

## Youth Perspectives on Community, Trust, and Conflict<sup>1</sup>

This briefing note examines intergenerational aspects of community involvement, trust,<sup>2</sup> and authority, and dispute participation/resolution in Timor-Leste, using findings from the justice module included in an extension of the 2007 Timor-Leste Survey of Living Standards (TLSLS2) and a review of relevant social-science literature.<sup>3</sup> It is hoped that this report will be a valuable resource for civil servants, civil society organizations, and donor agencies working with youth in Timor-Leste. The extension survey (TLSLSx) revisited a nationally representative subsample of the TLSLS2 between April and October 2008.<sup>4</sup> The respondent for the justice module was randomly selected to be the household head or his/her spouse, and topics included (1) access to information and decision making; (2) opinions and knowledge of the law; (3) trust and local institutions; and (4) dispute resolution. Findings from this survey have been summarized in three short briefing papers focusing on youth perspectives, land and conflict, and community trust and decision making.<sup>5</sup>

The TLSLSx revisited 1,716 household heads or spouses across Timor-Leste's 13 districts.<sup>6</sup> Fifteen percent<sup>7</sup> of these respondents fall within the definition of youth (16–30 years of age), compared with the TLSLS2 estimate of youth (16–30-year-olds) comprising 23 percent<sup>8</sup> of the total population.<sup>9</sup> The report begins by providing a brief context of intergenerational differences in Timor-Leste, before continuing with a discussion of (i) access to information and community involvement; (ii) youth, trust, and authority; and (iii) disputes and dispute resolution. Throughout, the authors pay particular attention to differences between elder and youth household heads/spouses, and between male and female youth.

### Key Findings

- Young Timorese household heads/spouses are accessing information more often and through a wider variety of sources than older generations. Radio and television dominate as sources of news. Despite higher literacy rates amongst youth, print media is not widely used.

<sup>1</sup> *Justice for the Poor* (J4P) is a World Bank program that focuses on mainstreaming justice considerations and conflict management into development processes. In Timor-Leste, J4P began in July of 2008 with the generous support of AusAID.

<sup>2</sup> A note on terminology: throughout this report, terms such as “disputes,” “conflict,” and “trust” are used. These terms should be understood as referring to relationships between individuals and/or households, and **not** broader relationships between groups (that is, regional, ethnic, and so on).

<sup>3</sup> TLSLSx is a supplement to the living-standards survey implemented by the government of Timor-Leste's National Statistics Directorate and the World Bank in 2007. Additional data and publications on the TLSLS can be found on the Timor-Leste National Statistics Directorate Web page at <http://dne.mof.gov.tl/TLSLS/AboutTLSLS/index.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> For additional information related to the survey module, including a breakdown of respondents by region and district, residence (urban or rural), gender, age, and other categories, please see “Justice Module of the Timor-Leste Survey of Living Standards Extension: An Overview” available at <http://go.worldbank.org/ZRKELPETD0>.

<sup>5</sup> All *Justice for the Poor* Timor-Leste reports can be accessed at [www.worldbank.org/justiceforthepeer](http://www.worldbank.org/justiceforthepeer).

<sup>6</sup> It should be emphasized that this report presents findings related to youth heads of household and their spouses, and these views are not necessarily representative of youth as a whole. The views and experiences of youth heads of household are more likely to be consistent with those of older household heads than to the wider youth population. Youth household heads (particularly women) are also on average less educated than other youth. Throughout this report, references to findings about “youth” should be understood as youth household heads.

<sup>7</sup> Ninety-five percent Confidence Interval (C.I.) (13.1–16.8).

<sup>8</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (22.6–23.6).

<sup>9</sup> Nationally, 24 percent of youth are heads of household/spouses (18 percent in urban areas, and 27 percent in rural). Thirty-four percent of female youth were household heads/spouses nationally (25 percent urban, 39 percent rural) vs. 14 percent of male youth (12 percent in urban areas, 16 percent in rural). These statistics indicated that young women marry earlier, and tend to marry older men.

