Understanding Community
Security and Sustainability in Four Aldeia in Timor-Leste
Luha Oli, Nanu, Sarelari and Golgota

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Cover image: A young girl carries a bottle full of water on her head as she returns home from the public water source in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

They have difficulties when they want to buy something but they have no money. They have to walk far to collect water. Some people who have horses, their horses can carry the water. Sometimes when someone dies it's difficult to go and buy things for the ceremony because there's no transport so people just have to carry them. During the wet season it's very expensive to pay for the truck and sometimes it can't go through the river so if we are bringing goods then it's difficult to get them here, we don't have a horse so we just have to carry them. Now the road is no good and the school is no good. The students at school don't have good facilities and in a few months, in two or three months the big winds will come and can destroy the school. Our kiosk has been destroyed three times already, most recently in February, on 6 February. Once the wind stopped we found the roof of our kiosk at the top of a mango tree and then the men went and got it down and put it back on. In 2003 lots of wood was blown away and was found near houses down there. Rain is also a big challenge because the road is no good and when it gets to January and February the wind is very difficult because it's windy for a long time. It can be windy for a whole month before it stops and it can destroy the food crops and the trees. People who come here from places where there is not a lot of rain and wind will see that this is like a war that we have to face.

Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, Sarelari, 8 October 2007.

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OECUSSI

PANTE MACASAR
NITIBE
OESILO
PASSABE

DILI
ATAURO

LAUTEM
TUTUALA
LOSPALOS
LAUTEM
LURO
ILIOMAR
BAGUIA

BAUCAU
LAGA
QUELICAI
BAUCAU
VEMASE
VENILALE
TUTUCARABAU

VIQUEQUE
OSSU
WATULARI
VIQUEQUE
LACLUTA

MANATUTO
MANATUTO
LALEIA
LACLO
LACLUBAR
SOIBADA
BARIQUE/NATARBORA

DILI
METINARO
CRISTO REI
VERA CRUZ
DOM ALEXIO
NAIN FETO

AILEU
REMEXIO
LIQUIDOE
AILEU VILA
LAULARA

MANUFAHI
TURISCAI
SAME
ALAS
FATUBERLIU
HATU-UDO

MAUBISSE
AINARO
AINARO
HATU BUILICO

ERMERA
RAILACO
LETEFOHO
ATSABE
HATULIA

LIQUICA
MAUBARA
LIQUICA
BAZARTETE

BOBONARO
ATABAE
BALIBO
CAILACO
MALIANA
BOBONARO
LOLOTOE

COVALIMA
ZUMALAI
SUAI
FOHOREM
FATUMEAN
MAUKATAR
TILOMAR

N
W   E
S

Nominal Scale 1:975000 at A4

0   10   20   40 Kilometers

125°0'0"E   126°0'0"E   127°0'0"E
8°0'0"S   9°0'0"S

Key Statistics from Nanu in Fatumean

- **43.8** per cent of people say they have never attended school. *Question 23 (1)*
- **49.4** per cent of people consider themselves illiterate. *Question 26 (1)*
- **100** per cent of people say that they speak Tetun Terik at home. *Question 41 (1)*
- **93.8** per cent of people consider their household's financial situation to be 'struggling'. *Question 21 (1)*
- **100** per cent of households say they have to carry water to their houses. *Question 20 (2)*
- **96.5** per cent of households surveyed grow food in a garden. *Question 1 (2)*
- **85.2** per cent of households say they experience food shortages at certain times of the year. *Question 13 (2)*
- **84.6** per cent of people say they are either satisfied (73.1 per cent) or very satisfied (11.5 per cent) with the community where they live. *Question 5 (1)*
- **96.3** per cent of people say that family is either quite important (67.5 per cent) or very important (28.8 per cent) in their life. *Question 44 (1)*
- **77.2** per cent of residents expressed satisfaction with security in Nanu. *Question 8 (1)*
- **83.8** per cent of residents say they have never used communication technologies (such as telephones, mobile phones and internet) to communicate with friends or family across long distances. *Question 17 (1)*
- **89.7** per cent of people say they either agree (69.2 per cent) or strongly agree (20.5 per cent) that when there is conflict in the community there is the means to solve the problem within the community. *Question 34 (1)*
- **3.5** per cent of households in Nanu have heard of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR). *Question 5 (3)*
- **57.1** per cent of households responded that the crisis has impacted on their household. *Question 12a (3)*
- **43.6** per cent say they are satisfied with their life as a whole and 3.8 per cent said very satisfied. *Question 6 (1)*
- **72.2** per cent say that the past continues to influence the way the live today. Question 16 (1)
- **62.5** per cent of people say they most commonly get information about the community by word of mouth through family and friends. *Question 31 (1)*
- **98.2** per cent of households surveyed keep animals. *Question 6 (2)*
- **96.1** per cent of households surveyed say the main place they get food is from their garden. *Question 15 (2)*
- **82.4** per cent of households surveyed responded that the 2007 elections had a positive impact on their community, comprising of 56.1 per cent who responded 'somewhat positive' and 26.3 per cent who responded 'very positive'. *Question 1 (3)*

Key Statistics from Sarelari in Luro

- **74.1** per cent of people say they are satisfied with the community in which they live. *Question 5 (1)*
- **67.9** per cent of people surveyed say they are dissatisfied (40.2 per cent) or very dissatisfied (27.7 per cent) with government services. *Question 7 (1)*
- **83** per cent of people surveyed say they feel satisfied with the level of safety/security in their community and 9.8 per cent say very satisfied. *Question 8 (1)*
- **63.4** per cent of people surveyed have never attended school. Question 23 (1)
- **97.3** per cent of people speak Sa Ani in their household. *Question 41 (1)*
- **99.1** per cent of people feel that work is either quite important (35.7 per cent) or very important (63.4 per cent) in their lives. *Question 43 (1)*
- **100** per cent of people feet that family is important in their life, with 42 per cent saying quite important and 58 per cent very important. *Question 44 (1)*
- **23.2** per cent of people feel that political and social issues are important in their life and 3.6 per cent consider them very important. *Question 47 (1)*
- **92.8** per cent of people agree (61.6 per cent) and strongly agree (31.2 per cent) that the nation is central to their identity. *Question 53 (1)*
- **71.4** per cent of people agree that they would sacrifice anything personally to keep their nation strong (60.7 per cent agreed, 10.7 per cent strongly agreed). *Question 54 (1)*
- **61.6** per cent of people consider themselves to be illiterate, 8 per cent semi-literate and 30.4 per cent fully literate. *Question 26 (1)*
- **87.6** per cent of people consider their household's financial status to be 'struggling'. *Question 21 (1)*
- **98.6** per cent of households grow food in a garden. *Question 1 (2)*
- **71.9** per cent of households say that the adult male from the household works most often in the garden. *Question 4 (2)*
- **60** per cent of households surveyed say that members of their household spend over eight hours a day working in the gardens. *Question 5 (2)*
- **84.4** per cent of households say that the main place they get food is from their garden. *Question 15 (2)*
- **100** per cent of households say they need to carry water to their house. *Question 20 (2)*
- **77.8** per cent of households say they need to collect water more than once a day. *Question 20a (2)*
- **96.9** per cent of households say they experience food shortages and certain times each year. *Question 13 (2)*
- **43.7** per cent of households say they had heard of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR). *Question 5 (3)*
- **87.9** per cent of households say that their community no longer needs to deal with issues from the period of the Indonesian occupation. *Question 11 (3)*
- **65.3** per cent of households say the crisis impacted their household. Question 12 (3)
- **98.2** per cent of people were born in sub-district Luro. *Question 3a (1)*
- **96.4** per cent of people say they have never used communication technologies such as telephones or internet to communicate with people beyond their immediate household. *Question 18a (1)*

Key Statistics from Luha Oli in Venilale

- **73.8** per cent of people identify the place that they live as their main community. *Question 3 (1)*

- **53.8** per cent of people are both satisfied (49.3 per cent) and very satisfied (4.5 per cent) with government services in their community. *Question 7 (1)*

- **76.1** per cent of residents say they either agree (53.7 per cent) or strongly agree (22.4 per cent) that the past influences the way they live today. *Question 16 (1)*

- **89.7** per cent of people consider the financial status of their household to be 'struggling'. *Question 21 (1)*

- **48.5** per cent of residents describe their level of literacy as 'fully literate', while 17.6 per cent describe themselves as being 'semi-literate' and 33.8 per cent 'illiterate'. *Question 26 (1)*

- **85.5** per cent of residents either agree (58 per cent) or strongly agree (27.5 per cent) that their community has the means to resolve conflict from within the community. *Question 34 (1)*

- **63.8** per cent of people say that the position of women in their community needs to change, with general agreement from 49.3 per cent and strong agreement from 14.5 per cent of people. *Question 38 (1)*

- **23.1** per cent of people, when asked 'who are your people?', responded '*knua*' and 23.1 per cent responded 'family'. *Question 40 (1)*

- **83.6** per cent of people agree (58.2 per cent) and strongly agree (25.4 per cent) with the statement 'I feel that my nation is central to my identity'. *Question 53 (1)*

- **80.9** per cent of residents agree (66.2 per cent) and strongly agree (14.7 per cent) that they would sacrifice anything personally to keep their nation strong. *Question 54 (1)*

- **97.4** per cent of households grow food in a garden. *Question 1 (2)*

- **91.9** per cent of households grow non-food items in their garden, such as candlenut, sandalwood, betel pepper and bamboo. *Question 3 (2)*

- **68.8** per cent of households surveyed say that adult men from the household spend the most amount of time working in the garden. *Question 4 (2)*

- **56.8** per cent of households surveyed say that people from their household normally spend eight or more hours per day working in their gardens. *Question 5 (2)*

- **100** per cent of households keep livestock. *Question 6 (2)*

- **30.6** per cent of households surveyed walk for less than five minutes to reach their gardens and a further 25 per cent walk for less than twenty minutes to reach their gardens. *Question 12 (2)*

- **94.7** per cent of households surveyed experience food shortages at certain times each year. *Question 13 (2)*

- **97.2** per cent of households surveyed say the main place they get their food is from their garden. *Question 15 (2)*

- **100** per cent of households surveyed need to carry water to their house. *Question 20a (2)*

- **68.4** per cent of households surveyed collect water more than once a day. *Question 20b (2)*

- **69.4** per cent of households surveyed feel that their community no longer needs to deal with issues from the period of Indonesian occupation. *Question 11 (3)*

- **77.8** per cent of households surveyed say that the crisis impacted on their household. *Question 12a (3)*

Key Statistics from Golgota in Dom Alexio

- **53.3 per cent** of people identify their main community as their neighbourhood or place where they live. *Question 3 (1)*
- **70.8 per cent** of respondents say they feel either satisfied (62 per cent) or very satisfied (8.8 per cent) with their safety. *Question 8 (1)*
- **72.9 per cent** of respondents agree (62.7 per cent) and strongly agree (10.2 per cent) that the government makes decisions and laws that are relevant to the way they live locally. *Question 16 (1)*
- **34.7 per cent** of people never use telecommunications technology such as telephones, mobile phones or internet, while 20.6 per cent use them monthly, 18.4 per cent weekly, and 18.9 per cent daily. *Question 18a (1)*
- **3.1 per cent** of residents live alone while 91.4 per cent live with family members and 4.5 per cent live with others who are not their family. *Question 19 (1)*
- **57.2 per cent** of people consider the financial status of their household to be 'struggling' while 42.5 per cent consider themselves 'comfortable' and 0.2 per cent 'well-off'. *Question 21 (1)*
- **74.9 per cent** of residents consider themselves 'fully literate', 10.7 per cent consider themselves 'semi-literate' and 14.4 per cent consider themselves 'illiterate'. *Question 26 (1)*
- **80.6 per cent** of respondents agree (69.1 per cent) and strongly agree (11.6 per cent) that when there is a problem in their community it can be resolved within the community. *Question 34 (1)*
- **79 per cent** of residents stated that they believe the position of women in their community needs to change, including 66.2 per cent who agree and 12.8 per cent who strongly agree. *Question 38 (1)*
- **89.7 per cent** of people agree (60.2 per cent) and strongly agree (29.5 per cent) that the nation is central to their identity. *Question 53 (1)*
- **38.1 per cent** of households grow food in one or several gardens. *Question 1 (2)*
- **53.7 per cent** of households who grow food state that an adult male spends the most amount of time working in their garden, while 26.8 per cent stated adult female. *Question 4 (2)*
- **85.7 per cent** of households keep livestock, chickens and pigs being the most common. *Question 6 (2)*
- **68.8 per cent** of households state that their garden is less than five minutes walk from their house. *Question 12 (2)*
- **73.8 per cent** of households experience food shortages at certain times of year. *Question 13 (2)*
- **68.4 per cent** of households mainly get their food from a shop (34.2 per cent) or the market (34.2 per cent) while 12.5 per cent mainly get their food from their garden. *Question 15 (2)*
- **69 per cent** of households need to carry water to their house. *Question 20a (2)*
- **66.9 per cent** of households feel that their community no longer needs to deal with issues from the period of the Indonesian occupation. *Question 11 (3)*
- **87.4 per cent** of households say that the crisis impacted on their household. *Question 12a (3)*

Introduction

Project Overview

A young girl carrying two plastic jerry cans of water, one in each hand, walks along a rough dirt road. She makes this trip each day to a common water source in her *aldeia*, waiting for others at the site to fill up before walking back. Sometimes she walks there with a young neighbour, sometimes by herself, and she often enjoys listening to the older women talking together as they each wait to fill up their containers. On the way back she rests for a moment, and then places one of the containers on her head, balances it with her hand, and continues on to her home. The water is used by the household for cooking, washing plates, and for sanitation. She also needs to help find wood and to make the fire in the kitchen, to boil the water and to cook. She is twelve years old and she does this at least twice a day every day of the year.

Gathering water in this way is a scene that is repeated over and over again in contemporary Timor-Leste, in the communities of Nanu, Sarelari, Luha Oli and Golgota, and across the thirteen districts that comprise the nation. In local communities, people are regularly seen undertaking a range of daily activities, such as walking to their gardens, working long days so as to prepare for planting, cleaning houses and sweeping yards, tending to animals, studying, washing clothes, extending and repairing homes, building an *uma lulik* or preparing for *adat* ceremonies, and walking home from mass.

As frequently as these kinds of activities occur, of people living, engaging, and interacting around day-to-day practices, these activities represent a Timor-Leste that is too often left out of analysis and consideration. Each of these activities, ostensibly simple to comprehend by themselves, provide important ways into understanding communities more generally. When understood as part of a social whole, the routines and patterns of such activities, along with how they intersect and link across one another, help us to begin to understand what is important to people and what is not, what activities dominate, who participates and how, what causes people concern, how groups of people see themselves, and what people believe. Importantly for this report, these kinds of activities provide a way into understanding how people thread their communities together.

In recent years the narratives that have come to dominate public discourse and analysis about Timor-Leste have tended to be much different than these, concentrating instead on the national political landscape, in particular the events of 2006, the national elections in 2007, and the attempted assassinations of the President and the Prime Minister in February 2008. Even here these events are worth momentarily discussing so as to provide a point of reference for those unfamiliar with the dramatic chain of events, not least as they are referred back to at various points over this report.

In early 2006, tensions within the East Timorese armed forces resulted in nearly 600 soldiers—around one-third of the military—abandoning their barracks over perceptions of discrimination. They claimed that the military was dominated by the *lorosa'e,* a name used to describe those from the three eastern-most districts of Timor-Leste, who were said to be discriminating against *loromonu*: namely those from the ten western districts. The government responded by dismissing 'the petitioners', the name given to those soldiers who had left their barracks. At the end of April a protest by the petitioners turned violent, and over the following month the security apparatus of the state fractured into complex sets of groupings and alliances. Violence occurred between factions of the military, soldiers massacred police, military police ambushed soldiers, civilian groups armed by politicians attacked the military, and in turn the houses of parliamentarians were burnt and members of their families killed. In the vacuum created by the collapse of the security apparatus, the intrastate violence was accompanied by widespread communal violence across Dili.

The community meeting centre in Suco Dakolo, Fatumean, September 2007

The 'success story' of post-conflict Timor-Leste had become suddenly and disastrously undone. Violence persisted over 2006 and into 2007, refugee camps took on a sense of semi-permanence, the issue of the 'petitioners' remained unresolved, and Alfredo Reinado and his group of followers remained at large despite the apparent attempts of the International Stabilization Force (ISF). Much effort was put into the presidential and parliamentary elections in June and July 2007, and Jose Ramos-Horta won at the presidential level and controversially the CNRT party, founded by Xanana Gusmão, formed government in parliament after forming the Alliance for a Parliamentary Majority, known as AMP, with minor parties. The following February the political events of the previous few years came to a dramatic climax with the failure of negotiations with Alfredo Reinado and his group, leading in February 2008 to a gun fight at the President's home in Dili which left Reinado dead and Ramos-Horta seriously wounded. On the same morning, other members associated with Reinado's group fired upon Xanana Gusmão's car and entered his house in the hills behind Dili.

Communities across Timor-Leste were affected by these events in different ways, from those that experienced violence in Dili to rural communities who found prices higher or goods harder to sell and who had to house more people who had fled Dili. Given the dramatic nature of these events, much attention since has been focused not on small communities but on Timor-Leste within a set of parameters that tends to include an almost exclusive focus on the activities of the political elite and evaluations of the success or otherwise of state-building. The often-unstated geographic focus of this analysis tends to concentrate on the capital Dili. In and of itself such analysis is important, not at least in terms of potentially keeping pressure on elites to be accountable. However, if such analysis dominates both discussion and consideration to exclusion of other discourses about Timor-Leste, it can cause a series of problems both in understanding and in decision-making.

For instance, studies that concentrate on the elite level of politics often give little sense of the agency of everyday people in making fundamental decisions about their lives, or worse subtly present them as passive followers of elite direction. Alternatively, concentrated coverage of 'the crisis' can create the sense that Timor-Leste as a whole is gripped by violence while in fact many communities continue on quite normally, feeling the reverberations of political failure without directly witnessing violence. Other mistakes can be made, such as those based on the assumption that the state in Timor-Leste is highly integrated into communities across the country. As such, a political analysis might declare that Timor-Leste is a constitutional republic with a parliament and periodic elections, an independent judiciary and so on. At one level, this is a legitimate understanding. However, taking this to be *the* political reality could be a mistake if it is taken to mean that those modes of governance are the most relevant to people's lives in a day-to-day sense.

In a different way, this report attempts to provide an understanding of contemporary conditions and patterns of social life in Timor-Leste by focusing particularly on one of the most localized forms of community, namely the aldeia, rather than on the nation-state. This is not just a matter of bringing something to light in order to redress some kind of balance in public discussions. First, and as this report will show, such analysis is important in that much more localized forms of community remain extremely important in Timor-Leste. Across our research people were clearly aware of the nation and demonstrated a strong affinity to it, and often a strong desire to be part of the nation-building process. However in terms of work, family, mobility and levels of identity, it is more localized communities that provide both the *primary* material and cultural basis of social life for a very large number of people. Second, if the conditions in these communities are to at least a significant degree fairly representative of a great many communities in Timor-Leste—lack of material development, acute poverty, isolation and disenfranchisement from the political process—then perhaps by starting analysis at this level, a better understanding of the national can be achieved.

When put in the context of community and history, a child carrying water is as good—and as limited—a metaphor as any in terms of understanding the nation as a whole. It tells of the acute poverty, of the needs for all of family to work in order to sustain themselves, of the under-development of physical infrastructure by Portuguese colonialists and the destruction of the Indonesian occupation. It also tells the story of the complex period post-1999, of how for many communities the desire for independence has been granted, though material well-being has not improved, and in some instances has even deteriorated in significant ways. In this sense, national independence may have been achieved, but local communities continue to feel a significant lack of empowerment.

Framing the report as a whole is a concern for how communities in Timor-Leste are able to maintain sustainability and security, two concepts which will be discussed at greater length below. While these two themes underpin the whole report, there are also five themed sections, namely 'Communities in Context', 'Understanding Community', 'Decision-Making and Conflict Resolution', 'Livelihoods', and 'Movement'. These by no means provide any absolute level of understanding with regards to these communities but serve as interpretive frames to help give a sense of the communities' different dimensions.

Just as they are very different from each other, we do not assume that the four communities in this report—the aldeias of Nanu, Sarelari, Luha Oli and Golgota—are the same as or necessarily representative of all the communities in Timor-Leste. Nanu, in the sub-district of Fatumean in Covalima, is a Tetun Terik speaking community that directly borders with West Timor. Sarelari, on the other hand, is virtually at the other end of the country in Lautem, and is comprised of Sa Ani speakers, a language that was not even listed in the national census. Both of these communities are highly isolated and have very low levels of access to services. Luha Oli is in Venilale in the central highlands and is far less isolated in that it is situated on the road between Baucau and Viqueque. There are also much more

Mayra Walsh using her laptop to show people photos of their community in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007.

developed services accessible to Luha Oli residents, though many homes in the aldeia itself do not have access to electricity, as is the case for the entire communities of Sarelari and Nanu. The aldeia of Golgota is situated on the outskirts of Dili and is ethno-linguistically far more diverse than the other three communities, has a greater range of availability of services, communications and electricity, and many people see themselves as being financially better off than their rural counterparts. Despite this, levels of security remain low in Golgota, albeit for reasons that differ somewhat to the rural communities.

Central Report Concepts: Community, Sustainability and Security

In this study, 'community' is understood as a group or network of persons who are connected objectively to each other by relatively durable social relations that extend beyond *immediate* genealogical ties, and who mutually define that relationship subjectively as important to their social identity and social practice. By immediate genealogical ties, we mean those that constitute a family in the closest terms, such as parents and children. This is an important point as in this report it becomes clear that more extended forms of genealogy are central to how some forms of community are constituted in Timor-Leste.

With such a definition communities can come in various kinds, forms and sizes and are important to people in different ways and with different emphases. From our research in the four communities in this report, we found that the ways in which people feel a sense of connection to community arise via a wide range of factors. These include: the physical proximity of the community's members both in terms to each other and to non-members; the relative importance of place; a sense of historical continuity, often carried through oral discourse that outlives any individual members; markers of belonging, such as familial or kinship ties, origins, language, symbols and customary items; administrative structures and territorial borders, and the predominant modes of communication, transportation and economic integration.

While we concentrate our efforts in this report at the aldeia level, it is evident that people often feel an attachment to different forms of community at the same time, to varying degrees and for different reasons, and this can alter over a period of time. Focusing on a local form of community in both analytical terms and in order to set a limit on the collection of data during this research did not limit people in terms of talking about other forms or scales of community.

In our attempt to determine what community meant to some people in Timor-Leste we did encounter however a significant challenge. Even in piloting this project, we were surprised to find that at times people had difficulty with this term. We used the Portuguese-influenced Tetun word '*komunidade*' which, despite its common usage in Dili especially at an institutional level, we discovered did not always make clear sense to people. There was not however another Tetun word that we or any indigenous speakers consulted could identify that is equivalent to the concept of 'community'. We decided to continue using the term '*komunidade*' on the grounds that it was frequently-enough understood for us to manage, not least as the questions that we used included lists of examples, such as *knua*, aldeia, *suco*, nation, church and workplace. In addition, given that the vast majority of surveys were delivered orally, there was always the opportunity for further explanation should it be required.

It is worth pausing to reflect upon why the word '*komunidade*' may have on occasion lacked purchase. If the use of words is often based on needs, then one possible explanation is that as a word 'community' is used by those who require a more abstract category so as to navigate the regular movements made across and between different social groupings. In other words, a term such as community is required by those who have greater mobility to move across landscapes and a need to reflect on what different groupings of people might mean, such as in other societies where there are much more mobile workforces. However, for those with lower levels of mobility, there is perhaps much less of a need for an overarching category in that different forms of community are experienced in a deeply ingrained and natural way and known by particular sets of names, such as knua, aldeia, suco and so forth.[1]

While this report seeks to give a strong sense of what life is like in four different aldeia across Timor-Leste, the information here is framed around two key themes, namely 'sustainability' and 'security'. To set out first what we mean by sustainability, it is a concept that has been typically understood within an environmental framework, denoting the containment or prevention of damage to ecological systems now and into the future. The existing literature has increasingly promoted the sociality of sustainability. That is, social sustainability is most commonly understood as referring to the link between practices and forms of human communities and the state of the environment. However, here we are using sustainability in quite a different way, albeit still taking into consideration questions regarding the management of change, addressing challenges and a long-term perspective.

'Community sustainability' is a framework that has been used by the Globalism Research Centre (GRC) in undertaking projects in Papua New Guinea, Malaysia, India and beyond, as well as in Timor-Leste. By 'community sustainability' we mean the ways in which communities hold themselves together in a durable and coherent form over a period of time, even in the face of substantial challenges and under periods of intense change. Through this, we look at whether and how groups of people are able to maintain a long-lasting connection that is resilient to pressures. In our use of 'sustainability', we emphasise subjective sensibilities and people's relationships with one another, rather than looking to indicators of material development. A community does not need to fix itself in form in order to be sustained; indeed, adaptation may be necessitated in order to respond to change or pressures. However, for a community to be sustained, the connection with one another and attachment to the group needs to be renewed and perpetuated in some way.

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[1] 'Civil society' is another possible example of this tendency, layering the linguistic diversity of Timor-Leste with an unevenness in the use of sets of particular terminologies, in this instance possibly based on the need for more abstract categories in a capital where people tend to have much greater mobility, and hence have a need for such discursive devices.

Carmenesa Moniz Noronha finishes a community survey with a community member in Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

Such an approach to sustainability means that we are very interested in the forms of community to which people feel that they hold an attachment, how people sense that they are integrated into those communities, to what degree do they see being part of a community as important, and how a sense of collective belonging is carried over time. We also consider people's sense of wellbeing and self-sufficiency as related to being part of a community. We consider the concept of 'community sustainability' to be important because development initiatives often overlook the subjective aspects of people's lives; that is, those aspects of people's lives that cannot be materially measured. Community sustainability emphasizes that both problems and strengths within and across communities are often related to issues of meaning and integration rather than simply resources.

As a concept, 'community security' allows for a consideration of both direct threats, such as forms of social conflict, violence and the destruction of property, as well as the ability to achieve those things that might be understood to enable a good life, such as access to adequate shelter, food, health, education and cultural expression. Rather than formal security studies which has typically stressed the so-called 'high politics' of foreign policy, weapons and interstate warfare, we are undertaking analysis much closer to the tradition of 'human security', applying the focus of security to day-to-day life. In effect this is a security 'for' something, particularly a peaceful life where basic needs are met free of violence and threat, a sensibility captured in the following passage:

[Human security] means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood. To do this, it offers two general strategies: protection and empowerment. Protection shields people from dangers. Empowerment enables people to develop their potential and become full participants in decision making.[2]

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[2] United Nations Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now: Commission on Human Security, Report of the UN Commission on Human Security*, New York, 2003, sourced from www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport.

The development of the human security field has certainly moved the emphasis of security discourse from protecting states to enabling societies. However, we see human security as being deficient in key respects, not least in terms of its tendency to focus on individuals as the basis of analysis. Security is socially determined, and it is better to focus analysis on groups of people to understand how it is achieved or otherwise.

In beginning to make an argument for 'community security', we feel this concept better allows a discussion of the ways in which key forms of security are determined in a social context and integrated into patterns of conflict resolution negotiated between people, and the ways in which a community is able (or otherwise) to sustain basic needs such as water, food, education, movement and cultural norms. In these terms a sense of security can extend as far as encompassing a community's ability to regulate and mediate processes of change that impact upon their lives, rather than having such change forced upon them. Here again we are extending security debates in order to consider in a broad thematic way the relationship between security and 'wellbeing', taking questions of identity and integration seriously as part of gauging the overall condition of communities. In a practical sense, by drawing the level of analysis down to the most localized communities, ways in which to achieve security become more tangible and readily translatable to day-to-day life than abstract policies and analysis often allow for, and at the very least reduces the tendency for genericism.

Clearly, there are points of intersection between sustainability and security. Community sustainability can be considered as the myriad intersections between a range of social activities that underpin the durability of a community, including the generation of a sense of common identity. A lack of security may in effect put that community at risk, in the same way as a heightened security may support its ability to sustain itself. However, as this report shows, this is not necessarily the case as communities are able to sustain themselves in the face of substantial forms of threat. In summary, while the report can be read as individual profiles of each community, there are at least three sets of arguments that frame the report more generally, though these need to be carefully delineated here as their application changes across the communities at hand. The first of these arguments takes some explanation, with the next two building on that.

The first argument is that Nanu, Sarelari, Luha Oli and Golgota are all able to preserve significant levels of community sustainability in the face of low levels of community security. In the case of Nanu, Sarelari and Luha Oli, each of these communities clearly experience low levels of security in relation to food production, poverty, health, education and access to services, though each of the communities were not being directly threatened by violence at the time of our research. Golgota, on the other hand, has higher levels of literacy and experiences a greater sense of financial wellbeing as well as better access to health care, education and the cash economy. However, while Golgota itself seems to have remained fairly free of overt division, by being one community within a broader urban environment the community's ability to mitigate the risk of violence is substantially reduced, as shown during the crisis of 2006 and 2007.

Here we need to clearly explain what we mean by this first argument, that the communities experience low levels of community security. In this report we are treating security in conventional and modernist terms. Literature on security typically does not acknowledge its modernist framework but we feel this is an important note to make, as the communities contained within this report incorporate to different extents both elements of the customary-traditional and the modern. Some examples may aid an understanding of how a modernist framing of security impacts upon how we measure in/security in these communities. Violence, or access to food, could both be considered forms of insecurity in either a modern or customary-traditional society. A lack of access to formal education and schooling however may may not be seen as insecurity if an *adat nain* (figure of customary authority and ritual), or for that matter a child's parents, are seen to be in different ways the

Kym Holthouse doing a semi-structured interview with the xefe de aldeia of Sarelari (middle), supported by Concern staff Agustinho Alves Ribeiro, October 2007

'authority' in relation to knowledge. Equally in societies that are customary *in dominance*, health care is often 'secured' not only by access to a clinic, but through traditional medicines.

However, in terms of this report when we speak of security—from violence through to literacy and access to services—we are doing so at a fairly conventional modernist framework. This is partly in an effort to maintain a manageable and accessible report, because it is this conception of security that often underpins the ways in which development is undertaken in communities across Timor-Leste by bodies such as the United Nations, non-government organisations and we suspect increasingly the state. Moreover, such a conception is still of great relevance to many within each of these these communities to different extents. The point is that a modernist approach is not the only way to conceive of how security is felt or understood.

Continuing an explanation of the first argument that frames this report—namely that all forms of community are able to maintain significant levels of sustainability despite low levels of community security—it is important to point to an important point a key differences between the communities. The communities of Nanu, Sarelari and Luha Oli have been able to *secure* themselves to a basic degree, especially in relation to forms of social conflict from within their community, when they have been able to *sustain* themselves most meaningfully. Overt violence or clear social tensions did not appear to be problem from within the communities.[3] That is, the communities have been able to manage problems related to food insecurity or poverty, and even violence, by upholding the mechanisms that keep them feeling integrated, such as through local leadership, family ties, traditional conflict resolution methods and a strong sense of common history. This of course does not however result in the same level of security for all people at all times.

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[3] This of course does mean that violence does not occur in other domains, such as the household, but that in this report we are concerned with the nature of how the community is conceived and the character of conflict at that level.

Helena dos Santos Pinto, a locally recruited translator, doing a community survey with two farmers in a small hut in their rice fields, Sarelari, Luro, Octobe 2007

The case of Golgota is somewhat different, with the argument here that the community has been able to sustain itself through a remarkable sophistication whereby the *relative* absence of communal bonds within the aldeia, typified by much lower concentrations of extended genealogical connections within Golgota (note the absence of *uma luliks* for instance both in Golgota and Dili more generally), has not resulted in the aldeia becoming riven by conflict. This is partly because the geographic location of where people live is seen as a vital part of that community's identity. Even if the community was originally formed as an administrative territorial unit, the community itself comes to mean more than that over time to those who live there through the social interactions caused by the proximity of living together.

However, the durability of Golgota is also achieved in the sense that membership of the community *does not* demand homogeneity in terms of socio-cultural identity, largely because other forms of community are able to exist alongside this one. This is particularly seen in the way in which members of the community often maintain deep connections with rural communities where they were born, with *adat* and familial connections typically being the basis of those connections. In effect, the ability to maintain other forms of community, abstracted over wide territorial domains and temporally across generational lines, reduces the demands on Golgota to produce a similar sensibility.

The second argument that frames this report identifies the capacity of these communities to maintain a particular form of sustainability. In the case of Nanu, Sarelari and Luha Oli, despite experiencing massive social disruption as a consequence of war, each of these communities has proven durable due largely to the continuation of traditional and customary practices rather than the introduction of 'modern ways' via Portuguese colonialism, during the Indonesian occupation or since Timor-Leste's formal independence. There is by no means either an absence of or reluctance for the modern, but in dominance these communities are significantly integrated through customary or traditional sets of

Kym Holthouse completes a survey with a community member outside his house in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

beliefs. The communities appear adaptive to change, not least through using existing social structures to mediate and confront a changing world, and demonstrate high levels of agency. However, all three communities also demonstrated quite clearly that maintaining their beliefs and cultures remains very important, even in the face of development demands.

In contrast to Nanu, Luha Oli and Sarelari, the customary is less important to how Golgota is sustained, though this is a question of degree rather than absolute differentiation. What we find is a durability born from an ability to manage both customary and modern beliefs in tandem. This is partly seen in the ways people are able to participate in forms of modern work or education in Dili while still maintaining customary relations with the communities of their birth far from Golgota. But at times the practice of customary beliefs also extend to Golgota itself, as these and more modern ways of understanding the world are drawn in tandem to help interpret social events, resolve conflicts and to secure both health and financial wellbeing within the aldeia. The durability of the community then at least in part comes from people being able to negotiate these different forms of social integration significantly on their own terms.

The third argument that frames this report is in particular an extension of the first argument and perhaps remains the most implied within the report itself. While these four communities display extraordinary levels of resilience in being able to sustain themselves, low levels of community security mean that extraordinary levels of energy and resources are required to survive immediate challenges and fulfil daily needs. This has implications for these communities' abilities to imagine and plan for their own sustainability into the longer-term future. The security conditions are such that they limit the empowerment of these communities in being able to progress toward more fulfilling lives marked by a greater sense of wellbeing. In battling with such low levels of security, these communities are frequently limited in their ability to move beyond the immediate and proactively manage and promote change in a longer-term framework.

Mayra Walsh in the middle of a photo-narrative interview in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

At times in this report these three arguments may be more implicit than explicit, and we have no doubt that both here and across the report as a whole that there is a need to develop these further. As such we ask that as the readers move across the various sections, that these arguments are read back on where necessary to help frame and understand the more immediate detail.

Researching at the Aldeia Level

When first thinking about this project we were faced with the usual dilemma of deciding at what level the research would be best undertaken. On the one hand, working at a broader level such as at the *suco* or even sub-district level would allow for data to be collected from a much wider sample size. A wider sample size should, at least in theory, increase the applicability of the data. However, working at such a level tends to make for much 'thinner' data collection and usually means utilizing less intensive research methods. We had the alternate choice to concentrate our resources on a very localized domain, meaning a potentially smaller or less diversified sample of participants but dramatically increasing the level of detail and understanding of a particular community.

For several reasons we chose the latter option of concentrating on researching a very localized domain. First, a great deal of research on Timor-Leste is Dili-centric and concentrated at an institutional level, for example investigating the state, the United Nations, and a Dili-centred civil society. While such research is important, it does remain only partial and can be skewed by the views of elites, namely those who are highly literate, multi-lingual and significantly mobile (that is, possess the means to move across Timor-Leste and beyond).

Studies that move beyond this style of capital city-focused, institutionally-oriented research tend to be either district-based, or are very detailed anthropological works about particular communities (for instance ethno-linguistic groupings) or socio-cultural practices (for instance architecture, ceremonies or traditional law). However, at least in English we could

find very little that helped us understand the condition of small communities in Timor-Leste today: about people's major preoccupations, history, and how they are managing and responding to social, political, economic, environmental or cultural changes.

We decided that the best place to begin this study was at the level of the aldeia, given it is the most localized geographic-territorial unit recognised by the state, and in our experience often the lowest-level unit recognised by people themselves beyond the extended family.[4] In simplified terms, an aldeia is made up of a group of houses and families, with a number of aldeia making up a suco. However, this report will complicate this picture to some degree. The next territorial administrative level above the suco is the *sub-distritu* (sub-district), and typically several sub-districts make up a *distritu* (district), of which there are thirteen in Timor-Leste.

In terms of how they are practised as communities in Timor-Leste, there are not straightforward English translations available for the Portuguese terms 'aldeia' and 'suco'. Each loosely correlate with the term 'village' but in reality are suggestive of different sizes and levels of formality. Perhaps it is better to suggest that an aldeia is more like a 'hamlet' while a suco takes on the form of a larger village area, often incorporating groups of families, clans, and a number of smaller villages. There may or may not be a kind of 'centre' to the suco. If an aldeia is territorially confined to a single area (three of the aldeia in this report are not), then typically it is geographically smaller than the suco. Although the state draws population data from the aldeia level such as mortality and birth rates, unlike the suco, the aldeia has not been formally mapped, and as this report will show, that would prove an especially challenging task.

Communities at both the suco and aldeia levels are drawn into formal governance systems through participation in state run elections during which local representatives, such as the *xefe de aldeia* and *xefe de suco*, are elected. A report on local governance published in 2003, prior to local elections being held and positions being somewhat more formalized through legislation, gives a very good sense to how important these local governance positions have been in local communities since 1999.

> Participants in the focus groups see the Chefe de Aldeia or sub-village or neighbourhood chief as simultaneously the lowest level of representation as well as the lowest ranking government official. There are many, often contradictory, dimensions to this role, generally agreed to be quite burdensome for those who fulfil it. However, in the post-independence vacuum of local government inherited from UNTAET's administration, focus group participants saw this role as important and extensive. The Chefe de Aldeia, they say, has been a provider of government services, representative of the people's aspirations, distributor of aid, overseer of development, keeper of law and order, village arbiter and the person everyone turns to first with their problems. All this, in a position that has been neither paid nor prescribed by law.[5]

As the report shows, there remains a degree of informality in this system as these local representatives are not waged civil servants; rather they receive some financial assistance to undertake administrative tasks, thus effectively working as volunteers.

As will be further discussed in the body of the report, in our experience different communities will imbue these distinctions in community scales with their own meanings. For some communities, the aldeia is directly related to a tightly-knit familial network;

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[4] The original aim was to work at the knua level, a *knua* being something that might translate into 'hamlet' in English. However, we were quickly presented with problems with this approach. Our initial understanding of this term was forged through our experience in Lolotoe in Bobonaro district. In Lolotoe, we had worked in a community that people spoke of as a 'knua'. This knua was comprised of forty-four houses, and this was one of several that made up an aldeia. Yet, in other places, we often did not find much traction with the term 'knua', with the most local territorially-defined community unit people referred to as being the aldeia.

[5] National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), *Government Within Reach: A report on the views of East Timorese on local government*, NDI, Dili, January 2003, p. 19.

for others it encompasses several distinct families who relate to the knua or hamlet more readily than the aldeia in terms of what they see as their most localized community. Other communities still will argue that the suco has one distinct family origin. Different communities' understandings of these units mean that it is difficult to give a precise explanation of the terms aldeia and suco in a way that encompasses how all communities across Timor-Leste understand and live them.

The Research Process

Given that it is next to impossible to communicate with the three rural communities in this study other than in person, and it is vital to ask permission before we entered any community to undertake research work, each of the aldeia were visited beforehand. In each case our work was explained to the *xefe de aldeia* and the *xefe de suco*, and in some cases also to the sub-district administrator. As well as respecting leaders' power to decide what is best for their community, these visits also aided the success of the process in that the embodied presence of researchers established a familiarity before the actual research began.

The original aim of the project was to undertake a pilot study in an aldeia in Lolotoe, Bobonaro. A number of the GRC research staff had had extensive contact with this community, and many of the kinds of questions that underpin this report had been inspired by visits there. In June 2007 a team of three researchers went to Lolotoe and were given consent by both the *xefe de aldeia* and the *xefe de suco* to return and undertake the project. However, the day after the team left a long-running dispute involving different aldeia and the church in Lolotoe saw nineteen houses attacked and different members of the aldeia in which we had intended to work were forced to flee. Given the levels of insecurity in the community at the time, and our lack of desire to unwittingly add to or perpetuate any existing tensions, we decided first to postpone and then in turn abandon our attempts to research there.

In turn we decided to move our study to Luha Oli in Venilale, a site we had already been considering since two GRC researchers had undertaken a separate project there, focusing on the national elections. During this trip Luha Oli was identified as a community in which an initial pilot could be undertaken for the Community Sustainability and Security in Timor-Leste project. The first visit to Luha Oli in relation to this project occurred over two days, the 10th and 11th of July 2007, during which time two staff members met with local leaders so as to ask permission for us to work in the community. After this, several additional researchers went to Venilale where the team stayed on for another eight days.

On 8 December 2007 we visited the community in Luha Oli again with the objective of meeting with community leaders to show them some preliminary results and explain where the process was up to. We found people were very interested in the graphs and initial draft of the report and we were encouraged by their enthusiasm for the project. In early 2008 we made a decision to return to Luha Oli in order to deepen our data collection as we simply had not gathered enough data at the point of piloting the study. In particular, the map of the community was still very basic and with many unanswered questions we wanted to conduct further interviews. This final data collection visit was undertaken by two researchers from the GRC in mid-April 2008.

Following the initial pilot study in Venilale, the GRC staff partnered with Oxfam Australia and Concern Worldwide so as to undertake a similar study in two communities in which these organizations had been working. We had worked informally with Concern Worldwide previously in Barikafa, and we approached them to ask if they would be interested in partnering with us to undertake more sustained research. Consulting both with the community and within their organization, Concern nominated the aldeia Sarelari (part of Suco Barikafa) as being suitable a site of interest for such research. A similar process occurred with Oxfam, and while there had been a lot of contact between the GRC and Oxfam previously, our staff had never been to Fatumean or had visited Nanu.

Oxfam staff member, Delfin Gusmao, doing a family mapping interview with an elderly man in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

The first visits to Nanu and Sarelari took place in August 2007. We sought permission to undertake the study and so got a sense of the logistical requirements for fieldwork visits by a larger team. The second stage of the field research was focused on gathering data, with a little under two weeks spent in each community. A team combining staff from Oxfam and the Globalism Research Centre visited Aldeia Nanu in early September 2007. Following this, staff from Concern Worldwide and the Globalism Research Centre worked together in Aldeia Sarelari across early October 2007.

There were four major reasons for establishing a partnership between the GRC, and Oxfam Australia and Concern Worldwide. First, from a practical point of view, while the GRC staff could provide considerable resources to the project, the cost of transport as well as communications was prohibitively high, and thus both Oxfam and Concern provided transport, assisted with costs, and also provided two staff each on the ground. Second, and more importantly, from our experience of working in Timor-Leste, a prior relationship with the community often aids the research process, particularly in the initial stages, and can put less stress on the community itself. Third, the idea for this partnership was based on a recognition that Timor-Leste is facing an extraordinary set of problems, and that organizations working here—academic, the donor community and civil society organizations—need to radically rethink aspects of their approach in order to contribute to positive social change. In a very subsidiary way, this includes how social research is undertaken. While trying to build new ways of working always throws up challenges and difficulties, it is imperative to try new approaches given that existing practices have in significant ways failed to negate (and in some instances have fuelled) the myriad challenges that Timor-Leste is experiencing. Fourth, we hoped that such partnerships would mean that the research results could concretely contribute to Concern's and Oxfam's work in these communities, by providing baseline data and analysis not previously available.

After completing the initial data collection for the first three sites, it was clear that a fourth urban site was required so as to provide a substantial level of differentiation and a distinct point of comparison with the first three sites. Given the impact of the crisis on Dili we were particularly interested in undertaking the study within the capital, and following a consideration of several potential communities we decided to approach Aldeia Golgota on Dili's most western outskirts. Several reasons drew us to the community, such as that the impact of the crisis had been substantial, that the community represented a kind of semi-urban environment on the periphery of the capital, and that the suburb had been significantly developed during the Indonesian occupation. Hence, we thought questions of security and sustainability may alter quite significantly if there had been more significant shifts in terms of who had lived there.

Upon securing permission to work in the community, a temporary office was set up in a house belonging to the family of one of our researchers. This was used as the base for our research activities over the following weeks, as a team of eleven staff undertook a range of interviews, surveys, took photos and mapped the community in different ways. While reducing many of the logistical hurdles experienced while working in rural areas, working in Golgota presented its own set of issues, not least in terms of a sharply increased population density but also concerns for security of staff moving from house to house and to and from the area. Each of these four communities have been visited since at least once to provide an update on the project and initial feedback on results. In addition we have revisited these communities to undertake other research projects.

We would have liked to add two additional sites to the study, one more in Dili and one in Oecusse. However, we had completed the existing four sites on extremely limited budgets and with more pressure on the team than should have preferably been the case. We were extraordinarily worn out and without sufficient funds to extend the field research aspect, which had taken us the better part of seven months to complete in amongst other projects and work commitments, we moved into the data analysis phase. This period saw the initial transcriptions of interviews, data entry from the surveys, and the general organization of what was masses of data. The first version of material from this report was released on the two specific communities of Sarelari and Nanu in English in July 2008 and in Tetun in January 2009. By that stage we had exhausted our funds and were simply not in a position to continue writing up new analysis for public release, in particularly the results from Luha Oli and Golgota. Irish Aid, with whom we have worked on several occasions, were good enough to continue providing support for the project. Hence over the second half of 2008 both the Luha Oli and Golgota sites were written up for report and integrated into the current format. Bringing together this report has of course also necessitated the lengthy process of translation and report layout, printing and then dissemination.

The authorship of this report represents different ways in which key personnel from the GRC have contributed to this publication. Mayra Walsh liaised with each of the communities, and managed the survey teams in all four sites (including their training), as well as undertaking a range of different data collection methods in the field, transcription and data entry. She has also written substantial tracts of the report. Carmenesa Moniz Noronha was originally employed on the project to assist in the house where staff was staying in Venilale, but very soon showed to be very adept at undertaking surveys. Since then, Carmenesa has worked full time with the GRC, worked in all four sites, and undertook the vast majority of data entry, statistical analysis and production of graphs with regards to the surveys. She has since led survey teams on two national projects across five districts. Kym Holthouse undertook research work in all four communities and was responsible for a range of methods, and drafted several of the initial sections in the original Sarelari and Nanu report. Anna Trembath contributed to data collection in Golgota, and has been part of teams that have visited Nanu and Luha Oli. She has written some key sections of this report as well as undertaking extensive editing. Damian Grenfell conceived and managed the project from the outset including establishing the intellectual framework,

visited all sites during the research process and several since to provide updates, managed and trained GRC staff where necessary, liaised with partners and funders, and with Mayra Walsh has been the major contributor in terms of the writing of this report.

Undertaking Field Research

The idea for this research originally emanated from a concern for understanding the impact of the 2006 crisis on communities beyond Dili. Information about possible impacts remained largely undocumented, as research and programmatic efforts concentrated on solving the myriad problems in the capital. However anecdotal evidence pointed to increased numbers of people returning to their birth-districts from Dili, price increases for food and commodities, the potential loss of repatriated income from Dili, and a greatly heightened sense of insecurity.

While some of these questions have been drawn into this project, the study broadened to consider the conditions of communities, and to do so both in rural and urban areas. Adding a community from Dili was essential to the study, not least as we felt it would add an important point of comparison and better represent the differences between aldeia in urban and rural sites. Even if only by implication, we hope the report may be able to suggest some ideas towards why there was such horrible violence across Dili in 2006 and 2007, not least as to understand the crisis there is limited value in looking at the capital in isolation.

Undertaking research at a very localized level such as the aldeia, especially in agricultural societies, has been traditionally the domain of anthropologists. We are not anthropologists. However, we have learnt and used some of the techniques honed by anthropologists, especially ethnographic forms of data collection, and our thinking has been very influenced by a range of contemporary anthropologists undertaking work on Timor generally.[6] Given the absolute lack of already-available data on the communities involved in this study, we undertook what might be understood as a 'broad scoop' in terms of data collection, drawing more sociologically-driven methods into the mix. One big difference between our approach and formal anthropology is of course the relative brevity of time we spent in the communities, the variety of methods that we used, and the numbers of people undertaking the research. Including local assistance with aspects of the data collection, between eight and twelve people were involved in the data collection process in each community over a period of several weeks. In addition, incorporating the urban dimension into the project to some extent goes against the ways in which anthropology has typically been practised.

We acknowledge that some people may claim our sample size is too small to produce results that can be generalized so as to provide indications of what life is like in aldeia across Timor-Leste. However in terms of this particular study we don't quite agree. In the first instance what is provided here is a very detailed data set about each of the communities at hand, as understanding what life is like in Nanu, Sarelari, Luha Oli and Golgota was the primary aim of the exercise. The actual numbers of surveys for each community also varies greatly—with Luha Oli as the smallest and Golgota the largest—as we sought to gain as good an understanding of each community on its own terms by attempting to speak with and survey as many people as possible in each. From this it is possible to build comparisons between each community, and what has been learnt through this study is not just limited in relevance to just these four sites. Of course other communities will be quite different just as these four communities are substantially different to each other. However, we hope that the data here should provide some stimulus for other studies, even those cast more widely and generally.

As will be outlined below, we have attempted to draw together both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Much detail provided in the report is drawn from statistical methods so as to describe some important aspects of people's lives in their local communities, such as the food grown, how labour is undertaken, perceptions of the

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[6] Including the work of Tanya Hohe, Jarat Chopra, David Hicks, Andrew McWilliam and Elizabth Traube.

community, and how people move in and beyond their aldeia. At a second level we have interpreted and analysed the statistical data through a qualitative lens, and in turn weaved it together with stories and narratives of people's day-to-day lives. In doing so we have tried to present a depth of meaning that statistics alone very often fail to carry. In simple terms this kind of analysis helps to draw out and understand the 'why', while statistics are often limited to describing the 'what' and the 'how'. Following is a brief outline of the research methods that we utilized in this study.

Surveys

In terms of formal data collection, the primary method utilized was surveys with fixed response options (please see Appendices One, Two and Three). All three surveys were most commonly conducted in the style of an interview (that is, oral delivery by the research team) due to high rates of illiteracy and because many people in all four communities were unfamiliar with these research methods. Some participants however were able to fill out the surveys on their own due to sufficient literacy and having undertaken surveys previously.

The first and largest survey focused on community attitudes and drew a number of its questions from a GRC survey which has been used in places such as Papua New Guinea, India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Australia. Survey One was designed to gauge what 'community' means to people and how people feel about and engage with their community on a day-to-day basis. This survey was completed with every person who was present in the community at the time of the field research who wanted to participate and was sixteen years of age and over.

In addition to the main survey, two shorter surveys were also delivered on a household-to-household basis. One concentrated on livelihoods, particularly on agriculture and water. The other was used to gauge people's perceptions of the impact of broad national processes on local communities, including the elections, the formal reconciliation process and the impact of the crisis.

Several questions in the surveys that were piloted in Luha Oli were subsequently changed for the three remaining sites, and thus comparisons are not made between the four sites for those questions, though the responses for each are discussed in each relevant sub-section. Some of the changes that were made included extending the options for questions regarding food grown, animals kept, variety of places where things are sold and languages spoken in the community, as we had not initially anticipated the diversity of responses for these questions. Also the process of translating the surveys was a challenge and after the pilot, further discussions regarding some terminology and language ensued with changes made to particular words that were difficult for some people to understand. For example, when the English word 'safe' appeared in a question the Tetun word, '*seguru*', was used followed by the Indonesian, '*aman*', in brackets. In other cases the Tetun words which may have been difficult for some people to understand were left as is and the enumerators and other staff had other equivalent words or examples ready to help explain the words if participants asked (such as 'influence' which is '*influensia*' in Tetun and '*pengaruh*' in Indonesian).

The surveys provided the perfect means to obtain some important baseline demographic data about the communities which is not available elsewhere. Equally, the surveys provided clear information such as the kinds of food types grown, different divisions of labour, and an understanding of how long people have been living in the community. This information helped us build a general picture of the community, while other more subjective opinion-oriented questions were designed to gauge general trends in community sentiments. For us, as well as generating this important data, the surveys represented a 'platform method'; that is, they gave us a reason to visit each household and allowed people an opportunity to understand and feel comfortable with our work. Equally, the value of using an identical survey at the start of the process meant that everyone who participated understood what each other was being asked, an important process in building trust in the community.

Carmenesa Moniz Noronha and Helena dos Santos Pinto using a trundle wheel to measure the distance community members travel from their houses to their gardens in Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

The process of conducting surveys was nevertheless challenging. The use of subjective questions which are open to interpretation by research participants stimulated much discussion among our research team regarding the suitability of this method. At times statistical results from surveys did not seem to mesh with our observations or explanations given by community members during interviews, and on other occasions it seemed that people's responses could have been framed by a concern of not wanting to portray their community in a poor light. A possible explanation for this situation has been commented on by Nancy M. Lutz:

> [E]xperts have noted a cultural tendency among East Timorese to express their views in terms how they believe things should be, rather than how they truly are … [N]ormative statements, of how things *should* be, are also statements of how things *are not*, a way of registering complaints or expressing injustices in an environment in which direct criticism could be life threatening.[7]

Our sense is that such a tendency in people's responses to researchers is not specific to Timor-Leste, and also depends on the ways in which questions are designed and delivered. It also showed particularly how some questions in our surveys, no matter how much effort was put into drafting them, were made on wrongly based assumptions. However, rather than taking this as a negative, these presented key moments in learning and reinforced the importance of using multiple methods of data collection. Utilizing multiple methods of data collection methods usually allows cross-correlation of results in the analysis stage and provides an opportunity to test the validity of survey responses where there is a concern.

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[7] Nancy M. Lutz, (in a paper presented at an Asia Foundation–sponsored conference on Traditional Justice in Timor-Leste), cited in *The Asia Foundation, Survey of Citizen Awareness and Attitudes Regarding Law and Justice in Timor-Leste*, The Asia Foundation, Dili, 2004, p. 9.

Interviews

Once we had moved through the surveys we felt we were in a far better position to use more qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews. These allowed people for example to narrate stories, explain family connections, and describe the ways in which conflict is managed in the community. Semi-structured interviews served as a good corrective opportunity for us in relation to quantitative methods in that we could ask people to provide much more detail in order to elucidate patterns that we did not fully understand emerging from the quantitative methods. It also gave people an opportunity to express something important to them that we may have missed in formulating the surveys. Most semi-structured interviews ran for the duration of one hour. There were however also short twenty- to thirty-minute interviews conducted with members of the community who had specific knowledge about particular subjects such as health, education and certain aspects of local traditional customary practice.

Photonarrative

While the surveys and the interviews occupied the bulk of the time in terms of both data collection and data analysis, we employed other methods that helped to deepen our understanding of each community in terms of the themes of sustainability and security. In all four communities we utilized what we call 'photonarrative', a method by which a digital camera is given to a person and they are asked to take a limited number of photos of places or things of significance to them within the community. The camera is typically handed over for a period of a half-day, with a semi-structured interview occurring on the same or following day. This interview would comprise a focused discussion about a limited number of photos that the photographer thought best revealed something important to them in the community. In all four communities people had not used cameras before but were able to learn very quickly and were very receptive to this method. As with interviews, this method is designed to maximize the agency of the participant in terms of framing what is of importance to them while also adding texture through providing a visual medium as a focus for discussion.

Community Mapping

In developing these community profiles we also utilized what we call 'community mapping'. In both communities this began with us creating a simple hand-drawn map of the area, including key physical infrastructural aspects of the village such as the main road, houses and other public buildings such as community centres, chapels, schools or health clinics. As we are primarily interested in using the maps to understand social connections and movement of people in the community, we aim only to present an approximate sense of scale with these maps. With a visual sense of the layout of the community, we also used these maps to assist with ensuring that we had surveyed as many houses as possible.

In turn, the maps were copied so that different layers of information about the community could be added in three key ways. First, we were able to mark on the map different types of houses found in the community, such as brick houses, grass roof houses, new houses in the process of being built, as well as sacred houses (*uma lulik*). Second, we used the primary map to then gain a sense of genealogical relationships, working with a community member to identify who they are related to in the community, how they are related, and then draw a link from the interviewee's house to their relatives' houses. In this way a semi-structured interview format is brought together with the mapping, a method that we found to provide a very good opportunity to discuss local social structures, dynamics surrounding family relationships and issues such as marriage and migration towards and away from the village. Third, we used mapping in order to understand the act of daily water collection: providing information about who collects water, how long it takes, how far away the water source is, and how often different households collect water. In order to gather this data we accompanied people as they collected water, marking both their house and the water source on the map and using a trundle wheel and stop-watches to map their movements.

Below is a table outlining the amount of data collected using each of the methods in each of the four research sites. There are noticeably more surveys and interviews conducted in Golgota simply because the population of the aldeia was so much larger, with Luha Oli in turn being the smallest.

Method	Nanu (Fatumean)	Sarelari (Luro)	Luha Oli (Venilale)	Golgota (Dili)
Estimated Population of Aldeia*	200 people 57 households	375 people 80 households	331 people 63 households	2000 people 200 households
Survey 1: Individual Community Attitudes	80	112	69	354
Survey 2: Household Livelihoods	57	72	38	126
Survey 3: Household Political Processes	57	72	37	127
Semi-Structured Interviews	5	7	5	10
Short Semi-Structured Interviews	2	6	3	14
Photonarrative Interviews	2	2	1	2
Focus Group Discussion	1	-	-	-
Family Mapping	4	2	-	3
Water Mapping	5	5	-	6
Geographical Mapping	1	1	1	Maps from TL Government
Photos	916	816	654	898

* These estimated population figures were provided in each location by the respective *xefe de aldeia* and are based on the number of adults and children living permanently in the area at the time. In particular an estimate of the number of people living in Golgota is difficult to calculate as population levels had fluctuated dramatically during and after the 2006 crisis.

Observation

Finally, underpinning our research in all four communities was observation, notably of daily activities around the communities, informal social interactions with people, and political and cultural events that occurred during the field research. Anecdotal interactions, informal discussions and the things noticed in people's houses while other methods were being utilized, and knowledge gained from spending time in the communities, all contributed to a vital basis for which to understand the communities.

Language and Communications

We were of course faced with myriad logistical challenges in terms of undertaking this research, one of the most substantial being language. In designing surveys as well as undertaking work in each of the communities we had to confront the diversity between languages as well as within them. We translated the surveys into Tetun and Bahasa

Indonesia, trying to use common parlance rather than formal language wherever possible, and ran a pilot program to test the clarity and ease of language. However it was still common that research participants had difficulty understanding some of the language used, partly because many of the participants most commonly communicate in their local languages. In these cases, the language skills of the staff from Concern Worldwide and Oxfam were invaluable as they translated concepts or questions into Tetun Terik in Nanu, and Sa Ani in Sarelari, and in Luha Oli we hired local staff who could speak Midiki and Karui. On top of this we were also assisted greatly by community members who helped one another to overcome language barriers. Often younger people were more familiar with Tetun Dili and were able to help other members of the community, and local leaders were often very ready to assist.

Sarelari is a particularly unique case where neither Tetun (of any form) nor Bahasa Indonesia are widely understood, hence the need for us to employ further translators from the local community. In this situation the research team were absolutely dependent on the help of the translators who also worked gathering surveys with research participants. In Sarelari, we left some additional empty surveys at the suggestion of two local women who had worked with us there. When a small pile of surveys were delivered to us in Dili all filled out after we had returned, it was explained that once we were gone people actively sought out the women. Some members of the community had felt nervous about doing the survey while we were there, partly as we were unknown in the community and also because we only spoke Tetun or Indonesian.

A second important point to make in terms of language is inconsistencies in spelling due to the dominance of oral forms of communication. For example, we came across various spellings for the names of the aldeia we were working in. Nanu can also be spelt Nano, likewise Sarelari is sometimes also spelt Sare Lari, with Suco Dakolo also written as Dacolo, Barikafa as Baricafa and sub-district Fatumean as Fatumea. For the sake of consistency we have chosen single forms of each for the purposes of writing this report. In the instance of there being no prior use of names in writing, such as in the names of *uma lulik*, we have simply spelt words phonetically using the Tetun alphabet.

Surveys, Tables and Graphs

As three surveys were used we have devised a simple system throughout the report to differentiate between them. The question number is always followed by another number in brackets, such as 'Question Four (1)', with the latter number referring to the survey in which the question was asked. Therefore (1) refers to Survey One, the individual survey about community attitudes; (2) refers to the household survey about agriculture and (3) refers to the household survey about national political processes and the crisis.

The statistical results from the three surveys are diagrammatically presented in this report using both graphs and tables. There are two types of questions asked and therefore two different ways to read the data presented, depending on which type of question the results are from. Most questions are single-response, meaning that the participant may only choose one of the options offered. Other questions however are multiple-response which allows the participant to mark as many options as are required for them to adequately respond to the question.

The results from single-response questions are commonly presented in a graph and table displayed together. With this data it is important to note that the information produced in tables takes into consideration missing or invalid answers, while the graphs do not. A missing or invalid answer means a mistake has been made while filling out the survey, there is an unclear response to a question, or the participant was inadvertently not asked a particular question so there is no response at all. For example, data will be rendered invalid if two or three options are marked when the question only asks for one to be marked.

Concern Worldwide staff, Agustinho Alves Ribeiro and Juliao Caetano, complete a survey with a community member and several curious onlookers in Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

Therefore, the tables produced in this report will show a row titled 'missing or invalid answers' and will provide percentage results with this value both included and excluded. The graphs, however, only use percentage results from the data which excludes the missing or invalid answers. Hence when reading the graphs, one must keep in mind that these are the results from those respondents who answered the question correctly and not the results from all respondents.

We have presented the more complicated data from multiple-response questions in a different way. These tables are easily distinguishable and most commonly found in the sub-sections within the Livelihoods section. The most significant variation is that the results in these tables cannot be added up to 100 per cent. For example, Question Six (2) is a multiple response question which asks, 'what animals do you keep?', and gives the participant thirteen options to choose from. It is impossible to include all of these results in one graph so they are compiled in a table which displays the information according to the most commonly-owned animal down to the least commonly-owned.

Who is the Report Written For?

We hope that the report is of interest to community members, students and teachers in high school and universities, government and the development sector both in Timor-Leste and beyond. While the report is not overly academic in style (though obviously written by academics), we hope that other researchers and academics can make use of it, build upon it, and critically develop some of the ideas contained in it. Furthermore, we hope that the

design of the report means that it is conducive to those who are interested in particular themes (such as 'Conflict Resolution') or to those who have an interest in a specific geographic location covered in this report.

The report that follows here, along with different versions produced specifically for each of the communities, will be returned as one part of a fulfilment of a promise to each of the communities. While we understand that many in the community will not be able to read it due to illiteracy and the use of Tetun Prasa (sometimes referred to as Tetun Dili), we hope that it serves as a useful historical record, recognition of the community and a new basis upon which the community may think about itself. We also see it as a living document, not least as in a process such as this there will be errors on our part, explanations that are partial, and many ideas that are still in need of development. We have learnt a great deal, and hope through giving the report back to the communities that both they and broader communities can find value in it.

Communities in Context

Introduction

This opening section is designed to introduce the reader to each of the four communities in this report, namely the Aldeia Luha Oli in Venilale (Baucau district), Aldeia Nanu in Fatumean (Covalima district), Aldeia Sarelari in Luro (Lautem district) and Aldeia Golgota in Dom Alexio (Dili district). The information here both sets the context for following four sections and gives the reader a sense of the communities in terms of the different geographic settings, languages spoken, the financial well-being of residents, and also the experiences of violence and safety within the four communities. In doing so, some of the preliminary arguments on security and sustainability can also be begun that will be further developed throughout the report.

Aldeia Nanu

Introducing Nanu

Aldeia Nanu is a small community situated on the slopes of Mount Nanu, high up in the cool mountains of Fatumean in the south-western corner of Timor-Leste. Nanu is part of Suco Dakolo which in turn is part of sub-district Fatumean, one of seven sub-districts in the district of Covalima. Running along the border it is possible from many parts of Fatumean to look over into the Indonesian district of Belu in west Timor.

Fatumean is one of the less densely populated parts of Timor-Leste, and in the main its inhabitants tend to live in a few relatively concentrated communities, widely scattered with long distances between them. According to the 2004 National Census results Fatumean has 555 dwellings and a total population at the time of the census of 3,366 persons.[8] The district capital of Suai is around forty kilometres away, linked by a road in extremely poor condition which is prone to mudslides and continuous degeneration each wet season. Walking remains the main mode of transport for most people travelling from Nanu to Suai.

It takes one hour by foot or twenty minutes in a car from Fatumean *vila* (the sub-district centre) to Nanu along a rocky road which cuts across hills and passes crops, wild bush and roaming buffalo until the first signs of a village appear. A small graveyard can be seen on the right hand side of the road followed by several houses. The road then turns and passes a communal water source. From that point the road traverses straight through the centre of the community to a second set of graves that marks the end of the village. Using the grave sites as markers, the length of the village is 1,100 metres long, or 900 metres from the first house to the last.

The geographical area of this village accommodates two aldeia, namely Nanu, the research site for this project, and Haliknain. These are two of the four aldeia that make up Suco Dakolo. Many of the houses in the area are clustered around the main road and there is no official boundary geographically separating the two aldeia. In general, members of Haliknain live at the northern end and their houses are passed by when first entering the village. The majority of the population of Nanu live at the far end; either above the main road which leads up to the summit of Mount Nanu, or below the main road which leads down to a river at the bottom of a valley. However not all members of the Nanu community live close together. Some community members live in areas cohabitated by people from Haliknain which means that in particular areas it is only possible to differentiate between members of the two communities by directly asking people which aldeia they belong to.

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[8] National Statistics Directorate, *Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004: Atlas*, National Statistics Directorate within the Ministry of Planning and Finance, Timor-Leste Government, First Edition, Dili, September 2006, pp. 24-26.

