'Falling into the Urban Trap? Practices of International Non Government Organisations in East Timor'

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Chapter One

Introduction and Background

Introduction

As the newest country in the world with its celebration of independence on 20 May 2002, East Timor appears as a perfect choice of a developing country to conduct a research project on. Having survived centuries of colonial rule by the Portuguese and then the invasion and occupation by the Indonesians for nearly 25 years, East Timor has followed a path of continual struggle to reach their ultimate goal of independence.

Now as a fledgling nation their initial goal of independence may have been reached and to some this was seen as the end of the journey, however the long path of developing into a fully economically and politically viable nation able to stand on its own without being propped up by the United Nations (UN), World Bank and international donors has only begun.

There are an abundance of issues that need to be addressed within East Timor as it moves along its new road. Many of these will be featured in some way throughout the detail of this research project. Others are just too vast to consider within one particular topic of research.

The intention of this research project is to draw comparison and contrast of the six biases associated with urban trap of development, against the relevant practice of 20 International non-government organisations (INGOs) operating in East Timor. This will occur through a number of chapters. Firstly the setting for the research project and background to East Timor will be laid out. The second chapter will give explanation of the theory. There will then be chapters describing methods utilised to obtain research and a summation of the research. Finally the research project will culminate with analyse of the theory against the practice.

Recent History

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a setting for the research project. It outlines the main aspects of the recent history of East Timor including a brief explanation of the struggle for independence and the stabilising period that has occurred through the period of independence and beyond, to allow an emergency phase of humanitarian support and the transition into the period of development for the new country.

An overview of the geography of East Timor will also be included, outlining specific detail to enable understanding of key aspects. This will supply relevant knowledge leading into the analysis of the research.

The lead up to Independence

In 1974 Portugal, the former colonial power was in political turmoil. 'Following its 1974 revolution, Portugal abandoned its colonial empire and hurriedly gave independence to its overseas territories. In its poorest possession, the eastern half of Timor, a decolonisation process was started, in a difficult context of low levels of income and schooling and a generalised scarcity of infrastructure.'[1]

During this time two principle political parties emerged, the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) and the Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT). 'On August 10, 1975, UDT launched a coup in Dili and Portugal confined its troops to barracks. Fighting broke out between UDT and ASDT, and the latter transformed into the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin). Fretilin controlled most of the territory by late September, but incursions over the border with Indonesia continued during October and November. On November 28, 1975, Fretilin proclaimed the independence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor; on December 7, Indonesia Invaded East Timor.'[2]

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[1] The World Bank. (2002). *East Timor Policy Challenges for a New Nation.* The World Bank, East Asia and Pacific Region, Washington. p.4.
[2] Op cit. p.4.

What ensued was 24 years of rule by Indonesia. The East Timorese were again under the power of another country, in this case one that was not afraid to use force to install authority.

A period of reorientation occurred to enable control in a manner that suited the Indonesians. Entire villages were relocated to areas that the population was more visible and could be more easily regulated by Indonesian forces.

Tension continuously built, with much political fervour amongst the pro independence faculty, mainly initiated by the political body of Fretilin, pushing for an independent East Timor. As the pressure mounted, especially into the 1990's, Indonesia stamped their foot of authority, using a mix of their own forces and pro Indonesian Timorese Militia to control through fear and punishment. Many who stood against them were jailed or killed. ' In the 24 years of Indonesian rule and resistance, nearly a quarter of the Timorese population are thought to have died from the fighting ad forced migration, and associated malnutrition and other public health failures.'[3]

Reaching boiling point, active resistance became more prevalent, particularly by Falintil, the militant arm of the political party Fretilin. Guerrilla warfare became the theme of the day, with the general population, families and communities caught up in the furore.

Toward the mid to late 1990's 'with the Santa Cruz massacre and the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to two East Timorese leaders, international pressure intensified on Indonesia to allow East Timor to return to self-determination. This process was facilitated by the internal fragmentation of the Suharto regime in Indonesia and by the consolidation of the various independence parties in East Timor under the umbrella of the CNRT – the National Council of the Timorese Resistance.'[4]

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[3] Op cit. p.4.
[4] Op cit. p.4.

Indonesia decided to allow a referendum for Independence or greater autonomy. The UN was brought in to observe the process. This further heightened infliction of terror from pro Indonesian elements and Indonesian forces, offset by mounting guerrilla tactics by the pro independence resistance.

Due to the escalating violence there were doubts that a referendum would even be able to take place. However, it was, with the result being resounding support for Independence. After the referendum the country was thrown into utter chaos as the pro Indonesian militia and Indonesian forces attacked the general population and forced them to flee for their lives. The majority took to the highlands and bush, leaving everything behind them.

In combination came the destruction of vast amounts of the infrastructure as the Indonesian forces and Militia fled to West Timor in front of the arrival of the first United Nations peacekeeping forces. The resulting picture towards the end of 1999 showed the International Forces in East Timor (INTERFET) stabilising the situation, enforcing a border with West Timor to stop infiltration by militia, and seeking out any remaining militia hiding or still active on the East Timorese side of the divide.

With a mostly destroyed East Timor, and the population slowly returning to their own homes or what was left of them, the next stage of East Timor becoming independent was under way. This began with the emergency phase of humanitarian support to try and stabilise the delicate position in which the state was sitting.

On the military front a transition occurred from INTERFET to a United Nations Administration East Timor Peacekeeping Force (UNTAET PKF), and the huge introduction of military forces from around the world. This provided the security to enable the establishment of a UN administration (UNTAET) and other UN agencies and INGOs to commence the difficult task of providing aid to those that desperately needed it, and assist with the rehabilitation of the most essential components of the infrastructure.

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The requirement for such attention in a post conflict situation is not uncommon, however in no case does it assist the rapid stabilisation and development of a new country such as East Timor. The vast amount of resources and financial support directed into the emergency phase only made the overall availability of funding smaller for the sustainable development of the country that needed to follow.

Post Independence

Time moved toward May 2002 and the end of UNTAET, the independence of East Timor and the beginning of its actual government and public administration. As it did so, there was also a change in focus from the emergency phase of humanitarian support, to the phase of sustainable development. There was a certain amount of overlap between these phases with organisations completing their responsibilities within the emergency phase and concentrating more on the development phase.

A number of organisations either downsized their operations or withdrew completely and other organisations with a purely development focus entered the arena. Realistically proper development activities within East Timor probably began somewhere within 2001, but certainly by Independence on 20 May 2002, the major focus was development and not emergency support. Many of the emergency support projects also had flow on activities into the development phase.

By mid to end of 2001 by far the majority of the INGOs that are currently working in East Timor, and are part of the target research area of this project, were well established in East Timor. They either had a mixed focus to development and emergency support or solely to emergency support. The sectors and geographical areas within East Timor in which they are working had been determined and planning and conduct of activities was well underway.

East Timor[5]

East Timor or Timor Lorosae – 'Timor of the rising sun' – is situated on the eastern part of the island of Timor, the easternmost of the Lesser Sunda Islands. It is bordered on the west by the Indonesian province of Nusa Tengarra Timur. To the north lie the Savu Sea and the Strait of Wetar. TO the south 500 kilometres across the Timor Sea, is Australia. Also part of the national territory of East Timor is the enclave of Oecussi in the western part of Timor Island and the islands of Atauro and Jaco.

Timor's relief is broadly characterised by a core of rugged hills and mountains consisting of a confused mass of knife-edged ridges and craggy upland blocks. The land rises to 2,000 metres and above including Mount Tatamailau at 3,000 metres. Around 44% of East Timor may have a slope of approximately 40%, which, combined with heavy rainfall, encourages soil erosion. The climate is hot, with an average temperature of 21°C and around 80% humidity. During the dry season East Timor has moderate winds and slightly milder temperatures – 18°C on the coastline and 10°C or lower in the mountains. But between November and April, the monsoon season, the rivers become torrents due to extremely high precipitation.

During this period, the average temperature on the coastline is about 25°C. On the northern coast, the rainfall ranges from 500 to 1,000 millimetres per year and there is only one harvest. The southern coastal plain, however, can receive over 2,000 millimetres and has two wet seasons and two harvests. The island is also affected by El Nino-related weather anomalies.

Key District Information

East Timor consists of approximately half the island of Timor. It runs east/west for about 250 km and north/south for approximately 75 km. It consists of 13 districts, including the enclave of Oecussi. Dili is the capital of the country and is situated on the northern coast. Baucau is the one other major urban centre approximately two and a half hours drive along the

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[5]   UNDP (2002). East Timor Human Development Report 2002. p.viii.

northern coast from Dili. Each district has a main urban centre that acts as district capital and provides the hub for markets and trade from the surrounding rural areas. A map is provided at Appendix C for reference.

The roading infrastructure through the island varies quite significantly. In Dili a large amount of the roads are well maintained tar seal. The main arterial routes from Dili are average tar seal roads with many points of degradation and poor maintenance. The main road runs east from Dili to Los Palos and west to Maliana following the northern coast. Other main routes dissect the country from Dili through the central plateau to Manafahi and Cova Lima districts, another from Baucau to the southern coast and Viqueque district. Lesser routes join together the districts from Lautem to Cova Lima along the Southern coast and across the border from Bobanaro to Cova Lima. Many routes are hard going and require 4x4 vehicles for ease of travel.