This report was written by Pamela Dale (Consultant, J4P-TL), Kristen Himelein (World Bank, Development Economics Research Group), Denis Nikitin (Consultant, World Bank South Asia Human Development), and Angie Bexley (Anthropologist, Australia National University). Kristen Himelein, Geraldo Moniz da Silva (Consultant, J4P-TL), and the staff of the government of Timor-Leste's National Statistics Directorate participated extensively in the planning and implementation of the research. Lene Ostergaard (Coordinator, J4P-TL), Matthew Stephens (TTL, J4P-TL), David Butterworth (Consultant, J4P-TL), Manohar Sharma (Sr Poverty Specialist, EASPR), and Peter Lanjouw (Research Manager, DECPI) provided useful comments on drafts of this report.



- Timorese youth household heads' level of participation in community life is consistent with that of elders. Approximately half of youth heads of household/spouses have participated in a community meeting in the past year, and 64 percent spoke at the last meeting they attended. However, young men are much more likely to speak at community meetings than young women. Attendance at community meetings is strongly associated with a sense of involvement in the life of the community.
- Most (92 percent) Timorese household heads/spouses in all age groups feel safe in their community, and 92 percent believe that their property is safe. While Timorese household heads/spouses hold a high level of trust in people in their own and neighboring communities, young women are significantly less likely (72 percent) to describe those in neighboring communities as trustworthy than young men (92 percent).
- Both formal/state and traditional authorities play an important role in community life in Timor-Leste. Most disputes are resolved by traditional authorities (*adat* bodies or *chefes suco/aldeia*), but choice of dispute-resolution venues is dependent on the type of dispute.
- Satisfaction with dispute-resolution bodies is high across all age groups, though respondents reported that many formal dispute-resolution fora (that is, courts, judges) were not available in their community. Youth heads of household/spouses are more likely than elders to use state dispute-resolution institutions, and are also more likely to express satisfaction with these bodies.

## The Context for Intergenerational Differences in Timor-Leste

Youth in Timor-Leste have come of age in a period of change. The transition from youth to adulthood has kept step with the nation's evolution from occupied territory to independent state, and with the gradual shift from centralized control to democratic decision making. Today's youth (those 30 years of age and under<sup>10</sup>) share a unique educational and linguistic heritage, and many of their attitudes and values about trust, community, and authority were formed during the latter years of the clandestine independence movement and the recent transition period.

In the years since independence, Timorese youth have embraced new opportunities for mobility, educational attainment,<sup>11</sup> and participation in government, and in the process have been exposed to new perspectives. But with the new opportunities available to young adults comes new challenges. Timor-Leste is an overwhelmingly youthful society; the median age is 16.1 years<sup>12</sup>—lower than all but three nations—and children and youth under 24 account for 62 percent of

the population.<sup>13</sup> Fed by population growth of 3.3 percent per year, the Timorese population (currently 1.1 million) is expected to triple—and in some scenarios, quadruple—by 2050.<sup>14</sup> Growth will be concentrated primarily in urban areas, due to both high birth rates and urban migration, and the urban population is expected to reach that of rural areas by 2040, surpassing it soon thereafter.<sup>15</sup> While urban areas generally offer better access to education, health, and other services, unemployment remains a serious risk, as youth are joining an economy where nonfarm opportunities are rare. At present, approximately 16,000 Timorese youth enter the job market each year; by 2025, this is estimated to increase to 20,000 annually.<sup>16</sup> By contrast, just 400 jobs are created annually in the formal sector.<sup>17</sup> Barring substantial growth in nonfarm job opportunities, Timor-Leste's unemployment rate, currently 33 percent for Timorese between 25 and 34,<sup>18</sup> may increase considerably in the coming decade.

Youth bulges are often associated with an increase in violence,<sup>19</sup> particularly when combined with high unemployment and urban migration. In Timor-Leste, these forces have contributed to the deterioration of formal and informal social controls, economic and social exclusion, exposure to unproductive and criminal activities, and a sense of political and cultural marginalization amongst youth.<sup>20</sup> Timorese youth were widely implicated in political violence surrounding the 2007 parliamentary elections, as well as violence targeting internally

<sup>10</sup> In Timorese society, "youth" is understood sociohistorically rather than solely biologically. For the sake of this report, youth is defined as those 30 and younger, consistent with the definition in Timor-Leste's National Youth Policy. The survey targeted household heads (that is, the primary individual responsible for household welfare and decision making), and the youth surveyed in this report self-identified as such.