An elderly woman wearing tais (hand-woven cloth) at her home in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

The exact population of Nanu is difficult to determine as people regularly move in and out of the community. However, according to local community leaders, Nanu comprises approximately 200 people and fifty-seven households. There are some public facilities including a simple community centre where local leaders run public meetings as well as a small government-run primary school. There is no electricity in Nanu, and if a person wants and is able to use a mobile phone, they must climb to the top of Mount Dakolo in order to receive an intermittent signal.

Above the village on an eastern hilltop is a large cross that reflects the Catholicism that is the dominant religion in Nanu, as it is across Timor-Leste. There is a chapel in Nanu used for catechist-led prayers each Sunday. To attend mass people must walk to the neighbouring sub-district of Fohorem as Fatumean does not yet have an operating parish. In terms of customary spiritual expression, ten *uma lulik* (sacred houses) were identified in the village; the main one, *Ua Mauk*, accompanied by other sacred houses such as Bei Keu, Rai Oan, Niha'a, Leomalis, We Oe, Lusin, Lawaklau, Ferik Katuas and Bere Halek Kabu Moruk.[9]

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[9] These uma lulik were identified during a mapping exercise with members of the community. The houses are related to each other and each has a particular role to play in traditional customary practices. The main sacred house, *Ua Mauk,* is known as the *Uma Liurai* (King's house) and is at the top of the hierarchy. These houses are spread between the two communities of Nanu and Haliknain.

Nanu gives the impression of being an organized and busy community. The village is generally very tidy and large animals such as pigs are kept enclosed in pens while chickens and ducks roam more freely. At the time this research was conducted there were two new houses being built and the grass rooves being replaced on two others. Some community members worked in teams on these construction projects while others were busy working in their fields or doing tasks required for the household such as collecting water, gathering firewood and preparing food.

The village is made up of a number of different kinds of houses. There are the *uma lulik*, which are distinctly different in form from those found in different parts of the country. There are also houses made of *bebak* (palm stems split vertically and nailed in a row to make a wall) with roofs of either grass or corrugated iron. Some houses made of bricks and cement date from the Indonesian period, while others have been newly constructed.

The most commonly-found number of people living in a household together in Nanu is five; however household occupants range from just two people up to more than ten. In response to Question 19 (1), '*who lives with you in your house?*', 100 per cent of respondents live with one or more family members. Often people live with immediate family while there are some cases of houses made up of members of extended family as well as several instances where just husband and wife live together. In one of the *uma lulik* in Nanu there are four women making up three generations from one family living together with five children and no men.[10] No one reported living alone.

In 1999 many residents of Nanu were forced to flee to various places in neighbouring west Timor to seek refuge from militia-led violence. One elderly woman recounted her escape to west Timor where she stayed for one month living in a make-shift refugee camp. She explained that on her return their houses had not been destroyed as 'they [the militia] didn't burn down houses here [in Nanu] … We ran away and when we came back our houses were ok'.[11] Some houses in the area which were owned by members of the Indonesian military were however dismantled, the empty foundations still visible around the aldeia. Some of those who went to west Timor never returned, such as Agustinho Aterara Ferreira's eldest daughter and her husband. 'I don't know why she hasn't returned, because in '99 we ran there [to west Timor] but just me and some others returned, she didn't return.'[12]

The History of Nanu

According to modern studies of history and anthropology, the current inhabitants of subdistrict Fatumean are largely descended from the Tetun–speaking Belu people who are said to have arrived in Timor from Makassar approximately 1,000 years ago.[13] The subsequent expansion of these communities is thought to have gradually displaced the island's indigenous population group—the Atoni—from the most favourable agricultural land.[14] In the fourteenth century the Belu people established the Wehale empire, bringing much of central Timor under its authority.[15] Given that present–day Fatumean lies within Wehale's former domain and derives its linguistic heritage from the same source, it appears highly likely that Fatumean's communities would have fallen within Wehale's realm of influence.[16] When the Dutch colonizers finally succeeded in destroying Wehale's authority in 1642, a long era of instability in central Timor began as the Dutch and Portuguese sought control through the formation of alliances with loyal *liurai* (kings).

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[10] Focus group discussion with women, Nanu, Fatumean, 9 September 2007.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Interview with Agustinho Aterara Ferreira, Nanu, Fatumean, 8 September 2007.

[13] Katherine G Davidson, *The Portuguese Colonisation of Timor: The Final Stage, 1850–1912,* PhD Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1994, pp. 112-13.

[14] David Hicks, 'Timor–Rati. Eastern Tetum', in Frank LeBar, ed., *Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*, vol 1, New Haven, 1972, pp. 99–100. Cited in Davidson, pp.110–11.

[15] Geoffrey Hull, 'Current Language Issues in East Timor', text of a public lecture given at the University of Adelaide, 29 March 2000. Source: http://www.asianlang.mq.edu.au/INL/speech1.html

[16] Tom Therik, *Wehali: The Female Land Traditions of a Timorese Ritual Centre*, Pandanus Books, Canberra, 2004, p. 54.

Although the Dutch–Portuguese treaty of 1859 may have formally delineated the territorial 'possessions' of the colonial powers on Timor, the kingdom of Fatumean continued to defy Portuguese authority for several decades thereafter. Exploiting its strategic location, Fatumean's ruling class profited by providing an entry and exit point for trade through Dutch ports, activity prohibited by the Portuguese colonial administration. Portuguese colonial records describe the *liurai* of Fatumean as refusing to pay taxes on his profitable dealings with foreigners. Reportedly, it was only news of severe punitive attacks by Portuguese forces on other similarly uncooperative regions that prompted the *liurai* of Fatumean to go to Dili and formally acknowledge Portuguese authority.[17]

Despite some of these earlier events being beyond living memory of Nanu's current inhabitants, people within Nanu speak of a past in a way that resonates with formal historical accounts. One resident spoke via inter-generational narratives of a *liurai* from the late Portuguese era as a particularly 'cruel ruler, who enslaved his people, causing many to flee over the border into Dutch Timor in a bid to escape his tyranny of forced labour'.[18] That the *liurai*'s grave remains on a ridgeline that runs between Mount Nanu and Mount Dakolo, surrounded by those of his family members and descendents, may help to ensure that such stories continue to resonate through the interaction between narratives and the lived environment.

Results from Question 16 (1) give a sense of how people view the past in terms of its importance on the contemporary community. More than 70 per cent of respondents in Nanu reported feeling that the past continued to exert an influence on the way they live today. 'Past' here is open for people to interpret as either limited to the lifetime of the respondent or a more generalized past, including that of their ancestors. Either way, the majority response about the importance of the past does help us understand that people in Nanu are living with a sense of continuum, despite for instance the momentous and potentially disruptive effects of 1999. Speaking with members of Nanu, it was apparent that the past continued to influence conceptions of community, not least in terms of understanding the name of the aldeia itself.

> Long ago, before the era of the white foreigners, we lived up there, on top of Mount Nanu. That was the place of our ancestors. That's why now, we still call ourselves Nanu, [and will] forever. Because before the Portuguese arrived, it was already called Nanu.[19]

When asked most people readily confirmed that prior to the Indonesian military's invasion Nanu's settlement had been concentrated on the summit of Mount Nanu. Substantial remnants of stone walls and graves remain across the top of the mountain, often hidden by thick undergrowth and foliage. While such a position would have meant intense difficulties in obtaining water, especially during long dry seasons each year, the position offered better protection against attackers. From the top of Mount Nanu, people could see an enemy approaching as well as guard against theft of livestock.

Whatever the advantages of elevation, it did not insulate Nanu from the Indonesian invasion in 1975. After establishing control of the territory the Indonesian authorities insisted that the population of Nanu relocate from the summit of Mount Nanu to a point several hundred metres lower down the slope. The reasons given to justify the move included easier access to water, transport and other state infrastructure for the community. However, the likelihood that the Indonesian government's resettlement plan also reflected surveillance and security concerns was a reason identified by people in Nanu.[20]

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[17] Revista Colonial, Lisbon, 1894–1896, p. 309, cited in, Davidson, *The Portuguese Colonisation of Timor*, p.187.

[18] Interview with Jamie do Carmo, *xefe de aldeia* of Haliknain, Mt Dakolo, Fatumean, 9 September 2007.

[19] Interview with Jose da Costa, Nanu, Fatumean, 7 September 2007.

[20] Interview with Ricky Mendonca, Oxfam Community Organizer, Nanu, Fatumean, 5 September 2007.

Looking down over houses in aldeia Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

That Nanu is now grouped together with the aldeia of Haliknain is due to the fact that both communities have been moved to the current position. As with Nanu, the people of Haliknain were also forced to relocate from their original settlement, at the foot of Mount Dakolo almost two kilometres away, to a site adjoining the post–Indonesian site of Nanu. According to one local leader this move was ordered not by the Indonesians, but by the Portuguese authorities. If correct, this might suggest that Haliknain was already occupying the lower site on Mount Nanu, before the Nanu people were forced to also relocate there. However, other participants suggested that the Haliknain community had only moved to Mount Nanu when forced to do so by the Indonesians in the 1970s.

Either way, each aldeia now live their daily lives in communities that are different from their ancestors' lands while carrying both communities' names and sense of origin into the present. This is important in terms of thinking about community sustainability, as people have been able to maintain a collective sense of identity through oral forms of communication and narratives handed down from generation to generation. The durability of Nanu today is very strongly reliant on the ability to draw connections across time to ancestors, linkages with the past that have been able to be sustained despite enormous social pressure.

Aldeia Sarelari

Introducing Sarelari

Aldeia Sarelari is situated in the sub-district of Luro which is in turn situated in Lautem, the eastern-most district of Timor-Leste. Sarelari is one of three aldeia that, along with Afaia, and Usu Fasu, make up Suco Barikafa. Sarelari is comprised of a total of eighty households and has a population of approximately 375 people.[21] Almost half (176 people at the time of doing this research) the entire aldeia's population is under the age of sixteen.

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[21] Information gathered from the xefe de aldeia's list of registered members of the community.

By vehicle Luro is reached by turning south and inland from the north coast road that links Baucau to Lautem's district capital of Lospalos. The main centre of Luro is typically accessible by a dirt road, though given a river needs to be crossed this is dependent on the levels of rain. Much of Luro sub-district lies at elevations above 500 metres in very hilly terrain, and with an average of nine households per square kilometre, it is the most densely settled sub-district in Lautem but still below the national average.[22]

In order to reach Sarelari one must take an extremely degraded road from Luro higher up into the mountains. By vehicle the road can only be traversed by a good four wheel drive, and even then during the rainy season that may not be possible. Most people who live in the area walk or travel by horseback between Sarelari and Luro. Upon arriving in Sarelari houses can be seen on both sides of the main road which winds past a health clinic on the left and the new *xefe de suco* (village chief) office on the right (which was still under construction at the time of research). Further down the road is the local government-run primary school. There is no electricity in Sarelari and mobile phone coverage is patchy and unreliable.

Households in Sarelari are not confined to a single geographically-defined territory. Instead, houses from the aldeia are largely grouped in one area to the eastern side of the main road leading through the village. However, this is not exclusively the case as some households from Sarelari can be found over two kilometres away. Some houses are made of brick with corrugated iron rooves while others are made with wood and have either corrugated iron or grass rooves. Others still are built using traditional architecture, easily identifiable as they are constructed on high stilts and made using thick planks of wood. Even with the traditional style houses the rooves again are made of either grass or corrugated iron. In all cases kitchens and bathrooms are often set apart from the main house for health reasons, namely to distance the smoke from the kitchen and sewage from the toilets.

Most people in Sarelari work as subsistence farmers whose main crops include maize, cassava, banana and pumpkin. While walking through the village one comes across small gardens often in front or behind people's houses, as well as near water sources. These gardens are full of neat rows of vegetables such as onions, cabbage and mustard. There were several water sources identified in the general area where the majority of the population of Sarelari live, some better maintained and more regularly used than others. Fenced in pig pens can also be found scattered through the village, typically set a small distance from people's houses.

There are several small household-run kiosks as well as one kiosk set up by a local women's group, Oan Kiak. A local carpentry group has a sign outside a small building in the village and, together with Oan Kiak, have received support from the non-government organization Concern Worldwide. A small chapel is used for services and nearby are the brick foundations of what once was planned to be a church. The initial funds collected from the community to build this church were exhausted before it was completed. The foundations have not been dismantled as there are plans to continue the project in the future. The new *xefe de suco* office, once ready, will also serve as a public facility available for community meetings and other gatherings.

Unlike many other communities in Timor-Leste, Barikafa did not experience widespread material damage during 1999 caused by militia after the results of the vote for self determination were announced. Many people fled to the mountains while others went to Indonesian west Timor. According to Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, the level of damage in Sarelari was particularly limited.

> They [the militia] didn't burn down any houses here in 1999. In Luro they
> burnt down the primary school. In another village they burnt lots of houses

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[22] National Statistics Directorate, *Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004: Atlas*, National Statistics Directorate within the Ministry of Planning and Finance, Timor-Leste Government, First Edition, Dili, September 2006, p. 24.

A families' home in Sarelari, Luro, built in the traditional architectural style commonly found in the Lautem district, October 2007

> but they didn't burn down Barikafa houses, they just burnt down one which is down there.[23]

When asked to suggest a reason as to why there was little damage Teresa responded by saying, 'we don't know, maybe because of God or maybe because of adat [customary law], or maybe because of God and adat working together. We just don't know'.[24]

The History of Sarelari

In conducting this research there were two significant narratives recounted about the history of Sarelari. One of these regarded the conflict between local clans during Portuguese times and the second was about the forced resettlement that occurred during the Indonesian occupation. The later story in particular is readily told as it is from the living memory of community members who experienced the events. Other historical narratives, such as those concerning either origins or ancestors, are considered sacred in Sarelari and are only able to be told by certain people during certain ceremonies.

Given that Luro, and within that Sarelari, shares its western border with sub-district Laga and sub-district Baguia from Baucau district, the retelling of the conflict between the two clans is helpful in terms of understanding how Barikafa came to be part of Lautem district. A local leader from Sarelari spoke of how during Portuguese times there was a contest for power between two clans which were referred to as 'Upper Barikafa' and 'Lower Barikafa'.

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[23] Interview with Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[24] ibid.

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He claimed the leaders of both groups as his ancestors, and put the population of Upper Barikafa at the time of conflict at fifteen families, and that of Lower Barikafa at thirty-five families. He explained that the king of Upper Barikafa believed that the suco should rightly belong to Baucau district, whereas the community that made up Lower Barikafa believed that its interests lay in joining Lautem.

Whether by coincidence or not, the proximity of the two groups' settlements to the districts in question was consistent with their preferences. The Upper Barikafa population was closer to the border with Baucau than the inhabitants dwelling lower down in the valley, further east and toward the river. The current *xefe de suco* recounted the story to us, telling us of the outcome of the struggle.

> So, at that time they argued, and had a conflict over Barikafa's status. The two kings waged war against each other. And the king from down below established his own flag, which they then fought over. Then, my grandfather's power was stronger than that of the fifteen other families, so eventually he won and he took control of all of Barikafa. So [Barikafa] became part of Lautem. Had the other king won, Barikafa would have become part of Baucau.[25]

The division that prompted the conflict over which district the suco should align itself to was said to be borne of a difference over whether language, or a pre–existing political pact, should determine which district Barikafa was to join. Although the use of Sa Ani is largely confined to three suco, as a language it is reportedly much closer to Makasai. As this is the dominant language of Baucau district, the Upper Barikafa community wanted to join with Baucau district. However, the Lower Barikafa clan emphasized the importance of an ancestral agreement under which the leaders of six suco had pledged never to separate from the sub-district of Luro.

> So my grandfather held fast to that ideal because it was the six suco that are included in this sub-district who had an agreement, including suco Luro, Cotamutu, Wairoce, all are Lautem. So, if Barikafa ran to Baucau, then they wouldn't be able to form a sub-district anymore. My ancestors had that intention. [It is] because the six men from here already had an agreement.[26]

The narration of these tales did not provide many details about the conflict or how exactly the issue was resolved. However, this narrative helps us to understand several important things about the Sarelari community. First, we see how people come to understand their present position through the ability to communicate orally about historical events. Second, such a narrative also helps us to understand the role that compacts play and the sense of importance attached to keeping them, not least when they are made by ancestors. Together these help us understand that the community of Barikafa, which Sarelari is one part, has managed to sustain itself at least in part through a strong sense of origins. People not only see themselves as coming from Barikafa as a particular geographic place, but also see themselves as part of a community with a common political heritage.

The second common narrative that was retold concerned the impact on Sarelari of the Indonesian occupation. During that time there was large-scale forced displacement and resettlement of rural populations, a process which impacted heavily on Sarelari. One community member conveyed the story as one of 'double displacement' with people initially fleeing to take sanctuary in the mountains around Mount Matebian, and then moving land lower down in Luro.

> Before Indonesia invaded, it [the Sarelari community] was here. But from '75 to '79, we were all at Matebean. Falantil hid themselves in the forests from '79 to '99. Meanwhile the rest of the community joined with Indonesia in the towns. … From '79 to '92, we lived down in Luro. Then from '79 to '92 our

[25] Interview with Joaquim Preto, *Xefe de Suco* of Barikafa, Sarelari, Luro, 6 October 2007.

[26] ibid.

land here was cleared and only the TNI [Indonesian army] lived here. ... In '92 to '93 the security situation was getting better, so the *xefe de suco* of Barikafa submitted a proposal to the Indonesian government that the community move back to its old area. That was approved and we were able to go back to our own areas. So, from '79 to '92 this land was all empty. Full of wild animals like deer, wild pigs, wild buffalo, wild cattle.[27]

Despite two moves due to war, Sarelari was able to maintain a sense of community strong enough that when the time was opportune they were very pro-active in their attempts to return to their original land, which they did as a whole community.

In different ways both narratives demonstrate key aspects of how Sarelari has been able to sustain itself, proving durable as a community despite the immense upheaval of the Indonesian occupation. In the first instance, that both of these narratives have been maintained demonstrates how resilient oral forms of communication can prove to be despite forced relocation and war. Moreover, and this is a point we will return to in the following sections, Sarelari is able to imagine itself as a community due in part to the power of narratives that help frame people's sense of interconnection.

Aldeia Luha Oli

Introducing Luha Oli

Luha Oli is a small rural community situated in central mountains of Timor-Leste in the sub-district of Venilale, approximately 50 kilometres south of Baucau. Rising to a height of up to 1,000 metres above sea level in some places, on one side the community looks down into rice fields while on the other the view eastwards extends towards the slopes of Mount Matebian. During the wet season the land is a lush green and in the late afternoons the clouds often roll in making it impossible to see more than a few metres ahead.

According to recent demographic data collected and recorded by Diamantino Astanislao Guterres, the *Xefe de Suco* of Uai Laha, the population of Aldeia Luha Oli is 331 people. This total is made up of 151 men and 180 women who comprise sixty-three households.[28] Aldeia Luha Oli, along with Aldeia Cairuhale Desima, Cairuhale Debaiko and Cau Bai, together comprise Suco Uai Laha. Suco Uai Laha is one of eight suco that make up sub-district Venilale which is in turn part of Baucau District.

The majority of the people from Luha Oli work as subsistence farmers. They mainly plant staple crops of rice and maize which are complimented with a variety of other vegetables grown in smaller quantities. This subsistence lifestyle only just manages to feed their large families who at certain times may have to depend on their extended family network to see them through the 'hungry season' each year.

Members of Luha Oli live in a mixture of wooden thatched roofed houses or solid cement houses with tin roofs. Rocks and mud-bricks are used to build foundations which are then added to with walls made from *bebak*. Houses are rarely painted and inside there is usually a dirt or cement floor and minimal furniture. The kitchen area and also often the bathroom and toilet are situated at the back of the house, separate from the main house which is typically comprised of bedrooms and a dining area. Those houses situated within the centre of sub-district Venilale have access to electricity which is provided by the government using a large generator from six pm to midnight each evening. The majority of Luha Oli residents however live beyond the current reach of the electricity service and therefore rely on candles and oil lamps to provide light at night time.

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[27] ibid.

[28] Information taken from a document titled *Registo da Populacao Anual de Republica Democratica de Timor-Leste: Periode de Janeiro a Junhu de 2008* and used with permission from Diamantino Astanislao Guterres, xefe de suco of Uai Laha, April 2008.

The Catholic church is situated in the centre of Venilale, July 2007

From the households surveyed we found that there is most often either six and seven people living together. In some cases there are more than ten people living in a house while there was only one house surveyed in which the person lived alone (Question 20 (1)). A household is commonly made up of immediate family members and sometimes also includes cousins, grandparents or other extended family members (Question 19 (1)). In response to Question 12a (3), 75.7 per cent of households said that the crisis in 2006 and 2007 had impacted their household, with almost half of these (48.3 per cent) saying that as a result of the crisis there were more people living in their home.

Most of the community in Luha Oli have comparatively good access to a range of public and private services as many do not live far from the sub-district capital, Venilale. Those who live on the very fringes of this widely dispersed community must walk up to one hour to make use of these services which include: public transport in the form of *mikrolets* (mini-buses) going both north to Baucau and south to Viqueque, a large twice weekly market, a public library which includes a training centre with computers, a health clinic and a large church with a meeting room.

The History of Luha Oli

Suco Uai Laha, and within it, Aldeia Luha Oli, was officially recognized as a territory by the occupying Indonesian government either in the 1970s or early 1980s. Some residents explained that the community requested the Indonesian government form Uai Laha. Several people also claimed that a group within the area who used the name 'Uai Laha' had existed during Portuguese colonial times, however the kingdom of Uato Haco had expanded so as to incorporate the group into its domain. Again a slightly different version of the same story about Uai Laha was narrated by Diamantino Astanislao Guterres, the current *Xefe de Suco* of Uai Laha, in this instance representing the above mentioned 'group' more in terms of those who had come under the leadership of a past Liurai named Antoni.

> According to what I've been told by the elders, first of all Suco Uai Laha was born from a Liurai called Antoni. He was actually originally from Kaubai and was from a generation originating with a man called Lekinai. Lekinai's sons were Antoni and Kilinai, he had two sons. At that time Antoni worked together with Don Cristovao and those two walked around Venilale looking for ways to develop the area using force, physical force. Don Cristovao came and called Antoni. At that time Antoni was not yet a liurai. He called him to strengthen the plantations, from Berkoli they walked and because people respected Antoni and he was together with Don Cristovao and using force they gathered many people together. Then there were too many people so Don Cristovao divided them and gave four aldeia in Uai Laha to his godson, Antoni. He said, 'I can not govern all these people so it's better that we divide it up, you be in charge of that section and I'll be in charge of this section'. Then gradually because Liurai Antoni was an angry leader the community did a traditional dance (*tebe dai*) and were angry with the liurai. Eventually he admitted his wrong doings and stepped down and so then what was the community going to do? They couldn't join together with Berkoli because it was too far so they rejoined with Uato Haco.[29]

According to this version Uato Haco and Uai Laha are 'rejoined' together rather than Uai Laha being 'taken over', and Diamantino continued his narrative by stating that suco Uai Laha was formally recognised by the state in 1981. The formalisation of Uai Laha during the Indonesian period was then, according to this version of events, a restoration of an older community rather than the creation of an entirely new one.

The 1975 invasion by the Indonesian military had a major impact on the community of Luha Oli in several ways. Antonio Lopes, a traditional leader in the community, was an active member of an armed Fretilin group in Venilale at the time of the invasion. He recounted in great detail the activities of the group during the pre-invasion civil war and leading up to when the Indonesian military entered Venilale.

> Then the Indonesians came into Venilale and chased everyone out and into the mountains. They kept chasing until everyone was almost at the top of Mount Matebian. And then they sent aeroplanes to bomb the mountain. The bombs attacked Matebian and the troops walked on the ground up to Matebian. Because many people had already died our leader decided to send all the population who were up on the mountain down again to surrender. There were people from Baucau, Viqueque, Manatuto, Kelikai, Venilale, all on Mount Matebian.[30]

When asked how they were able to survive living in the bush Antonio Lopes described the time saying:

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[29] Interview with Diamantino Astanislao Guterres, *Xefe de Suco* of Uai Laha, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 April 2008.

[30] Interview with Antonio Lopes, lia nain, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 April 2008.

RMIT researcher, Mayra Walsh, completes a survey with a member of the local community, Luha Oli, July 2007

> We just ate roots, cassava, leaves that you normally wouldn't eat. We ate everything. There was no food and there was no one to ask. The children were still small. We adults just survived on vegetables and that made our stomachs full. Some people gave us some maize or rice. When we left the centre of Venilale we just left with our bones, we had no skin or body, there was nothing left, we had nothing. We didn't even have pigs, goats or chickens. We took our animals with us and left them at the bottom of Mount Matebian and the Indonesians came and took them all. When we returned to Venilale they didn't give us anything back.[31]

Upon returning to Venilale Antonio Lopes was arrested by the Indonesian military and spent one year in prison. During this time his wife and three children survived by selling coconuts and growing vegetables and rice in their garden. Many people from Luha Oli experienced similar displacement and hardship during this time. This was particularly the case as when they eventually surrendered people were forced to build new houses and live closer to the centre of Venilale.

> ... in Indonesian times, especially for Venilale, almost everyone was relocated to neighbourhoods in the town, even though they all had their own villages, they were all relocated. So that they were easier to control by the security forces, by the suco officials. And at that time if we complained at all, that would create hassles and burden for the *xefe de suco*. Because at that time we

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[31] ibid.

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couldn't even complain a little bit. Because if he complained at all, there would be arrests and killings by the military.[32]

As with much of Timor-Leste, the events of 1999 had a very significant impact on Venilale and the residents of Aldeia Luha Oli. Antonio Lopes explained about the impacts of violence on the community, and in particular he referred to an incident in which three men were murdered.

> They [the militia] murdered three people here [in Venilale]. One of them was called Sico, Roberto and the other was Natalino. They murdered them over near Wai'boa. … They shot them with guns and they died on the spot. All three of them. The three of them had empty hands, they weren't holding weapons, they were just murdered. They also killed a horse and a buffalo, they shot them down over there.[33]

Antonio Lopes was unable to explain why these three men were targeted, and was also not sure if any houses were burnt down in the area. Other community members anecdotally confirmed this saying they had also heard of the incident and several commented that there was not a high degree of arson attacks on Venilale at the time. Teresina Guterres, Antonio Lopes' wife explained how her family responded to the violence of 1999.

> My daughter had just given birth twenty days before the militia came but we still went and hid in the bush. In the bush just up there. … We ran away in the morning and hid there until the evening, and then we went to our maize fields. My husband came back to the house and took a mattress and things to take to the fields because my grandchild was coughing. … We were in the fields for about thirteen days.[34]

When Indonesia withdrew in 1999 some families chose not to return to their original land as they had already established new houses. Other families however returned to their land in order to be closer to their gardens. This movement back and forth of people during and after the Indonesian occupation may help to some degree to understand a defining feature of Luha Oli, namely that the community is not defined by a single territorial space but rather is defined as a community linked by familial relations over a wide space that is often intersected by other territorial domains.

Aldeia Golgota

Introducing Golgota

The aldeia of Golgota is located on the western outskirts of the capital city Dili, separated from the airport by Comoro Road. To the west of Golgota is Tasi Tolu, meaning the 'three lakes' on the road to Liquiça and Ermera. Golgota has a population of approximately 2,000 people, and is part of Suco Comoro and in turn sub-district Dom Alexio, one of five subdistricts that make up the district of Dili.[35] Golgota is part of an area commonly referred to as Kampung Baru, which is Indonesian for 'New Town', a reference to the development of the area during the Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste. While it is possible to find Kampung Baru marked on maps, there is no actual demarcated area that formally carries that name.

While small, the aldeia of Golgota is not symmetrical, meaning that it takes on an odd shape with multiple corners and with its borders following different roads and natural features.

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[32] Interview with community member, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

[33] Interview with Antonio Lopes, lia nain, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 April 2008.

[34] ibid.

[35] An accurate assessment of the population of the aldeia was very difficult it establish due to recent population movements as a result of the crisis and a general lack of baseline data on the community. This estimate was provided by the *xefe de aldeia* during an interview.

Most of Golgota is on a flat area, with the southern and western sides of the community closed in by a mountain range that runs behind Dili. Starting at the base of the mountains is a Stations of the Cross pathway which finishes with three crosses high on the mountain. This place is commonly referred to as 'Cruz Tolu' (the Three Crosses). The area, including a grotto with a statue of Mary, was developed as a site of prayer and worship during the Indonesian occupation and is visited by many people during religious festivals such as Easter. It is from these hills that we assume the aldeia took its name Golgota, a reference to the hill of skulls on which Christ was crucified in Jerusalem.

Golgota incorporates quite different forms of housing and land use. One part of the aldeia has a relatively dense urban formation with houses very close together in streets set at right-angles to one another. Towards the mountains however, the urban layout gives way to a dirt road and much more ad-hocly situated houses. Small pockets of vacant land are frequently located near to housing, and are often used to keep animals, as communal rubbish tips, or places to store materials for building such as rocks or corrugated iron. There are still parts of the aldeia which are open and are yet to be developed for building, and these areas are used variously for growing a small amount of crops, or as a place where animals are left to roam during the day.

The varying levels of economic resources available to people is observable simply by walking through the streets of Golgota. First impressions suggest a suburb mostly populated by low-income families. The majority of people live in simple houses, many privately-owned residences appear in need of repair and people generally do not have many material possessions, including household furniture such as chairs, tables and beds. Some of these houses use a common housing style of a cement foundation and then cement-brick walls with corrugated iron for roofing (but without any ceiling inside). Other houses use cement brick half-way up and then the remainder of the wall is made of *bebak*, and the floor may be either cement or dirt. Other houses are simpler again. There are some family homes which are new, however these are certainly in the minority, while others have been partially extended or repaired. A clear exception is the very substantial homes owned by the Carrascalao family that are in Golgota.

Despite houses often being relatively small, the data gathered in surveys showed often a high number of people living in each house. Of those surveyed, only 2 per cent of households were occupied by a single person, 3.7 per cent of households had just two people living in them, 1.7 per cent had three and just 6.8 per cent had four people living in them. However, the percentages grew significantly once it was five or more people in a house, with 13 per cent of houses occupied by 5 people, 11.6 per cent occupied by six people, 12.1 per cent occupied by seven people, and 17.2 per cent of houses occupied by eight people. Almost one in ten houses has nine people living in them and the same again for houses with ten people (9.6 and 9.9 per cent respectively). More than ten per cent of people responded that they had more than ten people living in their homes, and we interviewed families that had as many as nineteen people staying in four-bedroom homes.[36]

Golgota also has a number of very substantial buildings, in particular those owned by the Catholic Church and a large block of luxury apartments run by the Carrascalao family. These apartments are well-serviced and fully-furnished, aimed at an expatriate clientele. Together the Church and the Carrascalao family own most of the land that makes up the small aldeia and many current residents of Golgota, particularly those who live around the edges of the dirt road which runs along the base of the hill, do not own the land on which they are living. They have either built their house on land owned by the Carrascalao family or they have been given land by the Salesian priests. As one woman explained: 'there are no documents. … [my brother] just came and lived here. He lived here first and then I came.'[37]

On any given day Golgota comes across as a functional and well-settled community with many people moving about within its boundaries, occupied by a range of tasks such as

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[36] Interview with Maria de Concicao, Golgota, Dili, 14 July 2008.

[37] Interview with community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

Inside the Don Bosco church which is situated on the edge of Aldeia Golgota, April 2008

carrying goods, collecting water, cleaning front yards, building and repairing homes, visiting families, and with uniformed students walking to and from school. As a semi-urban community in the capital Golgota has a wide range of services available to its residents, including a number of schools both within the aldeia and within easy walking distance, football ovals, a health clinic, and easy access to shops and markets in Dili through the use of local transport, such as *mikrolets*, *angunas* (open-backed trucks used for moving goods) and taxis, as well as the use of private cars and motorbikes. The aldeia has full mobile telephone coverage and receives transmission from the state owned television broadcaster TVTL. Golgota is connected to Dili's electricity grid, though as with much of Dili there are frequent blackouts due to problems with the generators in Comoro.[38]

The History of Golgota

In many respects key developments in the history of Golgota have coincided with periods of important historical change in Timor-Leste more generally, including the end of the Portuguese colonial era (pre-1975), the Indonesian occupation (1975–1999) and the post-occupation period including the period of United Nations rule and then full independence from 2002. These periods have seen both the expansion and development of the western area of Dili in general including Golgota, especially its increased urbanization, the development of roads and infrastructure, and the steady migration of people from around Timor-Leste to the capital.

Given the very substantial changes in population that have been experienced in Golgota over the last three decades it was quite difficult for us to find people who could narrate the aldeia's history. Domingos dos Santos is one of Golgota's longest residing members, moving to the area from another part of Dili in 1981. He explained in an interview that the land currently included within Aldeia Golgota's boundaries was previously part of the Ulmera

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[38] The impact of mass media could be seen in terms of how people found out information with regards to the crisis, as the two most common ways to hear news of events were from the radio at 60.6 per cent (75.7 per cent in Luha Oli, 54.4 per cent from Sarelari and 57.9 per cent in Nanu), and the television at 66.1 per cent (32.4 per cent in Luha Oli, 0 per cent in both Nanu and Sarelari). In Golgota, 22 per cent of people said they received information on the crisis from the newspaper (29.7 per cent from newspapers, 0 per cent in Nanu, 10.3 per cent in Barikafa).

village which in turn was part of neighbouring sub-district Bazartete.[39] When asked to describe the Ulmera community from that period Domingos explained:

> They [the people of Ulmera] didn't build *uma lulik* here but they made that hill up there sacred. So every year they would take buffalo, goats and pigs up the hill to hold a ceremony to call the rain to come for the crops.[40]

The hill referred to is directly behind Golgota where there is now the Catholic Stations of the Cross. Domingos dos Santos went on to explain that towards the end of the Portuguese colonial period land borders began to shift in response to the gradual expansion of the city of Dili. The border with neighbouring Bazartete was pushed further out to allow for urban growth.

> The border of Bazartete came up to the Comoro River. Before, Comoro and Bazartete had a border there. But then the foreigners [referring to Portuguese] came and ruled us and developed the central part of Dili and separated Comoro from Bazartete. … At that time this land [in Golgota] was still wild, it was full of grass and goats and buffalo.[41]

From Domingos' description we can gather that although the land belonged to the Ulmera village, the Golgota area was largely uninhabited during the Portuguese colonial era. A representative of the Carrascalao family confirms that they have owned large pieces of land in the Golgota area which they bought about 'about sixty years ago, or maybe seventy years ago, because the great-grandfather of the Carrascalao's used to own a coffee plantation in Liquiça. He was quite successful from that business and then he started buying land in Dili.'[42] However at that time the family left the land as it was and it remained undeveloped.

After the Indonesian invasion in 1975 Dili continued to grow and further expanded outwards into areas such as Golgota. An increased number of houses were built in Golgota across the 1980s and over the following decade the area developed significantly with a mixture of Indonesian and Timorese people living there. Many of the Indonesian people worked as civil servants and came from different parts of Indonesia, including west Timor and Java.[43] At that time one part of Golgota was quite developed, with cement houses and sealed roads, while on the edges of Golgota the land was still largely wild, until eventually a dirt road was built by the Indonesian government.[44] Another long-term resident is the *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Domingos Maia, who moved to the area in the late 1980s with his family.

> Long ago, there was no community in this place. There were lots of big trees, but there was no community. Then in '87, with my parents I came to live here, and we were the first people to live behind Dom Bosco. Then people gradually kept coming, and settling near us, so OK, we are all together. Maybe back in the 80s, there weren't even ten houses here, because people didn't want to live on the edge of town … And at that time things were pretty hard because we didn't have lights, electricity and clean water was hard to find … Then starting in the '90s, from about '91 to '95, lots of people started moving to the area. But at that time they made their houses up on the hill, but the pastor didn't want them to do that. Pastor Manuel from the Philippines said 'don't make your house on the top of the hill, it's better to build it down below. Up on the hill it's hard to make a toilet and most importantly, clean water is hard. You have

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[39] Interview with Domingos dos Santos, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007. Note: It is very difficult to verify this claim as we do not have maps of the area from that time. Also, we are unsure of the correct spelling of the village name however it is pronounced 'Oolmera'.

[40] ibid.

[41] Interview with Domingos dos Santos, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007. Bazartete is a sub-district in Liquiça.

[42] Interview with a member of the Carrascalao family, Golgota, Dili, 29 November 2007.

[43] Interview with Domingos dos Santos, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007.

[44] ibid.

Two water bottles being filled up at one of the three functioning public water sources in Golgota, April 2008

> to come down to the bottom, carry it back up again, exhausting'. So the pastor said 'it's better you make your house down below so the government can provide clean water'.[45]

A significant development in the area during the Indonesian occupation was the growing presence of the Catholic Church. The Dom Bosco church, which is situated on the border of Golgota, was built in the 1990s and inaugurated in 1998. Around the same time Dom Bosco College was established by Salesian priests and the Maria Auxiliadora primary school by Salesian nuns.[46] The Salesian priests and nuns bought substantial blocks of land in Golgota from the Carrascalao family and have continued to expand their order's presence in the area.

In 1999 violence in Dili caused by Indonesian military and militias began several months before the ballot and culminated in a wave of destruction which, according to a UN Human Rights Commission report, resulted in hundreds of houses being burnt, 'the entire business district completely destroyed and almost all houses emptied of their valuable contents'.[47] The violence and destruction impacted Golgota in many ways, including forcing many to flee from the community. During our research, many people in Golgota spoke of fearing for their lives at that time, fleeing from Dili to find refuge in small villages in Timor-Leste or in makeshift refugee camps set up across the border in west Timor.

As a result of the violence in 1999 most families living in Golgota left the area, many fleeing to Indonesia. Most Indonesians who had lived in Golgota during the occupation did not come back, choosing to remain in Indonesia. This resulted in a change from a very mixed

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[45] Interview with Domingus Maia, xefe de aldeia, Golgota, Dili, 19 November 2007.

[46] Interview with Salesian sisters, Golgota, Dili, 26 November 2007.

[47] United Nations Economic and Social Council, Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on the Human Rights Situation in East Timor, 17 September 1999, sourced from: http://www.unhchr.ch/Huridocda/Huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/E.CN.4.S-4.CRP.1.En?Opendocument.

Indonesian and East Timorese demographic in Golgota to a predominantly East Timorese population, some of whom newly migrated to the area from other parts of Timor-Leste. As Anacleto Carvalho explained, now 'there are no Indonesians, except for those who are in a mixed marriage with a Timorese. There are couples where the husband is Timorese and the wife is from Java.'[48]

As many Indonesians have not returned to Golgota after fleeing in 1999 their property has been occupied by families from Golgota who had lost their homes or by new families migrating to the area, with the following quote an example of the former.

> I lived at the bottom of that hill until 99, then they [militia] came and burnt my house down. We all ran to Dom Bosco and then together with Fr. Orlando we went to Kupang. The missionaries took us all to Kupang. When I came back it was also the missionaries who brought me back. When I came, because they had burnt down my house over there, my younger sibling was occupying this house so I came and lived in this house. I live in this house but I also have to pay for this house. Every year I pay Rp.1,200,000 [to the owners].[49]

In this case, the family who are now occupying a house personally know the Indonesian owners and therefore have come to an agreement to pay a rental fee. Many other families, however, are occupying houses owned by people who they don't know, or which are technically owned by the government as they were built for the use of civil servants during the Indonesian occupation. As is the case in many parts of Dili, land and property ownership is a complex issue in Golgota. This is for a variety of reasons, including that original paperwork proving ownership rights has been lost or destroyed, competing title claims under different regimes, occupation of houses by other East Timorese following forced migration and internal displacement, and because access to housing and land is insufficient to meet the demands of the growing population.

Accounts of the destruction in 1999 varied from person to person. According to the *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Domingos Maia, there was not a great deal of damage done in Golgota itself in 1999.

> In Golgota only two or three houses were burned down. Because at that time we tied the red and white on our heads, (so) our houses were not burned. Only two or three were burned … It didn't mean we were pro-autonomy, but just to save ourselves and our houses.[50]

The comment regarding 'red and white' refers to the colours of the Indonesian national flag, a symbolic attempt by community members to defend themselves and their property from the militia who sought to threaten and intimidate pro-independence supporters.

Other community members spoke of losing all of their possessions, even though their house itself was not destroyed. For instance, one woman explained that she and her family fled to Tibar, a small town approximately a one hour drive from Dili. 'When we ran away in 1999, everything we had inside our house we lost. Everything was gone. Our animals, our clothes, people killed the goats and pigs. When we came back there was just an empty house.'[51] Another family described how their house was burnt to the ground, forcing them to move in with other relatives who had occupied a deserted house that had been owned by an Indonesian family.[52]

Several community members described the practical support they received from the Salesian Catholic priests who ran the local parish at the time. According to various people, the priests used their connections and financial resources to help people from their parish

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[48] Interview with Anacleto Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[49] Interview with Domingos dos Santos, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007.

[50] Interview with Domingos Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Dili, 19 November 2007.

[51] Interview with community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[52] Interview with Domingos dos Santos, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007.

(which included Golgota) to flee to Kupang in west Timor aboard Merparti flights.[53] The *xefe de aldeia* explained that 'after the referendum, before the INTERFET forces arrived, the community of Golgota evacuated to Kupang. Everyone went to Kupang in a plane. It was handled by Fr. Orlando, a priest from the Philippines.'[54]

While the number of actual houses destroyed in Golgota may have been less than elsewhere in Dili, both the theft of goods and destruction of property within people's homes was significant, as was the fact that many of the services accessed by the people of Golgota but which lay in neighbouring communities, such as health clinics, schools and transport, electricity, water supplies and so on, were also utterly destroyed. As discussed above, it was also at this time that the population of Golgota changed with many Indonesians not returning, and their houses occupied by either existing residents or new families migrating to the aldeia. Since that time Golgota has of course experienced many difficulties during the crisis of 2006 and 2007, and these events will be discussed in more detail below, including in the sections on violence and safety as well as leadership and conflict resolution.

Education, Literacy and Language

Nanu

According to the survey data, illiteracy rates among the population are high with almost half (49.4 per cent) of residents not able to read and write, and a further quarter regarding themselves as semi-literate. Levels of literacy seem to largely correspond with the general level of education among the community: 43.8 per cent of research participants have never attended school, 28.8 per cent have completed primary school, 12.5 per cent have had some secondary school education and 13.8 per cent have graduated from secondary school.

The fact that 100 per cent of respondents in Nanu said that Tetun Terik is the main language spoken at home strongly points to a pattern of marriage and migration that is confined to the boundaries of the linguistic community. In Fatumean's case this is illustrated by the way people speak of their relatives and kinfolk on the other side of the international border. In spite of the difference in nationality, the Tetun Terik speakers of Nanu often expressed a closer affinity with the Tetun Terik speakers in Belu district in Indonesian west Timor than for instance with Bunak speakers with whom they share the district of Covalima and a common nationality.

> It's only the state that differentiates. But the families have very close ties. People from west Timor have sacred houses here. So it's family. Even from here to there, the security forces don't know everything. Timorese have the same language, they have the same character. (So we can easily say) 'I'm from here'. And if they come here, their language is also the same.[55]

Question 42 (1) asks people to state any other languages they use outside the home. The resulting data reveals two important features which support the above conclusion, that Tetun Terik is a marker of community belonging in Nanu and of differentiation from other communities. The first is the almost complete absence of speakers of Bunak in Nanu, which within Timor-Leste is the closest residing population of speakers of another language. The second important feature regarding languages used outside the home is that the only other languages that people reported are Tetun Dili (20 per cent), Indonesian (18 per cent), and Portuguese (8 per cent). Even though Tetun Terik is the most common language in the area more generally, for people in Nanu accents provide 'signposts' that advertise a person's origins immediately.

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[53] Merpati is an Indonesian airline company.

[54] Interview with Domingos Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Dili, 19 November 2007.

[55] Interview with community member, Nanu, Fatumean, 5 September 2007.

A classroom at the Nanu Primary School in Fatumean, September 2007

> The Tetun in the mountains is not the same as Tetun in Suai … Their [people in Fohorem and Tiliomar] Tetun is not the same either. [It's] the accent. If they speak, we know straight away where they are from. Before they tell us, we already know.[56]

Being literate in a national language can be seen as contributing to security within a community in that it can mean much greater access to forms of public information. For example, health programs that rely on the dispersal of public information can remain extremely limited in reach and value when few can read the language of publication. In the case of Nanu, this difficulty regarding language and access to nationally-distributed information is somewhat mitigated by the fact that Tetun Terik is relatively close to Tetun Dili (for instance the Tetun Dili of the research team could by and large be understood though assistance was required at points). However, Nanu is still marked by low levels of literacy, and coupled with such patterns as the low use of communication technologies, suggest that key means of improving community security remains significantly out of reach for the community.

Sarelari

When people were asked in Question 26 (1) to describe their level of literacy, a total of 61.6 per cent responded 'illiterate', 7.1 per cent responded 'semi-literate' and 31.2 per cent responded 'fully literate'. A gendered analysis of literacy levels in Sarelari shows that more men are literate and more women are illiterate. Within the number of people who consider themselves illiterate, 55.1 per cent are women and 44.9 per cent are men. In turn, within the statistics of people who consider themselves literate we find the percentages are reversed with 54.3 per cent of men and 45.7 per cent of women considering themselves literate.

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[56] Interview with Jose da Costa, Nanu, Fatumean, 7 September 2007.

In response to Question 23 (1), *'What is the highest level of school education completed?'*, we found that 63.4 per cent of people have never been to school. Following this, 11.6 per cent have attended primary school and 19.6 per cent have had some level of secondary education. Only 3.6 per cent of research participants from Sarelari have completed secondary school and just 1.8 per cent have a university education. In terms of gender, more male community members have a primary and secondary education while more females have never attended school.

More people may have completed high school than these results indicate as these figures only represent people who are still living in Sarelari. It is quite common that people with high school degrees move away to study at university or work in district centres or the capital Dili. What these results tell us though is that the people currently living in Sarelari experience low levels of education.

In terms of school facilities, there is one primary school in Sarelari housed in one long building constructed of wood and a corrugated iron roof. The four classrooms inside are divided using scraps of plywood. It has a dirt floor, no doors and there are no decorations or posters on the walls, with just a blackboard in each room. According to Armando Hornay, the school principal, there are 275 students from class one to six and there are six teachers.[57] Language is a challenge for teachers at the school as the national curriculum requires classes are run in Tetun and Portuguese. However, as the school principal explained 'we use 90 per cent Sa Ani' in the classroom (Sa Ani being the locally spoken language) as many students at the school do not understand either Tetun or Portuguese. Despite this challenge, as the principal explained, the school maintains efforts to develop Tetun language skills among its students.

> The law has made Tetun the national language. We need to study it, the students also need to learn it so that when they go out of their own area at least they can understand a bit of what is said by other people. Otherwise it will be very difficult.[58]

As there is only a primary school in Barikafa, students who go on to secondary school can either enter a Catholic high school in sub-district Luro or move to the district capital, Lospalos, where they can study at government schools. Several students from Sarelari are also currently studying at universities in Dili.

The limited use of Tetun in the primary school reflects a trend in the community more generally. Sa Ani is only spoken in three suco in sub-district Luro, namely Barikafa, Luro and Cotamutu, and is not spoken elsewhere in Timor-Leste. The dominance of Sa Ani was revealed in Question 41 (1), which asked *'what language do you most often speak at home?'*, and showed that there has been an extremely minimal influx of non–native speakers of Sa Ani into the aldeia, whether by marriage or by migration. Only three of 111 responses to the question of the most–commonly used language in the home indicated a language other than Sa Ani (all three were Makasai rather than Fataluku). This density of a language spoken by a narrow group of people appears to confirm the views expressed by Hilario Almeida, the *xefe de aldeia* of Sarelari, that people from Sarelari most commonly married with people from Barikafa, Luro and Cotamutu, the three Sa Ani-speaking suco.[59]

The most commonly spoken languages besides Sa Ani, as found in Question 42 (1), are Tetun Dili (22 per cent), Portuguese (13.5 per cent), and Indonesian (8 per cent). Also spoken are languages of the neighbours to the west, south and east: Makasai (13.5 per cent), Maklere (8 per cent) and Fataluku (8 per cent) respectively.

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[57] Interview with Armando Hornay, school principal, Sarelari, Luro, 4 October 2007.

[58] ibid.

[59] Interview with Hilario Almeida, *xefe de aldeia* of Sarelari, Sarelari, Luro, 5 October 2007.

School children with their bags and books wait to go into class at the primary school in Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

Luha Oli

Residents of Luha Oli are able to access a range of education services provided in the sub-district capital of Venilale which is well serviced by a range of both public and private education facilities. There are two government run schools including a primary school and secondary school (both junior and senior levels) which are open to both female and male students who do not pay school fees. The private schools are all affiliated to the Catholic Church and students pay regular fees to attend. The two largest schools are a junior boy's seminary run by Salesian priests and a senior secondary school for girls which runs technical classes in sewing, cooking and computers and is managed by Salesian nuns. Both of these schools provide boarding facilities for students who come from all over Timor-Leste. In addition, there is a Catholic primary school and junior high school.

With regards to levels of education in Luha Oli, answers to Question 23 (1) show an even spread of responses ranging from people who have never attended school up to those who have completed secondary school. Of those surveyed, 26.5 per cent have never been to school, 22.1 per cent have finished primary school, 22.1 per cent have some secondary education and 22.5 per cent have completed their secondary schooling. Few have experienced post-secondary school opportunities for education. Only 4.4 per cent of respondents had participated in trade training and none had attended university. It is likely that the comparatively more developed educational facilities in Venilale that are available have resulted in a higher level of education in Luha Oli residents, given that 66.7 per cent of the population have either primary school education or at least some high school education.

An analysis by gender of the results for Question 23 (1) shows a trend of men having higher levels of education than women in Luha Oli. For instance, more women than men have never attended school (31.4 per cent of women compared with 18.8 per cent of men of those surveyed have not attended school) and more men than women have completed different levels of school, with 28.1 per cent of men having completed primary school as opposed to 17.1 per cent of women surveyed, and with 28.1 per cent of men having completed high school as opposed to 22.9 per cent of women surveyed.

Question 26 (1) asks respondents to describe their level of literacy. In Luha Oli 33.8 per cent describe themselves as 'illiterate', 17.6 per cent as 'semi-literate' and almost half, 48.5 per

Children from Luha Oli stand together for a group photo, Luha Oli, July 2007

cent, as 'fully-literate'. Following a similar trend as education levels, when these results are broken down according to the gender of the respondent we find that more women are illiterate or semi-literate and more men are fully literate.

While less than half of the residents of Luha Oli identify themselves as literate, people are highly multi-lingual, commonly understanding Midiki, Kairui, Makasai, Tetun and Indonesian (Midiki being the most commonly spoken language in the Venilale sub-district). When asked to identify which language is spoken in their home, 50.7 per cent said Midiki, 39.1 per cent said Kairui, and 21.7 per cent said Tetun. A very small number, 4.3 per cent, speak Wai Ma'a at home and just 2.9 per cent speak Makasai.

In an interview Diamantino Astanislao Guterres, the *Xefe de Suco* of Uai Laha, explained that Midiki is people's first language; however Midiki and Kairui are closely related. 'They are almost the same but their accents are different. Sometimes some of the words are different too, perhaps influence from Wai Ma'a, but they're almost the same.'[60] Indeed, it was common for community members, when asked which language they speak to answer both Midiki and Kairui, or alternately refer to the two languages in the same sentence as if they were just one language. Diamantino Guterres went on to describe the relationship between Midiki and Makasai, saying that:

> We can be speaking Makasai, but sometimes some words from Midiki are included. Or someone could be speaking Midiki and some words from Makasai are used. It's because we live close to each other.[61]

According to the 2004 National Census results, Midiki is the most widely spoken language in sub-district Venilale. In comparison, Makasai is the most commonly spoken language in four out of the six sub-districts found in Baucau district. Kairui however is not listed in

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[60] Interview with Diamantino Astanislao Guterres, *Xefe de Suco* of Uai Laha, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 April 2008.
[61] ibid.

the census.[62] Again, the interchange between languages is evident with the *xefe de aldeia* explaining the level of versatility required in terms of language even to converse with others from very nearby.

> Yeah, (but) here, everyone knows Tetun. There are some who use Tetun. Or Makasai. Like we here, if we go down to (suco) Uai Oli there, we would use Makasai. If they come here, they can use Kai Rui. So that's no difficulty.[63]

Both the high number of languages used in the community and the low level of literacy demonstrates together how the dominant form of communication in Luha Oli is oral rather than written. Without electricity, and very low access to cash, there is virtually no evidence of mass communications systems such as televisions or newspapers available in Luha Oli, or printed matter such as books. Even radios were not seen as a regular item in households. The emphasis on oral forms of communication is also underpinned by the fact that nearly 50 per cent of the community have had either no schooling or have only been able to attend to primary school level, meaning that opportunities for the development of literacy have thus far been very limited. However, given the level of schooling that is now available to the residents of Luha Oli, it would be fair to speculate that all of these statistics will likely change over the coming decades. As literacy increases it is likely that language diversity will decrease, and print and mass communication systems will likely become more dominant in terms of the ways in which information is exchanged.

Golgota

Residents of Golgota have a high level of access to a range of educational facilities within the aldeia, in the surrounding suburbs, and also in the broader Dili area. Situated within the border of Aldeia Golgota are two Catholic schools. One of these is a primary school and kindergarten run by Salesian sisters. The other is Dom Bosco College, a vocational high school run by Salesian priests for boys. The College provides students with training in technical skills such as mechanics and electrical work as well as standard academic subjects. There is also a youth centre in Golgota which runs English courses for young people, and other courses are run at Dom Bosco College which are aimed at practical skills training for people who were not able to finish high school.

In neighbouring aldeia there is a Catholic co-educational senior high school as well as a government-run primary school and secondary school. Students have to pay to attend the Catholic schools while the government schools are free, although sometimes the cost of uniforms, books and transport is still difficult for some families to cover. In Dili more generally there are several universities which offer a range of courses covering programs such as information technology, engineering, teaching, business management, tourism, agriculture and social sciences. Smaller organizations also run short courses in English, Portuguese and various computer programs.

These education facilities and resources, however, do not necessarily reflect the education experiences of Golgota residents as many have moved from other areas where access to education is severely limited. Results from Question 23 (1), which asks respondents the highest level of education they have completed, show that 15.8 per cent have never attended school. Following this, 13 per cent have only a primary school education, 21.2 per cent have some secondary school education and 36.7 per cent have completed secondary school. In terms of post-secondary education, a further 4.2 per cent have completed some sort of trade training, 8.2 per cent have studied at university and three people (0.8 per cent) have postgraduate degrees.

A breakdown of these results according to gender shows a relatively balanced spread of education levels between men and women. There is no specific trend of either gender

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[62] National Statistics Directorate, Timor-Leste Census of Housing and Population 2004 Atlas, 1st edn, Dili, 2006, p.68

[63] Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

The local catholic high school marching band rehearse down one of the main streets which runs along the border of Golgota, November 2007

having a higher or lower education level than the other. While at one end of the scale more women than men have never been to school, at the other end more women have participated in postgraduate study and trade training than men. In contrast to this, the gendered breakdown of results regarding literacy show that men have higher levels of literacy than women.

When asked in Question 26 (1) to describe their level of literacy, 14.4 per cent of respondents described themselves as illiterate, 10.7 per cent as semi-literate and a large majority, with 74.9 per cent responding that they saw themselves as fully literate. The level of illiteracy in Golgota, 14.4 per cent, is much lower than the national illiteracy average which, according to the 2004 National Census, is 54.2 per cent.[64]

The high levels of literacy can be explained to a significant extent by the much better educational facilities available to people in Dili. In addition, there is much wider access to a range of mass media and print, such as newspapers and books, as well as computers, which tend to be much less available in rural communities. It could also be assumed that Dili often draws more literate people from rural areas who are seeking formal employment in the capital, such as those who have already undertaken substantial education, though this would need further research to be confirmed.

Question 41 (1) asks respondents which language is most often spoken within their household. It is important to note here that as most people who were interviewed and surveyed in Golgota are multi-lingual, and some people live in households with others who speak a different first language to them (for example: mixed marriages between different

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[64] National Statistics Directorate, *Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004: Atlas*, National Statistics Directorate within the Ministry of Planning and Finance, Timor-Leste Government, First Edition, Dili, September 2006, p. 72. The question regarding literacy in Survey One asks for the respondents' subjective opinion of how they perceive their level of literacy. However this does not seek to understand which language they are literate in. However, given that many languages in Timor-Leste remain oral, it is assumed that when people say they are literate they are most often referring to either Tetun or Indonesian.

ethno-linguistic groups), there is a high level of plurality in terms of languages used. On several occasions people explained that it was difficult to calculate which language they used most often and explained that they use different languages in different contexts and with different people. This linguistic diversity is in stark contrast to the other research sites where most residents shared a common mother-tongue and used this in their daily interactions.

In response to Question 41 (1), in Golgota eleven different languages were identified. As the following table demonstrates, the results show that Tetun Dili is by far the most commonly spoken language in Golgota with 85.3 per cent of respondents saying they speak it at home.

Question 41 (1) – Languages Spoken In The Home. Aldeia Golgota. Dili.			
1. Tetun Dili – 85.3	4. Mambai – 2.3	7. Tetun Terik – 0.8	10. Helong – 0.3
2. Kemak – 3.4	5. Indonesian – 2	8. Habu – 0.6	11. Macassai – 0.3
3. Bunak – 3.4	6. Other – 1.1	9. Portuguese – 0.6	

All other languages had responses of between 0.3 per cent and 3.4 per cent, the three highest being Kemak, Bunak and Mambai. These three languages are all predominantly spoken in districts situated to the west of Dili, including Aileu, Ainaro, Ermera and Bobonaro.[65] Interestingly, Indonesian registered as being spoken in 2 per cent of households (or seven homes), perhaps to some extent reflecting at least some of the families which include an Indonesian husband or wife. Portuguese was registered as being the main language spoken by 0.6 per cent of those interviewed (two homes).

Health

Nanu

While literacy and language may help in terms of developing and maintaining community security, health stands as a very clear indication of a low level of community security in Nanu. There is no health clinic in the immediate vicinity of Nanu and Haliknain so people with health complaints must travel to the sub-district centre, a substantial distance for someone who is ill and has no access to public transport. Even if an ill or injured person is able to travel to the health clinic in Fatumean or the hospital in Suai, standards of health care are deficient in relation to needs.

Evidence of poor levels of health within the community are captured in the response to Question 22 (1), which asks community members to consider their health in comparison to other people of the same age in Timor-Leste. A large majority of people, 71.8 per cent, responded that their health is 'sometimes good and sometimes poor'. Responses from the remaining people were relatively equally dispersed on either side of this, with 11.5 per cent considering their health to be 'generally good' and 16.7 per cent 'generally poor'.

A gender-differentiated analysis of these results shows that a higher percentage of women than men considered their health to be 'generally poor', while a higher percent of men than women considered their health to be 'generally good'. While the margin is small, this indicates a trend in the community that women feel that their health is worse or that they experience illness more frequently than men. Due to a lack of baseline data regarding health issues in this community we are unable to substantiate these trends with further statistics about actual incidence of illness in women as compared with men.

Having said that, we found circumstantial evidence to show that maternal health is a serious problem faced by women in Nanu. At the largest gravesite situated on the side

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[65] National Statistics Directorate, Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004: Atlas, National Statistics Directorate within the Ministry of Planning and Finance, Timor-Leste Government, First Edition, Dili, September 2006, p.65.

Two graves in a small fenced off graveyard on the outskirts of Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

of the road leading into Nanu there are several graves of women who have died during pregnancy and childbirth, as well as babies who have died at birth. The *xefe de aldeia* of Nanu related the facts of these deaths during an interview at the gravesite. 'This person died during childbirth, and so did that one and the one over there', he said, pointing to the graves. [66] 'These two are sisters. This one, the child was not born yet and the mother died. That one, the child was already born and then the mother died.'[67] In each of these instances women died due to complications during childbirth at their homes where they were supported by family members but not trained birth attendants.

It is important to understand that health issues are typically viewed by Nanu community members in a very different way compared to western medical notions of health and wellbeing. Indigenous belief systems, including traditional and customary practices, play a major role in concepts surrounding the diagnosis of the causes and the appropriate treatment of illness. For example, during a discussion with some women who live at an *uma lulik*, they explained their belief saying that if 'we don't do our [*lulik*-related] tasks properly then we can get sick or we can just die on the road. This *uma lulik* is like a witch, if we don't look after it we can die'.[68] Such responses are very common and demonstrate the subjective power of elements such as 'bad spirits' to bring sickness and even death to people in Nanu. Causal explanations for illness which are connected to relationships with dead ancestors or traditional customary practices are typical in Nanu and must be understood in the context of the community's cosmology and belief systems.

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[66] Interview with Manuel Branco, *xefe de aldeia* of Nanu, Nanu, Fatumean 7 September 2007.

[67] ibid.

[68] Focus group discussion with women, Nanu, Fatumean, 9 September 2007.

Sarelari

In response to Question 22 (1) which asks community members to consider their health compared to other people in Timor-Leste who are the same age as them, 8 per cent of respondents described their health as 'generally good' and 6.2 per cent responded 'generally poor'. The majority of the population, 84.8 per cent, said that their health was 'sometimes good and sometimes poor'. Alita Salsinha, the nurse who works and lives at the government-run health clinic which services Barikafa, explained the most common illnesses she comes across in her work.

> While I've been working here I've been collecting data when people come for consultations and when we look at the data the most common illnesses are firstly malaria, and then asthma and thirdly TBC [tuberculosis]. These are the highest … Another one is diarrhoea but this is not a problem all the time, just sometimes.[69]

The health clinic is one of the largest buildings in Barikafa, constructed with solid cement walls complete with tiled floors and a wide veranda where a wooden bench serves as the waiting area for patients. There is one room which is used for consultations and includes two beds which people may use for prolonged treatment. The medical equipment is basic and includes enough to manage less serious injuries and to undertake vaccination programs. Alita Salsinha can also provide limited pre- and postnatal support, as well as assistance with childbirth. Three-monthly reports detailing patient data such as what type of illnesses have been diagnosed as well as the quantity of medical supplies used are sent to the sub-district office in Luro. In turn, this information is collated into a sub-district level report which is passed on to the district health centre and finally the Ministry of Health in Dili.

The provision of health services in Sarelari is complicated in that what is deemed to be appropriate treatment is influenced both by traditional customary beliefs as well as more Western-oriented medical analysis. Alita Salsinha described how medical care, including cures, is often seen in terms of the cause. If someone is sick due to *adat*, then it will often be *adat* rather than her medical care to which they will turn.

> Sometimes they [people from the community] don't come here, I always tell them but some people listen and some people don't listen. Some people don't listen so they go back to *adat* and they say *adat* is what has made them sick. Because *adat* made them sick they have to go and do *adat*. Sometimes *adat* can fix them, sometimes not, sometimes they die … Sometimes I try and talk to them and I say that you can believe in *adat*, but only sometimes, you also need to come to the clinic. Here there are health facilities and the medicine is free.[70]

The health clinic faces myriad challenges, some of which are compounded by the circumstances of employing just one medical professional who works alone. Medical supplies are only carried as far as the centre of sub-district Luro requiring the nurse to take one day off work to walk to Luro and collect the supplies. Alita Salsinha also does home visits which requires her to often leave the clinic unattended while she walks to visit patients' homes. She has also recently taken extensive time off work because of the birth of her fourth child; however no other nurses have replaced her during this time.[71] One elderly woman from Sarelari who lives a long way from the health clinic commented that 'when you go to the clinic if you can meet the nurse its good, but if you can't then you just go home. There is only one nurse there so if you can't get medicine then you just go home.'[72]

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[69] Interview with Alita Salsinha, Nurse, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[70] Interview with Alita Salsinha, Nurse, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[71] ibid., as well as informal conversations.

[72] Interview with community member, Sarelari, Luro, 4 October 2007.

The government run health clinic is the largest building in the area, Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

Luha Oli

When asked to consider their personal health in comparison to other people in Timor-Leste of the same age in Question 22 (1), 47.1 percent chose the middle option expressing that their health is 'sometimes good and sometimes poor'. Following this, 33.8 per cent responded that their health is 'generally poor', 16.2 per cent said 'generally good' and 2.9 per cent responded that they don't know. Given that a third of those surveyed saw themselves as regularly in ill health while half of the community were equivocal, this would seem to indicate that from the respondents point of view poor health is a regular problem for people from Luha Oli.

Despite the sense that there are low levels of personal health, residents of Luha Oli enjoy relatively high access to health services. There is a government-run health clinic in the centre of sub-district Venilale which provides free consultations and medicine to the public. There are two doctors from Cuba currently working alongside East Timorese nurses who receive patients at the clinic as well as make home visits. The Salesian nuns who run the girls technical college also have a small clinic which mainly services the students and staff of the school. For those residents of Luha Oli who can afford the cost of a bus trip to Baucau, there is a large hospital there which has a relatively wide range of equipment and specialty doctors and can manage more complicated procedures.

In terms of gender, the survey indicated that virtually the same number of women and men responded that their health is 'generally good', and a slightly higher number of men feel their health is 'sometimes good and sometimes bad' (48.4 per cent of men as opposed to 44.4 per cent of women surveyed). However, a higher number of women than men (38.9 per cent of women as opposed to 29 per cent of men) feel their health is 'generally poor'. That more women feel they have a low level of health compared to men could be for a whole range of reasons that are simply beyond the scope of this report to identify. However, from our experience more generally in Timor-Leste, it is clear that gendered divisions of labour may

A mother looks after her own children and their friends, Luha Oli, April 2008

have particular health impacts, for instance with women spending a large amount of time cooking which is typically done on a wood fire in an enclosed space without ventilation. Maternal health is also a clear factor that would need to be considered with relation to lower levels of women's health, as would often appallingly low levels of health services and education more generally.

In speaking of health, it is important to consider the impact of traditional-customary understandings of medicine and health-care. While there is access to modern health services, many residents of Luha Oli see the levels of their health as specifically related to sophisticated sets of customary beliefs. For instance, in a photonarrative interview with a young woman and her uncle, a photo was discussed which pictured a grave belonging to one of the family's ancestors. Both interviewees expressed their belief that visiting the grave helps them with health problems. The uncle explained that 'we go to visit their graves every year. When we are sick if we visit them we will get better.' He went on to describe what he and his family do when they visit their ancestors' graves, saying 'we just visit, but you can also pray, take flowers and candles'.[73] Following this he said that often those who are sick will speak the name of the ancestor whose grave they are visiting. When asked why they do this he gave the following explanation:

> Because they've already died so now they are next to God. They are sort of like saints. So if there is anything wrong like someone is sick, they are the ones who know the medicine and can help us so that we can feel cured.[74]

In a similar way, health is affected either positively or negatively in accordance with the proper practice of certain customary regulations which govern people's lives. The following example from the elderly man who participated in the photonarrative interview is just one of the many laws that regulate how people organise their lives.

