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IWDA INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

Australian Aid

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN TIMOR-LESTE

WAVE
WOMEN'S ACTION FOR VOICE & EMPOWERMENT

MAY 2020
RESEARCH REPORT

Photo: Zulmira Fonseca C. Amaral, potential candidate from Viqueque
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Photo: International Women's Day march in Dili, Timor-Leste, 2019
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NOTE ON TRANSLATION

It is difficult to get any translation exact, especially when working across multiple locations, in multiple languages and with limitations of time and resources. Some of the translations from English to Tetun in this research introduced different nuances. For this reason, the English questions shown in the report follow the Tetun translations rather than the original questions as shown at Appendix 1.

Data from some questions has not been used in this report due to issues of ambiguity relating to translation. There may be some discrepancies in language and terminology used and some of the findings may remain open to interpretation depending on understanding of specific terms in Tetun. Questions relating to this can be directed to IWDA or Alola Foundation. The Tetun language version of this report will be available in July 2020.

Photo: Sra. Francisca da Costa, potential candidate from Laga © Alola Foundation / Fransisco Guterres

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Context

The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste regained independence on 20 May 2002 following a prolonged period of colonisation and armed conflict.[1] The creation of a new nation state was seen by many as an opportunity to establish equality between women and men. The Constitution of Timor-Leste, written at this time, formalises gender equality in relation to political, economic and social life. Successive governments have ratified global conventions endorsing gender equality and put in place legislative frameworks designed to meet these international commitments.

Previous research suggests that, in spite of the positive legislative frameworks, there are important formal and informal factors influencing women's opportunities in Timor-Leste. Timorese and international researchers describe an environment in which gender roles are relatively inflexible, with women commonly expected to take responsibility for domestic and caring work and men largely expected to be active in the public realm. Gender norms and public perceptions of women's capacity for leadership have a significant influence on women's participation in public decision making. Research in this field is relatively recent and there is limited data in relation to Asia and the Pacific region.

Representation of women at national level in Timor-Leste has been relatively high, this is partly because of legislation requiring political parties to include women on electoral lists. Since independence, between 27% and 40% of parliamentary seats have been held by women, an outstanding result for the region and globally. The situation is different at sub-national level, however. Women are much less likely than men to be available as candidates for the 'village chief' role and very few women have been elected. There has been success in increasing the number of women running for local positions, but currently, less than 5% of all village chiefs in Timor-Leste are women. Women therefore have significantly less influence and formal authority at sub-national level than men.

Research purpose

This report outlines the findings of a study investigating public perceptions of political leadership and of women as political leaders in Timor-Leste in 2018-19. The research was part of a broader study also taking place in Cambodia and Solomon Islands and building on previous work conducted in Fiji. The purpose of the study was to deepen understanding of public perceptions of political leadership and of the gender norms associated with these perceptions. The research questions guiding the study in Timor-Leste were:

1. **What public views on the capacity of women to be political leaders are held by people, including women and men?[2]**
2. **How have public perceptions of women as leaders been influenced by gender norms?**
3. **How do public perceptions of leadership influence the opportunities and challenges for women who wish to become leaders?**
4. **What public views are there on how to create an enabling environment to support the meaningful participation of women as leaders?**

The research was planned as a mixed methods study. The project consisted of a survey with community members on political leadership and gender, focus group discussions on these issues in the same communities and interviews with key informants. The research took place in three municipalities including the capital, Dili. Two hundred and forty (240) surveys were completed, 18 focus groups were conducted and 13 key informants were interviewed between November 2018 and February 2019.

Findings

Perceptions of leadership amongst research participants appeared to be informed not only by ideas of what is desirable in a leader, but by previous and current examples of leaders. Data from the research suggests that women were

[1] Timor-Leste had a brief period of Independence from November 28 - December 7, 1975 between Portugal ceding sovereignty and invasion by Indonesian forces.

[2] Alola Foundation and IWDA refer to designations of women and men acknowledging that these categories are not fixed and recognising diversities in gender identity.

perceived as having the characteristics necessary for leadership but not necessarily the experience – that is, the skills and abilities to be political leaders. Women were perceived to be intelligent, honest and hardworking but not necessarily strategic or decisive. Confirming research by others, there was a strong association of women with the domestic and community spheres and an expectation that women should be 'kind', 'caring' and focussed on vulnerable people within their communities. Women can be leaders – but they must be home-makers first.

Alongside these perceptions, there was some public recognition of the structural barriers to women assuming political leadership roles. Many participants acknowledged that the heavy load of domestic responsibility, economic barriers and Timor-Leste culture-specific factors are significant impediments to women wishing to take on public roles. There was less awareness of the informal barriers created by perceptions and norms. At times, participant views on these issues appeared to be somewhat contradictory.

Data from the research supports previous studies suggesting that most people in Timor-Leste are aware that women and men are equal by law. The research also suggests, however, that there is some complexity in how this stated 'belief in' gender equality translates in terms of support for women at elections and in political processes more generally. The findings suggest that whilst people may see that women 'can become' leaders (that is, they are legally permitted to), they are not quite sure if they are 'capable of' political leadership.

The research suggests two areas of consideration for advocates of gender equality in Timor-Leste. The first relates to working with communities to increase awareness of gender stereotypes, the differing expectations held of women and men and the harmful consequences of these. Women are commonly expected to be 'humble,' 'calm' and 'caring,' qualities not necessarily associated with political leadership. There is a strong association of women with the domestic sphere, while men are strongly associated with the public sphere. As a consequence of these stereotypes, expectations of women political leaders in Timor-Leste may therefore be both contradictory and more difficult to fulfil than those of men. In general people responded that it would be ok for women to assume leadership positions, but they must not neglect their domestic duties.

Related to this, the idea of unconscious bias may also be helpful in exploring apparent contradictions in public views about women as political leaders. Unconscious or implicit biases are prejudices about certain social groups formed by people outside their conscious awareness. These prejudices can be incompatible with conscious values held by people. This may help explain why a large majority of respondents in this research (75%) agreed that "women have sufficient qualities to be a leader" but a similar proportion (70%) agreed that "men make better leaders."

Strategies for increasing public support for women in political leadership

The report concludes with a list of strategies for increasing women's political leadership at local level and political participation more broadly. These strategies were developed by the research team and added to through conversations with representatives of civil society in Timor-Leste.

There is an emphasis on positive opportunities for action, including making visible the important contributions women have made and are continuing to make in the modern nation state. 'Culture' and customs undeniably create barriers to women's political participation in present-day Timor-Leste. However, 'culture' and gender norms are continually in flux and this presents opportunities. Many of these strategies are already in use by civil society representatives.

It is hoped that the strategies outlined in this report are practical, achievable measures for increasing women's political leadership and supporting a more inclusive, gender-equal political leadership in the future.

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality in political leadership is endorsed as a priority in multiple international conventions and global agreements, including the 2030 *Agenda for Sustainable Development.*[3] These agreements require nations to put in place measures to ensure equal participation by women and men in political leadership as a prerequisite for sustainable global development. In spite of these widely endorsed commitments, women's participation in political leadership and decision making is significantly lower than that of men at national and sub-national levels in most countries.[4]

Research in recent decades has drawn attention to the formal and informal barriers to women's equal participation in political leadership.[5] Formal or structural barriers include discriminatory electoral laws, political party practices that favour men and important differences between women and men in relation to access to education and resources. Informal barriers, less visible yet highly influential, include public perceptions of political leadership and of women's capacity for leadership.[6] Research on the influence of public perceptions on women's electoral success is recent and there is limited data on this topic in relation to Asia and the Pacific region.

This report outlines the findings of research investigating public perceptions of women as political leaders in Timor-Leste in 2018-19. The research was part of a broader study also taking place in Cambodia and Solomon Islands and building on previous work conducted in Fiji in 2014. The purpose of the study was to deepen understanding of public perceptions of political leadership and gender norms associated with these. It is hoped that findings from this research will assist all those working to increase the participation of women in political leadership in Timor-Leste, the other countries where the research took place and beyond.

Women in Timor-Leste

Timor-Leste was a Portuguese colony between 1702 and 1975. Researchers suggest that, prior to colonisation, women and men may have had complementary political roles. Further, there have been historical periods in which women had more significant political and diplomatic power than men.[7] However, it is well established that the process of colonisation introduced high levels of sexual and labour exploitation of women and that this endured throughout the colonial period.[8]

Timor-Leste had a brief period of Independence between 28 November, 1975, when Portugal ceded sovereignty, and 7 December of the same year, when Indonesian forces invaded. Indonesia went on to occupy Timor-Leste for 24 years. Timorese women played important logistical, armed and diplomatic roles during this military occupation.[9] The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste regained independence on 20 May 2002 following this prolonged period of armed conflict.

The creation of a 'modern' state in 2002 was seen by many as an opportunity to establish equality between women and men. The Constitution of Timor-Leste formalises equality "in all areas of family, political, economic, social and cultural life."[10] Timor-Leste has ratified global conventions

[3] Adopted by all United Nations member states in 2015, the *2030 Agenda* calls for "women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life." Sustainable Development Goal 5, Target 5.5 at https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg5.

[4] See https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=3&year=2020 for the percentage of women in national parliaments worldwide.

[5] See the body of work produced in the two year 'Women's voice and leadership in decision-making' project led by Overseas Development Institute (2014-16) for a detailed list of literature on this topic.

[6] Pilar Domingo, *Women's voice and leadership in decision making: assessing the evidence* (London, Overseas Development Institute, 2015).

[7] See Hans Hägerdal and Douglas Kammen, 'The lost queens of Timor' in *Women and the politics of gender in post-conflict Timor-Leste*, ed. by Sara Niner (London: Routledge Publishing, 2016), pp. 17-45.

[8] Sofi Ospina and Isabel de Lima, 'Participation of women in politics and decision making in Timor-Leste: a recent history,' Dili, UNIFEM, 2006, p.10.

[9] Ospina, p.7.

[10] Republica Democratica de Timor-Leste, Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, 2002. Section 17: *"Women and men shall have the same rights and duties in all areas of family, political, economic, social and cultural life."*

endorsing gender equality and put in place legislative frameworks designed to meet these commitments.[11] The current *Strategic Development Plan 2011-2030* makes several statements of commitment to gender equality and envisions Timor-Leste in 2030 as a "gender-fair society where human dignity and women's rights are valued, protected and promoted by our laws and culture".[12] The government has established a range of mechanisms for gender mainstreaming, including an agency to provide strategic support for this work (Secretary of State for Equality and Inclusion or SEII, previously SEPI and SEIGIS).[13]

Despite these formal commitments, there are significant disparities in the lived experience of women and men in Timor-Leste. The most recent general gender assessment undertaken by Asian Development Bank in collaboration with the Government of Timor-Leste (2014) shows that women are less likely than men to have undertaken formal education, less likely to participate in the formal labour force and, due in large part to a high birth rate, experience much poorer health than men.[14] Violence against women and girls is high and women are much less likely than men to participate in public decision making, particularly at sub-national level.[15] The assessment describes a society in which gender roles are relatively inflexible, with women commonly expected to take responsibility for domestic and caring work and men largely expected to be active in the public realm, both in terms of work and in relation to decision making. The report suggests that the 'assigning' of women to the domestic sphere and men to the public sphere has been strongly reinforced over time by the values of the Catholic Church, to which the overwhelming majority of the population belongs.[16]

Political interest in documenting and formally acknowledging the role of women during the fight for independence has been low. The political leadership in Timor-Leste since 2002 has been described as being dominated by a military 'elite': men who played highly visible leadership and combat roles during the resistance.[17] Whilst this is changing, feminist observers suggest that local women who similarly "played a courageous and committed role in the struggle for independence have been pushed aside, their critical ideas and contributions under-valued."[18] Researcher Sara Niner argues that the lack of formal recognition for the contribution of women to independence affects how women are perceived in present-day Timor-Leste and has profound implications for gender dynamics in the new nation state.[19]

Timor-Leste has an active women's movement with multiple NGOs working in the prevention of violence against girls and women, strengthening women's participation in leadership, advocating on issues that affect the lives of women and working on social justice issues more broadly. Rede Feto, the 'women's network', has around 35 member organisations including most active civil society organisations.

Women and political leadership at national level

The national government in Timor-Leste comprises a single chamber parliament with a presidential head of state. There are 65 seats covering 12 municiapalities, with the Special Administrative Zone of Oecusse administered separately. Members of Parliament are drawn from a popular vote for candidates, primarily based on political party membership though there are a small number of independent candidates. Members do not represent specific geographical areas and act on behalf of the entire population.

Local women's groups and international development partners advocated strongly for temporary special measures for women to be put in place in the first national election, proposing a 30% quota for parliamentary seats. Although this was not successful, 25 women were elected in the first

[11] These include the Convention on the *Elimination of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW), ratified in 2003.

[12] Republica Democratica de Timor-Leste, *Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan 2011-2030*, p. 48.

[13] See http://seii.gov.tl/.

[14] See Asian Development Bank, *Timor-Leste Country Gender Assessment*, (Manila, ADB, 2014). This report was coordinated by the then Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality (SEPI) with support from ADB and UN Women and is the most recent general assessment of gender issues in Timor-Leste.

[15] Asian Development Bank, pp. xiii-xiv.

[16] Asian Development Bank, p.xiii.

[17] Sara Niner, '*Hakat klot*, narrow steps: negotiating gender in post-conflict Timor-Leste', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(3), 2011, 413-435, p.413.

[18] Jacqueline Siapno, 'Bitter taste of victory', *Inside Indonesia* 88 , July 2007. See also ADB p.8 and Ospina, p.7.

[19] Sara Niner, 'Reflection on the special gender stream: 2017 Timor-Leste Studies Association conference', Australian Journal of South-East Asian Studies, 10 (2), 2017, 1-5, p.1.

parliamentary elections for the nation of Timor-Leste (2002). Following consistent lobbying by advocates for gender equality, legislation was introduced in 2006 requiring political parties to include a minimum number of women on their candidate lists at national elections.[20] This legislation was amended in 2011, requiring parties to include one woman for every three candidates.[21] This remains the current legislation in relation to national elections in Timor-Leste.

As a consequence of this legislation, the proportion of women in parliament has been high both in global terms and, particularly, in Asia and the Pacific region.[22] Since becoming a nation, Timor-Leste has had between 27% and 40% women in parliament. At the time of this report, 25 of the 65 seats in parliament (38.5 %) are held by women, placing Timor-Leste in the top 24 countries globally.[23] For this reason, Timor-Leste is commonly cited as an exemplar in relation to women's representation in parliament.

This level of representation is a significant achievement. Nevertheless, advocates for gender equality in political decision making recommend a degree of caution in making assumptions based on numerical representation. It is well established that representation alone does not guarantee influence.[24] Some women MPs have reported that their participation and influence in parliament at times can be constrained by parliamentary and political party dynamics.[25] Reporting on the state of play in 2014, the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality suggested that it is "important to go beyond representation to ensuring women play an active role."[26]

In spite of the relatively high number of women in parliament, observers argue that the face of political leadership in Timor-Leste remains overwhelmingly male.[27] At independence, many of the people elected as members of Parliament and appointed to senior political roles were men who had played visible roles during the fight for independence.[28] Women who had been active in the resistance fought hard to be included in national building processes but were not always given the opportunity.[29] Timorese feminists have argued that because political interest in formally acknowledging the role of women during the resistance has been low, women have not been similarly 'rewarded' with political leadership roles.[30]

Women and political leadership at local level

The administrative divisions of government below the national government, in decreasing scale, are: municipalities (formerly known as districts), sub-districts, suku (villages) and aldeia (sub-villages or hamlets). At present, the two levels at which community members can be elected as political leaders are the suku and aldeia.

There is no legislation equivalent to the parliamentary quota system at the sub-national level. A process of 'decentralisation' has been undertaken by the government since independence to recognise and incorporate forms of governance that have existed in Timor-Leste prior to and outside 'state' administration. Researchers suggest that historical sources of political legitimacy at the village level remain significant and that communities in present-day Timor-Leste engage with 'traditional' and 'modern' forms of authority simultaneously.[31] The co-existence of 'customary' and formalised forms of governance in Timor-Leste is often referred to as 'hybrid' and is seen by many researchers as central to understanding socio-political legitimacy.

[20] See Ospina and de Lima for a detailed history of women's national representation from 1999-2006.

[21] Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, *Law No. 6/2006 of 28 December: Law on the Election of the National Parliament*.

[22] See http://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/countries/timor-leste.

[23] As at December 2019. See https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=9&year=2019.

[24] See Domingo, p.30.

[25] Susan Marx, 'Can Timor-Leste's gender quota system ensure women's participation in politics?' Dili, Asia Foundation, 2012.

[26] Asian Development Bank, p.93.

[27] See Sara Niner, 'Women and power in Timor's elections,' New Mandala, 21 July 2017.

[28] Sara Niner, '*Hakat klot*, narrow steps: negotiating gender in post-conflict Timor-Leste', I*nternational Feminist Journal of Politics*, 13(3) (2011), 413-435, p.413.

[29] Irena Cristalis and Catherine Scott, *Independent women: the story of women's activism in East Timor* (London: Catholic Institute for International Relations, 2005).

[30] Ospina and de Lima, p.7. See also Teresa Cunha, 'Beyond the Timorese nationalist orthodoxy: the 'herstory' of Bi-Murak' in *Women and the politics of gender in post-conflict Timor-Leste*, ed. by Sara Niner (London: Routledge Publishing, 2016), Ch.3.

[31] See Deborah Cummins, 'Democracy or democrazy? Local experiences of democratization in Timor-Leste,' *Democratization*, 17(5), 2010, 899-919 and Anne Brown, 'Entangled worlds: villages and political community in Timor-Leste,' *Local Global*, 11, 2013, 54-71.

Discussion about women's political leadership at the sub-national level in Timor-Leste to date has focussed on the suku. Under the process of decentralisation, various pieces of legislation have been developed to formalise local level leadership. Some of this legislation, including a law passed in 2016, makes some provisions for women's participation and influence. Under the current (2016) legislation, the composition of each suku council requires at least one woman delegate from each aldeia and, importantly, at least one woman candidate for the Xefe Suku (suku chief) role.[32] The introduction of this legislation has seen a notable increase in women coming forward as candidates.

In the most recent suku elections (2016), 319 women participated, compared to 15 women in 2009 and 66 women in 2004.[33] The number of women elected as suku chiefs in 2016 was 21 or 4.7% (compared to 11 women in 2009 and 7 women in 2004).[34] This is a significant increase from the previous election and the consequence of long term advocacy by women's rights advocates in Timor-Leste.[35] Nevertheless, the proportion of women in local leadership in Timor-Leste is still extremely low.

According to researchers, sources of authority for local leaders include reputation derived from resistance activity, 'traditional' status in the local context and political party affiliation.[36] These factors overwhelmingly favour candidates who are men. While surveys suggest that gender equality as an idea is widely supported in Timor-Leste, gender norms operating in both formal and informal settings have a significant influence on the chances of women candidates in local elections.[37] Timorese activist Nurima Alkatiri suggests that, in some settings,

> The concept of gender equality is still not properly understood … and many times seen as "women's issues to be dealt by women" and "against local traditions and culture."[38]

Further, although the number of women on suku councils and in suku leadership roles has increased recently, some women who have successfully been elected to suku councils have reported being excluded from the opportunities available to men on the council and from many of the informal decision-making processes that take place at the local level.[39]

Nevertheless, writers also suggest that the current legislation covering suku elections has made new dynamics in village elections possible. They argue that, in present-day Timor-Leste, there is a desire for leadership that embraces both historically familiar practices and the principles of a modern state. In this context, the legislation creates the potential for "a new, unpredictable element" in local elections, with implications for women who aspire to leadership roles.[40]

Previous perceptions research

The research discussed in this report sought to increase understanding of current ideas and ideals in relation to local political leadership and the gender norms influencing these. There is limited existing English language research on public views of women and political leadership in Timor-Leste.

Local NGOs Alola Foundation and HAK Association were commissioned to observe the 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections. They reported:

> Even though the law guarantees the women's participation in the politics, however in practice equality between men and women has not yet been achieved. (…) Given Timor-Leste's history in which the patriarchal system has been adapted for so many years, this has become an impediment for women to move forward and a challenge for women to compete with men in politics.[41]

[32] Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, *Law No. 9/2016 the 8 of July Law of Sucos*, 2016, Article 10 and Article 65.

[33] International Women's Development Agency (IWDA), Alola Foundation and ALFeLa, *Women's Action for Voice and Empowerment (WAVE) Timor Leste Baseline Report*, 2017, p.28.