<sup>11</sup> The literacy rate (ability to both read and write a letter) for those 30 and under is twice that of the older generation (TLSLSx), and 64 percent of youth household heads/spouses have attained at least some postprimary education, a 40 percentage point jump over their older peers (TLSLSx). The differences are most apparent among women; young women heads of household/spouses are four times more likely than older women to have achieved at least some postprimary education (TLSLSx).

<sup>12</sup> World Bank, "Policy Note on Population Growth and its Implications in Timor-Leste," Human Development Sector Reports, East Asia and Pacific Region (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2008), <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTTIMORLESTE/Data%20and%20Reference/21988255/PopulationGrowth2008English.pdf>. Accessed June 2010.

<sup>13</sup> Timor-Leste, Directorate of National Statistics, *Final Statistical Abstract: Timor-Leste Survey of Living Standards 2007* (Dili, Timor-Leste: Directorate of National Statistics, 2008), <http://202.72.106.130/TLSLS/Publication/finalstatisticalabstract.pdf>. Accessed June 2010.

<sup>14</sup> World Bank, "Policy Note on Population Growth."

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> UN Development Programme (UNDP), "The Millennium Development Goals, Timor-Leste 2009" (New York: UNDP, 2009), [http://www.tl.undp.org/MDGs/MDGs\\_File/UNDP\\_MDGReport\\_Final.pdf](http://www.tl.undp.org/MDGs/MDGs_File/UNDP_MDGReport_Final.pdf). Accessed June 2010.

<sup>18</sup> Of TLSLS2 respondents between the ages of 25 and 34, 67.6 percent had reported participation in the labor force in the seven days prior to the survey. Among youth 15–24, this figure dropped to 42.9 percent. See Timor-Leste, Directorate of National Statistics, *Final Statistical Abstract*.

<sup>19</sup> See for example: Henrik Urdal, "A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence," *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (2006): 607–629.

<sup>20</sup> World Bank, "Timor-Leste's Youth in Crisis: Situational Analysis and Policy Options" (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2007), <http://go.worldbank.org/Z7004OM4Z0>. Accessed June 2010.

displaced persons and opportunistic violence during the 2006 crisis.<sup>21</sup> Gang and martial arts-group violence (largely, though not exclusively, involving young men) is an ongoing problem, particularly in Dili and other urban centers.<sup>22</sup> While various government and nongovernmental organization (NGO) programs targeting youth empowerment, skills building, short-term employment, and conflict reduction have been introduced in Timor-Leste, the economic and demographic realities of the nation continue to present a considerable challenge.

Changes in the social and political environment of Timor-Leste, both positive and negative, have created a Timorese youth perspective that is in many ways distinct from that of older segments of the population. As today's youth emerge as a numerically dominant force, their values and views will in turn come to define the direction of the nation in the medium term. In the remainder of this report, we examine those values in more detail, and discuss the ways in which they conform to and differ from those of previous generations.

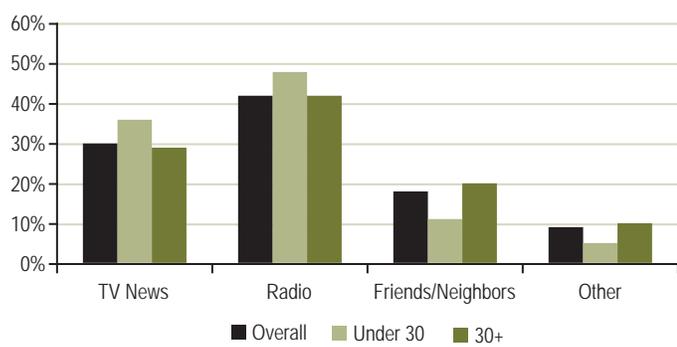
## Reaching Youth: Access to Information and Community Involvement

### Access to Information

Youth in Timor-Leste, both male and female, are accessing information more often and through a wider variety of media than previous generations. Ninety percent of young survey respondents indicated at least occasional access to radio, television, or print media, compared to 78 percent of those over 30 years of age.<sup>23</sup> The differences in access are most pronounced in rural areas, where youth respondents are 13 percentage points more likely than elders to have access to media.<sup>24</sup> Youth are also significantly more likely to have regular (three or more days per week) access to the most common media source, radio (73 percent vs. 58 percent, respectively).<sup>25</sup>

For youth and elder respondents alike, radio and television are the dominant sources of national news (see chart 1).