[73] Photonarrative interview with Carmelina Guterres and her Uncle, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

[74] Photonarrative, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

> This is our house, it's made from grass. It's our sacred house. This house cannot have corrugated on the roof, it must have grass, if we use corrugated iron then when we sit inside the house we get sick.[75]

This kind of response in conversations about health, as with social relations within the community more generally, demonstrate how central beliefs in *adat* and *lulik* are to the community, and provide a framework for the people of Luha Oli in terms of understanding both the cause, the diagnosis and the treatment of illnesses.

Golgota

Question 22 (1) asked residents of Golgota *'Compared to other people in Timor-Leste of the same age, do you consider yourself to be in good health or poor health?'* Results show that a high proportion of the community, 54.8 per cent, feel their health is 'sometimes good and sometimes poor'. Following this, 37 per cent answered that their health is 'generally good', while just 5.6 per cent feel their health is 'generally poor' (and 2.5 per cent responded 'don't know'). These results demonstrate that the community's perceptions of their own health levels tend to be either relatively good at least some of the time to being good for most of the time. Having said that, no-one marked the option 'always good' so despite a more positive trend there is still a sense that health problems are a fairly constant concern without necessarily being an ongoing threat.

There is one government-run health centre called *Centru de Saude Comoro* (Comoro Health Centre) which services Suco Comoro and is situated not far from Aldeia Golgota. The Assistant Director, Dr. Abel dos Santos, explained that the health centre was initially established during the Indonesian occupation though in 1999 it was burnt down. It was subsequently rebuilt in 2001 and open for public use again in 2002. There are twenty-three staff employed in total including one Timorese and two Cuban doctors, four midwives, ten nurses and one assistant nurse, two laboratory staff and several security and cleaning staff. The health centre receives between 150 and 300 patients each day, largely suffering from contagious diseases and infections. 'Here we mainly see respiratory infections, malaria, diarrhoea, as well as eye infections and TBC [tuberculosis], there is lots of TBC.'[76]

Dr. Santos discussed some of the challenges faced by the health centre, in particular identifying the lack of resources available to run large community health education programs. He explained that one of the consequences of this is that 'the community's understanding about health issues is not very good. For example, hygiene and sanitation is not very good. People throw away rubbish everywhere, leave their animals to wander around and don't sleep under a mosquito net.'[77] As well as a lack of public education, economics and culture were also identified as areas which impact greatly on the health of community members, including beliefs around the appropriate consumption of foods at certain times.

> Health is also dependant on economics and culture. For example, if someone is pregnant they are not allowed to eat eggs. This is from culture and this often occurs. Also some people say that if someone is pregnant then she is not allowed to go to the hospital. Regarding economics, we can see that it's expensive to live in Timor, fifty cents is not enough to eat for a day, and this affects nutrition. Like I said, community education is not really running well. We do some programs but we can't visit each house. Also, we can tell them that they need to eat eggs and nutritious food, but they don't have enough money.[78]

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[75] ibid.

[76] Interview with Dr. Abel dos Santos, Assistant Director Comoro Health Centre, Comoro, Dili, 10 July 2008.

[77] ibid.

[78] ibid.

Maternal health is a key area of work for the health centre. Although there are future plans to dedicate a section of the building as a maternity ward, there are currently no specific facilities for child-birth at the Comoro Health Centre. Given that it is still very common for mothers to give birth at home, midwives from the centre often make home-visits to assist pregnant women before, during and after the birth. However not all people make use of this service, as Dr. Santos explains, because traditional medicine and midwives are still often used. 'There is traditional medicine, that's normal. Some people still believe in this. Like when women give birth they follow traditional methods, they use traditional midwives.'[79]

While health services in Golgota are far superior to those in the three other communities, it is important to understand that traditional medicine continues to play a substantial and important role in people's lives in Golgota, and that proximity to modern infrastructure has not meant an eradication of customary beliefs. Rather, while in rural areas the lack of modern medical facilities means many people follow traditional medical practices, in Dili the reverse is not necessarily the case. Despite medical clinics and trained doctors and nurses and modern medicines, many people still understand health problems and their treatment in traditional terms. According to one interviewee, there is a doctor who lives in Golgota and uses traditional medicine to diagnose and cure his patients' illnesses, though people also often source traditional medicines from their places of birth in rural districts.

'Traditional medicine' here refers to health practices which draw from indigenous belief systems. Natural, locally-available medicinal remedies are often used, including roots and leaves of plants, and the diagnosis of the problem is typically related to either interventions form the spirit world, particularly of ancestors, or as the following quote shows, the consequences of social interaction with the living.

> When we go there we light candles and even though we don't know what is wrong with us he [the local doctor] can guess, he will tell us that there is someone who hates you so has done this to you or there is a problem in our family.[80]

When asked what types of illness a person might experience, one interviewee responded, 'fever and like someone is stabbing you in the head, like a really bad headache. It's not the type of sickness they can cure in the hospital, you have to use traditional Timorese medicine for this.'[81]

From our observations the modern and the traditional health systems largely sit side-by-side in Golgota. People often try aspects of both, depending on what the problem is, though at times the failure of modern medicine is explained in terms of its lack of suitability when the problem is understood to have been caused by a failure to follow customary beliefs or by the use of spells, witches or bad medicine.

Financial Wellbeing

Nanu

As with health, it is clearly evident that Nanu faces many challenges in terms of fulfilling basic needs with regard to economic wellbeing. While more is extrapolated under the 'Livelihoods' section, here it is worth drawing attention to what proportion of people see themselves as economically vulnerable. Question 21 (1) asks residents of Nanu to consider their household's financial status in terms of being 'well-off', 'comfortable' or 'struggling'. Of these three choices, 93.8 per cent of community members who participated in the survey responded 'struggling'. In contrast 2.5 per cent of respondents chose 'well-off', and just 3.8 per cent chose 'comfortable'. The low level of cash flow through Nanu is evident from the noticeable absence of any industry or substantial business in or near the community, and in that work is overwhelmingly dominated by subsistence agriculture.

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[79] ibid.

[80] Interview with Atino and Reis, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007.

[81] ibid.

During a focus group discussion with several women the conversation turned to the issue of the restraints caused by their limited financial means. When asked to explain how she felt about her life one woman responded succinctly that 'it's difficult'.[82] She added that the difficulties are 'about food, money and my house … It's not a good house, we want to improve it'. Her reasoning as to why she and her husband have not yet renovated their house was equally simple and articulate: 'it's because of money. We don't have enough money'.[83] The other women in the group agreed with this statement suggesting that they all face a similar reality.

This fragility of financial wellbeing is exacerbated by political instability such as the crisis. In Question 12a (3), 57.1 per cent of participants in Nanu indicated that the crisis had impacted their household. A total of 93.8 per cent of households reported in Question 12b (3) that 'some goods were harder to buy', 65.6 per cent of households reported that 'the price of goods went up', and 28.1 per cent said that it was harder to sell items. Potentially adding additional strain was the fact that one in five responses said that as a result of the crisis there were more people living in their households.

Sarelari

When asked to consider the financial status of their household in Question 21 (1) a massive 87.6 per cent of community members in Sarelari responded that they were economically 'struggling'. The remaining 12.4 per cent responded 'comfortable' and no-one in the community considered themselves to be 'well-off'. Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, a member of the suco council, confirmed that one of the challenges faced by the community in Sarelari 'is that people's financial situation is not very strong'.[84] She drew a link between the need for financial means and the ability of children to undertake education where 'if some people have enough money they may want their children to go all the way to university … but many don't have the capacity to pay for it'.[85]

The nurse in Barikafa made a different point about people's priorities in terms of how they spend their money and use limited resources. Despite the difficult financial situations often faced by people in Sarelari, the nurse explained that there remains a high commitment to traditional customary practices and rituals.

> Some people work so they are financially okay. But if people don't work then their economic situation is very difficult. When I give explanations about cleanliness, they say we don't have any money, things are dirty because we have no money. But when it comes to *adat*, if someone tells them to kill a buffalo, then they kill it immediately.[86]

Constant efforts to establish financial security for the household is one reason given by Simon Pinto, the locally-elected youth representative of the Barikafa suco council, as to why many young people leave their rural homes. He explained that for many people assisting their family financially is a priority. 'Young people who are not going to school, they look for work mostly in the city. If they stay in the villages they won't be able to get any work to improve the economic situation in their households.'[87] Several other community members also commented on the financial burden of educating their children who, despite often attending free government schools, must move to district centres or the capital city where the cost of living is higher and people must pay for food and board in order to attend the school.

[82] ibid.

[83] ibid.

[84] Interview with Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[85] ibid.

[86] Interview with Alita Salsinha, Nurse, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[87] Interview with Simon Pinto, Youth Representative on the Barikafa Suco Council, Sarelari, Luro, 5 October 2007.

The weekly market in Luro is difficult to access for residents of Sarelari as there is no public transport between the sub-district centre of Luro and aldeia Sarelari, October 2007

The kind of financial insecurity that people typically face can be made worse by national events that, while occurring far away, have flow on effects into the local community. With 65.3 per cent of respondents to Question 12a (3) saying that the socio-political crisis which started across the beginning of 2006 impacted upon their households, it is evident that the low levels of community security can be quickly and negatively effected by events in the capital. Asked to delineate the impact of the crisis in Question 12b (3), 75.5 per cent of respondents from Sarelari reported that the price of goods went up, and 44.9 per cent said that some goods were harder to buy. In addition, 24.5 per cent of households said that local services and transport were negatively affected, while the same figure also said that the education of a member of their family was disrupted. One in six households reported more people living with them in Sarelari due to the crisis.

Luha Oli

As with ealth, many people in Luha Oli face a great many challenges in regards to financial well-being. People's participation in income generating activities is extremely limited. Question 21 (1) asks people to consider their household's financial situation, with a very large majority of the community, 89.7 per cent, responding by saying that their household was 'struggling' financially, demonstrating very high levels of financial insecurity. Only 10.3 per cent of participants responded 'comfortable' and no one marked the third option of 'well-off'.

The primary mode of production within the community is subsistence agriculture. In terms of trade, this means that there is an extremely limited cash economy in Luha Oli. With very low levels of disposable incomes, purchasing household necessities is often at best a challenge, if not impossible.[88] When Brigida Guterres was asked in an interview about the challenges that were faced by residents of Luha Oli, she responded by saying that:

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[88] This does not just translate into difficulties of day-to-day style purchases, but also for the development of people's homes. For example, as Zeferino da Costa Guterres points out the 'biggest challenge facing the community here would be their houses. Building materials are really expensive now.' Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

> We are all poor, no-one has anything. We just work in the fields, no one has a proper job. … We need people to have a bit of money so they can open shops and improve their lives. I mean if they created a group that built a kiosk then that would be good. Like now we all just work in the fields and just live in the middle.[89]

Economic insecurity impacts on various aspects of peoples' lives including their ability to produce enough food for their family. Brigida went on to explain the difficulties faced by people who want to expand their agricultural production.

> *Brigida:* When we have rice fields which are just like a normal sized field then you have to use six sacks of fertilizer. Two sacks of black, and four sacks of white fertilizer.
>
> *Researcher*: Is it expensive?
>
> *Brigida:* It's $22.
>
> *Researcher:* Where do you buy it?
>
> *Brigida:* You can buy it in Dili, its $15 a sack. Then you have to hire a truck which costs 1.5 million (Note: this denomination is in Indonesian Rupiah, taken to mean about US$150) and so the price goes up. If you don't put a lot of fertilizer on the fields then there's not much produce.
>
> *Researcher:* So when people want to plant more crops they have to have money first to buy the fertilizer?
>
> *Brigida:* Yes, if people have enough money then they can buy four or five sacks, people who don't have enough will just buy one sack of white fertilizer but their fields don't produce much.
>
> *Researcher:* So it's difficult for people to grow more?
>
> *Brigida:* Yes because they don't have enough money.[90]

Brigida's comments indicate the difficulties when entrenched poverty means that people are unable to gather the necessary resources for an initial investment that would in turn help increase production. There are of course a range of complications to this, and some of these do relate back to similar issues regarding the role of *adat* and *lulik* within the community. There are times in which quite high levels of cash, produce or animals are required by members in the community to fulfil customary obligations, whether that be for particular ceremonies, marriage or conflict resolution. For instance, in a photonarrative interview with Carmelina and her Uncle, they describe how *uma lulik*s are being re-built following destruction in Indonesian times, and the kinds of financial inputs and levels of produce required in terms of holding a ceremony as part of that process.

> It depends on our capacity because this is very difficult to do, we need a lot of things. We need lots and lots of money. The big one that they did up the road needed twenty million (The currency here is again the Indonesian Rupiah). Sometimes they need up to fifty million. That doesn't include counting the pigs, horses, buffalo and goats. The money includes paying for coffee, sugar, the food, sometimes it can add up to fifty million.[91]

Ceremonies such as these are seen as highly important obligations for people. While further research would be required to understand the full parameters of this, it is clear that while income generation would assist the community, this would need to occur so as to supplement available cash rather than encourage people to alter how existing cash or produce is utilized.

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[89] Interview with Brigida Guterres, Luha Oli, Venilale, 17 April 2008.

[90] Interview with Brigida Guterres, Luha Oli, Venilale, 17 April 2008.

[91] Interview with Carmelina Guterres and her uncle, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

Golgota

Survey respondents were asked in Question 21 (1) to consider the financial status of their household and rank their situation as being either 'well-off', 'comfortable' or 'struggling'. The highest percentage, 57.2 per cent, chose 'struggling', while 42.5 per cent chose 'comfortable' and only 0.3 per cent chose 'well-off'. Results showing that a majority of people consider themselves to be financially struggling are consistent with earlier observations that Golgota is a suburb largely populated by low-income families. However, that a relatively large number of people regard their economic situation as 'comfortable' is somewhat surprising, as when one walks through the neighbourhood there is not overt evidence of wealth or even a sense of what might be regarded as clear and generalized financial security. However, it may indicate a greater access to a cash economy, goods and services, and that people feel financially 'comfortable' relative to those who are in deep poverty in both rural and urban areas.

Strong networks of interdependence between family members and relatives who financially support each other was a common theme in the interviews in Golgota. At times when individuals or families are not able to financially sustain their daily living needs, these networks provide invaluable security and support. In one household where four young people live together the interviewee was asked if anyone in the household earns an income. He subsequently explained: 'no, none of us [work], we are all students'.[92] These students receive financial support from their older siblings who live with their families in other parts of Dili and have waged employment, as well as from their parents who send money to them from their village in the mountains. In another example, a household of twelve people has just one person with waged employment. This person's wage provides the only consistent financial income for everyone at the house, all of whom are related, while other family members add to it with small business-type activities.[93]

Life is much more difficult for those who do not have a consistent source of income or a family member in employment. When one elderly woman who lives in a simple thatched roof house was asked to describe how she feels about living in Golgota she responded: 'Because we are poor, it's difficult. It's easy if you have money. If you look at some of the other houses they are ok, but we are very poor.'[94] The discussion continued with an explanation of her family situation and an expression of some of the challenges they face in terms of earning an income.

> *Interviewee:* I have eleven children … One boy and three girls have died so there are seven left. My first child lives in a big house over there … Two [are married]. This one and the one who lives up the top there. But there's no work. Just some private work. Some of us have work, some of us don't, we just live simply.
>
> *Researcher*: So how do you get money?
>
> *Interviewee*: Before I used to sell things, but then because I had lots of children I stopped. They are at school.
>
> *Researcher*: What did you sell?
>
> *Interviewee*: I ran a kiosk … I sold cigarettes, noodles, I looked for money to pay for their school. This one is in year seven, their older sister is in year eight and the one over there is in senior high school. I've only had one son finish school, he graduated high school in 2005 but now he has no work.[95]

This short narrative describes a reality faced by many residents of Golgota who struggle to meet the daily needs of their families. Some of these households are able to supplement their income with a vegetable garden and fruit trees, and many maintain strong links to

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[92] Interview with Atino and Reis, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007.

[93] Interview with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007.

[94] Interview with community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[95] ibid.

A man prepares his vegetables for sale at a stall on the side of the road, Golgota, November 2007

relatives in their home village who help where they can. However, the impression very much was that the main aim of residents was to secure paid employment with a regular income.

Violence and Safety

Nanu

When asked in Question Eight (1), '*how satisfied are you with how safe you feel?*', 66.7 per cent of Nanu residents responded positively with 'satisfied', and a further 11.5 per cent marked 'very satisfied'. At the other end 7.7 per cent of the community who participated in the survey felt 'dissatisfied' and 14.1 per cent chose a 'neutral' response to the question. While nearly 80 per cent of the community felt satisfied with their physical security in the community, in asking people more specific questions the picture then changes to a degree. For instance, concerns for personal safety were expressed at times by several women in the community who described the ways they regulate their movement and activities according to how safe they feel. One young woman expressed concern for her safety when leaving the house at night time. 'I'm scared of the men … I'm scared when they're drunk.'[96] She went on to explain that sometimes young men in the community buy *tua sabu* (a locally-produced whisky made from distilled palm wine) and gather in groups to drink, play guitar, and sing. 'They tease us and I feel that it's not very good so I don't want to go walking.'[97] When asked how she deals with this sort of situation the response was to travel in small groups, typically with family members.

Other older women also commented on their tendency to travel in groups, however they did not regard this as a strategy for managing potential threats to their safety. 'We can walk

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[96] Interview with community member, Nanu, Fatumean, 10 September 2007.

[97] ibid.

on our own but we go together so that the work in the fields is done quickly.'[98] When asked if she felt scared upon hearing of a murder in Haliknain one woman said 'yes we felt scared to walk on our own but after a while we felt brave again so we could walk by ourselves to the fields'.[99]

The murder of a woman in the community is one of two in recent years. The first is discussed in more detail below while the second case concerns the fatal stabbing of a woman, approximately fifty years old, in front of her house in December 2006. At the time that the field research was conducted the perpetrator of this crime had not been apprehended and there were apparently no clues as to the killer's motive. Both of these crimes were seen as exceptional in the community with the impression from the research that violence is not any more a problem in Nanu as in any other place. We wish to acknowledge that other forms of violence may occur in ways not captured in this study, such as that within the home and forms of gender-based violence. In the instance of this study however we were asking about people's perceptions of violence in the community, and more work would need to be done to understand how people differentiate between different forms of violence (for instance, would people regard gender-based violence, or violence used against children, in their definition of violence in the community, or indeed violence *per se*). At least at a community level however, violence was not seen by participants in Nanu as something that might be regarded as a major challenge to the sustainability and security of the community.

Sarelari

Question 8 (1) asked whether people were satisfied with the levels of safety in their community. This question generated an extraordinarily high response with 83 per cent of respondents saying they are 'satisfied' and an extra 9.8 per cent responded with 'very satisfied'. The gender breakdown of these results shows a consistent response from both men and women. Indeed when asked specifically about security concerns for women in the community a prominent local female leader, Teresa de Jesus Fernandes (who is on the suco council and a founder of Oan Kiak) explained that women derived a strong sense of safety from customary practices.

> Here, well it's our *adat*, we have used *lulik* for everything so women can go anywhere, even young unmarried women are brave enough to walk on their own because our ancestors and fathers have put *lulik* on the people who we meet in the street. So if there is anyone who wants to do something bad to a woman then they won't because they are scared of the *lulik*. Even if we meet someone in the forest we won't be scared because our ancestors have used *lulik*. Even people going to Luro go by themselves.[100]

Other women from Sarelari also expressed similar levels of confidence regarding security in their community. One young woman compared her experiences of violence in Dili to her feelings of safety in Sarelari.

> I think the village is the safest [place] because we are living in our own area. The village is not the same as the city because in the city, if there is a clash of some kind, it's usually spontaneous. We come out of the house and suddenly we encounter something in the street … In the village there are no problems because everyone is related so everyone understands each other.[101]

Another member of the community suggested that there are problems from time to time, describing how violence within a household does occur. However, she went on to

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[98] Focus group discussion with women, Nanu, Fatumean, 9 September 2007.

[99] ibid.

[100] Interview with Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[101] Interview with Helena dos Santos Pinto and Helena Ramos, Sarelari, Luro, 10 October 2007.

emphasize the support given by extended family who are often involved in resolving any disputes, particularly those which escalate into violence. Either way, these experiences do contrast with people's perceptions of the capital Dili.

The violence that had began with the crisis in the capital during 2006 still represented a significant reason as to why people did not go to Dili. As one interviewee explained, the capital represented a very significant challenge to people's sense of safety.

> *Researcher:* How many times have you been to Dili? Do you go often?
>
> *Interviewee:* No, since the crisis we haven't been once.
>
> *Researcher:* Why?
>
> *Interviewee:* Because we're scared.
>
> *Researcher:* Because of the crisis?
>
> *Interviewee:* Yeah, the crisis, but really because of Lorosa'e-Loromonu. If Lorosa'e-Loromonu became an issue again and we were in Dili then we could die. Its better that we just stay hiding here until those words disappear and then we can go places. Maybe now with the new government those words won't be used anymore.
>
> *Researcher:* During the crisis what did you hear about what was happening in Dili?
>
> *Interviewee:* About people burning houses, throwing rocks and using rama ambon [a homemade weapon that uses a hooked arrow, somewhat like a dart]. Some people died and some people were injured and went to hospital. [102]

The threat of travel to Dili sits in the background to what appears to be a set of more immediate and tangible threats to those living in Sarelari. It appears that at every stage people attempt to improve their levels of security—to improve their cash incomes, to sell in the markets, to ensure a good education for their children, to look for work, to address a health problem—few choices can be made without risking or incurring some other cost. By and large the population of the aldeia does not experience a secure basis upon which to forge a good life, given that many basic requirements remain unmet.

Luha Oli

The most recent incidence of serious violence was in August 2007 after the results of the national parliamentary elections were announced. The announcement sparked politically-fuelled violence in several areas in Timor-Leste, including Venilale. We have been told anecdotally that forty-four houses were burnt down in the sub-district, four of which were from Luha Oli. However we were not able to confirm the accuracy of these numbers with the police and it was still an extremely sensitive issue to ask about in our follow-up visits to the community.

Despite these experiences of violence the community of Luha Oli responded very positively when asked *'how satisfied are you with how safe you feel?'* in Question 8 (1). A combined 65.6 per cent of survey respondents were either 'satisfied' (52.2 per cent) or 'very satisfied' (13.4 per cent) with how safe they feel. In terms of negative responses, 14.9 per cent said they feel 'dissatisfied' and just 4.5 per cent responded 'very dissatisfied'. In addition to this, 13.4 per cent chose to remain neutral marking 'neither' and one person had 'no opinion' on the issue.

Of note is that an analysis by gender of the results for Question 8 (1) show that generally women from Luha Oli feel safer than men do. More men than women felt dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their safety (25 per cent of men as opposed to 14.3 per cent of women in relation to those surveyed) while, following this trend, a much larger percentage

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[102] Interview with Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, Sarelari, Fatumean, 8 October 2007.

of women said they feel satisfied with their safety than men (62.9 percent of women as opposed to 40.6 per cent of men). This may be at least in part a consequence of men having been the target in the most recent violence, though that is difficult to know given how sensitive an issue it was in the community.

These results need to be qualified in several important ways. The first is that the question was generally interpreted as safe in terms of a person's ability to live within a particular community, not whether they feel safe in terms of there being any risk from other communities or individuals outside of their own. This kind of response concords with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, the *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, who explained in an interview why it is that he feels safe in his own community.

> I feel safer here because I know everyone. So if something happens, there'll be information coming like for example, 'Indonesian soldiers are coming'. So then we can look for another way out or we can hide ourselves in another place and they can't get us.[103]

In this example the community is seen to provide high levels of security when there are outside threats. Violence committed in the home for instance would not necessarily have been seen by recipients as part of this question. The next thing to keep in mind is that questions like this can attract higher than usual responses because people at times can be concerned about not depicting their community in a poor light. That all said, in conducting the research there was the sense that Luha Oli was a very functional community without obvious major divisions or conflicts *within* the aldeia.

Golgota

In undertaking the research in Golgota, so many discussions with community members were framed by the crisis that it seemed central to understanding perceptions of public safety in the aldeia at that time. This is of course not to say that there were not other issues of public safety that would have been relevant to the community, such as robbery or sexual violence, but that the impact of the crisis had been extremely substantial in the community's mind and as such was a frequent point of reference. As such, this section will deal exclusively with the crisis, while other forms of violence will also be discussed under the sections on community leadership and conflict resolution.

To speak of the 'crisis' is really to speak of a generalized period across 2006 and 2007 which saw a range of conflicts within state institutions and society more generally. These included violence between different groups within the national defence force, the military and the police, between people from the east of Timor-Leste, 'lorosa'e', and the west, 'loromonu', as well as fighting between various martial arts groups and gangs. Particularly concentrated in Dili, the violence resulted in killings and violence, wide-spread house burnings, lootings and robberies, and massive numbers of internally displaced peoples (IDPs).

It was clear that various dimensions of the crisis had impacted in different ways on the Golgota community. A vast majority of households in Golgota, some 87.4 per cent, answered yes to Question 12a (3) that the crisis had negatively impacted their household. Question 12b (3) gave an opportunity for people to specify some of the effects of the crisis, with 85.6 per cent reporting that the price of products went up, 71.2 per cent said that it was harder to buy some goods, 42.3 per cent said education was disrupted and 39.6 per cent said that they were more scared to leave their house.

The crisis was also a constant theme in interviews, with people often discussing their initial flight from their homes and the subsequent gang violence. In terms of displacement, early in the crisis many people in Golgota fled their homes in fear of their safety following fighting between F-FDTL troops and petitioners in the hills behind Golgota and in neighbouring Tasi Tolu. Subsequently, the Dom Bosco Secondary College became one of the biggest internally

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[103] Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

displaced persons' camps in Dili.[104] As one Golgota resident, Eliza Toan, explained that 'the crisis made our lives difficult. It made us feel stressed and we went to Dom Bosco.'[105] While they stayed at Dom Bosco Eliza and her family, including her husband and four children, slept in a tent provided by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and received aid distributed by several international NGOs. When asked why Eliza and her family still maintained a presence at the Dom Bosco camp in November 2007, she explained:

> Because we are still scared to leave the camp. If we leave now we are scared because we don't know what could happen in our area. We ran to Dom Bosco at the very beginning when there were problems up the top there so now that we've been there a long time we are scared to leave.[106]

According to information distributed by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) as at 18 August 2008 there were 574 families registered at the Dom Bosco IDP camp, sixty-six of whom are from Aldeia Golgota.[107] Indeed the research team interviewed several community members who expressed similar feelings as Eliza's, suggesting that many residents of Golgota continue to feel uncertain about their security and very vulnerable in terms of a sense of safety.

Other dimensions of the crisis, such as the subsequent gang violence which took hold with the collapse of the police forces, also have had a substantial impact on Golgota residents. Often violence occurred beyond Golgota, but severely hampered people's abilities to either work or move more generally in the area. Just across from Golgota one of the largest refugee camps in Dili was situated on vacant land which covered an area from the Comoro road right up to the edge of the international airport, and this was frequently a site for fighting. In addition, the large round-about at the intersection of Comoro Road and the main road which Golgota residents would use to enter their aldeia was for a long time a site of constant conflict between groups of youths. For others, the impact of violence beyond the aldeia was very significant in that it caused them to lose valuable income. Anacleto Carvalho for instance spoke of how he lost his small business at Comoro market where he sold new clothes.

> It happened because of the incident on 28 April. Actually, before I sold clothes at the Comoro Market, then because of the crisis everyone ran away and they burnt everything, so then I had nothing. I ran away and became a refugee at Dom Bosco.[108]

However, many residents reported that there had been no problems *within* the community. For instance Eliza Toan stated that 'no, no-one here causes problems in this aldeia' and that 'because the young people here are unified, they don't like getting involved in problems'.[109] Several other community members expressed very similar sentiments, including a young man, Jose Monteiro, who said: 'I think that Golgota is a calm place, it is not the same as other areas. Here we have created unity among the young people.'[110] Another woman was very adamant, saying that 'Us from Golgota weren't involved in the crisis, it was other people from other places who came and caused problems'.[111]

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[104] MTRC Map of Camps for Internally Displaced People in Dili, 13 August 2006, sourced from: http://www.timor-leste.org/place/MTRC_Camps_for_Internally_Displaced_People_in_Dili_13_August_2006.pdf.

[105] Interview with Eliza Toan, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[106] ibid.

[107] Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, IDPs Areas of Origin (Dili) - Comoro, Dom Bosco IDP Camp, http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/ASAZ-7GUCBU?OpenDocument&rc=3&emid=ACOS-635NU2

[108] Interview with Anacleto Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[109] Interview with Eliza Toan, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[110] Interview with Jose Monteiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007.

[111] Interview with young woman, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

An Australian military vehicle working as part of the Stabilisation Force in Timor-Leste regularly patrols the area of Golgota, November 2007

The sense that it was outsiders causing the problems might go some way to helping understand the results from Question 8 (1) which asked '*How satisfied are you with how safe you feel?'*. Given all the experiences of the violence, it was initially surprising to see that this question was met with a very high positive response rate with 70.8 per cent of participants (62 per cent were satisfied and 8.8 per cent very satisfied) answering that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their safety. A much smaller number, 15.3 per cent, responded negatively saying they are either dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with how safe they feel and a further 13.3 per cent said they were neither satisfied or dissatisfied (just 0.6 per cent had 'no opinion'). By gender the results show that more men feel satisfied with their level of safety and more women feel dissatisfied. In interviews, however, both men and women commented on the particular vulnerability felt by men as they have more often been the targets of gang related violence during the recent crisis in Dili.[112]

One way of explaining this response is that people were speaking of their sense of safety in regards to threats from within the aldeia itself. That is public safety was taken to mean the safety of their 'community' rather than threats that were seen to emanate from other parts of Dili or were more generalized in character. It is also important to understand that people may very often be either scared to speak about who is responsible for violence in their community, or be very reluctant to portray their community in a bad light (especially given the overwhelming desire for communities to resolve their own problems, as will be discussed under Conflict Resolution in this report).[113] Hence there was perhaps a tendency for some to suggest that members of the community were not directly involved.

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[112] Interview with Elisia Araujo, Golgota, Dili, 25 November 2007.

[113] A second possibility in terms of people reporting a high level of public safety is that people had by the stage of our research process become used to different forms of threats, in a sense that low levels of public safety had been 'normalized' and built into the everyday patterns of people's lives that they feel 'relatively safe' as opposed to periods where there are sharp spikes in violence or threat.

That said, there were a number of interviews conducted where people from Golgota spoke relatively openly about gang activity in their community. From what we can understand, there were people from the aldeia who were members of PSHT, a large martial arts group in Dili, and over a period of time they clashed regularly with members from another very well known martial arts group called 77, pronounced using the Portuguese numbers *'sete sete'*. While the PHST members were from Golgota, the 77 members were from neighbouring aldeia, including from an area that used to be BRIMOB houses (Indonesian Mobile Police) that is behind Golgota. In March 2007 fighting between the groups culminated in two kiosks being burnt down, with seventy-seven members coming in the mid-afternoon, armed with *rama ambon* and swords, known locally as 'samurai'. The people in the area ran away and the kiosks were looted then burnt down. This particular incident did not signal the end of tensions between these two groups in the area, however it did encourage action from local leaders who worked together with the perpetrators of the violence and the community to resolve some key issues. This process will be discussed in the 'Conflict Resolution' section.

Understanding Community

Introduction

Where the 'Communities in Context' section of this report sought to provide a broad overview of the four communities, this section seeks to provide more of a sense of people's relationships to their own aldeia. Under the first section of this part, 'Defining the Aldeia', we attempt to gain a sense of how each community understands their aldeia, a much harder thing to do than might appear to be the case. In the second section in this part, 'Community Wellbeing', we examine people's perceptions towards their own community.

Across all four communities, asking people through a survey format to nominate their main community proved to be more difficult than we had first anticipated, both in that at times 'community' as a term caused confusion and also because people found it hard to give priority to one form of community over another. For example in Nanu, as elsewhere, this difficulty was reflected in the significant number of respondents for whom the question 'What or whom do you identify as your main community?' answered either with 'I am not sure' (21.9 per cent) or 'More than one or all of the above' (11 per cent). The survey team often met difficulties with this question, having to explain through examples more than was the case with other questions. This is an indication of a survey method not being as conducive to finding out particular kinds of information as it might be in other instances. That said, the answers given still provide a place to start, and when other methods were drawn in to help us understand, we were able to at least begin to tease out what needs to be seen as a very complex and layered system of people living together. We entirely expect that what we have proposed here needs to be re-visited and deepened in key ways.

As an outsider it could perhaps be easy to mistakenly think that a group of households clustered on a hillside represents a simple form of community, clearly-defined and territorially-distinct. However this research shows that when thinking about community in Timor-Leste, the reality is a deeply complex layering of different forms of communities that are proving to be highly durable over time, even despite very low levels of forms of community security. In fact, where the 'Communities in Context' part of this report tended to indicate very low levels of community security, this part indicates quite high levels of community sustainability. People demonstrated a clear understanding of what underpins their community and the kinds of identity that integrates them. They also expressed extremely high rates of satisfaction in terms of their community in general as well as being a member of it. We feel that some of these questions are perhaps skewed towards positive answers as people for various reasons do not want to portray their community in a negative light. However, there are substantial proportions of people who responded that their community is changing for the worse, and also the small minority who were willing to say that independence for Timor-Leste in general has been a negative thing. That said, the different aspects of this community can be traced back to several key fundamental principles which bind people together, those being: place, gendered social relations, and the continuing strength of traditional social customs, or *adat*, and ancestors. These traditional social customs that emphasize the role of ancestors is particularly important in binding these communities together, though in Golgota takes on a different form than in Nanu, Sarelari and Luha Oli.

Defining the Aldeia

Nanu

In Nanu the highest response by a large margin to the question of *'What or whom do you identify as your main community?'* is the answer 'the place where I live' (54.8 per cent). A very small minority selected 'A particular group of people' (8.2 per cent). Seen in light of responses to Question 1 (1), 'How long have you lived in this community?', and Question

2 (1), 'How long did you live in your previous community?', the importance of place (meaning here a specific geographically defined location) in defining a sense of community is not at all surprising. As many as 67.5 per cent of respondents had been living in Nanu for more than twenty-one years, whilst 58.5 per cent had indeed never lived anywhere else. The proportion of people who had lived in Nanu their whole lives is then strikingly similar to the proportion who selected 'the place where I live' as the most important marker of community (54.8 per cent compared with 58.5 per cent).

Of particular interest here is the fact that when people are speaking of 'the place where they live', in the case of Nanu that does not mean a single territorial unit which is solely comprised of households from Nanu. In fact Nanu as an aldeia is mixed through the houses of Haliknain in way where the community is determined by family connection rather than by a single geographic entity. This situation has resulted due to the forced relocation of Nanu and Haliknain during the Indonesian occupation. This brought what were once two distinct communities separated by a significant distance into a situation of cohabitation of the same place. In some key respects however, the two communities have maintained their distinct identities, despite being mixed together.

Our mapping of the distribution of houses according to aldeia indicates that a degree of physical distinction does remain. However, this is only to the extent that the houses belonging to Nanu tend to be concentrated along the southern half of the road, while the Haliknain households are clustered most densely in the northern half. There are however Nanu houses intermingled with Haliknain houses in the northern part of the village. Hence, it is worth re-stating that the coexistence of Nanu houses in the same physical space with Haliknain cautions against equating an aldeia with what appears as a single and coherent cluster of houses or single bounded geographic territory. The two communities may appear to an outsider as one. According to one younger man interviewed, in a day-to-day sense both Haliknain and Nanu do seem to function as if they were one community:

> From the point of view of government, it's two aldeia, but from the community it's only one. Jamie [the *xefe de aldeia* of Haliknain] also helps [with this research project] because it's only from the government [perspective] that Aldeia Haliknain is differentiated from Nanu. In terms of work it's only one.[114]

However, after being asked why the two aldeia have kept their separate names if in a contemporary lived experience they are experienced as a common community, the following response from an older man gives a sense of a different layer of understanding than that of the explanation in the previous account:

> Because they who are known as Haliknain, that is from their ancestors, so it can't be changed. From their ancestors that name has been used continuously. Because their place of origin, where they lived before, Mount Dakolo, below that, it is called Haliknain. And they still use the name of their land. They've already moved here, built houses next to us, but over that boundary [a line where roughly Haliknain houses buttress up against houses from Nanu] they're still called Haliknain. We here, from this mountain, are known as Nanu. This is one aldeia, Nanu.[115]

From our observations of the community, despite their distinct origins and histories, there is a sense that for most practical intents and purposes the two aldeia have managed to coalesce into a stable social unit that embodies high levels of community feeling. As per the first interviewee's explanations, the aldeia of Nanu continues to exist as a separate entity in that it is recognised by the state as a population unit for administrative purposes, with the aldeia chief providing the lowest level link in the chain of communication between government and grassroots communities. Yet in the second description there is an emphatic

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[114] Interview with Ricky Mendonca, Oxfam Community Organizer, Nanu, Fatumean, 5 September, 2007.

[115] Interview with Jose da Costa, Nanu, Fatumean, 7 September 2007.

An uma lulik, or sacred house, out the front of which is a circle of sacred stones, Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

sense that Nanu and Haliknain are clearly separate entities, albeit cohabitating a single place.

One way through this is to say that in fact what the aldeia means largely depends on who is asking, the subjective orientation of the respondent and the context in which the aldeia is being discussed. At least in the instance of Nanu, the idea of the aldeia is pulled in two directions and used to describe two kinds of community. On the one hand, it is a government administrative unit which while undefined in a precise territorial sense is still understood to be concentrated in one particular place. For instance, Aldeia Nanu is in a particular suco and can be counted in state statistics in terms of population, as well as have a figure in the *xefe de aldeia* that can provide a link through to the different levels of governance.

On the other hand, the aldeia is important not in terms of state regulation, but as a way of understanding the past, in turn providing a way of describing social connections that are more generalized than the immediate family but that can still carry a sense of a connection to ancestors and the origins of the people. However, such distinctions in Nanu only matter at particular moments and for fairly specific sets of reasons, namely when the state is of relevance, or alternatively when an understanding of origins is needed. This dual notion of aldeia allows for a kind of durability where a group of people are able to understand the nature of their connection to one another while at the same time engage, even in limited ways, with the state. In a day-to-day sense however Nanu and Haliknain are not lived as distinct communities.

In terms of understanding how people relate to community in Nanu it is worth qualifying the above discussion with some comments about gender. In effect, it is males who are seen to carry the primary connection to place in that Tetun culture is patrilineal, thus when men marry their wives are expected to join their husband as a member of his community.
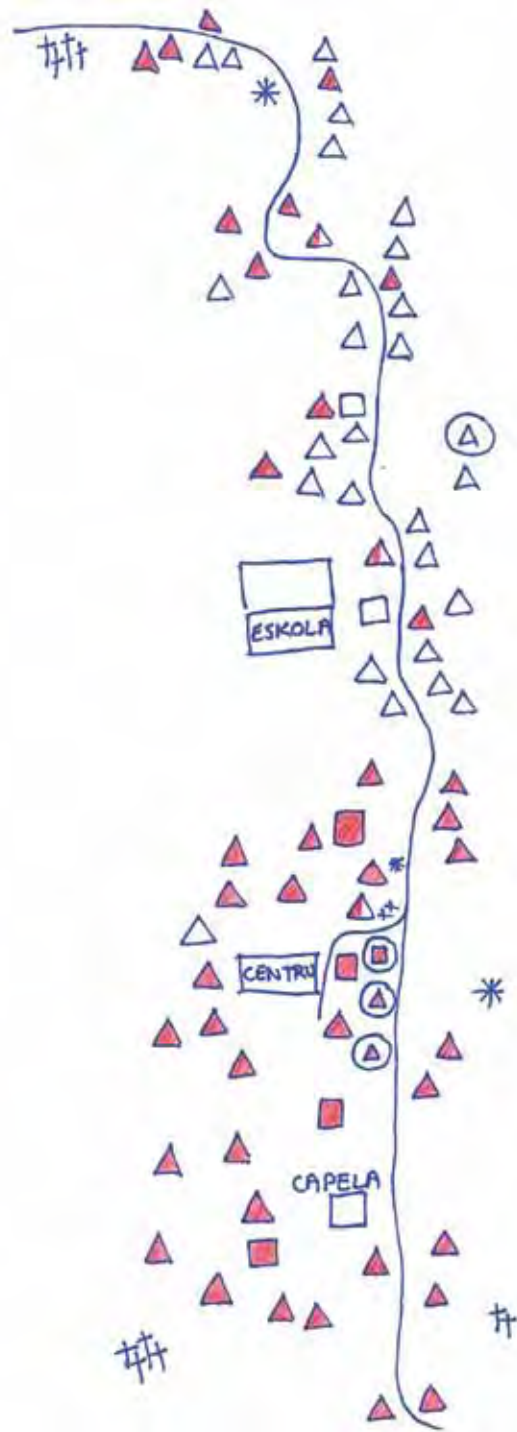
□	cement house	■ ▲ ◉ ⬘	Belong to aldeia Nanu
△	grass or corrugated iron roof house	□ △ ⬙	Houses from aldeia Haliknain
◉	new cement house	◮	Houses with people from Nanu and Haliknain together
⬙	new grass or corrugated iron roof house		
✳	water source		
†	graves		

A hand-drawn map of aldeia Nanu and aldeia Haliknain with households belonging to Nanu marked in red, September 2007

Hence a woman might be born into Nanu, but if she marries she will typically stay in the community only if her husband is also from Nanu. If not, then according to Tetun culture she will move away from Nanu to the aldeia of her new family. The gendered relationship to place is further consolidated in that men inherit the land which means that they can maintain a continuous presence. However, women only stay within the community depending on the circumstances of marriage.[116]

A further complication to the question of community comes with responses to Question 40 (1) which asks *Who are your people?'* (as distinct from the question asking respondents to nominate their primary community). The most frequent response (one-third) to the question regarding respondents' sense of people was 'my knua'. 'Knua' is a term used to describe a small kinship unit usually comprising of at least several households connected by extended familial relationships (only two respondents described 'their people' as most aptly referring to members of their aldeia).[117] Perhaps then we can see one-third of respondents selecting 'my knua' as representative of 'their people' in that this form of community is more closely linked to the family than it is the aldeia.

The writer Gerard Francillon observed that the Central Tetun communities in Timor have traditionally understood suco to mean clan, but that 'a number of clans could occupy a single village'.[118] What we might be seeing in Nanu is a similar effect to Francillon's observation in terms of aldeia rather than suco. That is, people's primary forms of identification are those that are familial and bound to a particular *uma lulik*, and in turn take on increasingly generalized layers over the top of that, extending social relations with a weaker intensity to the aldeia and suco levels. This multi-clan character of communities might help us understand how Haliknain and Nanu are able to coexist and maintain security and sustainability in a way whereby their distinct origins have not appeared to have been a source of conflict. While brought together by compulsion during the Indonesian occupation, a cultural precedent of multi-clan villages might have helped allow the two groupings to live without creating undue tensions.

Sarelari

One of the important ideas that emerges from the research detailed in the previous section is that oral-narrative forms of communication can help to maintain high levels of community sustainability. Through such means, a strong sense of community can be carried over an extended period of time, even encompassing periods of great social upheaval, and assist communities to reconstitute social foundations as communities re-thread in the wake of war. The narrative previously recounted regarding the history of resettlement by the Indonesian administration, particularly the return to the original village location in 1992, is reflected in responses to questions about the longevity of people's residence in their community. In regards to Question 1 (1) which asks how many years respondents have lived in the community, more than 70 per cent of respondents chose the option that gave a year range between eleven and twenty. This result is a direct reflection of the displacement which occurred during the Indonesian occupation. These responses are also consistent with data from Question 2 (1) which shows 55 per cent of people lived in their previous location for between eleven and twenty years (one of the range of options in Survey One). The period during which the population was moved and concentrated in Luro sub-district centre was thirteen years.

It is interesting now, against this background of disruption to continuous settlement, to turn to the responses to Question 3 (1) which asks people to identify their main 'community'. In spite of this experience of dislocation, 72.5 per cent of people felt that 'the place where you

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[116] ibid.

[117] See Appendix I: 'Results from Aldeia Nanu, Fatumean: Survey One: Community Attitudes'. Question 40: 'Who are your people?'

[118] Gerard Francillon,,'Incursions Upon Wehali: A Modern History of an Ancient Empire', in James J. Fox, ed., The Flow of Life: Essays on Eastern Indonesia, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1980, p. 248.

live' best described their community. That 'place' figures so largely in how people in Sarelari identify with their community should not be surprising. As the historical narratives detailed in the previous section show, there was a high level of community motivation to ensure people's return to this land after displacement during the Indonesian occupation. Other community narratives also show the continuing relevance of and connection to *adat* and ancestors in relation to where the community resides.

In Sarelari, the way that place is lived exists in a complex relationship with the territorial unit of the aldeia. In effect, not all houses are grouped contiguously nor necessarily grouped closely to one another, and as a community, the aldeia does not exist within a single enclosed territorial form. Although there is a general trend identifiable whereby many households belonging to Sarelari live close together, there is no clear border between Sarelari and neighbouring aldeia. Some households are intermingled with other aldeia and even other suco. In one case, researchers travelled over two kilometres by foot to reach two households which were situated in the midst of houses belonging to Suco Cotamutu. Although the community members themselves told us that they identify strongly with place, the reality described here suggests an additional layer of complexity which takes us beyond the results found through the surveys.

According to what we have learnt from other sources such as interviews, observation and family mapping methods, family and genealogy are extremely important in defining community in Sarelari. When asked to explain what she thought were the strengths of the community in Sarelari, Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, a member of the Barikafa Suco Council, detailed the following:

> Our community here is strong because we listen to each other and our parents. Local leaders and catechists work together. When there is work to be done in the suco everyone works together, if there's a party then everyone attends, or if someone dies everyone participates. If some people have difficulties with having enough food then we help each other. This makes our community strong because there is no-one else here, just family.[119]

Teresa's comment about family was reinforced by several other community members and further explained during a family mapping exercise. When one elderly man, Romero Hornay, was approached to participate in an interview with the intention of geographically mapping his family relations within the aldeia, he was confused by the objective stating 'everyone in Barikafa is our family. We have a connection from the grandparents down to the grandchildren.'[120]

With this we can start to conceptualize aldeia as one form of community that exists within a complex layering of communities. Romero Hornay's statement that everyone is in effect 'connected', immediately moving the conversation beyond the aldeia of Sarelari to the suco of Barikafa, helps us to understand that at the core of these territorial units are familial connections. Place is important in terms of providing a kind of basin in which these family connections occur rather than being synonymous with clearly-defined territorial unit as may be the case elsewhere. Thus what we find with Aldeia Sarelari is a community that is geographically dispersed yet maintains a common sense of membership through familial linkages.

A central element in understanding aldeia membership is gender (not geographical positioning, that is living in a particular territory with defined borders, as is found in other societies). Social relations in Sarelari are patrilineal in form, meaning that typically a woman moves into the man's family house once married and in effect joins her husband's aldeia. Hence, men born in Sarelari will not shift their community identity to another aldeia, as it is women who move according to their marital status. To briefly summarise

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[119] Interview with Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[120] Interview with Romero Hornay, Sarelari, Luro, 9 October 2007.

Three generations of one family sit together near their houses in Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

the patrilineal system and its relationship to the Sarelari aldeia membership, an unmarried woman from Sarelari will remain in the community. If she does not marry her aldeia will remain as Sarelari. If she marries a man from Sarelari, she will again stay within the Sarelari community. However, if she marries outside of the community, she will in effect leave Sarelari.
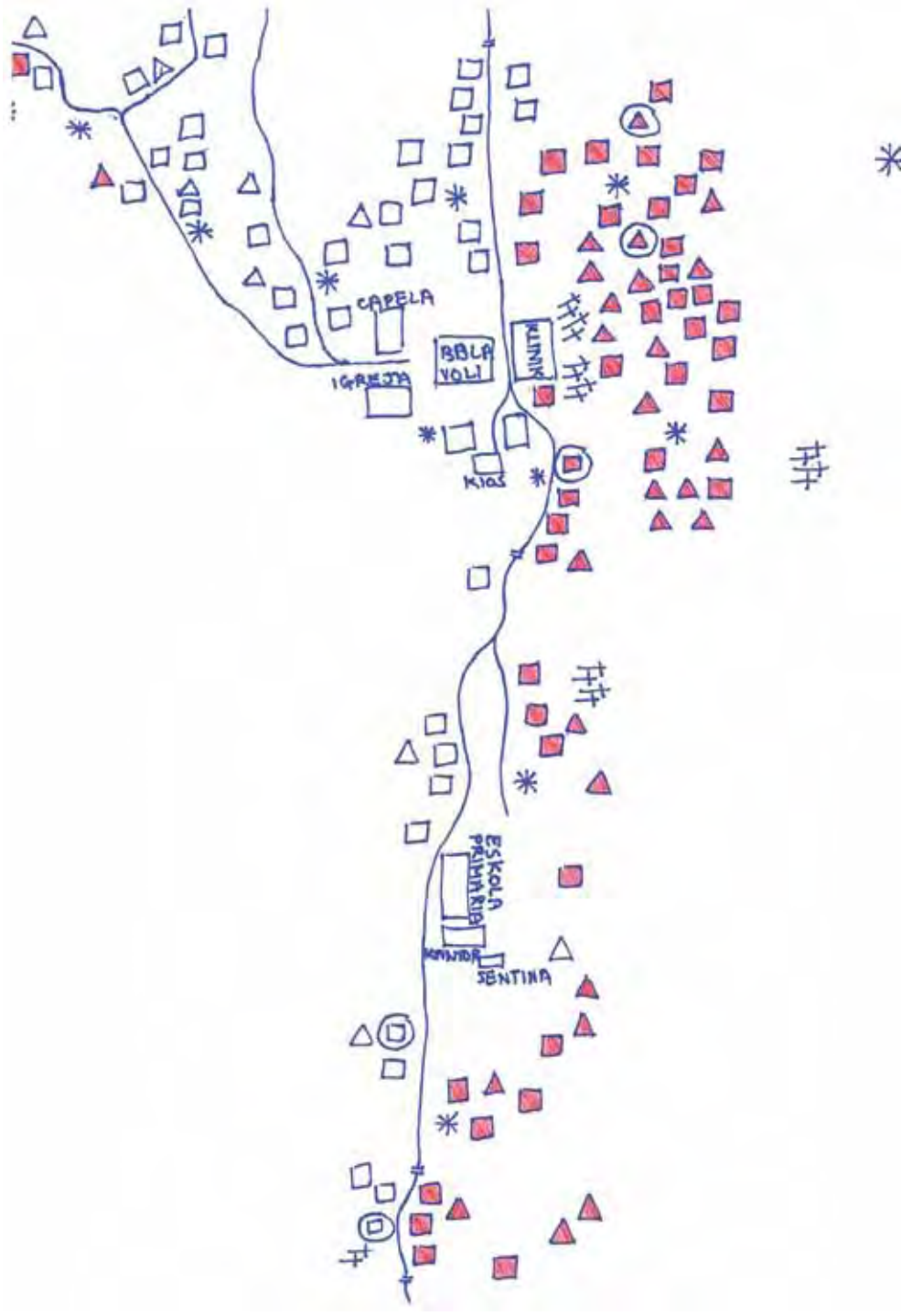
As well as maintaining through patrilineal lines a common ancestral heritage for Sarelari people, this system also allows for people to migrate into the community, namely when a wife from outside Sarelari moves into her husband's family's house. This can be seen with the explanation provided by Mariana Valenti about her family relations with other people in Barikafa, and more specifically in Aldeia Sarelari. In all, she was able to identify twenty-one households with which she has a family connection. However during the interview Mariana also explained that 'my own family are all in Lospalos'.[121] The family she was referring to in the first instance was the one she had married into in Barikafa; her husband's siblings, parents, aunties, uncles and cousins, all of whom she was able to identify with ease.

In another discussion with an elderly woman the ways in which gender regulates membership of the aldeia through marriage were very apparent. Through a translator the woman provided a synopsis of how she and her husband came to be living in another suco but still very much consider themselves as part of Aldeia Sarelari:

> She is originally from Osoleo but her husband is from Barikafa, aldeia Sarelari. She and her husband are married but in our culture if the bride price hasn't been paid then the man must live at the woman's house. So her husband has followed her here, they live in Osoleo but they are actually Barikafa people.[122]

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[121] Interview with Mariana Valenti, Sarelari, Luro, 9 October 2007.

[122] Interview with community member, Sarelari, Luro, 4 October 2007.

Map labels: CAPELA, IGREJA, BBLA VOLI, KUINN, KIOS, ESKOLA PRIMARIA, KANOR, SENTINA

□	cement house	
△	grass or corrugated iron roof house	
◎	new cement house	
⬡	new grass or corrugated iron roof house	
✳	water source	
†	graves	

■ ▲ ⬓ ⬔	Belong to aldeia Sarelari	
□ △ ⬡	Houses from aldeia Afaia and aldeia Usu Fasu	

A hand-drawn map of the centre of suco Barikafa with households belonging to *aldeia* Sarelari marked in red, October 2007

Therefore it is clearly not just the act of residing in a community that confers membership and a sense of belonging but the careful adherence to cultural traditions in relation to the place, traditions which are structured through gender.

Understanding what community means to Sarelari people is further complicated by people's relationship to *uma lulik,* which we argue here represents another and perhaps the most important form of identity for those living in Sarelari. The researchers witnessed an important instance of community organizing in Sarelari which appears to support the argument for seeing *uma lulik* as one of the central elements in understanding community. During the period of research, October 2007, a traditional ceremony was held which involved the rebuilding of twelve graves and was attended by people from many different aldeia and suco, some coming from as far away as Lospalos. During the ceremony it became apparent that people who did not know each other were identifying themselves as coming from a certain *uma lulik,* rather than situating themselves in relation to an aldeia or suco. For example, Luzinia Hornay, a young woman from Sarelari, explained that 'each group brings their own culture from their *uma lulik,* so when we arrive and people meet us, even though we are from Barikafa, they will say, 'oh the people from Afaia have arrived' (Afaia being Luzinia's *uma lulik* community).[123]

A system of recognising ancestral lineage in this way is important for a range of reasons, not least regulating marriage within the community. As Romero Hornay explained, 'people from one *uma lulik* can marry someone from another *uma lulik,* because they have a separate ancestral line. So if a woman gets married then she leaves her *uma lulik* and enters the man's one.'[124] Thus by this understanding, while the aldeia works as a way of mapping marriages between families over a particular space, communities of people based around one *uma lulik* however relate specifically to direct ancestral lines. Hence a person can marry into their aldeia as long as they are not marrying into the same *uma lulik.*

When asked in an interview whether her community is the *uma lulik* or the aldeia, Luzinia's immediate response was *uma lulik.* When prompted to expand on her response she explained that there is a stronger sense of participation in activities organized through the *uma lulik* rather than the aldeia because the connection to one's *uma lulik* is governed by *adat.* If adat is not respected appropriately the consequences are dire, including illness and potential conflict within the community. Luzinia differentiates between being a member of Aldeia Sarelari and the *uma lulik* of Afaia, saying that:

> If the state needs people to do some work and someone doesn't participate, it's not a problem. But when it's about *adat,* then you have to go … If you don't go then it could cause problems, people will argue saying you didn't come because you did this or that, and they will say that something will happen to you. It causes problems.[125]

Adding a final layer of complication to this discussion were the varied responses to Question 40 (1), '*Who are your people?*'. By far the most common response to this question was 'people who live in the same sub-district' (56 per cent). This result is perhaps suggestive of the importance of Barikafa's history of forced resettlement alongside other communities in the sub-district centre, and that 98 per cent of respondents were born in the sub-district of Luro. This was a response that was however surprising given that the people of Sarelari speak a language that is dominant in only three of the six suco that make up Luro. Hence it might have been expected that a higher proportion of people would see speakers of their native language as 'their people', yet this response registered only four per cent. Rating more highly than linguistic group were categories at either end of the spectrum, namely the most localized 'knua' (11 per cent) and the macro level of 'nation' (12 per cent) which were the next most frequent responses after sub-district.

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[123] Interview with Luzinia Hornay, Barikafa, Luro, 7 October 2007.

[124] Interview with Romero Hornay, Sarelari, Luro, 9 October 2007.

[125] Interview with Luzinia Hornay, Barikafa, Luro, 7 October 2007.

Luha Oli

Many members of the Luha Oli community have been living in the aldeia for many years, with statistics showing relatively low levels of migration to the aldeia in recent years. In response to Question 1 (1), only 5 per cent have been living in the aldeia for less than a year, 10 per cent less than five years, and 6.7 per cent have been living there for between six to ten years. Together, this means that a total of 21.7 per cent of those surveyed have moved to the area since 1997 or 1998. This compares with 30 per cent of people who have been living in Luha Oli between eleven and twenty years, 38.3 per cent for between twenty-one and fifty years, and 10 per cent for more than fifty years. Together, that means that 78.3 per cent of the population have been living in Luha Oli for more than eleven years.

While it is not possible from these statistics to measure migration from Luha Oli, these figures do show that despite war, people have tended to stay living in the area for very long periods of time. It is then no surprise that for Question 2 (1), which asked the question of 'How long did you live in your previous community'?, that the largest response given was by those who in fact had never lived elsewhere (33.9 per cent saying they had lived in the same area all their lives).

When residents of Luha Oli were asked in Question 3 (1) to identify their main community, the overwhelming response was the 'neighbourhood or place that you live'. In total, 73.8 per cent of people identified this as constituting their main community, a huge response given that the only other double-digit response was for 'club, community or religious centre' at 13.8 per cent. All others answers, including 'none of these', registered between just 1.5 and 4.6 per cent. This question, while not precisely directed at the aldeia, gives a clear sense that for people in Luha Oli that the geographic location within the vicinity of their houses is important to their conceptions of community.

This is an important point, as unlike other communities which may be understood in terms of a relatively concentrated and contiguous group of households, Luha Oli takes on a similar form to Sarelari and Nanu in that it has no strict geographical boundary or physical border in which to define itself against neighbouring communities. The sixty-three households which make up Luha Oli are dispersed across several kilometres of land and scattered through other territories that are officially recognized as belonging to other suco even if they are not lived in that way. As such, families who identify themselves as members of the community are interspersed with households from the other three aldeia that make up Suco Uai Laha as well as with residents of several other suco including Uato Haco, Bado Ho'o and Berkoli. In one street, immediate neighbours are from different aldeia and despite the confusion this may cause for newcomers, each household can clearly identify which aldeia they and their surrounding neighbours belong to. Hence, when people say that their main community is the place that they live, if this does in fact include the aldeia then it would do so as part of a generalized conception of place, as in a broader geographic territory.

So how is it that the members of this community came to be physically dispersed among other aldeia and yet still so definite in expressing their sense of belonging to Luha Oli? To begin with, it is necessary to understand that conceptions of community are based on familial linkages and on how those links are formed and carried across time. When asked if he was born in Venilale, a young man responded; 'yes, all my family were born here, including my ancestors … Not just from Venilale, but from Luha Oli.'[126] This sense of familial connection was immensely important in Luha Oli, to the extent that when people have moved out of their house, they have in effect carried the aldeia with them to the new site. This can be because of marriage, or as the following quote demonstrates, because of work requirements with the advantages of living close to gardens.

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[126] Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, xefe de aldeia of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

The roof of this uma lulik is ordained with special sacred symbols such as birds and shells, Luha Oli, July 2007

> Yeah, some people's land is a bit far, because their rice field or their garden is a bit far so they've moved there, so eventually we're no longer all in the one place. Like now, we walk and there's one here, one there. Maybe there's mixing up with other suco. But like what you said before, it's according to the land, because the rice field or the garden is a bit far, so finally they move there. And they mix with people from other suco, other aldeia.[127]

Central to understanding how community is formed is the *uma adat* (sacred house) which serves to maintain the link between current living generations and their ancestors. Explaining family relationships within the aldeia one resident stated very clearly that 'in this aldeia, according to my father's story ages ago, we're from one place, which means one *uma adat*, descendents from one sacred house. So they can't ever break their relationship.'[128] And it is this relationship that continues to provide the underpinning basis of the community, with *adat* mediating and giving form to the genealogical connections that continue to integrate people into a sense of community.

> … here if we look from the point of view the relationship between the community and a person, it's from *adat*. That's what binds them. That can't be broken, so they always have gatherings, parties or establish an *adat* house, like you visited yesterday, they all gather together in one place. So they all recognize each other. They can't break their relations with others. Because they already have certain rules from their ancestors.[129]

From the sacred house decisions are made about social law in regards to who can join the community and under what circumstances. According to patrilineal marriage arrangements in Luha Oli, the new wife leaves her family and becomes a member of her husband's family. Hence, when a man marries someone from outside the community, their new wife and

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[127] ibid.

[128] ibid.

[129] ibid.

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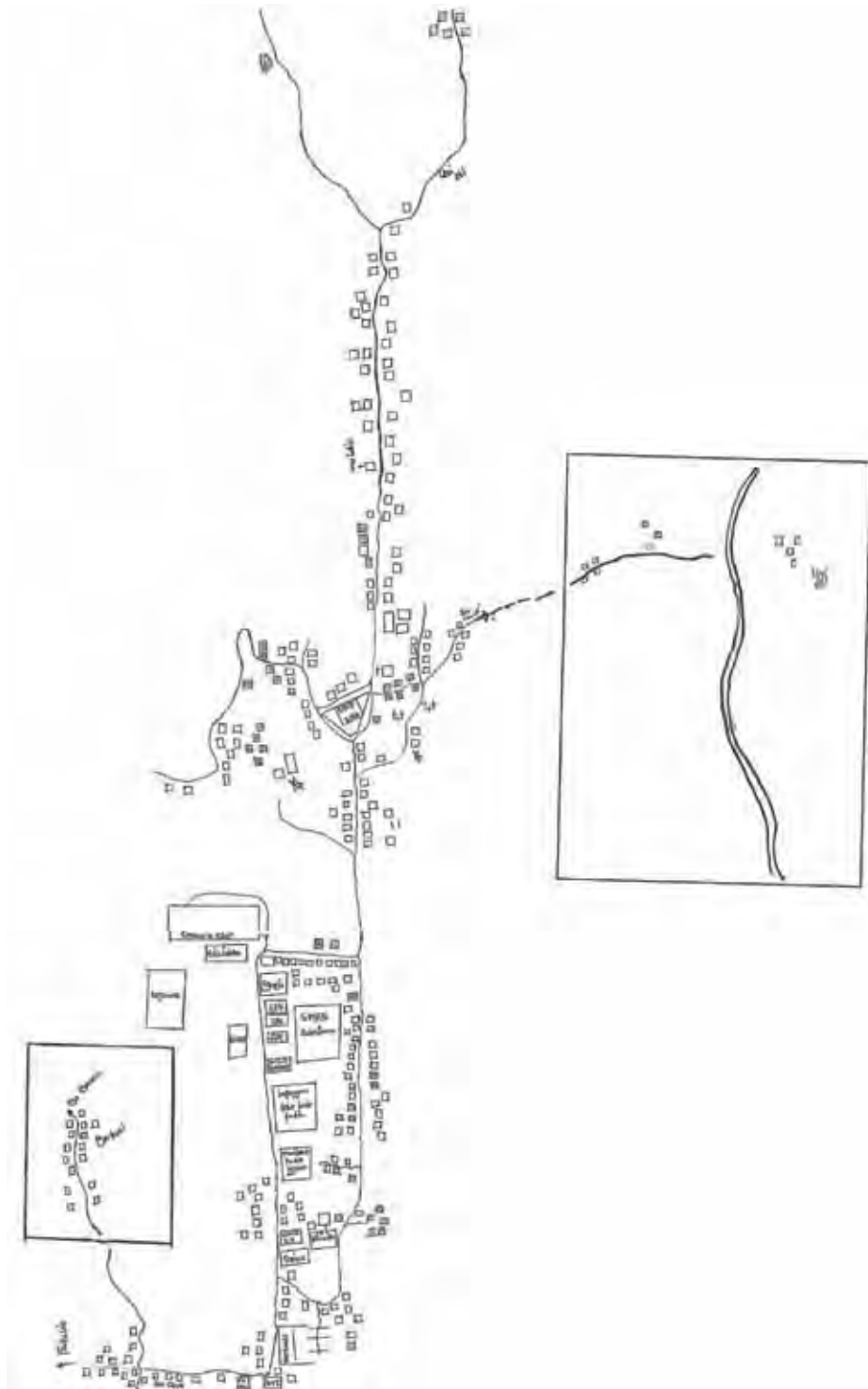
Belong to aldeia Luha Oli

Houses from other aldeia

A hand-drawn map of *aldeia* Luha Oli, 2007

any children they may have are considered members of Luha Oli. On the other hand, if a woman marries someone from outside the community, she no longer identifies herself as being from Luha Oli. This pattern of movement is reflected in the origin stories of Luha Oli, as when one respondent was asked about where their ancestors came from, they responded that at 'the time of the ancestors, the man was born here. The women came here from another family. According to *adat*, they settled in this hamlet.'[130]

Hence, Luha Oli is a community of people connected via genealogy and marriage ties which form inter-related familial units that are connected across different localities. When Question 40 (1) asked '*Who are your people?*', we found a series of responses that reflected different possible variations of identification with this complex form of community. Of the responses, 21.7 per cent of people chose 'knua', with the same number choosing 'family', and another 11.6 per cent choosing the 'aldeia'. All of these answers possibly describe the same sense of connection to people as described above, even meaning in effect the same thing to different people.

Golgota

As discussed in the opening of this report, the area that is now Golgota was part of an expansion of Dili that has occurred only in recent decades. As such, when speaking with residents of Golgota, narratives tended to focus on recent events such as 1999 and the crisis when they were asked about the community. In fact we found it quite difficult to find more than a few people who knew about the area during the Portuguese period. Noticeably different to Nanu, Luha Oli or Sarelari, current residents could not speak of either the origins or history of the community *across* ancestral lines, but only within their own generation and life experience. This is a significant factor which points to several distinguishing characteristics of the aldeia, not least that it is a relatively new community which to a very significant extent has been formed by the internal migration and settlement of people from different parts of Timor-Leste.