[34] As at December 2019, the number of sukus has increased from 442 to 452 and the number of women leaders has increased from 21 to 22, giving a current proportion of 4.8%.

[35] Figures (22 women of 452 suku leaders) supplied by Alola Foundation October 2019. In the 2009 elections women gained 2.5% of suku leadership roles and 1% of aldeia leadership roles. See Fundação Pátria, Asosiasaun FADA and Plan International Timor-Leste, *Women's Participation in Suku Level Governance*, 2015, p.43.

[36] See Cummins, pp.85-95 and Ann Wigglesworth, 'Dreaming of a different life: steps towards democracy and equality in Timor-Leste', Ellipsis (10), 2012, pp. 35-53.

[37] See public opinion surveys conducted by The Asia Foundation 2013-16 and by the International Republican Institute 2017-18.

[38] Nurima Alkatiri, 'Gender equality in Timor-Leste: the need for investment towards change of mindset.' *SOCDEM Asia Quarterly* 6(1), 2017, p.33.

[39] See Cummins, p.89, Brown, p.67 and Wigglesworth, pp.577-578.

[40] Brown, pp.64-67.

[41] Fundasaun Alola and HAK Association, 'Observation Results: Women's participation in the 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections,' Fundasaun Alola, Dili, p.11 (slightly edited). Available from IWDA.

Public opinion surveys conducted by The Asia Foundation between 2013 and 2016, known as *Tatoli!* ("A message!"), sought views on 'national mood' and the performance of the government but did not focus on women and leadership until the fifth and final survey. This survey reported findings as follows:

- Support for more women in politics was high across the board with 86% of respondents believing it would be "good" if more women entered politics in Timor-Leste
- Despite a positive attitude toward more women in politics, nearly one third of respondents (32%) believed the reason there are not more women in leadership positions was a lack of qualified female candidates
- Only half of respondents held the view that a woman could be elected as prime minster of president, or "any public office", while 12% of respondents felt the highest office a woman could potentially hold is that of xefe suku.[42]

Similar surveys conducted by International Republican Institute in 2017 and 2018 provide some contextual data on voter views of the electoral process and candidates.[43] Both surveys found that a majority of people agreed that "women are as capable as men to serve in elected positions in government" (82% in 2017, 70% in 2018). When asked if they would vote for a woman or a man if choosing between two candidates who otherwise had "the same qualifications," about half of respondents in 2017 (54%) and over one third in 2018 (37%) said it "made no difference" to them. Both the 2016 Asia Foundation and the 2017 IRI reports suggest that perceptions of candidates' roles in the independence movement played a bigger role in voters' decision making than "specific experience or qualifications to hold office."[44]

Whilst not focussed on public perceptions of women as political leaders per se, other relevant research includes a 2015 study on women's participation in suku level governance conducted by NGOs Fundação Pátria and Asosiasaun FADA in partnership with Plan International.[45] A Masters thesis conducted by Timorese researcher Francisca De Sousa in 2016 also provides valuable insights into the complex context of perceptions within which women candidates operate in Timor-Leste.[46]

Research purpose

The purpose of the Public Perceptions research in Timor-Leste was to deepen understanding of (a) public perceptions of the qualities of and qualifications for political leadership and (b) gender norms associated with these perceptions. The study was intended to provide a further source of information about perceptions at the village level in particular where many advocates for gender equality are seeking to bring about change.

The research questions guiding the study in Timor-Leste were:

1. **What public views on the capacity of women to be political leaders are held by people, including women and men?**
2. **How have public perceptions of women as leaders been influenced by gender norms?**
3. **How do public perceptions of leadership influence the opportunities and challenges for women who wish to become leaders?**
4. **What public views are there on how to create an enabling environment to support the meaningful participation of women as leaders?**

Research team

The Public Perceptions research in Timor-Leste was conducted as a partnership between women's rights organisation Alola Foundation (Timor Leste), International Women's Development Agency (Australia) and a Timorese-Australian research team led by Monash University.

Alola Foundation was established in 1999. Originally created to raise awareness of widespread sexual violence against women and girls in

[42] The Asia Foundation, *Timor-Leste Tatoli! Public Opinion Poll*, Dili, 2016, p.7. Surveys were conducted in 2001, 2013, 2014 and 2016.

[43] International Republican Institute, 'National Public Opinion Survey of Timor-Leste: April 17-May 14, 2017' and 'National Public Opinion Survey of Timor-Leste: October 23-30 & November 5-12, 2018.'

[44] The Asia Foundation (2016), p.35.

[45] Fundação Pátria, Asosiasaun FADA and Plan International Timor-Leste, 'Women's participation in suku level governance: baseline study in Aileu,' 2015.

[46] De Sousa, Francisca Susilawati, 'Voting for women candidates in village election: a case study of Aileu and Ermera Municipalities, Timor-Leste in 2016,' 2017.

Timor-Leste during militia attacks at the time, the Foundation has gone on to advocate for the rights of women more broadly, including support for women's political leadership.[47]

International Women's Development Agency (IWDA) is a non-government organisation based in Melbourne, Australia with a vision of gender equality for all. The organisation's purpose is to advance and protect the rights of diverse women and girls. The Public Perceptions research in Timor-Leste, Cambodia and Solomon Islands was resourced through a civil and political participation program funded by the Government of the Netherlands and delivered in the region by IWDA. This program is known as known as Women's Action for Voice and Empowerment (WAVE).[48] The WAVE program includes a significant research component intended to generate a body of knowledge to support work towards gender equality within Asia and the Pacific region. Additional co-funding was provided for the Timor-Leste research by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

The research was conducted by a Timorese-Australian team including researchers from Monash University, the National University of Timor-Leste, Timor Surveys and NGO Lao Hamutuk. Aspects of the research were guided by a Research Advisory Group comprised of people who bring expertise and understanding of historical and current work to promote women's leadership in Timor-Leste.

"THE PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM DOESN'T GIVE PLACES FOR WOMEN TO LEAD. BUT WOMEN HAVE GREAT POTENTIAL TO BECOME LEADERS... THEIR PRESENCE IS IMPORTANT. THEIR PARTICIPATION, IN ALL AREAS, IS IMPORTANT."

(Evelina Iman, Alola Foundation, Timor-Leste)

Photo: Press conference at Fokupers, Dili, Timor-Leste, 2019 ©IWDA / Harjono Djoyobisono

[47] See https://www.alolafoundation.org.

[48] See https://iwda.org.au/what-we-do/wave

RESEARCH DESIGN

Informed by the 2014 study in Fiji, this research was planned as a mixed methods study. IWDA and the Research Advisory Group agreed to a project with two phases: first, a survey on political leadership and gender with community members; second, focus group discussions and interviews with key informants drawing on and extending understandings from the information gathered in the survey. The survey tool and qualitative question sets were piloted with students from the National University of Timor-Leste.

Study sites were selected to provide a good level of representation based on geographic region and urban/rural settings. Two locations in each of three municipalities were selected. These included two suku (villages) with a woman Xefe Suku (council leader) at the time of the research and one suku which had previously had a woman leader. Data collection activities are shown below.

Table 1:

Data collection activities Timor-Leste Nov 2018-Feb 2019.

SURVEY PARTICIPANTS	FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS	KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS	STUDY SITES
240 (120 women, 120 men; 64 surveys per municipality, 48 surveys Dili)	18 groups of 130 participants (64 women, 66 men)	13 individual interviews (4 women, 9 men including Xefes Suku, NGO directors, church leaders, youth leader, electoral commission representative)	Two locations in three municipalities (Viqueque, Bobonaro and Ermera) and multiple suburbs in Dili

Surveys

The survey tool, developed in English and translated to Tetun, included questions relating to local elections, views on qualities considered important in local political leadership and views on the attributes of women and men. Survey data was collected on tablets. The English language survey is attached at **Appendix 1** and the Tetun version at **Appendix 2**.

The survey data was analysed in English by the core research team with input from the field team. The analysed data was presented in Tetun to the Research Advisory Group in December 2018 for a 'sense-making' workshop. This workshop was an opportunity to discuss initial findings and develop lines of inquiry in the qualitative phase.

Qualitative data collection

Eighteen focus groups were conducted in the same locations as the surveys. The composition of the focus groups in both rural and Dili locations was based on gender (single gender and mixed), age (younger and older) and level of education. A focus group with LGBTIQ+ representatives was held in Dili. Further information on the locations and composition of the focus groups is provided at **Appendix 3**.

Focus group discussions were organised into three parts: (i) eliciting participant views on important qualities for political leaders and discussion about whether these qualities are gendered; (ii) an exercise asking participants to nominate which of two fictional candidates ('Maria' or 'Jose', each assigned specific characteristics) they would be more likely to elect and why; and (iii) presentation of and discussion about the data collected in the surveys.

Focus group discussions were recorded in Tetun and transcribed as summaries into English. Data from discussions about the fictional candidates has not been used in this report as the civil society group consulted considered this required more in-depth analysis in Tetun. However, as this data may provide further insights into people's perceptions and may be used for further analysis the candidate outlines have been included at **Appendix 4** for reference.

Thirteen key informants were interviewed. These were 'influencers' as identified by Alola Foundation. They included three Xefes Suku, three NGO representatives, two church leaders, two former resistance fighters, two local leaders and a representative from the National Electoral Commission of Timor-Leste. The interviews were semi-structured and allowed for broad exploration of the themes identified in the survey data. Discussions in Tetun were audio recorded and transcribed into English, by a number of different people, as summaries of what was said (rather than word for word).

Focus group and interview data were thematically analysed by the core research team with input from the field research team. Preliminary findings were presented to the Research Advisory Group in April 2019.

IWDA presented initial findings from the research to representatives from civil society in November 2019. This group of representatives has had a long term involvement in women's leadership in Timor-Leste and discussed the data collected from this perspective. This report has been informed by their analysis and feedback.

Ethics

The research was informed IWDA's *Feminist Research Framework*.[49] This framework provides practical guidance for designing and implementing research using a feminist approach. The principles of the framework relate to building knowledge that has a transformative impact on the causes of gender inequality. The framework emphasises the use of a collaborative approach in research.

There is no requirement for ethics approval for research of this nature by the Government of Timor-Leste or by municipal governance bodies. However, the field research team sought permission from police and relevant Xefes Suku to survey local participants in each municipality.

A risk assessment undertaken as part of the ethics approval process for the research recognised that there are power differences between women and men and that women's participation in the research must not compromise their individual safety and security. The research team was strongly committed to principles of do no harm and endeavoured to create a safe environment for all participants during the research.

Ethics approval for this research was granted by IWDA.

Limitations

This research reports on the perceptions of the participants consulted. While the research team made every effort to develop a sample representative of the broader population, the small sample size means that the views reported here cannot be generalised to the whole population of Timor-Leste.

The research provides insights into participant perceptions of what matters in relation to political leadership at the local level and views on women's capacity for this work. It does not report on the experiences of individual women leaders. Increasing knowledge about women's experiences of trying to gain leadership roles, being elected at the local level and having influence is important in working towards gender equality in political leadership and is the subject of another study within the WAVE program.[50]

The research team attempted at all times to work as a collaborative group, sharing understandings, knowledge and skills. The team was committed to demystifying 'research' and to building the confidence of both core and field research members. Team members shared an interest in Feminist Participatory Action Research (F-PAR) methods and used these in the research process when possible, including in facilitation of the focus groups.[51]

Constraints of budget and time meant that the research as a whole was not implemented as an F-PAR project. There is strong interest amongst advocates of gender equality in Timor-Leste in

[49] The IWDA *Feminist Research Framework* draws on research principles developed by the Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) and the Research for Development Impact Network and is available at https://iwda.org.au/resource/feminist-research-framework/.

[50] The *Women's Leadership Pathways* research (2017-2020) is documenting individual women's experiences of economic, social and political leadership with WAVE partners in five countries including Cambodia, Timor-Leste and Solomon Islands. This research is overseen by consulting firm Le Groupe-conseil baastel ltée on behalf of IWDA and is due to be completed in 2020.

[51] F-PAR is a gender justice approach to knowledge generation and action for social change. As a values-based methodology, F-PAR involves an organic, cyclical process of democratic decision-making using inclusive participatory methods to generate knowledge and take action for structural change.

exploring the use of F-PAR, including to support communities in developing critical analysis skills. The research team has noted several learnings in relation to practice in gender equality research, including the importance of considering social desirability bias.[52]

Finally, conducting research in two languages inevitably introduces questions of accuracy in translation and broader interpretation of data. Although the research teams engaged with these issues with care, it is important to acknowledge that some concepts are difficult to translate and that this may influence analysis. Data from some questions in the survey has not been included in this report due to complexities in relation to translation.[53]

Reflections on the research process

All research efforts have challenges and this project was no exception.

Learnings from the challenges and successes of the project discussed by the research team and other stakeholders are suggested below:

- Adequate time is critical in ensuring that good process is followed. This is the case for all research projects, but especially so when working across two countries, in multiple languages, with multiple teams of people and drawing on a feminist, participatory approach. Some of the limitations in this project could have been mitigated with more time.
- Research conducted in two or more languages requires sufficient allocation of time and explicit processes for achieving consensus about meaning amongst all team members; this is particularly important when multiple translators and interpreters are employed.
- Clear and commonly understood objectives, and context, for the research and its results are critical for developing reliable and relevant findings.
- A focus on process as well as outcomes is important for creating understanding and ownership of the research by local stakeholders; an emphasis on "getting the research done" can compromise this.
- The involvement of local partners in interpreting data is an important step in validating findings and producing research which is useful to stakeholders. Having maximum involvement of local people, in country, is important for ensuring findings are relevant, easy to understand and practical.
- Employing male facilitators is recommended when conducting focus groups with men on research topics related to gender to encourage an environment of forthright communication.
- Methods used in Feminist Participatory Action Research can be effective in exploring discriminatory or highly normative views; power analysis or critical analysis may be useful in understanding how leadership is conceptualised in relation to gender, social class, social capital, geographic location and family networks.
- It is important to target approaches to the linguistic and education levels of participants. This may include using participatory methods such as scoring, ranking or mapping, adjusting language (not using academic language) and using stories and examples.
- Balancing focus groups to minimise domination by people with more power is important to enable different voices to be heard. Techniques may include conducting interviews with local leaders at the same time as focus groups with community members, having single gender focus groups (ideally also mixed gender groups at other points to share understandings) and facilitating discussions so that all group members are able to contribute equally.

[52] Social desirability bias refers to the possibility that research participants might be influenced in their responses by what they believe is more likely to be socially acceptable or "desirable" rather than expressing their true feelings. In this research, team members were alert to the possibility that, given the subject matter, some participants might be inclined to want to 'please' the facilitator by providing 'correct' or 'gender-sensitive' responses.

[53] Results for the following questions have been omitted: 'Do you support women to become leaders? At what [range given] level?' (uncertainty about how 'support' was understood), 'Men need to take more responsibility for household work' (inadvertently translated as 'most responsibility') and 'It would be better for our community if there were more women local/municipal/national leaders' (mistranslated as "if most of the leaders were women.")

FINDINGS

The following section presents an outline of data from the survey. Following discussion with civil society representatives, it was agreed that a report documenting results with some analysis would be of greater value to stakeholders than a more theoretical and highly analytical report. The commentary on the results from the survey is brief and informed by this discussion.

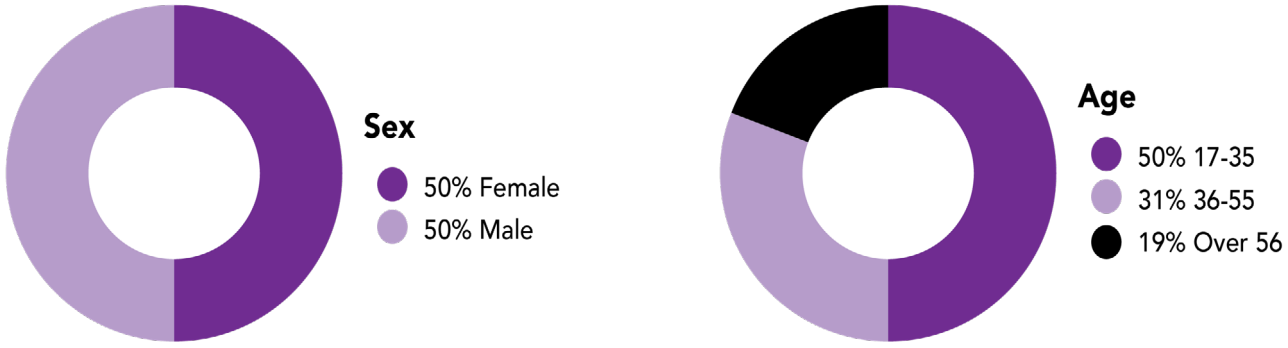
Some data from the interviews and focus groups has been included in this section. A complete thematic analysis of all qualitative data collected in this research may be conducted in the future. Alola Foundation and IWDA hope that the report in this form will provide a basis for discussion and further consideration of strategies by advocates for gender equality in Timor-Leste.

Demographics

A total of 240 surveys were completed in the research, 120 with women and 120 with men.[54] The demographic characteristics of the participant group are shown below. The group broadly represents the population of Timor-Leste in relation to gender, age, education and employment status. Important differences between women and men were noted in relation to education and employment, as shown.

Chart 1:

Participant gender and age



[54] The survey was finalised under the pressure of time and offered participant gender options of 'male' and 'female' only. Additional time would have allowed for discussion of and agreement on a broader set of options. This is recommended in future surveys.

Chart 2:

Highest level of education level achieved (all)

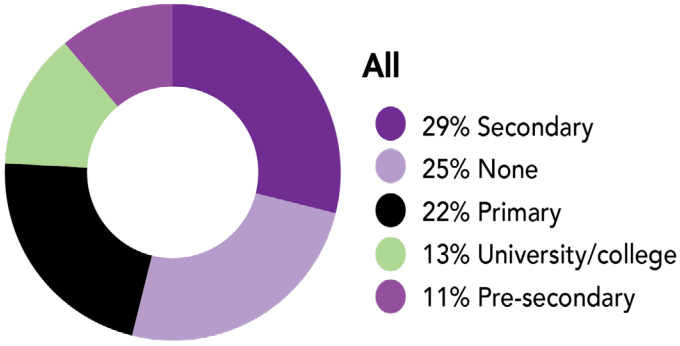
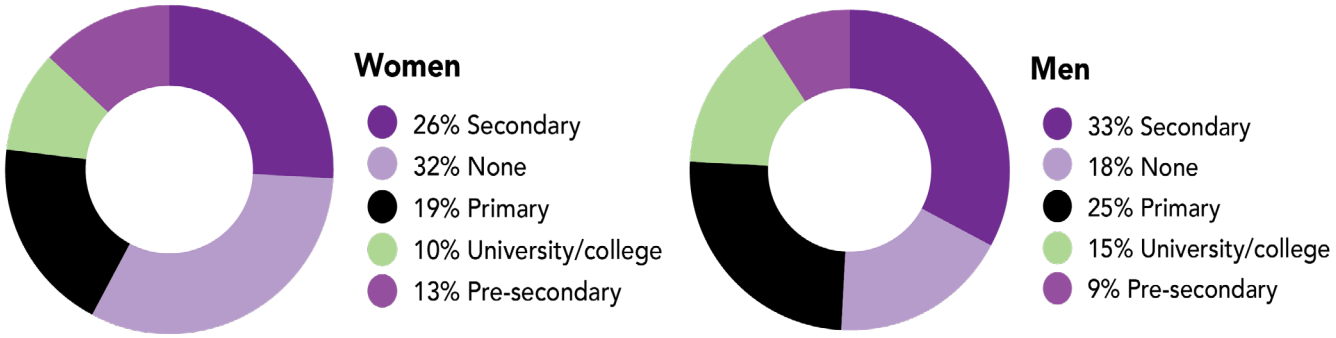


Chart 3:

Highest level of education level achieved (women/men)



The gap between girls/women and boys/men in relation to completion of education is changing in Timor-Leste. Nevertheless, the chart shows important differences in educational achievement.