**Chart 1: Sources of National News**



Interestingly, youth respondents were considerably less likely than older respondents to rely upon friends and neighbors for national news (11 percent vs. 20 percent<sup>26</sup>), particularly in rural areas. Print media plays a negligible role in access to news, due to a variety of factors including low literacy rates across generations, limited distribution, cost, quality, and Timor-Leste's language complexity.<sup>27</sup> These challenges and the media preferences of young adults are important for governments, donors, and NGOs to keep in mind when designing programs and messaging targeting youth.

### Community Involvement

Youth household heads' rates of involvement in community life are consistent with those of older generations. Approximately half of all respondents indicated that they had attended a community meeting in the past year, and of these, 62 percent<sup>28</sup> had spoken during those meetings; differences in attendance and participation between youth and elders were statistically insignificant. However, when disaggregating for gender, differences emerge. While young women attended community meetings at a rate similar to that of young men (52 percent and 49 percent, respectively), young female respondents were 13 percentage points less likely to have spoken at the most recent meeting attended.<sup>29</sup>

The survey data conflicts with mainstream analysis that youth are less engaged in their communities than elders. While attendance and participation in community meetings is not necessarily indicative of decision-making power, community meetings clearly play an important role in community life. Though causality cannot be determined from these data, nearly all individuals who had attended a community meeting in the previous year felt that they were involved in community decision making, while just 4 percent of those who had not attended such meetings felt involved.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> James Scambary, Hippolito Da Gama, and Joao Barreto, "A Survey of Gangs and Youth Groups in Dili, Timor-Leste" (Canberra: AusAID, 2006), [http://www.etan.org/etanpdf/2006/Report\\_Youth\\_Gangs\\_in\\_Dili.pdf](http://www.etan.org/etanpdf/2006/Report_Youth_Gangs_in_Dili.pdf). Accessed June 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I.s are (85.0–94.7) and (72.8–83.6), respectively.

<sup>24</sup> This difference is statistically significant at the 1 percent level ( $t = 3.12$ ).

<sup>25</sup> This difference is statistically significant at the 1 percent level ( $t = 3.68$ ).

<sup>26</sup> This difference is statistically significant at the 10 percent confidence level ( $t = 1.93$ ).

<sup>27</sup> While Tetum is the preferred language for both oral and written communication, it is a developing language and lacks both standardization and a full vocabulary. Compounding this problem, most political leaders speak Portuguese (which is, along with Tetum, Timor-Leste's official language) in formal settings, and journalists are largely Indonesian educated and lack Portuguese fluency.

<sup>28</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (55.6–67.7).

<sup>29</sup> The difference in attendance between young males and young females is not statistically significant ( $t = 0.24$ ). The difference between young males and young females who have spoken is also not significant ( $t = 0.99$ ), though there are only 101 observations in this subsample.

<sup>30</sup> The relevant question is: "Do you feel sufficiently involved in the community decision-making process?"

## Youth, Trust, and Authority

### Trust and Safety

Youth exposure to crimes and violence, and particularly youth involvement in gang activity, is a widespread concern in Timor-Leste.<sup>31</sup> Despite this, 92 percent<sup>32</sup> of survey respondents reported feeling safe or very safe in their neighborhoods.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, 90 percent<sup>34</sup> of respondents felt that their belongings were safe. There was no statistically relevant difference among age groups or genders.

While generally survey respondents reported high levels of trust in people both in their own and other neighborhoods (82 percent and 81 percent, respectively), striking variations emerged between young men and women.<sup>35</sup> Ninety percent of young male respondents reported that either “everyone” or “most” of their neighbors are trustworthy, while just 72 percent of young women respondents defined their neighbors this way.<sup>36</sup> Though this lower level of trust was not manifested in feelings of risk to self or property, additional research would be useful to determine the reasons behind this finding.