Demonstrating a very substantial growth in the population based on migration, Question 1 (1) asked '*How long have you lived in this community (or local place)?*'. Answers to this question showed that 13.6 per cent of respondents have lived in Golgota for 'less than one year' and a further 31.2 per cent for between 'one and five years'. This shows that about one in every seven people surveyed were new to the community in the last twelve months, and if the figures are combined, then a very significant 44.8 per cent of the local residents have moved there since 2002. If we take the next set of figures for those who have lived in Golgota for between six to ten years, which then includes the population shifts caused by the violence, destruction and forced migration of 1999, then we see that another 27 per cent of residents have only lived in the area since at least 1997. This means that 71.8 per cent of those surveyed have lived in Golgota for less than ten years, as compared to 12.4 per cent for Nanu, 17.8 per cent for Sarelari, and 21.7 per cent for Luha Oli. Going even one step further, 19.5 per cent of people have been living in the area for eleven to twenty years, meaning that of those surveyed, a quite extraordinary 91.3 per cent of people surveyed have moved to Golgota since 1987.

Not only is there not an inter-generational connection to land in Golgota as may be found elsewhere, the nature of the settlement within the aldeia shows that people have migrated from a wide range of different places. In Question 3a (1) people were asked where they were born, with 47 different sub-districts given as well as people from west Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia. No one ethno-linguistic grouping had anything like a majority within the population, with the largest number of people from a single sub-district with just 11.7 per cent coming from Dom Alexio (which includes Golgota). After that, the next highest number of people according to which sub-district they were born in was Bobonaro sub-district (9.3 per cent) followed by Passabe sub-district in Oecusse (8.4 per cent). In terms

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[130] Interview with community member, Luha Oli, Venilale, 17 July 2007.

An aerial photograph showing Golgota, Dili Street Directory, Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Defence, 2006.

of which district people were born in, then 26.4 per cent of residents in Golgota were born in Bobonaro, with 16.2 per cent born in the district of Ermera, 12.9 per cent from Dili and 10.8 per cent from Oecusse. If we compare this with Sarelari, 98.2 per cent of those surveyed were born in the sub-district of Luro, and only two people born in Lospalos (1.8 per cent of the total respondents), meaning that all of those surveyed in Sarelari were from Lautem district.

That people are coming from different communities from across Timor-Leste means that there is not the same sense of being bound by common origin nor genealogical connection to link the community together to the same level as the three other sites in this report. This may occur to some small degree, for instance as groups of people from the same communities and/or extended families migrate over a period of time to Dili and live close to one another, as explained by the *xefe de aldeia* with regards to the number of people from Bobonaro (mainly ethno-linguistically Bunaq) living in Golgota.

> Because from the beginning Bunaq people lived here and then they called each other to come and live here. For example, if you are Bunaq and you came and lived here in the 1980s, then slowly your other family members came down to go to school in Dili so they lived together with you. Then when they finished school they got married and found their own house which is close to yours. And other people who came from your family also looked for houses close to here. So then all your family are close together. That's why there are so many Bunaq people here.[131]

While we did not research this with other groupings, our sense would be that similar stories would be told in terms of the groups of people from Oecusse and also Ermera, just as it would from other groups who have settled in Golgota or other parts of Dili. The effect, however, is a community that is built around far more ethno-linguistic diversity, with families from the same ethno-linguistic background living interspersed with other groups in more and less concentrated degrees. This is in contrast to other communities,

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[131] Interview with Domingus Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Golgota, Dili, 7 July 2008.

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where changes in population tend to occur with people being born into that community via marriage into or out of the community, or migration to regional centres for education or work purposes.

While the residents of Golgota neither share a long inter-generational relationship to the aldeia of Golgota, nor common ethno-cultural and linguistic backgrounds beyond relatively small groupings of people, when asked in Question 3 (1) '*What or whom do you identify as your main community?*', 53.3 per cent of people answered that it was their 'neighbourhood or place that they live'. This broadly follows the trend across this report where in each of the four communities a high number of people have identified their immediate geographic vicinity as their primary form of community.

The remainder of answers to Question 3 (1) included a 'particular group of people', 'workplace' and a 'local school', which all rated between 2 and 5 per cent, while 'club, community or religious centre' scored 11.6 per cent. This last result is higher than elsewhere conceivably as there is the Dom Bosco youth centre as well as the Dom Bosco church, both significant institutions in the area which could potentially provide a sense of community. A significant number of people chose 'more than one of the above' (11.7 per cent) and 'I am not sure' (10.8 per cent) again suggesting that there was some degree of difficulty in answering the question, either as the categories offered lacked purchase or because the question itself did not resonate particularly well with people. That said, it could also be that people conceive of community in ways where it is difficult to choose one as being more important than others, not least as different communities are of significance at different points in time and for different reasons.

In this instance the research shows us that geographic location remains important to many people in terms of how a community is perceived, even if the way in which that community is lived is very different. Golgota is in effect an administrative-territorial unit demarcated so as to facilitate the governance of people, geographically defined as part of the process of Dili's expansion rather than developing indigenously and then subsequently being drawn into processes of state administration. Hence, in undertaking this research the whole nature of conversations changed in terms of talking about the aldeia. Borders were readily pointed out both on the street and via maps, and the limits of the aldeia clearly recognised by many as being geographically defined. Unlike Sarelari, Nanu or Luha Oli, Golgota represents a very clearly unified territorial space where members of the community are confined to that single area. Hence, people are from Aldeia Golgota if they live within its territorial boundaries rather than if they are linked through familial connection, an identity that changes accordingly if they move their place of residence to another aldeia.

This does not mean that the aldeia means significantly less to people as compared with the rural communities, as seen with 53.3 per cent of people answering that it was their 'Neighbourhood or place that they live' in response to the question '*What or whom do you identify as your main community?*' (Question 3 (1)). While this does not specify the aldeia, it is reasonable to conclude that given the aldeia is a very localized form of community it would be included in what many people meant when asked about the place in which they live. This is supported at least to some degree by the responses to Question 40 (1) which asks '*Who are your people?*'. Despite it being a more general and perhaps ambiguous question, 26.3 per cent of responses picked the 'aldeia', with only 15 per cent choosing 'family', 7.6 per cent the 'knua,' 6.5 per cent the 'sub-district', 4 per cent the 'same land', 3.1 per cent the 'same language group', with only 2.3 per cent choosing 'suco'. At the other end of the scale, 30.5 per cent of people picked the nation as being 'their people', a high rate not least given that at that time there was a sense of heightened social divisions at the national level.

Not only is place important in people's considerations of what community means to them, it may also be that ties are built between people over time through living in the one area. This includes links being built between people from very different ethno-linguistic groupings which allows people to see themselves as a community despite there not being the same

genealogical underpinnings that we have found elsewhere. In Golgota this goes as far as including intermarriage, a form of social connection that remains very uncommon in the three rural communities discussed in this report.

That said, in thinking about the nature of 'community', it is important to point out that a key difference between Golgota and the three other sites in this report is that, as with Dili as a whole, there are no *uma lulik* in Golgota. Hence, people's relationships to adat and family remain regulated beyond the aldeia through the continuation of relations with families and communities outside of Dili. Residents frequently spoke of returning to the villages where they were born so as to fulfil ceremonial obligations of various kinds and to attend events centred upon their *uma lulik*, with the following exchange being very typical.

> *Researcher*: So even though you've lived in Dili for a long time in Dili, far away from your uma lulik, you still follow adat?
>
> *Participant:* Yes we still follow it. Like if the family *halo lia* [to hold a traditional ceremony for instance when a family member has died, to resolve a problem, or to make arrangements are marriage] then we must go, or if someone in the mountains dies then we must go. If we don't go then we must send something.
>
> *Researcher:* So there is still some influence on your life?
>
> *Participant:* Yes there is because if we don't go then they will speak badly of us and say our name in the *uma lulik*. We think of these things so we have to go.[132]

For many people, these visits occur only a couple of times a year or as only necessary, though others visit their families and origin villages on a far more regular basis.

> We really love our *adat*, especially our parents. Every week I need to go and visit my father's bones, that's the biggest priority. But I also visit my mother and our *uma lulik* … Each year we have to go at Christmas and New Year as well as the time to eat corn, when the corn is young. We go and visit our *knua*. If we don't go then we will get sick or our business won't develop. We really love our ancestors' *adat*, because of them we are alive in this world and our lives can move forward.[133]

In summary, Golgota can then be described as an aldeia that is defined in territorial terms and which is comprised by a large number of people settling from other districts from across Timor-Leste, principally created to administer and govern people, though it comes to mean more than that to those who live within its boundaries. It is ordered and administered as per its borders with other aldeia, while the people of Golgota very often continue to maintain thorough relations with families from the sub-district that they were born.

Community Wellbeing

Nanu

As outlined in the opening 'Communities in Context' section, despite the low levels of community security with regards to key aspects of life in Nanu (for instance education, literacy and health), the sense that people have found ways in which to sustain the community over a long period of time seems to intersect with high levels of community satisfaction. Question 4 (1), 'How satisfied are you that you feel a member of the community?' and Question 5 (1), 'How satisfied are you with the community where you live?' could reasonably be taken to reflect levels of inclusiveness and group cohesion. The responses to both questions in Nanu were overwhelmingly positive, with some 70 per cent of respondents satisfied that they felt a part of their community (Question 4 (1)), and a further 7.5 per cent very satisfied. Only 12.6 per cent were either dissatisfied or very

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[132] ibid.

[133] Interview with Linda de Jesus, Golgota, Dili, 7 July 2008.

dissatisfied. In terms of Question 5 (1), 73.1 per cent of people were satisfied with their community in general, and 11.5 per cent were very satisfied.

Question 37 (1) asks people to respond to the statement 'My community is changing and it is for the worse'. What is interesting in Nanu is that while the portion of people dissatisfied with their community was very small, 48 per cent of respondents felt that their community was changing for the worse. Resulting in far more mixed responses was the answer to Question 9 (1), 'Are you satisfied that your life overall has improved over the last 5 years?'. This produced a dissatisfaction rate of 50 per cent (very dissatisfied at 5.1 per cent and dissatisfied at 44.9 per cent), with the combined number feeling satisfied was 33.3 per cent (satisfied at 29.5 per cent and very satisfied at 3.8 per cent), with 16.7 per cent indicating that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.

These two results could be taken to indicate that while people are satisfied with their community, they are mindful of change and perhaps the kinds of deterioration in services and infrastructure (such as road, transport, education and health) that has occurred since independence. It may also indicate that people differentiate their concerns for changes in a community, or even a sense that life in general has not improved, from how they feel about living in Nanu. In effect, satisfaction with the community does not necessarily relate to material wellbeing.

This distinction between material wellbeing and sense of satisfaction with community can also be seen in the response to Question 39 (1), which asks whether the impact of national independence on the community has been positive. Three-quarters of Nanu people believe that overall independence has impacted positively on the community, while only 20 per cent expressed reservations. The most obvious explanation is that while not delivering the hoped-for material improvement in life, a heightened sense of security since the end of Indonesian occupation and the fulfilment of independence itself means that the majority of people still see independence as a positive thing. Bringing Question 37 (1) and 39 (1) together, it would appear that people from Nanu either do not relate negative changes in their community to Timor-Leste's independence, seeing them as two different categories of things (for instance the local and the national), or they see the non-material aspects of independence as quite separate, positive and apart from negative changes locally.

Sarelari

According to the survey results, attitudes towards community in Sarelari are very positive. A very high proportion—almost three-quarters of people—expressed satisfaction in terms of feeling a part of their community (Question 4 (1)). An even greater share, namely 78 per cent, responded to Question 5 (1) by expressing satisfaction with their community in general. Perhaps highlighting the importance of a sense of belonging to local community, only two people felt dissatisfied in terms of being part of their community and only 6.5 per cent were dissatisfied with the community as a whole. Taken on their own, these results suggest quite a functional sense of community devoid of substantive conflict or dissatisfaction.

Contrasting with this positive picture of community belonging and satisfaction is a rather pessimistic collective view of the direction in which the community is headed, with 52 per cent agreeing to Question 37 (1) that Sarelari is changing for the worse, and an additional 16 per cent strongly agreeing this to be the case. This could feasibly mean that people are seeing key cultural aspects of life as being lost or negatively affected by change. However, this was not the overall impression gained through the project, where ideas of 'negative change' most commonly related to disappointment with material progress— communications and transportation infrastructure, government services, general wealth—in the past five years. It does not seem to be that people compare their current circumstances to that of previous periods, but rather that there is frustration about economic development not occurring with greater momentum. Statements such as the following from the xefe de suco were fairly typical in the course of undertaking the research.

> The most difficult problems are for example school children, they don't have a proper building or facilities for their school. The second is transportation, it's very difficult to get transport. People want to sell their produce at markets but there's no transportation.[134]

Other members of the community expressed similar concerns, pointing to a sense that the development process in Barikafa has been unduly delayed.

> We [the Barikafa Suco Council] have been working together for three years, more or less, but the process of development is still not flowing smoothly. And creation of government programs has not yet entered this place here. In 2006, there were not yet any government programs that had entered here, and then in 2007 the Ministry of Public Works came.[135]

People in Sarelari did not appear to associate a negative change in the community with national independence. In answering to Question 39 (1) more than half (57 per cent) rated the impact of independence as positive and an additional 9 per cent expressed strong agreement. Less than 5 per cent of people disagreed with the idea that independence had had a positive impact on their community. While people may be seeing changes within their community in a negative light, such a response suggests that this is understood as distinct from the impact of independence on the community. People may be associating independence with such factors as increased freedoms, enjoyment in national pride and a heightened sense of security that resulted after the Indonesian occupation.

Luha Oli

When Luha Oli residents were asked in Question 4 (1) '*How satisfied are you that you feel a member of the community?*', 48.5 per cent of the population responded that they were satisfied and 11.8 per cent saying very satisfied, meaning that a total of 60.3 per cent of people responded that they were content with being part of their community. A quite high minority, some 20.6 per cent of people, said they were neither satisfied or dissatisfied, suggesting perhaps that their levels of satisfaction shift or that they were unwilling for whatever reason to declare either a positive or negative sense of their relationship to their community. In turn, 16.2 per cent of respondents clearly indicted that they were dissatisfied in terms of feeling part of their community, with a further 1.5 per cent saying they were very dissatisfied (and the same number again having no opinion at all).

Following on from Question 4 (1), Question 5 (1) asks '*How satisfied are you with the community where you live?*'. This question was aimed at understanding people's sense of the community in a more general way, much the same as asking whether people like the community in which they live or not. In total 61.2 per cent of people said they were either 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied' (46.3 per cent and 14.9 per cent respectively) with regards to Luha Oli as a community. However, a very high 32.8 per cent of respondents gave an equivocal response by saying that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, with 6 per cent saying they were not satisfied at all.

The responses to Questions 4 and 5 (1) give a sense that for the majority of residents Luha Oli is a place that they feel a part of and that they see the community positively. Here as ever we need to be careful of how people interpret questions and especially how they wish to project their community to the outside world rather than revealing to both outsiders and strangers a negative sense of community. Equally however, the high rate of rather neutral answers in both Question 4 and 5 could also reflect the complexity of life, that people like aspects of it but wish others were able to be changed.

The responses were much more varied to Question 37 (1) which asked if people thought the way their community is changing is for the worse. Again there was only a very insignificant

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[134] Interview with Joaquim Preto, *xefe de suco* of Barikafa, Sarelari, Luro, 6 October 2007.

[135] Interview with Lamberto Soares, Sarelari, Luro, 9 October 2007.

response in terms of 'no opinion' (only one person) and around one-quarter of respondents (27.5 per cent) answered 'neither', indicating that in their view the community was either not changing nor getting better or worse. In total 10.1 per cent strongly disagreed with the statement that their community is changing for the worse, with another 21.7 per cent 'disagreeing'. This means that a total of 31.8 per cent of respondents feel that their community was not changing for the worse.

However, at the other end of the scale 27.5 per cent 'agreed' that the community was changing for the worse and another 11.6 'strongly agreed', a total of 39.1 per cent indicating that their community had changed in negative ways. While the results from Questions 4 and 5 (1) reveal that a majority of residents both feel a part of and satisfied with the community of Luha Oli, the statistics from Question 37 (1) do suggest that nearly 40 per cent of respondents think that Luha Oli as a community is changing in detrimental ways.

In Question 9 (1) people were asked if they are satisfied that their life overall has improved over the last five years. Again we see a very low rate of no opinion (just 1.4 per cent), and nearly a quarter of those surveyed (24.6 per cent) picking neither, in effect suggesting that 26 per cent of people feel that life overall has neither improved nor got worse. Interestingly however is the almost even split between those who responded with being dissatisfied and those who are satisfied. In terms of being dissatisfied 33.3 per cent indicated that their life overall has not improved over the last five years, with another 5.8 per cent saying that they are very dissatisfied in this regard. While a total of 39.1 per cent of people answered negatively, 24.6 per cent of people answered that in fact they are satisfied that their life had improved, with another 10.1 per cent indicating that they are very satisfied.

Both Question 37 (1) and Question 9 (1) are asking about change in people's lives in quite general terms and as such the responses could include a wide number of factors in terms of determining their answers. However, both sets of statistics do demonstrate that there are significant groups of people who see both their communities and their lives as changing for the worse, with Question 9 (1) demonstrating this in relation to national independence in that it is asking about people's lives from approximately 2002, the year in which the United Nations handed over control of the territory to the East Timorese. What is unclear from these statistics is whether this level of dissatisfaction is related to material wellbeing, which may be the case in response to Question 9 (1), or to socio-cultural changes which might equally help understand Question 37 (1).

When people are asked about whether the impact of national independence had been positive on their community, 42.6 per cent agreed that it had while another 20.6 per cent agreed that the impact had been very positive (Question 38 (1)). This question appears to have been clearer for people to indicate a definite answer than to the questions explored above, as the selection of the response 'neither positive nor negative' reduced to 14.7 per cent. Interestingly, a total of 20.6 per cent of people disagreed that the impact of national independence had been positive, with 16.2 per cent disagreeing and 4.4 per cent strongly disagreeing. This response, where in effect one in five people were willing to say that independence had been negative—a substantial thing to say given the kind of impact on the community that the Indonesian occupation had—could potentially be explained in terms of the crisis, the effects of which were still very much being felt across Timor-Leste in 2007 and 2008.

Golgota

Of interest in Golgota is that despite the fact that the community is made up people from a wide number of different sub-districts, and given that there had been a fair degree of social turmoil during the crisis, a large number of respondents indicated in Question 4 (1) a satisfaction with feeling part of their community. The proportion that is satisfied is 52.5 per cent, with another 6.8 per cent saying that they feel very satisfied. Again we see a fairly high number of respondents selecting neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (at 24.9 per cent), with a

Three young boys sit in the hot sun to watch a soccer match at the Don Bosco soccer field in Comoro, June 2008

relatively low rate of dissatisfaction; 11 per cent feel dissatisfied while 4.2 per cent feel very dissatisfied.

Slightly higher in terms of positive responses are the answers to Question 5 (1), which asks '*How satisfied are you with the community where you are?*'. A total of 58.8 per cent of people said that they are satisfied, with another 6.8 per cent saying they are very satisfied. In turn, 24.6 per cent said neither, with only 7.9 per cent saying that they are dissatisfied and 1.7 per cent very dissatisfied (0.3 per cent had no opinion at all).

Both Questions 4 and 5 (1) demonstrate that many people feel both part of and content with their community, an indication that at least to some degree people identify and feel part of the aldeia of Golgota, with a very low prevalence of dissatisfaction. Question 37 (1) asks whether people agree or disagree that '*I think my community is changing for the worse*'. Nearly 40 per cent of respondents answered that they disagree to some extent with this statement (9.9 per cent strongly disagreeing and another 30 per cent disagreeing), and 26.3 per cent suggesting that it had neither changed for the better or worse. However, a substantial 28.9 per cent agreeing with the statement, namely that Golgota was changing for the worse; 4 per cent strongly agreeing with this.

The level of satisfaction decreases even more when people were asked in Question 9 (1) the much more general question of whether they are satisfied that their life has improved over the last five years. Nearly a third of respondents reported that they are dissatisfied (20.4 per cent dissatisfied and 8.5 per cent very dissatisfied), with a very large percentage of people responding neutrally, namely that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (33.1 per cent). However, at the end of the spectrum, 30.6 per cent of respondents said that they are clearly satisfied, and another 5.7 per cent very satisfied.

These figures tend to suggest that while for some people they are satisfied with their community in terms of where they live, life in general for many has not improved, or in

fact in some instances has deteriorated. Again, this is a very open question in terms of how it could have been interpreted by participants, and as such could refer to either public or private considerations, for instance either because of the impact of the crisis or because there had been sickness or death in the family. However, given that the question was asked in the context of research on community, we think that the question tended to be interpreted socially, as in that the quality of life in social terms—access to resources, sense of security, ability to find work and so forth—had deteriorated.

The post-independence period has been complex with some people apparently benefitting and satisfied with some elements of life, while others do not see either their community or the general direction of their lives as positive. However, this does not seem to translate to a large section of the community feeling aggrieved with independence itself. In Question 38 (1), which asked if the impact of national independence had been positive or not on their community, only 3.4 per cent strongly disagree and another 7.9 per cent disagree. A significant number of people answered that they felt that national independence had neither been positive or negative (23.4 per cent). A clear majority of people have however felt that national independence has been positive for their community, with 54.5 per cent agreeing and a further 9.6 per cent agreeing.

Community Leadership and Conflict Resolution

Introduction

The following section examines community leadership and in turn the ways people tend to seek to resolve conflict within their aldeia. This section is seen as central to the report for a range of reasons. The leadership structures and conflict resolution processes most commonly utilized by the communities have strong customary-traditional elements, emphasizing genealogical connection and *adat* or customary law which binds community members together as well as to their common history and their ancestors. In this way leadership structures and conflict resolution processes play a central role in sustaining the communities, through maintaining social regulation processes that are specific to and binding upon the particular community, and generating a sense of belonging by emphasizing historical and familial connections. Equally, by having a clear and recognized leadership system, which all four communities in this report do, conflict can be resolved in a way where the resolution is understood as binding and essential to maintaining community balance and peace, an important element of maintaining security. This does not mean that everyone will experience security in the same way, but that when problems do occur within the community that the means are there to contain and resolve it.

To speak first of leadership, the structures that we see across the four communities in this report tend to be dominated by two different types, namely the locally elected officials such as the *xefe de aldeia* and the *xefe de suco* and customary-traditional leaders, referred to here as either *adat nain* or *lia nain* (*adat* being an Indonesian term still commonly used by East Timorese). The authority for an *adat nain* can be seen as emanating from their genealogical connection, gender (male), relationships with the ancestors and their in-depth understanding of indigenous belief systems. Their authority extends to various kinds of circumstances, such as giving explanations for social occurrences (such as why someone has died or is sick), creating binding compacts within the community (such as through *adat* ceremonies and *tarabandu*) or being able to interpret the potential impact of certain actions (such as marriage to a particular person). In comparison, a *xefe de aldeia* and the *xefe de suco* draw authority from being seen as the most appropriate leader (either in ancestral terms, through voting, or both) and by having some level of recognition from and connection to the state. There are, of course, other kinds of leadership present within the communities, for example, women's and youth groups, religious leaders, teachers and heads of households. However the communities tended to focus upon *xefe de aldeia, xefe de suco* and *lia nain.*

As with leadership, conflict resolution processes were overwhelmingly described with clarity, ease and consistency across the different communities. As will be discussed, the resolution of conflict tends to draw from either or both customary-traditional and modern positions of authority, though with a strong emphasis on the former. Also of interest were the similar patterns in conflict resolution that emerged across all four communities, such as the high proportion of people who responded that their community had the ability to resolve its own conflicts. Community members also displayed a clear sense of the kinds of conflicts and crimes that can be dealt with from within the community and those that would need to draw on state authorities in order to resolve, a feature of conflict resolution processes both in the rural communities covered in this report and also the more urbanised Golgota.

Community Leadership

Nanu

Data from questions that relate to power and authority in Nanu demonstrated overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward authority figures, both local and national. More than 60 per cent agreed or strongly agreed to Question 10 (1) that they were able to

influence figures of authority in their communities, although the proportion who felt unable to do so (one-quarter) was too large to be discounted entirely. Question 11 (1), which asked people whether *'decisions made about life in my community are made in the best interests of the whole community'* returned a similarly positive verdict. Of the total, 57.5 per cent agreed that decisions were made in the best interests of the community, with another 5 per cent strongly agreeing. Again, there is a significant minority who disagreed (made up of 17.5 per cent who disagreed and 7.5 strongly disagreed). If these responses are genuinely indicative of people's sentiments then it suggests that many people feel that they can influence leadership and, in turn, that this leadership is seen to be working in the interest of the community. And this does not exclude the fact that for some people leadership may be good irrespective of whether they can influence it or not.

Leadership is formed in Nanu through an overlap of customary-traditional and modern systems of appointment and we found that there was a quite common interchange of leadership titles used when speaking with people in Nanu. This can partly be understood by the historical interaction between different leadership systems. Traditionally in Timorese cultures leadership positions are determined according to genealogy and gender. Power and authority is inherited and is patrilineal in form. This arrangement means that community leadership tends to remain within certain families.[136] Prior to the Portuguese dismantling of the traditional kingdoms, the Tetun term *liurai* referred to a king who ruled over a particular land or realm (*rai* – Tetun, *reino* – Portuguese), usually much larger than the current-day suco. The suco were then governed by a figure known as *dato*, a more localized chief who while from the ranks of nobility still remained subordinate to the *liurai*.[137] When the Portuguese colonial government dismantled the kingdom system and replaced it with one of direct rule through military–administrative posts (*postos*), the term *liurai* was reapplied, largely replacing the term *dato* in denoting the chief of the smaller unit, the suco. While for the Portuguese the *xefe de suco* was first and foremost an administrative role, where convenient to do so the Portuguese did seek to co-opt the authority of the *liurai* class by appointing them as *xefe de suco*.[138] This may help explain why villagers in Nanu move frequently and without confusion, between the terms '*xefe de suco*' and '*liurai*' in conversation. When pressed to articulate this, a distinction will be made, though such discussions still show a sense of fluidity in how the two positions are seen, as the following example shows.

> *Researcher:* Are there certain families from whom leaders are normally drawn?
>
> *Interviewee:* No. Only the people regarded as having the ability are nominated. Through election …
>
> *Researcher:* What about the position of *liurai*? Does that still exist?
>
> *Interviewee:* Yeah, long ago there were still *liurai*. But from the Indonesian period until now, there are no *liurai* anymore. The name is still there, but in terms of leadership, not. The person is just elected by the people, even though only by simple people, but if the person [the candidate of *liurai* stock] is capable, they'll be nominated as a leader … a community looks at the character of the person. Whether they can encourage people, bring people together. And whether or not, when the person speaks, people will follow.[139]

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[136] For anthropological material related to this section, see: David Hicks, *Tetum Ghosts & Kin: Fertility and Gender in East Timor*, 2nd Edition, Waveland Press, Illinois, 2004, p. 15; Elizabeth Traube, *Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual Exchange among the Mambai of East Timor*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1986, p. pp. 101-102; Tanja Hohe, 'The Clash of Paradigms: International Administration and Local Political Legitimacy in East Timor', *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, vol 24, no. 3, 2002; and, Martins' model of 'Ideal Tetum political organisation', in *Babo Soares, Branching from the Trunk*, pp .56–7.

[137] Geoffrey Hull, *Standard Tetum–English Dictionary*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1999.

[138] Laura Meitzner Yoder, *Custom, Codification, Collaboration, Integrating the Legacy of Land and Forest Authorities in Oecusse Enclave*, East Timor, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Yale University, 2003, pp. 77–80.

[139] Interview with Ricky Mendonca, Oxfam Community Organizer, Nanu, Fatumean, 7 September 2007.

Hence, from this quote at least, it would appear that being from a *liurai* family would provide a considerable advantage to those seeking a leadership position. In a similar way the following quote by former *xefe de suco* of Dakolo, Alfredo Mendonca, shows that while in a formal sense one system has been brought to a close, the continuing importance given to familial ties remains.

> Since the Indonesian era, that practice [of *liurai* inheriting authority] has ceased, and they just follow the government order, and now it continues like that. But they [the people] still respect the *liurai*, according to *adat*.[140]

That people in Nanu 'still respect the liurai' is anecdotally supported by the fact that the current *xefe de suco* of Dakolo is Alfredo's son, Venancio Madeira. However, given the ability to draw familial connections between a great many of the people in Nanu, we need to be careful in suggesting that in effect the *liurai* system has permeated and reframed the modern state system of local appointments. Either way, and important in terms of both community sustainability and security, Nanu appeared to have a strong and clear sense of leadership within the community with high levels of faith in the fact that local leaders were able to sufficiently fulfil their leadership responsibilities.

It is worth noting that leadership from beyond Nanu, namely at the government level, also appears to draw quite high levels of support. In response to Question 13 (1), 71 per cent of people also feel that government decisions and laws were good for the way people lived locally. Although 21 per cent disagree, this still appears as a very strong indication that many people see the work of the national government as relevant and beneficial to their community. However, when the less generalized question is asked as to whether people are satisfied 'with government services in your community' in Question 7 (1), the results are much more mixed. The answers are very evenly split between dissatisfied (37 per cent) and satisfied (40 per cent) with 22 per cent saying that they are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. However, this is a question that tests people's sense of services whereas Question 13 (1), which received more support, is interested in how people see the role of government more generally.

Sarelari

The leadership positions within Sarelari involve varying roles and responsibilities and represent different aspects of community life. Most leadership positions are held by men; however more women have come to take on leadership positions over recent years, particularly through the establishment of Oan Kiak, a local women's community group (further discussed under Small Business and Trade in the section on Livelihoods). There are catechists who are responsible for organizing and leading religious prayer sessions at the chapel each week, as well as youth leaders who help run events on national days and are sometimes involved in coordinating community projects. Teachers are considered leaders in the formal education system and husbands are the leaders or 'head' of each household. From observation however the most prominent form of leadership is found with the *xefe de aldeia* and *xefe de suco* positions.

The current leadership structure in Sarelari at both the aldeia and suco levels demonstrates a kind of fusion between two forms of leadership appointment, as can be found in other communities across Timor-Leste. Despite not receiving an income like other civil servants, both positions of leadership are recognised by the state. They receive state administered funds which cover the basic costs associated with their position and they are elected by their communities through state-run elections. However, both the current *xefe de aldeia* of Sarelari, and the current *xefe de suco* of Barikafa, are the sons and grandsons of former holders of the title. Indeed, traditionally leadership positions in Sarelari are determined by genealogy, in effect handed down through a blood line from father to son. Despite this obvious familial relationship, the *xefe de aldeia* explains how the traditional genealogy-based

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[140] Interview with Alfredo Mendonca, former *xefe de suco* of Dakolo from the early Indonesian era, Nanu, Fatumean, 10 September 2007.

Two elderly brothers sit together during a short interview about traditional customary practices in the community. These men play important leadership roles in the community as they hold positions as lia nain (literally translated as 'keeper of the word'). Sarelari, October 2007.

system has changed and now it is a modern system which is the key determinant in terms of leadership.

> In the Portuguese era we used a monarchy system, but now that system is not consistent [with the times], where it's whoever has the ability to lead can become a leader.[141]

In this instance we see a merging of customary or traditional leadership practices with the modern system of appointment based on merit. This kind of merging can be seen as answering both to the requirements of the modern state in Timor-Leste but also to the needs of the community to find people who they believe have the right qualities to lead.

One local narrative explains how seriously the community takes the idea of leadership being maintained from the 'right' family. The story goes that the local community leader was always chosen from the appropriate family, until eventually there was a case of someone from a different family being elected into the position as community leader. This resulted in conflict within the community. 'They punched each other, argued, and all kinds of problems appeared. Because the leadership of the community was not normal, not neutral.'[142] Eventually a more 'appropriate' person from the 'correct' family was elected back into the position.

Overall, the research in Sarelari seemed to produce a favourable impression of accessibility to local authority figures. In the case of Question 10 (1), 57 per cent of people in Sarelari indicated they were able to influence figures of authority in their community. Only 16 per cent of people felt that they could not influence their leaders and one-quarter of respondents preferred to take a middle position. This however is based on the assumption

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[141] Interview with Hilario Almeida, *xefe de aldeia* of Sarelari, Sarelari, Barikafa, 5 October 2007.

[142] Interview with Joaquim Preto, *xefe de suco* of Barikafa, Sarelari, Barikafa, 6 October 2007.

that people see it as being good or even important that they can influence leaders, which may not necessarily be the case. However, given that an identical number agreed in Question 11 (1) that *'decisions about the village are usually made in the interests of the whole community'*, with an additional 9 per cent expressing strong agreement, then it would appear that current leadership within the community receives quite high levels of support, at least in a general sense.

Similarly positive responses were obtained when people were asked about different forms of leadership from outside of Sarelari. The trustworthiness of outside 'experts' to help address local issues in Question 12 (1), and the suitability of government decisions in relation to local issues in Question 13 (1), were met with fairly high levels of positive response, namely 59 per cent and 69 per cent respectively. However, while on the one hand this may be understood in terms of people wanting to express respect towards *'ema boot'* (literally 'big people', or those in esteemed social positions), it is hard to gauge from these answers alone how people from Sarelari really see people from outside of their community in terms of leadership.

For instance, as with many rural communities in Timor-Leste, the state has a very low presence in Sarelari or the sub-district more generally, and the community is rarely visited by outsiders.[143] Hence when people are actually asked a more specific question about the government, such with Question 7 (1), which tests satisfaction levels of government provision of services locally, this issue returned the highest number of 'very dissatisfied' answers (28 per cent) for any question in Sarelari, with a further 40 per cent 'dissatisfied'. One possible way these findings could be presented is that in terms of leadership from beyond the community, such as that of the national government, people see that outsiders can potentially have a level of authority over local issues. However, that this does not stop many in the community from expressing dissatisfaction when these are seen as inadequate.

Luha Oli

The *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli was directly elected in 2003 for a term of four years. The *xefe de suco* of Uai Laha was elected at approximately the same time, and these two positions are the most important and influential in terms of making decisions that impact the daily lives of the community. At the next level is the sub-district administrator who reports to the district administrator in Baucau, with both of these positions being filled by the central government in Dili.

In terms of traditional leadership positions in Luha Oli, as in many communities across Timor-Leste, power and authority is passed down through family relationships. As one traditional leader in Luha Oli explained in an interview: 'my father was a traditional leader so as the son I have to follow his *adat*. During his time all of his family, his sisters and aunties, they all followed him. Then when he died he passed it on to me.'[144] Traditionally the most powerful is the *liurai* who is followed by others such as the *lia nain*. These people each have very specific responsibilities within the community often involving decision making and conflict resolution roles as well as ceremonial duties. Traditional leadership positions are exclusively reserved for men and the role of *lia nain* is also based on a hierarchy of age, hence they tend to be older members of the community.

Although useful for its simplicity and clarity, the explanation of leadership structures in Luha Oli provided above does not go far in helping us understand the dynamics of this community's everyday reality. The leadership positions that we see in Luha Oli, as in much of Timor-Leste, have been particularly influenced by Portuguese and Indonesian colonial rulers' efforts to incorporate and co-opt leadership positions into their foreign

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[143] Researchers from the Globalism Research Centre visited Oan Kiak in Barikafa in 2005 and 2006. On the second visit it was noticeable that the community's visitor book had had very few names entered into it in the intervening year.

[144] Interview with Antonio Lopes, lia nain, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 April 2008.

A local traditional leader, or lia nain, Luha Oli, July 2007

administrative structures. However, it appears that Luha Oli, like many communities in Timor-Leste, have drawn the new system into their prior understanding of power rather than the colonial system actually dominating. Thus the community in Luha Oli currently maintains their traditional social structures while at the same time overlaying that with modern-democratic principles. The result is that in effect a person can be democratically elected into a position that is seen as their birth-right. As discussed above about Nanu, community members in Luha Oli move freely between the terms *xefe de suco* and *liurai* and have no problem understanding that one person could embody two different forms of leadership.

In Luha Oli, the intersection between traditional and modern leadership structures appears to draw strong if not overwhelming community support. In response to Question 10 (1) *'I feel that I can influence figures of authority who are relevant to my community'*, 40.9 per cent agree that they could, followed by a further 9.1 per cent who strongly agree. While 15.2 per cent indicated neutrality with their responses, 12.1 per cent strongly agree while 21.2 per cent disagree, meaning that a total of 33.3 per cent of people express that to some degree they feel that they cannot influence their leadership. This should not necessarily be taken as a negative in that people may or may not see it as their right to influence leadership, especially under a customary system where decision making, at least in this instance, does tend to be concentrated.

Again however we do find a spread of responses to Question 11 (1) which asks people if they agree or disagree with the statement that *'I feel that decisions made about my life in my community are made in the interests of the whole community'*. A total of 2.9 per cent strongly disagree, 25 per cent disagree, while at the other end of the scale 41.2 per cent of respondents agree and 13.2 per cent strongly agree. Within the local structures it is not exactly clear which level of leadership people are discussing, and given that the surveys were done over a period of heightened social pressures more generally, including house

burnings in the area, there may have been higher degrees of dissatisfaction than might be the case at other times.

Of interest is that members of Luha Oli surveyed responded more positively in response to government leadership than they did about their own more immediate community. In Question 13 (1) asks if they *'feel that the government makes decisions and laws that are good for the way I live locally'*. The proportion who disagree is 4.4 per cent and those who disagree is 13.2 per cent, while 19.1 per cent of people neither agree nor disagree. However, 52.9 per cent agree that government does make decisions and laws for the way people live locally, with 8.8 per cent strongly agreeing. Only slightly reduced levels of satisfaction are demonstrated in response to Question 7 (1) which asks people if they are satisfied that government services in their community are sufficient (for example health, education, police, roads, water). A small proportion, 3 per cent, selected 'no opinion', 6 per cent are very dissatisfied, 17.9 per cent dissatisfied, and 19.4 per cent neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Those who said they are satisfied comprise 49.3 per cent of respondents, with a further 4.5 per cent very satisfied.

Golgota

In Golgota we find that the local leadership structures take on complex forms, both in terms of the designated roles of people within the community as well as the ways leadership cuts across both modern and customary forms. The most publicly recognized leadership position within the Golgota community is the *xefe de aldeia*. The *xefe de aldeia* is elected by the community and is there both to assist within the community and also to facilitate connections and contacts with other communities, organizations and institutions, including the state. In Golgota the *xefe de aldeia* has an office space in the local government building and his mandate is for four years. The current *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Domingos Maia, was one of five candidates to run for the position in 2003 and won 419 votes (almost half).

When asked why he ran in the elections Domingos explained: 'I wanted to become *xefe de aldeia* to develop my aldeia. To improve the lives of the community in aldeia Golgota.'[145] Domingos is very well known by the community in Golgota and can often be found walking through the streets, talking with people and collecting or distributing information about various programs. His tasks are largely administrative as he is responsible for collecting population data from the community and organizing and running community meetings. However he also helps implement community programs such as sports activities and health projects which are commonly initiated by government ministries or non-government organizations who work in the area.[146]

While it is common in many rural communities, as is the case in this report, that the *xefe de aldeia* and the *xefe de suco* tend to be elected from the descendents of *liurai*, *xefe de aldeia* Domingos Maia explained that Dili is distinctly different.

> In the isolated areas … if someone has a father who was once *liurai* or *xefe de posto* or *xefe de suco*, then that person will take the position [as *xefe de aldeia*] as their descendent. It can't be anyone else. But in Dili it's not like that. In Dili it's whoever is closest to the community, to the young people, he will be chosen.[147]

In the case of Golgota, Domingos is indeed not from a *liurai* family and none of his family members have ever held the position of *xefe de aldeia* or *xefe de suco* before him. However, we found that some community members in Golgota continue to use double terminology, often referring to the same position as both *liurai* and *xefe de suco*, something that was also common across the rural communities covered in this report.[148]

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[145] Interview with Domingos Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Golgota, Dom Alexio, 19 November 2007.

[146] At the time of conducting the field research there had recently been a volley-ball tournament in the aldeia. Also, the xefe de aldeia was disseminating mosquito nets to low-income families.

[147] Interview with Domingos Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Golgota, Dom Alexio, 19 November 2007

[148] Interview with Domingos dos Santos, Golgota, Dom Alexio, 21 November 2007.

The local government representatives office includes space for the Xefe-Suco of Comoro and the Xefe-Aldeia for each aldeia in Comoro, including Golgota, November 2007

The *xefe de aldeia* is the only leader who is directly elected to solely serve the community of Golgota. Other postions of importance in terms of local governance include the *xefe de suco*, who is also elected, as are the various representatives on the suco council. Given that one suco consists of several aldeia, these representatives work across a much larger population and are not as accessible to the general public. This was evident in that many community members in Golgota are familiar with the *xefe de aldeia*, saying they know him personally, while far fewer were familiar with the *xefe de suco*.

Beyond those elected to a particular position, the relatively developed infrastructure in Dili means that there are other formal leadership positions that are important to the residents of Golgota. In this sense, leadership is seen to include priests, nuns, teachers, doctors, nurses and police, all of whom work more generally in the area and Golgota residents may have contact with them for a range of reasons and as per a person's needs. These leaders are typically respected as having either particular abilities or access to resources, and are normally connected to a particular institution or organization which is publicly recognized, especially either the state or the church.

Finally, there are those leadership structures that we have classified in this report as customary-traditional in form. As leaders, these positions are informal and are not necessarily recognised by all within the community, especially in many instances where their leadership may only be recognized by people who come from the same birthplace or ethno-linguistic grouping. For example, there are several *lia nain* living in Golgota who as elders often called upon to help in wedding and funeral ceremonies, as well as some conflict resolution processes. There is also a traditional doctor who consults with people from Golgota and neighbouring aldeia about a range of health issues, often providing alternative solutions to those offered by the staff at the health clinic.

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It is important to note that these two systems—the modern and the traditional—do not sit in some stark contradiction with one another, but are in fact woven together in everyday life. As discussed in the section on health above, while doctors and nurses at the local health centre may have the best equipment and widest range of modern medicine, they are not necessarily the first people community members will turn to when they are sick. However, in an emergency, a patient will be taken to the doctors for treatment, even if the reasons for the illness are sought from *adat nain* at a later date to try to understand what has caused the illness. Moreover, it is important to see that there is interconnection and fluidity between the different leadership positions in Golgota, as teachers can also be *lia nain*, priests are also teachers, and the *xefe de aldeia* draws on *adat*, the church and the state to undertake his tasks.

When asked about community responses to figures of authority, there appears to be high levels of support for local authority structures. In response to Question 10 (1) where people asked to agree or disagree with the statement 'I feel that I can influence figures of authority who are relevant to my community', 0.8 per cent of respondents selected 'no opinion', with only 3.1 per cent strongly disagreeing and 10.7 per cent disagreeing. While 'neither agree or disagree' received a quite high 25.1 per cent, agree was 55.6 per cent and strongly agree was 4 per cent, meaning that 59.6 per cent of respondents feel that they can influence figures of authority relevant to the community. Even higher figures were received for Question 11 (1) which asks people to agree or disagree with the statement that *'I feel that decisions made about life in my community are made in the interests of the whole community'*. The total of those disagreeing amounted to a total of just 15 per cent (strongly disagree 5.4 per cent, disagree 9.6 per cent), with those neither agreeing or disagreeing at 20.3 per cent, while 57.9 per cent agree that decisions were made in the interests of the whole community, and a further 5.6 per cent strongly agreeing.

Even higher again is the proportion of positive responses to a question that seeks to understand the perceptions of people with regards to the impact of government decisions on their community. In response to Question 13 (1) members of Golgota were asked if they felt that the government makes decisions and laws that are good for the way they live locally. Again the level of 'no opinion' is very small at 1.7 per cent, the number of 'neither' responses reduced to 12.4 per cent, while 'disagree' attracted 9.3 per cent while strongly disagree 3.7 per cent. In contrast, 62.7 per cent of people agree with the statement, with another 10.2 per cent strongly agreeing. While these figures show a very high level of support for government decision making, at least in terms of those decisions that impact on the community, the level of support drops away very quickly when people are asked in Question 7 (1) if they are satisfied or not as to whether government services in their community are sufficient (for example health, education, police, roads, water). Only 1.1 per cent of respondents are very satisfied, and 22.3 per cent satisfied. Those who marked neither increased to 35.3 per cent, as did those who were dissatisfied to 28.5 per cent and very dissatisfied to 11.3 per cent.

Conflict Resolution

Nanu

In Nanu, almost 90 per cent of respondents either agree or strongly agree with the statement in Question 34 (1) that the means exists within the community to resolve local conflicts. Only 5 per cent disagreed with this statement. In discussions with the community about conflict resolution, people tended to emphasize the different roles of different people, such as family members, *xefe de aldeia*, *xefe de suco* and *liurai*, *adat* leaders, and suco council members. Figures such as police and administrators were discussed in a very secondary sense and only in instances where a conflict of some kind was beyond the means of the community to deal with it, especially for serious crimes such as murder. Some people in Nanu commented that once the subdistrict administrator becomes involved in resolving a conflict it is a clear indication that the community has been unable to resolve the issue

themselves. As indicated in the following interview excerpts, with the exception of what are generally referred to as 'serious crimes', involving the state in conflict resolution is very typically not the first course of action. First, from an elder member of the community:

> For things like fighting, that can be resolved by community leaders. Only for murder, they have to go to the police. For theft also, if it can't be resolved on the spot by the community leaders, if they're not satisfied with what the community leaders decide, it has to be taken to the police … Rape is also like that, if the community, traditional leaders, if the parties feel okay about resolving it through traditional leaders, okay, that's it. If not, one says this can't be done like this, then it has to be resolved through the police.[149]

And these views were further supported by the *xefe de aldeia*:

> If there is a problem, like people arguing, then the *xefe de aldeia* can resolve the problem inside the aldeia. But if the problem is like murder, then we can't resolve it … [I]f a husband and wife are hitting each other, then they will call me to help. If the problem is much bigger than that then they'll call the police, but if it's just normal like hitting each other, then it's me.[150]

Living in a small, close-knit rural community such as Nanu, disputants are very likely to be bound into sets of complex social relations. These relations cannot be ignored, or severed for that matter, and hence an enormous focus tends to go on seeking a solution and resolution to a problem. Within the community, mechanisms for conflict resolution include ensuring a supported dialogue between the parties to a conflict; invoking the authority of traditional legal belief systems; drawing from the legitimacy of other members of the community by involving them in the process; and emphasising ritual/symbolic reconciliation. The role of *adat nain* [traditional leaders who uphold customary law] is often vital in the act of conflict resolution in Nanu:

> Usually the traditional leaders would gather together, and work out who is wrong, who is right. Whoever is in the wrong is fined, and usually has to pay something. Then it's peaceful, and we drink wine together. The two parties in disagreement will drink a glass together … Murder would be taken straight to the police. We can't take responsibility for that, because it's someone's life. Rape has to be handled through *adat*. With the *xefe de aldeia*, *xefe de suco* and the families. Unless they can't agree, then it's reported to the police.[151]

The subsequent explanation from *xefe de aldeia* of Nanu reveals a well-established legal tradition that uses a financial or material sanction as a deterrent to conflict. However, as portrayed here, in Nanu the penalty is paid by both parties to the argument, irrespective of fault, and in fact prior to the finding of fault.

> They call together the two people who were fighting, everyone sits on a woven mat and the two sides each put out five dollars on the mat, and then the elders make a decision, who was right and who was wrong. [The money] is shared out between the elders.[152]

Although people consistently pointed out that crimes like murder are too serious to be dealt with at the local level, the *xefe de aldeia*'s recounting of a murder that took place in Haliknain in 2003 shows how there was very significant forms of overlap between traditional and state justice mechanisms. The case involved a man who murdered his wife in Nanu on the way home from their garden one day.

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[149] Interview with Jose da Costa, Nanu, Fatumean, 7 September 2007.

[150] Interview with Manuel Branco, *xefe de aldeia* of Nanu, Nanu, Fatumean 7 September 2007.

[151] Interview with Gilberto dos Reis, Nanu, Fatumean, 9 September 2007.

[152] Interview with Manuel Branco, *xefe de aldeia* of Nanu, Nanu, Fatumean, 7 September 2007.

> If that happens then the woman's parents will sit together with the man's parents because they have to pay. … [T]he price was six buffalo which his parents paid.[153]

The man served three years in prison after surrendering himself to authorities in Dili. However, a need to make the payment of the six buffalo as compensation to his wife's parents clearly was not negated by a prison sentence. In this instance, once both the prison sentence was completed and the appropriate local customary laws implemented, the man returned to Nanu and continues to live in the community.

On the question of gender and dispute resolution, from our observations and interviews with community members in Nanu it would indeed appear to be the case that those entrusted with formal roles in dispute resolution in the community are overwhelmingly men. As is more typically the case across Timor-Leste, men dominate formal positions of state down to the *xefe de aldeia* (which along with the *xefe de suco* are volunteer positions, though nonetheless seen as part of the extension of the state into local communities), and those responsible for *adat* are in cultural terms necessarily men. This however sits in contradiction to the answers given to Question 35 (1), which asks respondents to describe their level of agreement with the statement *'I think, now, women play an important role in the resolution of conflict in my own community'*. Interestingly, the responses gave the opposite impression to that gained from interviews and general observation of power distribution in the community. Two-thirds of respondents agree that women do play an important role, with an additional few expressing strong agreement. Only 15 per cent report any level of disagreement with the statement.

We cannot make any definitive claims here about how to interpret this positive response to perceptions of women's roles in conflict resolution . On the one hand, the high rate of positive responses to this question could be indicative of people responding in particular ways so as to ensure that their community is seen positively. In this instance, it is possible that people are aware of discourses relating to the role of women in society, and don't want their community to be seen to be contrary to that. On the other hand, it is also quite likely that how the question itself is being interpreted is giving rise to a problem in understanding. For instance, we think that what is possible is that women are seen as important to conflict resolution processes in Nanu, and that such a process is seen to encompass broader social units than the victim-perpetrator and those who actually undertake the mediation. Gender may be a key determinant in terms of different responsibilities, but this does not mean that women are unimportant to the process of conflict resolution.

Sarelari

An integral aspect of security as discussed in this report is the ability or otherwise of a given community to maintain conflict resolution processes that have the support of that community. In this regard people from Sarelari were as close to unanimous as might be possible to expect in expressing a very strong belief (according to results from Question 34 (1)) that *'the community possesses the means to resolve its own conflicts'*. Just 6 per cent do not either agree or strongly agree that conflicts could be resolved within the community. A range of interviews with community members in Sarelari reveals two key elements to how conflict resolution is understood. First, it is very much seen as a domain over which the community has primary control, and second the decision as to whether it can be resolved at the local level is determined by the issue's relationship with dual legal systems.

In Sarelari, a *lia nain* spoke very clearly about the distinction between the state and *adat* legal codes. State legal codes were seen to be the responsibility of for state authorities, particularly through the police, while *adat* legal codes needed to be handled within the community.

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[153] ibid.

> For problems that emerge, there are laws that are written, and there are laws that are unwritten. For the written laws, they are obviously handled by the police or by the courts. The unwritten laws are handled by *adat* [leaders]. So, for example, problems like that of murder cannot be resolved according to *adat*. For that we have to inform the police. For problems of land, or cutting trees, of buffalo eating rice fields, or theft of buffalo, resolution of these kinds of problems has to be through adat first. Usually we have to call the *adat* leaders of 'Party A' and 'Party B' together to resolve it according to *adat*. We first have to look at the relationship between the two parties to the conflict.[154]

The two systems have a very different approach to conflict, crime and punishment. One of the most prominent themes of the *lia nain*'s lengthy defence of *adat*-based conflict resolution mechanisms was the significance of familial connection.

> In Barikafa, we don't have any immigrants here, everyone is descended from the one person. So if a problem arises, we shouldn't report it to the police straight away … I think if we report it immediately to the police, between those two parties, they might say everything is fine, but in their hearts they will nurture feelings of revenge. And those bad feelings will remain in their hearts. So in the future, that can destroy [the relationship] between those two parties. So we look for a strategy so that the two parties will always have unity.[155]

Significantly, the community-based approach can and most often does include the *xefe de suco* and *xefe de aldeia*, but the sub-district administrator is seen as beyond the bounds of community.

> If we inform the sub-district administrator that means we are following the laws for criminal conduct … In Barikafa, there are indeed many problems that arise, but we resolve them in the family way ... We resolve them the traditional way. In order to do that, the three aldeia have to work together.[156]

The distinction between a *xefe de suco* and *xefe de aldeia* and for instance the sub-district administrator is clearly family, the former being seen as part of the familial-social structures while the latter is much more abstracted from this process.

Preference for managing conflict at the local level however does not always hold, either due to the seriousness of the crime, when crimes are committed across different suco, or when there has been a failure to resolve it at a local level. One case which has been taken to the sub-district level arose in 2003 and involved six stolen horses which were found in a neighbouring suco. However, members of that suco claimed that the horses were their own. Letters were exchanged between the *xefe* of each suco. Without a positive resolution between the two *xefe de suco* the conflict was taken to the sub-district level, yet according to the narrator, 'the sub-district couldn't resolve it either, so we sent it on to the tribunal but the problem still hasn't been addressed, the case is yet to be heard.'[157]

Another case recounted by the *xefe de suco* of Barikafa could not be resolved at the aldeia level but did reach a conclusion at the suco level. The issue involved a buffalo that wandered into a farmer's rice fields at night. The farmer was sleeping in the fields to guard against such incidents so when he saw the animal 'he grabbed a spear and killed the buffalo'.[158] The case between the farmer and the owner of the animal was brought before local traditional law in a process involving adat. However, when it was not resolved at that level 'the case was then handed over to the suco, then we resolved it in a public forum with

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[154] Interview with Lamberto Soares, Sarelari, Barikafa, 9 October 2007.

[155] ibid.

[156] ibid.

[157] Interview with Joaoquim Preto, *xefe de suco* of Barikafa, Sarelari, Barikafa, 6 October 2007.

[158] ibid.

the suco council, comprising community leaders and local traditional leaders'.[159] According to the narrative, both sides were satisfied with the outcome of the justice process which took approximately four to five hours to complete.

> The decision reached was that the owner of the buffalo had to pay for the damage to the rice field, eight hectares of it. Then, the owner of the rice field paid for the buffalo, cut it up and shared it among his family. [160]

In regards to gender-based violence, we feel that the matter would require much more research to get a clear understanding into what people regard to be violence (or otherwise). When the issue of gender-based violence within the community was raised in the process of research, participants claimed there was no problem with rape or domestic violence in Barikafa. However, one particular interviewee noted that if there was a problem of that nature, it would be handled in the same way as other crimes. First, it would be handled through adat, and if that failed to resolve the issue, the *xefe de aldeia* or *xefe de suco* could try to resolve it. In the event that those steps also failed, 'for whatever reason, then it can be taken to the police'.[161]

Perceptions of the significance of women's roles within the conflict resolution process are overwhelmingly positive, with results from Question 35 (1) showing that just under two-thirds of people agree that women play an important part of the process. One-quarter is non-committal and only 12 per cent disagree. This appears out of kilter with the reality that other than the suco council, formal leadership positions within Sarelari and Barikafa are dominated by men, both across modern and traditional leadership structures. However the sense is that women are seen as an integral part of the community and are in turn seen to fulfil various roles in the conflict resolution process. These will more than likely carry strong gender dimensions and divisions of roles, but it means that women are important to the conflict resolution process when it is treated as a social whole rather than breaking it into parts such as the victim, perpetrator, and those who have a specific leadership position.

Across this section our attempt has not been to argue for the merits or otherwise of conflict resolution system utilized by the Sarelari community, but instead to describe the character of those systems in terms of their key elements. In particular, what is seen to be important in Sarelari is the containment of conflicts and their resolution processes within local community, relying on local leadership structures in order to do this, and moving from traditional forms of conflict resolution to modern forms only when the first has failed or the crime is considered as very serious.

Luha Oli

The way conflicts are resolved in Luha Oli depends on the type of issues that are being confronted. Particular serious crimes, of which the most common example given by community members is murder, are dealt with through the formal justice system and involve local police. Crimes generally considered by the community as appropriate to be dealt with locally include: domestic violence, rape and other acts of violence such as physical fighting and burning down houses. Dealing with disputes locally in practical terms means turning to local leaders and traditional law to provide guidelines and wisdom. The following dispute resolution process has been collated from different explanations given in several interviews with community members in Luha Oli, giving a sense of how disputes might be resolved.

First and foremost the conflicting parties try to resolve their problem among themselves. If they cannot then one of the parties will take the issue to the *xefe de aldeia* who will act as a mediator. If this step fails then either the *xefe de suco* is asked to lead the process or

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[159] ibid.

[160] ibid.

[161] ibid.

local *lia nain* are invited to mediate. Once *lia nain* are involved they will call everyone in the community together and a ceremony is held during which the conflicting parties each have an opportunity to explain their version of events. A decision is made by the *lia nain* and agreed to by the conflicting parties who then must acknowledge their mistakes or involvement, ask for forgiveness and swear not to continue the conflict. Finally animals are sacrificed to strengthen the commitment to build peace and a law is made by the *lia nain* outlining the consequences if the pact is broken.

> Yeah, we here, to discuss a problem, we take [the lead] from our elders, people older than us. Maybe if we've already tried to resolve the problem but not succeeded, we'd call them. And for them to resolve that problem, they have to express what they express from *adat*. That [*adat* is] hard, you could say it's hard. So everyone trusts in that adat. From whatever is expressed in adat, we have to follow. If not, then later, the expression in Tetun is *hamulak* [to invoke ancestral spirits]. Like speaking to the magical *adat*, he/she [the person who ignores the adapt] can later become crazy, or be struck with illness. So we have to follow that. So we have to follow their instructions. So they conduct mediation. So that we ourselves must know, we have to take a particular decision, ourselves. Not them. But they [play a role as] mediators. Later, it's us ourselves who decide. So that's the beauty of it. Because everyone obeys *adat*. So we have to follow so that no differences appear. Even though there are differences, but if there's already a decision from the *adat* leaders, we can't violate that and we have to follow it. … Everyone has to acknowledge their mistakes. Both parties. That's OK, so that there's peace. Sometimes it requires killing a pig or a goat to make the peace. After that, it's finished.[162]

This process will be changed to fit the context of the dispute. However what remains consistent is the community's faith in traditional conflict resolution methods. People in Luha Oli repeatedly expressed their distrust of state justice processes and institutions explaining that 'if they report it to the police they're afraid because that doesn't use *adat* rules, but government rules. So then if you come back here the people won't accept the outcome.'[163] Hence, as with understandings of health and also leadership, *adat* continues to play a very important role with regards to how conflicts are resolved within or across the community.

A second feature of conflict resolution processes that intersected with the importance of *adat* is that it is leadership at the local level which is seen as vitally important. We believe it is not just that 'government law' is seen as inappropriate, but that this means potentially outsiders are involved in the dispute. The responses to Question 34 (1) indicate very strongly that people felt that the Luha Oli community had the means to resolve conflict. A total of 58 per cent of people agree and another 27.5 per cent strongly agree with the statement that the community has the means to resolve its own conflict, meaning that a total of 85.5 per cent of people responded positively to this question. In contrast, only 2.9 per cent disagree with the same percentage again disagreeing strongly, and those who answered with 'neither' is just 8.7 per cent.

A question that solicited a much different set of responses from Luha Oli residents is Question 35 (1) which asked people to agree or disagree with the statement that '*women play an important role in conflict resolution*'. Those who selected 'neither agree nor disagree' comprise just 4.5 per cent of responses and 'no opinion' is at just 1.5 per cent, together indicating that people's opinions were quite clear in terms of either being negative or positive. A clear majority agree with the statement, with 47.8 per cent saying that they agree, and another 11.9 per cent saying that they strongly agree. However, another 9 per cent disagree with the statement, with almost three times that (25.9 per cent) strongly disagree. The high rate of 'strongly disagree' is surprising to the extent that typically the

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162 Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

163 Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

more extreme answers in the surveys attract fewer responses (i.e. strongly agree or strongly disagree), though here more than a quarter of participants strongly disagreed, meaning that together a significant minority of 34.9 per cent of people disagree with the statement.

There are various points which could be extrapolated from this. On the one hand, the community leadership that is drawn on for conflict resolution is comprised entirely of males, such as the *xefe de aldeia*, the *xefe de suco* and the *lia nain*. Hence the negative responses may simply be reflecting the existing structure of male leadership by saying that whether appropriate or otherwise, 'women do not play an important part in conflict resolution'. However, the question is a broad one while here we are only focusing on the leadership aspects of conflict resolution. Therefore, if the process of conflict resolution is treated more broadly as a social act beyond the individuals who might be brought into mediate and help resolve it, then potentially women can be seen as playing an important role in a number of ways. Not only at times are women a part of a conflict, and therefore part of the process of its resolution, but also they can be seen as part of the consensus that may be reached in the resolution when that entails groups of people, such as families, to abide by decisions. These remain suggestions, and it is clear that further analysis is much needed as per the other communities in this report with regard to the role of women in conflict resolution.

Common forms of conflict in Luha Oli, as far as they were recounted, tend to concentrate on natural resources, such as land use.

> Yeah, often, often here it's because of land. Because of gardens also. Maybe because [a piece of land] has already been farmed for a long time, there's a border there. And this [other] person can start encroaching little by little [on the other person's land]. There are problems that emerge out of that.[164]

The *xefe de aldeia* explained that at least in part there are local laws that prohibit certain kinds of activities which in turn help negate opportunities for social conflict, including social compacts to control natural resources. With regards to trees in the area for instance, Ana Paula Guterres explained that there is a system in place to prevent them being arbitrarily cut down: 'There's a sign. It's forbidden. You can't just cut (trees) down wherever you.'[165] In explaining an instance where a prohibition over cutting down trees had not been respected, the *xefe de aldeia* told of how fighting broke out between members of different suco in the area, and the attempts to take it to the sub-district administrator resulted in the conflict being turned back to the suco level for resolution.

> And then from here we collected money, because there were lots of kids here injured, some to the point of bleeding … So we pooled some money to buy medicine to treat the people [victims of the attack] from Uai Oli. And we took a pig. And then, there was peace.[166]

The second way in which conflict can be seen to be prevented is the nature of social relations within the aldeia itself, as explained by the *xefe de aldeia*.

The main factor is that there are family relationships. There's adat, which really binds people [to each other]. So we can't violate that. If we violate that, it means we've already violated what we've promised to each other in the *adat* house. That's a violation and we can't do that. … If we violate it, it means we'll suffer the consequences. It doesn't mean someone will kill us but adat is even harder, like people here say if you don't go to church for ten years it doesn't matter, but if you don't obey *adat* just once, you'll get sick.[167]

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[164] Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, xefe de aldeia of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007

[165] Interview with Ana Paula Guterres, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

[166] Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, xefe de aldeia of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007

[167] Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

Being bound into a common community and a sense of knowing each other is clearly seen as important in terms of both containing and resolving conflict as seen here with the commentary on the crisis, with the opposite situation being seen largely as to blame for the violence.

> Because Dili is indeed a big city, but all Timorese citizens, from every part of the country, pour in there. Lots of people run to Dili. So the problem is right there. People don't know each other. And then people from lorosa'e, and from over there (loromonu) in Taci Tolu, people don't know each other… If we want to resolve a problem like that it's very quick. Much quicker than in Dili. In Dili it's much bigger. But if there was an issue like that here, very quick.[168]

Conflict that involves parties from beyond the area itself however appears much harder to resolve as there are fewer ways in which to mediate the conflict. The theft of sandalwood from the area in April 2005 provides one example of this, where a group came at night and stole sandalwood from the area. When the landowners tried to intervene by blockading the road out of Venilale, the thieves allegedly produced pistols and cleared the road blocks. The landowners then called ahead to Baucau and the truck carrying the wood was intercepted there. However, the theft has never been resolved, and it is assumed that it is because members of F-FDTL were alleged to be involved in the theft.

> They [the police from Baucau] came very early and took eight of us to Baucau. We went there and met with the district commander. The UIR commander and the F-FDTL. I said, oh, properly it should be the police who handle this issue. But the F-FDTL also was there… So I thought, that means this problem has been supported by the F-FDTL. Then, I myself said to the head of the security forces, 'Sir, in Indonesian times we were kicked, beaten, abused, by the Indonesian military. Bashed, killed, everything. Why, are we until now, still being threatened, what's going on Sir?'[169]

The victims travelled to Dili to make their case to the then Minister for Interior, and then also to Parliament. We understand that until now the issue of the theft has not been resolved and in all likelihood will not be.

Golgota

Given that Golgota is situated in a much more urbanized environment, and has better access to both public resources including the formal security sector such as police, military and the formal justice system, then it could be easily assumed that these would be more regularly drawn into conflict resolution processes within Golgota. However, in discussing how conflicts are resolved in the aldeia, there was a significant absence in discussions of the formal systems of law and enforcement. This does not mean however that the ways in which conflict is resolved is the same as in the three other communities discussed in this report. While there are some similarities, there are also some distinct differences that are partly due to Golgota being one aldeia in the much larger urbanized community of Dili.

In Golgota, the *xefe de aldeia* is both identified as and takes on the responsibility for initial attempts to resolve conflicts within the community. This means, and again in a similar way to Nanu, Sarelari and Luha Oli, that the local leadership structure is drawn on in a way that tends to try to keep both the conflict and its resolution within the aldeia itself. This appears to have a high level of support, as the vast majority of residents agree with Question 34 (1) which asked for them to either agree or disagree with the statement that *'where there is conflict in my community there are the means to find a solution within my community'*. Only 2.3 per cent disagree with this statement with another 3.1 per cent strongly disagreeing, only 0.6 per cent having no opinion, and a response of 'neither' register a relatively low 13.3 per

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[168] ibid.

[169] Interview with Duarte Antoni Ximenes Guterres, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

cent. However, 68.9 per cent agree and a further 11.6 per cent strongly agree (80.5 per cent in total) that Golgota has the means to resolve conflict that occurred within the community. Furthermore, resolving the conflict at the local level is not only seen as securing a good result, but also resulting in a fairer and more efficient outcome for the victim.