To reach many of the district capitals require arduous travel over routes that vary between patches of tar seal to unsealed rough roads. Travel distances through out East Timor are not large, however the travel times are significant due to the lack of good roads. The accessibility of each district from Dili varies considerably. A summation of each is given below to provide background on ability of INGOs to operate in each district.

North Eastern Area.
Baucau is two and a half hours from Dili on a reasonably good tar sealed road. Baucau is the second largest town in East Timor. The rural areas of the district are reasonably accessible.

Lautem is the district on the eastern tip of the island. The main town is Los Palos, which is four and a half hours from Dili along a predominately good tar sealed road. The Sub districts within the district can be difficult to reach particularly those in the hills during the wet season.

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Viqueque district is on the central southern coast. The town of Viqueque is reached by travelling via Baucau. The route is on mostly unsealed rough road, making it one of the more difficult district capitals to reach. It takes approximately four and a half hours to reach from Dili. The roads and infrastructure through the sub districts is poor.

Central Area

Manatuto is a large district immediately to the East of Dili. Whilst the town of Manatuto is an easy one and a half hour drive from Dili on good tar seal road, the remainder of the district has very poor roading and infrastructure with some sub districts and villages difficult to reach even in the dry season.

Alieu is inland from Dili. The main town of the district is Aileu, one and a half hours and approximately 80 km from Dili. It is accessible by tar seal road. The sub districts have poor roading to them especially affected during the wet season.

Ainaro is further inland on the same route from Aileu. The main town is Ainaro, which is three hours from Dili. The sub districts within Ainaro are difficult to reach. Some only have foot or horse access all year round.

Manafahi district is on the southern central coast. It is reached through Aileu district and takes approximately four hours from Dili. The roading is average unsealed road once reaching the district border. Same is the main town in the district and has reasonably poor infrastructure. The sub districts are some of the more isolated in the country.

Western Area

Liquica is one of the most accessible districts. It is immediately to the west of Dili, with Liquica town an easy 30-minute drive from Dili on a good tar seal road. It is one of the smallest districts with few accessibility problems.

Bobanaro covers the north western portion of the border with West Timor. The main town of Maliana is three and a half hours from Dili on predominately good tar seal road, although it does have subsidence issues during the wet season. The sub districts of Bobanaro are reached on unsealed roads, and those along the border are quite difficult to reach.

Ermera district is completely inland on a plateau on the western central area of the country. The town of Ermera is two hours from Dili along average tar seal road, however unreachable by car due to a failed bridge that is impassable. The area is the major coffee growing area of East Timor and is a comparatively affluent district.

Cova Lima is the other district along the border with West Timor, situated on the south coast. Suai is the main town, which is six hours drive from Dili across a mixture of tar seal and unsealed roading. Portions of the route can be difficult during the wet season with river crossings affecting travel. Most of the sub districts of Cova Lima lay in extremely rugged terrain with poor roads connecting them to Suai.

Oecussi Enclave

Oecussi district is an enclave contained on the northern coast of West Timor. The main town is Oecussi. The district is the most difficult to reach in East Timor because it requires an eight hour trip by ferry or about a twelve hour drive by road through West Timor. The district is extremely isolated from the rest of the country.

Why this topic

Through the experience gained from working in East Timor the areas of possible topics for a research project became evident. Rather than simply choosing a topic based on theoretical experience, there was the opportunity to observe the actual practical application of the development process in a newly developing country such as East Timor. This yielded the ability to understand more about the practical aspects of development work and therefore conceptualise the differences between theory and practice.

Looking closely at the situation a number of viable options came to the forefront. The make up of development needs within East Timor assisted in narrowing the possible topics to one that was truly applicable to this environment. East Timor has a largely rural based population with only a handful of main rural urban centres within the districts and one main urban centre in the capital, Dili. This geographical make up led towards choosing the topic of the theory of urban trap of development compared to the practical application in the development of East Timor. Through experience of working in East Timor a number of elements of the theory could be seen, but it was of interest to research the theory and practice to be able to observe whether the trends of the theory held true in the reality of East Timor.

Chapter Two

Urban Trap and Six Biases – Theory

Background

Outsiders under perceive rural poverty. They are attracted to and trapped in urban 'cores' which generate and communicate their own sort of knowledge while rural 'peripheries' are isolated and neglected. The direct rural experience of most urban-based outsiders is limited to the brief and hurried visits, from urban centres, or rural development tourism. These exhibit six biases against contact with and learning from the poorer people. These are spatial-urban, tarmac and roadside; project- towards places where there are projects; person – towards those who are better off, men rather than women, users of services and adopters of practices rather than non-users and non-adopters, and those who are active, present and living; seasonal, avoiding the bad times of the wet season; diplomatic, not seeking out the poor for fear of giving offence; and professional, confined to the concerns of the outsider's specialisation. As a result, the poorer rural people are little seen and even less is the nature of their poverty understood.[6]

This statement underlines the central focus of the research on INGO activities in East Timor. It is the specific component of the broader theory of urban trap that the INGO activities are related to and will be compared with in a further chapter.

Each of the six biases that are identified within the statement above will be discussed in further detail during the body of this chapter in order to illustrate the significance of the biases. However, prior to investigating the specific relevant detail, it is important to ensure a broader understanding of the basis for such a statement and the greater discussion surrounding development

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[6] Chambers R. (1983) *Rural Development. Putting the Last First.* Longman Scientific & Technical, Harlow. P.2.

theory of urban and rural relationships, the so called core and peripheries. Discussion will initially concentrate on some of the relative general themes and issues that offer background understanding to the theme of urban trap. These themes will be Core versus Periphery, Participation, and Urban Based Outsiders.

Core Versus Periphery

' "Core regions" are major centres of innovative change, while all other territory consists of "peripheral regions", which are dependent on the core regions and whose development is largely determined by institutions of the core regions.'[7] This situation arguably exists in all developing countries. The urban 'core' national capital, and any other main urban centres, usually will contain the dominant political and economic focus of most countries. The decision-making occurs from the core by the national elite. These decisions not only affect the urban dwellers but also the peripheral or rural population as well.

Understandably much development will have an urban flavour to it, whether this is at main urban centres or through major district urban centres. A reason for this is: 'urban populations are often more politically visible and articulate, and politicians usually reside in urban areas, so that the political process is one that responds much better to the demands of urban people than the needs of the rural poor. As a consequence, resources get channelled to urban areas and not to the countryside where they are needed most. Development is skewed towards urban and industrial projects and usually fails to alleviate rural poverty.' [8]

The political process functions around an urban centre, even though a number of the politicians and bureaucrats will undoubtedly have strong links to certain rural areas of the country, their physical location has changed, and often over time their mindset moves with it. Through a number of avenues,

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[7] Stohr W.B. and Taylor. F. (Ed) (1981) *Development from Above or Below*. John Wiley and Sons, New York. P.20.

[8] Study Guide. (2001) *131.701 Development and Underdevelopment*. Massey University, Palmerston North. p.25.

decision makers become aware of what keeps them in power, and manifested through political pressure or a measure of human weakness, they will often safely position themselves through making decisions that appease those that apply pressure to them.

An application of this issue is the use of resources, which is a central issue in any developing country. A perceived focus on urban centres and their people may direct needed resources away from other areas. But the allocations may not be just perceived, because 'the analytic mistakes made by honest and intelligent people, in the course of justifying heavily urban resource allocations, suggests a prevailing disposition to make and justify such allocations.'[9] In many cases resources available are scarce to begin with, and the resource flow to the rural areas can be even more limited as a result of allocation to urban centres.

A negative observation of resource distribution is that ' rather than spreading development through positive urban-rural linkages, cities [have] become parasitic, sucking up resources and surplus value from their surrounding regions.'[10] Urban centres are seen to be leaving the rural population with less in terms of resources and subsequently capability to conduct necessary activities that could infuse stabilisation and growth within the rural area.

As a direct result 'many outlying rural areas [have] been relegated to an ever more dependent and peripheral status – unable to generate their own internal development and increasingly subjugated to the dominant interests of the national elites in core urban areas.'[11] As a result a downward spiralling effect occurs that requires the attention at the decision making level to avert.

The situation displays a condition that may essentially see the rural peripheries getting less and less and less, and the urban core gaining more and more and more. This is cemented in the statement that 'where ideology,

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[9] Lipton M. (1977). *Why Poor People Stay Poor. A Study of Urban Bias in World Development.* Temple Smith, London. P. 63.
[10] Brohman J. (1996) *Popular Development. Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development.* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. p.227.
[11] Op cit. p.227.

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advice, predilections and immediate pressures all dispose towards urban bias, it is almost certain to win.'[12]

The spiralling effect, contributing to the lack of infrastructure and resources of the rural peripheries, underpins a notable problem in order to halt the further degradation of rural communities. 'Characteristically, local services and infrastructure which were needed to overcome problems of economic stagnation in peripheral rural regions were virtually nonexistent.[13]

Participation

Whilst it is recognised that the theme of participation is an entire topic on its own, it is considered important to briefly outline some of the ideas of participation. This is to further expand on the discussion above regarding the political power of the urban core and the decision making from the power brokers over development activities for rural peripheries and the subsequent lack of allowance for rural populations to be an integral part of their own development.

