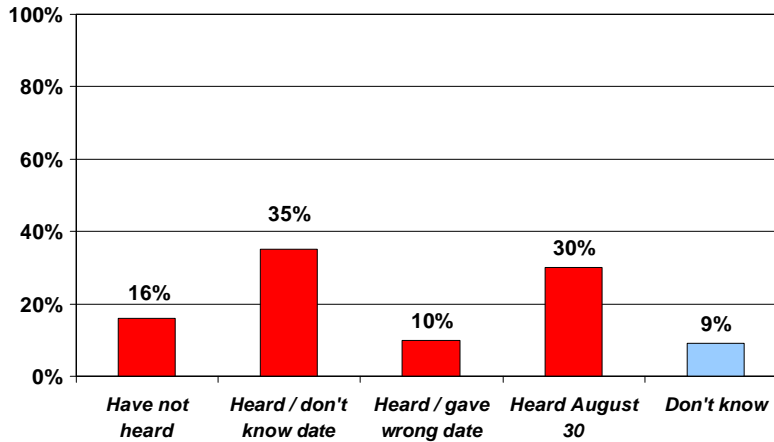
What have you heard about civil registration?  
(Asked of the 68% who responded that they have heard about civil registration)



- As of the end of March 2001, approximately one-third of the eligible voters in East Timor (32%) had not heard about Civil Registration (which is also the process by which eligible voters register to have their names included on voter lists).
- Among those who have heard about civil registry, just less than half, 49%, gave the correct answer that Civil Registration is for registration of all East Timorese citizens together with registration for the election.
- Access to media corresponds closely with greater levels of awareness about Civil Registration. 81% of those with access to TV, 76% of those who listen to radio and 80% of those who read newspapers and magazines have heard about Civil Registration.
- Those East Timorese in the more remote east and west of the country are least aware. In eastern East Timor, 56% in Manatuto, 40% in Baucau, 37% in Lautem and 33% in Viqueque have not heard about Civil Registration. In western East Timor, 53% of those in Bobonaro, 44% in Covalima and 44% in Ainaro have likewise not heard.
- Conversely, 91% of those in Oecussi, 98% of those in Aileu and 80% in Ermera and Manufahi have heard about Civil Registration. Since Oecussi has particularly poor media coverage, the fact that so many people have heard about Civil Registration in that district may point to a noteworthy information campaign.

## Awareness of Elections

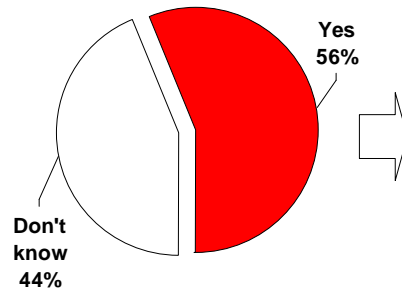
*Have you heard anything about an upcoming election?*



- While 75% of eligible voters have heard that there will be an election this year, only 30% know that the election is scheduled for August 30.
- Exposure to media has not resulted in much greater levels of awareness about the date of the upcoming election. In particular, of those who watch television, only 37% knew that the election would be on August 30 while only 35% of those who listen to the radio knew.
- Only 19% of eligible voters over the age of 50 know the date of the upcoming election, in contrast to 47% of students. 41% of those with at least a high school education know the date of the upcoming election.

## Election Organizer

Do you know who will organize the upcoming August election?  
If YES, who?



### Election Organizer

UNTAET	47%
ETTA	10%
UNTAET + ETTA	22%
CNRT	17%
National Council (NC)	1%
Don't know	3%

- Fully 44% of East Timorese stated that they do not know who will be organizing the upcoming election. Of the 56% who answered that they knew, answers were mixed.
- The election will, in fact, be organized by the Independent Election Commission (IEC) that was inaugurated after the survey fieldwork was completed. However, the fact that 18% of respondents said that CNRT or the National Council (NC) are organizing the election is of note since both institutions will have been dissolved by mid-July.

### List of Acronyms

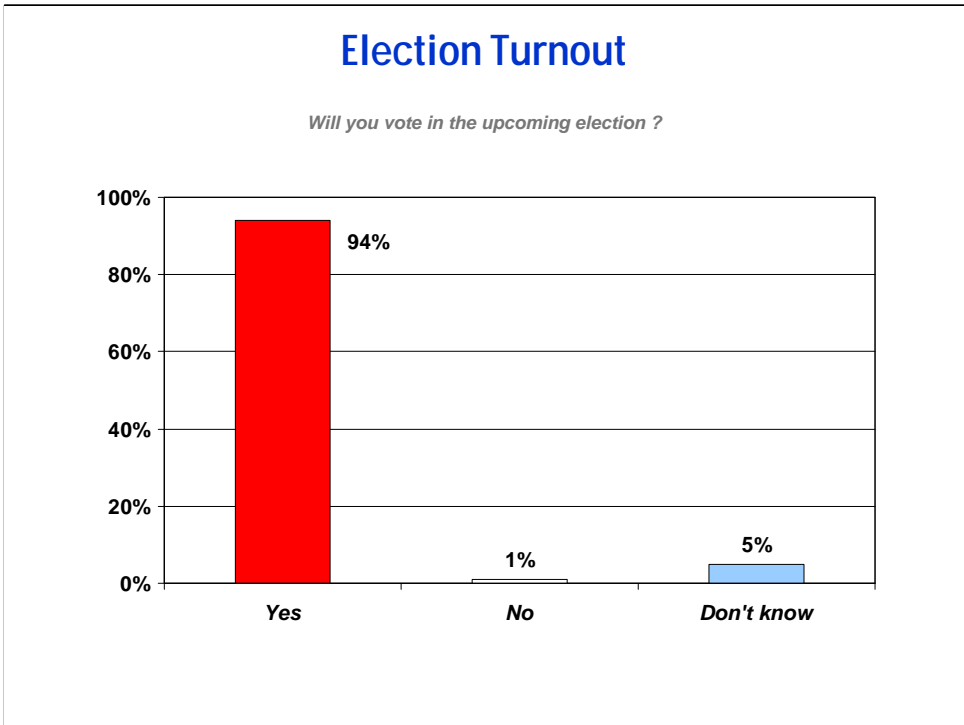
UNTAET: United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor  
 ETTA: East Timor Transitional Administration  
 CNRT: National Council of Timorese Resistance