> Yes, not only more effective, going to the courts disadvantages the victim. He has to look for a lawyer, and then every day he has to check on the case, and waiting forever for the police to come and call him. But if it's a case like this then he's already a victim, already sustained a loss, so rather than burden him further, it's better to burden the perpetrator.[170]

A third similarity between Golgota and the three rural communities in this report is that there is a clear acknowledgment of the kinds of crimes or conflicts can be dealt with in the aldeia, and those in which need to be directed towards state authorities.

> Here, there are two kinds of problem that occur most often. The first is criminal, and the second is civil. People arguing over land, or young people, because of a girlfriend. But criminal cases, like murder, rape, I can't resolve them. Because this is criminal so I have to report it to the police, and it has to go to the courts. Depending on the victim. But for cases of arguments, because someone is drunk or fighting until someone is bleeding, I can resolve that in my own territory. For that, I involve the *adat* leaders (*lia nain*). In civil cases, I am just the moderator. But the *adat* leader makes the decision. But for criminal cases, we defer to the victim.[171]

This distinction, framed here between civil and criminal, allows for a qualification on the above statistics where 80.5 per cent of respondents feel that the community had the means to resolve its own conflicts, as in fact only some conflicts or crimes can actually be dealt with at that level. Also of note in this instance is that rape is seen as something that needs to be directed to state authorities, while in other communities this was a crime that could be handled by local leadership. However, in an interview with another resident from Golgota, sexual assault was in effect the basis of an example of how conflict has been historically managed in Golgota.

> An example is like when a girl and a boy are together, but one refuses and one forces the other. So one of them goes and tells their parents and the parents go and report it to the *xefe de aldeia*. Then they call the *xefe de aldeia* and the *adat nain* to sit together and resolve the problem between the girl and boy, to work out who was wrong, so then it won't turn into a big problem. Then the boy will have to pay the girl … pay like money or something … to the girl's family.[172]

In the quote above we find a further and very important point of similarity between the four communities, namely the involvement of *lia nain*. Participants identified that there were either four or five *lia nain* in the Golgota community who were at different times drawn on to assist with conflict resolution. Of interest here is that despite the substantial ethno-linguistic diversity of the aldeia, and given that many residents maintain significant connections to their own local *adat* systems in rural communities, there is still *lia nain* in Golgota that maintain significant authority.[173] For instance, the *xefe de aldeia* recounted a story about the theft of a goat from the aldeia in 2005 which gives a clear sense of the *lia nain*'s authority.

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[170] Interview with Domingos Henrique Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Golgota, Dom Alexio, 19 November 2007.

[171] ibid.

[172] Interview with Elisia Araujo, Golgota, Dom Alexio, 25 November 2007.

[173] As one respondent put it, they 'are all old so we will trust their decisions can satisfy both the victim and the perpetrator sides.' Interview with Domingos Henrique Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Golgota, Dom Alexio, 19 November 2007.

When he stole the goat from here, he took it back to his area, cooked it and ate it with his friends, drinking *sopi* [palm wine]. At that time, the *xefe de aldeia* from that aldeia came to me and said 'it seems we have a problem. One of our young people has stolen and eaten a goat from aldeia Golgota.' So I called the owner of the goat, because we had a problem, and the *xefe de aldeia* from over there called the one who stole the goat, and we sat down together, and we involved the *lia nain* as well. … He admitted he was guilty, we invited all the community from Golgota and Santan so they could see what the problem was, listen and resolve the problem. The youth was given a fine, one buffalo, two hundred dollars and two-dozen Tiger beer. So that it could feed all the community from both aldeia, Golgota and Santan. He was given that punishment so that in the future it doesn't happen again. He had to promise that he would never do anything like that again. And all the community see the example, so they know not to do what he did too.[174]

In response to the question of whether it has happened again or not the *xefe de aldeia* simply answered 'No, it hasn't. Because of the decision reached by the lia nain.'[175]

Again, as with rural communities, there was a very high level of agreement with Question 35 (1) which asks people to agree or disagree with the statement that '*women currently play an important role in conflict resolution in my community*'. A total of 66.9 percent agree and a further 9 per cent strongly agree. This is a very high rate of response, and the question was designed to stress the term 'currently' so as to at least mitigate against any tendency to project an idealized answer. Given that leadership positions with regards to conflict resolution processes are almost universally filled by men in Golgota, the high level of responses that indicate women are important in the process can perhaps be interpreted as emphasizing the sociality of conflict resolution, seeing it as an interconnected process that involves members of families and communities, and as such women. This is implied in the answer of one respondent when she was asked how women participate in conflict resolution processes.

They could say things to the *lia nain*, like they [the perpetrator] can't follow that custom, if they like a girl they must come through the front way, through the family … they can hear what the *lia nain* and *xefe de suco* have to say and they won't repeat what's happened in the future.[176]

Differences in the nature of conflict and the process of its resolution become quite apparent in discussions of the crisis. Beyond the initial conflict between members of F-FDTL and the petitioners in hills above Golgota, one of the largest sources of conflict is seen to be what are referred to by members of the community as 'martial arts groups', in essence groups predominantly made up of males who train in 'self-defence' techniques. Hence, in response to the question of whether conflict between loromonu and lorosa'e was a problem in Golgota, the following response was elicited.

I think that this problem was everywhere [the loromonu-lorosa'e division], but in Kampung Baru it wasn't really a problem. I am a lorosa'e person and am living here among mainly loromonu people and I didn't find any problems. But here was a problem between Seven [77] and PSHT, between martial arts groups.[177]

While some of the dimensions of the conflict between members from the martial arts groups was discussed previously in the 'Violence and Safety' section under Communities

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[174] ibid.

[175] ibid.

[176] Interview with Elisia Araujo, Golgota, Dom Alexio, 25 November 2007.

[177] PSHT stands for 'Persatuan Setia Hati Terate' which in English approximately translates to 'Loyal Hearts of the Lotus Plant'. When spoken, the group is often referred to as SH (pronounced S-HA). Interview with anonymous community member, Golgota, Dom Alexio, November 2007.

Remnants of a burnt out truck have been left on the side of the road since the violence of 1999, Golgota, November 2007

in Context, in essence the way it was described to us by members of Golgota was that it was largely between PSHT, including members in Golgota, and a group of 77 from a neighbouring aldeia, not more than a ten minute walk away. The attempts to resolve the conflict meant that there were additional layers of mediation where a kind of institutional intervention became necessary so as to draw the different groups together to ensure peace.

> There was an NGO, maybe from CRS [Catholic Relief Services], they came and bought a buffalo and goats, they gave money to the *xefe de suco* to buy meat so people could eat together and create peace. So now people from up the top and down here don't bother each other, they accept that there is peace.[178]

The actual ceremony that brought the groups together involved the local leadership from the area, but was held at the church and as such also had a local priest present. In addition to eating together, the leadership of the two groups 'sat together and talked' in an effort to find peace. Reinforcing this 'they did *juramento* [blood oath] so whoever causes more problems will have to pay like a fine … They did it according to *adat* Timor.'[179] The fine is a buffalo and pigs purchased by whichever group transgresses the agreement which will in turn be used to feed the other group.

Of interest here though is that while the ultimate sanction still seemed to remain with *adat* beliefs, it took other actors to intervene and bring the groups together, in this instance a modern institution in the form of a non-government organization together with the Catholic Church. Without other methods to draw the two groups together (for instance connections framed by genealogy, a belief in the same *adat*, an ability for the *xefe de aldeia* to speak together as in the example of the stolen goat above) then it required an organization that was both in effect neutral to each group and outside of each community to be able to

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[178] ibid.

[179] ibid.

negotiate a way to bring the two groups together, and to do so on the grounds of a church, typically seen as neutral.

While obviously there remains a strong sense that the community can look after conflicts that are wholly contained within its boundaries, when it becomes caught in broader conflicts and patterns of violence, then there are different ramifications. These include not only a greater complication in conflict resolution processes and a need for more resources, but that there is the possibility that existing local authority structures are also undermined, as the following segment of an interview from a member of a community demonstrates.

> *Interviewee:* Now, these days, if you call the xefe de aldeia or xefe de suco people don't really listen to them.
>
> *Researcher:* Why not?
>
> *Interviewee:* Because what the young people are doing is chaotic/at random (*arbiru deit*). The *xefe de aldeia* and *xefe de suco* can't resolve it.
>
> *Researcher:* People don't listen?
>
> *Interviewee:* They don't listen to what the *xefe de aldeia* and *xefe de suco* have to say. Because the young people now think differently, they want to do everything with anger.
>
> *Researcher:* We heard that sometimes in Golgota when there is a problem people call *lia nain* to help resolve it.
>
> *Interviewee:* Yes, before the crisis if there was a problem here we would always call the *lia nain* to resolve it. Before the crisis the *lia nain* were able to, but since the crisis the *lia nain* and the *xefe de aldeia* and *xefe de suco* don't resolve problems … If they want to try and they call the young people together, no one goes. They say, 'now the government isn't doing anything to solve things so how do you, the *xefe de aldeia* and *xefe de suco*, think you're going to be able to resolve anything'.[180]

Of particular interest in Golgota is that we see very similar attempts to replicate elements of the conflict resolution methods that are prevalent in rural districts. These are namely the tendency to attempt to resolve problems within the aldeia first, a division between different forms of crime, and the attempt to reconstitute social bonds between the victim and the perpetrator, and through that the community, in the ways in which the conflict is resolved. However, in Golgota the nature of the conflicts can at times be different, and the ability to secure a resolution then also appears to have to take on a new form including new actors and mediators.

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[180] Interview with Elisia Araujo, 25 November 2007.

Livelihoods

Introduction

Livelihoods refer to the ways and degree to which a community is able to produce and protect essential resources both in an immediate sense and for future generations. Being able to sustain livelihoods in effect means securing adequate food, economic opportunities, as well as those resources seen necessary to ensure an ongoing quality of life such as access to shelter, basic services and infrastructure. Given that much has been written above in relation to what services are available in each of the communities, as well as a sense of community safety and experiences of violence, this section focuses on two key aspects of Livelihoods: first, access to adequate food and water, and second, economic activity.

Even with a narrower focus on Livelihoods which concentrates on food, water and economic activity, there are various points of intersection with this report's more generalized themes of Community Security and Sustainability. As will be demonstrated below, to various extents all four communities experience high levels of food insecurity, one critical aspect in considering the overall levels of security experienced in these communities. In short, there is simply not enough food produced to ensure that people are adequately fed year around. Moreover, the amount of labour time that is required to produce food is very high, as is the time used for collecting water.

In regard to economic activity, the three rural communities in particular reflect very low levels of diversity in relation to forms of income generation. This we feel in some respects reflects the fragility of food production in that so much time is required by the process that to undertake other activities on a regular basis is difficult. Moreover, there is not enough food produced in the first place to risk attempting new forms of food production or income generation (for instance, there is inadequate stores of food to protect against failures of any new ventures), and even then there is rarely enough of a surplus produced to fund any basic infrastructure that would be required for such activities, from tools and materials to start production.[181]

To a slightly lesser extent in Golgota (Dili), there is a very high correlation between the labour of a group of people (typically a family) and their access to livelihoods, meaning that for a great many people they are responsible for their own food production. That said, it is important to stress the sociality in people's attempts to secure livelihoods, in particular food production. In effect, we have found that the high levels of livelihoods insecurity tended to be mitigated to at least some extent by the ability to maintain enduring forms of community.[182] For instance, extended families could be relied upon to work together in highly routined ways in order to secure daily subsistence, with a very strong sense of the divisions in the responsibilities along gender and age lines. In such circumstances, ensuring livelihoods under such insecure material conditions is primarily a collective endeavour that depends on strong organisational and cooperative skill sets that are held in place by those aspects discussed in previous sections which ensure the durability of these communities.

Agriculture

Nanu

When the *xefe de aldeia* of Nanu was asked what type of work people do in the aldeia, his response was simple: 'people work in their gardens, they plant rice, maize, bananas. That is

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[181] This element of risk we feel might need to be taken more into consideration when there is a frustration at a reticence of some people to try new agricultural techniques.

[182] Here it is important to make clear that it is beyond the means of this report, or the expertise of its authors, to comment on the appropriateness of agricultural methods in relation to environmental sustainability. Obviously deforestation occurs both near Dili (the hills running behind Golgota) as well as in different rural communities, and the lack of adequate energy infrastructure in tandem with a growing population means that this is likely to continue. Equally, different agricultural techniques, including the use of fire to clean gardens prior to planting can be seen as also having negative environmental effects.

their work'.[183] Agriculture is at the centre of people's lives in Nanu in terms of work, their relationship to land and family, and their need for the supply of food. Despite the centrality of agriculture, we believe that in Nanu the lack of food security is one of the most serious challenges to maintaining community security more generally. Huge amounts of labour go into food production, and indeed subsequent processes of food storage and preparation. Even then, there is still very often not enough food to provide an adequate basis for life.

The centrality of agriculture in Nanu can be demonstrated through two sets of important statistics. First, 96.5 per cent of households grow food in a garden and of that number over half have more than one garden. Second, when asked to identify the main place from which households source food, 96.1 per cent responded from their garden with 3.9 per cent saying from family members. Other options offered in the survey, such as from the market, shop or kiosk, had no marked responses at all.

While gaining an accurate picture of how much food is produced would take a very substantial study, it was possible to get a snapshot of which types of vegetables and fruit are most commonly grown, which are rarely grown and which are not available at all. The total number of food types grown by any one household in Nanu ranges from a minimum of just five varieties to a maximum of twenty-six. As an average, most often households in Nanu grow over ten different food types.

The following table shows the responses to Question Two (2), *'what types of food does your household grow?'*.[184] Participants were provided with a list of foods and were asked to mark the box next to each food type if they grow it in their garden (for example, the first row can be read as indicating that 98.2 per cent of households grow maize in their garden).

Food crop	Percentage		Food crop	Percentage
Maize/batar	98.2		Oranges/sabraka	29.1
Cassava/aifarina	90.9		Grapefruit/kulu	29.1
Taro/talas	89.1		Leafy greens/ modomutin	25.5
Rice/hare	87.3		Mungbeans/ foremungu	25.5
Papaya/aidila	87.3		Pateka	21.8
Tomato/tomati	83.6		Lemon/derok	20.0
Banana/hudi	83.6		Cucumber/pipinu	20.0
Pumpkin/lakeru	83.6		Lettuce/salada	14.5
Chilli/ai manas	80.0		Beans/koto	7.3
Red onion/liis mean	72.7		Kangkung	7.3
Coconut/nuu	69.1		White pumpkin/ lakeru mutin	5.5
Peanuts/forerai	69.1		Mandarin/tangerine	5.5
Sweet potato/ Fehuk midar	60.0		Cabbage/repolyu	3.6
Mango/haas	60.0		Carrot/senoura	1.8
String beans/ foretalin	56.4		Avocado/abakate	1.8
Pinneapple/ ainanas	49.1		Angiraun	1.8
Garlic/liis mutin	45.5		Potato/fehuk ropa	0
Kontas	43.6		Apple/masan	0
Eggplant/bringela	32.7		Uvas	0

[183] ibid.

[184] Several of the food types included in the table are not accompanied by a translation as we have not been able to identify the name of the fruit or vegetable in English.

Recently harvested coffee beans, Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007.

As well as food crops, 93 per cent of households also grow non-food crops, most of which are used personally by the family and some of which are sold. The most commonly grown non-food item is candlenut, a large nut encased in a tough shell. Once the shell is broken open, oil is extracted which can be used in perfume and other cosmetic goods. Of those who grow candlenut, 87.2 per cent of people sell it, often across the border to people in west Timor. Although there is a more easily accessible market for coffee than candlenut in Timor-Leste, of the 60.4 per cent of households who do grow coffee in Nanu, only 33.3 per cent actually sell their product.

The amount of labour time that goes into producing all the products mentioned above is high. Given that most of the agricultural work in Nanu is done by hand, it is not surprising to find that a cumulative 89.1 per cent of households responded to Question 5 (2) that they spent six or more hours per day working in the garden (16.4 per cent of households said they spend '6 hours' working in the garden each day, 23.6 per cent said '7 hours', 49.1 per cent said '8 or more hours'). These responses present averages however, as there are months during the year when farmers either spend much more time in their gardens (from August to December, with September and October as the busiest months), and at other times they are not very busy at all.

When asked in question 4 (2) *'who in your household spends most time working in the garden?'*, 80 per cent of the households who responded said that adult men do most of the work in the fields. The other responses in order of percentage results were: male youth (10 per cent), adult females (7.5 per cent), female youth (2.5 per cent). The division of labour in Nanu in terms of working in the garden is extremely gendered. A heavy workload is undertaken by men while women are often kept busy with a wider range of activities, among which farming is one.

It is important here to note the question asked who spends the *most* time in the gardens. While men may do more agricultural work than women, women still often participate. In

our time in Nanu we observed many women going to work in the fields, either together with their husbands or in groups of women. In a focus group discussion with several women from the community, one explained how her eldest daughter is left to look after the younger siblings while both parents work in the fields. In another situation, a young woman described how her mother sometimes takes her grandchild to the fields with her, holding the child in a sling on her back while she works. Interestingly neither young men nor young women feature highly as agricultural workers. This is assumed to be the case due to the absence of young people generally in Nanu rather than because a particular age group does not participate in the agricultural process.

Considering that almost all households are highly reliant on their own agricultural produce, and spend a lot of time tending to their vegetable gardens and crops, the importance of farming in Nanu is unmatched by any other form of livelihood. Given the dominance of agriculture in the community, serious concerns arise regarding the ability to generate food security. A massive 85.2 per cent of households claim they experience food shortages at certain times of year. Despite their dependence on farming and high labour input, most households are unable to maintain food security for twelve months each year. The following table from Question 13a (2) shows that the months of January and February are the hardest times for people to maintain food security in Nanu.

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
65.2	76.1	28.3	4.3	4.3	2.2	6.5	21.7	37	43.5	34.8	34.8

Given the dependence on agriculture for food in most households, it is perhaps not surprising that land tenure becomes one point of potential conflict. As one young woman in Nanu put it, land is 'important for people's everyday lives in Nanu … They need the land to make their gardens, to plant maize. They need a lot of land for their lives.' She went on to explain that each family have their own land and 'sometimes if there's not enough land people fight over it. They say 'this is my grandparents land', and someone else says 'this is my uncle's land'. This happens a lot, people fight over it.'[185]

It is possible that the agricultural techniques used by farmers in Nanu can place increased pressure on land use leading to potential conflict. So as to let the soil regenerate after two or three years of planting crops in one area, people move their gardens to a different site to make use of good soils. In other instances this may not be a cause for concern, however without clarity over what land belongs to whom, conflict can ensue. When asked how often these types of problems arise in the community a young woman said that 'it happens during the times when people are preparing the land for planting. Sometimes people start to clear other people's land, then there's conflict.'[186]

Sarelari

The general population of Sarelari is enormously dependent on the land for their livelihoods. A cumulative 98.6 per cent of households in Sarelari responded that they 'grow food in a garden' (Question 1 (2)). Of this, 75 per cent have one garden and 23.6 per cent have two or three gardens. This section seeks to understand what type of produce is planted by people in Sarelari, how much time is spent doing this work, and who does the majority of work in the garden. What we find is that a very substantial amount of work is put into agricultural production of a narrow range and limited amount of food and non-food items. This high level of labour time with relatively low production output of limited variety produces an intense vulnerability in relation to food security, and in turn puts at risk the ability of the community to achieve the basics necessary to live well.

Results from Question 2 (2), '*what food types do you grow in your garden?*', show that 95.8 per cent of households in Sarelari grow maize. In contrast, rice as an alternate staple is the eleventh most commonly-grown food, with only 59.2 per cent of households producing

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[185] Interview with young woman, Nanu, Fatumean, 9 September 2007.

[186] ibid.

it. Other food types planted by community members of Sarelari include: cassava, banana, pumpkin, coconut, taro, chilli, sweet potato, paw paw and string beans. Households plant between only one and twenty-eight different types of foods and on average most plant between nine and fifteen varieties. The following table for Question 2 (2) gives a full list of what is actually grown in people's gardens.[187]

Food crop	Percentage		Food crop	Percentage
Maize/batar	98.8		Angiraun	15.5
Cassava/aifarina	83.1		Lemon/derok	14.1
Banana/hudi	81.7		Leafy greens/ modomutin	25.5
Pumpkin/lakeru	80.3		Kangkung	11.3
Coconut/nuu	78.9		Mandarin/tangerine	9.9
Taro/talas	73.2		Pineapple/ainanas	7.0
Chilli/ai manas	71.8		Lettuce/salada	5.6
Sweet potato/ fehuk midar	70.4		Cucumber/pipinu	4.2
Papaya/aidila	69.0		Mungbeans/foremungu	4.2
String beans/ foretalin	62.0		Carrot/senoura	2.8
Rice/hare	59.2		Eggplant/bringela	2.8
Mango/haas	50.7		Pateka	2.8
White pumpkin/ lakeru mutin	49.3		Potato/fehuk ropa	2.8
Grapefruit/kulu	36.6		Cabbage/repolyu	2.8
Peanuts/forerai	28.2		Uvas	0
Red onion/liis means	28.2		Apple/masan	0
Garlic/liis mutin	26.8		Avocado/abakate	0
Kontas	25.4		Beans/koto	0
Leafy greens/modo mutin	21.1		Oranges/saburaka	0

The range of non-food produce grown in Sarelari is very limited compared to the wide variety of vegetables and fruit available. The answer to Question 3 (2) shows there are only eight different non-food items produced by local farmers, the most common being candlenut (78.8 per cent), betel pepper (63.6 per cent), betelnut (57.6 per cent) and tobacco (43.9 per cent). While candlenut is most often sold with the intention of eventual export, betel pepper and betelnut are both grown for sale and for use within the household. Betel pepper and betelnut can be chewed (but not swallowed), providing a stimulant effect which some people say helps them concentrate and work long hours in the garden. Bamboo and cotton are also grown in the area; however less than 50 per cent of households produce these items. A very small minority of households in Sarelari plant coffee and sandalwood.

In Question 5 (2) participant households were asked *'how many hours a day do people normally work in your garden?'*. The results show that 60 per cent of respondents usually work eight or more hours a day in the garden. Marginally shorter periods of time were also registered, with 22.9 per cent of respondents marking seven hours and a cumulative total of 17.1 per cent marking six hours or less. From these results we can see that agriculturally-oriented activities take up the majority of time for those who are responsible for tasks associated with planting and harvesting crops. It is literally a full-time job for someone at various times

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[187] Several of the fruit and vegetables in this table do not include a translation as we were unable to identify the English equivalent.

Rice fields in Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

of the year, and often a part-time job for many others who may have specific tasks during certain periods within a season.

These work hours, however, are not consistent throughout the year. There was a general trend found in Sarelari showing the last three months and the first three months of the year (from October to March) as being a high workload time. During these months it is not uncommon for people to sleep in their fields in order to minimize travel time and maximize their ability to work. During less busy periods, people travel daily to and from their gardens. When asked in Question 12 (2), *'how far is your garden from your house?'*, 48.6 per cent said less than a one hour walk and 22.9 per cent said less than a two hour walk, showing that for many people a considerable amount of time is spent walking to their main gardens. The garden furthest away from the main population centre was slightly less than five kilometres.[188]

The community's perceptions regarding division of labour in the field of agricultural work are clear. Question 4 (2) asks *'who in your household would spend the most amount of time working in the garden?'*. A clear majority of households (71.9 per cent) marked adult men as spending the most amount of time in the garden and we observed that in general men undertook the largest variety of jobs in the area of agriculture. In fact, in some instances the research team had to interview farmers in their fields as it was difficult to find them at home.

However, it is notable that 25 per cent of responses said that adult women do the most work in their gardens. This result may come from households without men, or where the man has another job so agriculture is the primary responsibility of a woman in the household. Equally it may represent instances where women simply do spend the most amount of time working in the garden. Either way, the number of women spending the majority of time in the gardens represents a very significant minority that counters any perception that 'agriculture is men's work'. Clearly agricultural labour is divided between the adult population, as households responded that only 1.6 per cent of female youth and 1.6 per cent of male youth spent the most time in the gardens.

Despite large amounts of time spent working in the gardens, 96.9 per cent of households stated that they experience food shortages at certain times of year, these shortages being

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[188] This was measured using a trundle wheel by Kym Holthouse, a Globalism Research Centre researcher.

particularly severe at the beginning of each year during January, February and March. While households marked October as the busiest month of the year, this was closely followed by January and February (following a cycle of planting, cleaning and harvesting gardens, especially for main crops such as maize) meaning that some of the busiest work months coincides with times where there is little food. The following table is from Question 13a (2) and gives a clear sense that in Sarelari the first months of each year are the hardest in terms of food production.

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
57.4	65.2	46.4	18.8	17.4	2.9	2.9	11.6	18.8	39.1	36.2	37.7

Farmers in Sarelari face a situation in which their high labour input does not produce the necessary output required to feed their families year round. As well as contributing to high levels of food insecurity, this situation creates tension in the community, particularly as access to land is highly sought after and land ownership highly contested.

Luha Oli

Subsistence farming is the primary way the people of Luha Oli make a living. Results from Question 1 (2) show that 97.4 per cent of respondents said that their household grows their own food. When asked in Question 15 (2), *'where does your household usually get their food?'*, 96 per cent said from their gardens with only 4 per cent responding 'from the market'. Other possible options such as shop, kiosk or extended family were not chosen at all. The staple crops in Luha Oli are rice and maize which take up the vast amount of farming land. However, according to results from Question 2 (2), all families produce other types of food in addition to the staple crops, with some families planting up to thirty-four different food types.

A vegetable garden in Luha Oli typically includes onions, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, chilli, garlic, cucumber, green leafy vegetables, pumpkin and cassava as well as a range of fruit such as bananas, mangoes, papaya and coconut. Most of these foods, once harvested, are directly consumed by the family with only some sold at the market (Question 18 (2)). The following table represents the answers to Question 2 (2), *'what food types do you grow in your garden?'*, by households surveyed in percentage order of the most to least commonly grown.

Food crop	Percentage		Food crop	Percentage
Maize/batar	92.1		Lemon/derok	56.8
Taro/talas	89.2		Lettuce/salada	56.8
Cassava/aifarina	83.8		Mango/haas	54.1
Banana/hudi	83.8		Oranges/saburaka	51.4
Sweet potato/ fehuk midar	83.8		Potato/fehuk ropa	51.4
Red onion/liis mean	81.1		Beans/koto	45.9
Rice/hare	75.7		Peanuts/forerai	40.5
Papaya/aidila	75.7		Eggplant/bringela	40.5
White pumpkin/lakeru mutin	75.7		Grapefruit/kulu	40.5
Pumpkin/lakeru	73.0		Mandarin/tangerine	37.8
Leafy greens/modo mutin	73.0		Pinneapple/ainanas	32.4
Chili/aimanas	70.3		Carrot/senoura	24.3
Garlic/liis mutin	70.3		Cabbage/repolyu	16.7
Cucumber/pipinu	67.6		Avocado/abakate	16.2
Coconut/nuu	64.9		Mungbeans/foremungu	10.8
String beans/foretalin	62.2		Apple/masan	10.8
Tomato/tomati	59.5			

Although food is the main agricultural produce, 91.9 per cent of households surveyed responded to Question 3 (2) saying that they also grow other non-food products. Candlenut is the most common non-food produced in Luha Oli, the oil of which is extracted and used for the production of cosmetics and bathroom products such as shampoo. Sandalwood trees are grown and the wood sold while bamboo is used to build houses. Betel pepper and betelnut are also commonly grown. Mixed together and chewed by both women and men, the betel is a drug-like stimulant and stains the chewer's mouth and tongue red.

Being a farmer in Luha Oli is an enormously time consuming job. When asked in Question 5 (2), *'how many hours each day are spent working in the garden?'*, over half of households surveyed (56.8 per cent) responded 'eight or more'. Often this was articulated by explaining that people leave the house at sunrise and come home at sunset. In an interview with one farmer they explained that because they spent such long hours working it is more convenient to stay in the gardens rather than return home for lunch.

> We take food to the gardens and cook it there and eat there. We take pots and plates from home. We take everything we need and prepare it there so we don't have to come back to the house during the day, we just return in the evening.[189]

However there are certain times of the year which are busier than others, for example January was marked as the busiest month by survey participants. However the period from November to March each year is typically considered a demanding time. Due to the intensity of the labour required during harvest time many farmers often sleep in small huts in their gardens for up to one week at a time. Unlike some other rural communities in Timor-Leste, a large number of households' gardens in Luha Oli are very close to their house. Results from Question 12 (2) show that 30.6 per cent of households said their garden is less than a five minute walk and another 25 per cent said less than a twenty minute walk. There were however two households who responded that the distance from their house to their garden is 'less than a one dayswalk' and one household whose garden is 'more than a one day walk' away.

Older men and women do most of the work on the land and this work is divided according to gender-specific tasks. Women most commonly plant crops and vegetables and also participate in harvesting while men are largely responsible for tilling the soil in preparation for planting. When asked in Question 4 (2) 'who spends most time working in the garden?', 68.8 per cent of respondents said adult males and 28.1 per cent said adult females.

While the above results suggest a clear gendered division of labour in the agricultural sector, this response only represents the community's sense of who spends the most time working in the garden and should not be taken to mean that men do all the work. In an interview with a community member in Luha Oli it was made very clear that she and her husband share the workload in their garden. When asked what sort of work she does in comparison to her husband the response was:

> I prepare the soil, clear up the grass and weeds and plant onions … He [my husband] also prepares the soil, plants cassava, he just does whatever needs to be done, he does everything … We work together, we help each other.[190]

This woman was very clear about the role women play in agriculture saying 'we [women] work hard. If we don't work then we don't have anything, the food in the household won't be enough'.[191] When asked to explain whether age impacts on a woman's involvement in agricultural work she responded, 'all women work, it doesn't matter how old they are, but if they have young children then they don't work in the gardens'.[192]

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[189] Interview with community member, Luha Oli, Venilale, 19 April 2008.

[190] ibid.

[191] ibid.

[192] ibid.

Farmers at work after harvesting their rice, Luha Oli, July 2007

Food security is a serious issue facing the Luha Oli community as the quantity of food produced each year is often not enough to feed the local population. A lack of cash means that when 94.7 per cent of households report experiencing food shortages at certain times of the year there is rarely the ability to supplement food supplies through purchasing items. As the following table demonstrates, results from Question 13a (2) show that between the months of January and March many families struggle, however some people reported difficulties as early as November each year.

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
77.1	80.0	71.4	57.1	28.6	5.7	0	2.9	5.7	2.9	14.3	14.3

Zeferino da Costa Guterres, the *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, expressed the reality faced by the majority of his community.

> People here, since ages ago, made a decision that they have to work hard in their own rice fields and gardens to establish their children's futures. Here it's hard … you just have to stay calm. If the rain is good like in previous years, then you can [survive]. But now there is not enough rain and there is drought.[193]

The tension caused by this situation is evident during discussions about land. Food security is closely related to people's access to land and it is common for conflicts to arise over land ownership and borders between properties. Such conflicts tend to occur when farmers seek to extend their gardens or need to move to a new plot of land to give time for the nutrients to build up again in the old plot of land.

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[193] Interview with Zeferino da Costa Guterres, xefe de aldeia of Luha Oli, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

Golgota

Despite being a community based in the capital city of Timor-Leste, agriculture is an important consideration when thinking about how people secure their livelihoods in Golgota. As a semi-urban community situated on the outskirts of Dili Golgota has large areas of open space, some of which is used for farming. In fact, this is a common scenario found in many communities on the fringe of Dili that are experiencing urban growth post-independence yet maintain areas of land used for gardens. In contrast, those living closer to the centre of the city in more built up areas have much less access to land for growing food near to their houses, though there are still gardens clearly visible interspersed by large ministerial buildings, army bases and the like.

In Golgota some families have cultivated food gardens next to their houses, others have used empty blocks of land left after buildings and houses were destroyed in 1999, while some have planted fruit trees and vegetables on unused land owned by the Carrascalao family. In fact, according to results from Question 1 (2), 38.1 per cent of Golgota households have gardens, with almost all of those households having only one garden (though two households reported having four to five gardens). This is a much lower percentage of households with gardens than seen in the rural communities we have visited (Luha Oli 97.4 per cent, Nanu 96.5 per cent and Sarelari 98.6 per cent), but still represents a significant proportion of people that rely to some extent on growing their own food in an urban environment.

The following table represents the food crops grown in Golgota gardens as recorded by those who answered that they had gardens. While the table demonstrates quite a wide range of food types it is frequently the case that only relatively small amounts of each are grown. As is the case throughout Dili, it is common for residents to plant maize (79.2 per cent of food-growing households in Golgota responded to having planted maize) with cassava, bananas and papaya also very commonly grown.

Food crop	Percentage		Food crop	Percentage
Maize/batar	79.2		Avocado/abakate	16.7
Cassava/aifarina	79.2		Mandarin/tangerine	16.7
Banana/hudi	79.2		Pineapple/ainanas	16.7
Papaya/aidila	72.9		Eggplant/bringela	16.7
Pumpkin/lakeru	45.8		Kontas	10.4
Mango/haas	38.3		Mungbeans/foremungu	8.3
Coconut/nuu	35.4		Red onion/liis means	6.2
String beans/foretalin	31.2		Cucumber/pipinu	6.2
Chili/aimanas	31.2		Rice/hare	6.2
Grapefruit/kulu	29.2		Pateka	6.2
Tomato/tomati	27.1		Angiraun	4.2
Oranges/saburaka	25.0		Potato/fehuk ropa	4.2
Peanuts/forerai	22.9		Garlic/liis mutin	4.2
Lemon/derok	22.9		Uvas	2.1
Taro/talas	21.7		Cabbage/repolyu	2.1
Beans/koto	20.8		Lettuce/salada	2.1
Leafy greens/modo mutin	18.8		Carrot/senoura	2.1
Kangkung	18.8		Apples/masan	0
White pumpkin/lakeru mutin	18.8			

While 38.1 per cent of households grow at least some of their own food, the majority of Golgota households do not primarily source food from household gardens. In Question 15 (2) 34.2 per cent of respondents reported that their main source of food is shops, with the same proportion stating markets. This was followed by household gardens (12.5 per cent), with the remainder of respondents saying that kiosks were the major place in which food was sourced (10 per cent), or from other family members (5.8 per cent).

Given that 38.1 per cent of people have gardens but only 12.5 percent responded that their gardens are the primary place for sourcing food, it would appear that for many people a garden is a way to supplement their diet rather than providing the basis for their food consumption. However, for others, having access to a garden in an urban domain remains critical to their livelihoods. For example, in a photonarrative interview with Francisco Moneiro, he explained as follows:

> There is lots about this photo, it's about the fire, vegetables and bananas. Planting vegetables helps us, especially as students because if we live in the mountains then it's not so difficult to eat, but here in the city we have to try and support ourselves. The fire is clearing the land in order to plant things.[194]

His comments give a sense of the lack of security that comes with not having a strong foothold in the cash economy, important in that this gives a sense of both the economic and social fragility that can be experience by those who move to Dili. In another photonarrative exercise, Rita Carvalho also took a photo of her food garden close by her house. A young mother, she stated simply the crucial importance of the garden:

> This is where we get food every day. Papaya and the vegetables that we need. It's important because this is our food. Everything in the garden we eat.[195]

An older man, Domingos dos Santos, related that his livelihood depends wholly on his agricultural labour:

> I have a garden so that I can plant maize and vegetables to eat. I have to do this because, like now, I don't have a job, if we have a job then we don't have to work in the garden.[196]

Domingos, like some other Golgota people, was using Carrascalao-owned land for his food garden. Other community members indicated that they do not keep gardens due to constraints, for example one young woman saying that her family does not grow vegetables because of limited water supply in the area.[197]

It would be easy to assume that the emphasis upon purchased food items in Golgota is related to the community's greater sense of comparative financial wellbeing, and that a lack of dependency on food crops may mean greater food security, at least in consistency of food levels. Moreover, food from across Timor-Leste is sold in Dili markets, meaning that if food is scarcer from one district there is greater chance of it being complemented from elsewhere.

However when asked *'do you experience food shortages at certain times of the year?'* in Question 13 (2), a very considerable 73.8 per cent of households answered 'yes'. As the following table demonstrates, while a high proportion of people reported food shortages, this was experienced at lower levels across more months than in rural communities.

Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
16.9	12.9	19.4	11.8	29.0	10.8	20.4	26.9	19.4	12.9	16.1	16.1

[194] Photonarrative interview with Franciso Moneiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007.

[195] Photonarrative interview with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007.

[196] Interview with Domingos dos Santos, Golgota, Dili, 21 November 2007.

[197] Interview with young woman, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

The original intent of this question was to see if food shortages in rural areas have a flow-on effect in the capital. However, in terms of the residents in Golgota at least, the above table does not appear to reflect this.

There are several other possible reasons for why three-quarters of people suggested that they experience food shortages and that this occurs with greater evenness across the year. One factor may be that those months where food shortages appear to be the highest (May, July, August, and September) may be related to lack of seasonal produce for those households that have gardens as these are typically drier months. However, given that only 38.1 percent of households have a garden in Golgota, and that only 12.5 per cent of all residents reported that their garden is the primary place from which they source their food, then this would appear a marginal factor.

Given the fairly even rate and the high proportion of households that experience food shortages, it may be better to consider that this actually represents that many households do not feel financially secure to the degree that they are able to buy enough food on a regular basis. In simply asking when people experience food shortages, this survey did not then try to understand the degrees or the level of shortages. Hence, we could speculate that while people in communities such as Sarelari, Nanu and Luha Oli experience acute shortages at particular times of the year, it is possible that in Golgota there is food available on a more regular basis, but for many people there is a sense of insecurity in that they cannot purchase an adequate amount.

One last reason for both these results could be that people were responding to the question in terms of recent experiences. As these surveys were done across the end of 2007, answers could to some degree reflect the more particular food insecurity born from the crisis. This is especially the case as these months do approximate with some of the worst periods of the political upheaval and violence of 2006, including near the community and the destruction of the Comoro market, the largest of three Dili markets closest to Golgota.[198]

There are other key differences worth noting between the communities of Sarelari, Nanu and Luha Oli, on the one hand, and Golgota on the other, in relation to agricultural activities. It is clearly evident that even for those in Golgota who have gardens, in general, the time and labour commitment is not of the same level of that of the rural communities discussed in this report. For instance, in terms of the amount of labour time consumed by local agricultural activities, answers to Question 12 (2) showed that for 68.8 per cent of households with gardens people only need to walk for five or less minutes from their homes. Moreover, labour times in the gardens are generally low. Responses to Question 5 (2) showed that nearly half (43.8 per cent) of the households with gardens work there less than one hour and 25 per cent of households spend between one and two hours in the garden per day. This is likely to be related to the fact that food sources for most households are varied, gardens tend to be small, and some community members are engaged in other forms of labour. However six households, or 12.5 per cent of households surveyed with gardens, spend at least eight hours per day on garden labour. Question 14 (2) showed that in Golgota the months of November to February are the busiest in terms of agricultural labour.

For those Golgota households with gardens, only 10.3 per cent sell some of the food items produced which is again considerably less than across the other communities discussed in this report (Question 18 (2)). Most commonly-sold food items are in turn the most commonly-grown foods: cassava, bananas, grapefruit and maize. Non-food items are only grown by a small proportion (12.7 per cent) of Golgota households (Question 3 (2)). These items include betel pepper, coffee, betelnut, bamboo, candlenut, cotton and sandalwood. For those households that sell food and non-food items, this is primarily done locally with 35.2

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[198] A further way in to helping to understand this result would be to survey so as to understand what food shortages actually mean to people and the levels of food actually available, though this was well beyond the capabilities of this project.

per cent of households selling in local markets, 29.4 per cent selling their goods on the street and 23.5 per cent selling to neighbours (Question 19c (2)).

Finally, in terms of understanding who spends the most amount of time in the gardens, results from Question 4 (2) show that 53.7 per cent adult males spend the most time working in the garden, followed by 26.8 per cent adult females, 14.6 per cent male youth and 4.9 per cent female youth. These figures indicate less adult male labour and more male youth labour than in Sarelari, Nanu or Luha Oli, perhaps reflecting a higher percentage of young males in the community available to do such work.

Livestock and Cattle

Nanu

Farming animals is an extremely common form of livelihood for people in Nanu. Almost every single household visited during the field research phase of this project responded 'yes' when asked if they keep livestock (98.2 per cent). Of households who keep livestock 100 per cent confirmed they own one or several pigs. Second on the list are dogs and chickens both at 87.3 per cent, followed by cows with 43.6 per cent, goats 42.8 per cent, buffalo 29.1 per cent and horses 23.6 per cent. Some of these animals, in particular dogs and chickens, are left to roam freely around the house and sometimes through the village. Pigs, however, are kept in an enclosed area often built using wood and bamboo and situated a short distance from the rear of the house. It is common to see cows, buffalo, goats and horses being shepherded through bush land or towards a water source as well as often being left to search for food on their own. These larger animals are usually branded with a mark identifying their owner.

There are a range of reasons as to why people in Nanu farm animals. Animal meat is highly valued so they are often slaughtered with their meat cooked for special occasions, such as a meal with visitors or a celebration. The results from Question 7 (2) concerning which livestock people keep to eat shows that pigs and chickens are by far the most common animals kept for this reason. Equally, it is pigs and chickens that are the most commonly traded animals with results showing that all households who keep pigs also trade pigs, and 86.5 per cent of the households who have chickens also trade chickens.

As with food, keeping animals, even for sale, does not typically improve people's security. When a household indicates in a survey that they farm a particular animal in order to sell them, this does not necessarily suggest that they have a regular cash income from this type of business. On the contrary, in many circumstances animals are sold at irregular intervals and for particular purposes, such as when the household requires some extra money to pay for something urgently.

When asked which animals they keep for customary purposes, households in Nanu responded with six different animals. The most commonly kept were pigs, then goats, cattle, buffalo, chickens and finally horses. Pig meat is frequently used for meals during simple gatherings or important ceremonies. For example, while the research team was in Nanu, there was a group of men working together to build a new house. At lunchtime each day women would present lunch consisting of rice and pork as well as water and coffee.

Finally, a small number of animals are kept for the purpose of assisting with work tasks. Horses are used as transport for people as well as heavy loads. Farmers often take dogs to the fields where they chase away wild pigs or other unwanted animals disturbing the crops. Cows and buffalo are also used to help till the fields to prepare the soil for planting. However, as many households do not own cows or buffalo these animals can be rented for work during busy times.

It takes three adult men to coax this angry buffalo along the main road in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

Sarelari

The livestock and cattle farmed by households in Sarelari, such as pigs, cows, horses and chickens, are very visible around the community and in the areas beyond residential housing. All households from Sarelari who participated in the survey process reported that they keep livestock. In Sarelari there are nine different types of livestock raised. The most commonly-owned animal is the chicken, with 97.2 per cent of households raising this poultry stock. Following this, 93.1 per cent of households kept pigs and 88.9 per cent kept dogs for both security and for eating. These three animals were by far the most common, with other animals such as buffalo, horses, cattle, cats, goats and fish (in order of highest percentage of households who own them to lowest) being kept by less than half the population.

Question 7 (2) asks *'which livestock do you keep to eat?'*, and once again chickens, pigs and dogs are the most common, with 97.1 per cent of households farming poultry for household consumption, 62.9 per cent keeping pigs to eat and 45.7 per cent keeping dogs for the same reason. Chicken meat is culturally appropriate to serve as a meal for special visitors and, along with dog meat, is also eaten by family members at regular mealtimes.

Pig meat is largely consumed during special ceremonies, particularly traditional ceremonies for events such as rebuilding graves, building a sacred house or during a funeral ceremony. For example, during a grave-building ceremony which was attended by many members of Sarelari over the period in which we undertook field research, all main meals consisted of rice, maize and pig meat. Besides this there were small amounts of vegetables served as well as sweet biscuits (both bought and home-made) which were offered with tea and coffee.

In addition to this, 95.8 per cent of households responded that they keep livestock for customary purposes. Question 10 (2) asks *'which livestock do you keep for customary purposes?'*. 88.4 per cent of households keep pigs, 53.6 per cent of households keep chickens, 47.8 per

cent of households keep buffalo and 46.4 per cent keep dogs. In addition, cows, horses and goats are less commonly kept for customary purposes. Buffalo and horses are the two animals mainly kept for the purposes of working. Buffalo are used to help till the soil in order to prepare for planting crops and horses are used to transport people and goods.

Luha Oli

Livestock is an important part of people's livelihoods in Luha Oli as the animals which are kept are used for a wide range of purposes. In general, families prefer to have several types of animals rather than concentrate their efforts on developing a large quantity of one breed. According to results from Question 6 (2), all households who participated in the survey keep animals and the majority have between four and five different types of livestock while some keep up to eight varieties. The most common were chickens, pigs, goats, dogs and horses.

Animals such as goats are left to roam freely around the village. Chickens are either tied up with a piece of string around their foot or left to wander within the vicinity of their owner's house. Pigs are kept in simple wooden enclosures where they are fed maize and other leftovers from the household's meal. More people own dogs than any other animal and these are kept for security purposes as well as for meat. Dog meat, along with pig, chicken and buffalo meat, is consumed particularly during special ceremonies such as weddings, funerals or traditional ceremonies.

Buffalo are used not only for their meat but also for ploughing the fields. Horses are kept in particular for travel and helping to carry heavy loads. All the animals mentioned above are also farmed for trading purposes, chickens being the most commonly sold animal.

One community member described problems regarding theft of animals saying that 'they [the thieves] steal things at night time; no one comes to steal things during the day … They steal chickens, dogs, pigs, goats, always at night time.'[199] She went on to explain that thieves often work in groups and therefore people are scared to intervene even if they are aware of what is taking place. The thieves are thought to both eat the meat of the animals as well as to sell them for cash: 'It's happened here at my house. They've stolen chickens, dogs. They haven't stolen pigs or goats yet. Oh wait yes they have, they've stolen two pigs and three dogs and more than ten chickens'.[200]

Golgota

With more than one-third of Golgota households surveyed keeping gardens, and more than 85 per cent keeping livestock of some form, it is particularly apparent that living in the outskirts of the capital does not mean that somehow people's livelihoods suddenly are wholly sustained through a cash economy or through formal employment. In the case of Golgota at least, what we see is a layering of social life in regards to livelihoods, where income and cash generation activities are far more important than in the other communities, but households still maintain significant agricultural activities related to their own food production.

This is particularly the case in relation to livestock, in fact much more so than in regards to agricultural production. In response to Question 6 (2), 85.7 per cent of Golgota households keep livestock of some kind. Chickens, pigs, dogs and goats are the most common animals owned by Golgota households. Large livestock are only kept by a very low proportion of households (buffalo 3.7 per cent, horses 2.8 per cent and cattle 1.9 per cent), reflecting how in a much more urbanised domain people appear to keep much smaller animals.

As responses to Question 7 (2) showed, the most prevalent reason for keeping livestock of all kinds in Golgota is for food, with 73.8 per cents of households keeping livestock to eat.

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[199] Interview with community member, Luha Oli, Venilale, 19 April 2008.

[200] ibid.

Chickens, pigs, goats and then dogs, in that order, are the most commonly raised and eaten animals. As with the rural communities, animals are also kept for a range of other reasons. Over half (50.4 per cent) of households keep livestock for trading purposes, particularly pigs and chickens. In addition, 60.8 per cent of households cited that they kept livestock to fulfil customary responsibilities, with pigs and goats the most commonly kept for this purpose. Also both cats and rabbits were observed by researchers during the field research in Golgota, and these animals were mainly kept as pets. The rabbits in particular were imported from Indonesia, kept in cages and were a small business experiment by a family who hoped to eventually breed and sell them in Dili.

Water

Nanu

It is very common to see people moving about Nanu collecting water or congregating around various water sources. Children with plastic containers and groups of women going to wash or carrying clothes often move between their houses and one of five different water sources identified in the main Nanu-Haliknain area. Some of these sources are natural springs, some are points where water spilled from a pipe, while others had been built using cement and a tap. In 2005 Oxfam provided Nanu with a much-improved water infrastructure, piping water from an underground mountain source across the valley and bringing it to two outlet points near each end of the village. Prior to this, water was accessible from wells (filled in by the departing Indonesians) that frequently dried up, or lengthy visits to the river which entailed journeying down to the river at the fold in the valley, a round trip of three and a half kilometres taking around an hour. The installation of a pipe that transports water from a source in the mountain range across the valley has thus drastically reduced the time needed for water collection. Women and girls were observed to shoulder the bulk of water collection work, but occasionally young boys were also seen making trips with containers to carry water.

At the time of the fieldwork, due to a break in the pipe water was not reaching the two purpose-built outlets, located at either end of the village. Instead, water was being collected from the point of the break at the northern end of the village. Although no doubt a cause of some inconvenience, this location was still within ten minutes walk from the furthest dwellings, a vast saving in time and labour compared to the situation before the pipe was installed.[201] The piped water does not entirely eliminate the need for trips to the river as those who have large livestock such as cattle, buffalo and horses continue to water their animals at the river. These trips were apparently the responsibility of men as the primary caretakers of large animals.

Not all the water sources were available for use all of the time and some sources tended to be used for specific purposes. For example, the most free-flowing water source at the northern end of the village was commonly used to bathe and collect water for households. However, the dirtier water sources were used less frequently and for tasks such as washing kitchen utensils and clothes.

Brijida Mendonca is seven years old and often collects water together with her friend Felisidade, ten years old, who lives across the road. Brijida's family commonly collect water twice a day with two people making the trip together, each carrying two five-litre bottles. On 10 September 2007 two researchers accompanied Brijida and Felisidade, measuring distance and time, as they went about their usual water collection routine. It took approximately eight minutes to walk along the main road to the water source which was 533 metres from their houses. It then took five and a half minutes to fill up four bottles with water as there was no-one else collecting water when the group arrived. The whole process covered a time span of over twenty-three minutes and a distance of approximately one kilometre.

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[201] Distance and time measured by a Globalism Research Centre researcher.

This was the furthest distance and longest amount of time recorded for water collection out of the four water mapping exercises completed in Nanu. In the same way as agricultural production takes a great deal of effort, the collection of water also absorbs labour time that could otherwise be spent on a range of other activities from the social through to education and forms of income generation. In the instance of Brijida above, her family lives quite close to a regularly-available water source, but still spends around two hours a day collecting water (two trips of two people per day), a time that does not include for instance the making a fire and boiling water to drink. The nature of water collection is also like food production in that it is so constant that even if there were opportunities for involvement with longer-term development and poverty reduction activities, it is difficult for people to be involved due to the constant day-to-day needs of carrying water.

Sarelari

The central area of Suco Barikafa is well-serviced by water pipes, with 12 water sources identified. Some of these are relatively new and regularly accessed, while others are available as a back-up if there is a problem with the main pipeline. Since 2005, the distance travelled to obtain water has been greatly reduced by provision of a number of community water outlets by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as made evident by a large sign detailing the project. The outlets are connected to a pipe bringing water from underground springs and other than in the event of a damaged or broken pipe (which did occur while we were undertaking this field research) the supply is reportedly more or less constant. Main water-gathering duties fall to children and women and the outlets at times appear to be points of social interaction as people wash themselves and their clothes.

Six water mapping exercises were undertaken in Sarelari by the research team. These exercises involved accompanying community members as they routinely collected water, measuring the distance and time used to complete the activity. According to results from

A mother washes dishes while her children bathe at one of the public water sources in Sarelari, Luro, October 2007

these exercises, the furthest distance travelled to collect water was approximately 330 metres from the house to the water source and the total time required to complete the task, including travel time and filling up water containers, was approximately fifteen minutes. Immediately after the water mapping exercises were completed, a problem arose with the water pipe system so that many families were required to travel further distances than usual in order to collect water.

Luha Oli

There are several natural water sources on the outskirts of Venilale which provide water via pipes to various water collection points, including to some residents of Luha Oli. These typically provide plentiful water during the wet season. However, water supplies from these sources either diminish during the dry season, or do not provide any water at all, forcing people to carry water from further away during this time.

Given the seasonal nature of water supplies, water collection patterns in Luha Oli not only vary between households but also across the year. The time taken, frequency of the activity and division of labour depend on the location of the household in relation to the water source, the members of each household as well as accessibility of water during certain times of year. However, in Luha Oli collecting water tends to be a regular daily activity undertaken by all households, as seen in the 100 per cent positive response to Question 20a (2), which asked 'do you need to carry water to your house?'.

In terms of frequency, a large majority of those households, 68.4 per cent, said they have to collect water 'more than once a day' while 18.4 per cent said 'once a day' and 13.2 per cent said 'once every few days' (Question 20b (2)). In Question 21 (2) households were asked to indicate an approximate length of time that it takes them to collect water. For 78.9 per cent of residents in Luha Oli, it takes less than thirty minutes to get water. For some, however, this is a much more time consuming activity, with 15.8 per cent of households responding 'less than one hour'. Several households also responded 'less than two hours' and others 'more than two hours'.

Approximately one-third of households (34.2 per cent) said in response to Question 23 (2) that only one person is involved in getting water. The remaining two-thirds said that several people travel together to complete the task. This result broken down shows that 26.3 per cent said two people collect water, 13.2 per cent said three people and quite a large number, 24.3 per cent, said that four or more people are involved in getting water for their household.

In response to Question 24 (2) which asks *'who usually collects the water?'*, Luha Oli men were considered to be more highly involved in water collection activities than women as demonstrated by the following statistics: 65.8 per cent saying that water collection is undertaken by male children, 50 per cent said male adults, 44.7 per cent said male youth, 28.9 per cent said female youth, 21.1 per cent said female children, 21.1 per cent said female adults. Researchers observed several people using home-made wooden carts with wheels to transport many empty bottles to the water source where they were filled and taken back to the house in one trip. This style of water collection, as opposed to carrying one or two bottles and making several trips, was mainly undertaken by men.

Golgota

'Water is difficult here', stated Golgota resident Rita Carvalho.[202] While all households in the other three communities need to carry water to their houses, a still-considerable 69 per cent of Golgota households collect and carry water, and 80.5 per cent of those collect water more than once a day.

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[202] Photonarrative interview with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007.

Golgota households have varied forms of access to water sources. Many houses are connected to the public water system via narrow piping. Often this piping is not directly connected to houses, rather running up to the house with residents needing to collect and carry it inside. This public water system was reportedly extended to the newer parts of Aldeia Golgota via a World Bank scheme in 2001.[203] Community members related that this source of water tends to be unreliable, with heavy demand on the system resulting in poor water pressure and water flow ceasing entirely if there is no electricity in the area.[204]

Other households do not have the public water system running to their houses; rather they collect water from common public sources, which can at points involve considerable waiting times.[205] Many households that are connected via piping to the public water system still find they periodically need to supplement this water supply with collection of water from these other public sources. For example, resident Rita Carvalho related an instance of the water piping system being shut down for one week due to over demand and piping leaks. Her family and many other households walked to the Dom Bosco compound to collect water, and needed to share this water source with the many refugees living in the compound at the time.[206]

Due to the limitations of public water access in the area, some households have taken the measure of digging wells, building tanks and installing hand or electric pumps.[207] In one photonarrative exercise, community member Franciso Moneiro had taken a photo of a large hole. He related how he and neighbours had become so frustrated with the public water access that they were putting money together to establish their own well and pump. Apparently he took the photo 'to show that the government has not come to look after the people here … All of us have difficulties accessing water so we had to work together to solve our problem so that we can get water, because the government hasn't come to help us.'[208]

For those households that need to collect water, 64.4 per cent of households need less than 30 minutes per day for this task, as compared with 95.3 per cent, 78.9 per cent and 72.7 per cent of Sarelari, Luha Oli and Nanu households respectively. For 17.2 per cent of Golgota water-collecting households, it takes over two hours to complete this task—a much higher result than the other communities, with only 2.6 per cent of Luha Oli households and no households from Sarelari and Nanu requiring this length of time. This may be related to population density causing waiting times at water collection points as well as the slowness of filling containers from the piping systems. The task of collecting water is largely determined by gender in Golgota, as it is the primary responsibility of female children to collect water in 41.1 per cent of households, followed by 39.1 per cent of adult women.

Small Business and Trade

Nanu

As discussed in the 'Agriculture' section above, people in Nanu largely make a living from subsistence farming. This means that there is a lack of cash flowing through the community and it is rare to find a family with disposable income. Due to these circumstances, most

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[203] Golgota water mapping exercise no. 1, 10 July 2008; and Golgota water mapping exercise no. 4, 12 July 2008.

[204] ibid.; Photonarrative interview with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007; and Photonarrative interview with Francisco Moneiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007. Another issue in Golgota relating to water is drainage. During the rainy season, much of Golgota can become flooded and dirt road areas bogged. During the research period in November 2007, researchers encountered houses that had flooded inside.

[205] Golgota water mapping exercise no. 2, 10 July 2008; Photonarrative interview with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007; and Photonarrative interview with Franciso Moneiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007.

[206] Photonarrative interview with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007.

[207] Golgota water mapping exercise no. 3, 10 July 2008, Golgota water mapping exercise no. 5, 12 July 2008, Golgota water mapping exercise no. 6, 12 July 2008, and Photonarrative interview with Franciso Moneiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007.

[208] Photonarrative interview with Franciso Moneiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007.

trade is focused on essential items. Both consumable and non-consumable goods are available. Some are produced locally such as fresh vegetables, while other goods, such as canned and packaged foods, are imported largely from Indonesia.

In terms of the sale of locally-grown fresh produce within the community, this is largely done through informal arrangements rather than at an established market. In Question 19c (2), households were asked *'how are the food and non-food items you grow usually sold?'*. According to the results, 25.6 per cent responded that they sell their produce 'on the street' and 17.9 per cent responded with 'sell to neighbours'. These statistics describe the practice whereby families place their produce out the front of their house and neighbours or others from within the community may come and purchase it.

 Within Nanu there is no central trading area or market. Instead several families run small kiosks which are set up at the front of their houses throughout the aldeia. Typically a kiosk sells products such as: oil, sugar, salt, canned tuna, rice, coffee, tea, sweetened condensed milk, noodles, biscuits, toothbrushes and toothpaste, shampoo, anti-mosquito cream or coils, cigarettes, matches and candles which are all imported from Indonesia. Although 96.1 per cent of respondents said they get most of their food from their garden, a large number also bought food regularly from the kiosks to supplement and vary their diet.

The very small population of Nanu means that trade opportunities within the community are severely limited. Hence people look for opportunities to trade between communities, especially via markets. Of the 45.5 per cent of households who responded that they sell some of the food they grow, 74.5 per cent said they sell their food at a market in another sub-district with 59 per cent answering that they sold some of their food at the local market. For residents of Nanu, the biggest market closest to them is actually in the neighbouring sub-district of Fohorem. This is often preferred above the local market in Fatumean as it is much larger and therefore attracts many more people.

Goods available at the market in Fatumean range from fresh locally-grown agricultural produce to a range of products identical to those found in kiosks. Also on sale are domestic items such as cutlery, pots and pans, soap, shampoo, buckets and cleaning materials. Second-hand clothes are often bought in bulk in Dili and re-sold at the market. The most common products sold by people from Nanu both at the markets and within their community include: bananas, tomatoes, red onions, maize, pigs, chickens and candlenut.

Trade at the markets in Fatumean and Fohorem is manageable because they are still accessible by walking, although this limits the quantity of goods people are able to transport for sale. People in Nanu were interested in trade at the busiest market in the district, namely in Suai, however there are critical obstacles to participating in this market. One community member explained that 'the hardship is from the state of the road. We want to look for our daily bread, we want to sell things but vehicles hardly ever enter. Whatever products the community wants to sell, the difficulty is that vehicles never come.'[209] The issue of transport has a high impact on trade opportunities for people in Nanu. Simply put, the cost of transport from Nanu to Suai is so high that it cancels out any potential profit farmers could make by selling their produce at the Suai market.

Sarelari

The kiosk is a very common form of business in Timor-Leste. Kiosks are typically small, family-owned, found in both urban and rural communities all over the country, and are often built into the front of a family's house. In Sarelari there are several kiosks, all of which sell the same types of products, such as rice, noodles, oil, sugar, salt, coffee, tea and biscuits, most of which are imported from Indonesia. Non-food items are also sold including candles, matches, cigarettes, simple footwear, toothbrushes and toothpaste.

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[209] Interview with community elder, Nanu, Fatumean, 7 September 2007.

The few kiosks found in Sarelari tend to be situated very close to the home of the family that runs it. However there is one exception, notably a large kiosk which has been set up and is run by a community based group called Oan Kiak, whose members are drawn from the three aldeia that make up Suco Barikafa. Literally translated, Oan Kiak means 'poor or orphaned child', however in more general terms the phrase is used to refer to 'the poor people of Timor'. This name was chosen because when the group was initially established, they 'had nothing, just the people'.[210]

The secretary of Oan Kiak explained that the kiosk together with staff was set up with assistance from Concern Worldwide on 7 February 2003.[211] As a group Oan Kiak is focused on working with women, however there are also a small number of men involved. When Oan Kiak first began 'here were thirty-three people who wanted to be involved. However after about one year some people didn't want to be involved anymore so now there are twenty-four women and five men.'[212] Since 2003, the group has received training in literacy, numeracy and basic business management.

> Many of us didn't attend school when we were young, some didn't finish primary school. So we can only read and write a little bit, we just try. No one in our group finished junior high school or senior school. We came together as a group of women who didn't really know how to read and write but we have a leader, a secretary and a treasurer and we organise ourselves so that our group can run well.[213]

The group does indeed run very well and is an example of the potential for further cooperative-style small business development in the area. The members of the group share the workload using a rotating roster. 'We are divided into four groups, six in each. There are twenty-four women in total and they swap; each week a different group is in charge of running the kiosk.'214 Every year the profits from the business are counted and shared equally among all members. There is also some money put aside for emergencies so that group members may take out loans with one per cent interest if they are facing a challenging time financially.215

Most of the goods sold at the kiosks in Sarelari are bought from the weekly market in Subdistrict Luro. This market is the closest resource for residents of Sarelari who buy or sell fresh produce and also offers the greatest range of non-consumable items. However results from the questionnaire show that people in Sarelari tend not to depend on the market for their daily needs. In response to Question 15 (2), 'where is the main place you get your food?', a large majority of 84.4 per cent of households said from their gardens. Only 12.5 per cent mainly get their food from the market and 3.1 per cent from a shop.

In terms of trading locally-grown produce, less than half (47.8 per cent) of the households who participated in Survey Two stated that they sell some of the food that they grow. The most common foods sold by Sarelari residents are banana, cassava, chilli, pumpkin, sweet potato, taro and mango. Only 29.4 per cent of households said they sell the major staple crop, maize, suggesting that this crop is mainly grown for private consumption. Indeed in some houses stocks of dried-out maize are visible in the wooden rafters. These stocks are used throughout the year to supplement the fresh vegetables from the garden. According to results from Question 19 (2), the most commonly-sold, locally-grown non-food produce are betel pepper, candlenut and betelnut, followed by tobacco.

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[210] Anna Trembath and Damian Grenfell, Mapping the Pursuit of Gender Equality: Non-Government and International Agency Activity in Timor-Leste, The Globalism Institute, RMIT University, August 2007, p. 52.

[211] Interview with Teresa de Jesus Fernandes, Sarelari, Luro, 8 October 2007.

[212] ibid.

[213] ibid.

[214] ibid.

[215] Trembath and Grenfell, p. 52.

Of the households who sell the food and non-food products they grow, 66.7 per cent stated that they most often do so at the local market. For residents of Sarelari, the closest market is in Luro which, travelling from Sarelari, is less than a one hour walk. However the return trip is uphill and takes approximately ninety minutes on foot. Some households reported selling produce to neighbours (23.1 per cent) and others said they sell on the street (10.3 per cent), often by setting up a small stall outside their house and selling to passers-by.

Animals are also a very common item traded by people from Sarelari. Of the 98.6 per cent of households who said they keep livestock for trade purposes, 94.1 per cent said they trade chickens and 83.8 per cent trade pigs. Other animals that are traded included dogs, buffalo, horses and cows however these are less common.

Taken together, it is possible to see a range of significant hurdles facing people in Sarelari in terms of maintaining food security. While agriculture is by far the dominant labour activity in terms of the production of livelihoods, those in Sarelari still do not produce enough in order to sustain themselves without hunger for a full year. A great deal of time is used to travel to and from people's gardens. Even while sourcing water is relatively reliable and located close to people's homes in Sarelari, the cumulative amount of time used for water-related tasks over a longer period remains significant, especially when time needed to build a fire and boil the water is factored in.

Further, the opportunities to earn income from agricultural production remains extremely limited, not just due to the fact that there is a very small amount of excess crop grown, but also because of a lack of access to markets. The effects of each of these elements spirals outwards, putting pressure on other key aspects of community security, such as time spent on developing education and literacy, health both in terms of access to services but also the physical impact of continuous labour work, and living standards within homes affected by a lack of cash circulating through the economy.

Luha Oli

There is not a high level of cash flow in Luha Oli and what small business transactions there are mainly occur via the twice-weekly market in the sub-district centre of Venilale. Traders come from all of the eight suco in Venilale and set up stalls or lay a mat on the ground in the government designated market area. For residents of Luha Oli trade in locally-grown agricultural products is most common with 81.1 per cent of respondents selling some of the food that they grow, including: onions, garlic, chili, cassava, pumpkin lettuce and maize. According to Question 18 (2), of the people who sell food, only 23.3 per cent sell the rice that they produce.

Many more food items are sold than non-food items. However still over half of the households surveyed responded that they also sell non-food items. The most commonly sold non-food products are betelnut and betel pepper, followed by bamboo and sandalwood. All respondents said they sell their produce at the local market in sub-district Venilale. For most people their trade activities depend on the harvest and whether they have a surplus or not, thus people do not necessarily sell their produce all year round or even regularly.

There is also a section of the market for imported goods mainly sourced from Indonesia such as cutlery and crockery, plastic toys, canned and packet foods. There are only two people from Luha Oli who trade in non-locally produced goods at the market. They both run small businesses selling second-hand clothes which they purchase in bulk in Dili in order to re-sell in Venilale.