'Participation is thus a key prerequisite of success and development must come from "below", from the needs, aspirations, resources and work of the people themselves, rather than being imposed from outside or "above".'[14] Although the change of theoretical focus to recognise this requirement has been relatively recent, under these circumstances the ownership of activities and buy in to success will lay with the key beneficiaries.

The practice that inevitably follows the theory is still in the process of reaching fruition, although it is generally a consideration of stakeholder analysis, social impact assessments and the like, the fundamental step is actually making participation a focus of a project as opposed to simply stating it in the project documentation.

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[12] Ibid. Lipton. P.66.
[13] Op cit. p.227.
[14] Ibid. Study Guide. p.18.

Until recently 'It has not been uncommon for development workers to be very frustrated when they find that their well-intentioned, well-planned and well-monitored projects, not to mention their own toil, have been met by the indifference and non-cooperation of the people their work is supposed to help. In many cases this led to charges that those people were conservative, ignorant or lazy; in others, fortunately, it led to a closer examination by development practitioners of their own methods and philosophies.'[15] Closer reflection of the activities that had these results would hopefully discover more often the later reason for the lack of achievement.

A study of the methods and techniques utilised to implement such projects would likely show a lack of involvement of the beneficiaries. Often the situation has seen an organisation genuinely trying to do good, but falling short due to lack of effort or understanding in developing solid relationships with the beneficiaries and intimately involving them through out the project process. Thus there has not been an environment of breeding success, which would lead to continued support for the project by beneficiaries and therefore provide a level of sustainability.

There is a reality that needs to be dealt with in these situations where participation has been minimised and marginalized because 'once the politicians and aid donors come to the opening ceremony, cut the ribbon, have their photos taken and leave, people are left to their own devices to operate a project which they may not have really wanted, which does not meet their needs, in which they were not involved in building, and for which they do not have the skills to operate but are often expected to pay! It should be little surprise that such schemes often fail.'[16]

There are many components that need to be included in successful participation activities. There needs to be a genuine effort made by the implementers and facilitators to allow a true participatory approach.

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[15] Op cit. p.18.
[16] Op cit. p.27.

Participation can be' "authentic" participation, in which local people democratically control project decision making, and "Pseudo" participation, in which projects are carried out according to prior decisions made by outsiders.'[17] In order to break down the urban biases, participation needs to occur in an "authentic" manner allowing actual ownership of activities lay with the beneficiaries.

This is a principle perspective to bear in mind during the further discussion. Remembering this section was not designed to state that participation does not occur in development practice, its aim was to reinforce the importance of participation as a fundamental issue in formulating successful development projects. It will be an issue of relevance when analysing and comparing the practice of INGOs in East Timor, against this theory, in a later chapter.

Urban Based Outsiders

A common occurrence 'in third world countries as elsewhere, academics, bureaucrats, foreigners and journalists are all drawn to towns or based in them. All are victims, though usually willing victims, of the urban trap.'[18] It is in these locations where there is more likely to be comfortable surroundings and the ability to live a relatively 'normal' lifestyle amongst the poverty and despair that might well be happening under their nose, but certainly in the unseen peripheries. Under these circumstances 'rural poverty is remote. It is even remote, most of the time for those outsiders who are 'working in the field' but who are urban-based.'[19]

Isolated from the reason for outsiders being in the country there is the opportunity for them to have a limited understanding of the true level of the problems. 'For all these urban-based professionals, the major source of direct experience of rural conditions is, then, rural development tourism, the

[17] Ibid. Brohman. P. 252.
[18] Ibid. Chambers. p.7.
[19] Op cit. p.4.

phenomenon of the brief rural visit. This influences and is part of almost all other sources of information.'[20]

For the majority of outsiders that fall in the urban trap there is a large risk of misunderstanding the scope and severity of a problem. The dislocation from the nucleus of the problem means that outsiders can and often do have a biased view on the actual problem and possible solutions. 'Yet it is through this rural development tourism, if at all, that "core" (urban based, professional, powerful) visitors see and meet those who are "peripheral" (rural, uneducated, weak). The brief rural visits by "core" personnel can scarcely fail to play a key part in forming their impressions and beliefs and influencing their decisions and actions.'[21]

This is not to say that outsiders do not attempt to understand and associate with the people and their problems. Simply because of outsiders different backgrounds, education and specialisation they will see things from a given stance, which may not encompass the picture in its entirety. In some respects no manner of trying to bridge that gap will necessarily dissipate the variance.

Urban Bias – The Six Biases

> *The focus on rural development inevitably raised many important policy issues concerning the neglect of the countryside as resources were concentrated in urban areas, the bias of development efforts toward industry at the expense of agriculture, and the manipulation of internal terms of trade against agriculture, particularly domestic food production. These issues were regrouped together within the broad concept of "urban bias".*[22]

As previously stated the notion of urban bias is the major theoretical component for this research. The six biases provide the underlying

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[20] Op cit. p.10.
[21] Op cit. p.10.
[22] Ibid. Brohman. p.210.

statements and definitions on which the comparison of theory of urban trap and the practice of INGOs in East Timor is to be based.

To enable the critical and accurate comparative analysis to occur, it is important therefore to gain a solid understanding of the information that comprises the core of this theory. The six biases are a considered to be a result of the urban trap that outsiders find themselves subjected to. To restate the six biases are Spatial biases: urban, tarmac and roadside; project bias; person biases; dry season biases; Diplomatic biases: politeness and timidity; and, professional biases.

Spatial Biases: Urban, Tarmac and Roadside

There are a few significant elements to this bias. The first is that outsiders are more likely to travel to places that are easily accessible. Most people would prefer to travel shorter distances on better roads to reach the locations of project sites. As stated previously it is likely that the majority of outsiders will conduct short visits to the rural locations of their projects, with only a few actually living, working and immersing themselves in the rural peripheral areas. 'Starting and ending in urban centres, visits follow networks of roads. With rural development tourism, the hazards of dirt roads, the comfort of the visitor, the location of places to visit and places for spending the night, and shortages of both time and fuel dictate a preference for tarmac roads and for travel close to urban centres.'[23]

The second element is a compounding result of the desire to travel on better roads and shorter distances, enabling outsiders to return to the comfort of urban centres for accommodation. Through this desire 'urban bias concentrates rural visits near towns and especially near capital cities and large administrative centres. But the regional distribution of the poorest rural people often shows a concentration in remoter areas.'[24]

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[23] Ibid. Chambers. p.13.
[24] Op cit. p. 13.

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As a consequence it is possible that many of the highest need areas may be partially or completely neglected during the visits of outsiders. Thus 'tarmac and roadside biases also direct attention towards those who are less poor and away from those who are poorer.'[25] Whilst possibly still in need of assistance, these are not the people of highestnee d and enduring greatest poverty.

The third element of this bias relates to the fact that 'visible development follows main roads. Factories, offices, shops and official markets all tend to be at the sides of main roads.'[26] With outsiders more likely to visit such facilities and locations, further development projects are potentially going to occur in their vicinity.

A cycle of positive expansion is possible because improvements in particular sections of an area or community may be the catalyst for other activities to occur. An example of this is where 'an improved tarmac or all-weather surface can bring buses, electricity, telephone, piped water supply, and better access to markets, health facilities and schools.'[27] This results in further development for such an area, but with total disregard for the fact that the area was not of highest need in the first place.

The other spin off, that activity portrayed above can have, is to cause misjudgement by outsiders on the standard of living and poverty level within the rural peripheries. If their experience of the rural environment consists of visits to areas observed above, then they will be more likely to perceive it as the level at which the entire rural population is at. Of course this is known not to be true, but people's perceptions are reinforced by what they see, not by what they do not see. This may lead to the case where 'the better the road, the nearer the urban centre, and the heavier the traffic, so the more pronounced is the roadside development and the more likely visitors are to see it and be misled.'[28]

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[25] Op cit. p. 13.
[26] Op cit. p. 13.
[27] Op cit. p. 13.
[28] Op cit. p.14.

Project Bias

There are two notable aspects of project bias. The first is the process that is undertaken to determine a project. Those organisations that seek to commence a project (whether for the first time or starting another) will undoubtedly undertake a process of consultation and verification in order to determine the location and scope of the project. In doing so 'they are then pointed to those rural places where it is known that something is being done – where money is being spent, staff are stationed, a project is in hand.'[29]

This is an unavoidable circumstance whether the outsiders conducting the process are new to the environment or not. They will either direct their questioning and analysis at areas within communities that they know will be in a position to supply the information being sought, or as in many cases 'ministries, departments, district staff, and voluntary agencies all pay special attention to projects and channel visitors towards them. Contact and learning are then with tiny atypical islands of activity, which attract repeated and mutually reinforcing attention.'[30] Thus the perpetual cycle of project bias.

The other component of project bias is observed through the showpiece, 'the nicely groomed pet project or model village, specifically staffed and supported, with well briefed members who know what to say and which is sited a reasonable but not excessive distance from the urban headquarters.'[31] This can be a sometimes-purposeful manoeuvre by an organisation to display success of their operations. Utilised to appease head office and other visitors, or, as often the case, a tool for attracting donor funding that will enable the continued presence of the organisation.

Person Biases

There are a number of elements of bias associated with people. All are related to the type of people that outsiders interact with in the rural peripheries.

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[29] Op cit. p.16.
[30] Op cit. p.16.
[31] Op cit. p.16.