Chart 4:

Employment status (all)

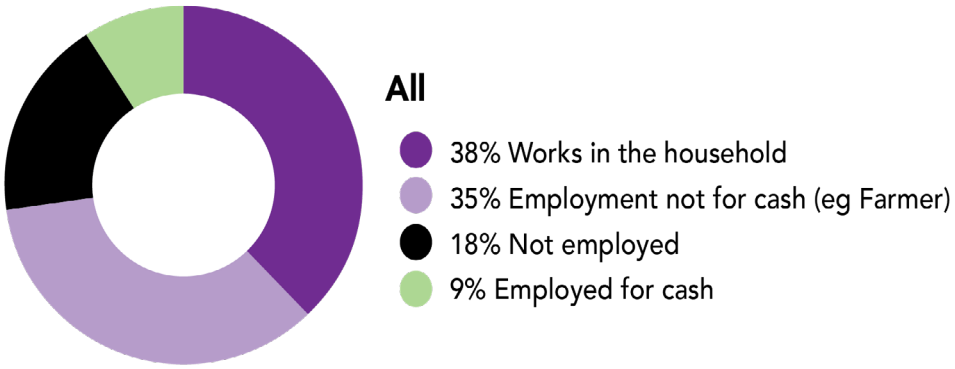
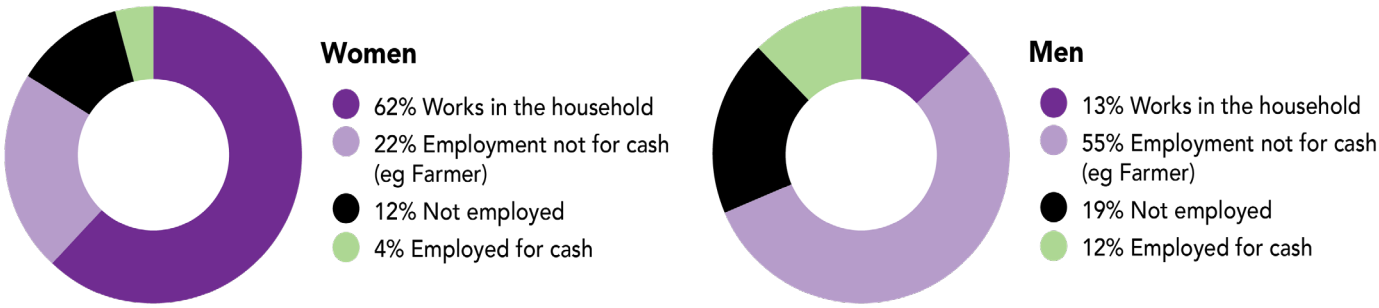


Chart 5:[55]

Employment Status: women and men



Differences between women and men in relation to employment reflect the significantly greater share of household work carried out by women. The volume of domestic work has implications in relation to women's availability for other activities, including public roles. As the charts show, whilst relatively small proportions of people overall are "employed for cash," the proportion of men reporting this as their employment status is three times greater than the proportion of women.

It should be noted that women's labour in agriculture, including coffee production, is often not considered 'employment.' A woman who tends a vegetable garden and sells some of this produce at the market may not consider this 'work' but part of her household responsibilities.

The relatively low percentage of women who said they are "employed not for cash" (22% compared to 55% of men) may therefore reflect differing conceptualisations of work.

[55] Percentages shown in charts are rounded to the nearest whole number. Where results do not total 100%, this can be assumed to be due to rounding.

Chart 6:

Type of residence (rural or urban)

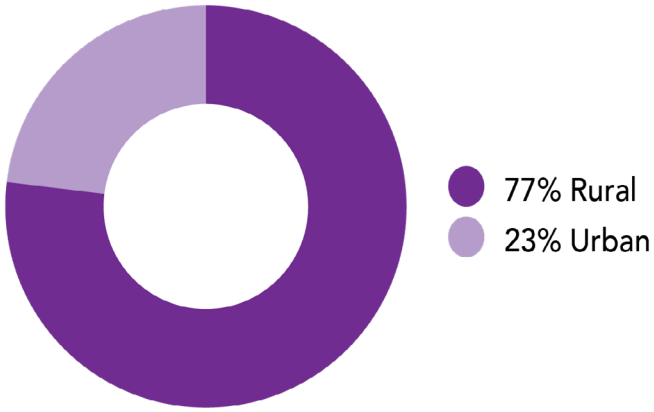
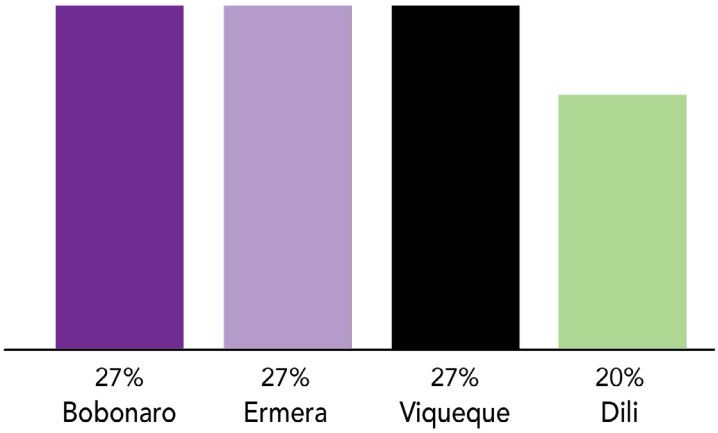


Chart 7:

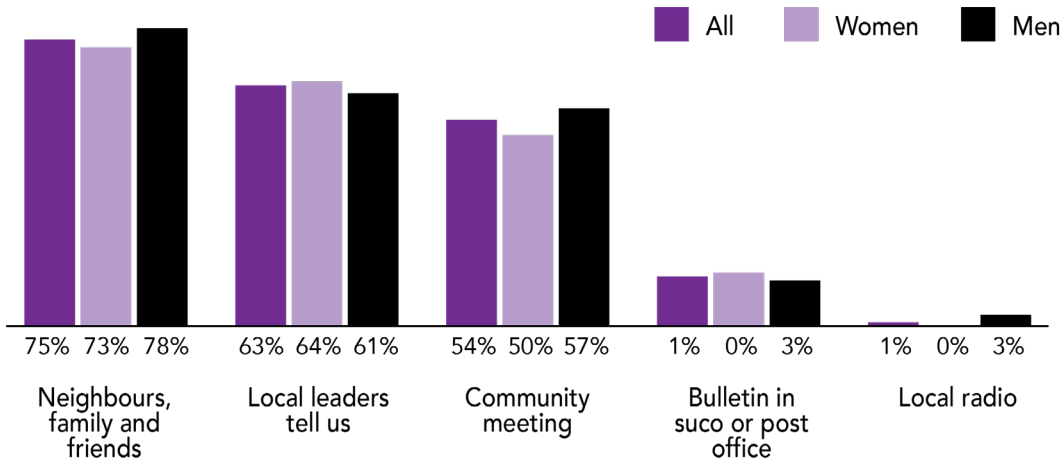
Municipality where survey conducted



There is no formal definition of urban versus rural in the Timor-Leste context. For the purpose of this project, all but one of the Dili sukus were categorised as urban/peri-urban and grouped with sukus from municipal centres of Vikeke, Ermera and Bobonaro. The sample included a total 44 urban/peri-urban survey respondents and 196 rural survey respondents, broadly reflecting the spread of population in each of the four municipalities.

Chart 8:

How do you hear about who is running for suku election in your community? (Multiple options possible)



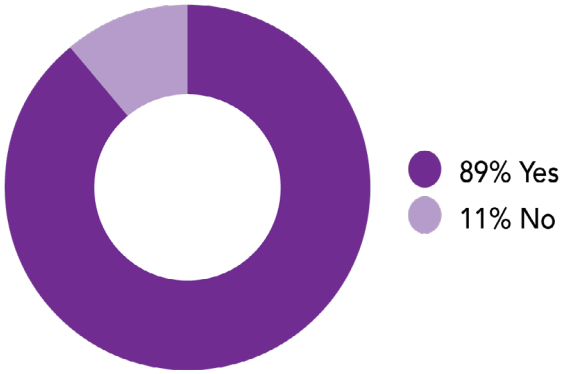
Political awareness and factors influencing voting

Respondents were asked a number of questions relating to their knowledge of candidates for suku elections and factors influencing their voting behaviour at elections.

Informal sources of information were significant. Newspapers and Facebook were not chosen by any respondents and are therefore not shown in the chart. The Asia Foundation *Tatoli*! and International Republican Institute surveys asked people what their "main sources of information" were in general (not directly or exclusively in relation to suku elections). The most common response to this question in these surveys was television. This suggests that television should be considered as an important medium for increasing voter awareness, in combination with locally targeted work to provide accurate information about candidates at suku elections.

Chart 9:

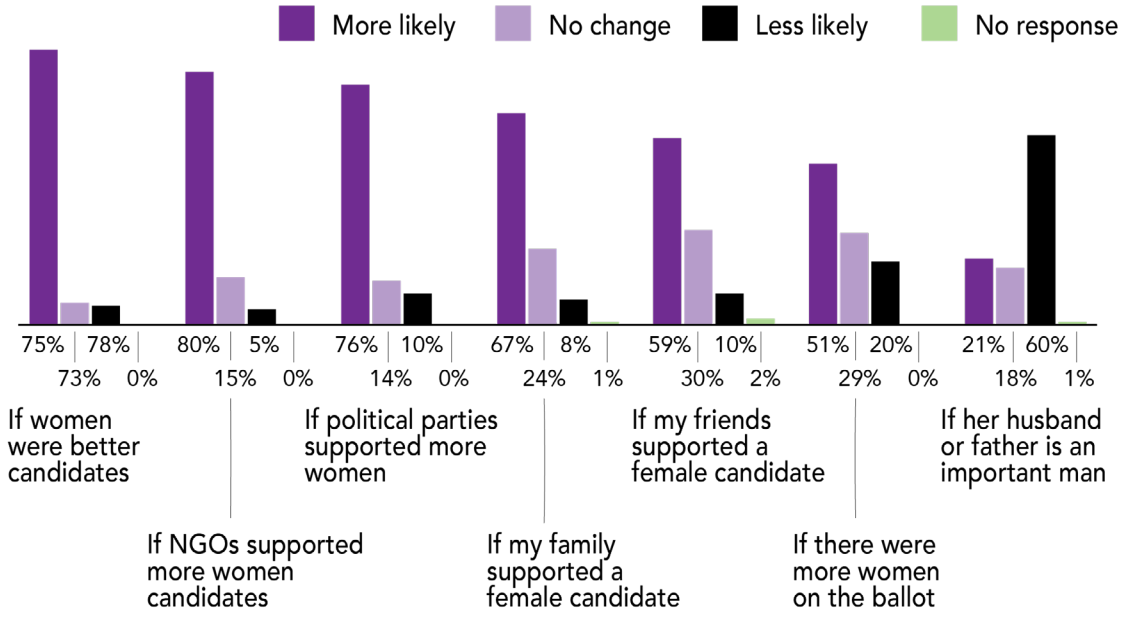
Would you vote for a woman if she was on the ballot?



A large majority of respondents said they would vote for a woman candidate. The sphere of election (parliamentary or suku) was not specified.

Chart 10:

Would any of the following make you more likely to vote for a woman? (Multiple options possible)



Respondents were asked to consider a number of factors and how they thought these might influence the likelihood that they would vote for a woman candidate. The results suggest areas for further investigation, including what respondents may understand by someone being a "better candidate" and the role of both family and institutions in voter choices.

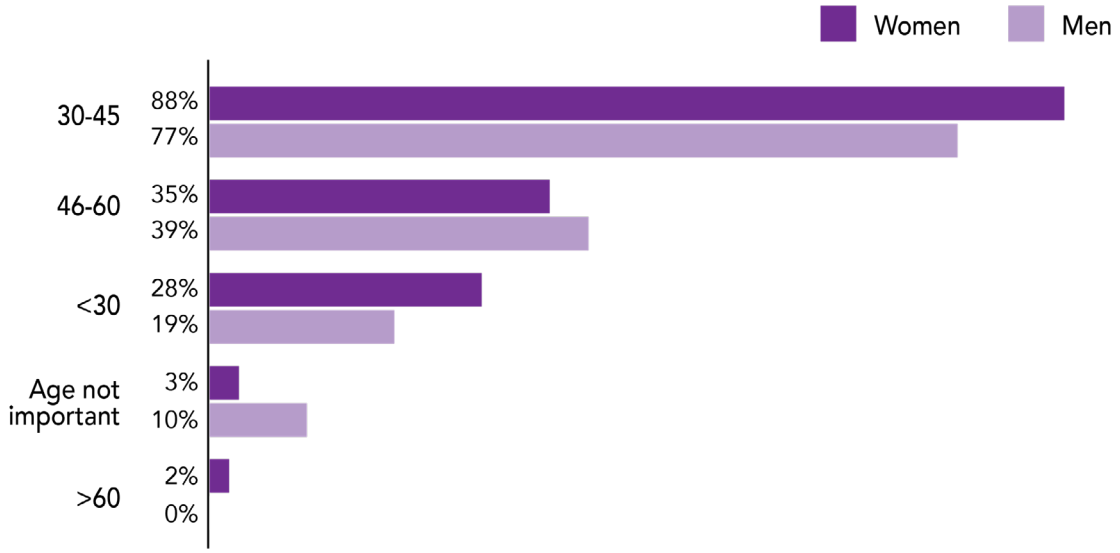
Perceptions of what is important in suku leaders

Several questions in the survey sought respondent views on what age of person they would be more likely to vote for (suku elections assumed), what level of education they felt is required by a suku leader and the 'qualities' and 'characteristics' they considered important in a suku leader. The most common response for age was 30-45 years old and the minimum level of education most desired was senior high school. Of the personal qualities suggested, those most commonly selected were being 'intelligent', 'honest', 'articulate' and 'strategic.' Of the 'characteristics' nominated in the survey, those most commonly selected were 'lived in Timor-Leste during Indonesian times,' 'has experience leading a community organisation or association,' 'speaks the local language' and 'born in this suku.'

Photo: Sra. Ana de Fátima, potential candidate from Maliana © Alola Foundation / Fransisco Guterres

Chart 11:

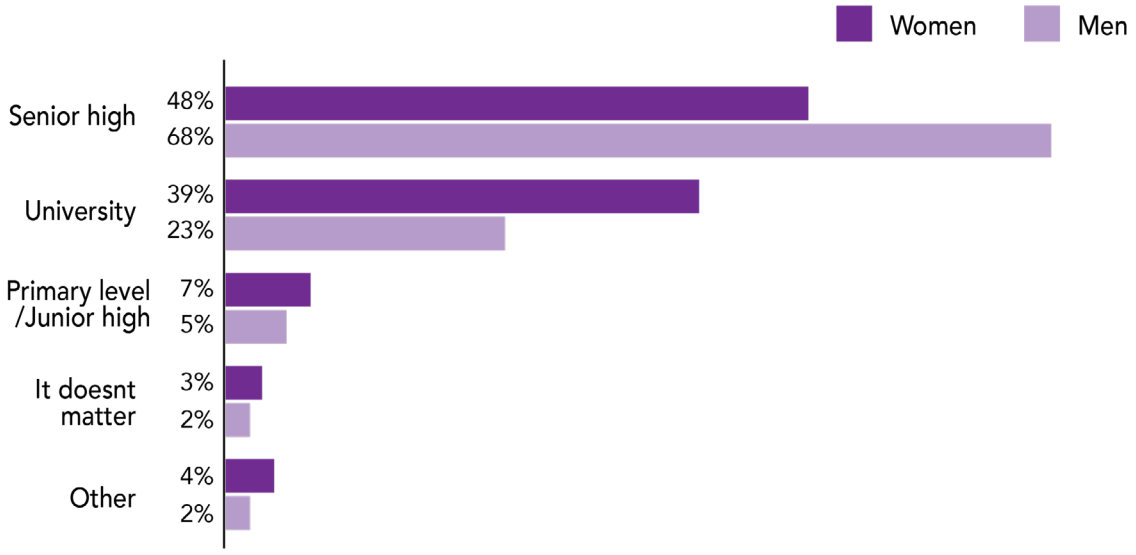
Would you prefer to vote for someone who is (Multiple options possible)



These results suggest that there may be specific challenges for younger people (under 30) wishing to enter into leadership.

Chart 12:

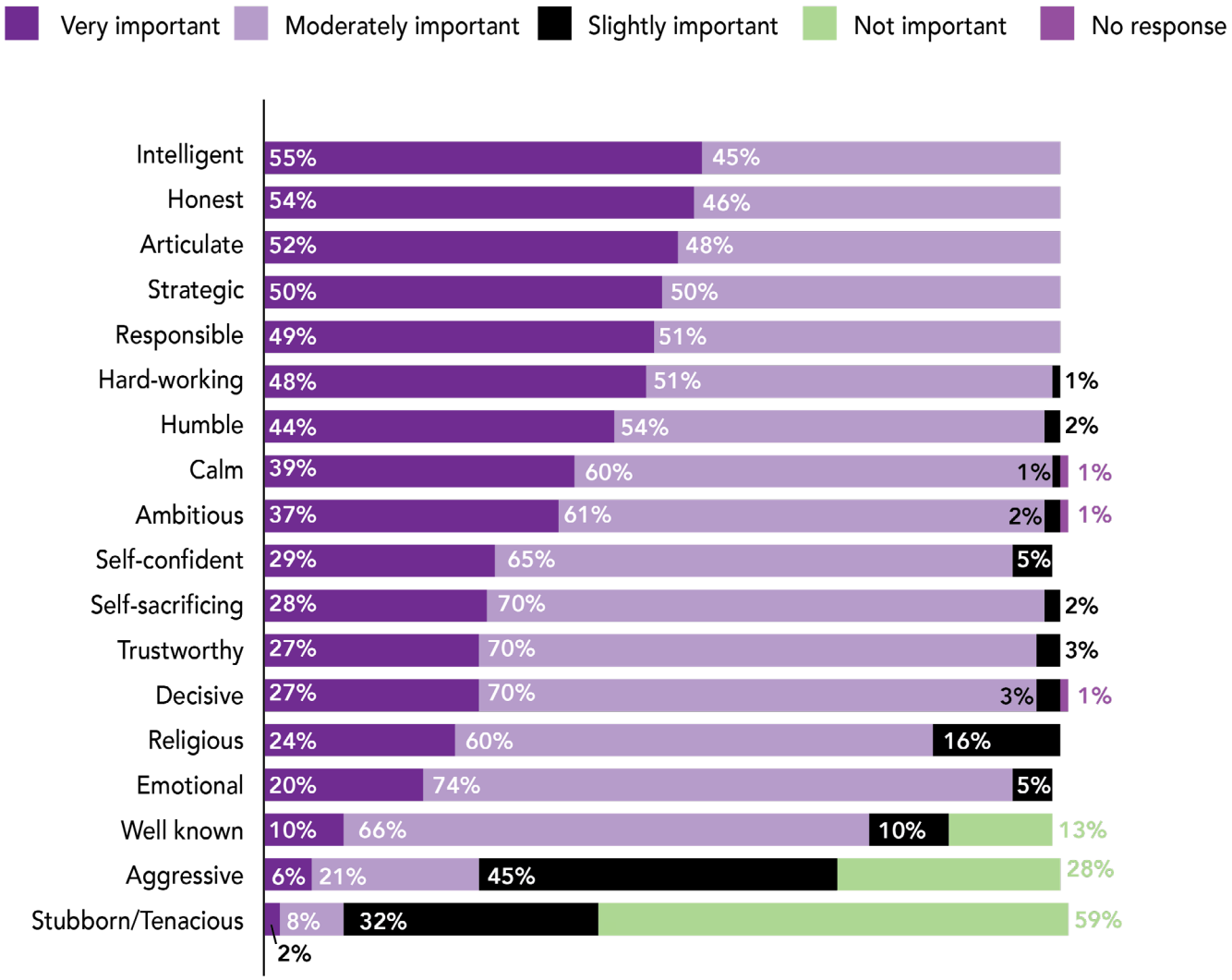
In your opinion, what is the minimum level of education a leader at the suku level should hold?



In considering the larger proportion of men than women nominating university education as a minimum for suku leadership, it may be helpful to consider the possibility of bias given that men are more likely than women to hold a degree. In discussion about these results, stakeholders also noted that wealthy and 'well connected' families are not only more able to support family members in pursuing higher education but may also be able to exert influence in relation to their political aspirations. Respondents were asked to nominate the importance to them of a series of 'qualities' and 'characteristics' in a suku leader. The purpose of these two questions was to develop greater insight into what respondents perceived to be important attributes of leadership irrespective of gender.