### Authority and Decision Making

Past studies of Timor-Leste have highlighted the continued importance of traditional leaders in both ritual and daily life, and evidence from this survey shows continued support for customary dispute resolution (see Disputes and Dispute Resolution below).<sup>37</sup> Responses to questions on authority and decision making in Timor-Leste revealed mixed views on the roles of formal and informal authority structures. Overall, 55 percent of survey respondents indicated that police were primarily responsible for maintaining law and order, with the remaining 45 percent viewing this as a community or a shared responsibility.<sup>38</sup> Small variations existed between generations and ages (with men and older generations slightly more likely to view law and order as a police responsibility), but the most evident variation was between young men and young women. Three-quarters of male household heads under 30 years of age placed this responsibility with the police, while over half of young women household heads believed it to be a community responsibility.<sup>39</sup>

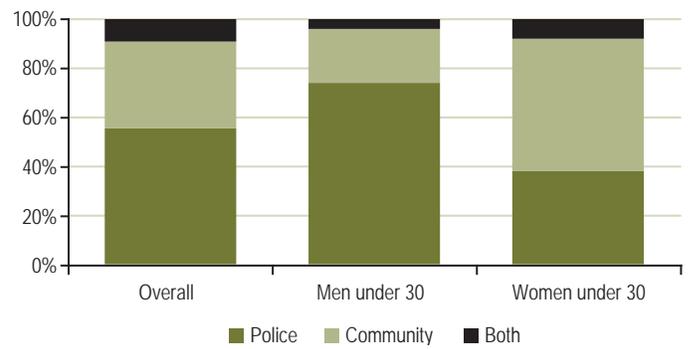
Young women were also more likely than young men to believe that nonviolent disputes should be resolved within the community rather than the courts (48 percent of young women believed this vs. 36 percent of young men).<sup>40</sup>

## Disputes and Dispute Resolution

### Youth and Disputes

In the literature on conflict, youth often appear as a volatile and destructive demographic, where disenfranchised young people, especially males, are often the agents of violent con-

## Chart 2: Responsibility for Law and Order



lict. Indeed, a significant source of instability in Timor-Leste during 2006–07 was outbursts of communal violence involving male-dominated gangs and martial arts groups. Another enduring aspect of the 2006 conflict was turf wars between eastern and western gangs over control of the major commercial centers and bus terminals, and the protection of gambling rackets—a major source of employment, patronage, and power.

Despite very visible incidences of violence and conflict in Timor-Leste, survey respondents reported that the overall level of disputes in the country was lower than expected, with 30.5 percent<sup>41</sup> of households reporting a dispute directly involving a household member in the previous year.<sup>42</sup> Those disputes

<sup>31</sup> See for example World Bank, “Timor-Leste’s Youth in Crisis”; Small Arms Survey, “Groups, Gangs and Armed Violence in Timor-Leste,” *Timor-Leste Armed Violence Assessment Issue Brief 2* (Apr 2009), [http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/country/asia\\_pdf/asia-timor-leste-TLAVA-IB2-En.pdf](http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/portal/spotlight/country/asia_pdf/asia-timor-leste-TLAVA-IB2-En.pdf). Accessed June 2010; and Scambary et al., “A Survey of Gangs.”

<sup>32</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (88.2–93.9).

<sup>33</sup> Question: “How safe do you or other members of your household feel with respect to physical threat/violence in your neighborhood?”

<sup>34</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (87.6–93.5).

<sup>35</sup> Question: “In general, how trustworthy are the neighbors in your community/people from neighboring communities?”

<sup>36</sup> This difference is statistically significant at the 5 percent level ( $t = 2.58$ ).

<sup>37</sup> See for example Volker Boege et al., “On Hybrid Political Orders and Emerging States: State Formation in the Context of ‘Fragility,’” *Berghof Handbook Dialogue No 8* (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2008), [http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/boege\\_etal\\_handbook.pdf](http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/boege_etal_handbook.pdf). Accessed June 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Respondents were asked to select from two options: “The **main** responsibility for maintaining law and order in the community is with the police,” or “The **main** responsibility for maintaining law and order in the community is with the *chefe de suco* and the community itself” (emphasis in original). “Both” and “neither” were possible but discouraged options. Means for each category with ninety-five percent C.I.s in parenthesis: police 54.6 percent (48.7–60.5), community 35.0 percent (28.1–41.9), and both/neither 9.9 percent (7.2–12.7).

<sup>39</sup> The difference between young men and young women believing that the police hold the primary responsibility for law and order in the community is statistically significant at the 1 percent level ( $t = 3.39$ ).