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The first is elite bias. Elite was previously utilised to describe the power brokers etc in the urban core. In this instance the term elite is used 'to describe those rural people who are less poor and more influential. They typically include progressive farmers, village leaders, headmen, traders, religious leaders, teachers, and paraprofessionals. They are the main sources of information for rural development tourists, for local-level officials, and even for rural researchers. They are the most fluent informants. It is they who receive and speak to the visitors; they who articulate 'the village's' priorities for development.'[32] These are the people that outsiders deal with and that have opportunity to influence the projects that are being investigated.

It would be considered that these people are not the true voice of the rural peripheries, however 'the poor do not speak up. With those of higher status, they may even decline to sit down. Weak, powerless and isolated, they are often reluctant to push themselves forward.'[33]

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The wet season often brings about many reasons not to attempt consultation and activities into the rural peripheries. 'The rains are a bad time for rural travel because of the inconveniences or worse of floods, mud, landslides, broken bridges, and getting stuck, damaging vehicles, losing time, and enduring discomfort.'[39]   Again strengthening the urban bias and the desire to be more comfortable.

There is also a practical reason to the dry season bias. The simple reality that 'many rural areas, especially those which are remote and poor, are quite simply inaccessible by vehicle during the rains. The worst times of the year for the poorer people are thus those that are the least perceived by urban-based outsiders.'[40]

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sickness, isolation, vulnerability to contingencies, and powerlessness all mesh and interlock.'[45]

The view of a specialist may not be able to detect the wider aspects of the problem. Because 'narrow professionalism of whatever persuasion leads to diagnoses and prescriptions which underestimate deprivation by recognising and confronting only a part of the problem.'[46]

The other common problem for these outsiders can often be that 'knowing what they want to know, and short of time to find it out, professionals in rural areas become even more narrowly single-minded. They do their own thing and only their own thing. They look for and find what fits their ideas. There is neither inclination nor time for the open-ended question or for other ways of perceiving people, events and things.'[47] This can be another definitive means of isolating the intended beneficiaries from the equation, producing information and proposals that implement development activities intended to resolve problems, without input of the key stakeholders.

Summary

The theory of urban trap is comprised of many components, and naturally entails cross over into other development theories. All of the information outlined in this discussion is interrelated. Invariably none of the points of interest would occur in isolation.

The initial discussion on core versus periphery, participation and urban outsiders was intended to provide background on the urban trap theory before focussing on the six biases that specifically detail the foremost theoretical issues for comparison with the practical research based on INGO activities in East Timor.

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[45] Op cit. p.22.
[46] Op cit. p.23.
[47] Op cit. p.23.

Through the process of the discussion it has become evident that urban trap theory contains numerous characteristics. The six biases in particular provide many issues for the theorist to ponder and the practitioner to attempt to resolve, balance and overcome in the process of raising the benchmark of successful development to another level.

The analysis of INGOs in East Timor will provide insight into whether the six biases are noticeable in development practice, or have the practitioners embraced the theoretical pitfalls and therefore able to conduct activities in a manner that raises the benchmark.

Finally, in the aim of improving understanding of urban trap it is important to realise that 'the way in which spatial, project, person, dry season, politeness/timidity and professional biases interact can be seen by analysing almost any example of an urban-based outsider investigating rural conditions. With many 'insights' and beliefs about rural life, the several biases can and do reinforce each other.'[48]

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[48] Op cit. p.24.

Chapter Three
Explanation of the Research

Background to the Research Topic

The experience of living and working in East Timor led to the choice of urban trap as a broad theory on which to conduct a research project. The author observed that the vast majority of international workers in East Timor lived in Dili, the capital and single large urban centre in East Timor. It was further observed through travel around East Timor, that organisations tended to have projects being conducted predominately from district urban locations.

Once the theory on which to base a topic, had been determined, the next step was to determine how to undertake the research, and against what practical application. It was determined that INGOs would be the target of the research for the following reasons:

- It was decided to explore the INGO activities because the reduction of United Nations Administration East Timor (UNTAET) activities in the districts means INGOs remain as the single major providers of development projects to district level.
- Working for an INGO made the choice relevant and provided the opportunity to gather the information.

The intention was to compare the theory of urban trap with the practice of INGOs in East Timor to determine the aspects of similarity and contrast between the theory and a practical development context.

Further investigation on the theory of urban trap identified that the six biases associated with outsiders' interaction with local people would be an ideal central theme on which to focus the research. This was due to the specific focus of six biases rather than encompassing the entire theory, and because the six biases could neatly be separated in order to establish the range of the research. The information requirements and specific methods for collection were then determined.

theory of urban and rural relationships, the so called core and peripheries. Discussion will initially concentrate on some of the relative general themes and issues that offer background understanding to the theme of urban trap. These themes will be Core versus Periphery, Participation, and Urban Based Outsiders.

Core Versus Periphery

' "Core regions" are major centres of innovative change, while all other territory consists of "peripheral regions", which are dependent on the core regions and whose development is largely determined by institutions of the core regions.'[7] This situation arguably exists in all developing countries. The urban 'core' national capital, and any other main urban centres, usually will contain the dominant political and economic focus of most countries. The decision-making occurs from the core by the national elite. These decisions not only affect the urban dwellers but also the peripheral or rural population as well.

Understandably much development will have an urban flavour to it, whether this is at main urban centres or through major district urban centres. A reason for this is: 'urban populations are often more politically visible and articulate, and politicians usually reside in urban areas, so that the political process is one that responds much better to the demands of urban people than the needs of the rural poor. As a consequence, resources get channelled to urban areas and not to the countryside where they are needed most. Development is skewed towards urban and industrial projects and usually fails to alleviate rural poverty.' [8]

The political process functions around an urban centre, even though a number of the politicians and bureaucrats will undoubtedly have strong links to certain rural areas of the country, their physical location has changed, and often over time their mindset moves with it. Through a number of avenues,

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[7] Stohr W.B. and Taylor. F. (Ed) (1981) *Development from Above or Below*. John Wiley and Sons, New York. P.20.
[8] Study Guide. (2001) *131.701 Development and Underdevelopment*. Massey University, Palmerston North. p.25.

decision makers become aware of what keeps them in power, and manifested through political pressure or a measure of human weakness, they will often safely position themselves through making decisions that appease those that apply pressure to them.

An application of this issue is the use of resources, which is a central issue in any developing country. A perceived focus on urban centres and their people may direct needed resources away from other areas. But the allocations may not be just perceived, because 'the analytic mistakes made by honest and intelligent people, in the course of justifying heavily urban resource allocations, suggests a prevailing disposition to make and justify such allocations.'[9] In many cases resources available are scarce to begin with, and the resource flow to the rural areas can be even more limited as a result of allocation to urban centres.

A negative observation of resource distribution is that ' rather than spreading development through positive urban-rural linkages, cities [have] become parasitic, sucking up resources and surplus value from their surrounding regions.'[10] Urban centres are seen to be leaving the rural population with less in terms of resources and subsequently capability to conduct necessary activities that could infuse stabilisation and growth within the rural area.

As a direct result 'many outlying rural areas [have] been relegated to an ever more dependent and peripheral status – unable to generate their own internal development and increasingly subjugated to the dominant interests of the national elites in core urban areas.'[11] As a result a downward spiralling effect occurs that requires the attention at the decision making level to avert.

The situation displays a condition that may essentially see the rural peripheries getting less and less and less, and the urban core gaining more and more and more. This is cemented in the statement that 'where ideology,

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[9] Lipton M. (1977). *Why Poor People Stay Poor. A Study of Urban Bias in World Development.* Temple Smith, London. P. 63.
[10] Brohman J. (1996) *Popular Development. Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development.* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. p.227.
[11] Op cit. p.227.

advice, predilections and immediate pressures all dispose towards urban bias, it is almost certain to win.'[12]

The spiralling effect, contributing to the lack of infrastructure and resources of the rural peripheries, underpins a notable problem in order to halt the further degradation of rural communities. 'Characteristically, local services and infrastructure which were needed to overcome problems of economic stagnation in peripheral rural regions were virtually nonexistent.[13]

Participation

Whilst it is recognised that the theme of participation is an entire topic on its own, it is considered important to briefly outline some of the ideas of participation. This is to further expand on the discussion above regarding the political power of the urban core and the decision making from the power brokers over development activities for rural peripheries and the subsequent lack of allowance for rural populations to be an integral part of their own development.

'Participation is thus a key prerequisite of success and development must come from "below", from the needs, aspirations, resources and work of the people themselves, rather than being imposed from outside or "above".'[14] Although the change of theoretical focus to recognise this requirement has been relatively recent, under these circumstances the ownership of activities and buy in to success will lay with the key beneficiaries.

The practice that inevitably follows the theory is still in the process of reaching fruition, although it is generally a consideration of stakeholder analysis, social impact assessments and the like, the fundamental step is actually making participation a focus of a project as opposed to simply stating it in the project documentation.

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[12] Ibid. Lipton. P.66.
[13] Op cit. p.227.
[14] Ibid. Study Guide. p.18.

Until recently 'It has not been uncommon for development workers to be very frustrated when they find that their well-intentioned, well-planned and well-monitored projects, not to mention their own toil, have been met by the indifference and non-cooperation of the people their work is supposed to help. In many cases this led to charges that those people were conservative, ignorant or lazy; in others, fortunately, it led to a closer examination by development practitioners of their own methods and philosophies.'[15] Closer reflection of the activities that had these results would hopefully discover more often the later reason for the lack of achievement.