Chart 13:

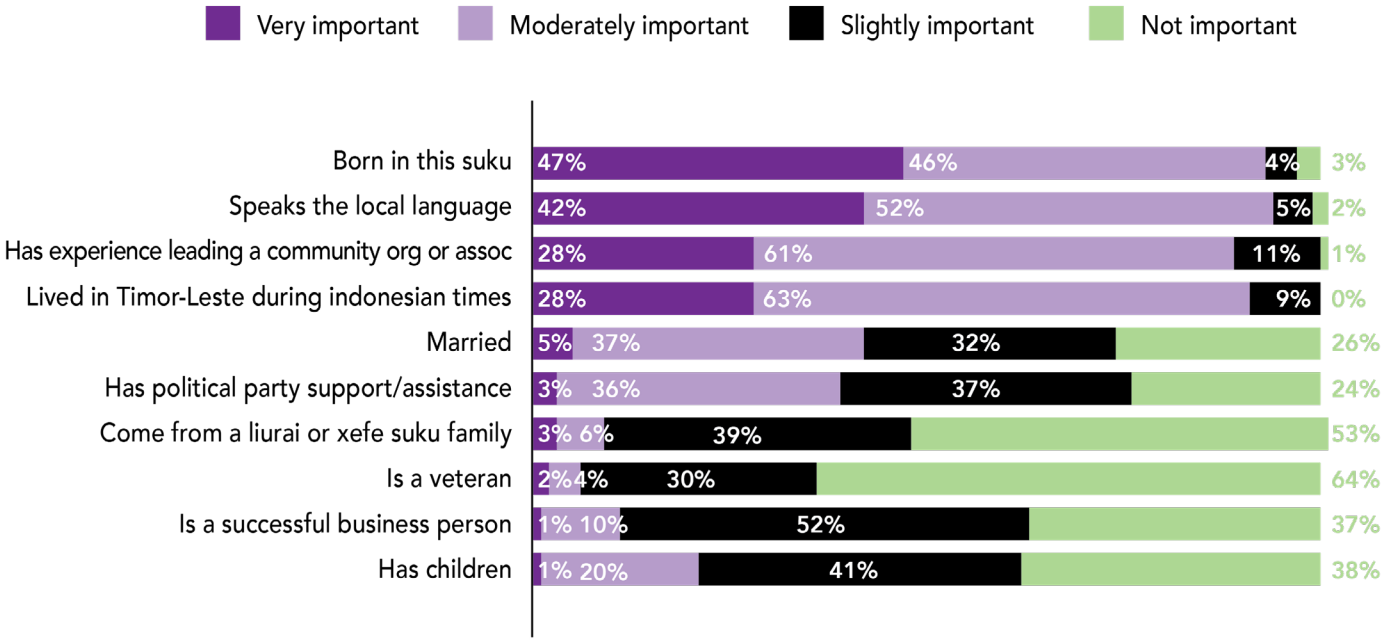
"I'd like you to tell me how important to you each of these qualities is in a suku council leader (woman or man)"



The 'qualities' and 'characteristics' named were a mix of what may be described as character traits ('calm', 'humble', 'emotional') and abilities ('articulate', 'strategic', 'responsible'). Almost all were considered important by most respondents. The characteristic considered the least important was 'stubborn/tenacious'. Respondents were asked to consider this same list later in the survey and say whether they associated these characteristics or qualities more with women or with men (see Chart 20 below).

Chart 14:

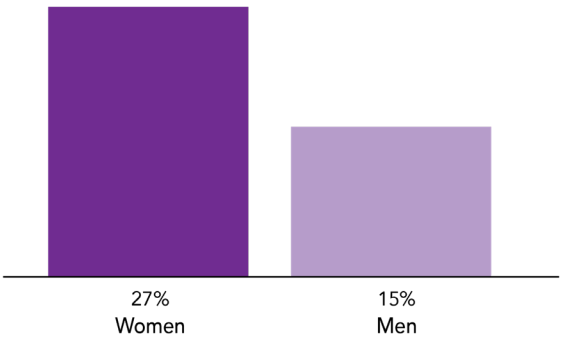
"How important do you think each of these characteristics is in a suku council leader (woman or man)?"



As responses from women and men were mostly similar, these have not been disaggregated. One exception was the characteristic "has children," with more women (27%) than men (15%) saying this was important in a suku leader.

Chart 15:

"How important do you think each of these characteristics is in a suku council leader (woman or man): has children?"



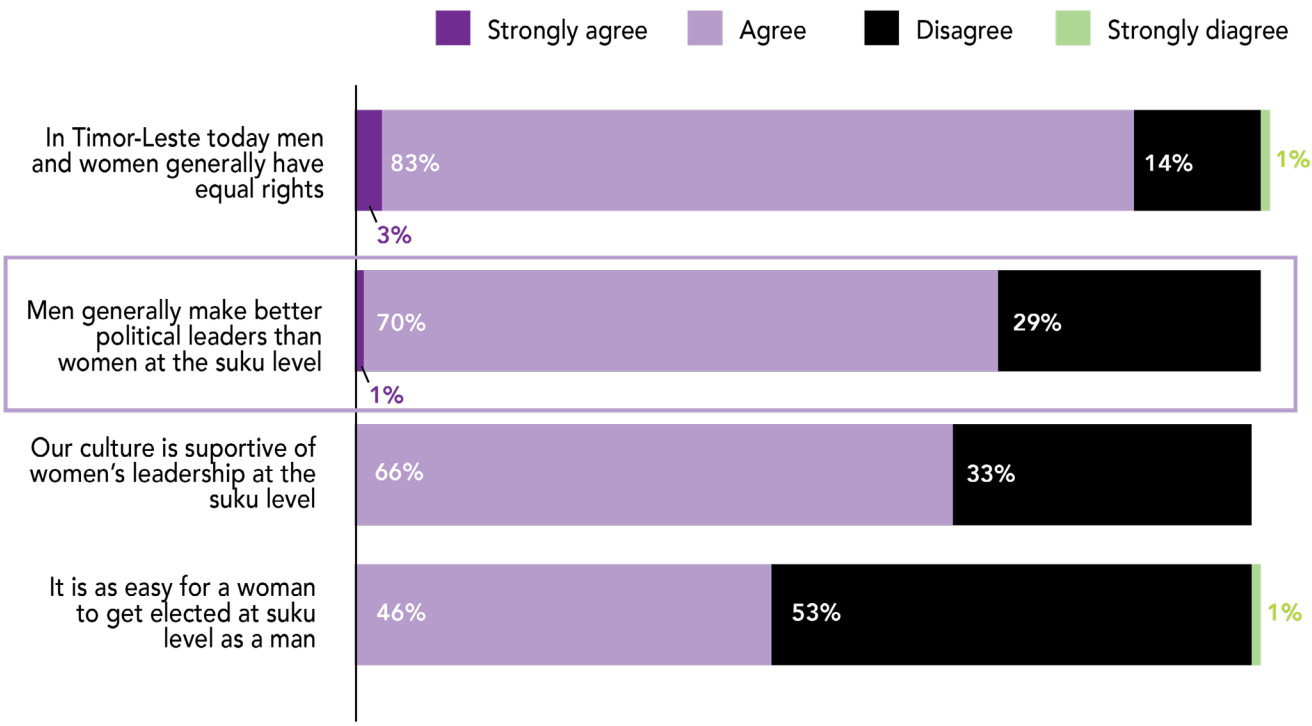
The data on public views in relation to age, education, qualities and characteristics of suku leaders collected in this research provides useful information for future candidates. There may be value in further investigating views on these issues to inform campaign strategies.

Responses to 'gendered political statements'

Respondents were asked to consider and indicate their level of agreement to a number of statements (Section E in the survey). These sentences were described by the research team as 'gendered political statements'.

Chart 16:

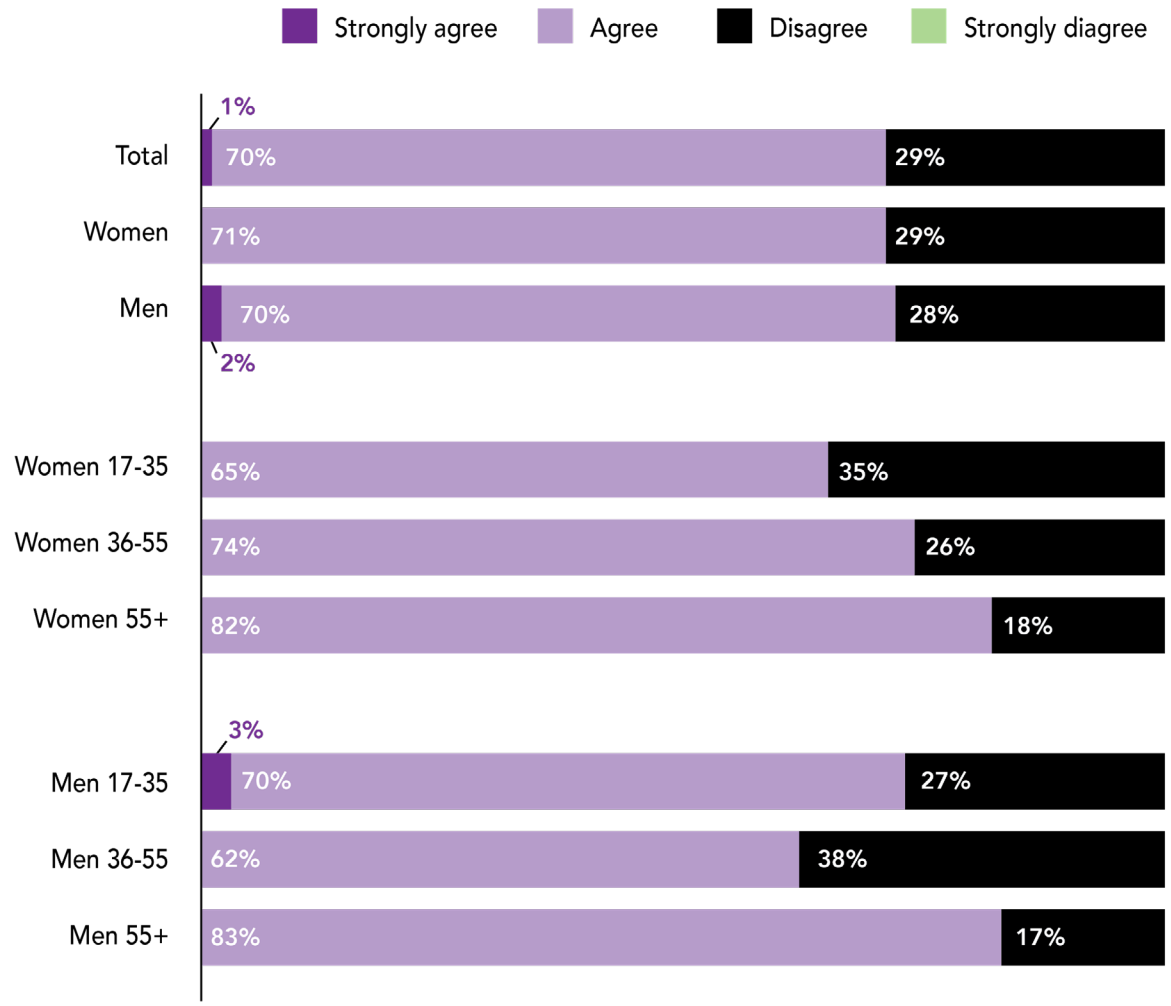
"I am going to read out a number of statements. Please tell me whether you [strongly agree/agree/ disagree/strongly disagree]"



Previous research suggests that the idea of gender equality is well understood and valued by the majority of people in present-day Timor-Leste. The large proportion of respondents agreeing that "men and women generally have equal rights" appears to confirm that there is widespread support for this ideal. Other data from this survey suggests that respondents' observations of everyday life may not support this. Similarly, the large proportion of people agreeing that "our culture is supportive of women's leadership at the suku level" is of interest when placed together with results for "it is as easy for a woman to get elected at suku level as a man," with which over half of respondents disagreed.

Chart 17:

"Men generally make better political leaders than women at the suku level" by gender and age

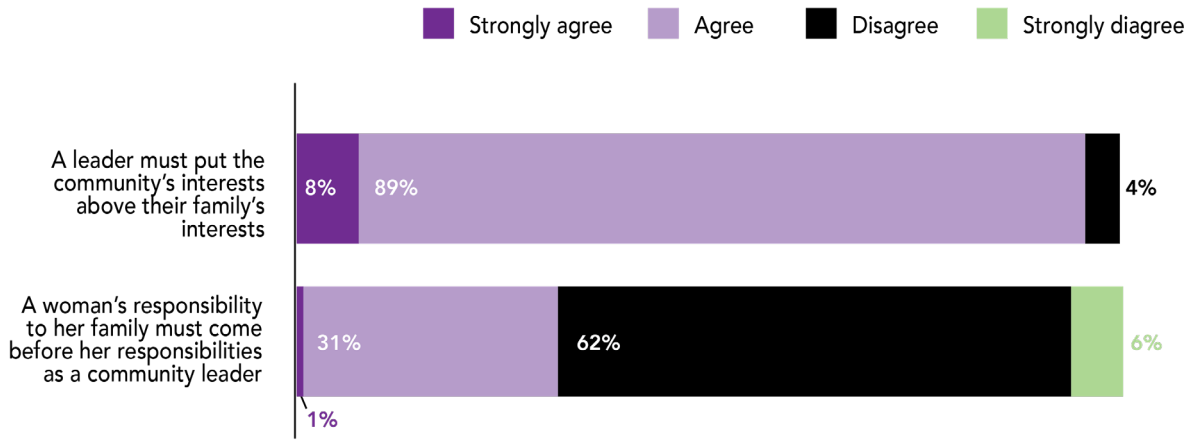


The high levels of agreement with the statement "men generally make better political leaders than women at the suku level" suggests there is high value in increasing the visibility of current women who are leaders. Further analysis of views by gender and age may provide helpful information for advocacy work with specific groups within communities.[56]

[56] See research on women and political leadership in Lebanon which takes this approach. Hivos and Beyond Reform and Development, 'Lebanese women in leadership positions: a survey on national perceptions,' 2018.

Chart 18:

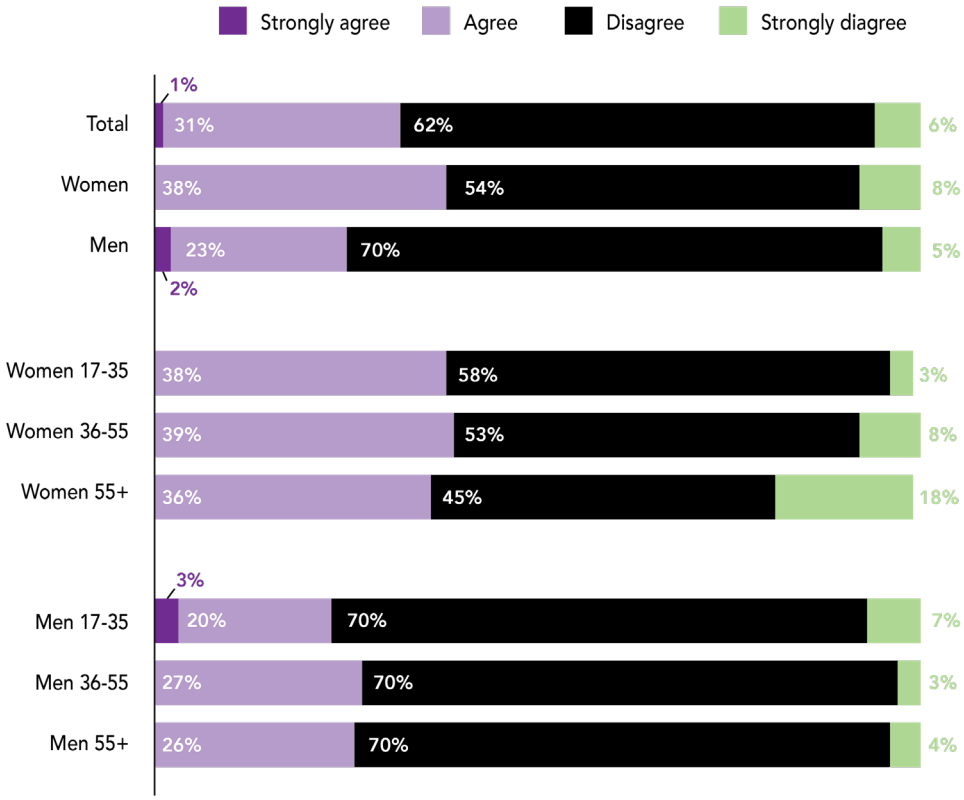
"Community and family interests"



One interpretation of the question a leader must put community interest above their family's interests, is that a leader should make sure that they take care of family duties outside of their leadership role. Another interpretation of this is that a leader should not conflate family and community interests. This links to a negative view of nepotism. Local leaders are often seen as favouring family members, with examples published in the media regularly. Where people appointed by family members are seen as lacking the qualifications necessary for the role, this frequently attracts criticism.

Chart 19:

"A woman's responsibility to her family must come before her responsibilities as a community leader" by gender and age



The majority of people (88%) agreed that "a leader must put the community's interests above their family's interests." Almost two thirds of people (62%) did not agree with the later statement, "A woman's responsibility to her family must come before her responsibilities as a community leader." Of the one third who did agree, there was a greater proportion of women (38%) than men (23%). Importantly, it is not clear whether people understood the statement as one about what *should* be the case or is the case.

Women in Timor-Leste often hold multiple roles in the community, including in relation to church, community leadership and clan. It may be useful to consider the responses to the statement about women's responsibilities in the context of broader views on the role of women in maintaining community cohesion as well as (or without neglecting) domestic responsibilities. This theme was explored in the focus group discussions, with most groups saying that women are 'capable' of becoming leaders but that leadership roles should not be fulfilled at the expense of a woman's household responsibilities. While girls in families often take on significant domestic work and, in doing so, alleviate mothers of work to some degree, overall responsibility for management of the household is still considered a woman's role. It may be helpful in developing campaign strategies to further explore community views on the relationship between domestic responsibilities and public responsibilities for women.

"Actually, in Suku Tapo, there are women who could be community leaders, but our culture doesn't give them a chance. From way back in the past, starting from the household, men have always led. Our ancestors tell us that there will be severe consequences if women hold a position like Xefe Suku or Aldeia. Because of this, women who are well qualified don't have the motivation to run for position because they're worried and scared about the consequences and don't want to take that risk."

Male focus group participant, rural [57]

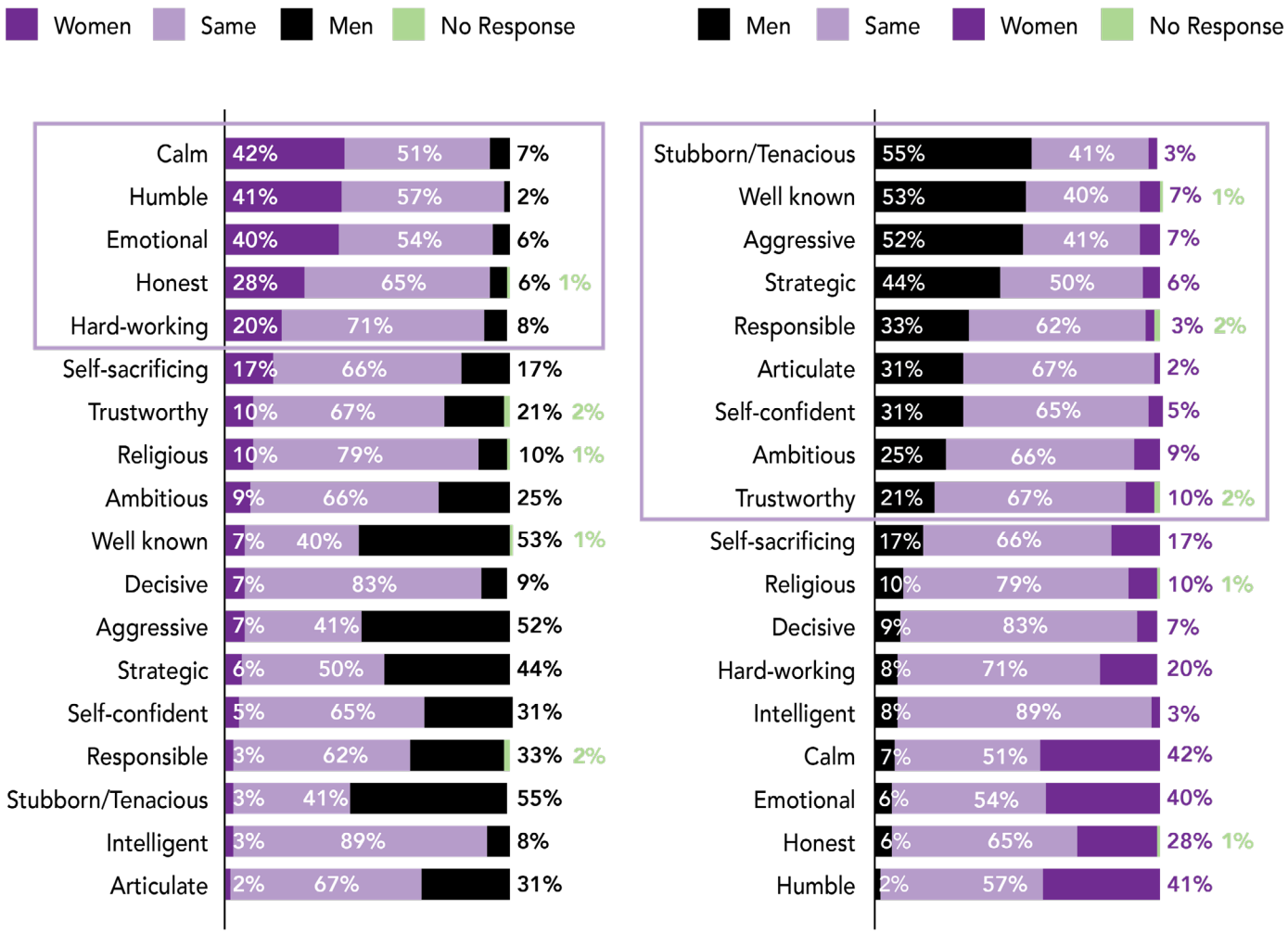
Association of personal characteristics with women or men

Respondents were read the same list of 'qualities' in relation to suku leadership generally (Chart 13) and asked if they associated each of these more with women, more with men or with both equally. The following chart shows which characteristics were more often associated with women (left) and men (right) in order from most to least common. The lined boxes show the top characteristics associated with women and men respectively. It should be noted that many qualities were associated equally with women and men.