## Objectives of the Election

*What do you think is the objective of the upcoming election?  
(Respondents could give more than one answer)*

<b>To choose the President</b>	<b>61%</b>
<b>To become fully independent</b>	<b>22%</b>
<b>To elect a Constituent Assembly (only answer given)</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>To elect a Constituent Assembly (in addition to other answers given)</b>	<b>20%</b>
<b>To vote on the constitution</b>	<b>8%</b>
<b>To return East Timor to prosperity</b>	<b>4%</b>
<b>Don't know / no answer</b>	<b>16%</b>

- Five months prior to the election, only 5% of eligible voters correctly stated that the election will be for a Constituent Assembly. While 25% mentioned electing the Constituent Assembly, only 5% knew that the election was *only* to elect a Constituent Assembly and for no other purpose.
- A large majority of eligible voters, 61%, erroneously believe that the upcoming election is for the presidency.
- The highest awareness of the Constituent Assembly elections was found among students (35%), the lowest among those over the age of 50 (19%).
- Exposure to media has not yet resulted in greater awareness of the purpose of the upcoming election. Only 26% of those who watch TV and listen to the radio correctly answered that the election was for the Constituent Assembly. While 36% of those who read newspapers and magazines correctly answered about the Constituent Assembly, approximately 70% of these people responded that the election was also for the presidency.



- A full 94% of respondents said that they would vote in the upcoming election, with almost no-one (only 11 respondents, 8 of whom are women) saying that he/she would not vote. This is perhaps not surprising given the almost universal turnout among eligible voters for the 1999 Popular Consultation.
- The only districts that included eligible voters who were hesitant to vote were Ainaro (with 17% saying no or don't know) and Covalima (16% no or don't know).
- Of the 11 people who answered that they would not vote, the majority explained that the reason for not voting was a lack of understanding about politics and political parties.



## Reasons for Voting

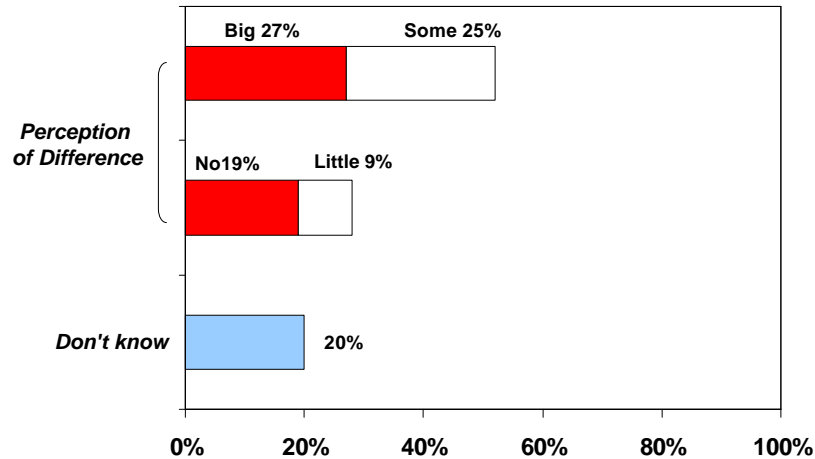
*What is the most important reason why you want to vote ?  
(Reasons cited by 5% or more potential voters)*

<b>To choose leaders</b>	<b>63%</b>
<b>Civic responsibility</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>Make changes</b>	<b>1%</b>
<b>Democracy</b>	<b>1%</b>
<b>Social pressure</b>	<b>1%</b>
<b>Don't know</b>	<b>4%</b>

- The high enthusiasm for the election appears to be due to a desire to choose leaders (cited by 63%), with 30% responding that voting is their civic responsibility. The enthusiasm for selecting leaders may well be a result of the fact that, as already noted, 61% of eligible voters think, erroneously, that the election is for the presidency.
- Encouragingly, 30% of respondents cited “civic responsibility” as a reason for voting since only 4% had referred to elections when asked about the meaning of democracy. Younger East Timorese are more likely to refer to voting as civic responsibility (cited by 39% of students) than older East Timorese (cited by 26% of those over 50 years of age).

## Expectations of the 2001 Election

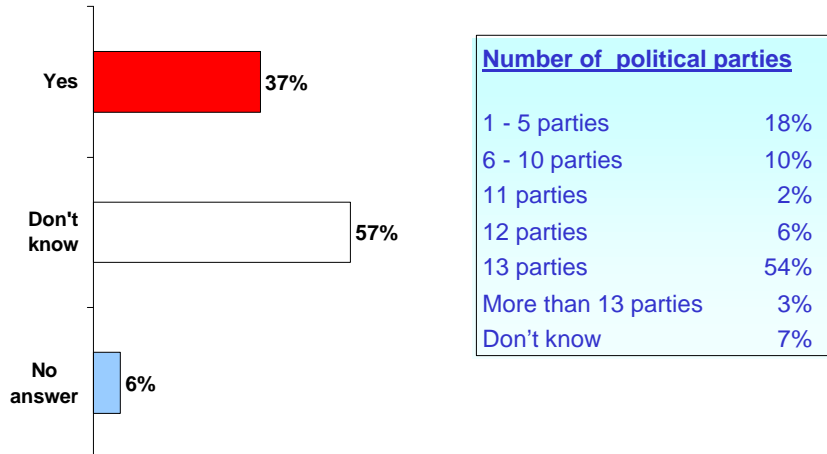
Do you think that voting in the election will make a big difference, some difference, little difference, or no difference at all ?