A study of the methods and techniques utilised to implement such projects would likely show a lack of involvement of the beneficiaries. Often the situation has seen an organisation genuinely trying to do good, but falling short due to lack of effort or understanding in developing solid relationships with the beneficiaries and intimately involving them through out the project process. Thus there has not been an environment of breeding success, which would lead to continued support for the project by beneficiaries and therefore provide a level of sustainability.

There is a reality that needs to be dealt with in these situations where participation has been minimised and marginalized because 'once the politicians and aid donors come to the opening ceremony, cut the ribbon, have their photos taken and leave, people are left to their own devices to operate a project which they may not have really wanted, which does not meet their needs, in which they were not involved in building, and for which they do not have the skills to operate but are often expected to pay! It should be little surprise that such schemes often fail.'[16]

There are many components that need to be included in successful participation activities. There needs to be a genuine effort made by the implementers and facilitators to allow a true participatory approach.

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[15] Op cit. p.18.
[16] Op cit. p.27.

Participation can be' "authentic" participation, in which local people democratically control project decision making, and "Pseudo" participation, in which projects are carried out according to prior decisions made by outsiders.'[17] In order to break down the urban biases, participation needs to occur in an "authentic" manner allowing actual ownership of activities lay with the beneficiaries.

This is a principle perspective to bear in mind during the further discussion. Remembering this section was not designed to state that participation does not occur in development practice, its aim was to reinforce the importance of participation as a fundamental issue in formulating successful development projects. It will be an issue of relevance when analysing and comparing the practice of INGOs in East Timor, against this theory, in a later chapter.

Urban Based Outsiders

A common occurrence 'in third world countries as elsewhere, academics, bureaucrats, foreigners and journalists are all drawn to towns or based in them. All are victims, though usually willing victims, of the urban trap.'[18] It is in these locations where there is more likely to be comfortable surroundings and the ability to live a relatively 'normal' lifestyle amongst the poverty and despair that might well be happening under their nose, but certainly in the unseen peripheries. Under these circumstances 'rural poverty is remote. It is even remote, most of the time for those outsiders who are 'working in the field' but who are urban-based.'[19]

Isolated from the reason for outsiders being in the country there is the opportunity for them to have a limited understanding of the true level of the problems. 'For all these urban-based professionals, the major source of direct experience of rural conditions is, then, rural development tourism, the

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[17] Ibid. Brohman. P. 252.
[18] Ibid. Chambers. p.7.
[19] Op cit. p.4.

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phenomenon of the brief rural visit. This influences and is part of almost all other sources of information.'[20]

For the majority of outsiders that fall in the urban trap there is a large risk of misunderstanding the scope and severity of a problem. The dislocation from the nucleus of the problem means that outsiders can and often do have a biased view on the actual problem and possible solutions. 'Yet it is through this rural development tourism, if at all, that "core" (urban based, professional, powerful) visitors see and meet those who are "peripheral" (rural, uneducated, weak). The brief rural visits by "core" personnel can scarcely fail to play a key part in forming their impressions and beliefs and influencing their decisions and actions.'[21]

This is not to say that outsiders do not attempt to understand and associate with the people and their problems. Simply because of outsiders different backgrounds, education and specialisation they will see things from a given stance, which may not encompass the picture in its entirety. In some respects no manner of trying to bridge that gap will necessarily dissipate the variance.

Urban Bias – The Six Biases

> *The focus on rural development inevitably raised many important*
> *policy issues concerning the neglect of the countryside as*
> *resources were concentrated in urban areas, the bias of*
> *development efforts toward industry at the expense of agriculture,*
> *and the manipulation of internal terms of trade against agriculture,*
> *particularly domestic food production. These issues were*
> *regrouped together within the broad concept of "urban bias".*[22]

As previously stated the notion of urban bias is the major theoretical component for this research. The six biases provide the underlying

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[20] Op cit. p.10.
[21] Op cit. p.10.
[22] Ibid. Brohman. p.210.

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statements and definitions on which the comparison of theory of urban trap and the practice of INGOs in East Timor is to be based.

To enable the critical and accurate comparative analysis to occur, it is important therefore to gain a solid understanding of the information that comprises the core of this theory. The six biases are a considered to be a result of the urban trap that outsiders find themselves subjected to. To restate the six biases are Spatial biases: urban, tarmac and roadside; project bias; person biases; dry season biases; Diplomatic biases: politeness and timidity; and, professional biases.

Spatial Biases: Urban, Tarmac and Roadside

There are a few significant elements to this bias. The first is that outsiders are more likely to travel to places that are easily accessible. Most people would prefer to travel shorter distances on better roads to reach the locations of project sites. As stated previously it is likely that the majority of outsiders will conduct short visits to the rural locations of their projects, with only a few actually living, working and immersing themselves in the rural peripheral areas. 'Starting and ending in urban centres, visits follow networks of roads. With rural development tourism, the hazards of dirt roads, the comfort of the visitor, the location of places to visit and places for spending the night, and shortages of both time and fuel dictate a preference for tarmac roads and for travel close to urban centres.'[23]

The second element is a compounding result of the desire to travel on better roads and shorter distances, enabling outsiders to return to the comfort of urban centres for accommodation. Through this desire 'urban bias concentrates rural visits near towns and especially near capital cities and large administrative centres. But the regional distribution of the poorest rural people often shows a concentration in remoter areas.'[24]

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[23] Ibid. Chambers. p.13.
[24] Op cit. p. 13.

As a consequence it is possible that many of the highest need areas may be partially or completely neglected during the visits of outsiders. Thus 'tarmac and roadside biases also direct attention towards those who are less poor and away from those who are poorer.'[25] Whilst possibly still in need of assistance, these are not the people of highestnee d and enduring greatest poverty.

The third element of this bias relates to the fact that 'visible development follows main roads. Factories, offices, shops and official markets all tend to be at the sides of main roads.'[26] With outsiders more likely to visit such facilities and locations, further development projects are potentially going to occur in their vicinity.

A cycle of positive expansion is possible because improvements in particular sections of an area or community may be the catalyst for other activities to occur. An example of this is where 'an improved tarmac or all-weather surface can bring buses, electricity, telephone, piped water supply, and better access to markets, health facilities and schools.'[27] This results in further development for such an area, but with total disregard for the fact that the area was not of highest need in the first place.

The other spin off, that activity portrayed above can have, is to cause misjudgement by outsiders on the standard of living and poverty level within the rural peripheries. If their experience of the rural environment consists of visits to areas observed above, then they will be more likely to perceive it as the level at which the entire rural population is at. Of course this is known not to be true, but people's perceptions are reinforced by what they see, not by what they do not see. This may lead to the case where 'the better the road, the nearer the urban centre, and the heavier the traffic, so the more pronounced is the roadside development and the more likely visitors are to see it and be misled.'[28]

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[25] Op cit. p. 13.
[26] Op cit. p. 13.
[27] Op cit. p. 13.
[28] Op cit. p.14.

Project Bias

There are two notable aspects of project bias. The first is the process that is undertaken to determine a project. Those organisations that seek to commence a project (whether for the first time or starting another) will undoubtedly undertake a process of consultation and verification in order to determine the location and scope of the project. In doing so 'they are then pointed to those rural places where it is known that something is being done – where money is being spent, staff are stationed, a project is in hand.'[29]

This is an unavoidable circumstance whether the outsiders conducting the process are new to the environment or not. They will either direct their questioning and analysis at areas within communities that they know will be in a position to supply the information being sought, or as in many cases 'ministries, departments, district staff, and voluntary agencies all pay special attention to projects and channel visitors towards them. Contact and learning are then with tiny atypical islands of activity, which attract repeated and mutually reinforcing attention.'[30] Thus the perpetual cycle of project bias.

The other component of project bias is observed through the showpiece, 'the nicely groomed pet project or model village, specifically staffed and supported, with well briefed members who know what to say and which is sited a reasonable but not excessive distance from the urban headquarters.'[31] This can be a sometimes-purposeful manoeuvre by an organisation to display success of their operations. Utilised to appease head office and other visitors, or, as often the case, a tool for attracting donor funding that will enable the continued presence of the organisation.

Person Biases

There are a number of elements of bias associated with people. All are related to the type of people that outsiders interact with in the rural peripheries.

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[29] Op cit. p.16.
[30] Op cit. p.16.
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sickness, isolation, vulnerability to contingencies, and powerlessness all mesh and interlock.'[45]

The view of a specialist may not be able to detect the wider aspects of the problem. Because 'narrow professionalism of whatever persuasion leads to diagnoses and prescriptions which underestimate deprivation by recognising and confronting only a part of the problem.'[46]

The other common problem for these outsiders can often be that 'knowing what they want to know, and short of time to find it out, professionals in rural areas become even more narrowly single-minded. They do their own thing and only their own thing. They look for and find what fits their ideas. There is neither inclination nor time for the open-ended question or for other ways of perceiving people, events and things.'[47] This can be another definitive means of isolating the intended beneficiaries from the equation, producing information and proposals that implement development activities intended to resolve problems, without input of the key stakeholders.