[57] Interviews and focus groups were conducted in Tetun and audio recorded. Recordings were transcribed directly into English. Text from these transcriptions included in this report are therefore more accurately described as paraphrase than quotation.

Chart 20:

"Say whether you associate each quality more with women, more with men, or equally with women and men" (all respondents)



A higher number and different set of qualities were associated with men. There may be a relationship between this and the greater visibility of men in public. Conversely, as a consequence of their lesser visibility, there may be a tendency for women to be seen as 'homogenous;' that is, there are fewer opportunities for women to show individual characteristics and abilities.

"We are not shy. Men don't allow us to be leaders. We need to ask their permission just to walk around at night or even to travel to Dili."

Young woman in focus group, responding to young man suggesting women are "too shy" to be political leaders

It may be helpful to consider the leadership qualities named in relation to social norms. The qualities most commonly associated with women may be more readily associated with the domestic sphere and with personal behaviours ('calm,' 'humble,' 'emotional'). The qualities most commonly associated with men may be more strongly associated with public space and public life ('well known', 'strategic', 'responsible').[58]

Being 'popular' was understood as being 'well-known' and was associated more with men than women. Focus group participants suggested that men were more likely to be associated with this quality because they are allowed to speak and socialize in public and to travel in wider networks, whereas women are often confined to home and the local community.

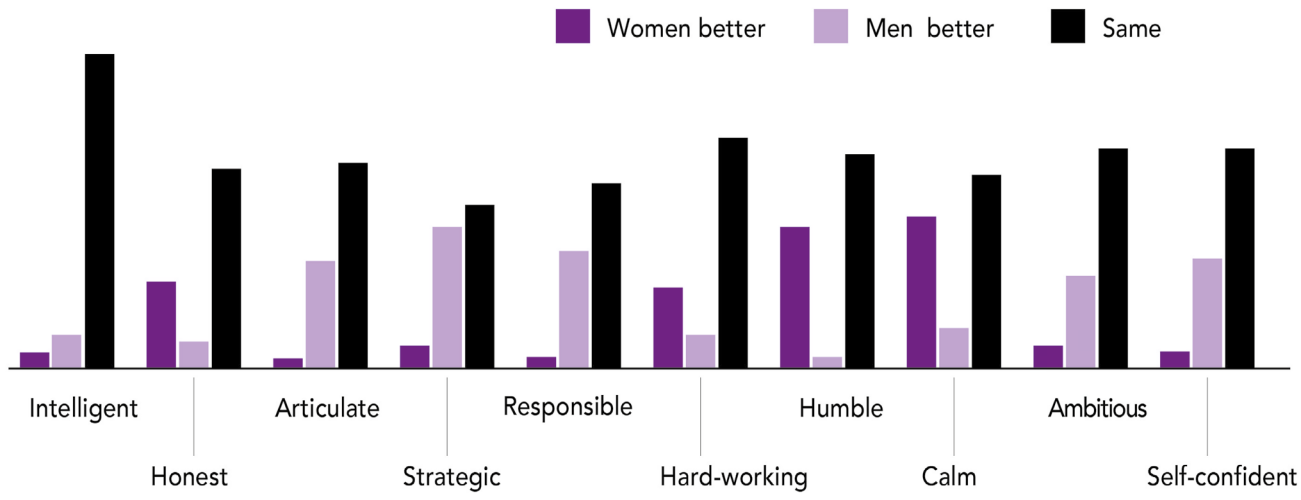
Being 'decisive' was associated about equally with women and with men but focus group participants distinguished between different realms of decision making. Women were associated with household decision making and men with public and institutional decision making. Some older men in focus groups suggested that women are not allowed to make decisions in adat (customary law). Some older women agreed that "women cannot be involved in traditional decision making or ritual but in relation to development matters women can participate." To add to the complexity, some participants suggested that, whilst men do dominate the public sphere of decision making, they should always consult women in relation to their decisions.

Some participants suggested that women are good decision-makers because they can remain calm: "They are careful because they are afraid of creating problems, they make decisions slowly;" and "she has to think over and over again." One of the young men's groups stated that a woman has a "conscience, she is calm, she makes better decisions. She can control her emotions."

The following chart offers a different view of the same results from Chart 20.

Chart 21:

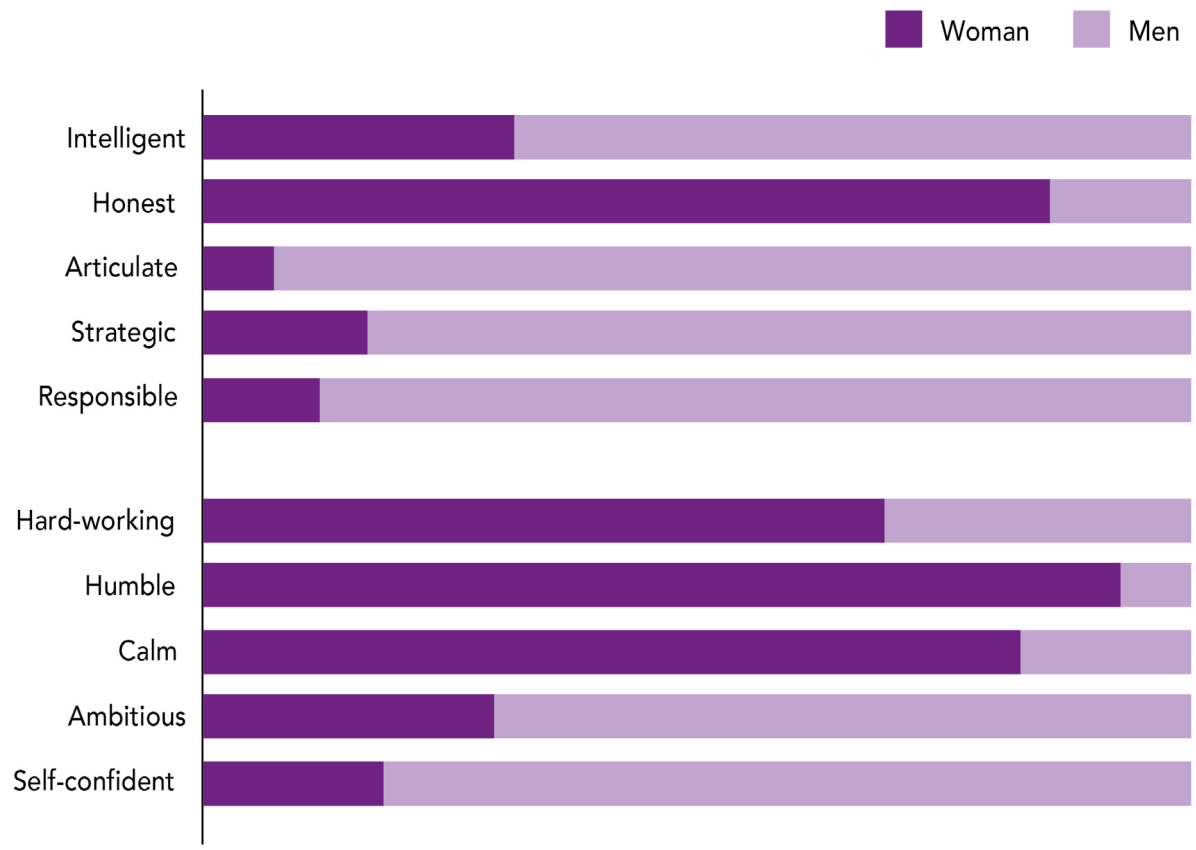
"Association of most valued leadership qualities with gender: In general, do women do this better, men do this better, or there's no difference?" (all respondents)



[58] The Tetun term for 'hard-working' (badinas) is often used in relation to domestic work and other types of physical labour.

Chart 22:

Most valued attributes by gender: clear differences (all respondents)



A third view of these results is shown in Chart 22. This shows results when there is a clear difference in the proportion of respondents associating a quality more with women or with men. Women scored higher in four of the 10 characteristics (and one of the top five). Men scored higher in six of the top ten characteristics (and four of the top five).[59] This chart suggests the areas where people perceive a clear difference between women and men. This data may be helpful in promoting those qualities seen to be valued by community members in aspiring leaders who are women.

[59] Chart 22 focuses only on the comparison between perceptions of women and men, removing the 'same' category and grouping together 'very important' and 'important' responses. Using a scoring system where 'very important = 1' and 'important = 0.5,' the top ten attributes were scored. These were then compared to the percentage of respondents who ranked those characteristics as more important for either women or men.

Perceptions of capabilities: women and men leaders

Respondents were read a list of 'capabilities' and asked if they thought women leaders (suku level assumed but not specified) "do this better", men leaders "do this better" or whether they felt there was no difference between men and women in relation to the capability.

Chart 23 shows responses ordered by the capabilities most often associated with women. Chart 24 shows responses ordered by those most often associated with men.

Chart 23:

"I'm going to read a list of abilities. Could you tell me whether you think women leaders do this better, men leaders do this better or there is no difference"- in order of women considered better

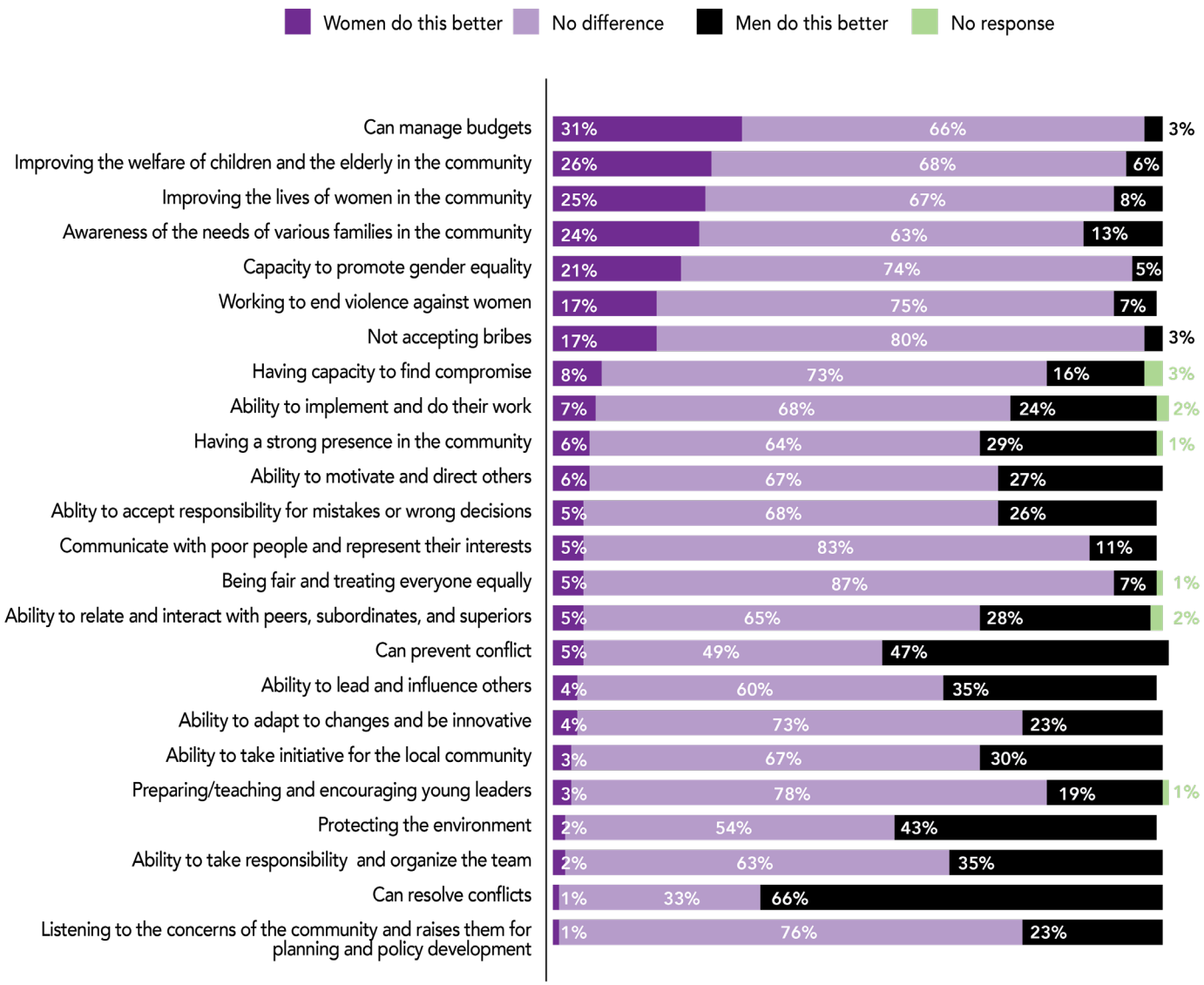
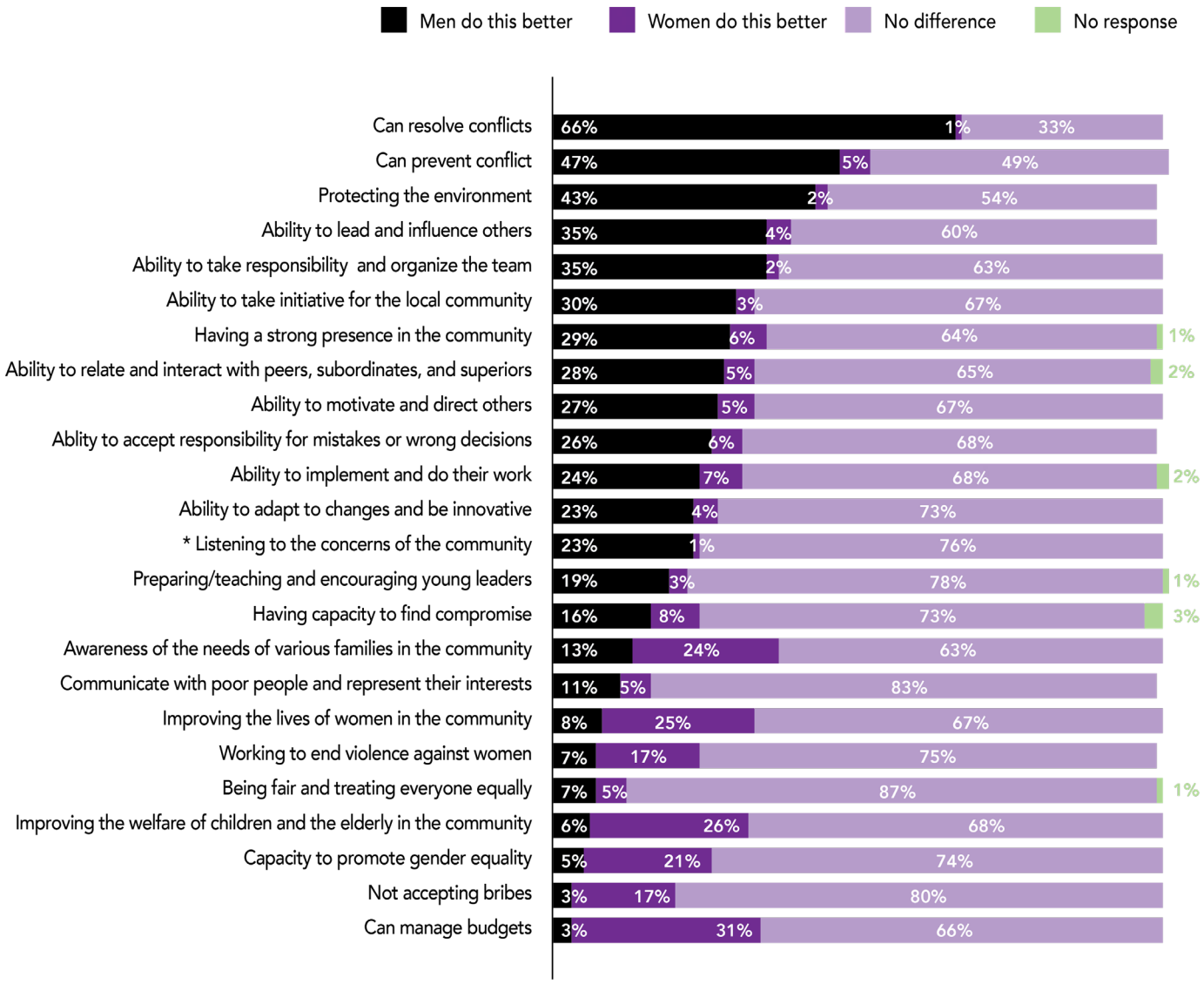


Chart 24:

"I'm going to read a list of abilities. Could you tell me whether you think women leaders do this better, men leaders do this better or there is no difference"- in order of men considered better



** NB: Listening to the concerns of the community and raises them for planning and policy development*

As the two charts show, and similar to the question about leader 'qualities,' a majority of respondents indicated there was "no difference" in most cases. Men were seen as having greater capacity in relation to 15 abilities and women in relation to seven abilities. The abilities more strongly associated with men may be abilities also associated with positions of public leadership.

Chart 25:

Perceived leadership abilities by gender (all respondents)

WOMEN DO THIS BETTER	MEN DO THIS BETTER
Can manage budgets	Can resolve conflicts
Improving the welfare of children and the elderly in the community	Can prevent conflict
Improving the lives of women in the community	Protecting the environment
Awareness of the needs of various families in the community	Ability to lead and influence others
Capacity to promote gender equality	Ability to take responsibility and organize the team
Working to end violence against women	Ability to take initiative for the local community
Not accepting bribes	Having a strong presence in the community
	Ability to relate and interact with peers, subordinates, and superiors
	Ability to motivate and direct others
	Ability to accept responsibility for mistakes or wrong decisions
	Ability to implement and do their work
	Ability to adapt to changes and be innovative
	Listening to the concerns of the community and raises them for planning and policy development
	Preparing/teaching and encouraging young leaders
	Having capacity to find compromise

Chart 25 shows the capabilities seen as being "done better" by either women or men side by side.

The two capabilities for which there was the strongest agreement that "men do this better" are "can resolve conflicts" and "can prevent conflict." Responses to these two capabilities must be understood in relation to the cultural context of Timor-Leste in which conflict management has commonly been seen as 'men's business'. Another explanation may be that public conflict involves mostly men (including martial arts groups) and that men are therefore perceived as being in the position to resolve this.

"Women do not have the opportunity to resolve conflict. The problem is men are always in the front line, we are used to the practice of men always resolving conflict. In my aldeia, I always involve women in resolving problems. The problems in this village are related to land issues. Sometimes, women have brilliant ideas to resolve conflicts related to family problems."

Male Xefe Suku, Maliana

Preventing and resolving conflict

Responses in relation to this ability must be understood in the cultural context of Timor-Leste, where preventing and resolving 'conflict' - 'resolve konflitu' and 'tesi-lia [customary dispute resolution]' - is generally viewed as being a part of 'customary' practice and almost always undertaken by men.

In addition, public conflict mostly involves men (including in martial arts groups) and therefore men may be seen as being responsible for resolving it.