- 52% of the public said that voting in the 2001 election will make a difference. Of those, 27% believe that the election will make a big difference while an additional 25% said that the election would make some difference.
- Men are more optimistic about the impact of the election. 55% of men, as opposed to 45% of women, believe that the election will make a difference.
- Levels of education also correspond with people's perceptions of the impact of the election. 55% of students and those with at least a high school level of education believe that the election will make a difference, as opposed to 45% of those with no or little formal education.
- The highest levels of optimism regionally about the election are in Aileu (91% say that the election will make a difference), Viqueque (87%) and Oecussi (79%).
- Conversely, 87% of those in Liquica and 66% of those in Manufahi believe that the election will make little or no difference.

## Number of Political Parties

*Do you know how many political parties there are?  
If YES, how many?*



- At the time of conducting fieldwork, 12 political parties had been “launched” in East Timor (party registration for the election began on May 7). Only 6% of East Timorese knew that there were 12 political parties at that time (despite 37% stating that they knew). A significant 54% of those who responded that they knew how many parties there are replied “13” for reasons that are unclear.
- Those with the least knowledge about the number of political parties live in the four eastern districts of East Timor and Oecussi. 46% of those in Manatuto, 35% in Viqueque, 34% in Baucau, 20% in Lautem and 26% in Oecussi know of only 5 or fewer political parties.

## Election Concerns, August 2001

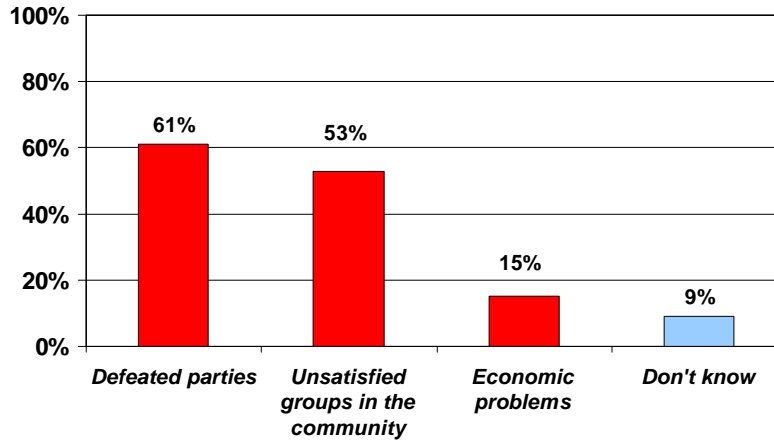
*I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections.  
For each one, tell me if you believe it might happen in the August election.*

<b>Riots or disorder</b>	<b>32%</b>
<b>Violence among party activists</b>	<b>25%</b>
<b>People left off the voter list</b>	<b>16%</b>
<b>Threats from officials</b>	<b>14%</b>
<b>Defeated parties will not accept the result</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>Media bias favoring a particular party</b>	<b>9%</b>
<b>Election officials cheating</b>	<b>5%</b>
<b>None of the above</b>	<b>42%</b>

- Riots and political-party-related violence are the two most prominent concerns identified related to the election process, with 32% of respondents citing riots and 25% concerned about party-related violence.
- More encouragingly, 42% of respondents have no specific concerns relating to the upcoming election.
- Once again, students (37%) and those under the age of 25 (32%) are most concerned about party-related violence, compared to only 15% of those over the age of 50.
- Those with access to media are more likely to cite concerns (riots, party-related violence, and even media bias) than those with no access.
- Concerns about riots were most commonly expressed in Ermera (56%), Viqueque (55%) and Baucau (50%), and party-related violence in Covalima (43%), Viqueque (39%) and Manatuto (39%).
- 74% of those in the enclave of Oecussi said that they had no election-related concerns.

## Main Cause of Riots or Disorders

*If riots or disorder happen, what or who will be the cause?  
(Asked only of those who answered "Riots or disorder" to the previous question.  
Respondents could answer more than once.)*

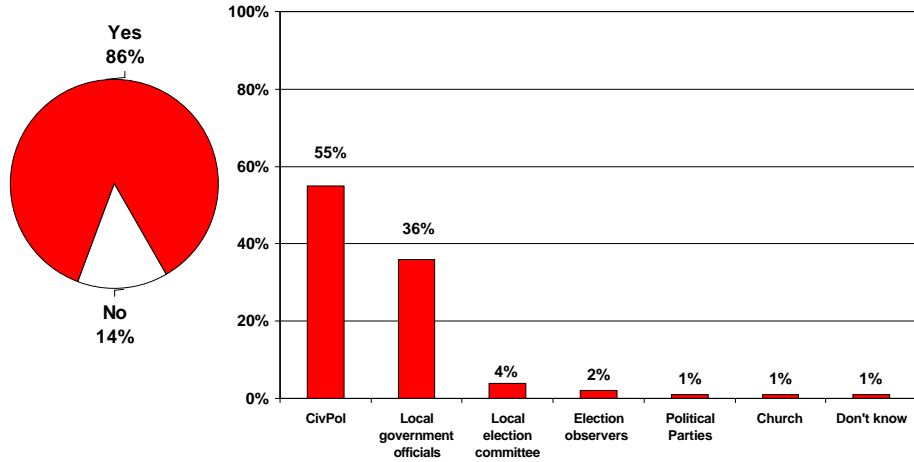


- Of the 32% of those polled who are fearful of riots and disorder associated with the upcoming election, 61% believe that the cause of these riots will be defeated parties and their supporters.
- Residents in eastern East Timor appear concerned about the possibility of violence from parties and their supporters who are not successful in the elections. 78% of respondents in Baucau (from this sample group), 71% in Lautem and 68% of respondents in Viqueque expressed such concern.

## Where to Report Election-related Problems

If there is a problem in your area during the August election, do you know where to report it?