Summary

The theory of urban trap is comprised of many components, and naturally entails cross over into other development theories. All of the information outlined in this discussion is interrelated. Invariably none of the points of interest would occur in isolation.

The initial discussion on core versus periphery, participation and urban outsiders was intended to provide background on the urban trap theory before focussing on the six biases that specifically detail the foremost theoretical issues for comparison with the practical research based on INGO activities in East Timor.

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[45] Op cit. p.22.
[46] Op cit. p.23.
[47] Op cit. p.23.

Through the process of the discussion it has become evident that urban trap theory contains numerous characteristics. The six biases in particular provide many issues for the theorist to ponder and the practitioner to attempt to resolve, balance and overcome in the process of raising the benchmark of successful development to another level.

The analysis of INGOs in East Timor will provide insight into whether the six biases are noticeable in development practice, or have the practitioners embraced the theoretical pitfalls and therefore able to conduct activities in a manner that raises the benchmark.

Finally, in the aim of improving understanding of urban trap it is important to realise that 'the way in which spatial, project, person, dry season, politeness/timidity and professional biases interact can be seen by analysing almost any example of an urban-based outsider investigating rural conditions. With many 'insights' and beliefs about rural life, the several biases can and do reinforce each other.'[48]

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[48] Op cit. p.24.

Chapter Three
Explanation of the Research

Background to the Research Topic

The experience of living and working in East Timor led to the choice of urban trap as a broad theory on which to conduct a research project. The author observed that the vast majority of international workers in East Timor lived in Dili, the capital and single large urban centre in East Timor. It was further observed through travel around East Timor, that organisations tended to have projects being conducted predominately from district urban locations.

Once the theory on which to base a topic, had been determined, the next step was to determine how to undertake the research, and against what practical application. It was determined that INGOs would be the target of the research for the following reasons:

- It was decided to explore the INGO activities because the reduction of United Nations Administration East Timor (UNTAET) activities in the districts means INGOs remain as the single major providers of development projects to district level.
- Working for an INGO made the choice relevant and provided the opportunity to gather the information.

The intention was to compare the theory of urban trap with the practice of INGOs in East Timor to determine the aspects of similarity and contrast between the theory and a practical development context.

Further investigation on the theory of urban trap identified that the six biases associated with outsiders' interaction with local people would be an ideal central theme on which to focus the research. This was due to the specific focus of six biases rather than encompassing the entire theory, and because the six biases could neatly be separated in order to establish the range of the research. The information requirements and specific methods for collection were then determined.

Research Design

The purpose of the research into activities of the INGOs in East Timor is to establish the similarities and contrasts of the activities they are conducting, against the theory of urban trap of development, with a particular focus on the six biases.

'Social research can serve many purposes. Three of the most common and useful purposes are exploration, description and explanation.'[49] This research into INGO activities, in the most part, has components of description and explanation. It is considered to have these two components because there is a requirement to describe observations, answering 'questions of what, where when, and how' and from this information there is a need for explanation of 'why'.[50]

The research project was conducted as a cross-sectional study. This essentially means that it is a snap shot of activities being conducted at the point in time that the research is gathered.

In terms of research theory it is important that the research being conducted have a level of validity and considered to be reliable. Determining validity was not an issue because 'Field research seems to provide measures with greater validity than do survey and experimental measurements, which are often criticised as superficial and not really valid'.[51]

'Field research has, however, a potential problem with reliability.'[52] This is often the case because there is not necessarily the ability to be sure that another observer would characterise the research in the same manner. This issue is mitigated in this research project because the researcher has professional knowledge of the country as well as the target INGOs that will be involved in the research process. The information being gathered is also

[49] Babbie. E. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth Thomson Learning, Belmont. p.91.
[50] Op cit. p. 93.
[51] Op cit. p. 298.
[52] Op cit. p. 299.

more of a descriptive and explanatory nature, which will provide less opportunity for differing interpretation.

Research Techniques Considered

When deciding to undertake the research on this topic it was important to ensure that the method of gaining information was appropriate. The techniques utilised needed to provide the right information in a useable format. The requirement was to gather a snap shot of specific information from the INGOs regarding their activities, in relation to the six biases associated with urban trap.

The first technique considered was the use of a questionnaire. This is a common technique for gathering information 'widely used in experiments, field research, and other data collection activities'.[53] It was discounted as an option though because of the following reasons:

- The requirement for specific preparation of questions that would enable gathering relevant and applicable information.
- Possible necessity to conduct follow up interviews.
- Inflexible in terms of probing for further information on particular areas.
- Emphasis on individuals to complete the questionnaire.
- Attempting to mail out questionnaires would be impractical because the mail system in East Timor is extremely limited and inadequate.

A second option was to conduct research of INGOs in a group environment. This was quickly discounted because of the following reasons:
- The likelihood of being able to get INGOs together to conduct any type of group work was an unrealistic option.
- INGOs are not going to give up a lot of time to assist someone with personal research.
- The results from any group discussions would likely have bias from the more dominant participants.

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[53] Op cit. p. 245.

- It would be unlikely to enable the required level of information on each INGO to be gathered.

The third option was to conduct a semi-structured interview process. This was the option that was chosen because it was determined to be most appropriate to obtain the necessary information from INGOs. Semi structured interviews are utilised to obtain specific information from individuals or small groups on a range of issues. They allow the interviewer to guide the interview process through establishing a set of questions to be covered, but allows the opportunity to shape the questions to follow a particular issue. This is utilised to ask further questions on a specific component on which the participant is observed to have more information to provide.

Optimum information can be obtained through the selected use of closed questions to obtain initial factual information, whilst building the trust of the participant, and then progressing to open ended questions to gain more detailed information and opinion of the participant. The use of semi structured interviews provide the opportunity to gather factual information from the INGOs as well as gaining more detailed information about specific components of their programmes as deemed appropriate to the topic.

A more detailed understanding of each INGOs programme would assist the preparation and analysis of the research, rather than simply transferring data from a questionnaire and comparing it against the theory.

Gathering Information

As discussed the target for gathering information was the INGOs working in East Timor. There are approximately 30-40 international NGOs operating on any significant level in East Timor.[54] It was decided that to gain a suitable spread of information at least half of these international NGOs needed to be interviewed. The figure of 20 was chosen as a suitable level that would provide the relative spread of information.

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[54] From the list of INGOs registered with the NGO forum, Dili, East Timor

To clarify the operations of NGOs in East Timor, whilst there are quite a number operating, there are only a small proportion that are considered to be large INGOs with influence across a number of sectors and districts. All of these would be part of the information gathering process as well as a number of other NGOs that are common participants within the NGO community.

The larger organisations are the most important in terms of INGO activities in East Timor, and therefore it was most important that they were included in the interview process. Particular effort was made to include such NGOs. This was not conducted to provide bias to the research but more to assist in making the research credible by including information relating to organisations that perform by far the majority of work undertaken by INGOs in East Timor.

In fact to exclude any of those INGOs would have actually meant that the information gathered would be distorted because it would not be representative of INGO work in East Timor.

A number of INGOs interviewed were also adverse to any information pertaining to their organisation to be used by name. Their anonymity has thus been preserved. The actual names and details of individual NGOs are not deemed to be of any significance or relevance in achieving the aims of this research. The important aspect was to gather the required amount of information to be able to put forward a credible project. Thus the collation of the information gained from all of the NGOs was the critical activity, not necessarily analysing individual NGOs their methods of operation and delivery of projects in East Timor.

The value of the information is measured through the overall picture that it provides, showing particular trends and then being able to compare the information against the six biases and determine whether the theory holds true in the development occurring in East Timor, outlining anomalies and variations from the themes of the theory.

Within the interview questions there are a number of categories that relate to the theory of urban trap and are designed to provide information that can be compared to the theory. The main components of the theory are the six biases; spatial biases, project bias, person biases, dry season biases, diplomatic biases and professional biases. Answers relating to each of these biases are collated across all INGOs interviewed and subsequently used to provide the core research for this project.

Difficulties in Gathering the Research

Timeframe

The first difficulty in gathering the research was the amount of time it took to interview each NGO and document the information gained. Each interview took between 25 minutes to one hour depending on the INGO and how much information they had to put forward.

Secondly it took up to one hour per interview to actually document the information accurately and in a useable format. It was important to ensure that this part of the process was conducted as soon as possible after the interview in order not to lose any accuracy of the information transcribed during the interview.

Actually arranging interviews with all the required INGOs proved difficult. The directors or country representatives of each INGO were the targets for interviews (or in some cases the deputy or assistant). This was the case to insure the person being interviewed had a sound knowledge of all activities of the INGO avoiding interviews with people who only have knowledge of a specific project or area of the INGOs work.

With the pace of development work being rather hectic it proved a long process to set up and conduct interviews with the 20 selected INGOs. Each interview had to be set up to a week in advance in order to fit into the schedule of the interviewees.

The entire interview process was conducted over a six-week period. It was fortunate that the timeframe for conducting the interviews was not limited to a short window, because this would have made it difficult to obtain the required level of information. It was also an advantage that the interviewer had a professional relationship with most of the interviewees rather than just cold calling on them and hoping to set up interviews.