"Can manage budgets" may have been understood by respondents as an ability to 'hold' money. This is commonly a woman's role in the household, with other research suggesting that women in Timor-Leste are often perceived as being more 'responsible' with money.[60] It may be useful to further explore this perception in relation to women in public office.

Gender stereotypes appear to play a strong role in people's perceptions of leaders. Women are commonly seen as responsible for family, community welfare and, ironically, addressing violence against women and children. Women in public office globally are more likely than men to be assigned gender-stereotyped portfolios including health, education and gender equality. This is also the case in Timor-Leste, where these spheres are seen as 'women's' topics and 'gender equality' is often understood as 'women's rights'. Suku council membership requires one woman and one man 'delegate' by law. Although these two roles are legally defined as having equivalent responsibilities, women delegates are usually given responsibility for, and solely for, 'women's issues'.[61]

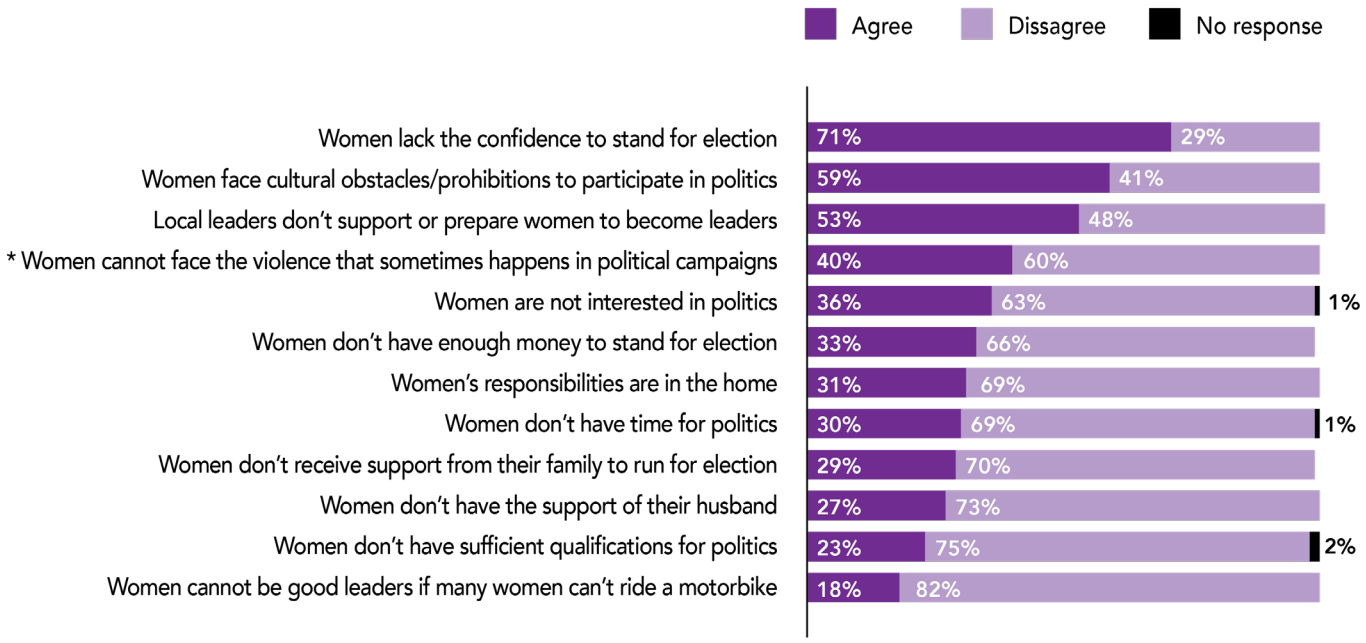
Photo: Elisita Roserio of Alola Foundation giving a talk during a gender based violence workshop. Dili, Timor-Leste, 2019
© IWDA / Harjono Djoyobisono

[60] The Asia Foundation, *Beyond Fragility and Inequity: Women's Experiences of the Economic Dimensions of Domestic Violence in Timor-Leste*, 2015, p.57.

[61] See Fundação Pátria, Asosiasaun FADA and Plan International, 2015, p.32

Chart 26:

"What do you believe are the main barriers which restrict women to be elected to suku councils?" (all respondents)



** NB: Women cannot face the violence that sometimes happens in political campaigns or the abuse directed at them as female candidates*

Perceptions of barriers for women

In addition to gathering data on public perceptions of political leadership and women's capacity for leadership, this research was interested in public views on barriers for women in achieving leadership roles at the local level. Respondents were asked to identify the "main barriers" to women's participation in suku councils.

In analysing these results, it may be helpful to differentiate between perceptions of women as deficient (they do not have enough self-confidence, are not interested in politics) and perceptions of structural issues which have implications for women (women do not have sufficient money/time/qualifications/ support). The data collected suggests that there may be a reasonably good level of understanding of structural barriers to political participation for women at the local level and of the influence of social norms. This understanding presents an opportunity for working with communities to develop further skills in structural analysis of local governance.

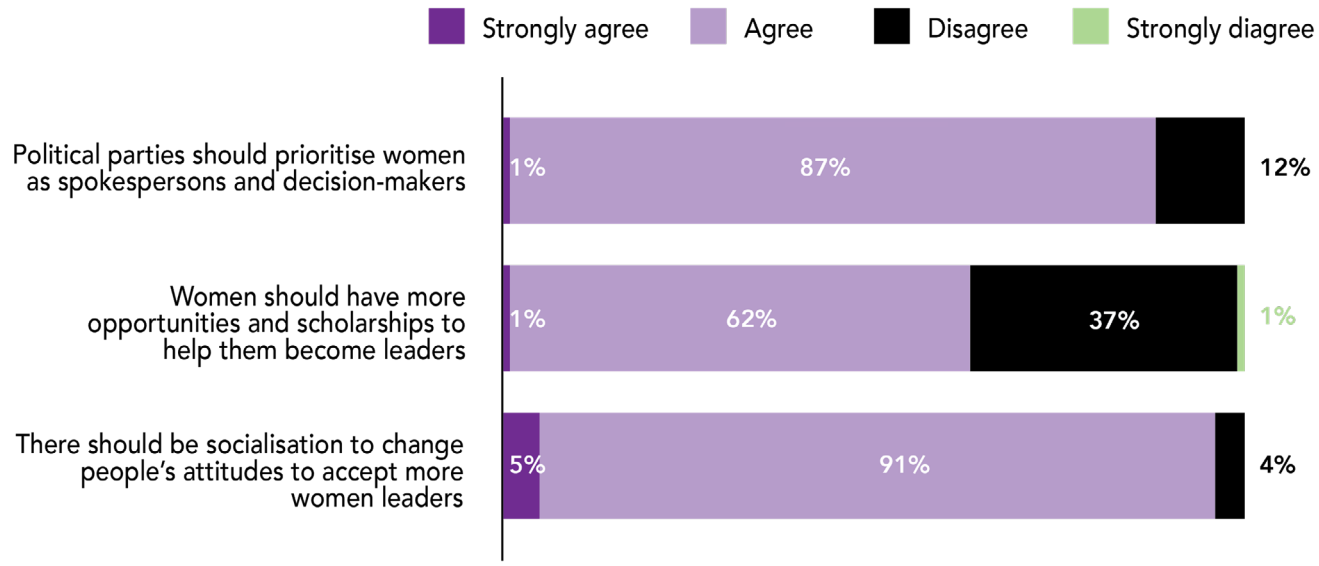
The last chart shows the results for three final 'gendered political statements.' Results for these suggest that many respondents believe that women need additional support to enter political leadership.

"Domestic work occupies much of women's time. The distance between one hamlet to another is very far, a woman cannot reach all hamlets in her village so that people can get to know her program. Another factor is that the population does not yet trust women leaders. A lot of women could not take part in electoral campaigning before the election because they did not have the money. Our people strongly believe in cultural practices rather than looking at people's creativity. Inside the village we need to give a lot of opportunity for women to implement programs and we need to socialize this a lot."

Woman NGO representative

Chart 27:

Perceptions of required opportunities for women's leadership at suku council level (all respondents)



Research by Francisa De Sousa is relevant. De Sousa suggests that marriage introduces new power dynamics into a woman's life which may influence her opportunities. In Timor-Leste, women are commonly considered to 'marry into' the family of their husband. As a consequence of marriage, a woman is placed outside her own social and possibly locational support network. This may have a significant influence on her ability to attain community support at local elections. Further, there is a strong cultural expectation that women do not hold positions higher than those of the men both in their own family (though in some cultures this considered acceptable) and, importantly, their husband's family.

De Sousa suggests that this expectation may be a less significant barrier at the national level as women are not making decisions that directly impact on those who have a higher social status than they do.[62] At the local level, however, these power dynamics can create a significant barrier. Other factors which influence social status, including age, are also important.

Low self-confidence is regarded as a barrier to increasing the proportion of women in politics globally. Measures include providing more opportunities for women to speak in public, providing mentors to candidates and campaign and strategic training. It is not always clear how much 'lack of confidence' is perceived or real, and how much it may be attributed to women who in fact face significant structural barriers. It might be useful to explore ways to facilitate more supportive environments for women in Timor-Leste, for example by ensuring that men do not interrupt and actively listen when women speak. Women's leadership practice is often communal and working in smaller groups to build women's skills and confidence is a valuable approach.

[62] De Sousa, pp.50-53.

DISCUSSION

The objectives of this research were to investigate public perceptions of women as political leaders, the influence of gender norms on these perceptions and implications in terms of the opportunities and challenges for women wanting to fulfil leadership roles.

Perceptions of leadership appear to be informed not only by ideas of what is desirable in a leader, but by previous and current examples of leaders. Data from the research suggests that women may be perceived as having the necessary characteristics but perhaps not the necessary experience and/or skills to be political leaders. There is a strong association of women with the domestic sphere and a belief that caring is a woman's primary role.

There are tangible barriers which make it harder for women to become leaders, such as structural and legislative barriers (not covered in this report), expectations for women to fulfil caring roles and cultural barriers to women assuming positions of power. This research draws attention to the less visible but highly influential barriers created by perceptions held of women and of leadership, some of which are contradictory. Insights into these areas may be useful in working towards greater inclusivity in local political leadership. Brief responses to the questions guiding this research are shown below, followed by a broader discussion.

1. **What public views on the capacity of women to be political leaders are held by people, including women and men?**

Women are perceived as potentially having the characteristics but not necessarily the experience and/or skills required for leadership. They are perceived as intelligent, honest and hardworking but not necessarily strategic or decisive.

2. **How have public perceptions of women as leaders been influenced by gender norms?**

Perceptions of leadership appear to be strongly informed by previous and current examples of leadership styles but also by characteristics desired in a leader. Women are perceived as 'belonging' in the domestic and community spheres, with gender norms supporting this perception. Women are seen as caring, kind and focused on children, older people and vulnerable groups.

3. **How do public perceptions of leadership influence the opportunities and challenges for women who wish to become leaders?**

Public perceptions of women as not having the necessary skills for political leadership create a significant impediment for women at local level. These perceptions are in addition to existing and influential structural barriers.

4. **What public views are there on how to create an enabling environment to support the meaningful participation of women as leaders?**

While perceptions of women as 'deficient' in terms of political leadership are common, there appears to some public recognition of the structural barriers to women becoming leaders.

Data from the research appears to confirm existing understandings of some of the structural barriers to leadership faced by women in Timor-Leste.

Domestic responsibilities

The burden of domestic labour, recognised as a significant barrier for women globally, is relevant in Timor-Leste. The provision of universal education has had a dramatic impact and women are advancing at an impressive rate in many professional fields. Nevertheless, there are strong existing social norms in relation to roles for girls and boys and, as this research confirms, domestic work is still largely seen as women's responsibility. The findings suggest that women may assume leadership positions but that they must not neglect their domestic duties to do so. Women's availability for public roles is highly dependent on men taking a greater share of domestic work.

Economic barriers

Campaigning and preparing for political leadership require money. Women in Timor-Leste generally have less access to resources than men. Current legislation in relation to suku elections requires candidates

to campaign independently rather than as part of a political party, removing a potential source of economic support for women. A key informant drew attention to the importance of access to resources:

> **I know [a woman who could lead], she has a skill in organizing people, she is very creative, well experienced, hard working. She needs only the opportunity, connection with the community and local authorities. She has to be ready to implement the programs. She needs to be supported with facility, materials and money to enable her candidacy.**
>
> *Woman NGO representative, Dili*

One third of respondents (33%) agreed that "women don't have enough money to stand for election." Advocates for "diversity in political leadership" may wish to devise strategies for increasing public awareness of the resources required for political campaigning and the economic disadvantage faced by women.

Timor-Leste culture-specific factors

Work to increase women's participation in political leadership must take account of specific contextual factors. Francisca De Sousa's research provides a useful analysis of some factors, including gender-based cultural differences in politics (the long working hours permitted for men, drinking/smoking as forms of bonding, 'boys' clubs') and status within the family.

In most cultures in Timor, women marry 'in' (*kaben-tama*) to the man's family. Women who aspire to local political leadership tend to be middle-aged and are therefore likely to be married. In many contexts in Timor-Leste, a married woman (*feto-foun*) cannot/should not assume a social position higher than the men in her family, particularly her family-in-law. De Sousa cites multiple examples where concern about a woman assuming higher status than male family members was a factor:

> When they ran for election, women candidates could not compete against men candidates who in fact are called uncles, brothers in law, cousins or siblings.[63]

Her research suggests that some male leaders actively block women candidates:

> The Xefe Suku asked for local youth to launch a door-to-door campaign saying, "No one choose Fatima Soares, because she is a feto-foun [married woman], we must vote for a male candidate."[64]

It is important to understand how some women have managed to overcome this. Civil society advocates have reported success through meeting with a female candidate's family regularly and encouraging them to support her. This issue has less impact at national level since women are not making decisions that impact directly on their own community. At suku level, however, this is a significant issue that needs to be understood in a local context. Similar concerns about 'rising above' male family members apply to other groups such as young people and people who are subordinate in the local social structure.

Leveraging the desire for modernisation (a gender-equal nation state) along with a revisionist understanding of 'history' (pre-colonial societies in which women and men may have had equal status) provides an exciting opportunity for supporting communities to reconsider gender relations in Timor-Leste.

> **"In our Suku and Aldeia, there are women who want to become Xefe Suku and Aldeia, but most of the time there are far more men than women that run, so the people's trust gets split between the number of candidates – most of the men get support from political parties' big-wigs, so they can win in an election. Most of the time the people that have the confidence to run for Xefe Suku or Aldeia come from large and powerful families and almost always with a line of powerful men – not women – so men always win local elections."**
>
> *Male participant, rural focus group*

[63] De Sousa, pp.52-53.
[64] De Sousa, pp.52-52.

Gender stereotypes and unconscious bias

Data from this research supports previous work suggesting that most people in Timor-Leste are aware that women and men are equal by law. This is encouraging in relation to work towards gender equality in political leadership. This research has shown, however, that there is some complexity in how this stated 'belief in' gender equality translates in terms of support for women at elections and in political processes more generally. The findings suggest that whilst people may see that women 'can' become leaders (that is, they are legally permitted to), they are not quite sure if they are 'capable'. Data from the focus groups provides some insight into this:

> **There were women who made themselves available as candidates for Xefe Suku, but it is very difficult for them to win. I think people here don't yet believe in women's capacity and leadership.**
>
> *Young man, rural focus group*

The research suggests two areas of consideration for advocates. The first relates to the idea that there are differing expectations of women and men in political leadership. Working with communities to increase understanding of this may be useful. The second is to consider the idea of unconscious bias, including confirmation bias, in exploring apparent contradictions in public views about women as leaders.

One of the key challenges for women in Timor-Leste (and beyond) is that expectations of women who are leaders can be greater and more difficult to fulfil than those of men. As shown earlier (see Charts 20-22), the leadership qualities most strongly associated with and expected of women are different from those associated with men. Characteristics associated with women include being 'humble', 'honest' and calm'. The research suggests that there is a perception that women are more likely than men to embody these qualities. There are frequent references in the qualitative data to women candidates needing to be "a very good, moral, capable candidate," "well-behaved, active in church" and "kind to everybody and humble." In assessing women's capacity for leadership, people hold high expectations of women's public and private behaviour.[65] These expectations are less likely to be held of men.

Contradictions within public perceptions of women's capacity for political leadership are highlighted when several results are shown side-by-side.

WOMEN HAVE SUFFICIENT QUALITIES TO BE A LEADER (75%)	MEN MAKE BETTER LEADERS (70%)
COMMUNITY LEADERS MUST PUT COMMUNITY BEFORE FAMILY (96%)	WOMEN MUST PUT FAMILY FIRST (32%)
OUR CULTURE SUPPORTS WOMEN (66%)	WOMEN FACE CULTURAL BARRIERS (59%)
WOMEN LACK CONFIDENCE TO STAND FOR ELECTION (71%)	THERE SHOULD BE SOCIALISATION TO CHANGE PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES ABOUT WOMEN LEADERS (96%)

These apparent contradictions may be explained by the difference between what people *believe* (that women are capable of being political leaders) and *see* (overwhelmingly, men) and between what people consider desirable ("Our culture supports women") and the recognition of reality (that there are substantial cultural barriers). Women in Timor-Leste are highly active as community leaders, convenors of family and church events and organisers of community action. Men are much more visible as leaders, however, in part as a consequence of the social permission for men to occupy public spaces. This visibility has consequences in relation to what is considered possible:

> **"Usually people see men at the front-line to resolve conflict in the community, therefore they think that men do this better than women, but for me this is not true."**
>
> *Male Xefe Suku*

[65] See the finding from research conducted in Europe and the United States that women leaders are commonly perceived as 'too tough' or 'too soft,' are held to higher standards than men and are perceived as "competent or liked, but rarely both." Catalyst, 'Report: the double-bind dilemma for women in leadership,' 2007.

People may believe that women can be leaders but, in the absence of visible women leaders at local level, there may be considerable uncertainty about this. An important strategy for advocacy will be to lobby media to address this and promote leaders who are women – not just because they are women, but because of their successes.

"A TV appearance would be good, like on the Morning Coffee (Kafe Dadeer) program, where different Xefes Suku talk about development in their area. That way we see women as leaders and their achievements in the context of 'leadership', not just 'women's rights' which some people still aren't sure of."

Civil society representative

The idea of unconscious bias may assist advocates in Timor-Leste who are working with communities to increase their understanding of perceptions of women as leaders. Unconscious (or implicit) biases are prejudices about certain social groups formed by people outside their conscious awareness. These prejudices can be incompatible with the conscious values held by people. This may help explain why a large majority of respondents in this research (75%) agree that "women have sufficient qualities to be a leader" but a similar proportion (70%) agree that "men make better leaders."

Confirmation bias is a type of unconscious bias and describes the tendency people may have to look for information consistent with their existing beliefs. These beliefs may include expectations of a given situation or predictions about an outcome. A high proportion of respondents in this research agreed that "there should be socialisation to change people's attitudes to accept more women leaders" (96%) and that "political parties should prioritise women as spokespersons and decision-makers" (88%). These results suggest that there is some awareness of the influence of gender stereotypes and bias within communities. In a context where the 'public face' of political leadership is overwhelmingly male, the concepts of unconscious bias and confirmation bias may be helpful to advocates working to change social norms. Increasing the visibility of women who are leaders and their skills may be an effective strategy for changing public perceptions of women as political leaders.

"In the 2016 suku elections the strategy was to give women and men equal opportunities to participate in the election as candidates. However, our culture still ties women to their traditional role, therefore I would suggest that women should not give up but continue to advance their rights and continue to stand for election."

Male Xefe Suku

The idea of 'cognitive dissonance' may also be useful in considering some of the contradictions suggested by the data. This phrase is used to describe the phenomenon of a person holding two conflicting beliefs or having views and behaviour that appear to be at odds with one another. This is uncomfortable and in response to this discomfort a person may seek to change their attitude or behaviour. This has found to be a significant factor in voter behaviour globally.[66] Understanding this idea may help work towards shifting discriminatory attitudes and behaviours.

> As prejudices often arise through engrained (sic) societal influences that are based on situations that are not reflective of the entire discriminated group, enabling people to recognize that their prejudices do not coincide with the realities of the individuals in a target group will lead to the creation of cognitive dissonance and the diminishment of the prejudices. It is important for us to create this understanding among people so we can build inclusive and respectful communities.[67]

People might 'believe' that women are capable of being leaders but, in the absence of visible examples, may be unsure of what this might look like. Even when there are examples, confirmation bias means that people do not always see these. To explain why there are not more women (or young people, people with disability) in leadership, people's cognitive dissonance guides them to create reasons. That is, in looking for reasons to understand something, people may find explanations in common stereotypes,

[66] See Emily Harris, '*Reaching New Heights: An Examination of Cognitive Dissonance and the Attitude Toward Height and Leadership*,' 2014 and Inga Snaebjornsson et al, 'Cross-Cultural Leadership: Expectations on Gendered Leaders,' 2015.