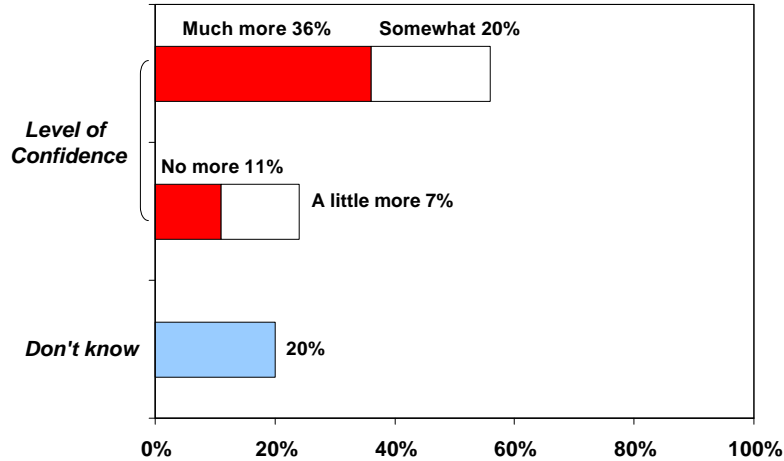
Where would you report it?  
(Asked only those who answered "Yes, I know where to report")



- 55%, or a majority of those who say they know where to report election related problems, said that they would report these problems to the police, known as CivPol (Civilian Police).
- Women, older and less educated East Timorese are more likely to report election related problems to local government officials, while men, younger and better educated East Timorese are more likely to report them to CivPol.

## Impact of Election Observers

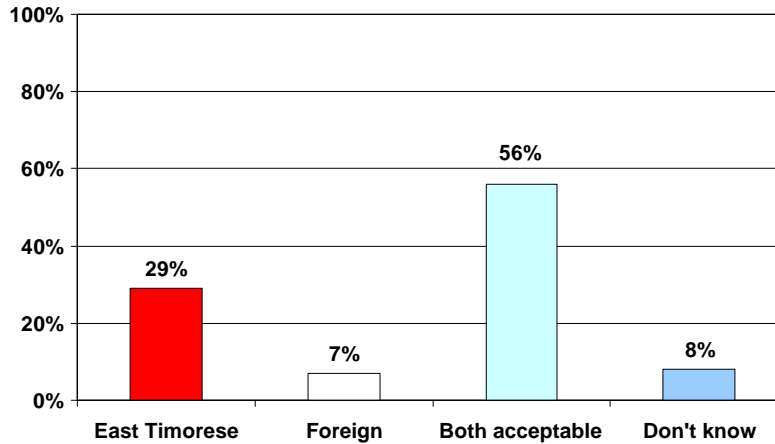
Would the presence of election observers make you much more confident, somewhat more confident, a little more confident, or no more confident that the election will be free and fair?



- 56% of respondents indicated that the presence of election observers would increase their confidence that the election will be free and fair.
- Respondents in the two major cities, Dili and Baucau, did not express great confidence in the role of election monitors. Only 19% of those in Dili and 23% of those in Baucau responded that the presence of election monitors made them feel much more confident that the election would be free and fair.
- The extent to which the presence of election observers will inspire much more confidence in a free and fair election is highest in Aileu (90%), Lautem (67%) and Viqueque (64%).

## Preferred Nationality of Observers

*Which election observers would you prefer: East Timorese, foreign, or are both acceptable?*



- A majority of East Timorese, 56%, are willing to accept both East Timorese and foreign election observers.
- Although all observers are accepted by a majority, of those who expressed a preference concerning the origin of election observers, the preference for East Timorese observers (29%) is far greater than for foreign observers (7%).
- In 6 districts (Aileu, Liquica, Manufahi, Manatuto, Oecussi and Viqueque) not one person polled expressed a specific preference for foreign election observers. However, in Aileu and Liquica both foreign and East Timorese observers were overwhelmingly acceptable (92% in Aileu and 86% in Viqueque).



## Voter Education Sources

*I will read out some information sources that might be used to inform about the election.  
Tell me whether you want to get information about the election from that source.*

	Source %
<i>Chefe de Suco</i> / Village head	62%
Radio	30%
General meeting of local citizens	25%
House visits by voter education groups	23%
Religious organizations	18%
Local community groups	12%
TV	9%
Newspaper / magazines	8%
From NGO representatives	6%
Political parties	2%
Women neighbors	2%

- Local leaders remain the preferred source of political information in East Timor, with 62% of respondents indicating that they would like to receive election information from the *Chefe de Suco* (Village Head).
- The media remain secondary sources. Even among those who watch TV, listen to radio and read newspapers or magazines/newsletters, the greatest preference is for receiving information from the *Chefe de Suco*. The personal approach seems to raise comfort and credibility levels.
- There is generally high acceptance for general meetings and house visits by independent groups. Those East Timorese over 50 years of age and those with little or no education listed such face-to-face exchanges as preferable to even the most accessible mass medium, which is radio.
- TV is no more popular than the combined print media as a source of election related information.
- TV, radio and the print media are far more popular as sources of election information among younger and better educated East Timorese, and slightly more popular among men than women.

## Organizational Involvement

Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.

	Organization %
Religious volunteer group	49%
Neighborhood association	18%
Youth group	13%
Environmental group	9%
School parents group	5%
NGO	4%
Non-religious charity group	3%
Trade union	3%
Student association	3%
Cooperative	1%
Do not belong to any organization	8%

# Part 4 : Media

## MEDIA - SUMMARY

- Radio is the most widely accessed medium in East Timor.
- Despite 34% illiteracy nationwide, more East Timorese are reading either newspapers or magazines and newsletters than are watching television.
- Younger and better educated East Timorese are listening to radio and watching television more often than those who are older and less educated.
- The eastern four districts of East Timor have particularly low levels of radio listenership.
- Radio UNTAET is clearly the most popular radio station in the country and is popular across all major demographic categories.
- Television viewership and VCD ownership is heavily concentrated in Dili.
- The peak time for watching television and listening to radio is 17:00 - 21:00.
- *Suara Timor Lorosa'e* (STL) is the most widely read newspaper in East Timor, with 72% of those who read a newspaper saying that they read STL most often.
- While *Tais Timor* is the most widely read periodical, East Timorese publications with much smaller print runs are more widely read in four districts.
- Tetum is the most widely spoken and understood language by those accessing media in East Timor.
- Indonesian is a practical language for use in media.