There is a high level of women's participation in trade at the market in Venilale. There are also other women trading goods in markets beyond the sub-district boundary. For example, one married woman with children trades locally-produced agricultural products in Dili. She explained that local farmers sell their vegetables at the market in Venilale where she buys

approximately forty to fifty dollars' worth of goods at once. She then takes these vegetables by mikrolet and bus to Dili where she stays for five days at her relative's house, selling each day at the market in Taibesi. She said her family does not sell any of the rice or vegetables they grow themselves.[216]

Another example of people's livelihood coming from small business is families who set up kiosks, often out the front of their houses. Brigida Guterres and her family run a kiosk from the front room of their house. They largely sell products imported from Indonesia which are then transported to Baucau where they are purchased in bulk by small shop owners. Brigida explained in an interview that her husband travels to Baucau on a weekly basis to buy stock for their kiosk such as noodles, oil, sugar, salt, canned tuna, coffee, biscuits and cigarettes.

Golgota

That the Golgota community reported a much higher degree of financial wellbeing than Sarelari, Nanu and Luha Oli suggests that there is a level of income security attained by at least certain sections of the community. In part this comes from better opportunities for small business and trade with larger markets to sell to and with better infrastructure. However, such activities remain quite limited and are typically undertaken in or near the home.

In Golgota, a number of families own and run kiosks, either out the front of or in close vicinity to their houses. One woman spoke about operating her kiosk for about five years. She says she only brings in enough to pay for her family's food and schooling as there are a number of kiosks in the area selling a similar range of items which in turn limits her own sales. Catholic Relief Services (CRS) helped her to establish the kiosk and provided training with running it. She explained that CRS periodically lends the kiosk owners small amounts of money, such as fifty dollars, which enables the kiosk owners to replenish stocks. Each week kiosk owners pay back a small amount until the full amount is repaid and then they may borrow again.[217]

Despite the relative prevalence of kiosks, the impression in Golgota is that they provided quite a low level of financial security. As with the kiosk owner above, a different Golgota resident talked about how his kiosk brings in very little profit, basically only enough to buy food and pay for schooling. He buys goods in bulk from large shops in the Colmera shopping area in Dili and re-sells with a small profit margin.[218] Other than kiosks, researchers noted that there was a small business that fixes flat tyres on motorcycles and bicycles, another common business in Dili more generally given the comparatively large number of motorcycles in use. Other informal businesses mentioned by community members include: women washing clothes, cooking and looking after children for other families; selling of goods (vegetables, oil, wood) on the street including through the use of mobile carts; and clothes-making and alterations.[219]

The security crisis, particularly acute during 2006 and 2007, seems to have had varied impacts upon small business and trade in the Golgota area. In some ways it severely affected the livelihoods of some small business owners and their families. One community member talked about her family's two kiosks being burnt down during gang clashes.[220] Another community member described how he could no longer run his clothes stall after Comoro Market was burnt down.[221]

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216 Information from informal conversation with community member.

217 Interview with Elisia Araujo, Golgota, Dili, 25 November 2007.

218 Interview with Anacleto Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

219 Photonarrative with Francisco Moneiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007; Photonarrative with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili; and Interview with female community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

220 Interview with Elisia Araujo, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007.

221 Interview with Anacleto Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

A kiosk in Golgota selling firewood and a range of other household goods, mainly imported from Indonesia, June 2008

The crisis also changed for a period of time the nature of small business and trade in the area as people adapted to new circumstances. For instance, given the influx of refugees at the Dom Bosco complex, many people set up shops within the camp to sell items to refugees staying there. A small vegetable market also built up along the road leading to Dom Bosco during 2007, which was also aimed at the refugees staying there. These vegetable sellers moved on as people started returning to their homes.

The largest business operating in Golgota is the Carrascalao family-owned and run luxury apartment complex. This relatively new complex has been designed in a Balinese resort style and is enclosed behind large walls. Discretely located, it is designed for well-paid expatriates who wish to live beyond the busy city centre, providing long-term secure accommodation as well as facilities such as a small restaurant, pool and gym. It is closed to the public.

Waged Employment

Nanu

There are very low levels of employment opportunities available either within Nanu or in nearby communities. In Nanu there is one public service position, namely the *xefe de aldeia*, who receives a very small wage from the government (the position is not considered full-time). The small numbers of other paid positions, such as teaching in the primary school, are often filled by people from other local communities.

There is a small range of jobs available in Fatumean more generally, often through some form of state employment. For instance, in the sub-district centre, people may work with the national police force (PNTL), border patrol unit (BPU), or as teachers at the high school, nurses at the clinic, administrators in the District Administrator's office and cleaners and cooks who service the buildings and staff of some of these institutions. Outside of selling goods in the markets there is very little evidence of other employment opportunities. There were no businesses to speak of, and the closest non-governmental organizations would typically be based in Suai.

For those seeking employment, either for a shorter period or for the longer term, some try to find work in regional centres such as Suai. With a population of 18,376, Nanu is no competition for Suai in terms of variety and demand for waged labour.[222] When community members commented that their family had moved away from Nanu, it was invariably for one of three reasons, namely marriage, education or work.

Sarelari

There is currently no-one from Sarelari with full-time waged employment who is continuing to live within the community. In fact, long-term waged employment is difficult to obtain anywhere within the sub-district of Luro. Options are typically limited to four professions including working as a nurse, police, teacher or administrator who supports the school or the sub-district administrator's office. Local government representatives, namely the *xefe de suco* and *xefe de aldeia*, receive financial support for their work in the community. However, this money represents a compensation for costs, as from the state's perspective these positions are in fact voluntary.

Hence, in terms of formal employment, typically the few opportunities for ongoing paid work come via the state, or on occasion through the Church, such as at the nearby private Catholic School. Even in some of these cases, such as with teachers, there is no guarantee that the jobs will be filled by people from the community. There is no major business or industry in the area in which people from Sarelari can participate to supplement cash income. Hence, by and large money is made either from the small amount of trading at markets or from short-term job opportunities which are project-based or seasonal in nature. During harvest time it is possible to obtain work helping to harvest other farmers' crops. In terms of projects, people were being paid to assist with the construction of the *xefe de suco* office.

Again we see how one possible dimension of livelihood production flows through to affect other aspects of community security. For instance, the lack of job opportunities based within the community is creating a human resource issue for local agriculturalists. Young people are increasingly moving away from Sarelari in search of waged employment. Although those who obtain employment often send money home to their families and continue to visit, they are almost always choosing to live in urbanised centres where their employment opportunities are more varied and long-term.

This puts pressure on those left in Sarelari who are forced to make some difficult decisions in terms of the division of labour. Young people who would have at other times taken over the responsibilities of tending garden from ageing adults are no longer as readily available. By the time children graduate from primary school they have generally already taken on substantial responsibilities within the family. As there is no easily-accessible high school in Barikafa, parents must often choose between their children's education and the valuable contributions they make to domestic and agricultural work. This is a typical kind of dilemma faced by a community experiencing low levels of community security, being forced into making choices that pit short-term needs such as food production against the longer-term opportunities for education. As it stands, neither are providing a clear benefit over the other, meaning that a cycle of risk and insecurity continues to permeate major aspects of how people live in Sarelari.

Luha Oli

There are minimum opportunities for waged employment within sub-district Venilale. The most common occupations include teachers, nurses and police. According to Zeferino da Costa Guterres, the *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, two members of the Luha Oli community work in the formal sector however are stationed outside the community as soldiers in the national

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222 National Statistics Directorate, *Timor-Leste Census of Population and Housing 2004: Atlas*, National Statistics Directorate within the Ministry of Planning and Finance, Timor-Leste Government, 1st edn, Dili, September 2006, p. 26.

military (*Falintil-Forca Defensa de Timor-Leste*, F-FDTL).[223] Although they no longer live permanently in Luha Oli they continue to financially support family members and maintain strong connections with the community.

Within Luha Oli there are sometimes short-term government work initiatives such as the '$2 a day' program. This program employs local residents to fix and clean up the grass and debris surrounding main roads. It has come to Venilale three times and Luha Oli residents have participated together with people from surrounding aldeia.

Seasonal work is often available during harvest and planting times as some farmers cannot do all the work themselves because they have too much land so they give work to other farmers. This work is mainly done by men, however on occasions where people need labourers to plant rice seedlings then women are also employed.

Golgota

While still limited there are comparably more employment opportunities within the local Golgota area than in the rural communities. The Dom Bosco secondary college and training centre run by Salesian priests does hire some residents to help with program implementation. For example, one woman's husband teaches computers to young people who didn't finish school, and he supports his extended family on this wage.[224] The Carrascalao family owners of the long-term luxury apartment compound in Golgota claim to employ around forty local hospitality and grounds staff, and had up to 120 local men working to build the complex when it was established. Current staff include some Dom Bosco graduates such as electricians. Also the Salesian sisters' Centro Formacao was being extended at the point of field research, and the sisters had employed locally-based young men to undertake the building.

Other people leave the area to undertake jobs in other parts of Dili. For example, one woman described in an interview how her husband works driving large road-making vehicles for a private company.[225] Although few, there are also skilled professionals living in Golgota including high school, primary school and kindergarten teachers as well as police and nurses. Some temporary work was available during the crisis largely aimed at unskilled labourers and involved government-funded clean-up projects.[226] However, some community members also commented that travelling to jobs in other parts of Dili presents physical risks and induces fear. For example, Anacleto Carvalho commented:

> The crisis has been very difficult for us, the people, because we need to look for money but it's extremely difficult to look for work, there's no work. Like before we went to participate in a cleaning-up project but when we try and come home there are people throwing rocks, it's very difficult, it's not calm.[227]

As with the other communities, though to a lesser extent, waged employment is a very secondary way of securing livelihoods due to the limitations on finding such opportunities.

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[223] Information provided by Zeferino da Costa Guterres, xefe de aldeia of Luha Oli, Venilale, December 2007.

[224] Photonarrative interview with Rita Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 27 November 2007.

[225] Interview with Indonesian woman, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[226] Interview with Anacleto Carvalho, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[227] ibid.

Movement

Introduction

Movement in this section is concerned with the regular journeys people make both within and beyond their immediate communities.[228] Any reasonable length of time spent observing the four communities examined in this report reveals considerable movement within the residential settlements, and gradually decreasing movement spanning out from the communities. Travel beyond an immediate familial cluster of houses tends to be undertaken in a highly routinized fashion for reasons of necessity and to secure livelihoods. That is, there appears to be little travel of significant distance that is spontaneous or for recreational purposes. For example, examination of movement patterns across the three rural communities suggests that longer distances of travel are typically undertaken to access goods and services in urban centres, while in Golgota (Dii), people seemed to move beyond the immediate community primarily to work or study.

Movement is particularly important for understanding community security. It helps us to understand the limits on how people are able to move, access services and trade goods, and gives us an overall sense of how people interact with the community in a spatial sense. Movement beyond the immediate environs appears to be limited by both material conditions—poor roads, expensive and limited means of transport, substantial demands on time—and a perceived sense of security that diminishes greatly beyond the known local community. With material constraints meaning that longer-distance travel can be particularly difficult if not at times impossible, the impact on community security can be high by reducing for instance access to services (both in terms of those that can be provided to a community, and those in which could be accessed in other communities), as well as limiting the ability of people to secure their livelihoods by through the sale of produce.

All communities tend to appear to experience a lack of security—whether the threat perceived or actual—in moving into areas inhabited by unknown peoples. The research across the four communities suggests that often East Timorese people do not see reason or feel at ease to travel across different communities within the nation, even if the means were there to do so. Rather, there appears a strong preference to move within their own local communities and when there is a need to move beyond their immediate community, the tendency is to do so by a very direct and certain route.

On the other hand, within kinship or long-standing local relationships, there appears to be a sense of ease about spatial interaction, with community members commonly moving in and out of each other's houses. Local movement, at least during the day, appears to be undertaken by members of all communities with a relative sense of safety, apparently associated with a sense of knowing each other very well. Thus, while movement patterns may suggest a low level of material security as well as integration into the broader national community, the relative freedom of local movement appears to reflect a security derived from the intensely known connections that underpin the durability of the communities in this study.

Nanu

Aside from water collection, the other most frequent reason for movement in Nanu is so that people can tend to their gardens. Although some people had planted small gardens of tobacco and other crops around their houses, for most people work in their gardens entails walking some distance to their agricultural plots south of the village. The furthest of these was just less than two and a half kilometres from the southern end of the village, however distances obviously varied. A few Nanu holdings of land were located to the north of the village, along the eastern-facing slope of the ridge running between Mount Nanu and

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[228] The issue of movement in the form of migrations, forced relocations of dwellings and individuals relocating as a result of marriage has been dealt with elsewhere in this report.

A young boy gallops past on his Timor pony in Nanu, Fatumean, September 2007

Mount Dakolo. Although the quantity of time spent working in gardens obviously was contingent on a variety of factors such as planting and harvesting cycles, the impression gained at the time of research was that most men make a trip to their gardens on most days of the week.

For school-aged children, one of their ordinary daily trips is to and from school. For younger children this means a very short walk to the local primary school situated within the village. For children wishing to attend junior high school, the nearest school is in Fatumean sub-district centre, an eight kilometre walk in each direction. Much of the trip is on a steep incline along a winding dirt road which, in its current state, is virtually unusable by vehicles in the wet season, even by four wheel drive vehicles. Given the heavy labour demands of subsistence agriculture on the family unit, it would be surprising if the considerable time consumed in covering the distance to and from school is not a factor in children discontinuing their education.

The data collected in Nanu reveals a relatively narrow range of everyday movement for most people. For example, only around 35 per cent of people said they leave their aldeia every day, with one-quarter of respondents answering 'once a week' and 'once a month' respectively (Question 28 (1)). Here we don't believe that when people are saying that they are leaving their aldeia that they are speaking in a strict sense, as in effect people would be leaving any time they visited a Haliknain house or visited some water sources. In effect what they mean is that they move beyond the combined aldeia communities of Nanu and Haliknain.

Movements beyond the suco are much less frequent, with only one respondent reporting daily travel beyond Suco Dakolo (Question 29 (1)). Almost one-third (31.6 per cent) leave their suco once a week, but for just under half the population (47.4 per cent), such trips were approximately only a monthly occurrence. Only 19.7 per cent of the Nanu population leave the sub-district weekly, while the same proportion leaves the sub-district annually, and 15.8 per cent never (Question 30 (1)). Monthly excursions beyond the sub-district are most common (44.7 per cent).

The weekly night market seems to be the most frequent cause of adults travelling to Fatumean sub-district centre from Nanu. Apart from representing a relatively easily accessible market at which to sell produce, it is an opportunity for people from the three suco to come together. People exchange information, partake in activities such as cock-fighting and other forms of gambling, drink palm wine and talk with those from beyond their immediate communities. The other most oft-stated cause for trips outside the immediate village environs is to fulfil familial and kin-group obligations such as attending weddings and funerals, assisting with construction of houses, and participating in traditional ceremonies to inaugurate new sacred houses.

Regular movement beyond the sub-district is limited by a number of factors. The poor condition of the road from Fatumean to Suai is possibly the main reason that Fatumean is not linked by any public transport services to the district capital. The road was built only one year prior to Indonesia's withdrawal but, with a lack of maintenance, has proved inadequate against the assault from torrential rains every wet season. The road is currently impassable except by four-wheel drive vehicles and motorbikes. The crumbling remains of an older road, built during the Portuguese era, can be seen leading out of Nanu to the south, following a more direct route that would have eventually linked up with the newer road. People walking to Suai usually embark along this route, shaving several kilometres off the journey. It is not considered unusual for people in Nanu to journey to Suai on foot.

Although it is possible to pay for a ride in a large truck from Fatumean to Suai, if the purpose of the trip is to sell produce in Suai then the cost of the return trip and transportation of the goods mean that it is difficult just to break even. Education was cited as one of the main impetuses for people moving to Suai to live, as there was no senior high school in Fatumean. For those who could afford private education, some go to schools run by various orders of the Catholic Church in other district centres such as Ermera, or even Dili. [229]

When asked to give the furthest destination to which they had travelled from the community, only 10 per cent reported never having left the sub-district of Fatumean. The most frequent answer to the question of the furthest travelled from the community was the district capital of Suai (31.4 per cent) followed by Dili (22.9 per cent). It must be pointed out, however, that there is a possibility of more than 23 per cent of residents having visited Dili, as a further 28.6 per cent of people responded that the furthest place they've been is either west Timor, or another destination in Indonesia, and another 7.1 per cent answered 'other'. Many of these destinations would be 'further' than Dili, thus people may have also visited the capital on a different visit, or via Dili as part of a trip further a field. What we can say with reasonable certainty here is that around 40 per cent of people have never visited the national capital.

The relatively high proportion of people who gave their answer as 'west Timor' (15.7 per cent) and 'Indonesia, beyond west Timor' (12.9 per cent), is also unlikely to represent the true percentage of people who have travelled across the border at some point. This is because almost the entire population of Nanu was forcibly relocated across the border in the violent aftermath of the 1999 referendum, but it is also related to more normal movement. Both Suai (40km) and Dili are much further away than the border. If we assume that those who had travelled to Suai or Dili had, of their own volition, also made the much shorter trip across the border (whether prior to or following independence), then it is conceivable that many more again had visited west Timor.

Sarelari

The greater visibility of women around the community during the day would suggest that on average the radius of women's ordinary movements is closer to their homes, with men assuming the primary responsibility for tending gardens located further away.

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[229] Interviews with Gilberto dos Reis and Ricky Mendonca, Nanu, Fatumean, 5-6 September 2007.

While playing an important part in the agricultural process, from observation women undertake a wide variety of movements within the community in accordance to other work responsibilities. These range from caring for children, preparing food and collecting water, tending to animals and gardens, through to carrying timber from the community carpentry project for the new office of the *xefe de suco*, earning a small amount of money for each length of timber carried.

On every day except for Sundays, young children tread a regular path along the short distance to the Barikafa primary school in the mornings, returning again around midday. For the hours that school is in progress, the village appears completely devoid of school-aged children, anecdotally supporting the school principal's assertion that attendance levels are very good.

Sarelari, as with the rest of Luro sub-district, remains very poorly-served by state education services, with no junior high school located in the sub-district. The high school run by the Catholic Church is located several kilometres further down the mountain from the Luro sub-district centre at Orufuru. However, few benefit from this school as the fees are prohibitive for many families in Sarelari. Moreover, without public transport the distance is too great to permit Sarelari students to commute each day and the school no longer provides board for students. Sarelari students who do attend the school stay with families in Luro and return to Sarelari, on foot, only on weekends. For those families for whom the Catholic school is not an option, but wish their children to be educated beyond primary school, the most common alternative is to send them to school in Lospalos.[230]

The primary reason for adults to move beyond their immediate environs is to work in gardens and rice fields, and to tend to livestock. In some cases this entails quite lengthy journeys with the most distant rice fields located five kilometres from the village.[231] As is common across Timor-Leste, when the time of harvest is nearing or has begun families often stay overnight in the fields in small wood and grass huts. Apart from saving the time and energy spent travelling to and from the gardens each morning and evening, this practice was also often explained in terms of the need to guard the crop against pests, livestock and thieves. Women were also observed by the researchers working in these fields. They appear to undertake tasks such as weeding, scaring away birds and other pests, and preparing meals. Other reasons for travel beyond the more immediate community include fulfilling *adat* obligations such as building *uma lulik*, attending weddings, funerals and traditional ceremonies, and tending to and restoring the gravesites of ancestors.

In terms of trade, the kiosk run by Oan Kiak receives a low-level but relatively regular trickle of visits from people buying basic items. The area immediately outside the kiosk also appears to be quite a communal space, where people meet, sit and converse. The most important weekly market for the Sarelari community takes place at the purpose-built market site just below the Luro sub-district centre each Tuesday morning. Apart from trade, the market also functions as a social event that brings people together in order to exchange information and participate in leisure activities (mainly but not exclusively for men) such as cock-fighting and various other forms of gambling.

In terms of moving beyond Sarelari, it is striking that only around half of the respondents (44.5 per cent) have ever visited the capital (Question 27 (1)). Just below 10 per cent have never ventured further than the sub-district of Luro, and 36.4 per cent have not been further than the district capital of Lospalos. Only 6.4 per cent have ever been to west Timor or other parts of Indonesia.

When asked in Question 28 (1) about the frequency in which they leave the aldeia only 16.5 per cent of people said they leave their aldeia every day. The most common answer was 'once a week' (43.1 per cent), but sizable minorities said they leave the aldeia only once

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[230] Interview with Armando Hornay, Barikafa Primary School principal, Sarelari, Luro, 4 October 2007.

[231] Distance measured by a Globalism Research Centre researcher, Kym Holthouse, using a trundle wheel.

a month (17.4 per cent) or once a year or less (18.4 per cent). Sarelari does not represent an entirely coherent or contiguous territorial unit. Although the majority of houses are concentrated in a relatively dense settlement, others are quite separated from these and sometimes interspersed with houses from Barikafa's other two aldeia in between. It is doubtful, however, that when people move between these clusters of houses and pass by houses from the other aldeia they would count this as having left Sarelari.

In contrast to the aldeia, Suco Barikafa is relatively well-defined in a territorial sense. According to the *xefe de suco* and *xefe de aldeia*, the suco borders are usually comprised of gardens, rice fields and trees planted along its boundaries and by naturally-occurring features. As per the descriptions of the *xefe de suco* and *xefe de aldeia*, the boundaries were established by the community's ancestors long ago and everybody is well aware of where the borders lie.[232] Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that people would have a fairly accurate idea of the frequency with which they left their suco as per Question 29 (1). The percentage of residents who leave their suco on a daily basis is very low (5.5 per cent). Most people fall into the categories of leaving the suco either 'once a week' (49.1 per cent) or 'once a month' (24.5 per cent), but a combined total of 20 per cent reported their movement beyond the suco as 'once a year' or 'never'. The high response rate for 'weekly' appears to correspond with the frequency of the market at Luro.

When the boundary was expanded in the survey question form to measure frequency of excursions beyond the sub-district (Question 30 (1)), the daily figure remained constant, but the weekly figure dropped back to almost nil (0.9 per cent). One-third of respondents said they leave Barikafa monthly, but a full half (49.5 per cent) said they leave Luro sub-district 'once a year', and a further 8.3 per cent 'never'. Taken together, the basic pattern observable is that most of people's daily movements occur within the aldeia and suco. Although trips outside the suco are a relatively common occurrence, journeys outside the sub-district are not part of most people's regular routines. Where people have a need to go to Lospalos, they sometimes walk the much more direct route across country, rather than walk to the coastal road and wait for a bus.

There are several reasons for the rarity of trips that extend beyond the sub-district. Apart from the cost of travel, poor roads make for difficult vehicle access, particularly from Luro sub-district centre to Barikafa, and there is a lack of public transport. Combined, these are no doubt factors that inhibit movement outside the sub-district. Each of these represent barriers to achieving higher levels of community security in that even when health and education services for instance do exist within or just beyond the district boundaries (either in Baucau or Lospalos), they are not readily accessible. Further, when people do make the choice to travel to regional centres, it comes at a considerable cost in terms of both time and money. This is particularly the case in terms of livelihoods, where we see an extremely limited number of opportunities for people to sell their produce, let alone to purchase a wide variety of products.

Luha Oli

Similarly to the other rural communities examined in this report, the primary reason that adult Luha Oli residents move around their local environs is to undertake livelihoods activities—collecting water, tending to livestock and moving between homes, gardens and ricefields. Though men tend to spend more time in the agricultural plots than women, both men and women move regularly to and from the agricultural plots. The community appears rather empty of adults during the busiest periods such as harvest time, with community members returning home only at the end of the day or even sleeping in the fields.

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[232] Interviews with Hilario Almeida, *xefe de aldeia* of Sarelari, Sarelari, Luro, 6 October 2007 and Joaquim Preto, xefe de suco of Barikafa, Sarelari, Luro, 6 October 2007.

The Dili-Baucau-Viqueque bus that regularly passes through Venilale picking up passengers, Venilale, April 2008

The distance from Luha Oli members' homes to their gardens is not great for most of the population. When asked in Question 12 (2) how long it takes to reach their gardens, 30.6 per cent of households walk less than five minutes, and a further 25 per cent need between five and twenty minutes. As explored elsewhere, the community has relatively convenient access to water sources except for during the dry season, when distances travelled for this purpose become considerably greater.

Students walk to and from the sub-district centre, Venilale, six days per week to attend school. For the Luha Oli residents living at the furthest distance from the sub-district centre. This journey takes around an hour to walk. People from Luha Oli also walk to the sub-district centre for reasons such as attending church, the public library and the health clinic, for using transport to Viqueque or Baucau, or to buy or sell at the twice-weekly market.

As explored in other sections of this report, Aldeia Luha Oli does not extend across a singularly-contained geographical territory. Rather, it exists in pockets of households interspersed with the three other aldeia that comprise Suco Uai Laha, as well as households belonging to other suco. Researchers noted that some community members were able to identify clearly which aldeia and suco they and others belonged to, while for other respondents these questions were confusing. Thus Question 28 (1), which asks *'how frequently do you leave aldeia?'*, is essentially void in this instance. It can be assumed that community members, in their regular journeys, constantly leave and re-enter the non-contiguous aldeia.

A similar problem is then repeated in Question 29 (1) which asks *'how frequently do you leave your suco?'*. The proportion of respondents who answered 'daily' (23.1 per cent) or 'once every two days' (12.3 per cent) is high as compared with the other rural communities examined in this report, while the percentage of community members who leave the suco weekly is comparably equivalent to the other rural communities, at 35.4 per cent. Together, 70.8 per cent of Luha Oli residents estimate that they leave their suco at least on a weekly basis, which is 15.3 per cent and 35.5 per cent higher than Sarelari and Nanu results respectively.

However, how reliable these statistics are without a lot more research is much harder to determine. This is especially the case as like Aldeia Luha Oli, Suco Uai Laha is not confined to a singular territorial unit. Even government maps show the suco as being split across two domains, separated by a different suco in the middle. The reality on the ground the suco is even more complicated and diffuse. Hence, while there is a relatively higher combined percentage of community members who leave Suco Uai Laha on a regular basis, we cannot be sure if this is because people are including the movements they make when they move from one part of their own suco to another but cross a different one to do so. In another instance we might be able to argue that the high rate of people moving beyond their suco could be accounted for by regular journeys to the well-serviced and relatively handy sub-district centre. However that supposition may not be reliable in that our maps show at least fifteen households in the centre of Venilale that identify themselves as part of Luha Oli.

The frequency of community members' journeys reduces greatly, however, once the unit is extended to the sub-district (Question 30 (1)). While the percentage of Luha Oli residents who undertake this journey at least weekly (27.3 per cent) is higher than that of Nanu (19.7 per cent) and Sarelari (8.2 per cent), this is a significant reduction from the 70.8 per cent of Luha Oli residents who leave their suco at least weekly. Venilale town is also relatively well-serviced by reliable roads and public transport travelling in the directions of Baucau and Viqueque. The cost of the bus trip may however be prohibitive for many. In addition, the character and proximity of Venilale town, with a regular market, schools and other services, may mean that many residents do not see a reason to frequently leave the sub-district.

In terms of further distance travelled from Luha Oli (Question 27 (1)), over half the respondents—52.4 per cent—marked Dili. The next most common answer out of the possible choices was Kupang, at only 9.5 per cent. As with the other rural communities profiled, and to a lesser extent, Golgota in Dili, people tended to leave their local community for very specific purposes rather than for instance either visiting family or undertaking some kind of recreational travel. This reflects, of course, the material conditions faced by Luha Oli residents, with little disposable income available and a demanding work schedule based on upkeep of basic livelihoods and childraising.

Beyond material constraints however, interviews with community members also revealed a sense of ease about moving in the local area due to kinship ties and considerably less ease moving in areas that do not reflect familial relations. One man stated very clearly that he felt like a 'foreigner' when moving beyond the sub-district.[233] In another instance, an interviewee said that while Luha Oli residents are comfortable casually moving in and out of each other's homes, if they have business in another suco it is proper to formerly announce their visit in advance.[234] Adding further to the sense of insecurity when moving across terrain, another community member explained that upon travelling in another area and meeting a stranger, one of the first questions asked is where the other person comes from. Until this is established, there is a need to be a little guarded.[235]

While male interviewees related a sense of ease about localized movement, and survey results revealed a high sense of safety within the local community, the interactions of the researchers with community members indicate some limits to this perception of local safety. Female researchers were warned by female community members that it was not a safe practice to be walking around after four o'clock in the afternoon, and local women often seemed to move in numbers greater than two. One woman stated that women do not move around the community after dark, and that it is not very safe for men to do so either.[236] However these comments were made in the aftermath of post-election violence that had affected the area.

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[233] Interview with Zeferino da Costa, *xefe de aldeia* of Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

[234] Interview with male community member, Luha Oli, Venilale, 17 July 2007.

[235] Interview with Duarte Antoni Ximenes Guterres, Luha Oli, Venilale, 18 July 2007.

[236] Interview with Brigida Guterres, Luha Oli, Venilale, April 2008.

Golgota

Golgota represents a site that is quite different in many respects to Nanu, Sarelari and Luha Oli. However, as we have argued elsewhere in the report, the differences are not absolute by any means. Rather than the urban and the rural representing absolute contrasts, social practices often differ from rural communities in terms of extent rather than being completely different. This continues to be the case in terms of movement, as while the population of Golgota demonstrates a much higher mobility than other communities in this report, our research reveals that much of the population faces similar constraints upon their movement.

Question 29 (1) show that 38.4 per cent of Golgota residents move daily beyond their suco, Comoro, in contrast to 23.1 per cent, 5.5 per cent and 1.3 per cent of Luha Oli, Sarelari and Nanu residents respectively. Daily movement beyond the sub-district, Dom Aleixo, is undertaken by 19 per cent of Golgota residents, as compared with 6.1 per cent for Luha Oli, 5.5 percent for Sarelari, and 0 percent for Nanu (Question 30 (1)).

Combining this statistical data with broader research findings about Golgota, there are readily-identifiable reasons for this high rate of daily travel beyond the immediate locale. One primary reason relates to differences in means of livelihoods. A much higher proportion of Golgota residents are engaged in waged employment, as well as secondary and tertiary study, than in the other communities. That is, people are less likely to move within the local environs to undertake subsistence agricultural work and more likely to travel further to engage in the formal economy and educational sphere.

Differences in accessibility to other areas and a concentrated urban environment, with communities living close together, is also likely to impact on these figures of daily movement. While there are no transport services available to the general public within Golgota, a regular *mikrolet* route is easily reached by foot. *Mikrolet* number ten runs along Comoro Road, which borders Golgota, from sunrise to sunset daily, travelling to the centre of Dili. From this point other *mikrolet* routes can be accessed. The cost of *mikrolet* use is far cheaper than the transport options available to the other communities. For those who can afford it, taxis are also available and larger vehicles can be rented in Dili on a job-by-job basis if larger items need to be moved. While most Golgota residents move around the immediate community on foot, it was noted that some community members, particularly young men, own motorbikes and some also used bicycles.

While Golgota residents' daily rates of movement are higher, when looking at movement beyond the suco *at least* once a week, the statistics from Question 29 (1) begin to even out across the communities. The proportion of Golgota members who move beyond their suco at least once a week is 63.7 per cent, in between the rates of movement of people from Luha Oli (70.8 per cent) and people from Sarelari (55.5 per cent). A significant 9.9 per cent of Golgota residents report never leaving their suco; 8.5 per cent leave it annually, while 17.9 per cent leave it on a monthly basis.

In terms of movement beyond the sub-district (Question 30 (1)), the option with the highest proportion of respondents was 'once a year' (32.9 per cent). Remaining responses have a fairly even spread, with a comparably high 19.0 per cent leaving daily, 11.9 per cent weekly and 23.5 per cent monthly. For 30.5 per cent of the Golgota adult population, Kupang represents the furthest point to which they have travelled in their life (Question 27 (1)). The next most commonly-selected option was 'Other (including overseas)' (19.7 per cent). It is likely that a good proportion of this unidentified travel is based on movement to and from other districts for those many residents who were not born in Dili or have extended family elsewhere. The proportion of respondents who have never travelled further than Dili is 17.7 per cent. It seems, then, that while many Golgota residents move beyond their local environs on very regular bases, there are also high proportions of the community whose movement remains limited to the immediate area.

It seems that while Golgota members experience greater ease of movement beyond their local area than the residents of other communities in this report, they still tend to move beyond their local environs according to necessity. This feature of the patterns in people's movements from Golgota seems to be at least exaggerated by the security crisis still being faced at the time of fieldwork (November 2007). Some interviewed community members made comments to the effect that they felt safe in their local area but would only undertake travel outside for specific reasons, for example, the formally employed (largely men) travelling to work. For example, one young woman was asked about her husband's patterns of movement. She replied 'He doesn't really go out. He just goes to work and then comes home. If he goes out then it's just to the neighbours' house.'[237] The same woman, when asked about the impact of the crisis upon her life, made a number of comments related to restriction of movement and related impact on livelihoods:

> *Interviewee*: It's hard for us to make a living (*buka moris*). For example, before I used to make cakes and bread to sell, but now it's difficult for me to find young girls to push the cart around and sell the cakes because they are too scared.
>
> …
>
> *Researcher*: And to come and live in a big city like Dili, was it different to Oecusse?
>
> *Interviewee*: I'm happy to come and live here but it would be better if there was no crisis. In the past, like in 2003 and 2004, we could go to the market and make a living, it was good. Now when we travel we have to be careful.
>
> *Researcher:* Do you sometimes go to other places in Dili or are you mainly here?
>
> *Interviewee:* I don't really go out.
>
> *Researcher:* Because you're scared?
>
> *Interviewee:* Yes.
>
> *Researcher:* Are you scared of people who you may meet?
>
> *Interviewee:* Sometimes when I go out and there are groups around it makes me feel scared. Here we are peaceful in our own community.[238]

Another community member, Elisia Araujo, expressed a similar sentiment of both women and men restricting their movement beyond the immediate area to instances of necessity:

> *Researcher:* Now do you feel safe to walk around in Golgota?
>
> *Elisia:* Yes I do.
>
> *Researcher:* What about generally in Dili?
>
> *Elisia:* I don't go to other areas of Dili, I'm just here in Golgota.
>
> *Researcher:* Did you used to go [to other parts of Dili]?
>
> *Elisia:* Yes before I've been out visiting other family members in other parts of Dili, but now I don't really go out, I just go to the shops and come home.
>
> *Researcher:* Does your husband go anywhere?
>
> *Elisia:* He's too scared. He's just here because he's scared that if people are fighting then, well, he's scared so he doesn't go out. Since the crisis began until now he hasn't left [this area].[239]

Many of the interviewed community members still moved regularly between the IDP camp at Dom Bosco and their houses. A great proportion of Golgota residents had moved to Dom Bosco on 28 April 2006, following a clash between petitioners and F-FDTL in the hills

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[237] Interview with female community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[238] ibid.

[239] Interview with Elisia Araujo, Gologota, Dili, 25 November 2007.

behind Golgota.[240] Many community members based themselves almost solely at this camp for a number of months or more. For example, two young men interviewed said they had lived at Dom Bosco for five months, while another young woman lived in Dom Bosco for one year, only leaving when it was essential to collect rice from her house.[241] At the point of field research in November 2007, most households were utilizing their houses during the day, with many residents, typically women and children, returning to sleep at the camp at night. Predominantly, it was male household members who would sleep at the house to guard it from theft and damage. The explanation for this was that while community members generally felt safe in Golgota by this point, they wanted to maintain a presence in the camp in case serious violence was to flare up again.[242]

Beyond the security concerns related to the conditions at that particular time, it seems that there are features of the Golgota community that may result in restricted patterns of movement, particularly for women. Researchers noted that while particular cohorts of people were difficult to locate during the week—students and men, on the whole—most houses remained occupied by adult women during the day. These women undertake house-based responsibilities such as childraising and food preparation and at times undertaking some forms of income generation as discussed above. In a rural context, such responsibilities would be supplemented by agricultural tasks requiring movement beyond the house or familial cluster of households.

However Golgota is not primarily a subsistence agricultural community. As such, certain cohorts of the community, particularly women, actually appear to have *less* reason for routinized, localized movement than in rural communities. For example, one young woman explained that she preferred her lifestyle in the rural community that she was born because agricultural responsibilities meant her life was more varied and mobile. This very gendered relation to movement was highlighted by the male head of her household, a young student, who confirmed the view that the female household members' responsibilities are primarily house-based:

> If we [the male household members] all have activities and we go out, each doing their own activity, then the girls must look after the house so that when it comes to lunch time we can come and eat, and when it's time to go back to work we can return.[243]

Taken together, movement across the four communities covered in this report can be seen as maintaining some significant similarities. Movement is to a significant degree gendered, limited by a lack of funds and infrastructure, and tends to be undertaken for very deliberate reasons. Moreover, movement is often associated with risk and is undertaken with increasing care and sense of insecurity the further a person extends from their immediate community.

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[240] Interview with Domingus Maia, *xefe de aldeia* of Golgota, Dili, 19 November 2007.

[241] Interview with Jose Borito and Arivindo Pereira Maio, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007; and Interview with female community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[242] For example: Interview with female community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007; Interview with Elisia Araujo, Golgota, Dili, 25 November 2007; Interview with community member, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007; Interview with Eliza Loan, Golgota, Dili, 24 November 2007.

[243] Interview with Jose Monteiro, Golgota, Dili, 28 November 2007.

Conclusion

Across the different sections of this report, from the broad overview of each of the communities through to a discussion of how the different communities are lived, the leadership and conflict resolution processes that are commonly drawn on, how people maintain their livelihoods and how they move within and across the territory, we find a great deal that shows the hardships in life. However, we also find a great deal to be optimistic about, especially in regards to the different ways in which communities have been able to maintain durable forms of community both in spite of experiences of immense violence and dislocation—the Indonesian occupation and more recently the socio-political crisis of 2006 and 2007—and a lack of public infrastructure and low levels of insecurity in various aspects of life, not least in terms of access to food year round.

Luha Oli for instance is geographically located in the central mountain areas and close to the road that links Viqueque with Baucau, with markets and public transport nearby, and there is a range of government and non-government related services available to its residents. It is also a very fertile area with good water sources and with people's gardens generally very close to their homes. However, life remains a struggle and poverty, poor health and low levels of literacy and education are all seen as barriers by members of Luha Oli with regard to improving their security. However, despite many struggles, the community appears a very sustainable one, not least due to very strong sense of connection between families and an equally strong sense of history. Additionally, traditional social beliefs still play a major part in being able to sustain the community in a range of positive ways.

In a similar sense Nanu is a very motivated community with a strong sense of origins and an ability to live in positive ways with neighbouring communities, not least Haliknain with which it shares a common geographic terrain. The community of course faces many challenges to its security, and despite substantial effort, many within Nanu experience hunger in patterned ways each year. The lack of key services, notably health and education, low levels of literacy, virtually no paid employment opportunities, an unusable road, no electricity or communication systems, has not resulted in the community being unable to sustain itself. This community sustainability is achieved in part by engaging with a changing world but also by demonstrating a clear recognition of those aspects to their culture that they consider crucial to the long-term durability of their community.

Despite clearly defined leadership structures and conflict resolution processes, the residents of Sarelari experience in very significant ways low levels of food security and the negative impacts of a very low concentration of public infrastructure. As with the return to their lands following displacement during the Indonesian occupation however, people from Sarelari demonstrate a tremendous sense of agency and there is a very clear sense within the community that they are ready to make the best of what is before them.

Golgota, located at the base of the hills in the western suburbs of Dili, faces a similar relationship to sustainability and security as the three other sites of research, but for very different reasons. While security in some aspects of life is higher, the community has had to face various consequences of the political crisis including displacement and violence. On the other hand, the community has been able to sustain itself even with its significantly varied ethno-linguistic population. People have demonstrated an ability to forge a sense of commonality while continuing to maintain strong relations with the rural communities of their families, particularly in terms of the fulfilment of adat.

Over coming years economic and political development will need to be carefully managed in Timor-Leste. strategies need to ensure that these communities are able to maintain those traditions and customs that are important to them while at times adopting different ideas in terms of ways to live. We believe that if they take the many positive things about their

community with them as they move forward, these communities will be able to maintain high levels of sustainability while experiencing greater levels of security across their communities than is currently the case. Adapting to new circumstances, hopefully these communities and many others will develop in the directions that they determine as being important without losing the qualities which have helped it sustain themselves despite the very difficult long-term effects of war and colonialism.

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Appendix One

Comparative Graphs Selected from Surveys One, Two and Three

Survey 1. Question 1.

How long have you lived in this community?
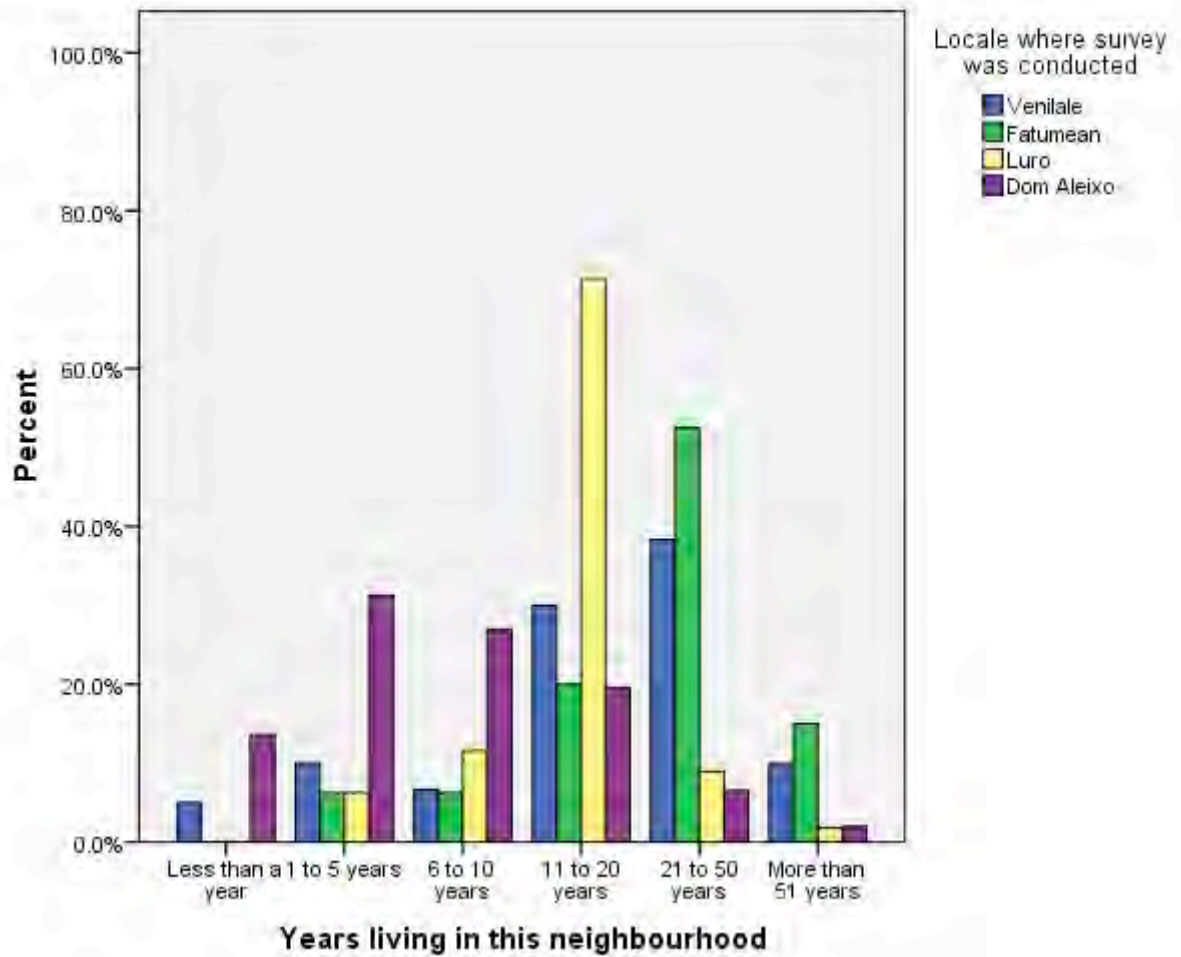
Survey 1. Question 3.

What or whom do you identify as your main community?
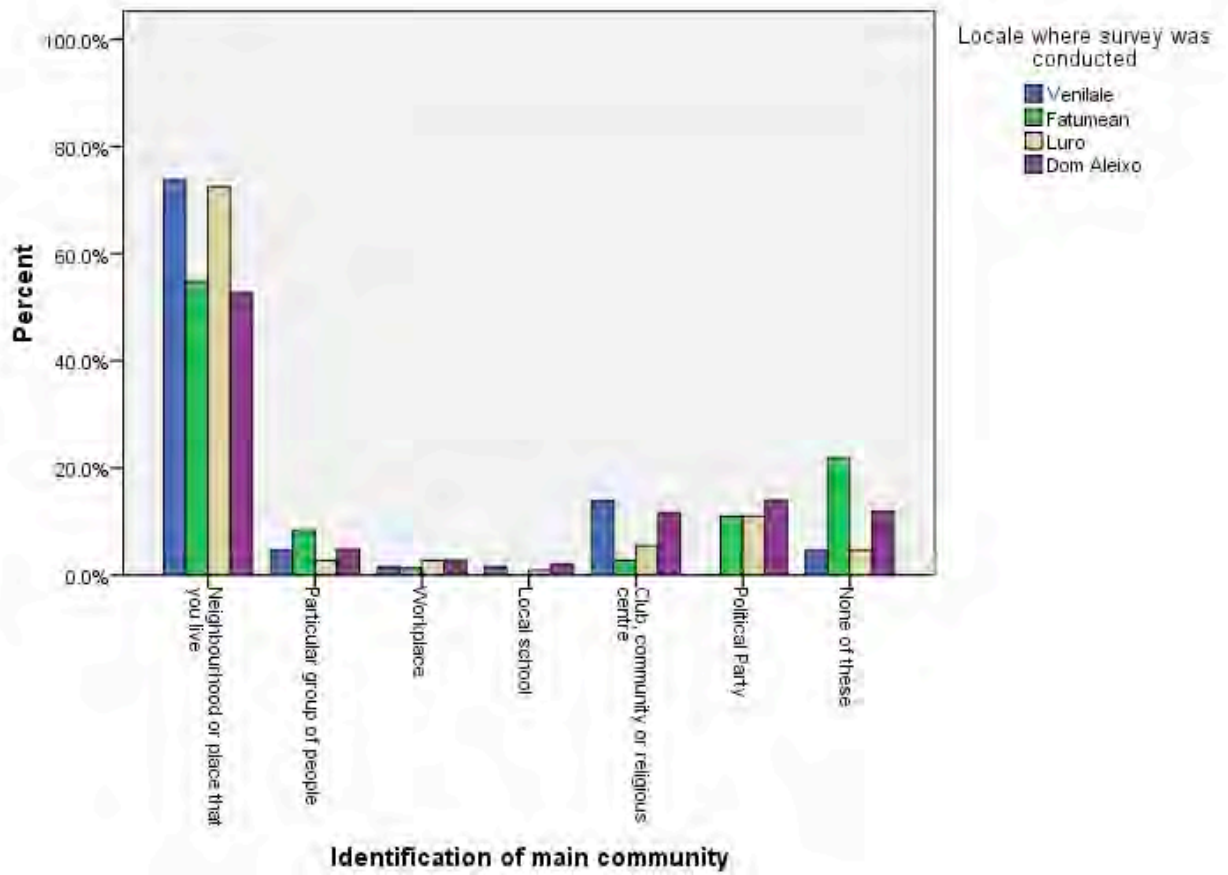
Survey 1. Question 4

How satisfied are you with feeling part of your community ?
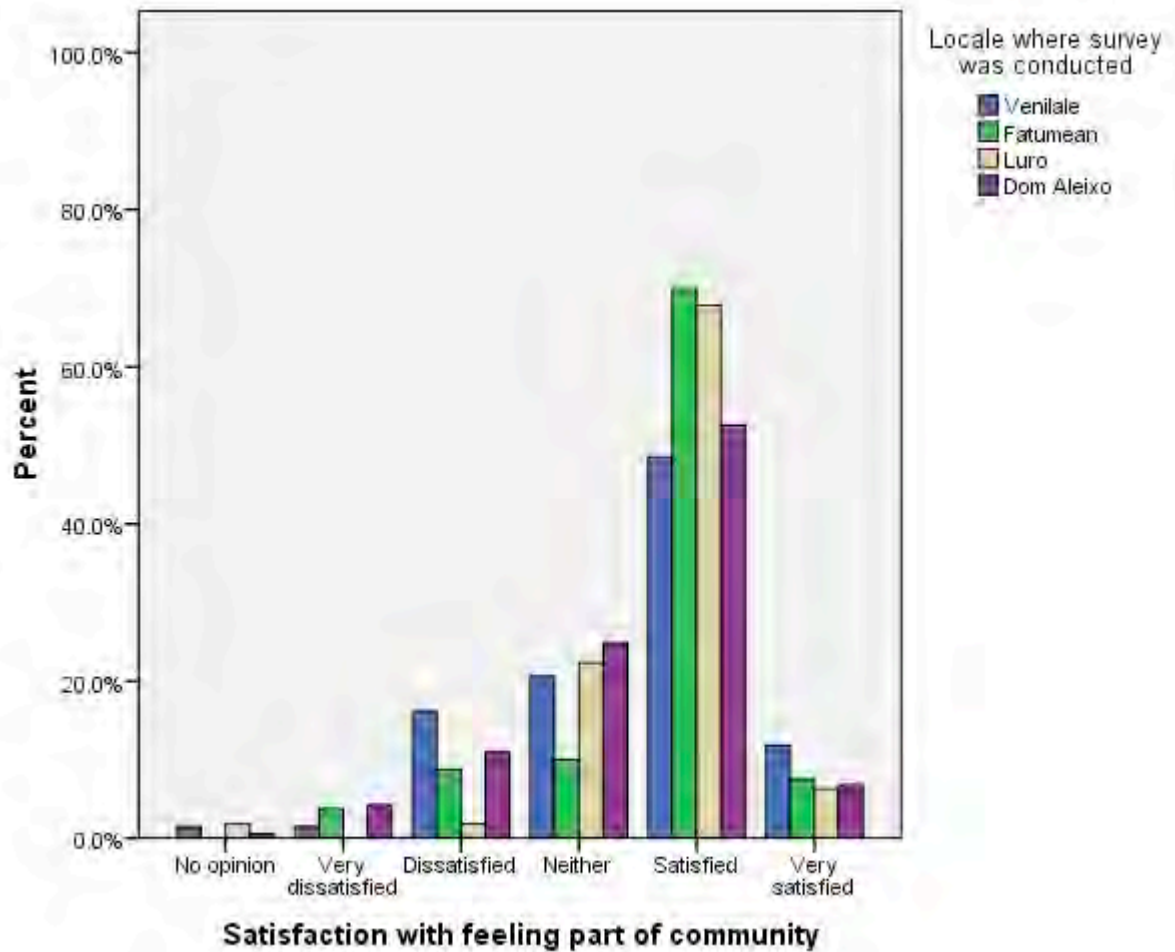
Survey 1. Question 6.

How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?
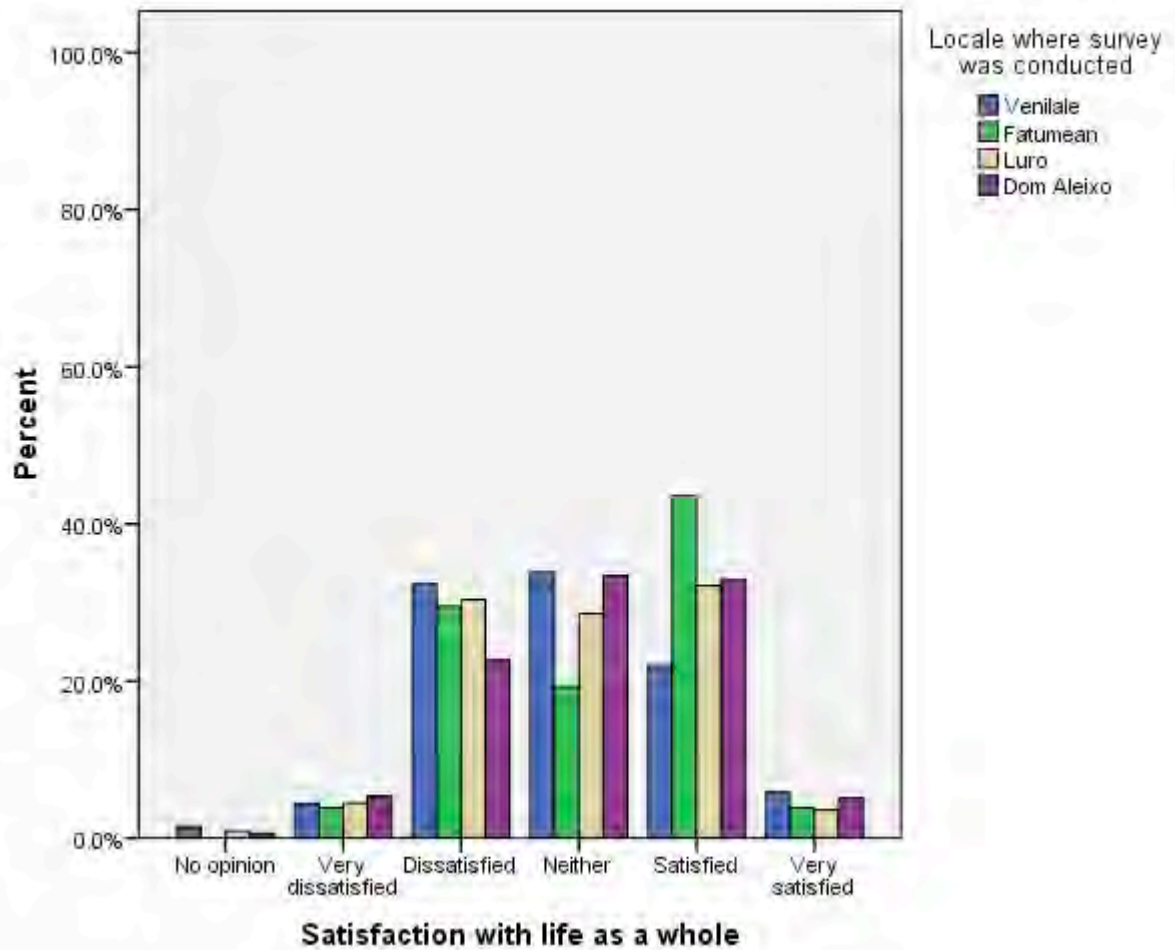
Survey 1. Question 7.

I am satisfied that government services in my community are sufficient (for example, health, education, police, roads, water)
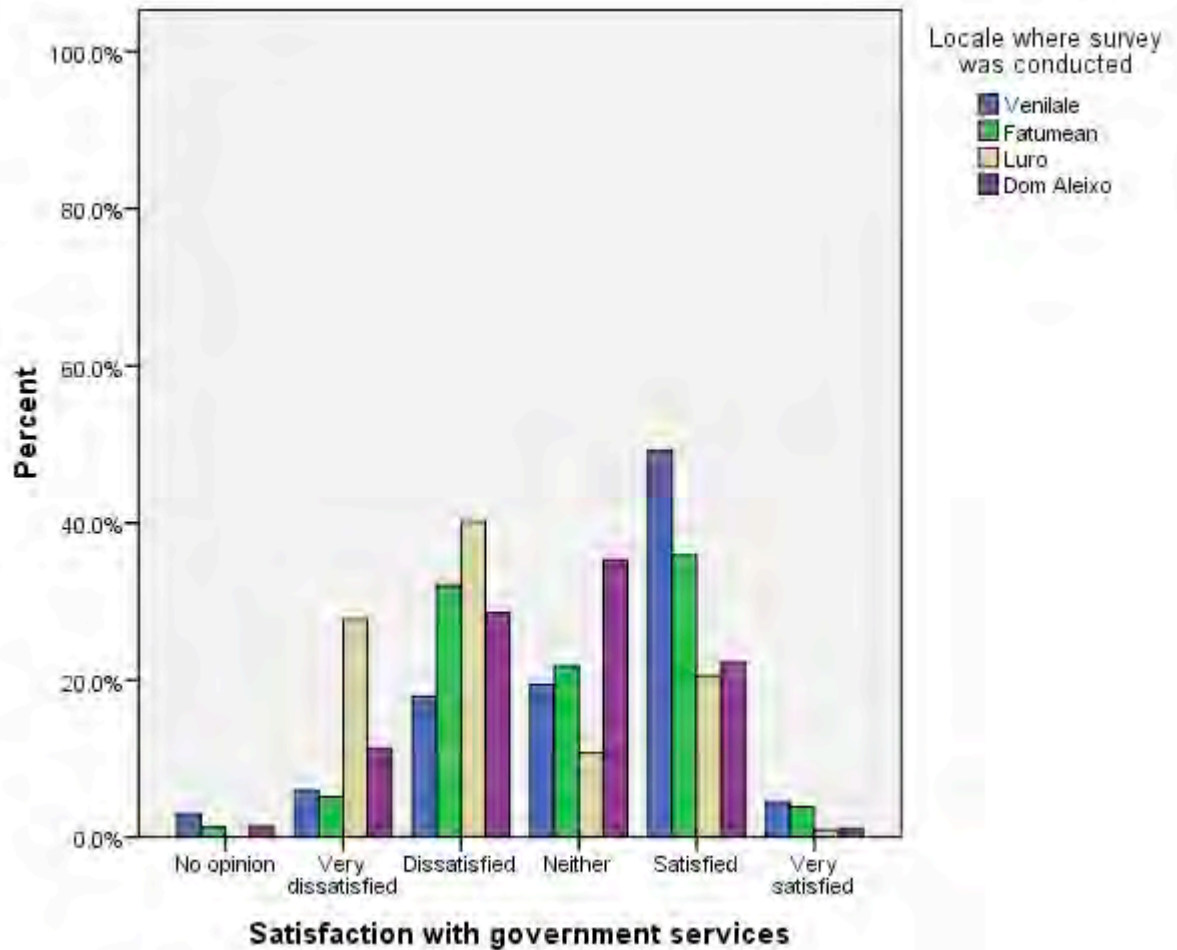
Survey 1. Question 8.

How satisfied are you with how safe you feel?
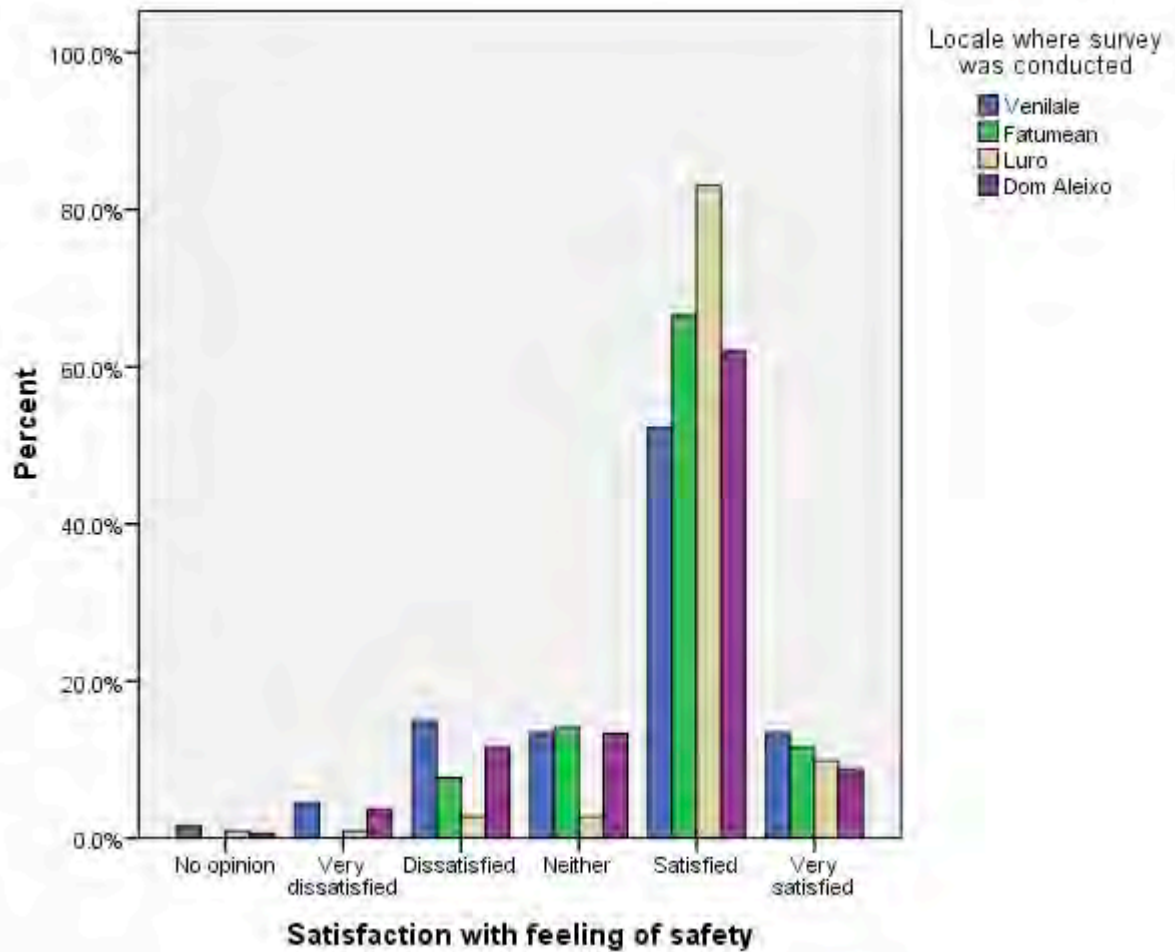
Survey 1. Question 9.

Are you satisfied that your life overall has improved over the last 5 years?
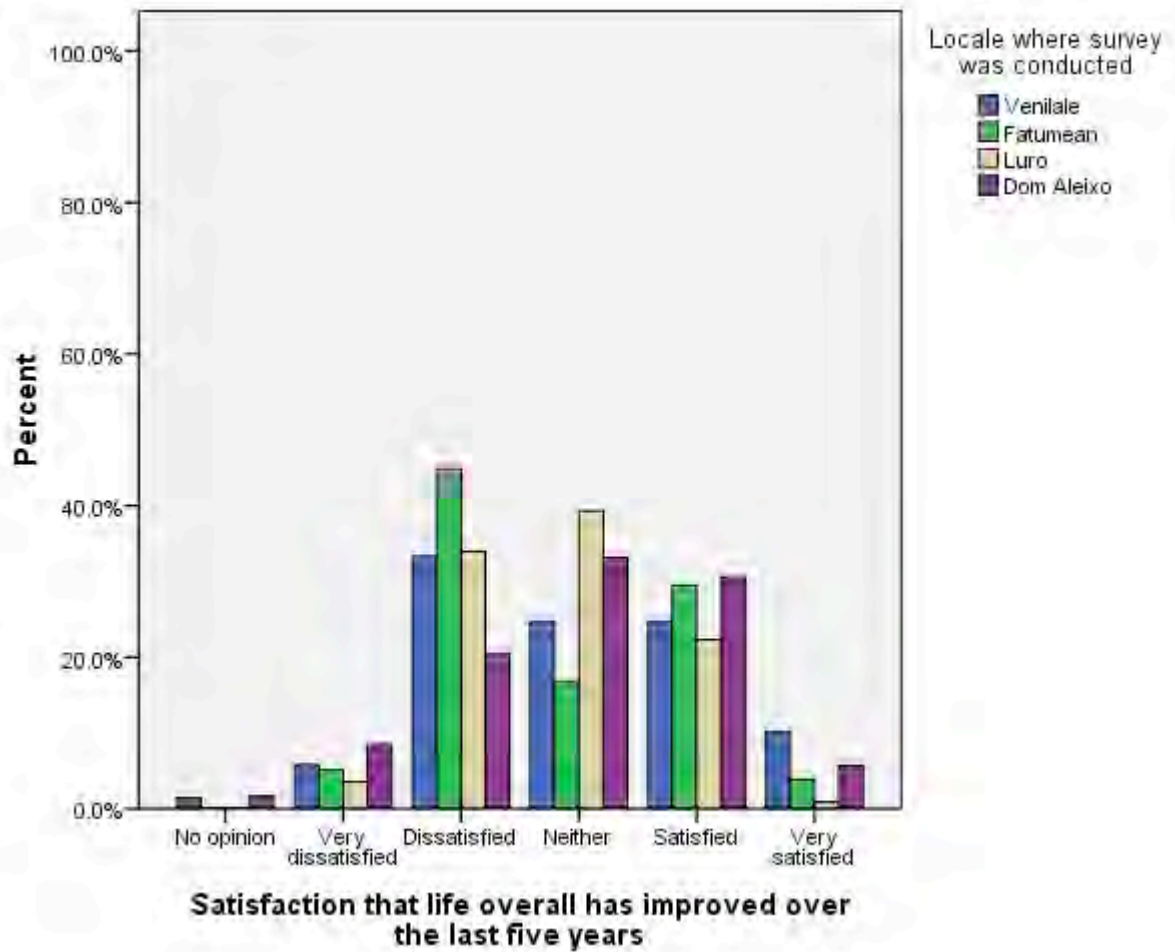
Survey 1. Question 10.