[67] Harris, p.98.

for example, that women are shy or that men are 'naturally' more capable. There is enough supporting evidence to believe that these factors are the real cause and so those reasons seem to explain why women are not in politics. In this situation, structural causes, including entrenched discrimination, may be overlooked.

Unconscious bias can have a strong impact on how people behave. Although individuals may support women to become leaders, their unconscious bias (gender stereotypes, negative perceptions of women) means that they believe men are better leaders. This may then be reinforced through confirmation bias (because we see leaders are mostly men, there must be a reason for that). As De Sousa articulates:

> The negative depictions of women, especially by politicians, need to change as it continues to have an overwhelming influence on women politicians as they are making a firm attempt in advancing themselves in politics.[68]

Chart 28:

Visual interpretation of contradictory responses (indicating double standards and structural discrimination)

[68] De Sousa, p.13.

STRATEGIES FOR INCREASING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The survey data collected through the research was presented to representatives of civil society, including women's rights organisations, in two workshops organised by Alola Foundation and International Women's Development Agency. The purpose of these workshops was to share the data with this highly experienced group to allow exploration of future work towards gender equality in political leadership.

There was a strong emphasis in discussions on the positive opportunities for action in Timor-Leste. This includes working with communities to develop skills in social and structural power analysis and making visible the contribution women have made and are making to development in Timor-Leste. Increasing opportunities for women in leadership is an important step in increasing diversity in decision making more broadly. 'Culture' and customs present important barriers. However 'culture', more so 'customs' are continually changing and this presents opportunities. Civil society plays a unique role in Timor-Leste in working with communities at national and community levels. Global understandings about inclusive political leadership are important but, ultimately, any ways forward need to be made by and with the people of Timor-Leste.

The research team outlined some strategies for consideration by stakeholders in Timor-Leste. This list below is based on these and further discussions with civil society representatives. They include some strategies that are already being used. It is hoped that these strategies may support a more inclusive, gender-equal political leadership in the future.

Increasing women in local leadership: society-wide transformational change

1. Support local communities to develop a deeper understanding of gender stereotypes and gender inequality and the impact these have on women's opportunities.
2. Support young people and men in particular to actively engage with their communities as agents of change.
3. Encourage men, especially those in political leadership, to actively advocate for and support women leaders.
4. Encourage discussion of 'equality' and 'inclusion' rather than 'women's empowerment' or women's issues to avoid disengagement by some.
5. Encourage discussion of 'leaders who are women' and 'leaders who are young' rather than 'women who are leaders' and 'young people who are leaders'. This may assist people in seeing leaders are either women or men, older or younger and encourage a move away from the dominant belief that leaders are middle-aged-men.
6. Involve people who are often excluded: LGBTQI+, people with disability, people of other religions.
7. Document and promote stories of success by women who are in leadership positions, including sources of support, enabling contexts and strategies used to work across customary and state governance systems to provide visible examples of diverse leadership and provide role models to potential candidates who are women.[69]
8. Promote existing knowledge about women's leadership and status prior to colonisation and during the struggle for independence.

Increasing women in local leadership: municipal and suku elections

9. Support the provision of independent election information for communities in the lead up to the municipal elections (expected 2021) and the next suku elections (expected 2023).
10. Incorporate findings from this and other research into strategic programming and campaigning with women candidates preparing for suku elections.
11. Lobby political parties to develop and commit to strategies for increasing women's leadership

[69] As noted, IWDA partners in Timor-Leste are participating in the *Women's Leadership Pathways* research on this topic.

and status within party structures. Lobby parties to ensure that women candidates are not always placed last in each sequence of names.

12. Work with media to promote woman candidates, including holding media organisations to account when exposure of women candidates is overlooked.
13. Strategically use social media to raise the profile of candidates and incumbent leaders who are women.
14. Work with men who are focussed on social justice and are currently in leadership roles to provide access to opportunities for women candidates.
15. Support NGOs liaising with elders, current Xefes Suku and other community leaders to promote women's leadership at the local level.
16. Strengthen complaint and redress mechanisms for discrimination against women candidates.

Photo: Sra. Carlota Ximenes, potential candidate from Baucau © Alola Foundation / Fransisco Guterres

POSTSCRIPT: ADDITIONAL STRATEGIES

After the completion of the English language report and during the process of finalising the Tetun language report, the research findings went through additional civil society consultations. As a result of this process and based on the research findings and previous civil society responses, civil society actors endorsed the existing strategies and recommended some additional strategies for enabling and supporting women's leadership in Timor-Leste. The ordering and categorisation has also been further adjusted. These additional strategies have been included in the Tetun report, and are included here as a postscript.

Society-wide transformational change

Social and institutional

1. Ensure that laws and policies are gender sensitive and follow principles of gender equality, especially in regards to decision making powers.
2. Government, UN agencies and civil society actively support women in leadership and decision making positions in all sectors, including professional development opportunities.

Community change

3. Support local communities to develop a deeper understanding of gender stereotypes and gender inequality and the impact these have on women's opportunities.
4. Support young people and men in particular to actively engage with their communities as agents of change.
5. Encourage men, especially those in political leadership, to actively advocate for and support women leaders.
6. Support NGOs liaising with elders, current Xefe Suku and other community leaders to promote women's leadership at the local level.
7. Involve people who are often excluded: LGBTQI+, people with disability, people of other religions.
8. Encourage a culture of women supporting women to show a united front and establish gender equality. It's important for women to support each other to ensure representation of women in power and decision making roles.

Visibility (honouring women)

9. Document and promote stories of success by women who are in leadership positions, including sources of support, enabling contexts and strategies used to work across customary and state governance systems to provide visible examples of diverse leadership and provide role models to potential candidates who are women.[70]
10. Promote existing knowledge about women's leadership and status prior to colonisation and during the struggle for independence.
11. Recognise and honour heroines from the independence struggle (for example: a statue of Maria Tapo, public instalments and stories of women from each of the 12 municipalities and RAOEA)

Language & terminology

12. Encourage discussion of 'equality' and 'inclusion' rather than 'women's empowerment' or women's issues to avoid disengagement by some.
13. Encourage discussion of 'leaders who are women' and 'leaders who are young' rather than 'women who are leaders' and 'young people who are leaders'. This may assist people in seeing leaders are either women or men, older or younger and encourage a move away from the dominant belief that leaders are middle-aged-men.

[70] As noted, IWDA partners in Timor-Leste are participating in the Women's Leadership Pathways research on this topic.

Political change: National, Municipal and Suku elections

Communication and information

14. Support the provision of independent election information for communities in the lead up to the municipal elections (expected 2021) and the next suku elections (expected 2023).

15. Work with media to promote woman candidates, including holding media organisations to account when exposure of women candidates is overlooked.

16. Strategically use social media to raise the profile of candidates and incumbent leaders who are women.

Building support at local levels

17. Civil Society to continue advocacy with candidates' families, meeting them often to encourage them to support the candidates.

18. Civil Society to collaborate with Women's Municipal Associations as strong women representatives at the municipal level.

19. SEII together with civil society to collaborate with grassroots and communities, especially political party leadership at the sub-national level, to ensure female candidates receive optimal support (particularly independent candidates).

Building political party support

20. Lobby political parties to develop and commit to strategies for increasing women's leadership and status within party structures (relevant to quota system, need to ensure that women candidates are not always placed last in each sequence of names).

21. Political parties need to provide opportunities and support to individual women to assume leadership positions. Lobby political parties to develop strategies and structural change that will allow for diversifying party membership and leadership; focusing on not just women but also people with a disability and LGBTQI+ representatives.

22. Strengthen complaint and redress mechanisms for discrimination against women candidates.

Direct Support for candidates

23. Senior activists and ex-leaders[71] to collaborate to support candidates who are women, strengthening meaningful participation of women in decision making powers and leadership at national and sub-national levels.

24. Work with men who are focussed on social justice and are currently in leadership roles to provide access to opportunities for women candidates.

25. SEII, UN agencies, International NGOs and civil society collaborate to provide on-going support to candidates during the entire process from preparation through to the completion of elections and after the elections (financial, training, accompaniment etc).

Photo: Sra. Hermenia Sarmento, potential candidate from Liquicia © Alola Foundation / Fransisco Guterres

[71] Many of these people have access to current, senior political leaders and as such are in a position to offer not just individual support to candidates, but also influence current politics.

APPENDIX 1: SURVEY (ENGLISH)

"The original survey contained some incorrect terms and/or spelling (such as suco/suku and district/municipality). The correct versions are presented here to avoid confusion and support the use of correct terms.

MUNICIPALITY

Bobonaro

Dili

Ermera

Viqueque

SUKU

SECTION A: Demographics

Bon Dia. My name is [Name]. I work for Monash University and we are doing some research. We would like to know what people think about women as leaders in Timor-Leste. We are talking to people in different places and would like to ask if you would help us with our research by sharing what you think about this issue. By doing this you will help us understand this issue more. It is up to you whether you take part or not – it is fine to say no. We will not record your name so your responses will be anonymous and we will keep your answers private and secure. You can decide not to answer some of the questions; you just need to tell me that you do not want to answer that question. You can also decide later if you do not want to participate and we will delete your answers. We will write a report about what you and all the other people have said. We will not use your name and other personal information in our report. The research report will be shared later with your community. There are no right or wrong answers – we just want to hear what you think. Our conversation will take about 35 minutes. Do you have any questions about the research and our approach?

[enumerator to give participant a card with unique survey identification number written on and the contact details of the research project] If you have any questions or complaints about this research or wish to withdraw please contact the people on this card.

I consent to my answers in this survey being used in a research study. I understand my answers will be kept confidential and I can withdraw from the study at any time.	No	Yes	No response

A2. SEX	
	Female
	Male

A3. AGE	
	17-35
	36-55
	Over 56
	No response

A4. BIRTHPLACE - ALDEIA

BORN IN THIS SUKU?	
	No
	Yes
	No response

BIRTHPLACE - SUKU

BIRTHPLACE - MUNICIPALITY

A5. WHEN DID YOU COME TO THIS SUKU/ MUNICIPALITY

A6. LANGUAGE YOU SPEAK MOST

A7. EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED	
	None
	Primary
	Pre-secondary
	Secondary
	University/college
	Don't know
	No response

A8. EMPLOYMENT STATUS	
	Employed for cash
	Employed not for cash (eg. Farmer)
	Works in the household
	Not employed
	No response

SECTION B: Current Political Awareness

1. IN THE LAST SUKU ELECTION, DID ANY WOMEN STAND FOR XEFE SUKU OR XEFE ALDEIA?	
	No
	Yes
	No response

2. IN THE LAST SUKU ELECTION DID YOU VOTE FOR A WOMAN XEFE SUKU OR XEFE ALDEIA?	
	No
	Yes
	No response

3. DO YOU KNOW THE FEMALE DELEGADA IN YOUR ALDEIA?	
	No
	Yes
	No response

4. DO YOU KNOW THE MALE DELEGADO IN YOUR ALDEIA?	
	No
	Yes
	No response

5. HOW DO YOU HEAR ABOUT WHO IS RUNNING FOR SUKU ELECTION IN YOUR COMMUNITY? select as many as appropriate, enumerator codes	
	Local radio
	Newspaper
	Community meeting
	Bulletin in suco or posto office
	Local leaders tell us
	Neighbours, family and friends
	Facebook/social media
	Other (please comment)
	No response
5.a. Specify other	

6. GENERALLY SPEAKING, DO YOU SUPPORT WOMEN TO BECOME POLITICAL LEADERS?	
	No
	Yes
	No response

6A. AT WHAT LEVEL?	
	Suku
	Posto
	Municipal
	National
	No response

SECTION C: Voting Behaviour According to Gender and Age

1. WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A WOMAN IF SHE WAS ON THE BALLOT?	
	No
	Yes
	No response

2. WOULD ANY OF THE FOLLOWING MAKE YOU MORE LIKELY TO VOTE FOR A WOMAN? SAY WHETHER IT WOULD MAKE YOU MORE LIKELY, NO CHANGE OR LESS LIKELY TO VOTE FOR A WOMAN.	
a. If women were better candidates	
	More likely
	No change
	Less likely
	No response

b. If her husband or father is an important man	
	More likely
	No change
	Less likely
	No response

c. If there were more women on the ballot	
	More likely
	No change
	Less likely
	No response

d. My family supported a female candidate	
	More likely
	No change
	Less likely
	No response

e. My friends supported a female candidate	
	More likely
	No change
	Less likely
	No response

f. The political parties supported more women	
	More likely
	No change
	Less likely
	No response

g. NGOs supported more women candidates	
	More likely
	No change
	Less likely
	No response

3. WOULD YOU PREFER TO VOTE FOR SOMEONE WHO	
	<30 was younger than 30
	30-45 someone aged between 30 and 45
	46-60 someone aged between 46 and 60
	>60 someone over 60
	Age not important
	No response

SECTION D: General Gender Attributes

D. I'M GOING TO READ YOU A LIST OF PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO SAY WHETHER YOU ASSOCIATE EACH QUALITY MORE WITH WOMEN, MORE WITH MEN, OR EQUALLY WITH WOMEN AND MEN. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWER.	
Popular	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Hard-working	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Emotional	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Honest	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Self-sacrificing	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Strategic	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Trustworthy	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Ambitious	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Responsible	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Self-confident	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Intelligent	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Humble	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Stubborn/Tenacious	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Religious	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Agressive	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Decisive	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Articulate	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Calm	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

SECTION E: General Gender Politics Statements

I AM GOING TO READ OUT A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS. FOR EACH STATEMENT, PLEASE TELL ME WHETHER YOU (SD=Strongly Disagree, D=Disagree, A=Agree, SA = Strongly Agree)	
In Timor-Leste today men and women generally have equal rights	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

It is as easy for a woman to get elected at suku level as a man	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

Men generally make better political leaders than women at the suku level	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

A woman's responsibility to her family must come before her community or leadership responsibilities	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

Our culture is supportive of women's leadership at the suku level	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

It would be better for our community if there were more women as local leaders	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

Men need to take more responsibility for household work	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

It would be better for our municipality if there were more women as municipal leaders	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

A leader's community responsibilities must come before their family life	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

It would be better for Timor-Leste if there were more women in national government	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

Women should have more opportunities and scholarships to help them become leaders	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

Political parties should prioritise women as spokespersons and decision-makers	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

There should be socialisation to change people's attitudes to accept more women leaders	
	Strongly disagree
	Disagree
	Agree
	Strongly agree
	No response

SECTION F: General Gendered Leadership Roles

I'M GOING TO READ A LIST OF CAPABILITIES. COULD YOU TELL ME WHETHER YOU THINK: women leaders do this better, men leaders do this better, or if you think there is no difference between how women and men do this?	
Ability to lead and influence others	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Ability to relate and interact with peers, subordinates, and superiors	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Ability to implement and do their work	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Ability to adapt to changes and be innovative	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Ability to motivate and direct others	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Has capacity to find compromise	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Ability to take responsibility and organize the team	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Doesn't accept bribes	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Ability to take initiative for the local community	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Improving the lives of women in the community	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Able to accept responsibility for mistakes or wrong decisions	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Can resolve conflicts	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Is aware of the needs of various families in the community	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Protecting the environment	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Working to end violence against women	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Is fair and treats everyone equally	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Has a strong presence in the community	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Can manage budgets	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Communicate with poor people and represent their interests	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Prepares/teaches and encourages young leaders	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Listens to the concerns of the community and raises them for planning and policy development	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Improves the welfare of children and the elderly in the community	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Capacity to promote gender equality	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

Can prevent conflict	
	Women
	Men
	Both women and men
	No response

SECTION G: Personal Qualities of Local Leaders

I AM GOING TO READ OUT A NUMBER OF QUALITIES. I'D LIKE YOU TO TELL ME HOW IMPORTANT TO YOU EACH OF THESE QUALITIES IS IN A SUKU COUNCIL LEADER – in general, it can be either a woman or a man. For each, please say whether you think it is not important, slightly important, moderately important or very important.	
Popular	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Hard-working	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Emotional	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Honest	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Strategic	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Ambitious	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Self-confident	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Humble	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Self-sacrificing	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Stubborn/Tenacious	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Trustworthy	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Religious	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Responsible	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Decisive	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Intelligent	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Calm	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Aggressive	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Articulate	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

SECTION H: Qualifications and Experience of Local Leaders

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS THE MINIMUM LEVEL OF EDUCATION A LEADER AT A SUKU LEVEL SHOULD HOLD? Open ended question, enumerator codes	
	Primary level/SMP (pre-secondary)
	Have completed SMA (secondary)
	University degree
	Master or PhD degree
	It doesn't matter
	Other
	No response
Specify other	

I AM GOING TO READ OUT CHARACTERISTICS. I'D LIKE YOU TO TELL ME HOW IMPORTANT YOU THINK EACH OF THESE IS IN A SUKU COUNCIL LEADER (IN GENERAL: EITHER A WOMAN OR A MAN). For each, please say whether you think it is not important, slightly important, moderately important or very important.	
Come from a liurai or xefe suku family	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Has experience leading a community organisation or association	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Has political party support/assistance	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Is a successful business person	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Married	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Speaks the local language	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Has children	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Lived in Timor-Leste during Indonesian times	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Born in this suku	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

Is a veteran	
	Not important
	Slightly important
	Moderately Important
	Very important
	No response

SECTION I: Woman Leaders

WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE ARE THE MAIN BARRIERS WHICH RESTRICT WOMEN BE ELECTED TO SUKU COUNCILS?	
Women are not interested in politics	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women's responsibilities are in the home	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women don't have time for politics	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women don't have sufficient qualifications for politics	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women don't receive support from their family to run for election	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Local leaders don't support or prepare women to become leaders	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women don't have enough money to stand for election	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women don't have the support of their husband	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women face cultural obstacles/prohibitions to participate in politics	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women lack the confidence to stand for election	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women cannot face the violence that sometimes happens in political campaigns or the abuse directed at them as female candidates	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

Women cannot be good leaders if many women can't ride a motorbike	
	Agree
	Disagree
	No response

HOW LIKELY DO YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING SCENARIOS ARE TO OCCUR WITHIN THE NEXT 10 YEARS IN TIMOR LESTE? Extremely Likely, Likely, unlikely, extremely unlikely.	
a. A majority of female Xefe Suku	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

b. A woman Post Administrator	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

c. A woman Municipal Administrator	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

d. A female majority in parliament	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

e. A woman as Minister for Health	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

f. A woman as Minister for Foreign Affairs	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

g. A woman as Ambassador to another country	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

h. A woman as Minister for Defence	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

i. A woman as Commander of the Army	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

j. A woman as Prime Minister	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

k. A woman as President	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

l. Have a Ministry for Women in Timor-Leste	
	Extremely likely
	Likely
	Unlikely
	Extremely unlikely
	No response

CONCLUSION

Thank you so much for your time. There are many women who are leaders in Timor-Leste especially in the national parliament, but as yet there aren't many local women leaders. This isn't because the woman doesn't have the skills or ability, but because people don't think that women can, or they are following tradition. Times change and now all our girls and boys get the same education. So now we are trying to understand what barriers can change so that women have the opportunity to be leaders. Your answers will help us to identify and hopefully address these barriers.

Now that I have said this, is there anything else you'd like to add, or would like to ask me?

(Leave blank if no)

APPENDIX 2: SURVEY (TETUN)

"Survey Tetun ne'e tradús hosi versaun Ingrés-nian. Survey orijinál iha letra no lia-fuan balu hakerek sala. Iha versaun ida ne'e, ami hadi'a hodi la iha konfuzaun kona-ba oinsá hakerek loloos ho Tetun..