## Media Exposure

Medium	Ownership	Access	Frequent Access
TV	8%	21%	8%
Radio	39%	57%	35%
Newspaper	NA	30%	11%
Magazine / leaflet (1-3 times in a month)	NA	23%	14%
VCD (ownership)	4%	NA	NA

**Ownership:** those with working televisions, radios and VCDs in their house.

**Access:** those who own televisions and radios & those who can view / listen elsewhere

**Frequent access:** those accessing a particular medium three days a week or more

- Radio is the most widely accessible medium in East Timor. 39% of those polled have a working radio in their household and 57% listen to radio, either at home or at a friend or neighbor's house or local government office.
- Despite 34% illiteracy nationwide, more East Timorese are reading either newspapers (30%) or magazines and newsletters (23%) than are watching television (21%).
- Younger and better educated East Timorese are listening to radio and watching television more often than those who are older and less educated. 20% of students and 11% of those under the age of 25 are watching television almost every day, as opposed to only 3% of those over 50 and 2% of those with little or no formal education. 52% of students and 36% of those under the age of 25 are listening to the radio almost every day, as opposed to only 18% of those over 50 and 16% of those with little or no formal education.
- The eastern four districts of East Timor have low levels of radio listenership. 59% of those in Manatuto, 49% in Baucau, 44% in Viqueque never listen to the radio. (10% of those in Lautem say they never listen, but an additional 54% gave no answer as to whether they listen to the radio or not.)
- 32% of all those polled in Dili watch television almost every day. There is no other district where more than 6% of those polled watch television almost every day (for 10 districts the figure is 4% or less).
- 68% of those who have a VCD (Video Compact Disk) machine live in Dili.

## Multiple Media Access

<u>Already access to :</u>	TV	Radio	Newspaper	Magazine / Newsletter
<u>Also access to :</u>				
TV	100%	26%	33%	30%
Radio	87%	100%	78%	74%
Newspaper	60%	42%	100%	82%
Magazine / newsletter	41%	31%	63%	100%

The table above shows the extent to which those East Timorese with access to at least one medium have access to other media as well.

- Radio is the medium with by far the most dominant reach in East Timor. 87% of those East Timorese who watch television, 78% of those who read a newspaper and 74% of those who read a magazine or newsletter are also listening to radio.
- Conversely, of those who listen to radio, only 26% watch television, 42% read a newspaper and 31% read a magazine or newsletter.
- 63% of those who read a newspaper also read a magazine or newsletter.
- 82% of those who read a magazine or newsletter also read a newspaper.

## Language Ability of those with Media Access

	TV	Radio	Newspaper	Magazine / Newsletter
<b>National/int'l language</b>				
Tetum	99%	97%	93%	92%
Indonesian	88%	76%	88%	89%
Portuguese	19%	18%	22%	23%
English	6%	4%	6%	6%
<b>Local language</b>				
Mambae	30%	33%	11%	8%
Makasa'e	8%	9%	4%	5%
Bunak	2%	9%	2%	1%
Galolen	5%	5%	0%	0%
Baikeno	1%	4%	1%	1%
Fata luko	5%	3%	5%	6%
Tokodede	3%	7%	0%	0%
Tetum terik	1%	5%	0%	0%
Kairui	1%	2%	0%	1%
Kemak	1%	3%	2%	1%
Nau-eti	0%	1%	0%	0%

The table above shows the language ability of East Timorese by the medium that they are able to access.

- While Tetum is the most widely spoken and understood language in East Timor (please refer to the language section of this report), Indonesian is a useful language of communication for the media.
- Nearly all of the East Timorese who watch television and listen to the radio can understand Tetum (99% in the case of television, 97% in the case of radio). 93% of those who read newspapers and 92% of those who read magazines and newsletters can read Tetum.
- 88% of those who watch television and read newspapers can understand Indonesian (“understand” in the case of television, “read” in the case of newspapers).
- Three-quarters (76%) of those who listen to radio understand Indonesian -- a lower percentage of comprehension than for all other media.
- While local languages are widely spoken, only 11% of those who read a newspaper can read a local language, and only 8% of those who read a magazine or newsletter can read a local language.

## Favorite Programs

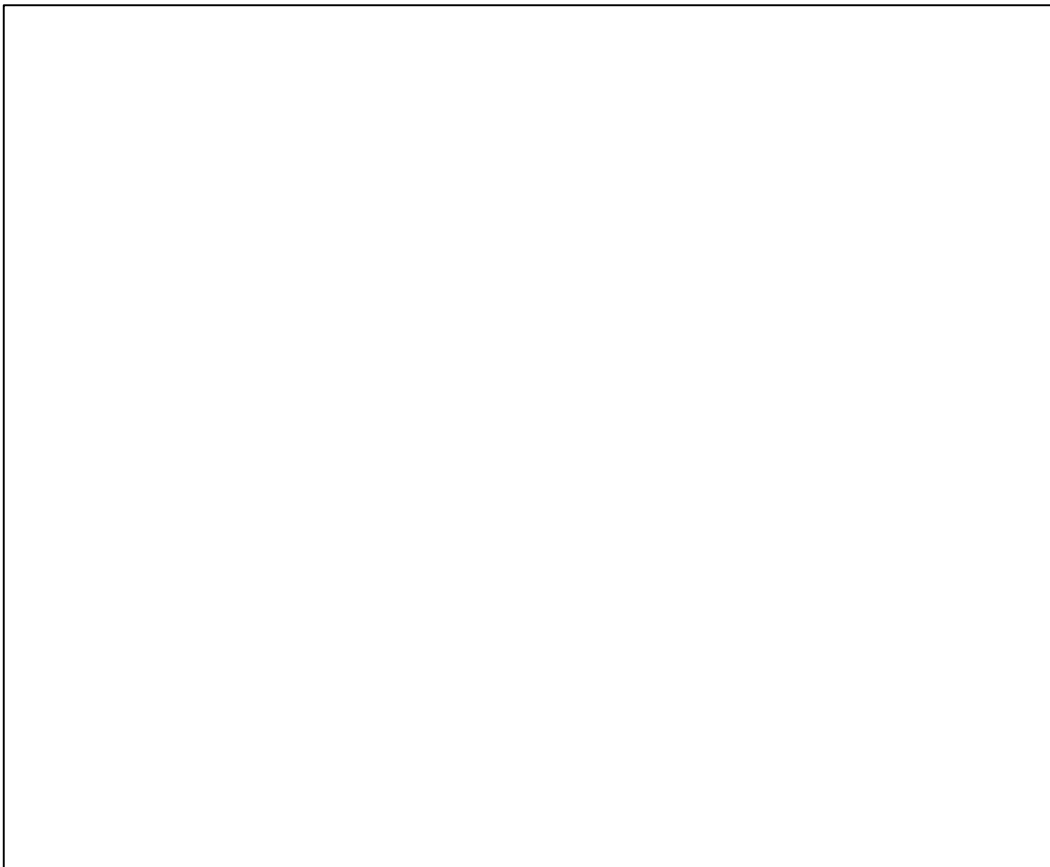
*Which TV / radio program is your favorite ?*