I feel that I can influence figures of authority who are relevant to my community
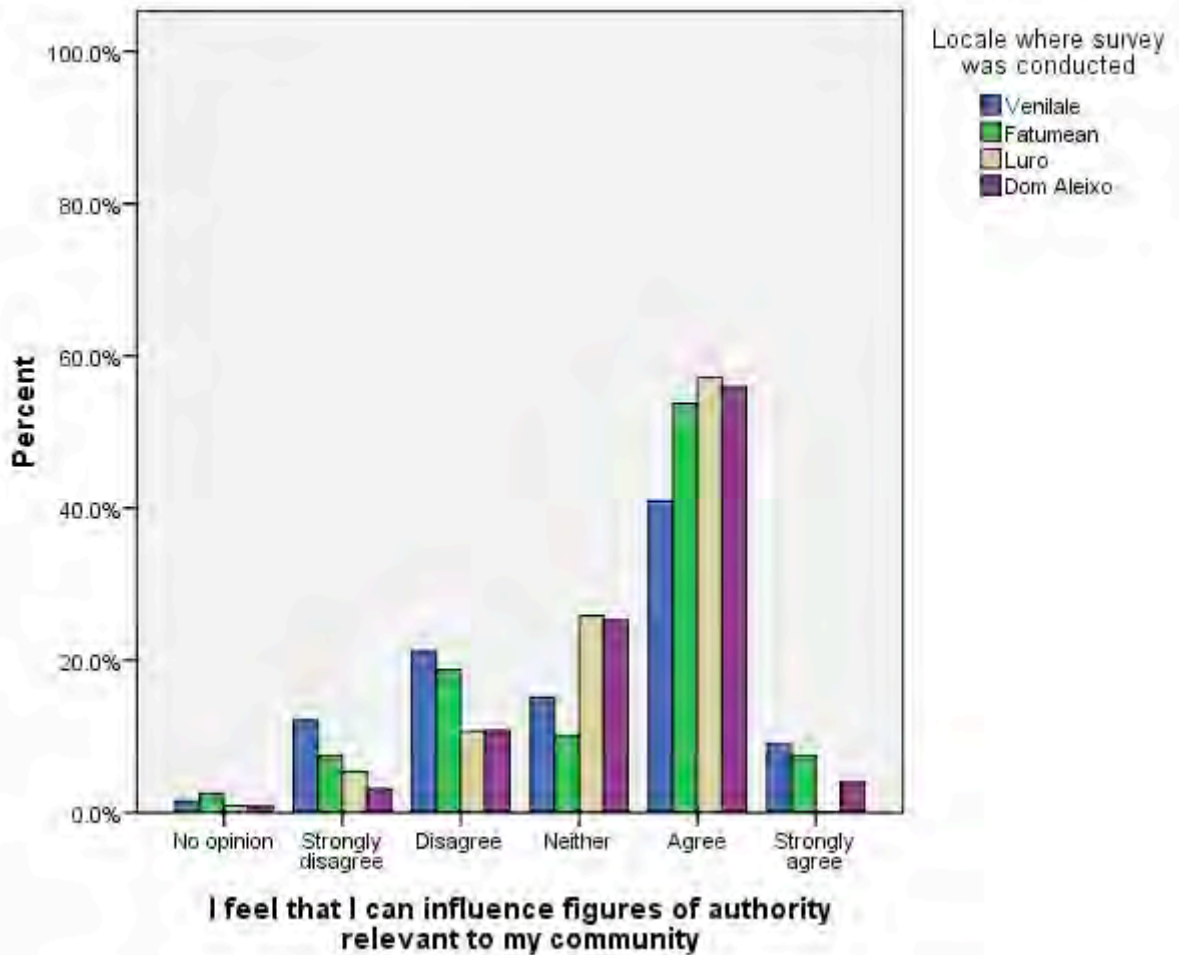
Survey 1. Question 12.

I feel that formally-educated experts, such as government administrators, scientific experts and managers can be trusted when dealing with local issues
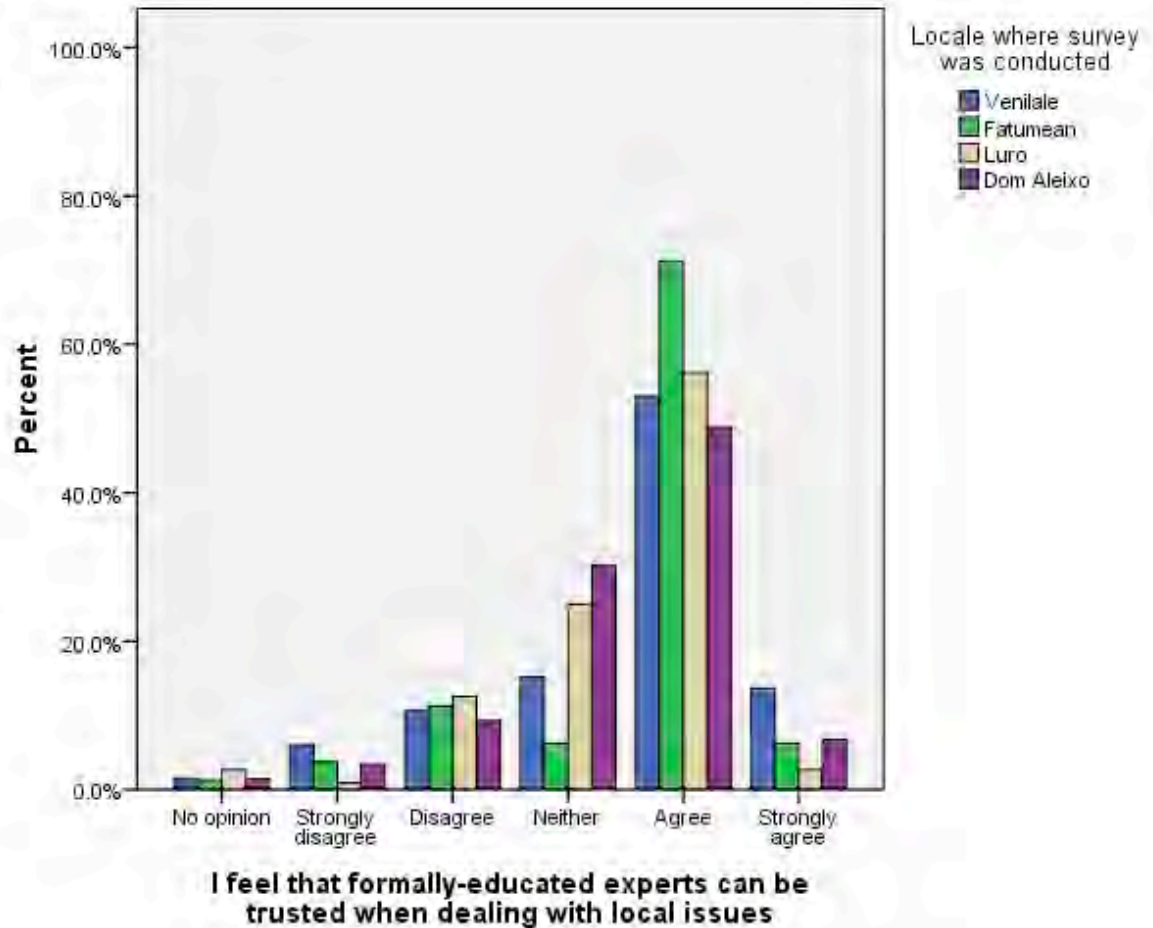
Survey 1. Question 16.

I believe that the past—the history of my people or country—influences the way I live
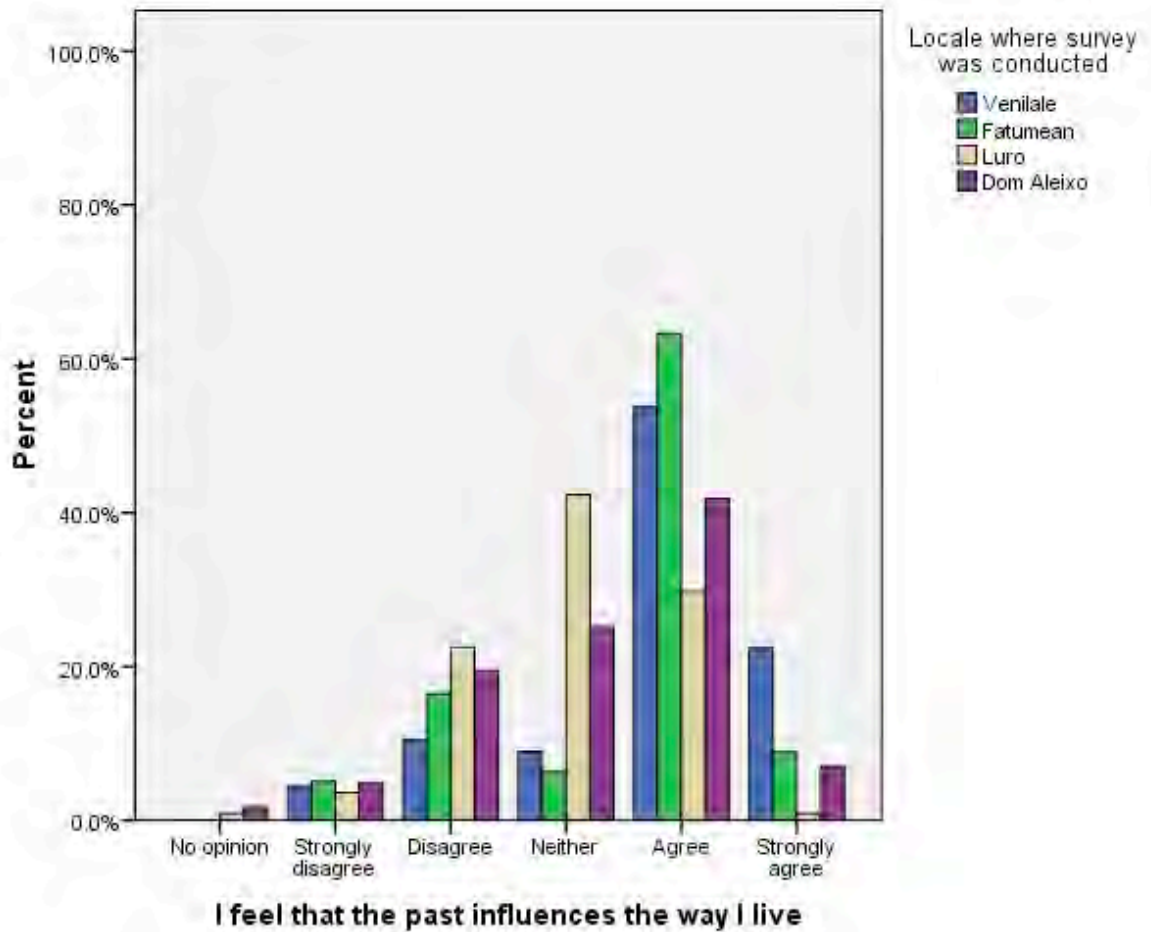
Survey 1. Question 19.

Who lives with you in your house?
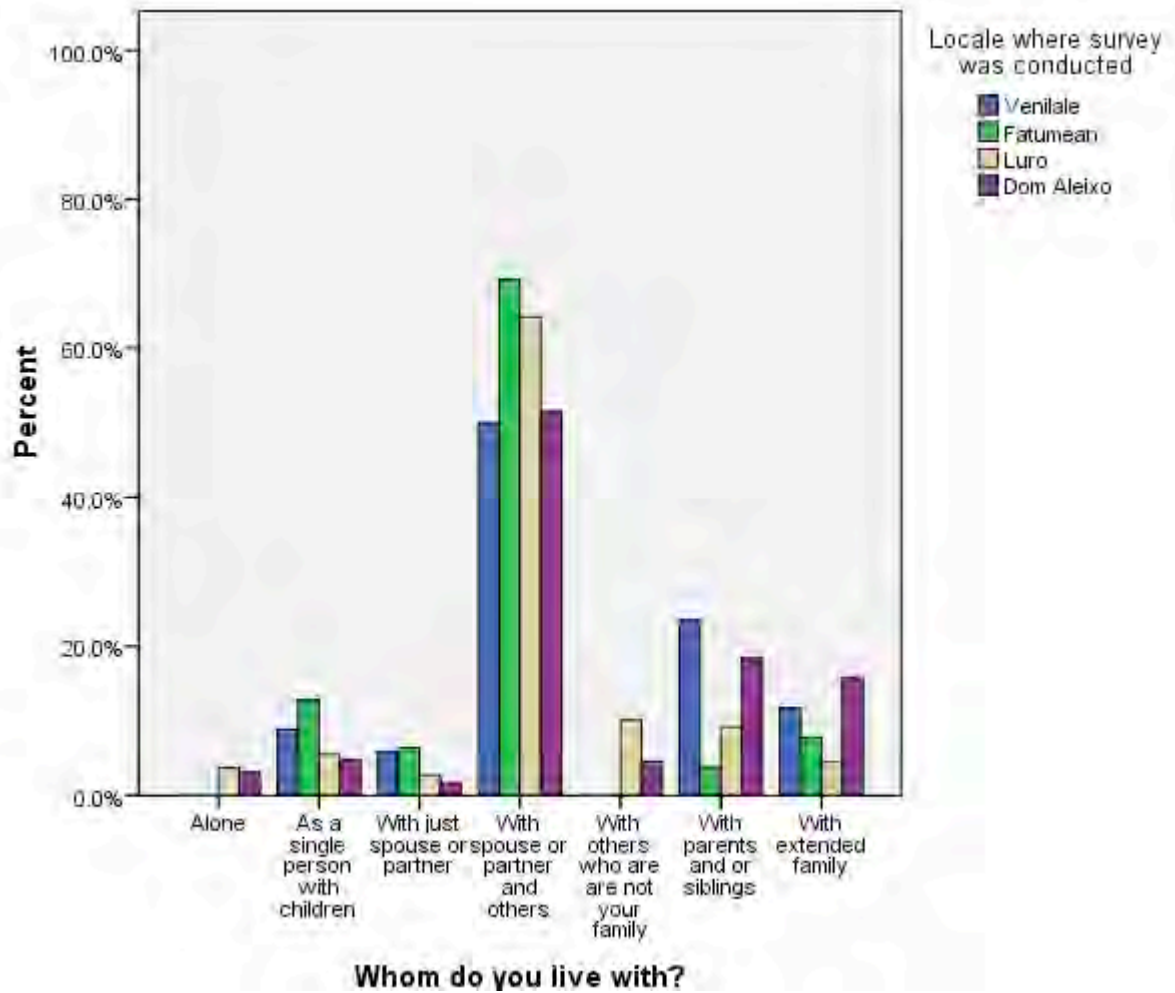
Survey 1. Question 20.

How many people live in your household presently?

How many people live in your household?
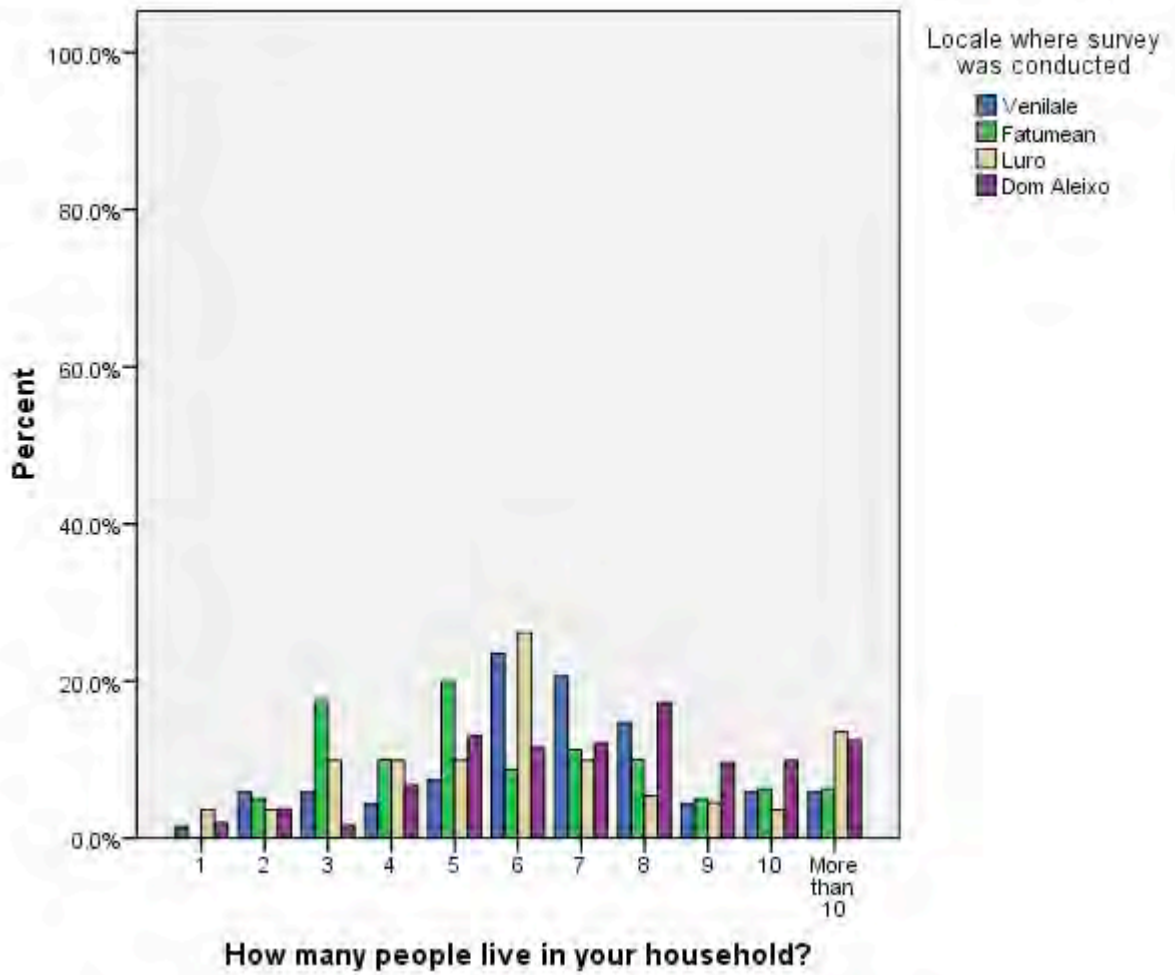
Survey 1. Question 21.

Financially speaking, what do you consider to be the financial status of your household?
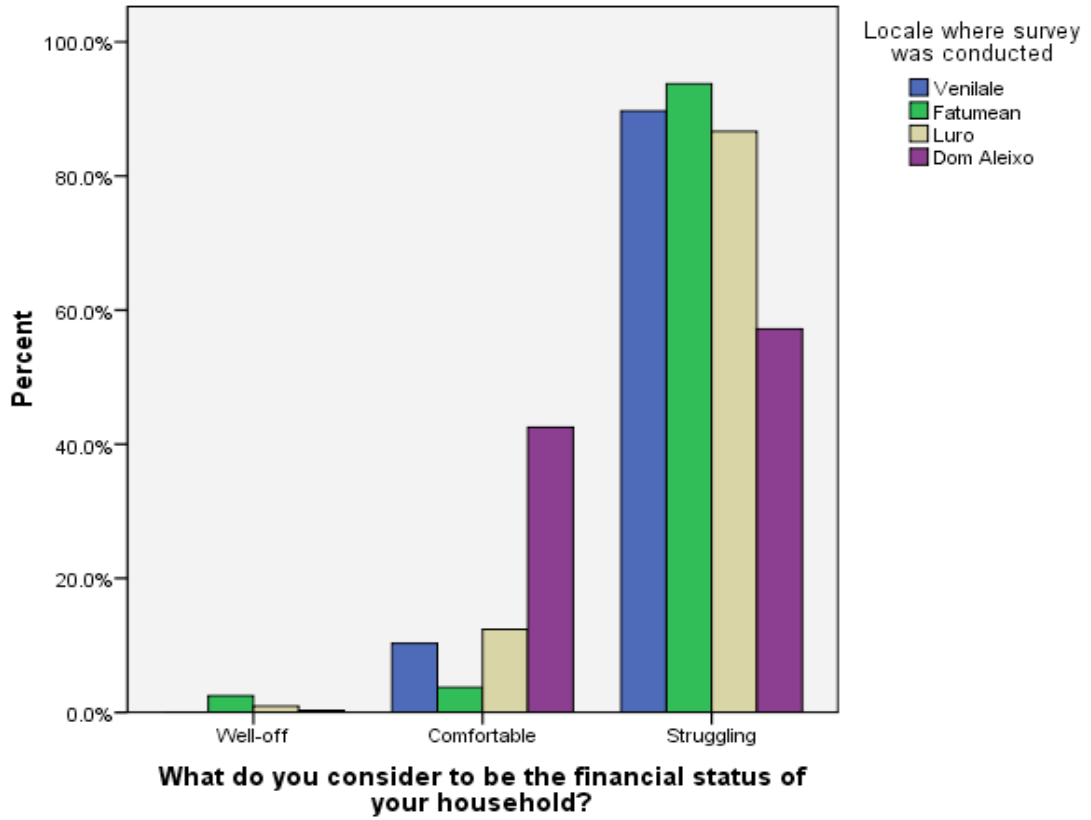
Survey 1. Question 22.

Compared to other people in Timor-Leste of the same age, do you consider yourself to be in good health or poor health?
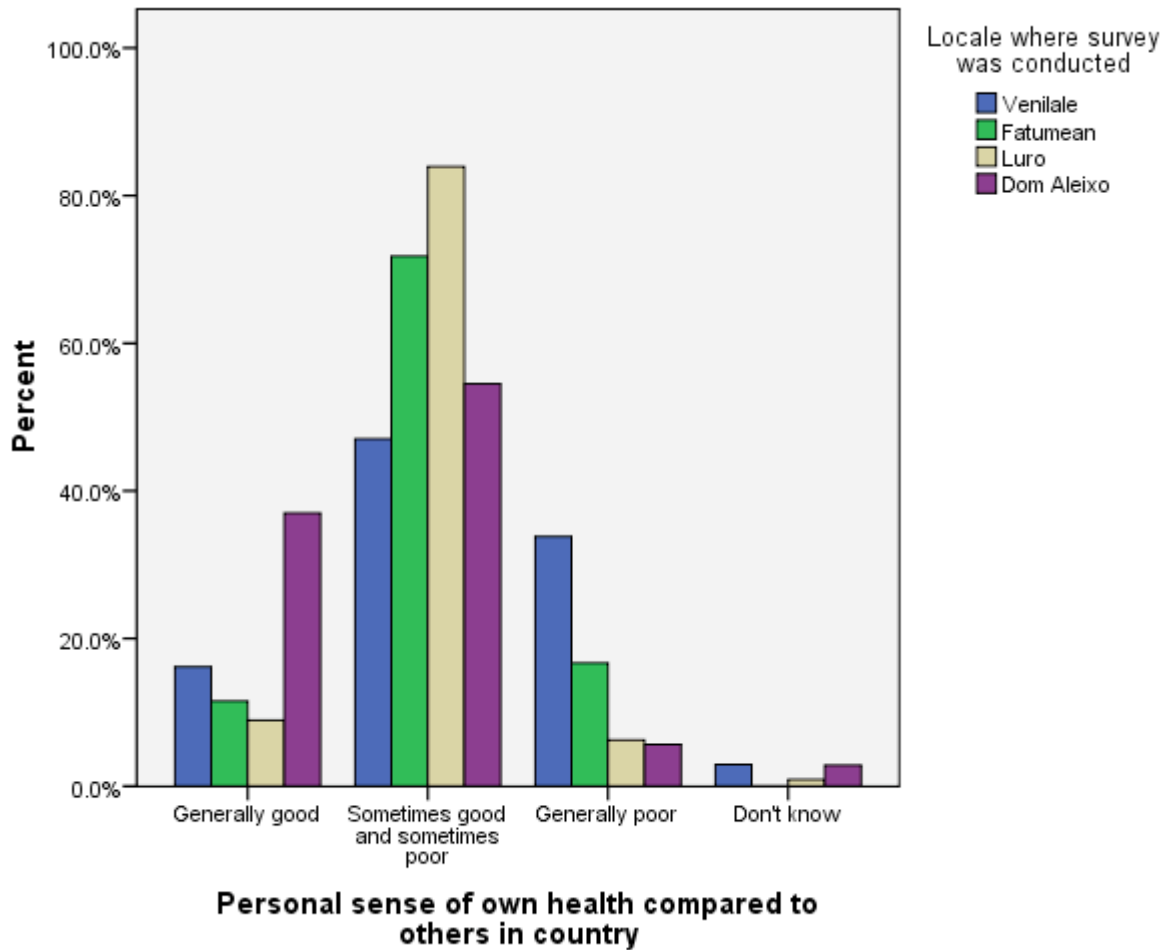
Survey 1. Question 23.

What is highest level of school education you have completed according?
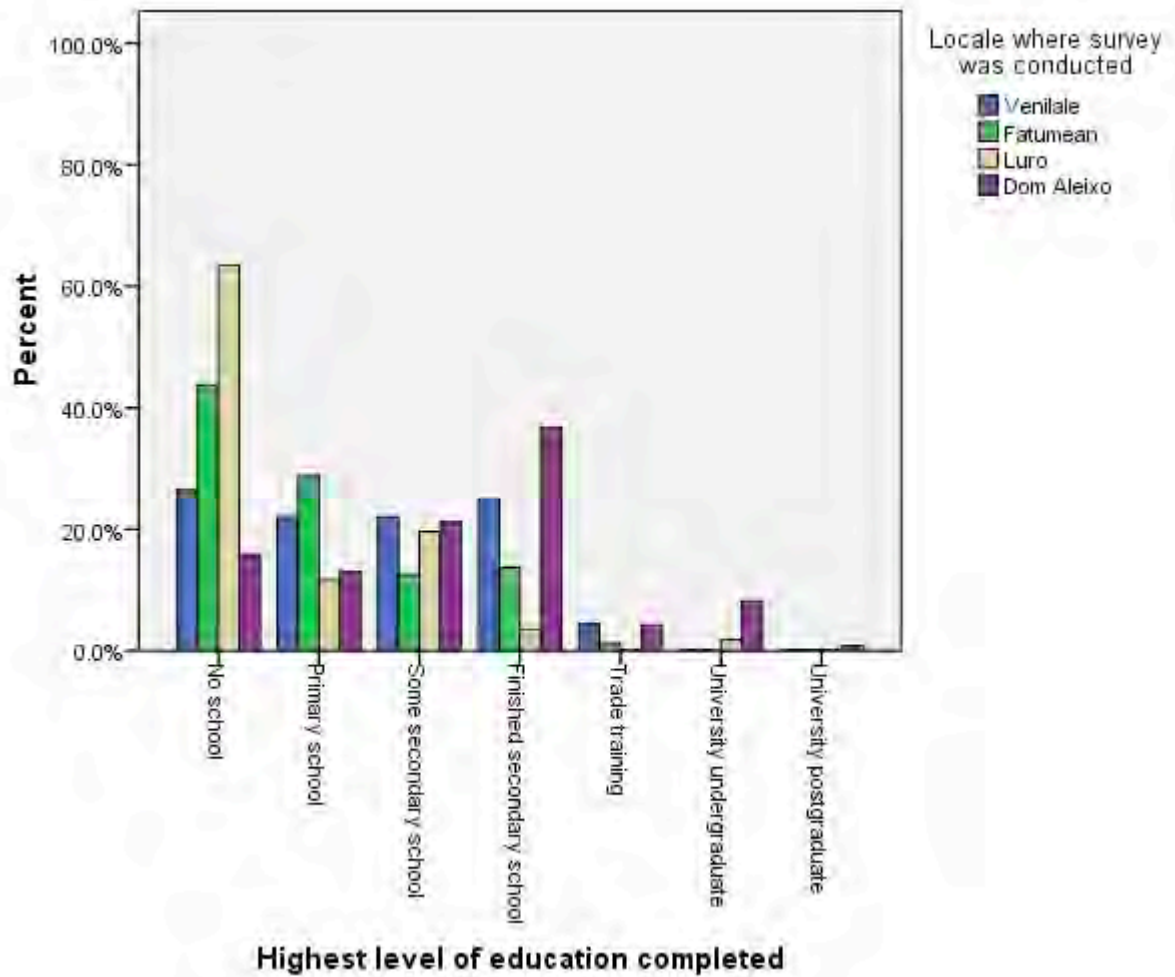
Survey 1. Question 25.

What is you age?
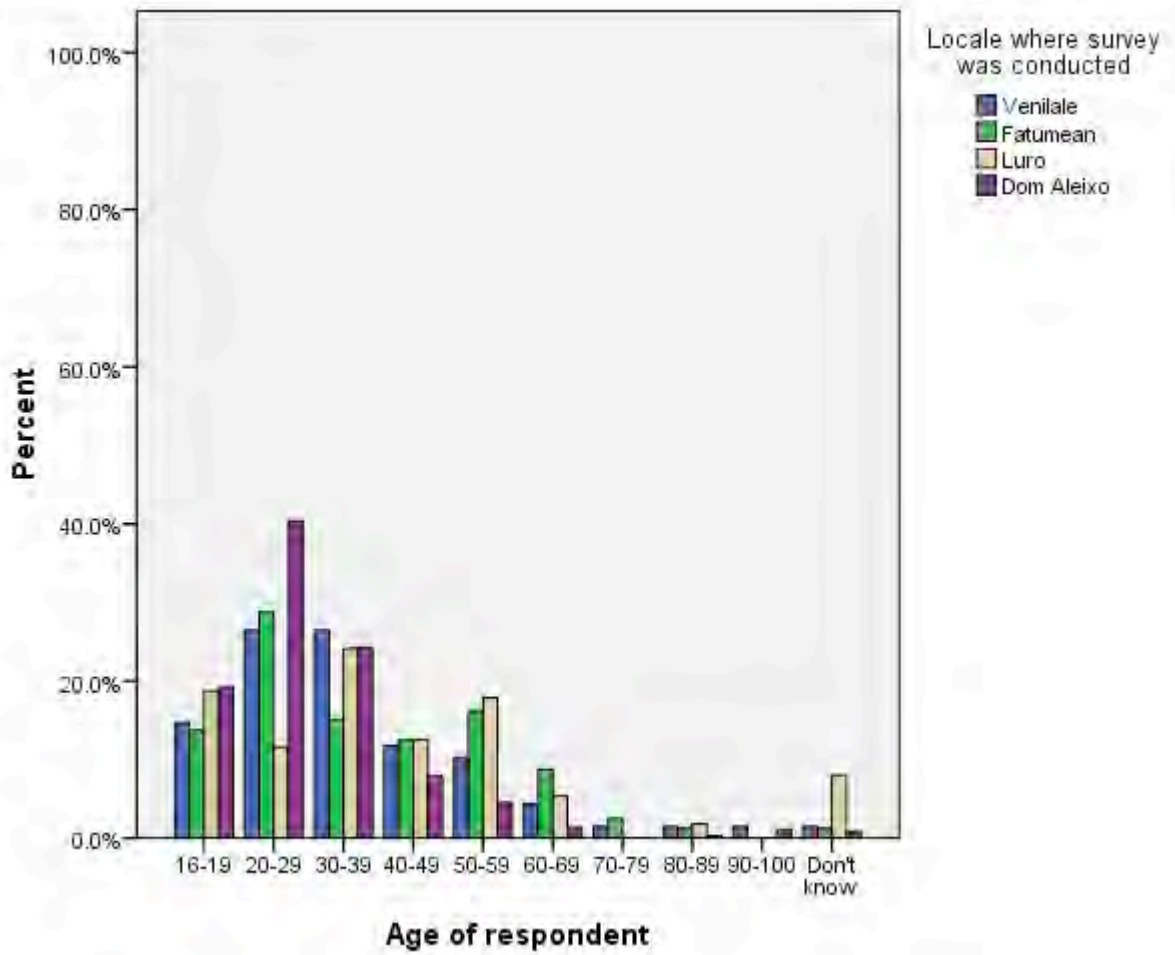
How would you describe your level of literacy?
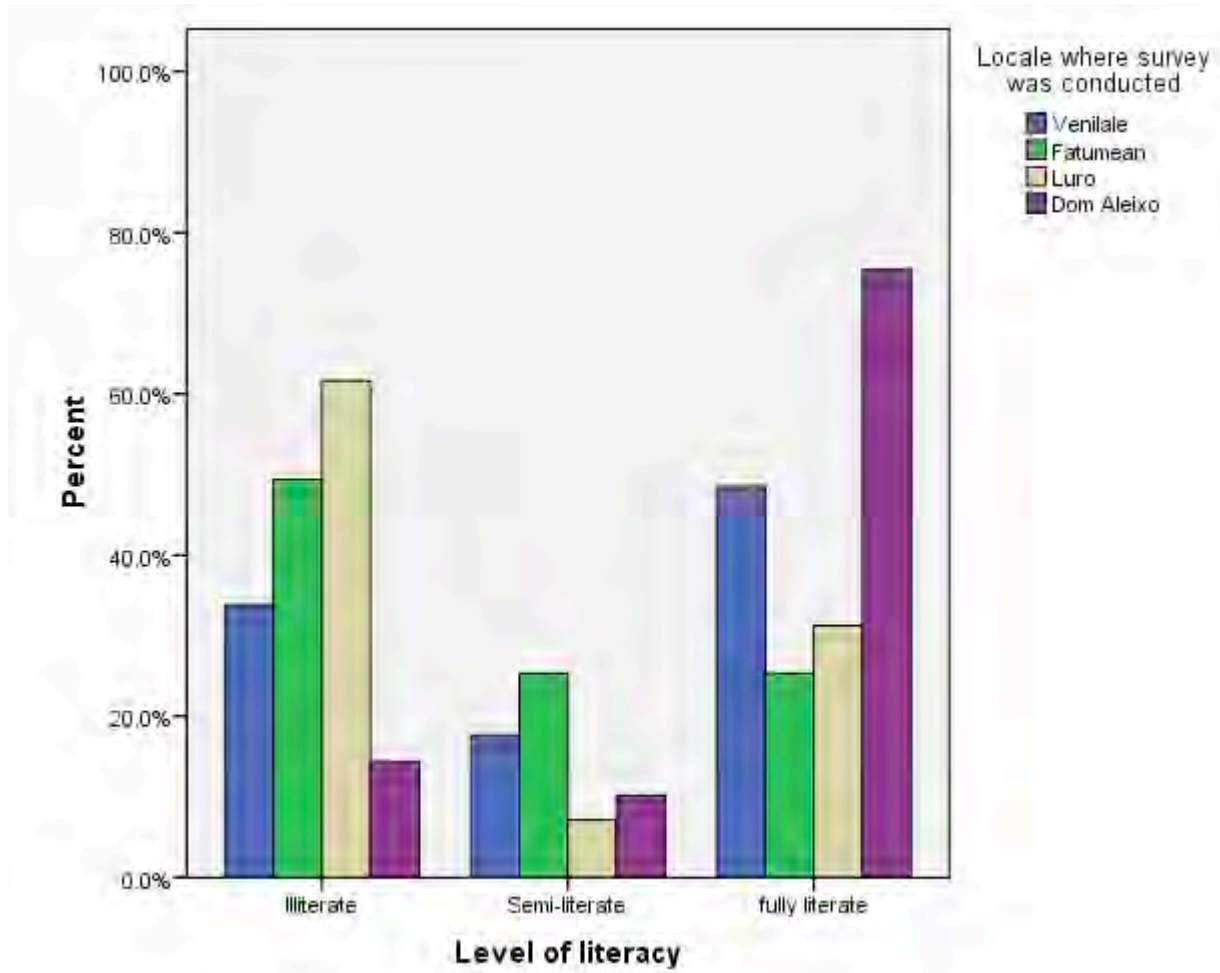
Survey 1. Question 27.

What is the furthest you have traveled from your community in your life?
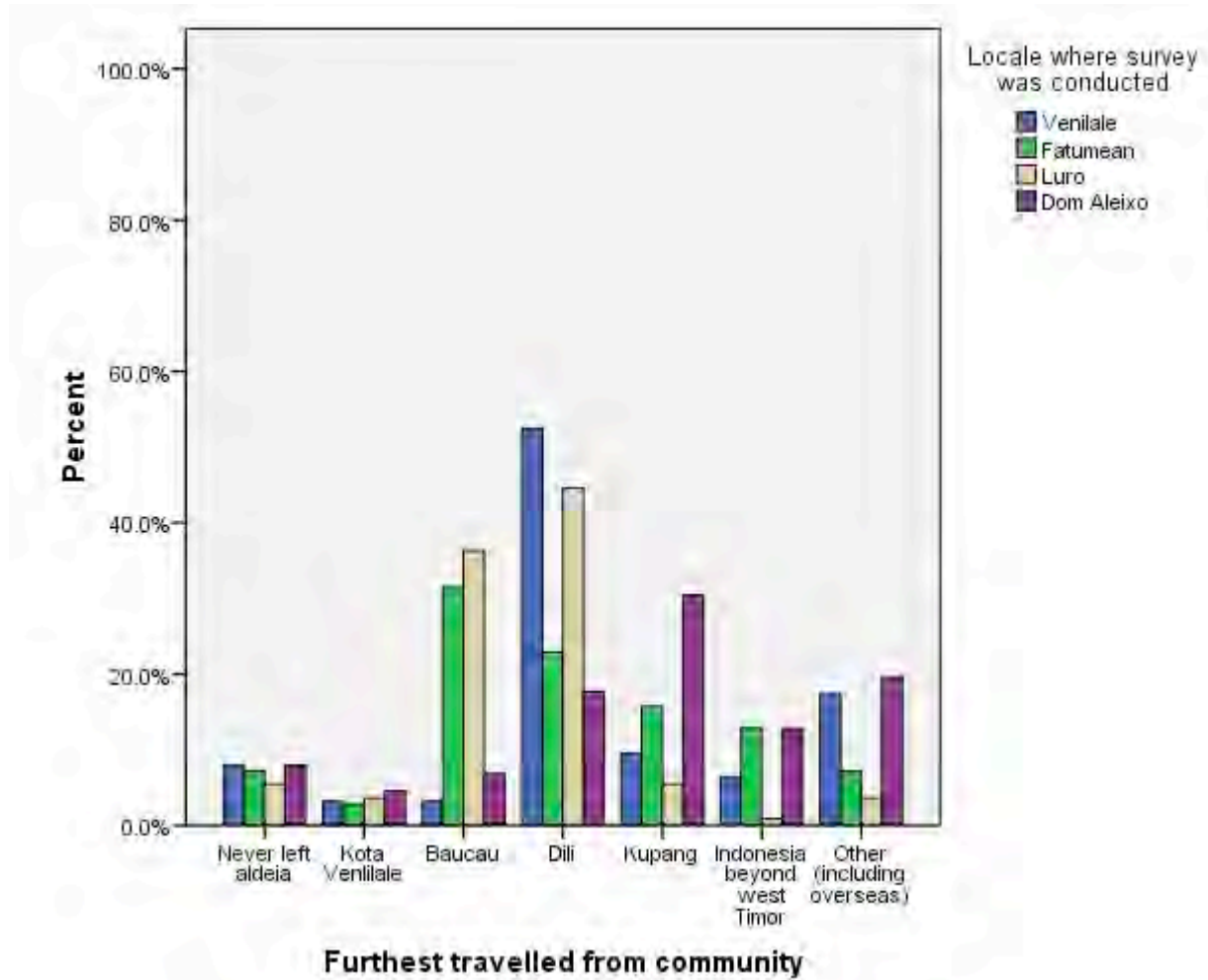
Survey 1. Question 29.

How frequently do you leave your Suco?

How frequently do you leave your suco?

How frequently do you leave your sub-district?

Figure: Bar chart showing "Percent" (y-axis, 0.0% to 100.0%) versus "How frequently do you leave your subdistrict?" (x-axis categories: Daily, About every two days, Once a week, Once a month, Once a year, Never). Legend — Locale where survey was conducted: Venilale, Fatumean, Luro, Dom Aleixo.
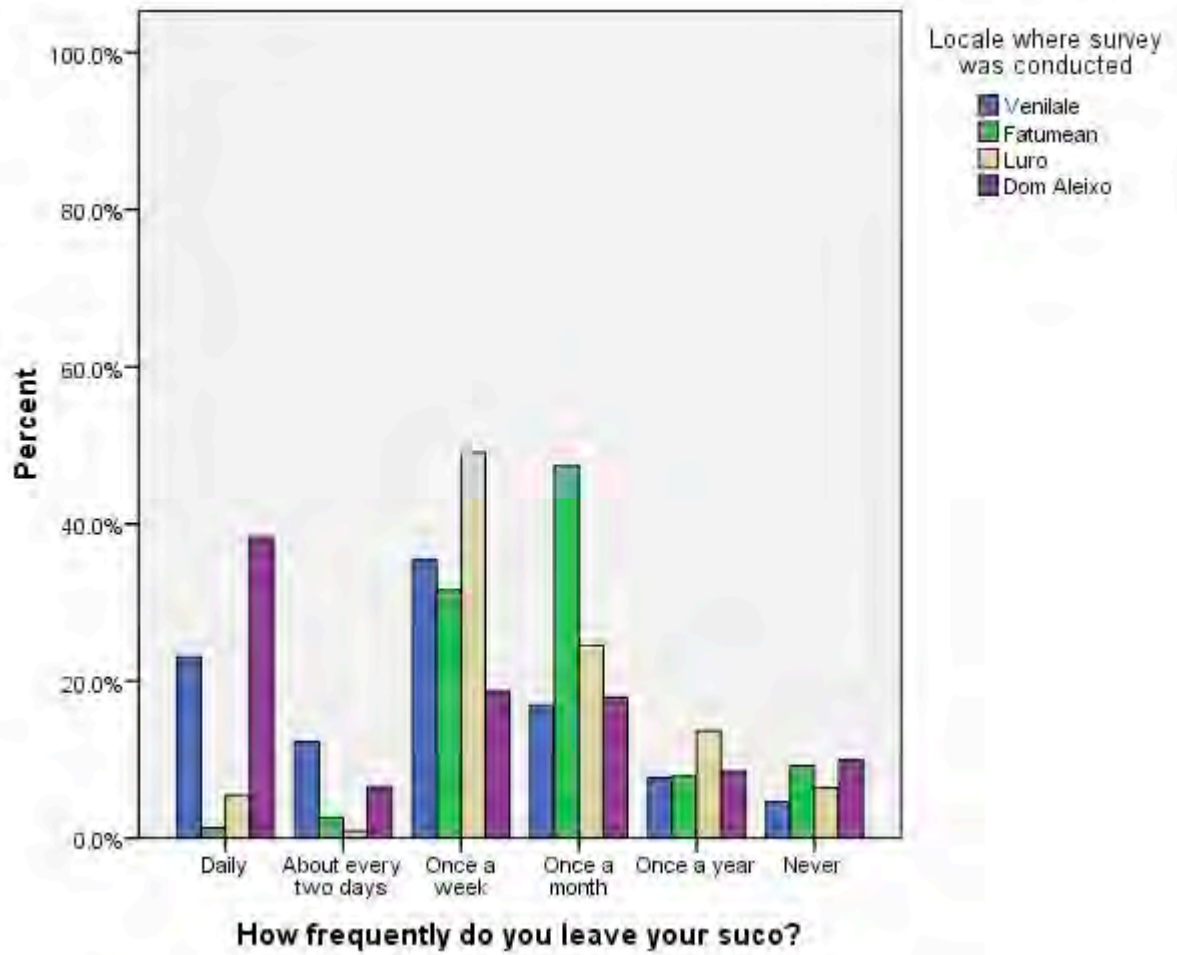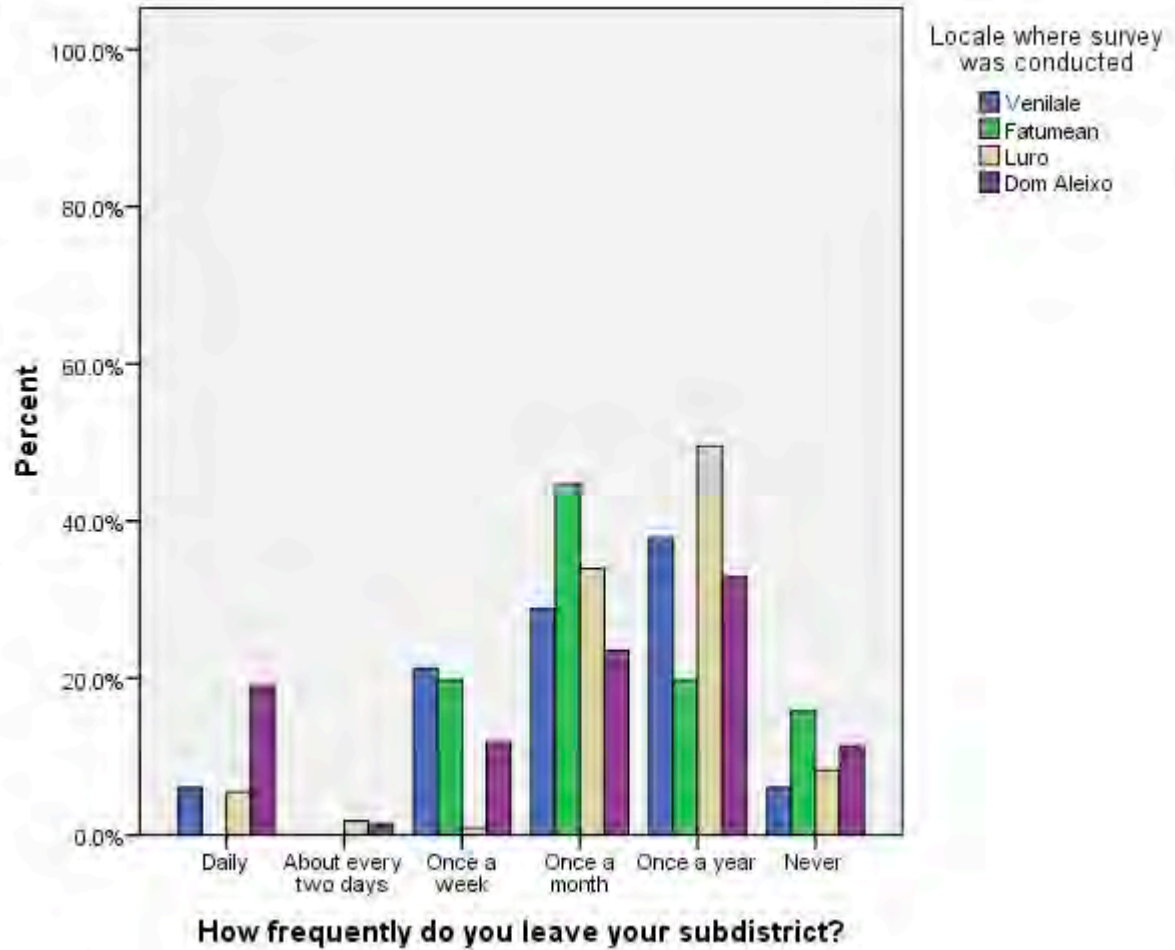
Survey 1. Question 34.

Where there is conflict in my community there are the means to find a solution within my community
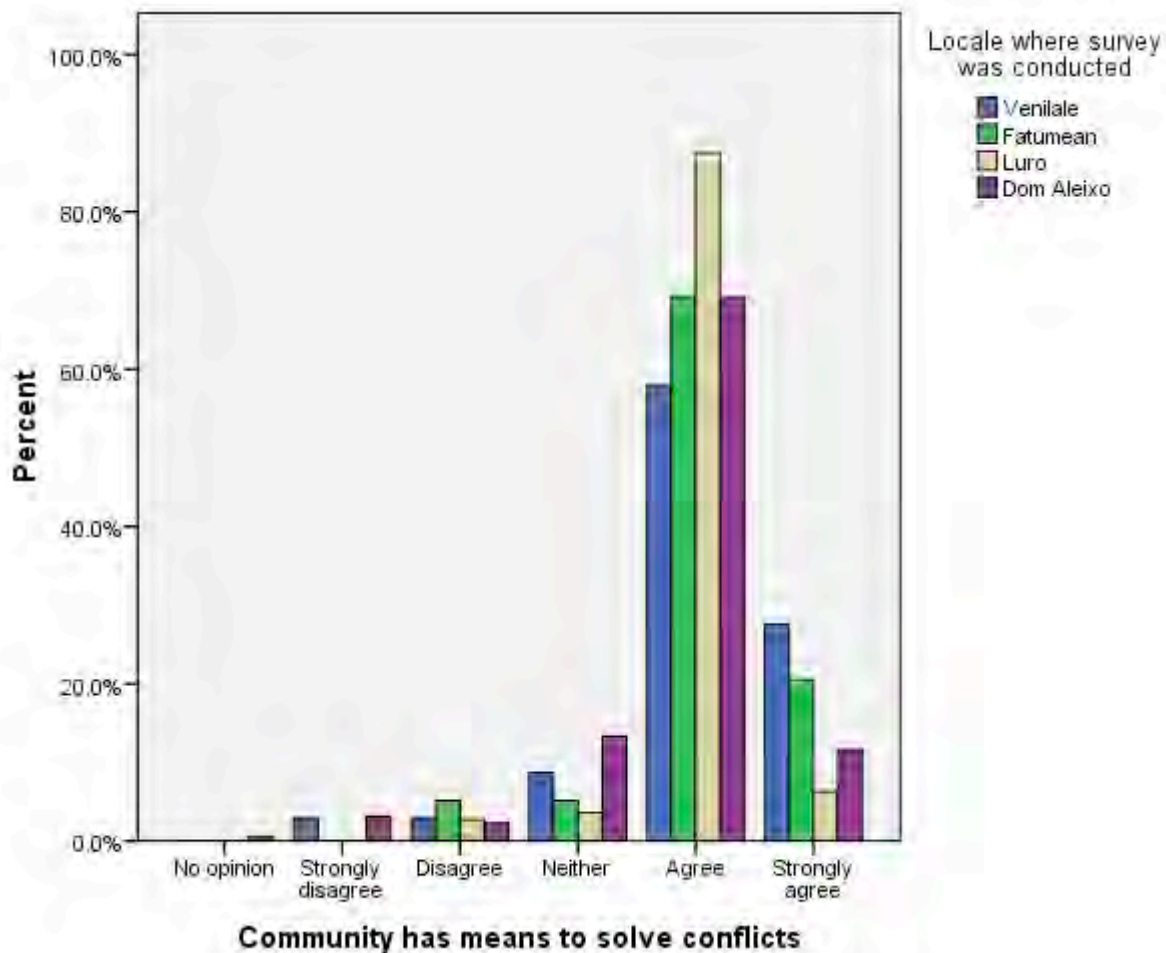
Survey 1. Question 35.

I think that currently women play an important role in conflict resolution in my community
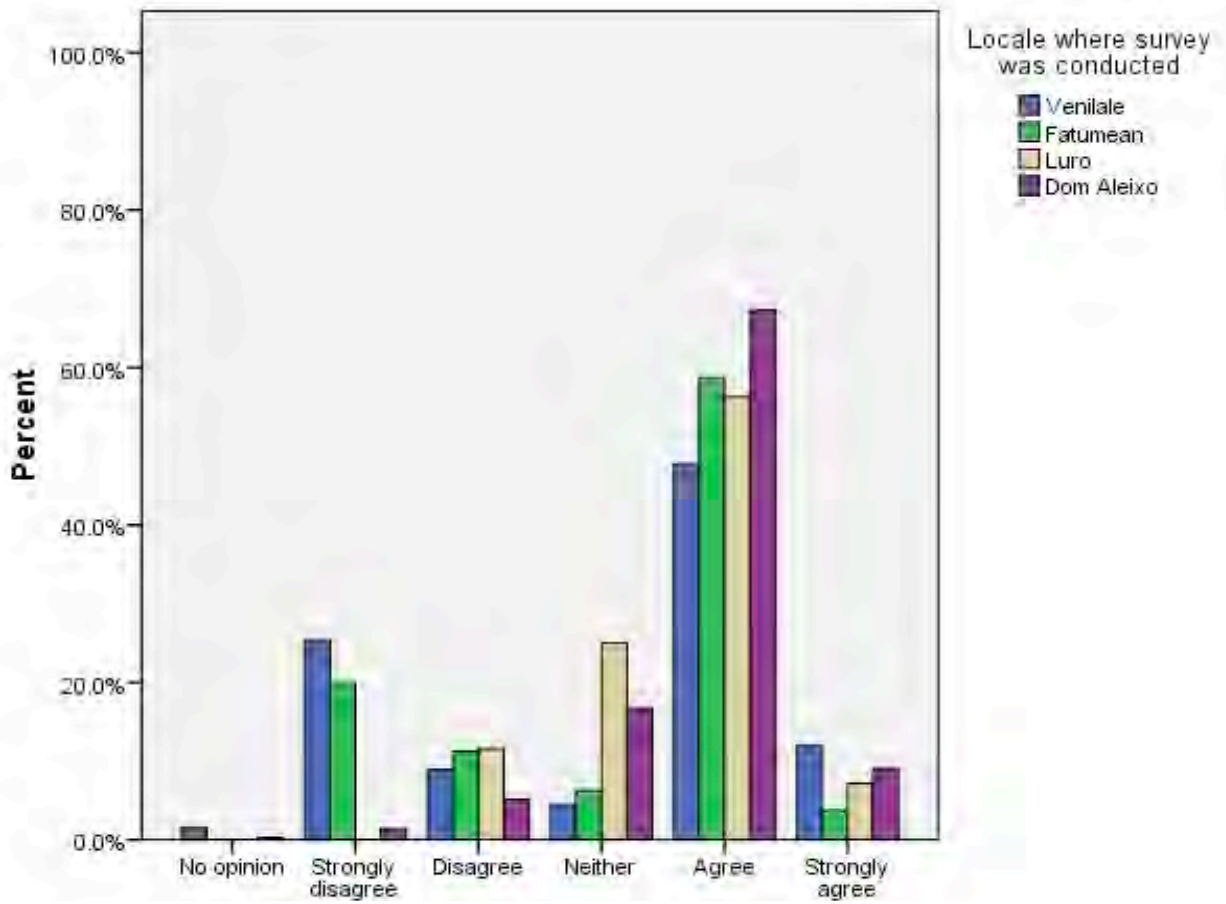
Survey 1. Question 36.

I see the relationship between my community and the nation as positive
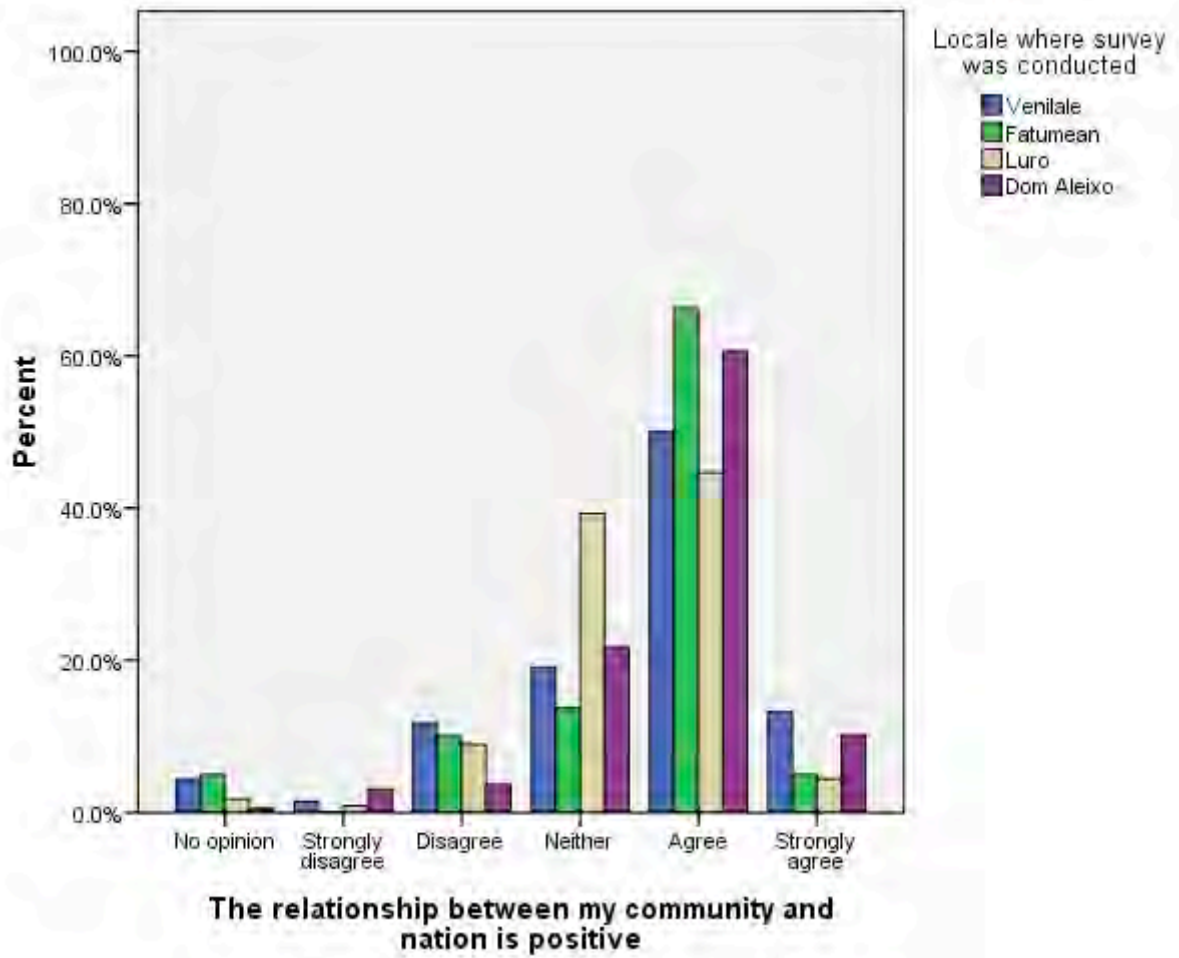
The impact of national independence on my community has been positive
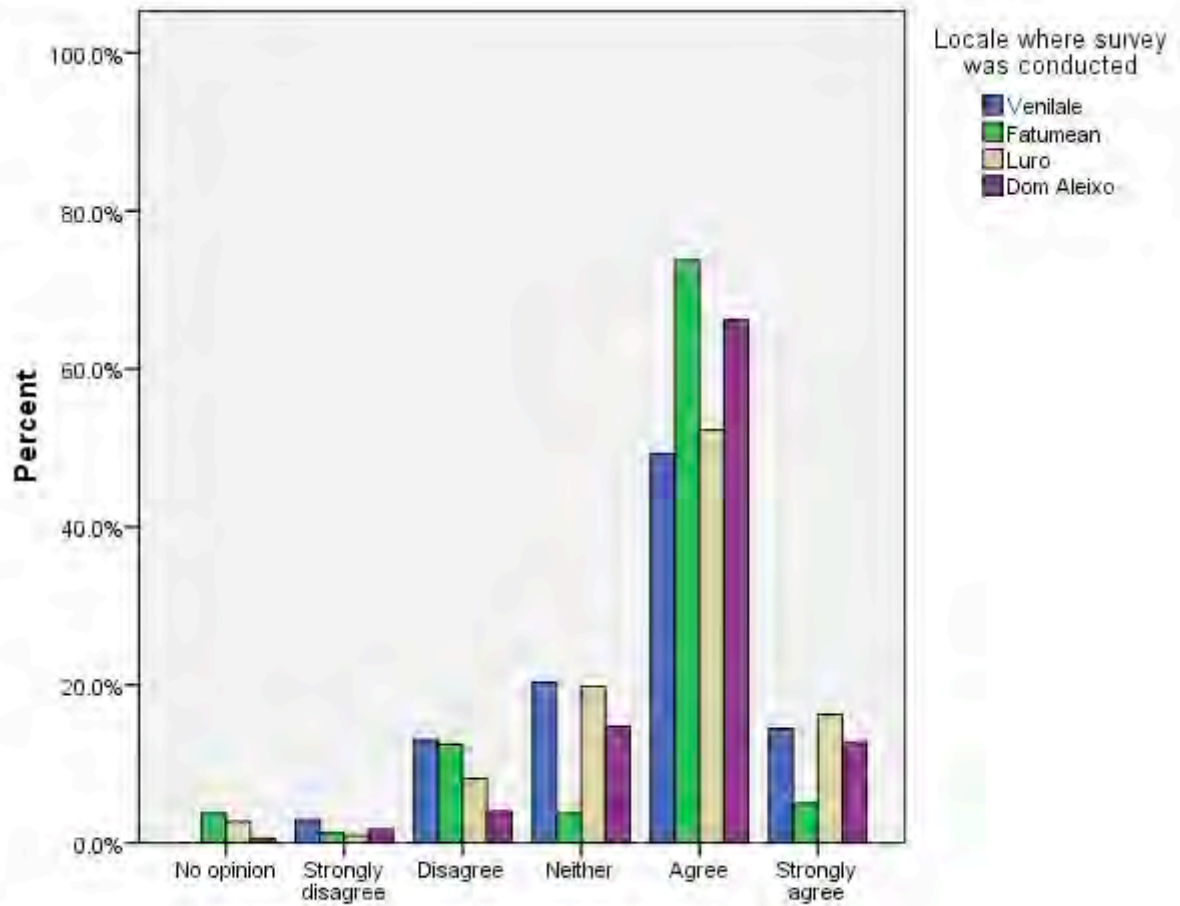
Survey 2. Question 1.

Does your household grow food in a garden?

Does your household grow food in a garden?
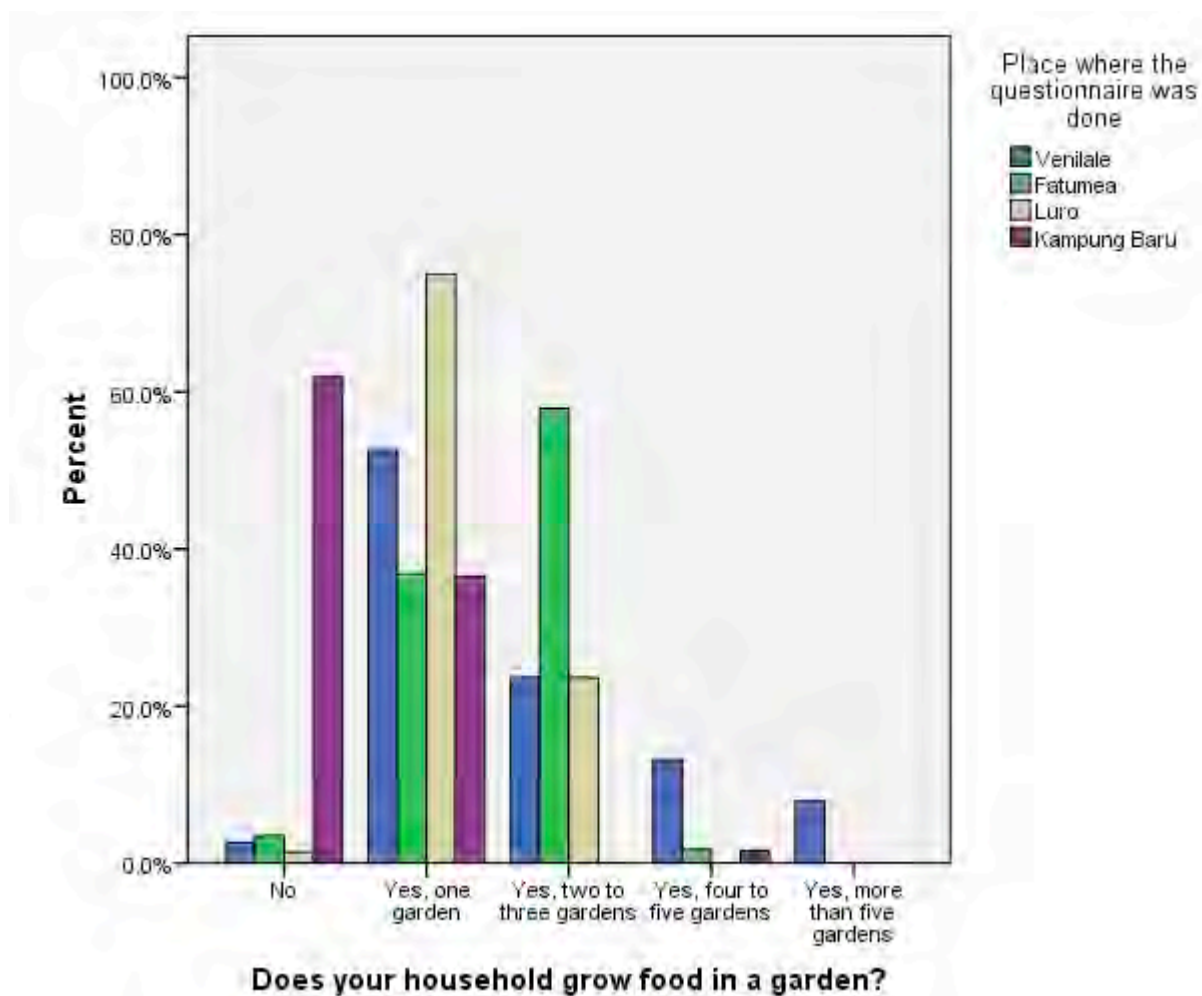
Survey 2. Question 4.

Who in your household would spend the most amount of time working in the garden?
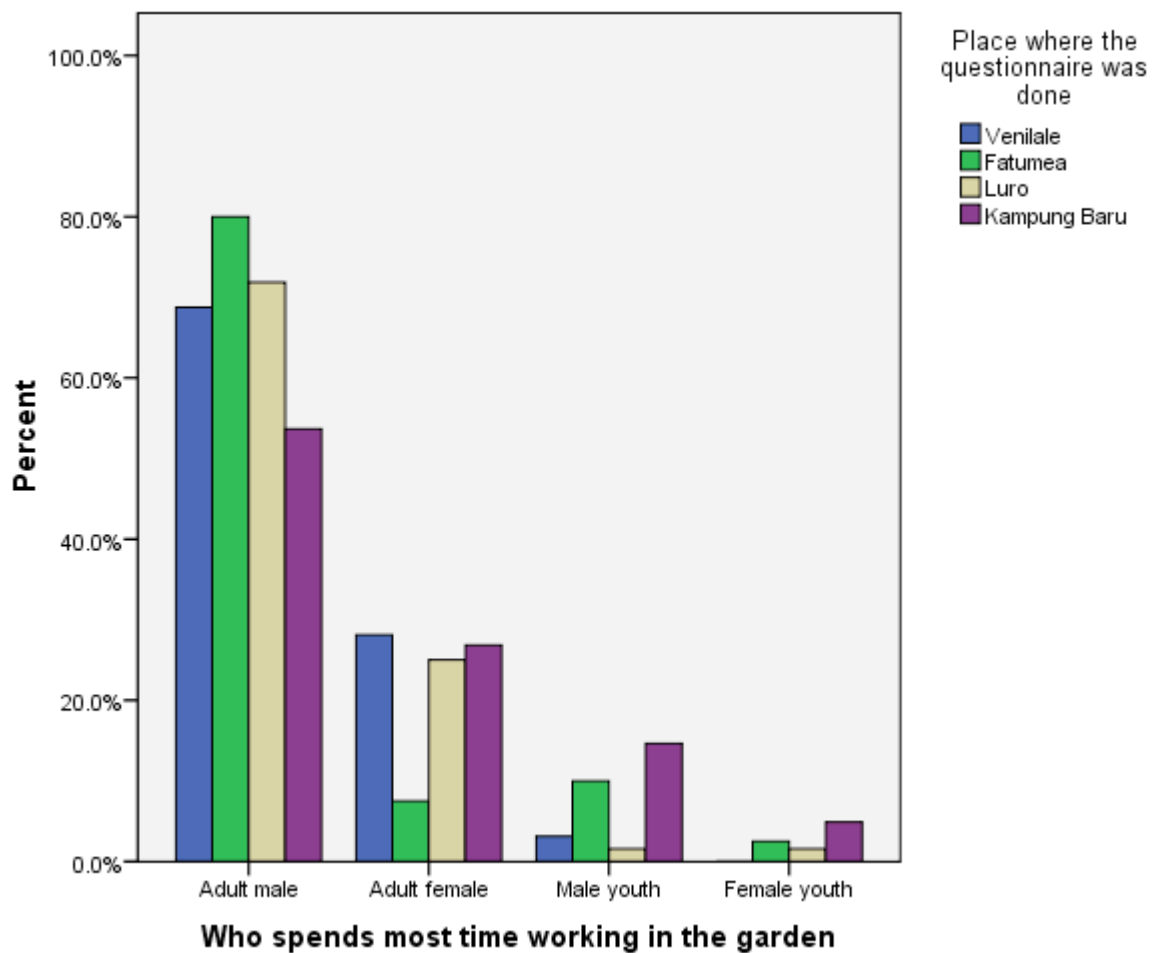
Survey 2. Question 13.