<sup>40</sup> The two options were: “It is better for nonviolent disputes to be resolved within the community,” and “The formal court system is designed to be fair to all citizens, and is the best place to take nonviolent disputes.” The C.I. for young men is 18.9–51.9, and for young women 37.2–59.1.

<sup>41</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (24.8–36.3).

<sup>42</sup> The relevant question asked about disputes experienced by individuals or their households in the previous year.

that were reported were generally related to land (27 percent) and theft (23 percent), and were rarely violent, with only 8 percent<sup>43</sup> resulting in physical injury. There was a widely held perception among urban respondents (75 percent<sup>44</sup>) that youth were primarily responsible when violent conflict did occur.<sup>45</sup> This view was shared by both youth and older respondents.<sup>46</sup> Overall, male youth—those often perceived as both the most common perpetrators and victims of violence—were most likely to attribute violence principally to youth.<sup>47</sup> However, studies of youth crime during the 2006–07 crisis point to an insistence by many youth that they were not “instigators” of crime, but were acting on behalf of others,<sup>48</sup> and many present-day conflicts had their genesis long before any of the contemporary political parties or gangs were formed.<sup>49</sup>

### Dispute Pathways

As indicated in the section on authority and decision making, approximately equivalent numbers of respondents believed that dispute-resolution responsibility rested primarily with the community as with the formal system. When asked about the first institution to which respondents would turn in the case of a hypothetical dispute, the nature of the dispute played a key role in respondent replies. For instance, in cases of violence against individuals,<sup>50</sup> approximately half of all respondents would turn to the national police, with the remainder turning to village chiefs or other traditional leaders. However, in property-boundary disputes within the village,<sup>51</sup> more than 80 percent<sup>52</sup> of respondents indicated that they would first take the dispute to their traditional leadership. Interestingly, the variation in reported dispute-resolution fora generally cannot be explained by gender, age, or residence (rural or urban).

### Satisfaction with Dispute-Resolution Venues

Unsurprisingly, there is wide variation in the types of institutions available in communities across Timor-Leste. While nearly 100 percent of respondents of all ages reported the presence of *adat* leaders, *chefes suco/aldeia*, national police, and subdistrict level government authorities, very few reported that the Provedor’s Office [the Ombudsman’s Office for Human Rights and Justice] (22 percent), paralegals/lawyers/legal aid (30 percent), or courts/judges (29 percent) were present.<sup>53</sup> Even where respondents had limited experience with a dispute-resolution venue, reported satisfaction was high. Among youth, for example, just 0.4 percent were dissatisfied with the performance of their *chefe aldeia* or *suco*, 1.5 percent with traditional leaders or *adat authorities*, and 11.7 percent with subdistrict government officials.<sup>54</sup> It is important to note that satisfaction is often based on respondents’ impressions, rather than firsthand (or even secondhand) experience. For example, while the majority of respondents reported satisfaction with subdistrict government officials, just 18 percent reported that they or someone in their household had had a personal experience with this office.

## Conclusions

Youth in Timor-Leste have access to new ideas, information, and opportunities, and have been confronted by challenges that are unique in comparison with those of previous generations. The distinctive experiences of young adults are often reflected in their outlooks; for example, youth heads of household are often more likely than their older peers to engage with and trust officials of the formal state. However, differences emerge between young men and young women, and in several cases, such as differences in perspectives on the trustworthiness of neighbors, gender appears to play a larger role than age in shaping respondents’ perspectives. Yet one trend appears to transcend both age and gender: respondents displayed a high level of faith and satisfaction in traditional authorities and practices. The findings in this briefing paper point to the continued importance of using a diverse range of media and methods for reaching different age groups and genders in Timor-Leste, and for continuing to involve community-level authorities in efforts to promote change, share information, and engage with Timorese youth.

<sup>43</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (4.4–11.8).

<sup>44</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (60.8–90.0).

<sup>45</sup> When asked which age group was mainly involved in the violence, 75 percent (C.I. 60.8–90.0) of urban respondents responded “youth,” and an additional 13 percent answered “youth and nonyouth.” In rural areas, 34 percent of respondents reported that youth were primarily responsible, 37 percent said both youth and nonyouth, and the remainder replied “nonyouth.”