### TELEVISION

Program	%
TVFL news	81%
Other TV news	20%
Foreign films	11%
National / local music	10%
Drama / foreign serial TV films	8%
Sports	8%
Foreign music	5%
Talk shows / interviews / discussions	5%
RCTI (Indonesian TV channel)	4%
Religious programs	1%
Don't know / no answer	3%

### RADIO

%	Program
72%	UNTAET News
30%	Information / Radio News
28%	Music
6%	Traditional / Local performance
6%	Talk Shows / Interviews
3%	Radio plays
3%	Religious Programs
3%	"Listeners' choice"
2%	RTK (Church radio)
2%	Don't Know / No Answer





## Media Viewing / Listening Hours

*What time of day do you watch TV most often?  
What time of day do you listen to the radio?*

Time of Day	TV	Radio
05.00 -- 08.00	17%	39%
08.00 -- 12.00	13%	18%
12.00 -- 17.00	16%	8%
17.00 -- 21.00	51%	49%
21.00 -- 23.00	12%	8%
23.00 -- 05.00	0%	3%
Don't know	8%	8%

- The peak time for watching television is from 17:00 - 21:00, with just over half (51%) of all those who watch television saying that they watch in this time period.
- Men are more likely to watch television early in the morning (22%, as opposed to 11% of women) and late at night (16% as opposed to 11% of women). Women are more likely to watch TV during the day and not late at night. Approximately 10% more women than men watch TV from 12:00 - 21:00.
- The two peak listening times for radio are from 17:00 - 21:00 (49% of respondents) and 05:00 - 08:00 (39% of respondents) with an even gender balance.
- In four districts, Ermera, Liquica, Baucau, and Lautem, there is greater radio listenership in the morning (05:00 - 08:00).

## TV Station Most Often Watched

*Which TV station do you watch most often?*

Station	%
TVTL	79%
Indonesian satellite TV	6%
Portuguese satellite TV	2%
Satellite (not specific)	8%
Don't Know / No Answer	5%

- TVTL (*Televisaun Timor Lorosa'e*), as the only terrestrial and free television station in East Timor, is the station most often watched, cited by 79% of all respondents who watch television.
- Satellite television programming is more popular among young East Timorese: nobody over the age of 50 said s/he is watching satellite television most often.

## Radio Station Most Often Listened To

*Which radio station do you listen to most often?*

Station	%
Radio UNTAET	75%
Radio RTK	16%
Radio BBC	2%
Radio Falintil	1%
Radio Australia	1%
RTP (Portuguese radio)	1%
VOA (Voice Of America)	1%
Los Palos Community Radio	1%
Don't Know / No Answer	2%

- Radio UNTAET is clearly the most popular radio station in East Timor with 75% of those who listen to the radio citing that station as the one they listen to most often. Radio Timor Kmanek (RTK), the only other East Timor based radio station with almost universal national coverage, was second with 16%.
- Radio UNTAET was popular across all groups, with no major demographic category (age, education, gender, location) polling less than 70% popularity.
- RTK is most popular with youth: 20% of those under 25 years of age and students (who listen to the radio) cited RTK as the station they listen to most often. RTK is also more popular in central East Timor. 33% of those in Ermera, 23% in Manufahi, 22% in Liquica and 20% in Dili said that RTK is the station they listen to most often.
- Los Palos Community Radio is fairly popular in Lautem: 14% of those in that district who listen to radio cited their community radio station as the station they listen to most often. (At the time of survey field research, community radio stations existed only in Los Palos and Maliana, with no respondent from Bobonaro citing Maliana Community Radio as the station s/he listens to most often.)
- 96% of those who listen to radio in Covalima, and 94% of those who listen to radio in Oecussi, cite radio UNTAET as the radio station they listen to most often.

## Newspaper Readership

Which daily newspaper do you read most often?

Newspaper	%
Suara Timor Lorosa'e	72%
Timor Post	16%
Tais Timor	4%
Other	1%
Don't Know / No Answer	7%

- *Suara Timor Lorosa'e* (STL) is the most widely read newspaper in East Timor, with 72% of those who read a daily newspaper saying that they read STL most often. *Timor Post*, with a daily circulation of 1,000 as opposed to STL's 2,000, polled a distant second at 16%.
- STL has a stronger appeal among a younger audience. 83% of East Timorese under the age of 25 who read a paper said that they read STL most often, as opposed to 48% of those over the age of 50. Conversely, 10% of those under 25 years of age cite *Timor Post*, as opposed to 24% of those over 50.
- *Timor Post* is marginally more popular with women. 18% of women said that they read *Timor Post* most often, as opposed to 14% of men.
- Despite not being a daily newspaper, *Tais Timor* (produced bi-weekly) was cited by 4% of respondents.
- Younger East Timorese and those who have received more formal education are more likely to read a newspaper. Of those East Timorese who are literate, 52% of those over the age of 50 never read a newspaper. This is in comparison to 39% of those under the age of 25, 39% of those with at least a high school education, and 32% of students.
- Newspaper readership is greatest in central East Timor. Of those who are literate, 26% of respondents in Dili read a newspaper at least 3 or 4 days a week, as do 21% of those in Liquica and 14% of those in Aileu.