Do you experience food shortages at certain times of the year?
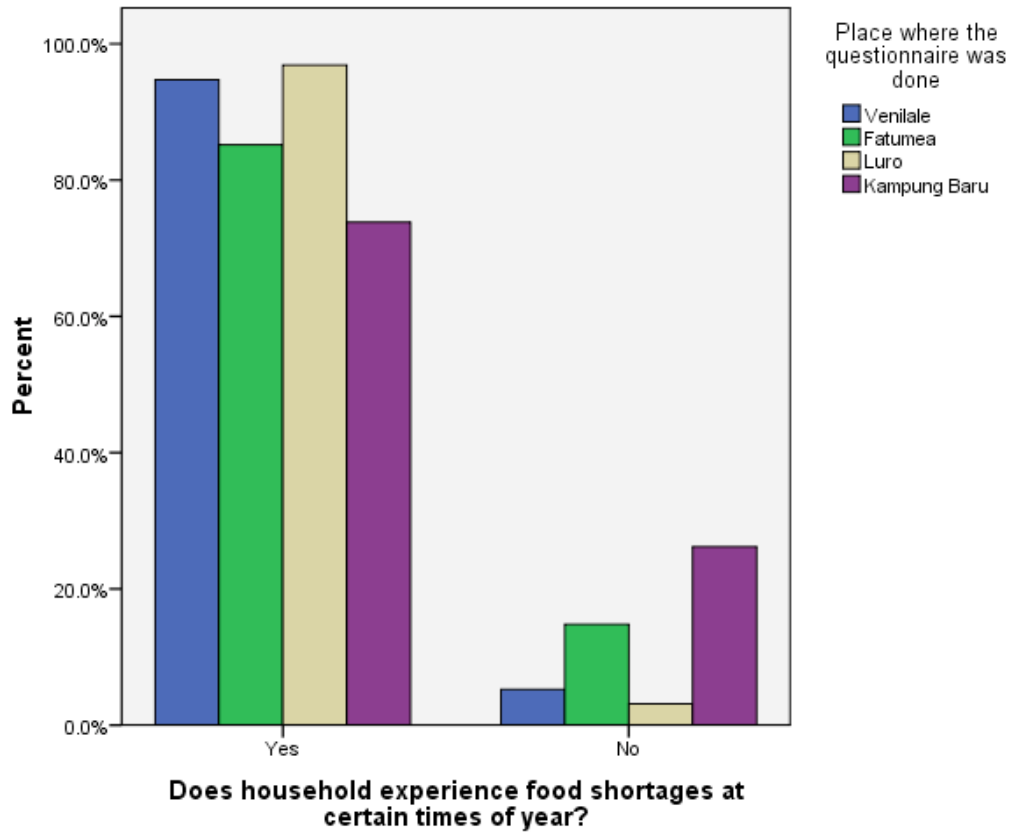
Survey 2. Question 20.

Do you need to carry water to you house?

Does household need to carry water to their house?
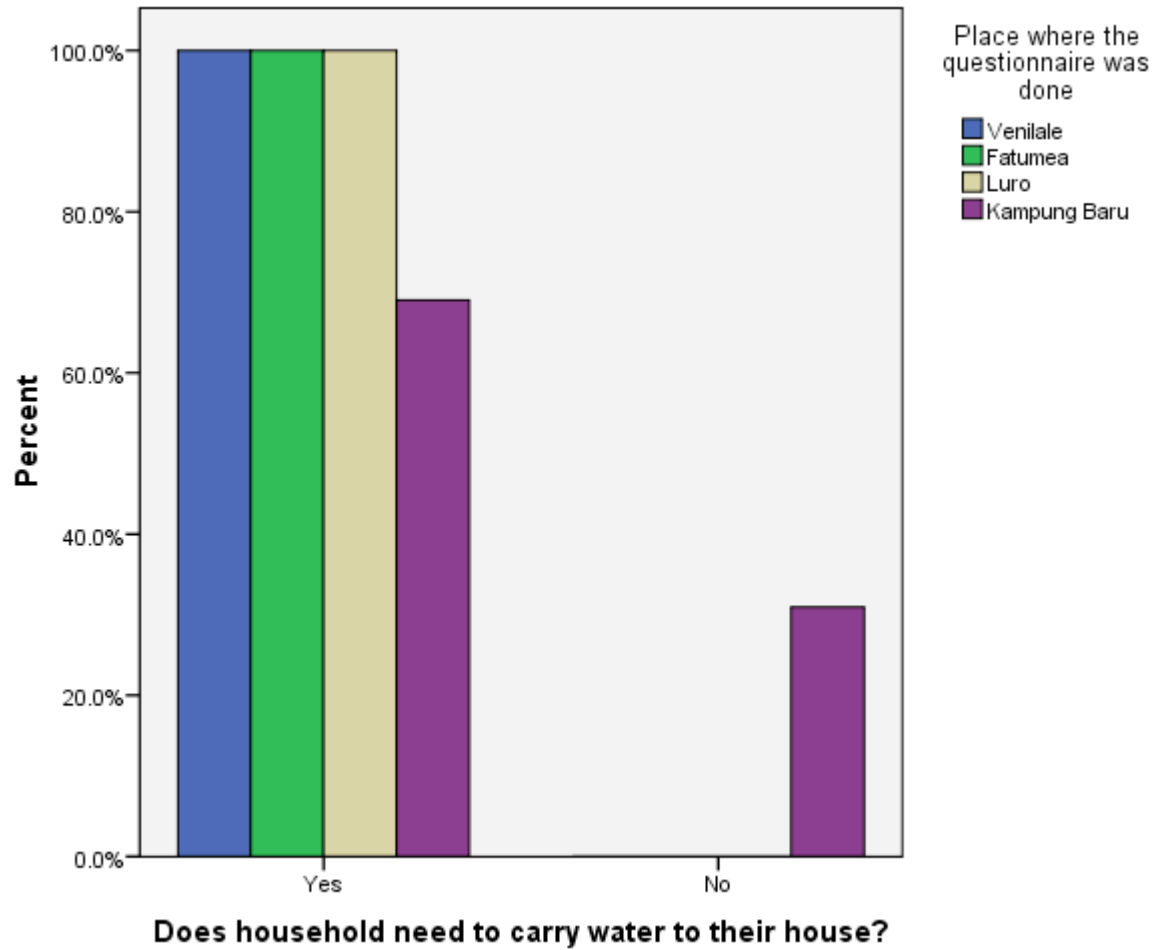
Survey 2. Question 21.

How long does it take your household to get water?
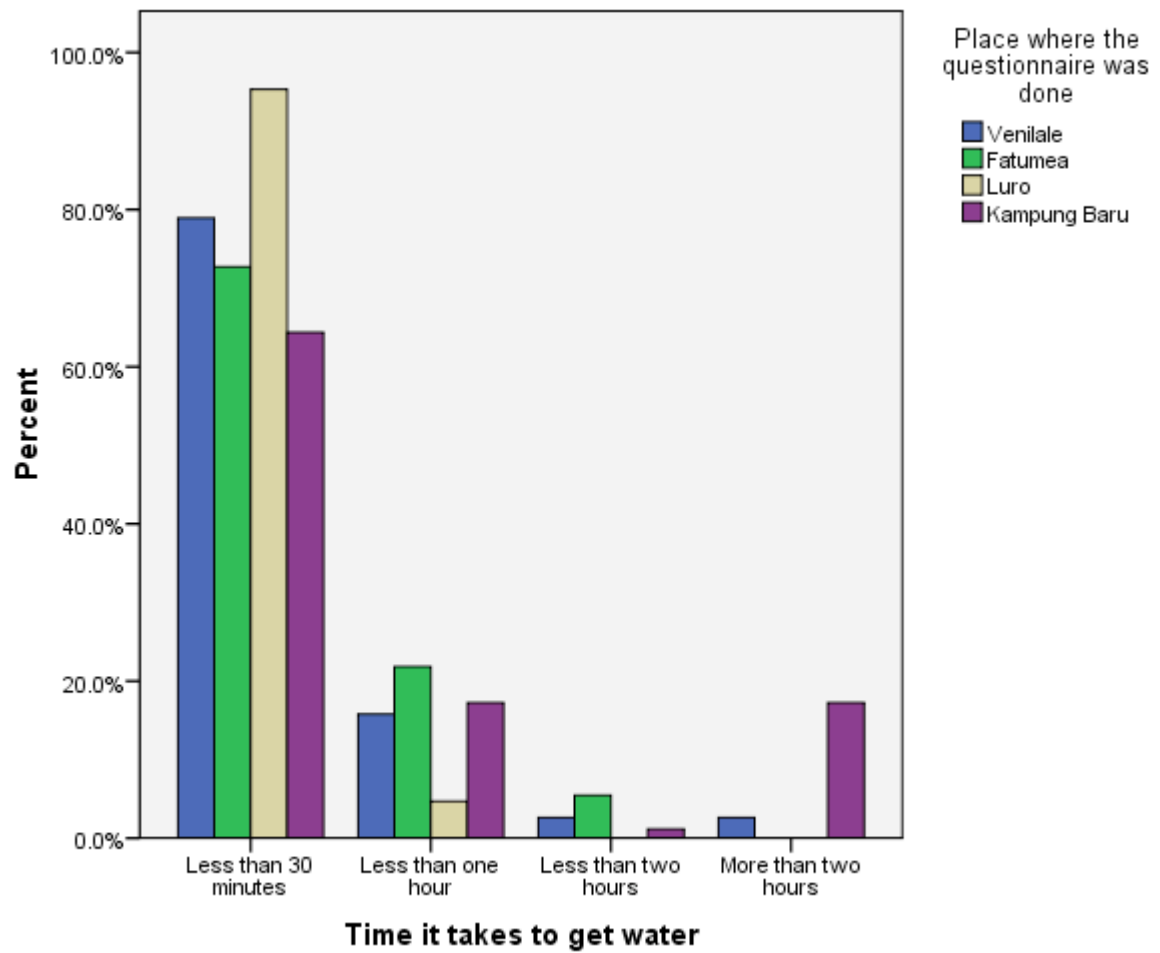
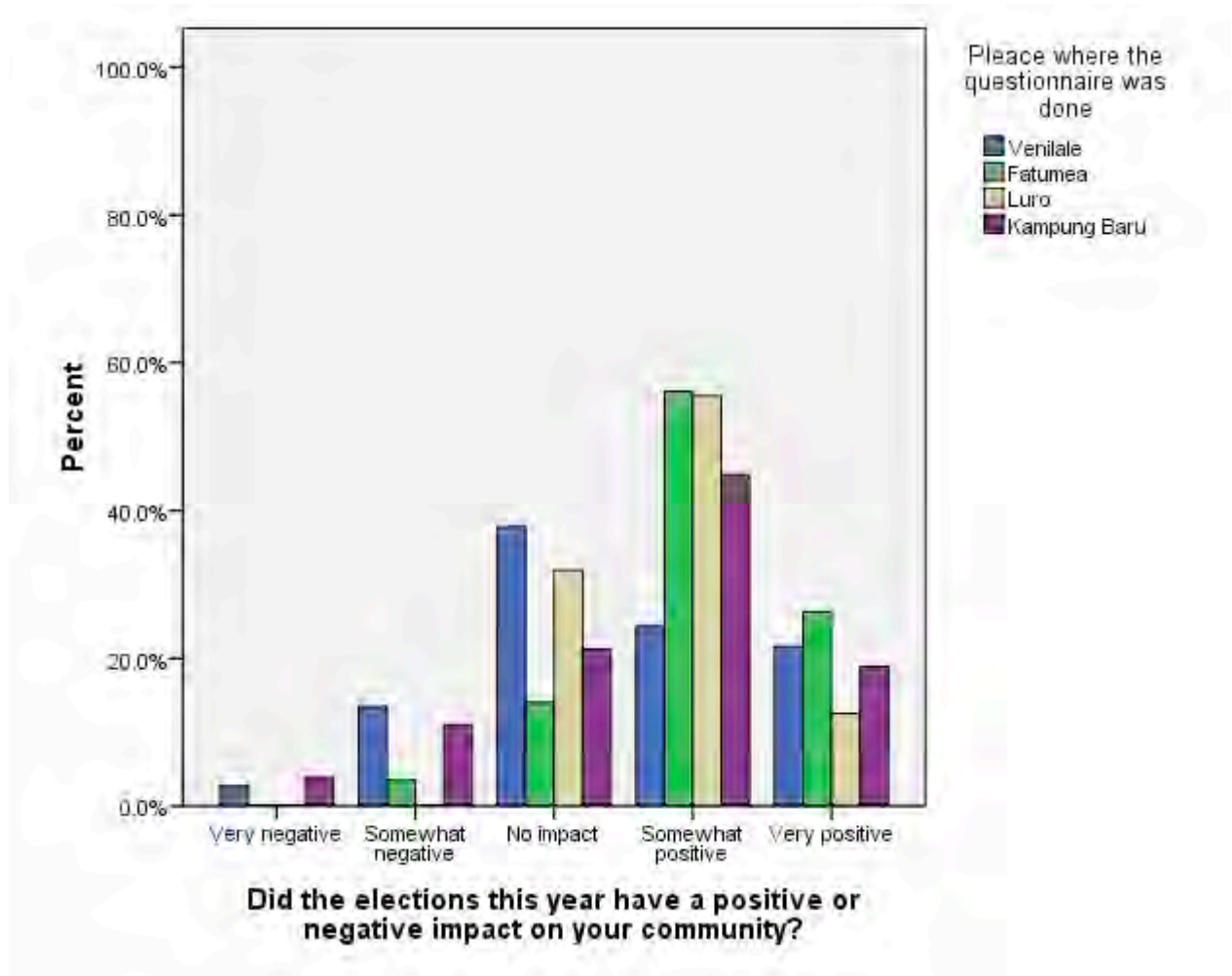**Survey 2. Question 23.**

How many people are involved in getting water?
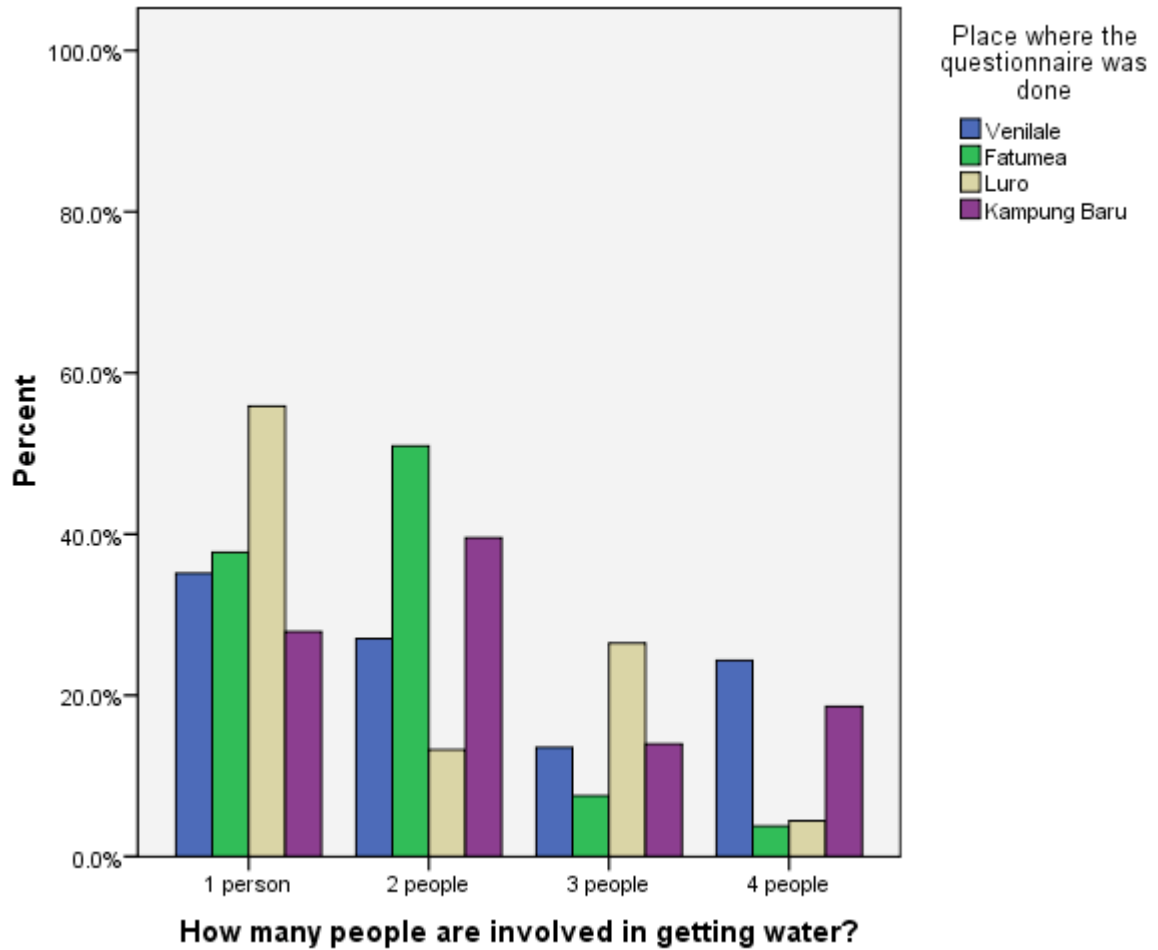
Survey 3. Question 1.

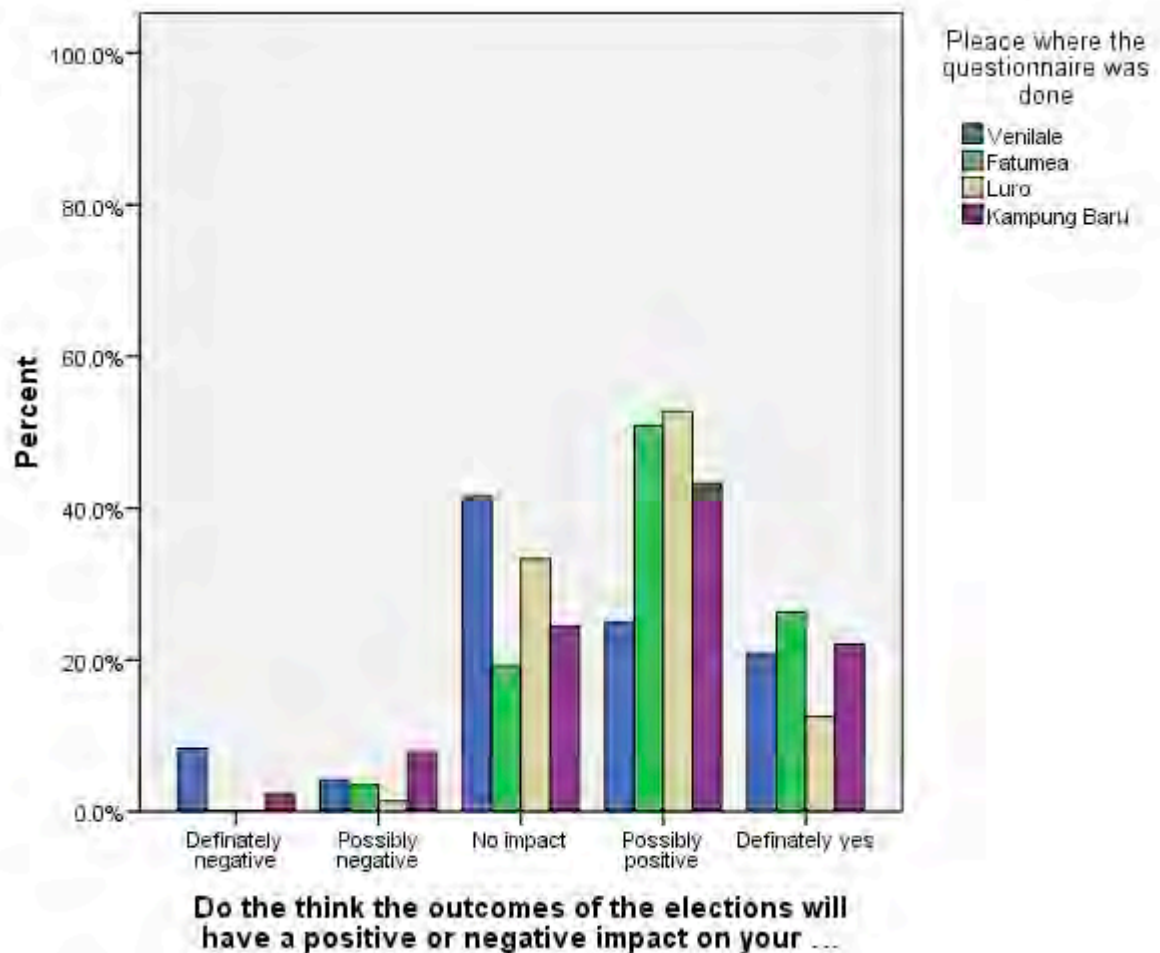## In general, did the election process this year have a positive or negative impact on your community?
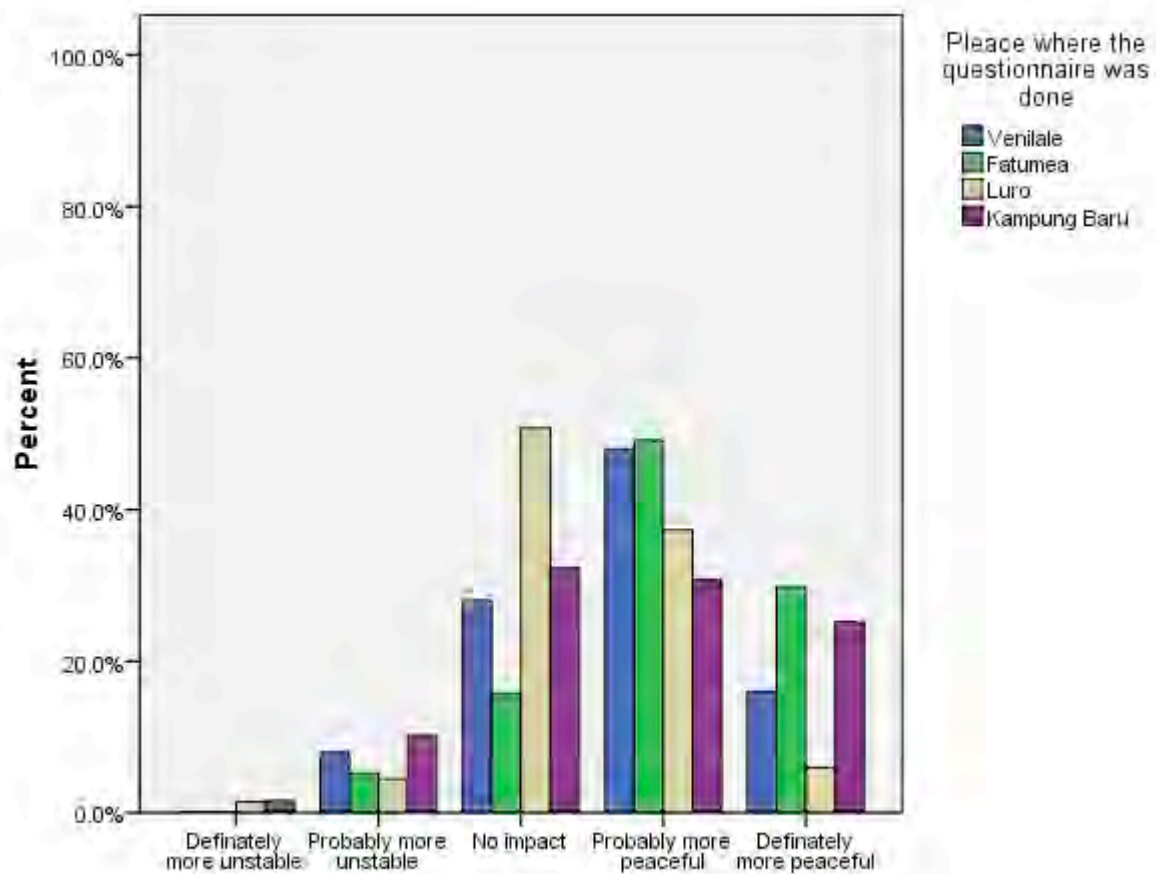
Survey 3. Question 2.

In general, do you think that the outcomes of the elections will have a positive or negative impact on your community?

Survey 3. Question 3.

Do you think now that the elections are over that Timor will be more peaceful or more unstable?
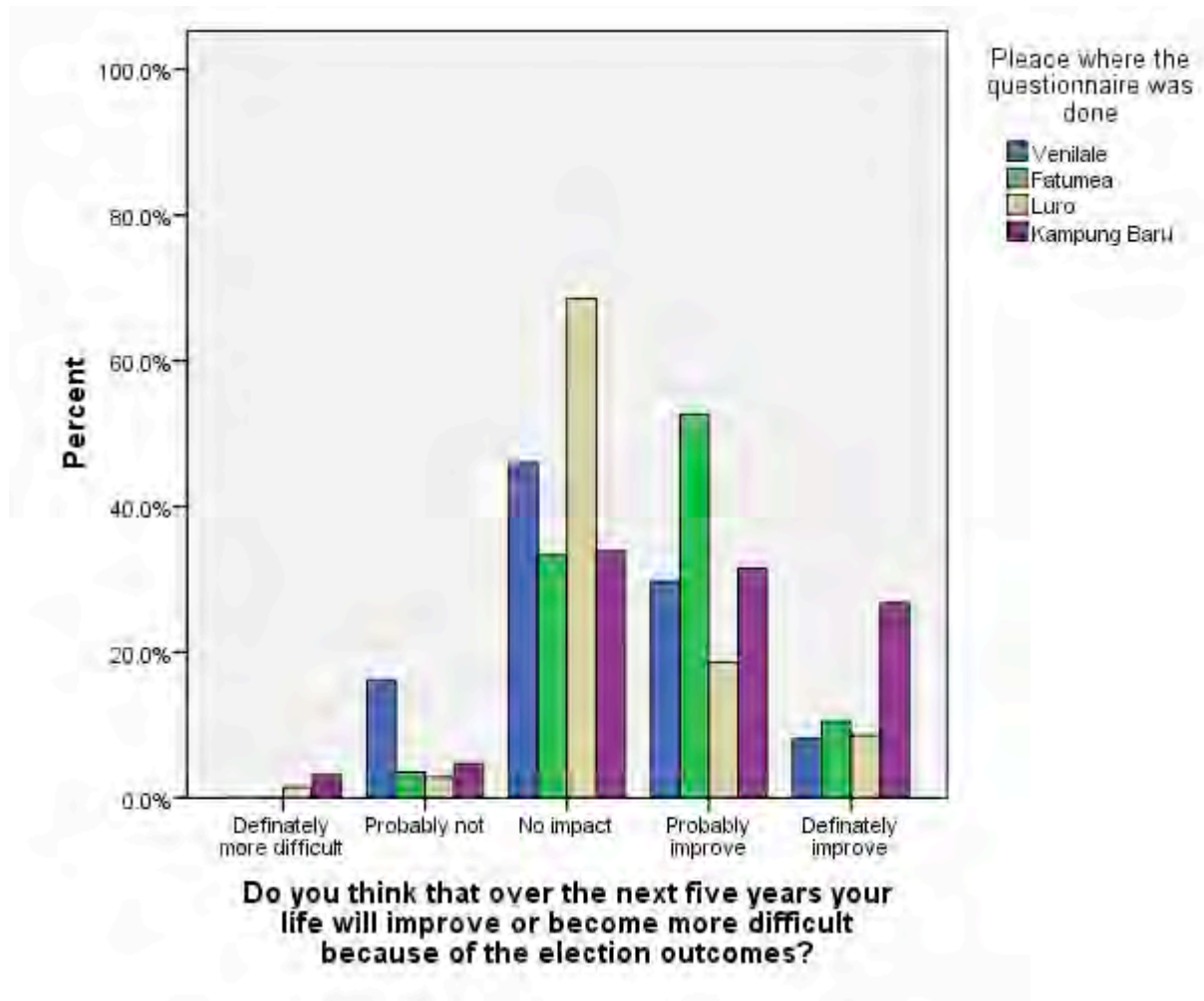

Now the elections are over, do you think that Timor will be more peaceful or more unstable?

Survey 3. Question 4.

Do you think that over the next five years your life will improve or become more difficult because of the election outcomes?

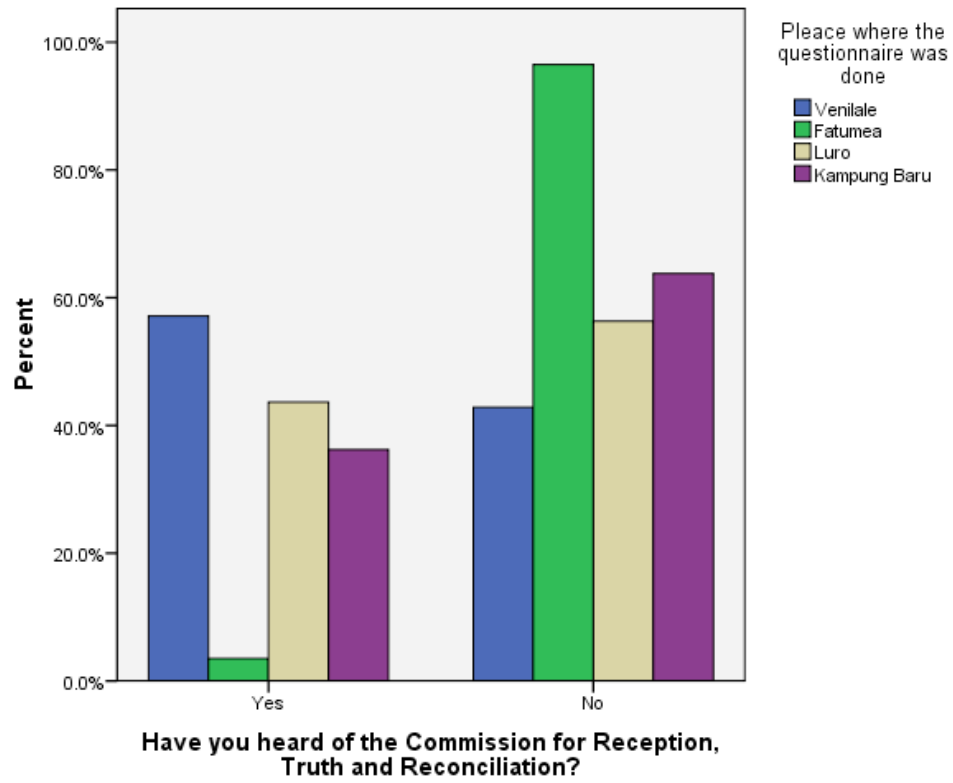Do you think that over the next five years your life will improve or become more difficult because of the election outcomes?

Survey 3. Question 5.

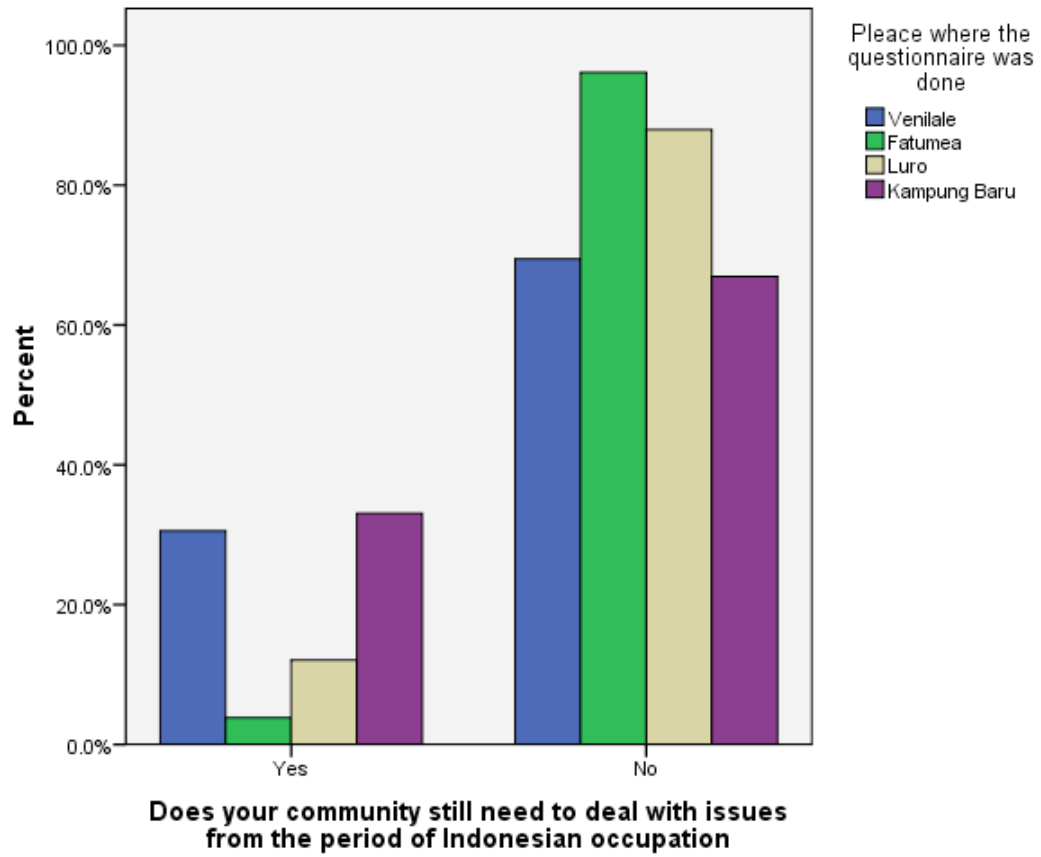## Have you heard of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR)?

Survey 3. Question 11.

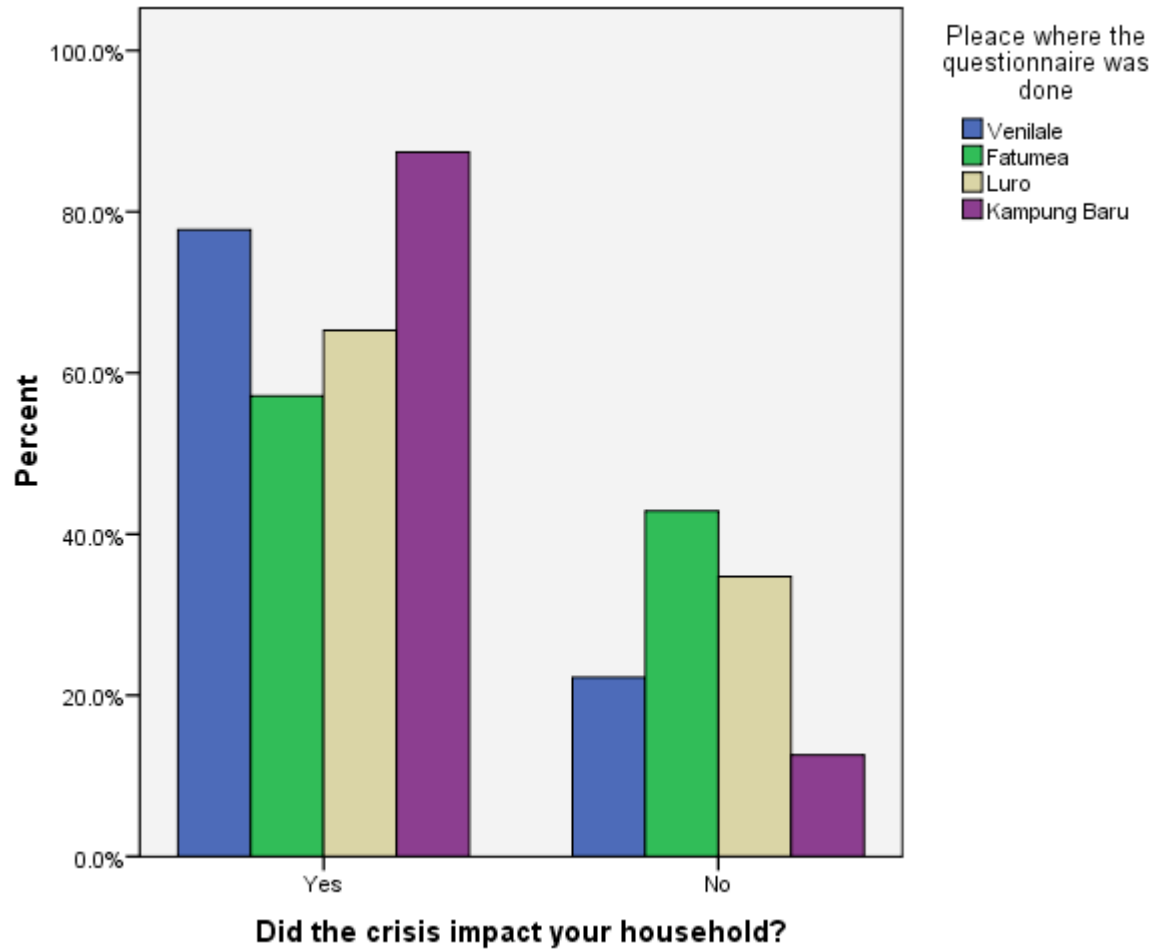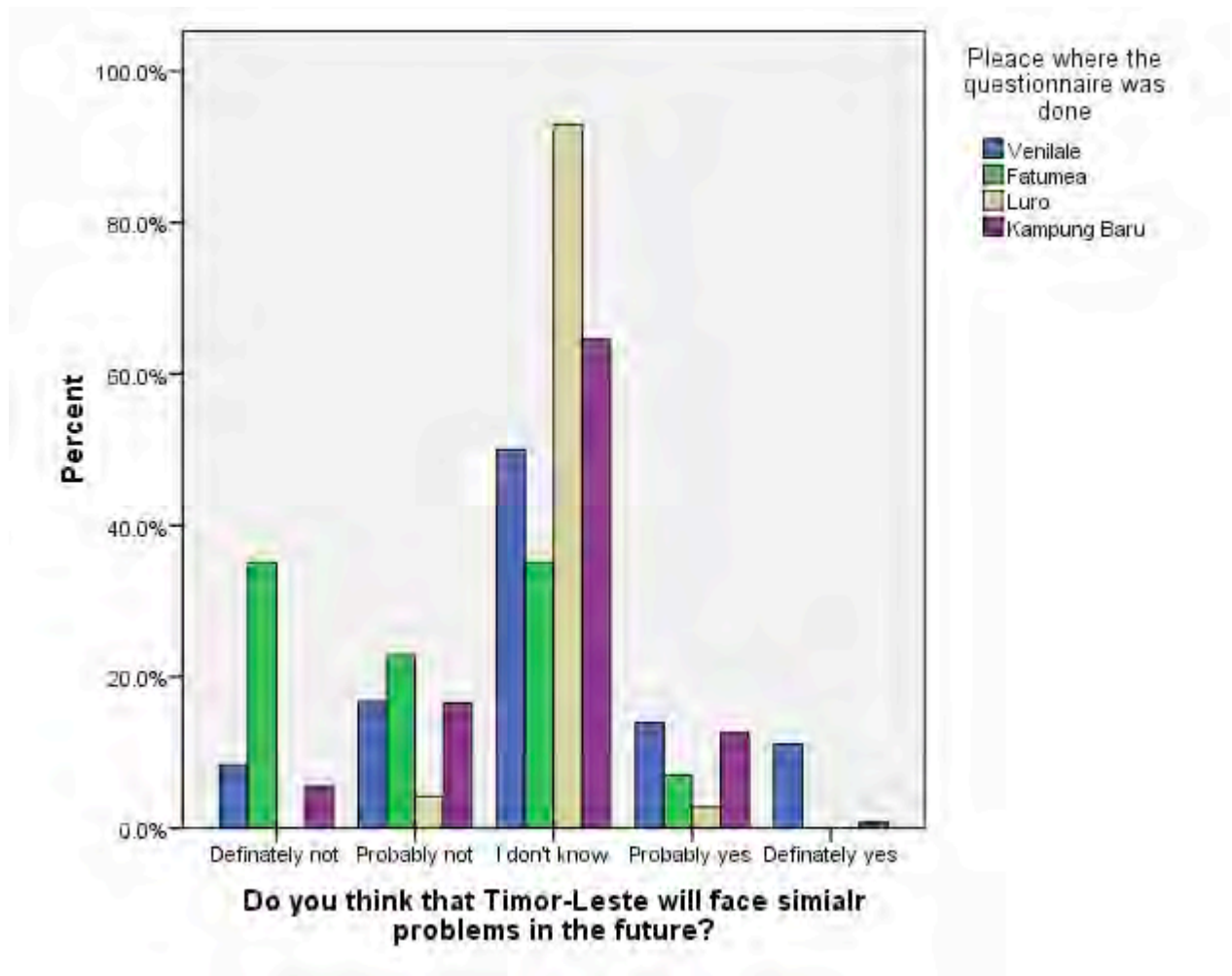**Does your community still need to deal with issues from the period of Indonesian occupation?**

Did the crisis impact your household?

Survey 3. Question 15.

Do you think that Timor-Leste will face similar problems (like the crisis) in the future?

Surveys One, Two and Three

THE GLOBALISM INSTITUTE
An RMIT Research Centre

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<u>Survey One: Community Attitudes (Individual)</u>

To answer the questions below, please place a cross (X) in just one box. There are several questions where you can cross two or three boxes. If you cross the wrong box, please indicate your intended answer by striking out the wrong one/s.

First, we would like to ask you some questions about your local community.

1. How long have you lived in this community (or local place)?

1 ☐ **less than a year**   2 ☐ **1–5 yrs**   3 ☐ **6–10 yrs**   4 ☐ **11–20 yrs**   5 ☐ **21–50 yrs**

6 ☐ **+ 51 yrs**

2. How long did you live in your previous community (your home prior to this place)?

1 ☐ **less than a year**   2 ☐ **1–5 yrs**   3 ☐ **6–10 yrs**   4 ☐ **11–20 yrs**   5 ☐ **21–50 yrs**

6 ☐ **more than 51 yrs**   7 ☐ **I have lived in the same community all of my life**

3. What or whom do you identify as your main community?

1 ☐ The place where you live (like your village, town or suburb)?

2 ☐ A particular group of people (extended family, clan, or tribe)?

3 ☐ Your workplace?

4 ☐ Your local school?

5 ☐ Club, community centre, or religious centre (church, synagogue, mosque, or temple)?

6 ☐ More than one or all of the above

7 ☐ None of these

8 ☐ I am not sure

3. a) Which Sub-District were you born in? (*Please write*)

………………………………………………….

Now we want to ask you about your satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Thinking about your own life and personal circumstances, please rank how you feel about the following questions on a scale of 'very satisfied' to 'very dissatisfied'.

4. How satisfied are you with feeling part of your community?

5	4	3	2	1
Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

No   opinion   ☐ 0

1

5. How satisfied are you with the community where you live?

5	4	3	2	1
Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

No opinion   0

6. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?

5	4	3	2	1
Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

No opinion   0

7. I am satisfied that government services in my community are sufficient (for example, health, education, police, roads, water).

5	4	3	2	1
Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

No opinion   0

8. How satisfied are you with how safe you feel?

5	4	3	2	1
Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

No opinion   0

9. Are you satisfied that your life overall has improved over the last 5 years?

5	4	3	2	1
Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neither	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied

No opinion   0

We now want to ask about the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements on a scale of 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.

10. I feel that I can influence figures of authority who are relevant to my community:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

11. I feel that the decisions made about life in my community are made in the interests of the whole community:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

12. I feel that formally-educated experts, such as government administrators, scientific experts and managers, can be trusted when dealing with local issues:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

13. I feel that governments make decisions and laws that are good for the way I live locally:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

14. I feel comfortable meeting and talking with people who are different from me:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

15. I feel that most people can be trusted:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

16. I believe that the past—the history of my people or country—influences the way I live:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

17. I regularly use communication technologies, such as telephones, mobile phones, or the internet to maintain relationships with friends and family who live far from me.

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

18a. How often do you use technologies such as telephones, mobile phones (including SMS), or the internet to communicate with your friends and family across long distances?

1 ☐ Hourly   2 ☐ Daily   3 ☐ Weekly   4 ☐ Monthly   5 ☐ Once a year   6 ☐ Never

18b. How often do you use written messages to communicate with your friends and family across long distances?

1 ☐ Hourly   2 ☐ Daily   3 ☐ Weekly   4 ☐ Monthly   5 ☐ Once a year   6 ☐ Never

18c. How often do you use oral messages carried by people to communicate with people outside of your community?

1 ☐ Hourly   2 ☐ Daily   3 ☐ Weekly   4 ☐ Monthly   5 ☐ Once a year   6 ☐ Never

19. Who lives with you in your house?

1 ☐ Alone

2 ☐ As a single person with children

3 ☐ With just your husband/wife or partner

4 ☐ With your husband/wife or partner and another person or persons—child or adult

5 ☐ With others (not your family) such as friends or housemates

6 ☐ With one or both of your parents and/or brothers/sisters

7 ☐ With extended family (including, but going beyond parents and/or siblings)

20. How many people live in your household presently?

☐ 1   ☐ 2   ☐ 3   ☐ 4   ☐ 5   ☐ 6   ☐ 7   ☐ 8   ☐ 9   ☐ 10 or more

21. Financially speaking, would you consider your household to be:

1 ☐ Well-off   2 ☐ Comfortable   3 ☐ Struggling

22. Compared to other people in Timor-Leste of the same age, do you consider yourself to be in good health or poor health?

1 ☐ My health is generally good

2 ☐ My health is sometimes good and sometimes poor

3 ☐ My health is generally poor

4 ☐ I don't know

23. What is the highest level of formal or school education you have completed?

0 ☐ No school

1 ☐ Primary school

2 ☐ Some secondary school

3 ☐ Finished secondary school

4 ☐ Trade training

5 ☐ University (undergraduate)

6 ☐ University (postgraduate)

24. What is your gender?

1 ☐ Female   2 ☐ Male

25. What is your age?

1 ☐ 16–19   2 ☐ 20–29   3 ☐ 30–39   4 ☐ 40–49   5 ☐ 50–59   6 ☐ 60–69

7 ☐ 70–79   8 ☐ 80–89   9 ☐ 90–100   10 ☐ Don't know

26. How would you describe your level of literacy?

1 ☐ Illiterate
2 ☐ Semi-literate
3 ☐ Fully literate

27. What is the furthest you have traveled from your community in your life?

1 ☐ I have never left my suco
2 ☐ I have never left my sub-district
3 ☐ To (*insert:* district capital)
4 ☐ To Dili
5 ☐ To west Timor
6 ☐ To Indonesia beyond west Timor
7 ☐ To other (including overseas) Please list.…………………………………………….………

28. How frequently do you leave your Aldeia?

1 ☐ Daily
2 ☐ About every two days
3 ☐ Once a week
4 ☐ Once a month
5 ☐ Once a year
6 ☐ Never

29. How frequently do you leave your suco?

1 ☐ Daily
2 ☐ Every two days
3 ☐ Once a week
4 ☐ Once a month
5 ☐ Once a year
6 ☐ Never

30. How frequently do you leave your sub-district?

1 ☐ Daily
2 ☐ Every two days
3 ☐ Once a week
4 ☐ Once a month
5 ☐ Once a year
6 ☐ Never

31. When you are in your village (*suco*), what is the most common way you receive information about your community?

1 ☐ By word of mouth from family
2 ☐ By word of mouth from friends
3 ☐ From community meetings
4 ☐ From the Church   (please choose only one)
5 ☐ From community leaders
6 ☐ Through printed material (other than the newspaper)
7 ☐ Through the radio
8 ☐ From the newspaper
9 ☐ From the television
10 ☐ (Please list) …………………………………………………………………

32. When you are in your village, what are other common ways you receive information about your community?

1 ☐ By word of mouth from family
2 ☐ By word of mouth from friends
3 ☐ From community meetings
4 ☐ From the Church   (you may mark more than one box)
5 ☐ From community leaders
6 ☐ Through printed material (other than the newspaper)
7 ☐ Through the radio
8 ☐ From the newspaper
9 ☐ From the television
10 ☐ (Please list) …………………………………………………………………

33. When you are in your village, what is the most common way you receive information about other places in Timor-Leste?

1 ☐ By word of mouth from family
2 ☐ By word of mouth from friends
3 ☐ From community meetings
4 ☐ From the Church   (you may mark more than one box)
5 ☐ From community leaders
6 ☐ Through printed material (other than the newspaper)
7 ☐ Through the radio
8 ☐ From the newspaper
9 ☐ From the television
10 ☐ (Please list) …………………………………………………………………

34. When there is conflict in my community there are the means to find a solution within my community:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

35. I think that currently women play an important role in conflict resolution in my community:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

36. I see the relationship between my community and the nation as positive:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

37. I think the way my community is changing is for the worse:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

38. The position of women in my community needs to change:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

39. The impact of national independence on my community has been positive:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion   0

40. Who are your people? (Your ethnicity, tribe?)

1 ☐ People from your Knua
2 ☐ People from your Aldeia
3 ☐ People from your Suco
4 ☐ People from your Sub-District
5 ☐ People who speak the same language as you
6 ☐ People from your family
7 ☐ People from your land
8 ☐ People from your nation
9 ☐ Other (Please write) …………………………………………

41. What language do you most often speak at home?

1 ☐ Tetun Dili	2 ☐ Fataluku	3 ☐ Maklere	4 ☐ Midiki	5 ☐ Roti
6 ☐ Helong	7 ☐ Afoni	8 ☐ Kemak	9 ☐ Tokodede	10 ☐ Mambai
11 ☐ Galoli	12 ☐ Naneti	13 ☐ Lakalei	14 ☐ Idate	15 ☐ Kairui
16 ☐ Waima'a	17 ☐ Habu	18 ☐ Kolana/Adabe	19 ☐ Macassai	20 ☐ Bunak
21 ☐ Waweloi	22 ☐ Sa Ani	23 ☐ Makua	24 ☐ Tetun Terik	25 ☐ Indonesian
26 ☐ Portuguese	27 ☐ English	28 ☐ Other, please write……………………………………..		

42. What language(s) do you speak outside home?

1 ☐ Tetun Dili	2 ☐ Fataluku	3 ☐ Maklere	4 ☐ Midiki	5 ☐ Roti
6 ☐ Helong	7 ☐ Afoni	8 ☐ Kemak	9 ☐ Tokodede	10 ☐ Mambai
11 ☐ Galoli	12 ☐ Naneti	13 ☐ Lakalei	14 ☐ Idate	15 ☐ Kairui
16 ☐ Waima'a	17 ☐ Habu	18 ☐ Kolana/Adabe	19 ☐ Macassai	20 ☐ Bunak
21 ☐ Waweloi	22 ☐ Sa Ani	23 ☐ Makua	24 ☐ Tetun Terik	25 ☐ Indonesian
26 ☐ Portuguese	27 ☐ English	28 ☐ Other, please write……………………………………..		

How would you rank the following things in terms of how important they are to you in your life?

43. Work

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion ☐ 0

44. Family

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion ☐ 0

45. Friends, acquaintances

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion ☐ 0

46. Leisure time

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion 0

47. Politics and social issues

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion 0

48. Religion and/or spirituality

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion 0

49. Money and the things it can buy

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion 0

50. Local community

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion 0

51. National community

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion 0

52. Global community

5	4	3	2	1
Very important	Quite Important	Neither	Not very important	Not at all important

No opinion 0

Please respond to the following questions about your nation by showing how strongly you disagree or agree to the statement.

53. I feel that my nation is central to my identity:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion | 0 |

54. I feel that I would sacrifice anything personally to keep my nation strong:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion | 0 |

55. I feel that I have a duty to act in support of those in need *inside* my nation:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion | 0 |

56. I feel that I have a duty to act in support of those in need *outside* my nation:

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

No opinion | 0 |

**Thank you for taking part in the Community Sustainability Survey.
We really appreciate your involvement.**

Survey Number…………………………………..
Research Location…………………………………..
Surveyor/s…………………………………………..
Date…………………………………………………

<u>Survey Two: Livelihoods (For Households)</u>

In the following questions please mark the boxes with one X only. In some questions you may choose more than one box, as indicated. If you make a mistake please put a line through the box and then choose a new box.

1. Does your household grow food in a garden/s?

1 ☐ No　　　2 ☐ Yes, we have one garden.　　　3 ☐ Yes, we have two to three gardens.
　　　　　　　4 ☐ Yes, we have four to five gardens.　5 ☐ Yes, we have more than five gardens.

2. What food types do you grow either at your home or in your gardens?
　(you may mark more than one box)

1 ☐ Corn	2 ☐ Taro	3 ☐ Carrots	4 ☐ Red Onion	5 ☐ Rice
6 ☐ Salad	7 ☐ Tomato	8 ☐ Leafy greens	9 ☐ Sweet Potato	10 ☐ Beans
11 ☐ Mango	12 ☐ Banana	13 ☐ Cassava	1 ☐ Potato	15 ☐ Peanuts
16 ☐ Cabbage	17 ☐ White Onion	18 ☐ Chili	19 ☐ Paw paw	20 ☐ Pumpkin
21 ☐ Eggplant	22 ☐ Pineapple	23 ☐ Orange	24 ☐ Apple	25 ☐ White Pumpkin
26 ☐ Coconut	27 ☐ Grapefruit	28 ☐ Mandarin	29 ☐ Mung beans	30 ☐ String bean
31 ☐ Cucumber	32 ☐ Avocado	33 ☐ Lemon	34 ☐ Kontas	35 ☐ Pateka
36 ☐ Uvas	37 ☐ Kangkung	38 ☐ Angiraun		

39 ☐ Other (please list)………………………………………………………………………………

3. What other items do you grow? (you may mark more than one box)

1 ☐ None	2 ☐ Coffee	3 ☐ Sandal Wood	4 ☐ Betelnut	5 ☐ Cotton
6 ☐ Tobacco	7 ☐ Bamboo	8 ☐ Betel pepper	9 ☐ Candlenut	

10 ☐ Other *(please write)*……………………………………………………………………..

4. Who in your household would spend the most amount of time working in the garden?

1 ☐ Adult male　　2 ☐ Adult female　　3 ☐ Male youth　　　4 ☐ Female youth

5. For how many hours a day do people normally work in your garden?

1 ☐ Less than one hour　　2 ☐ 1 hour　　3 ☐ 2 hours　　4 ☐ 3 hours　　5 ☐ 4 hours
6 ☐ 5 hours　　　　　　　　7 ☐ 6 hours　　8 ☐ 7 hours　　9 ☐ 8 or more hours

6. What livestock do you keep? (you may mark more than one box)

1 ☐ None	2 ☐ Pigs	3 ☐ Dogs	4 ☐ Buffalo	5 ☐ Goats
6 ☐ Monkeys	7 ☐ Cat	8 ☐ Fish	9 ☐ Horse	10 ☐ Chickens
11 ☐ Wild Birds	12 ☐ Cattle			

13 ☐ Other; *please write* ………………………………

7. What livestock do you keep only to eat? (you may mark more than one box)

1 ☐ None 2 ☐ Pigs 3 ☐ Dogs 4 ☐ Buffalo 5 ☐ Goats
6 ☐ Monkeys 7 ☐ Cat 8 ☐ Fish 9 ☐ Horse 10 ☐ Chickens
11 ☐ Wild Birds 12 ☐ Cattle 12 ☐ Other; *please write* …………………………………

8. Are there any foods that your family are not allowed to eat?

1 ☐ None 2 ☐ Pigs 3 ☐ Buffalo 4 ☐ Dogs 5 ☐ Wild birds
6 ☐ Snake 7 ☐ Cattle 8 ☐ Coconuts 9 ☐ Freshwater fish 10 ☐ Seawater fish
11 ☐ Other; *please write* …………………………………

9. What livestock do you keep for trade only?

1 ☐ None 2 ☐ Pigs 3 ☐ Dogs 4 ☐ Buffalo 5 ☐ Goats
6 ☐ Monkeys 7 ☐ Cat 8 ☐ Fish 9 ☐ Horse 10 ☐ Chickens
11 ☐ Wild Birds 12 ☐ Cattle 13 ☐ Other; *please write* …………………………………

10. What livestock do you keep for customary purposes (*adat*) only? eg. Brideprice.

1 ☐ None 2 ☐ Pigs 3 ☐ Dogs 4 ☐ Buffao 5 ☐ Goats
6 ☐ Monkeys 7 ☐ Cat 8 ☐ Fish 9 ☐ Horse 10 ☐ Chickens
11 ☐ Wild Birds 12 ☐ Cattle 13 ☐ Other (please write)…………………………………

11. What livestock do you keep as working animals?

1 ☐ None 2 ☐ Buffalo 3 ☐ Cow 4 ☐ Horse 5 ☐ Dog
6 ☐ Other; *please write* …………………………………

12. How far is your garden from your house?

1 ☐ Less than 5 minutes walk 2 ☐ Less than 20 minutes walk 3 ☐ Less than one hour walk
4 ☐ Less than two hours walk 5 ☐ Less than five hours walk 6 ☐ Less than one day walk
7 ☐ It takes me more than one day to walk to my gardens

13. Do you experience food shortages at certain times of the year?

1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No (please go to question 14)

If yes, when? (Please circle all months that are applicable)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December

14. What are the busiest times of the year for you in your gardens? (Please circle all months that are applicable)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December

15. Where is the main place that you get your food? (Choose one only)

1 ☐ From the garden
2 ☐ From the shop
3 ☐ From the market
4 ☐ From the kiosk
5 ☐ From other family members
6 ☐ Other place; *please write* ……………………………………………………………………..

16. Who usually purchases any food that is bought? (Choose one only)

1 ☐ Adult male   2 ☐ Adult female   3 ☐ Young Male   4 ☐ Young Female

17. What foods do you normally purchase?

1 ☐ Biscuits   2 ☐ Bread   3 ☐ Powered Milk   4 ☐ Sweets   5 ☐ Coffee
6 ☐ Sugar   7 ☐ Salt   8 ☐ Cooking Oil   9 ☐ Eggs   10 ☐ Canned fish
11 ☐ Flour   12 ☐ Rice   13 ☐ Instant noodles 14 ☐ Tea   15 ☐ Beer
16 ☐ Nescafe   17 ☐ Palm wine   18 ☐ Condensed milk   19 ☐ Butter   20 ☐ Bottled water
21 ☐ Cold drinks (Coca Cola, Sprite, Fanta etc)   22 ☐ Other; please write ………………………

18. Do you sell any of the types of food that you grow

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No (please go to question 19)

If yes, which ones?

1 ☐ Corn   2 ☐ Taro   3 ☐ Carrots   4 ☐ Red Onion   5 ☐ Rice
6 ☐ Salad   7 ☐ Tomato   8 ☐ Leafy greens   9 ☐ Sweet Potato   10 ☐ Beans
11 ☐ Mango   12 ☐ Banana   13 ☐ Cassava   14 ☐ Potato   15 ☐ Peanuts
16 ☐ Cabbage   17 ☐ White Onion 18 ☐ Chili   19 ☐ Paw paw   20 ☐ Pumpkin
21 ☐ Eggplant   22 ☐ Pineapple   23 ☐ Oranges   24 ☐ Apple   25 ☐ White Pumpkin
26 ☐ Coconut   27 ☐ Grapefruit   28 ☐ Mandarin   29 ☐ Mung beans   30 ☐ String bean
31 ☐ Cucumber   32 ☐ Avocado   33 ☐ Lemon   34 ☐ Kontas   35 ☐ Pateka
36 ☐ Uvas   37 ☐ Kangkung   38 ☐ Angiraun

39 ☐ Other (please list)………………………………………………………………………………………

19 a). Do you sell any of the non-food crops that you grow?

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No (please go to question 20)

19 b). If yes, which ones?

1 ☐ Candlenut   2 ☐ Coffee   3 ☐ Sandalwood   4 ☐ Betelnut   5 ☐ Cotton
6 ☐ Tabacco   7 ☐ Bamboo   8 ☐ Betel Pepper
9 ☐ Other (please list)…………

19 c) How are these food and non-food items usually sold?

1 ☐ At the local market   2 ☐ At a market in another sub-district
3 ☐ At the district market   4 ☐ At the market in Dili   5 ☐ To a cooperative
6 ☐ To a shop   7 ☐ To people who come on a truck   8 ☐ To my neighbours
9 ☐ By selling to people in the street   10 ☐ Other (please list)…………

20. Do you need to carry water to your house?

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No (If no, you have finished the survey and don't need to answer the questions below)

A ☐ Two, Three, Four times a day   B ☐ Once a day?
C ☐ Once every two days?   D ☐ Once a week?

3

21. How long does it take your household to get water?

1 ☐ Less than 30 minutes   2 ☐ Between 30 minutes and one hour
3 ☐ Between one and two hours   4 ☐ More than two hours

22. What time of day do you or your family get water?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
4-5 am	5-6 am	6-7 am	7-8 am	8-9 am	9-10 am	10-11 am	11-12 pm	12-1 pm	1-2 pm	2-3 pm	3-4 pm	4-5 pm	5-6 pm	6-7 pm

23. How many people are involved in getting water?

1 ☐ 1 person   2 ☐ 2 people   3 ☐ 3 people   4 ☐ 4 or more people

24. Who usually gets the water (*you may choose more than one*)

1 ☐ Adult male/s   2 ☐ Adult female/s   3 ☐ Young male/s   4 ☐ Young female/s
5 ☐ Male child/ren   6 ☐ Female Child/ren

Thank you for completing this survey

Survey Three: National Political Processes (For households)

Firstly, we would like to ask you about the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

1. In general, did the election _process_ this year have a positive or negative impact on your community?

5	4	3	2	1
Very positive	Possibly positive	No Impact	Possibly negative	Very negative

No opinion `0`

2. In general, do you think that the outcomes of the elections will have a positive or negative impact on your community?

5	4	3	2	1
Definitely positive	Possibly positive	No impact	Possibly negative	Definitely negative

No opinion `0`

3. Do you think now that the elections are over that Timor will be more peaceful or more unstable?

5	4	3	2	1
Definitely more peacefull	Probably more peaceful	Just the same	Probably more unstable	Definitely more unstable

No opinion `0`

4. Do you think that over the next five years your life will improve or become more difficult because of the election outcomes?

5	4	3	2	1
Definitely improve	Probably improve	Just the same	Probably more difficult	Definitely more difficult

No opinion `0`

Now we would like to ask you about the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR). Please use an X to mark the following boxes.

5. Have you heard of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR)?

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No (please go to question 11)

6. Has printed information about CAVR ever been disseminated in your village?

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No (please go to question 7)

a). If yes, in what form did you see the printed information? (You may choose more than one answer)

1 ☐ I have seen posters   2 ☐ I have seen pamphlets   3 ☐ I have seen books
4 ☐ I have seen CAVR's Final Report 'Chega'

7. Would you like to read CAVR's final report 'Chega'?

1 ☐ Yes, I would like to read the report   2 ☐ No, I would not like to read the report
3 ☐ Yes, I would like to, but I cannot read

8a). Have you ever participated in CAVR activities?

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No (please go to question 9)

b). If yes, where did you participate in CAVR activities?

1 ☐ In my village   2 ☐ In other places   3 ☐ In my village and in other places

c). What activity did you participate in? (You may choose more than one answer)

1 ☐ Giving information to people about past human rights abuses
2 ☐ Community Reconciliation Process
3 ☐ Giving Testimony of human rights abuses
4 ☐ Other (Please list) …………………………………………………………………

9. What activity did you participate in? (You may choose more than one answer)

1 ☐ Giving information to people about past human rights abuses
2 ☐ Community Reconciliation Process
3 ☐ Giving Testimony of human rights abuses
4 ☐ Other (Please list) …………………………………………………………………

10. Has CAVR completed its work in Timor-Leste?

1 ☐ Yes, it has closed
2 ☐ No, it has not yet closed
3 ☐ I am not sure

11. Does your community still need to deal with issues from the period of Indonesian occupation?

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No

Finally, we would like to finish with some questions about the political crisis

12. (a) Did the crisis impact your household?

1 ☐ Yes   2 ☐ No (please go to question 14)

12. (b) If yes, in what ways? (you may choose more than one answer)

1 ☐ More people were living in our household
2 ☐ The price of goods went up
3 ☐ Some goods were harder to buy
4 ☐ Some goods were harder to sell
5 ☐ Local services and transport were negatively affected
6 ☐ I was more scared than usual to leave my house
7 ☐ People felt more stressed in my household
8 ☐ My education or the education of family members was disrupted
9 ☐ The ability of me or other family members to earn income was disrupted
10 ☐ Other (*please write*)………………………………………………………………………………

13. In your village how did you get information about the crisis? (you may choose more than one answer)

1 ☐ From family members
2 ☐ From friends
3 ☐ From colleagues
4 ☐ From the radio
5 ☐ From newspaper
6 ☐ From television
7 ☐ Other (*please write*)……………………………………………………………………………

14. Do you see the recent crisis as linked to the Indonesian occupation?

1 ☐ The crisis and the Indonesian occupation are directly linked
2 ☐ The crisis and the Indonesian occupation are closely linked
3 ☐ They are not linked at all
4 ☐ I'm not sure

15. Do you think that Timor-Leste will face similar problems in the future?

5	4	3	2	1
Definitely Yes	Probably Yes	I don't know	Probably No	Definitely Not

Thank you for completing this survey