The INGO community is relatively open, with most INGOs contributing to a fortnightly INGO meeting to discuss significant issues relevant to all INGOs. The forum is also utilised to lobby the UN and East Timor Government on particular issues, using a unified front. The meetings provided an opportunity to make contact with country directors of the INGOs, and assist with organising the interview schedule. It was however difficult to ascertain when individuals would be attending the meetings, as they would often be involved in other work commitments such as visits to their project sites.

Through combination of use of telephone, e-mail, meetings and calling on people, the interviews eventually were conducted. The end result of the interview process was positive with the 20 INGOs interviewed and a credible level of information collected.

Scope of Questions

Defining the scope of information to be collected was a challenge. Setting the target of information gathering at the right level can be a difficult task. Initially it was difficult to ascertain what type of information was going to be appropriate.

The first step of trying to define the boundaries for information gathering was to analyse the theory of urban trap and particularly the six biases on which the research is based. As discussed above the theory was important in providing assistance to determining the techniques and methods of information collection, and obviously this also proved the case in what type of information to gather.

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As a central theme to the research project, the theory was critical to outlining questions and scope. An integral step in this process was identifying the components of the theory that were deemed to be essential to the research. Through these categories it was then easier to define the boundaries of information requirements.

Each bias needed to have a relevant amount of questions pertaining to it. Thus the boundaries were set, and the next step was to determine the types of questions relating to each bias that would provide a suitable level of information, and have the flexibility to examine particular areas during the interview process that would identify further appropriate information from the INGOs.

A range of questions were developed covering the six biases and general information outlining the INGOs activities and focuses within East Timor. These questions provided the basis for interviewing with ability to expand the line of questioning to probe particular areas that the INGOs indicated to be of further value. There were 48 questions in total. Some being quantitative and building statistical data, and others being of a qualitative nature to provide information about the operations of each NGO.

The questions were structured in order to build a picture about each INGO that would be then collated against all other INGOs interviewed to display an overall picture of the practical application of development in East Timor.

Chapter Four

The Research

Introduction

On completion of gathering all the primary information from the INGOs, the next stage was to actually formulate the information into a structure that would enable it to be analysed in relation to all other information and then be compared against the theory.

The intention of this chapter is to summarise the responses to the research questions from the 20 target INGOs. The research questions, as outlined in chapter three, are related to the six biases associated with urban trap of development. Essentially a number of questions have been asked associated with each bias in order to formulate a suitable amount of information on the activities of the INGOs in relation to the biases.

The summation of research information from this chapter will be utilised to discuss comparison and contrast between the activities of INGOs in East Timor against the six biases associated with urban trap in the following chapter.

There are 48 research questions in total. The first section of questions is structured to gain broad information on the organisations and their programmes in East Timor. The following sections then investigate the detail of activities in relation to the six biases. There are a number of areas where the questions relate to more than one of the biases, as the biases do not exist in isolation.

General

The INGOS that have been interviewed as part of the research cover a range of development streams. As will become evident in the analysis of the research interviews, the types of activities undertaken by the INGOs are quite extensive. A few of the larger organisations have broad mandates that cover

a number of key development sectors. They have the staff and funding levels to allow this. These INGOs are more likely to work across a larger number of districts.

Most of the INGOs within the study have a more specific mandate and area of interest. Limited funding and staffing levels requires them to concentrate on a few niche areas. The focus of these INGOs does not allow them to work across a large number of sectors or geographical areas.

The major aspects of the INGO programmes and their relation to the six biases will become apparent in the following summary of the research information obtained from them.

Period in East Timor
The international focus was really brought to East Timor during 1999, the lead up to the referendum for independence and the ensuing violence that erupted as a result of the overwhelming response in favour of independence. In reaction to this it would seem logical that INGOs in the most part would have only entered the arena as the international spotlight fell on East Timor.

Of the 20 INGOs interviewed, except for one INGO all had established their programs in East Timor prior to Oct 2001. These figures fit with the expectation, however it is significant to note that eight organisations had been working in East Timor prior to 1999 with six of these having been working for a significant time prior to that as early as 1980, with most commencing operations in the early to mid 1990's.

Very few INGOs actually remained active in country right through the height of the conflict during 1999, most evacuated for a few months and then re-established programs in conjunction with the introduction of the United Nations peacekeeping force in September 1999. At that stage operations were still extremely difficult but slowly progressed as the security situation stabilised. It needs to be noted that during the initial phase after September

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1999, the focus was on emergency humanitarian support as opposed to development.

Numbers of staff

Since the emergency phase most INGOs that had been working in East Timor during the 1999/2000 period have seen staff numbers drop, in some cases quite dramatically. The figures provided by these INGOs are possibly a more realistic indication of the size programs will be into the future. The main reason for these decreases is that funding from international donors during the emergency phase was quite generous and almost all INGOs operating from late 1999 had larger programs to deal with the immediate emergency response.

Now as programs have transferred to a development focus, the ability to sustain large programs is less realistic. This is due to the programs often having a longer term focus with a lower activity rate or intensity, as well as the fact that donor funding is becoming more difficult to obtain.

From the 20 INGOs interviewed, the average number of international staff in each organisation is five. Only two of the organisations have more than 10 international staff and nine of the organisations have three or less international staff.

On the national staff ledger, the average number of staff across the INGOs interviewed is 44. To put this into perspective nine of the organisations have 10 or less national staff. The average figure is drawn higher due to eight of the organisations having numbers of national staff above the average, and of these five organisations employs over 100 national staff.

These figures above indicating international and national staff numbers provide background to the sizes of INGO programs operating in East Timor. Whilst they are not directly related to the main portion of this research, the numbers do provide useful background when considering the information

throughout the core of the research and any trends or observations made there within.

Table One – Districts, Offices and International Staff

District	INGOs Working	Country Office	Field Offices	INGOs Have Internationals Working	INGOs Have Internationals Living
Aileu	6		1		
Ainaro	6		3	1	1
Baucau	4	1	1	2	2
Bobanaro	10		3	3	3
Cova Lima	10		4	4	4
Dili	11	19	1		
Ermera	4				
Lautem	6		2	1	1
Liquica	8		1	1	1
Manafahi	5		1		
Manatuto	7		1		
Oecussi	9		5	4	4
Viqueque	5		1	1	1

Table one above provides summary of research information relevant to the next four sections of this chapter

Districts that INGOs work in

East Timor is made up of 13 districts, including an enclave isolated within West Timor. From the information relating to activities conducted in districts, provided by the 20 interviewed INGOs, it is observed that INGOs are conducting activities in all 13 of the districts. This statistic should not be surprising, as it would seem somewhat strange if a particular portion of the country were entirely missed by development organisations.

Further investigation of the information indicates that of the 20 INGOs only three claim to be conducting activities across all 13 districts. Of these, none actually have offices and/or staff operating in all the districts on a permanent basis, activities are based out of a number of the districts but visits occur to the remainder as work dictates.

Districts with the Most INGOs

The highest number of organisations working in any district is 11 working in Dili. Ten organisations are working in Cova Lima and Bobanaro, which are the two border districts covering the width of East Timor and the entire border with Indonesia. From the respect that these two districts received the heaviest amount of the devastation reeked in late 1999, it is not surprising that organisations would be focussing towards these districts.

It is interesting to note that Cova Lima has such a high proportion of INGOs working there, because it is arguably one of the more difficult districts to reach. The most difficult district to reach is undoubtedly the enclave of Oecussi, and it has a total of 10 organisations working there also.

Districts with the Least INGOs

The districts where the least number of organisations are Ermera and Baucau, which each have four INGOs working in them. These two are followed closely by Manafahi and Viqueque, which both have just five INGOs conducting activities. The reasons for the lack of INGO support to these districts vary though.

Baucau is the second largest urban population behind the capital Dili. It is arguably far more developed than the other three districts. Ermera is not overly difficult to reach, as it is only approximately two and a half hours from Dili on some of the better roads in East Timor.

Ermera district encompasses the majority of the coffee industry for East Timor though, and therefore may be seen as a low need for development due to reasonably well-established business and social structure.

Manafahi and Viqueque are a totally different story. Both are relatively difficult to reach and have limited infrastructure to support any organisation that is working there. Operations in either of these districts would necessitate a solid logistical plan and good support mechanisms from Dili.

With four districts gaining good INGO support and four districts gaining minimal support, that leaves five districts in the equation. Two of the remaining districts are very accessible from Dili and therefore gain a reasonable amount of support, these being Manatuto and Liquica with seven and eight organisations respectively. Lautem on the north eastern point of the country has just six organisations operating in it.

The two districts left are Aileu and Ainaro, which are both in the central area of the country. The main district urban centre of each is not difficult to reach, however to provide outreach to the sub districts of either district causes difficulties. Again good logistical support is required from Dili, as limited resources and infrastructure exist throughout either district.

INGO Offices

With the exception of one organisation, all the INGOs interviewed have main country offices in Dili. This is logical given that all the other agencies that necessitate coordination are in Dili and there is also the infrastructure to support the operations. The one other organisation has its head office in Baucau, the next largest urban centre after Dili. This was because the organisation has been involved in East Timor since 1980, and due to historical ties to the Baucau district the office has remained there. However there is also an office in Dili, which is utilised to make the running of operations easier.

Ten organisations have field offices or bases in the districts. In line with the information above on districts that have most INGOs working in them, it follows that the most field offices are in Oecussi, Cova Lima and Bobanaro. The reasoning for these offices would appear also to be due to the difficulties of working in those districts, and therefore the requirement to have a support network integral to the district activities.