## Magazine / Newsletter Readership

What magazine / newsletter do you read most often?

Magazine / Newsletter	%
Tais Timor	43%
Talitakum	19%
Lian Maubere	7%
Direito	6%
Lalenok	3%
Beran	2%
La'o Hamutuk	2%
Lian Berlaka	3%
Any Leaflet	2%
Vanguardia	1%
Tolas	1%
Don't know	11%

- *Tais Timor*, produced bi-weekly by UNTAET's Office of Communication and Public Information and with a circulation of 100,000 at the time of the survey fieldwork in March, is the most widely read periodical in East Timor. 43% of East Timorese who read a magazine or newsletter read *Tais Timor*.
- *Tais Timor* has fairly even coverage across the country, although only 4% of those in Lautem said they read this publication as opposed to 72% in Covalima.
- *Tais Timor* is less popular with students (only 32% answering that they read *Tais Timor*).
- In several districts, smaller publications (with approximately 500-1,000 copies per edition or 1% of the *Tais Timor* print run) proved more popular than *Tais Timor*, for example: *Talitakum* (in Dili, Lautem and Liquica), *Lian Maubere* (Dili and Lautem), *Direito* (Ainaro) and *Lian Berlaka* (Ainaro).

## Principal News Sources

How do you normally get information about what is happening in East Timor and your community?

	Source %
Radio	35%
<i>Chefe de Suco</i> / Village Head	30%
Friends, family and neighbors	13%
Newspaper / Magazine / NGO leaflet	6%
TV	4%
Religious leaders / Bishop	4%
Don't know / No answer	8%

- 35% of respondents cited radio as the most popular source of general information -- more than any other source.
- There is a strong correlation between education and age and the extent to which East Timorese look to the *Chefe de Suco* as a source of information. Only 12% of students and 19% of those with a high school education or higher listed the *Chefe de Suco* as a source of information, as opposed to 40% of those over 50 years of age and 39% of those with little or no formal education.
- 56% of students receive information from the radio (as opposed to only 24% of those over 50 years of age and 26% of those with little or no formal education). Almost as many students cite TV (9%) as a source of information as they do the *Chefe de Suco* (12%).
- Those who read newspapers and magazines cite TV and radio with equal (in the case of TV) or greater (in the case of radio) preference as sources of information.
- While women rely on the *Chefe de Suco* and radio in equal percentages for information (31%), men favor radio over the *Chefe de Suco* by 38% to 28%.
- "Personal sources" such as *Chefe de Suco*, friends/family/neighbors also play a significant role in information dissemination.

# Part 5 : Language

## LANGUAGE

- The survey data confirm the strength of Tetum as a practical and preferred language. More East Timorese understand Tetum (91%) than any other language and can read and write Tetum (58%) than any other language.
- Tetum was overwhelmingly selected, by 80% of respondents, as the language of choice for election related information. Local languages were the second most popular choice at 17%, substantially more popular than Indonesian (3%).
- The use of local languages is strong and widespread: A majority of East Timorese (57%) identify a local language, other than Tetum, as their mother tongue. The remaining 43% cite Tetum. However, while 83% understand at least one local language, only 16% of East Timorese can read and write a local language.
- Portuguese is the only language that has a strong gender bias. While 21% of men can speak Portuguese and 19% can read Portuguese, this can only be said of 12% and 8% of women, respectively.
- Age is a significant determinant of language ability, with younger East Timorese relatively more proficient in Tetum, Indonesian and English and older East Timorese relatively more proficient in Portuguese.
- While 96% of those under 25 speak Tetum, this can be said of 77% of those over 50. 83% of those under 25 can speak Indonesian, as opposed to only 27% of those over 50. 27% of East Timorese between the ages of 35 and 50 can speak Portuguese, as opposed to only 11% of those under 25.
- Those East Timorese with little or no formal education rely far more heavily on Tetum and local languages (82% speak Tetum, 90% a local language). Just 6% of this group have Portuguese language ability and 32% of them can speak Indonesian.
- The level of illiteracy in East Timor is still extremely high (34%). Country-wide, 41% of women are illiterate, compared to 31% of men. Illiteracy is highest in Oecussi (69%) and lowest in Dili (20%) and Manatuto (18%).



## Languages: Comprehension / Preference

	Mother tongue	Speak	Read	Prefer / election info
Tetum	43%	91%	58%	80%
Indonesian	*	63%	54%	3%
Portuguese	*	17%	14%	*
Mambae	7%	24%	6%	1%
Makasa'e	12%	14%	2%	5%
Bunak	5%	9%	3%	1%
Galolen	7%	9%	1%	*
Baikeno	6%	6%	1%	4%
Fata luko	4%	5%	3%	3%
Tokodede	5%	5%	*	0%
Tetum terik	3%	5%	*	0%
Kairui	4%	4%	1%	1%
Kemak	2%	3%	1%	1%
Nau-eti	2%	2%	*	*
<b>Illiterate</b>			<b>34%</b>	
<b>Refused to answer</b>			<b>1%</b>	

\* refers to less than 1% of respondents

## Literacy by Age and Gender

	TOTAL	Male	Female
Literacy	65% *	69%	59%
<b>Literacy by age</b>			
Under 25 years	81%	82%	81%
25-34 years	76%	82%	71%
35-49 years	63%	64%	40%
50 years +	31%	39%	22%

\* refused to answer 1%

# Part 6 :

## Recommendations for Civic and Voter Education

## CIVIC EDUCATION -- RECOMMENDATIONS

**Target Group:** All voters

### **Emphasis:**

- Fundamental Concepts of Democracy. Few East Timorese know anything about democracy and none polled equate democracy with elections. 40% of respondents revealed basic knowledge of rights but there are limits to the support of rights of others (especially in regard to political party campaigning).
- Representative and Accountable Government. With the country's first democratic election approaching, a majority of East Timorese still view the government in paternalistic or authoritarian terms.
- The Benefits of Political Party Competition. Approximately half of the East Timorese polled are wary of political party competition.
- East Timor's Constitution. Few respondents know that a process is underway to draft East Timor's constitution -- one of the most important steps of which is the upcoming election.