<sup>46</sup> Seventy-nine percent of urban youth respondents and 75 percent of urban respondents over 30 years of age reported that youth were primarily responsible for violence.

<sup>47</sup> Sixty-five percent of young male respondents indicated that youth were primarily responsible for violence, compared with 43 percent of young women, 43 percent of men over 30 years of age, and 46 percent of women over 30.

<sup>48</sup> Natalie Grove et al., “Like Stepping Stones in a River: Youth Perspectives on the Crisis in Timor-Leste,” Report Prepared for Plan Timor-Leste (Dili, Timor-Leste: Plan International, 2007), [http://www.sphcm.med.unsw.edu.au/SPHCMWeb.nsf/resources/Timor-Leste\\_Final\\_Stepping\\_Stones.pdf/\\$file/Timor-Leste\\_Final\\_Stepping\\_Stones.pdf](http://www.sphcm.med.unsw.edu.au/SPHCMWeb.nsf/resources/Timor-Leste_Final_Stepping_Stones.pdf/$file/Timor-Leste_Final_Stepping_Stones.pdf). Accessed June 2010.

<sup>49</sup> Janet Gunter, “Communal Conflict in Viqueque and the ‘Charged’ History of ‘59,’” *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 8 no. 1 (2007): 27–41.

<sup>50</sup> The question asked where respondents would first take a dispute where “Your younger brother was beaten up by people from a neighboring village.”

<sup>51</sup> The question asked where respondents would first take a dispute where “Your household is experiencing a property boundary dispute with another household.”

<sup>52</sup> Ninety-five percent C.I. (72.2–89.4).

<sup>53</sup> These numbers represent the percentage of respondents who did not answer “not available here” to the question “How satisfied are you with [institution]?” The prevalence of courts is very low in Timor-Leste—just four are available nationwide—and the numbers are similarly low for other representatives of the formal legal system. Thus, respondents were most likely not stating that (for example) the Provedor’s Office was available in *their community* specifically, but rather that they recognized that it was available to them.

<sup>54</sup> C.I.s are: 0.4 percent (–0.4–1.2 percent), 1.5 percent (–0.4–3.3 percent), 11.7 percent (6.0–17.4 percent). With the exception of a very small difference in satisfaction in *chefes*, no differences in satisfaction between youth and nonyouth were found.

## Other Justice for the Poor Briefing Notes

- *Women, state law and land in peri-urban settlements on Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands* by Rebecca Monson, Volume 4 Issue 3, March 2010
- *Expanding State, Expectant Citizens: Local Perspectives on Government Responsibility in Timor-Leste* by David Butterworth, Volume 4 Issue 2, February 2010
- *Women's Access to Land in Kenya* by Andrew Harrington, Volume 4 Issue 1, January 2010
- *Contracts, Land Tenure and Rural Development in Timor-Leste* by Rod Nixon, Volume 3 Issue 3, November 2009
- *Mapping Indigenous Communal Lands: A Review of the Literature from a Cambodian Perspective* by Daniel Adler, Jeremy Ironside and Mean Ratanak, Volume 3 Issue 2, October 2009
- *Coercion to Conversion: Push and Pull Pressures on Custom Land in Vanuatu* by Justin Haccius, Volume 3 Issue 1, March 2009
- *Legal Aid Days as a Research Tool: Experiences from Northern Kenya* by Benita Ayuko and Tanja Chopra, Volume 2 Issue 4, September 2008

### What is Justice for the Poor?

Justice for the Poor (J4P) is a global research and development program aimed at informing, designing and supporting pro-poor approaches to justice reform. It is an approach to justice reform which:

- Sees justice from the perspective of the poor/marginalized
- Is grounded in social and cultural contexts
- Recognizes the importance of demand in building equitable justice systems
- Understands justice as a cross-sectoral issue

Justice for the Poor in Timor-Leste is part of the AusAID-World Bank collaboration on the East-Asia and Pacific Justice for the Poor Initiative. This Initiative includes work in Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste and Indonesia, as well as regional thematic activities.

**Contact us at [j4p@worldbank.org](mailto:j4p@worldbank.org) and visit our website [www.worldbank.org/justiceforthe poor](http://www.worldbank.org/justiceforthe poor) for further information.**