MUNISÍPIU

Bobonaro

Dili

Ermera

Viqueque

SUKU

SEKSAUN A: Demográfiku

Bondia. Ha'u nia naran (….). Ha'u servisu ba Universidade Monash no ami hala'o hela peskiza. Ami hakarak hatene kona-ba saida mak ema hanoin kona-ba feto sai lider iha Timor-Leste. Ami ko'alia ho ema barak iha fatin ne'ebé lahanesan no ami hakarak husi ita boot sira karik bele ajuda ami iha peskiza ida ne'e liu husi fahe imi nia hanoin kona-ba kazu ida ne'e. Ho ida ne'e ita boot sira sei ajuda ami atu hatene liu tan kona-ba kazu sira ne'e. Ida ne'e depende ba ita boot sira atu hola parte ka lae – ita boot sira bele dehan lae. Ami sei la hakerek ita boot nia naran tanba ne'e ita boot nia naran sei anónimu no ami sei rai ita boot nia resposta segredu no seguru. Ita boot bele deside atu la responde pergunta balu; ita bele dehan de'it katak ita lakohi atu responde pergunta ne'e. Ikus mai Ita mós bele deside atu la partisipa no ami sei hasai ita nia resposta. Ami sei halo relatóriu kona-ba saida mai ita boot no ema seluk hatete sai. Ami sei la uza ita boot nia naran no informasaun kona-ba personalidade iha ami nia relatóriu. Relatóriu peskiza sei fahe ba komunidade. Resposta sira ne'e laiha ida mak los ka sala – ami hakarak atu rona ita boot sira nia hanoin. Ita nia diskusaun sei presiza han tempu 35 minute. Karik ita iha pergunta kona-ba peskiza ne'e no ami nia aproximasaun?

[enumerador presiza fó kartaun ida ba partisipante ho númeru identifikasaun survey ne'ebé úniku iha kontaktu detalla ba projetu peskiza) karik ita iha pergunta ruma ka reklamasaun ruma kona-ba peskiza ida ne'e ka hakarak hasai bele kontaktu ema ne'e iha kartaun ida ne'e.

Ha'u konsente ba ho ha'u nia resposta sira iha survey ne'e bele uza duni iha estudu ba peskiza ne'e.	Lae	Sin	La resposta

A2. SEKSU	
	Feto
	Mane

A3. TINAN	
	17-35
	36-55
	Liu 56
	La resposta

A4. MORIS FATIN - ALDEIA

MORIS IHA SUKU IDA NE'E KA LAE?	
	Lae
	Sin
	La resposta

MORIS FATIN - SUKU

MORIS FATIN – MUNISÍPIU

A5. ITA HELA IHA SUKU/DISTRITU NE'E TINAN SAIDA?

A6. LIAN NE'EBÉ ITA KO'ALIA, BARAK LIU LIAN

A7. NIVEL EDUKASAUN NE'EBÉ ITA ATINJI	
	Laiha
	Primária
	Pre-sekundária
	Sekundária
	Universidade/Koléjiu
	La hatene
	La resposta

A8. ESTATUTU SERVISU	
	Servisu ho saláriu
	Servisu la ho saláriu (hanesan to'os na'in)
	Servisu iha uma
	Dezempregu
	La resposta

SEKSAUN B: Konsiénsia Polítiku Atuál

1. IHA ELEISAUN BA DALA IKUS, KARIK FETO BALU KANDIDATA AN BA XEFE SUKU KA XEFE ALDEIA?	
	Lae
	Sin
	La resposta

2. IHA ELEISAUN BA DALA IKUS ITA VOTA BA FETO HODI SAI XEFE SUKU KA XEFE ALDEIA?	
	Lae
	Sin
	La resposta

3. DO YOU KNOW THE FETO DELEGADA IN YOUR ALDEIA?	
	Lae
	Sin
	La resposta

4. ITA HATENE ITA NIA DELEGADU MANE IHA ITA NIA ALDEIA?	
	Lae
	Sin
	La resposta

5. ITA RONA/HATENE OINSÁ KONA BA EMA NE'EBÉ KANDIDATA-AN IHA ITA NIA KOMUNIDADE? hili hotu ne'ebé aplikavel	
	Radio lokál
	Journal
	Reuniaun komunidade
	Bulletin iha suku ka edifísiu postu
	Lideransa local hatete ami
	Viziñu, família no kolega
	Facebook/media sosiál
	Seluk (favór komentáriu)
	La resposta
5.A ESPESIFIKA SELUK	

6. JERÁLMENTE, ITA FÓ SUPORTA BA FETO ATU SAI LIDERANSA IHA POLÍTIKA?	
	Lae
	Sin
	La resposta

6A. IHA NIVEL NE'EBÉ?	
	Suku
	Posto
	Municipal
	National
	La resposta

SEKSAUN C: Hahalok Vota Tuir Jéneru No Tinan/Idade

1. KARIK ITA VOTA BA FETO SE NI-NIA NARAN IHA LISTA BULETIN VOTU?	
	Lae
	Sin
	La resposta

2. KARIK HUSI IDEA SIRA TUIR MAI NE'EBÉ BELE DADA ITA ATU HAKARAK HODI VOTA BA FETO SIRA? hatete tok karik halo ita gosta liu, la halo mudansa ka ladún gosta atu vota ba Feto.	
a. Karik feto ne'e kandidata di'ak liu	
	Gosta liu
	La halo mudansa
	Ladún gosta
	La resposta

b. Karik ninia la'en ka aman ema bot	
	Gosta liu
	La halo mudansa
	Ladún gosta
	La resposta

c. Karik iha feto barak iha buletin vota	
	Gosta liu
	La halo mudansa
	Ladún gosta
	La resposta

d. Karik ita nia família fó suporta ba kandidata feto	
	Gosta liu
	La halo mudansa
	Ladún gosta
	La resposta

e. Karik ita nia kolega sira fó suporta ba kandidata feto	
	Gosta liu
	La halo mudansa
	Ladún gosta
	La resposta

f. Karik partidu polítiku sira fó apoiu ba feto barak	
	Gosta liu
	La halo mudansa
	La halo mudansa
	La resposta

g. Karik NGO sira fó apoiu ba feto sira	
	Gosta liu
	La halo mudansa
	La halo mudansa
	La resposta

3. KARIK ITA PREFERE LIU ATU VOTA BA EMA RUMA NE'EBÉ	
	<30 idade menus husi tinan 30
	30-45 idade entre 30 no 45
	46-60 idade entre 46 no 60
	>60 ema ruma ho idade liu husi 60
	Idade la importante
	La resposta

SEKSAUN D: Atributo Jéneru Jerál

D. HA'U SEI LEE SAI NÚMERU KARAKTERÍSTIKA SIRA TUIR MAI. KARIK ITA BELE HATETE MAI HA'U KONA-BA ITA NIA HANOIN EN JERÁL - kona-ba feto halo di'ak liu, mane halo ida ne'e di'ak liu, ka laiha diferensa?	
Koñesidu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Badinas	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Sentimentu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Onestu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Sakrifika-an	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Estratéjia oi oin	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Ema bele fiar	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Vontade bot	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Responsabilidade	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Fiar an	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Matenek	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Haraik an	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Ulun-toos	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Fiar na'in	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Siak-teen	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Serteza	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Hatene ko'alia	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Kalma	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

SEKSAUN E: Estetmentu Jerál Polítika Jéneru

HA'U SEI LEE NÚMERU ESTATMENTU BALU. KADA ESTATMENTU, FAVÓR HATETE MAI AMI KARIK ITA (SD=la aseita maka'as, D=la aseita, A=aseita, SA=aseita maka'as)	
Iha Timor-Leste agora daudaun ne'e jerálmente feto ho mane iha direitu ne'ebé hanesan.	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Fasil ba feto sira atu hetan vota ka eleitu kompara mane iha eleisaun suku	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Jerálmente mane sai lider polítiku ne'ebé di'ak liu kompara ho feto iha nivel suku	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Feto tenke tane as uluk ninia interese família, duke ninia responsabilidade nu'udar lider iha komunidade	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Ita nia kultura fó suporta ba feto sira atu sai lideransa iha nivel suku	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Sei di'ak liu ba ita nia komunidade feto barak mak sai lideransa lokál	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Mane sira presiza foti responsabilidade liu iha servisu uma laran	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Sei di'ak liu ba ita nia munisipalidade feto barak mak sai lideransa munisípiu	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Lider ida tenke tane as interese komún duke interese família	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Sei di'ak liu ba iha Timor-Leste feto barak mak governa iha nasionál	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Feto tenke iha oportunidade barak liu no hetan bolsa atu bele sai lider	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Partidu polítiku tenke fó prioridade ba feto bele sai portavós (ko'alia na'in) no foti desizaun	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

Presiza iha sosializasaun atu muda ema nia attitude hodi bele aseita feto barak sai lider	
	La aseita maka'as
	La aseita
	Aseita
	Aseita maka'as
	La resposta

SEKSAUN F: Papél Jerál Lideransa Jéneru

HA'U SEI LEE LISTA ABILIDADE. KARIK ITA BELE HATETE MAI HA'U KONA-BA ITA NIA HANOIN BA: lideransa feto halo di'ak liu, lideransa mane halo ida ne'e di'ak liu, ka karik laiha diferensa entre feto no mane halo ida ne'e?	
Abilidade atu lider no influensia ema seluk	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta
Abilidade atu halo relasaun no interasaun ho ema, ninia ekipa, no ninia xefe.	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Abilidade atu implementa no hala'o ninia servisu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Abilidade atu adapta ba mudansa no sai innovativo	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Abilidade atu motiva ema no sai mata dalan ba ema seluk	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Abilidade atu foti responsabilidade no organiza ekipa	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Abilidade atu foti inisiativa ba komunidade lokál	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Aseita responsabilidade ba hahalok sala no foti desizaun ne'ebé sala.	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Hatene di'ak kona-ba família oioin nia nesesidade iha komunidade	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Bele halo kompromisu [esplika: Hatene maneira/dalan atu halo komprimisiu (kesepakatan/konkordansia)]	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

La simu subornu [KKN]	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Hadi'a feto sira nia moris iha komunidade	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Hatene resolve konflitu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Proteje ambiente	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Servisu hodi hapara violénsia kontra feto	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Trata ema hotu-hotu hanesan no justu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Sai prezensa ne'ebé forte iha komunidade	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Hatene jere orsamentu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Komunika ho ema kbiit laek no reprezenta ema nia interese	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Prepara/hanorin no enkoraja lider foin-sa'e sira seluk	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Rona preokupasaun komunidade no harii asuntu sira iha planu no polítika sira	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Hadi'a labarik no ferik-katuas sira nia moris di'ak iha komunidade	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Promove igualdade jéneru	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

Hatene prevene konflitu	
	Feto
	Mane
	Laiha diferensa
	La resposta

SEKSAUN G: Kualidade Pesoál Husi Lideransa Lokál

HA'U SEI LEE SAI NÚMERU KUALIDADE. HA'U HAKARAK ITA ATU HATETE MAI HA'U IMPORTÁNSIA HUSI ITA KONA-BA KADA KUALIDADE SIRA IHA LIDER KONSELLU SUKU – iha jerál, bele feto ka mane. Kada kualidade, favor hatete saida mak ita hanoin karik la importante, ladún importante, importante, importante liu ka esensiu.	
Koñesidu	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Badinas	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Sentimentu	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Onestu	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Estratéjia oi oin	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Vontade bot	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Fiar-an	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Haraik an	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Sakrifika-an	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Ulun-toos	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Ema bele fiar	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Fiar na'in	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Responsabilidade	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Serteza	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Matenek	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Kalma	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Siak-teen	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Hatene ko'alia	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

SEKSAUN H: Kualifikasaun no Esperiénsia Lideransa Lokál

IHA ITA NIA OPINIAUN, EDUKASAUN MÍNIMU BA LIDERANSA IHA SUKU MAK SAIDA? pergunta nakloke, kódigu enumerador	
	Primária/SMP
	Kompleta ona SMA
	Lisensiatura
	Mestradu ka doutoradu
	Edukasaun la importante
	Seluk
	La resposta
Espesifika seluk	

Iha esperiénsia nu'udar lider iha organizasaun ka asosiasaun komunidade	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Iha apoiu husi partidu polítiku	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Ema ne'ebé susesu iha negósiu	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

HA'U SEI LEE SAI NÚMERU KARAKTERÍSTIKA SIRA TUIR MAI. HA'U HAKARAK ITA ATU HATETE BA HA'U KONA-BA IMPORTÁNSIA HUSI KADA KUALIDADE LIDERANSA KONSELLU SUKU (EN JERÁL, BELE MANE NO BELE FETO). Favór hatete karik ita hanoin ida ne'e la importante, importante uitoan, importante no importante liu ka esensiu.	
Mai husi família liurai ka xefe suku	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Kaben-na'in	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Ko'alia lian lokál	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Iha oan	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Hela iha Timor-Leste durante Indonesia nia tempu	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Moris iha suku ida ne'e	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

Veteranu	
	La importante
	Ladún importante
	Importante
	Importante liu
	La resposta

SEKSAUN I: Lideransa Feto

SAIDA MAK ITA FIAR KATAK SAI OBSTÁKULU BOT LIU BA FETO BELE ELEITU BA KONSELLU SUKU?	
Feto la iha interese iha polítika	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto nia responsabilidade mak iha uma laran de'it	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto laiha tempu hodi halo polítika	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto laiha kualifikadu sufisiente ba polítika	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto la hetan apoiu husi sira nia família ba kompañia eleisaun	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Lideransa local ladún apoiu ka prepara feto sira sai lider	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto laiha osan ne'ebé sufisiente hodi mantein ninia prezensa nu'udar kandidatura	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto la iha apoiu husi sira nia la'en	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto hasoru obstákulu kulturál ba sira nia movimentu atu partisipa iha polítika	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto menus konfiansa ba nia an atu kandidata nia an iha eleisaun	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto la bele hasoru violénsia ka ameasa ne'ebé dala ruma akontese durante halo kampaña polítiku ka ameasa ne'ebé sira simu nu'udar kandidata feto	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

Feto la bele sai lider di'ak tanba feto barak la hatene lori motor	
	Aseita
	La aseita
	La resposta

OINSÁ ITA NIA HANOIN KONA-BA SCENARIO NE'EBÉ SEI AKONTESE IHA TINAN SANULU NIA LARAN IHA TIMOR-LESTE? (sei akontese duni, sei akontese, la akontese, nunka akontese)	
a. Feto sai maioria xefe suku iha Timor-Leste	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

b. Feto sai Administradóra Postu/camat	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

c. Feto sai Administradóra Munisípiu	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

d. Feto sai maioria iha parlamentu	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

e. Feto sai Ministra Saúde	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

f. Feto sai ministra Negósiu Estranjeiru	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

g. Feto sai embaixada iha nasaun seluk	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

h. Feto sai ministra defeza	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

i. Feto sai komandante militár	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

j. Feto sai Primeiru Ministru	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

k. Feto sai Presidente	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

l. Hamosu Ministériu feto iha Timor-Leste	
	Sei akontese duni
	Sei akontese
	La akontese
	Nunka akontese
	La resposta

KONKLUZAUN

Obrigada barak ba ita nia tempu. Iha feto barak mak sai lideransa iha Timor-Leste partikularmente iha parlamentu nasionál, maibé feto sai lideransa iha nivel local seidauk barak. Ida ne'e akontese la'ós tanba feto laiha kapasidade ka matenek, maibé ema hanoin katak feto sira la bele, ka sira hanoin tenke tuir tradisaun duni. Tempu agora muda ona feto no mane hetan edukasaun hanesan - tanba ne'e agora ita presiza atu hatene limitasaun ka bareira saida mai ita presiza atu troka hodi nune'e feto bele iha oportunidade atu sai lideransa. Ita nia resposta sei ajuda ami atu identifika no bele ajuda hodi resolve bareira sira ne'e.

Ha'u ko'alia kona-ba ne'e de'it, karik ita iha buat ruma atu aumenta ka ita iha buat ruma atu husu?
(mamuk se laiha)

APPENDIX 3: FOCUS GROUPS

LOCATION AND COMPOSITION OF FOCUS GROUPS

DISTRICT	EVENT	DATE	LOCATION	MANE/MALE	FETO/FEMALE	TIME
Vikeke	FGD	Thu 10 Jan	Vikeke Vila	Juventude (Tetun Terik Speakers]	Ferik (Tetun Terik Speakers]	8:30 – 18:00
	FGD	Fri 11 Jan	Ossu Villa	Katuas	Juventude	8:30 – 18:00
	Interview	Sat 12 Jan	Vikeke Church	1 Priest (LOST)	2 NGO Rep (Vikeke)	9-12
			Ossu	3 Xefe Suku (Ossu) 4 Veterana (Ossu) (LOST)	-	18:00/11
Bobonaro	FGD	Thu 17 Jan	Maliana/Ritabou Vila	Juventude	Ferik	8:30 – 17:00
	Interview		Maliana/Ritabou Vila	5 Xefe Suku Ritabou	6 NGO Director	12:00 – 13:20 17:30 – 19:00
	FGD	Fri 18 Jan	Bobonaro Vila	Katuas (Bunak)	Feto Juventude (Bunak)	8:30 – 11:30 12:00 – 13:20
	Interview		Tapo	7 Veterana Tapo	8 Catholic Nun	-
Ermera	FDG	Sat 19 Jan	Atsabe/ Ermera Vila	Juventude	Ferik	8:30 – 17:00
	Interview		Atsabe/ Ermera Vila	9 Xefe Suku Malabe 10 Xefe Juventude	-	12:00 - 13:20
	FDG	Sun 20 Jan	Gleno	Joven Feto + Mane	Katuas + ferik	8:30 – 17:00
	Interview	Mon 21 Jan	Gleno	11 Director, Training Center	12 Delegada Suku	9:00 – 10:30

APPENDIX 4: CASE STUDIES

TL PERCEPTIONS RESEARCH – FICTIONAL CANDIDATES

Maria and Jose

Candidate 1: Maria Imaculada 36 years old, literate and finished Catholic high school, 4 children (3 to 12 years), married to farmer who is often away from the household out on the farm or trading crops. In-laws are not very supportive of her candidacy. She is part of a network in her suku dedicated to implementing government/NGO programs for improving child health and education, She says she will make this a priority as leader.

Maria finds it hard to travel to go to meetings to speak about her work (as her husband, although supportive of her work, is often away and no-one else is available to help). Often her oldest boy is left in charge of the younger children but she can't leave them overnight. She also sometimes finds it hard to pay for transport as her husband takes the family motorbike. She speaks well in public but often only other women come to her meetings.

Candidate 2: Jose Luis 42 years old, Indonesian University graduate, spent much of his 20-30s working overseas, now has small construction business with his uncle (who was previously a local leader). His wife stays home to look after their 6 small children (all under 12 years).

Jose has his own motorbike and company truck and can travel around easily and stay away overnight. He has many political contacts and access to funds to run his campaign. He mainly campaigns on access for local businesses like his own to government contracts and helping people get access to government services. Through his networks and friendships Jose is able to attract many people to his meetings.

- Discuss the potential of each candidate to win the upcoming suku election.
- Discuss the potential of each candidate to improve their community.
- What support, if any, should each candidate have to run their campaigns?
- Do citizens vote for people, policies or political parties?

APPENDIX 5: CORE RESEARCH TEAM

Ms Cristina Benevides, Timor Surveys

Ms Benevides managed the quantitative field work and initial survey data analysis. She currently works as a Coordinator with Timor Surveys and as a research assistant with Monash University. She has worked on a previous consultancy with Dr Niner as the National Research Team Leader with Oxfam Timor-Leste.

Dr Deborah Cummins, Bridging Peoples

Dr Deborah Cummins was the in-country field research manager. She is the founder and Director of consultancy Bridging Peoples. She is a researcher, trainer, policy and program analyst specialising in local development, community engagement and aid delivery. She has worked as a development and aid practitioner and researcher for various organisations in Timor-Leste and internationally since 2005 and has published widely in this field.

Dr Sara Niner, Monash University

Dr Sara Niner was research lead on this study. She is a lecturer and researcher at Monash University in Australia where she co-ordinates the Masters in International Development Practice. She has many years of expertise research on gender relations in contemporary society in Timor-Leste and is well published in this field. She has undertaken many in depth research projects and surveys for international development agencies on gender in S.E. Asia and with migrant communities in Australia.

Dr Therese Nguyen T. P.Tam, National University of Timor-Leste

Dr Tam was the senior qualitative field researcher. She heads up the Community Development Department at the National University in Timor-Leste. She has undertaken consultancy and program work with UN Women, Secretary of State for Employment and Vocational Training, Government of Timor-Leste and International Labour Organisation amongst others. Dr Tam has published in national and international journals on women and gender issues in Asia.

Photo: Member of the core research team / Maun Manuel, team driver

Ms Berta Tilman, Lao Hamutuk

Ms Tilman was the qualitative research fieldwork assistant. She is currently a researcher at one of Timor's oldest and most established CSOs La'o Hamutuk ("Walking Together") focusing on the gendered economy in Timor-Leste. She is also the founder of Grupu Feminista in Timor-Leste, which aims to raise awareness on gender issues in Timor-Leste and encouraging grassroots actions on gender equality.

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