### **Media:**

- Radio is the most effective medium to use (particularly between 17:00 and 21:00).
- There should also be a concentrated effort to educate and engage *Chefes de Suco* and to encourage public discussions at the village level.

### **Specific Target Groups:**

- Women in particular should be targeted for information on the fundamental concepts of democracy through village-based discussions.
- Equal political participation by men and women should be addressed more specifically with young East Timorese and women. Young East Timorese are more likely to access all media and understand Tetum and Indonesian, while radio and face-to-face discussions would be more appropriate for women.
- Programs in Oecussi should give extra attention to discussing the role of government and the constitutional drafting process. Given high illiteracy rates and low media coverage in the districts, public discussions should be used.
- East Timorese in Lautem, in particular, need information on East Timor's constitution. Public forums supplemented by radio would be most effective.
- While residents in Viqueque, Aileu, Liquica and Bobonaro feel most free to express their opinions, they are less likely to accept political parties expressing themselves. These districts, together with Dili and Baucau, would benefit from campaigns about political party competition. Media coverage is relatively high in these districts.

## VOTER EDUCATION -- RECOMMENDATIONS

**Target Group:** All voters

**Emphasis:**

- Civil Registration. Public knowledge about civil registration is an immediate priority given the fact that one-third of respondents are unaware of the civil registration and that the deadline for eligible voters to register is June 24.
- Who will organize the election. Voters also need information about who is organizing the election (given the recent creation of the Independent Electoral Commission).
- The purpose of the upcoming election. Only 5% of respondents know the answer.
- Information on the parties who register and why political party campaigning is beneficial. There is little knowledge nationwide of the political parties that currently exist and little tolerance for competition between them.

**Media:**

- Radio is the most effective medium to use (particularly between 17:00 and 21:00).
- There should also be a concentrated effort to educate and engage *Chefes de Suco* and to encourage public discussions at the village level.

**Specific Target Groups:**

- Information on Civil Registration and the election is critically needed in the more remote eastern and western districts. Unless media coverage can be rapidly improved, this information must be provided in public meetings or door-to-door.
- Older East Timorese should also be targeted for civil registration and election information. Older East Timorese have less access to media and are less likely than younger East Timorese to speak Indonesian, so a face-to-face approach using Tetum or a local language is needed.
- Programs should engage the political parties themselves to address the concerns of East Timorese in the four eastern districts about party competition and the potential for violence.
- Anti-violence initiatives should engage women, younger East Timorese, and students prior to the election. Younger East Timorese access a variety of media and are more likely than women nationwide to speak Indonesian and Tetum.
- Women and those in the western districts of Liquica, Ainaro, Covalima and Manufahi should be targeted concerning the benefits of participating in the election process.
- Information about the role of election observers should focus primarily on Dili and Baucau. While Dili enjoys good media coverage, relatively speaking, more direct approaches are needed in Baucau.

# Part 7: Demographics

## Demographics of Respondents

	TOTAL	Male	Female
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	50%	100%	-
Female	50%	-	100%
<b>Age</b>			
Under 25 years	23%	22%	25%
25-34 years	36%	33%	39%
35-49 years	27%	30%	24%
50 years +	14%	15%	12%

## Demographics of Respondents

	TOTAL	Male	Female
<b>Marital Status</b>			
Single	26%	28%	23%
Married	74%	72%	77%
<b>Education (highest level attained)</b>			
Never been to school	33%	28%	39%
Primary school incomplete	15%	15%	13%
Primary school complete	11%	14%	9%
Junior high school	20%	19%	20%
Senior high school	18%	21%	16%
University / Academy	3%	3%	3%

## Demographics of Respondents

	TOTAL	Male	Female
<b>Occupation</b>			
Farmer (own land) / tenant farmer	51%	55%	38%
Farm laborer (other's land)	20%	21%	15%
Laborer, domestic, or unskilled worker	5%	4%	9%
Skilled worker / artisan	5%	5%	5%
Small business owner	5%	4%	11%
Sales or office worker	3%	2%	3%
Professional or technician	3%	3%	4%
Informal sales / business	2%	1%	3%
Military / police	1%	1%	2%
NGO staff	1%	1%	2%
Don't know/ No answer	4%	3%	8%

## Demographics of Respondents

	TOTAL	Male	Female
<b>Economic Activity</b>			
Working / earn salary	42%	64%	20%
Housewife	30%	0%	58%
Student	9%	8%	9%
Retirement	1%	1%	1%
Not working / looking for work	17%	26%	11%
Don't know	1%	1%	1%
<b>Income per month</b>			
Over Rp 2,000,000	2%	2%	1%
Rp 1,000,000 - Rp 2,000,000	2%	2%	2%
Rp 500,000 - Rp 1,000,000	5%	6%	5%
Rp 250,000 - Rp 500,000	3%	4%	2%
Below Rp 250,000	30%	33%	27%
Don't know/ refused	58%	53%	63%

## Demographics of Respondents

	TOTAL	Male	Female
<b>Religion</b>			
Catholic	97%	97%	96%
Christian - Protestant	2%	2%	2%
Islam	*%	*%	*%
Hindu	*%	0%	*%
Don't know / no answer	*%	*%	*%

\* : less than 0,5%

## Demographics of Respondents

	TOTAL	Male	Female
<b>District</b>			
Aileu	4%	4%	4%
Ainaro	5%	5%	5%
Baucau	14%	14%	14%
Bobonaro	9%	9%	9%
Covalima	6%	6%	6%
Dili	14%	14%	14%
Ermera	11%	11%	11%
Lautem	7%	7%	7%
Liquica	6%	6%	6%
Manatuto	4%	4%	4%
Manufahi	5%	5%	5%
Oecussi	6%	6%	6%
Viqueque	8%	8%	8%