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Twelve of the thirteen districts have at least one field office, with Ermera being the only district, which has no office of an INGO. Seven of the districts only have one INGO office. These districts are the ones that have less INGOs working in them, and also cover the districts surrounding Dili, which due to accessibility do not really necessitate field offices. The district of Ainaro has offices of three INGOs operating in it. This fact provides evidence that the district is difficult to work in, because Ainaro was one of the districts with only six INGOs working in it, yet three of those have offices to support activities.

International Staff Working in the Districts

The general trend is that international staff work in districts where there are field offices. This is a logical occurrence since the international staff requires somewhere to conduct work from. It is not true in all the cases however. Only three of the field offices of the organisations do not have international staff working at them. Nine of the organisations have international staff working in eight of the districts. All of these staff resides in the districts in which they work.

A couple of organisations have international staff working to the districts but based out of Dili. This is either because the districts they are working in are close enough to base in Dili, or because they only spend short periods of up to one week working in the districts, with the majority of time in Dili. Most organisations also have staff working in Dili that will simply visit project sites in the districts as required. These staff will often be providing overall management to the projects even if there is someone working directly with the project from the district location.

It is important to note that these findings simply indicate where INGOs are operating; the information does not give weight to the types of projects conducted, the need within each district or the impact of activities. These aspects will be covered in more detail within the following sections of the text.

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Funding and Donors

By far the majority of organisations gain funding from international donor organisations. Nine of the organisations gain funding either from head office or from a mixture of head office and donor funding specific to the East Timor country program. Of those organisations that receive funding from international donors, 12 of the organisations deal with donors that have offices in East Timor. Table two below provides a summary of the main funding sources of INGOs.

Table Two- Summary of INGO Funding Sources

INGO Funding Source	Number of INGOs
External Donors	5
International Donors with Office in East Timor	12
Head Office	9

Note: Some INGOs receive funding from more than one source

Of those organisations that receive donor funding, the thirteen of them claimed that the donors have restrictions on type of project that they will fund and nine stated there are restrictions on the location of projects. Particular comments made by organisations in relation to restrictions of international donors include:

- *[Donors] want to get to areas where not many NGOs or to districts that have high needs.*
- *Appear to have preferences for type of work they will fund. I.e. Capacity building, water and sanitation, agriculture etc.*
- *The donor may want to work in particular districts and therefore find an NGO that is working there to undertake a particular project.*
- *Yes, have particular interest in sectors i.e. civil society focus or economic activities etc.*
- *An example is of no aid, only grants for sustainable development.*
- *No areas that are already funded by other agencies.*

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- *Most donors appear to want to only concentrate on certain districts. Sometimes it is necessary to use a number of donors to cover all the districts we are working in.*

Involvement of Government

The government of East Timor is in a fledgling state, trying to come to grips with the responsibilities and reality of running a country. It is vital for the government to gain firm support from all organisations involved in the development of East Timor. Table three outlines involvement with government.

Table Three – Involvement of Government

Information	Yes	No
Conduct activities with government	13	7
Government Officials visit project sites	7	6
Government has influence over projects	9	4
Needs analysis conducted by government*	1	6

* Six INGOs stated that needs assessments are conducted in coordination

A number of UN agencies, international donors and INGOs are working with the government to assist in providing the capacity and the direction to cope with the requirements of making East Timor politically and economically stable. Thirteen of the INGOs interviewed are working with components of the government or in coordination. Some of the INGOs are working directly to ministries on particular sectors of focus. Others are liasing and coordinating with government as part of the process of conducting activities to communities and districts.

Whilst it is understood that the government is new and learning it is important that it is provided with the opportunity to install its own methods and process to the development of the country. Ownership is an issue that needs to sit

with the government and the target beneficiaries alike. Of the thirteen INGOs working with government nine of them stated that the government has influence over the delivery of projects they conduct. The indication by the organisations was that government influence in general was not high. A method of improving government involvement is through visits to project sites. Only seven of the INGOs working with government agencies stated that officials conduct visits. Of these, a few of the visits are by district government officials.

In some cases it appeared that the government influence was tolerated by the organisations, but programs on the most part would have continued without government influence. These aspects are magnified by the fact that basically half of the organisations said that needs assessments for activities conducted with government were based on their own analysis and then passed to the government for requirements of coordination or in some cases for approval. A further six claimed it was a process conducted in conjunction with the government, whilst only one of the INGOs stated that the government produced the needs assessment.

Criteria for Working with Government

In relation to criteria for working with the government the vast majority of the organisations don't have any criteria to dictate how the relationship works. The common answer when questioned was that coordination and participation was conducted. Only five organisations have any specific criteria. These include:

- *Trying to follow the national development plan in conjunction with gathering our own information from the grass roots level. Include information from other national surveys, planning commission information etc.*

- *Identify [governments] need. Determine whether another NGO or agency has or intends on providing assistance to them. Ensure that their need fits with the strategy and areas of interest of our organisation. All assignments*

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must be based on capacity building and skill sharing, improving the skills of individuals within the organisation and developing processes and capabilities.

● *[Government] approve all programs. Consultation done during needs assessment.*

Seven of the organisations work directly to communities without coordination or input from government. The majority of those organisations that work with the government also have activities that are conducted directly to communities. In some cases the organisations may inform the government of the activities, but there is no actual coordination with the government in the execution of those projects.

Analysis before committing to a project

The analysis conducted by organisations is almost as varied as the number that was interviewed. Analysis may involve activities such as community involvement, participatory rural appraisal techniques and needs assessments. Some organisations decide which district and which communities they want to work with, and then start the process of coordination and participation to determine the needs.

Another organisation will have a niche set of activities that they want to conduct and will seek out those communities that have the need for that assistance. A further INGO will assess what the donors want to fund and then commence the search to build a proposal surrounding the possibility of funding.

Other examples include an INGO wanting to work through national NGOs and local organisations, so will seek out those that they deem appropriate and of limited risk. Some will wait to be approached by organisations or communities with needs and then analyse them and decide which to fund and provide organisational strengthening and capacity building in order to improve

probability of success. A few are also based on historic ties to particular communities over the time that the organisation has been active in East Timor.

Each organisation has a different process and different reasons for working on particular projects. The base agenda or core meaning for each organisations existence is the driving factor in determining what activities they become involved in. Few organisations indicated that, what are considered to be, pure development tools are not used in the process of determining appropriate activities which to contribute.

Direction from Head Office

All organisations interviewed have some form of mandate, regional or global strategy from head office that provides guidance to activities in East Timor. Some organisations have a more formalised set of procedures and direction for activities in East Timor.

Many organisations were given overall guidance from head office, but left with relative autonomy within that broad scope to determine the appropriate direction and priorities for the country program in East Timor. Few of the organisations conducted a detailed process within country including field offices and key staff to assist in producing a country plan commensurate with the global or regional strategy.

Most organisations took the mandate or direction from head office and informally fitted it to the situation in East Timor. Very few of the organisations had specific operating procedures that organised the detailed running of the organisation in East Timor, although many did have simple guidelines documented to assist staff with carrying out functions and understanding other staff's responsibilities within the organisation.

A number of organisations also indicated that there were some restrictions on activities that were enforced from head office. A couple of organisations felt

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that the size of their organisation and budget are restricting factors that means focus can only be on a small niche of projects. A few other organisations sited restrictions as needing to work with the poorest, and in areas of high need particularly along the border districts. Most organisations also stated the main restriction as being the focus to particular sectors.

Each organisation had a clear set of sectors they will work in, or types of activities that they will conduct in East Timor. Obviously individual organisations each have a certain area of interest and expertise.

Rural or Urban Projects

Whilst most INGOs indicated that the preference is for projects to have a rural focus the reality is that most INGOs still conduct some work in urban areas. Almost half of the organisations have a predominately rural focus with some attention paid to district urban centres also. One quarter of the organisations conduct programmes that they consider to be completely rural based. Another quarter operates projects that have reasonable mix between the rural and urban sectors of the country. There is only one INGO that considers all of its projects to be urban based. The overall trend is decidedly towards rural based projects with an aspect of urban involvement.

Table Four – Rural or Urban Projects

Information	Number of INGOs
Conduct only rural base projects	4
Conduct only urban based projects	2
Predominately rural based projects	8
Predominately urban based projects	1
Conduct a mix of rural and urban projects	5
Manage projects from Dili	12
Manage projects from major district urban centres	8

Although the trend of projects has a definite rural flavour to it, over half of the organisations run projects from Dili. The remaining organisations stated that projects are run from district urban locations. All of these organisations also stated that whilst the projects are run from the district urban location, overall management and logistical support is conducted from Dili. No organisations run projects directly from decentralised rural locations.

When international staff visit the project locations in the districts (not including those that live in the districts) it was found that half of them usually return to Dili for accommodation. Almost the other half will stay at district urban locations, whilst only one INGO has international staff that stays at actual project sites regardless of the locations. Most staff stays in either local's houses or at their district office or house locations if they do stay in the districts. A couple of organisations stay at guesthouses if they are available.

Infrastructure

All of the organisations that work in the districts, except one, explained that they have difficulties carrying out activities. The other organisation felt that there are no difficulties that are unmanageable. The range of perceived difficulties is wide and varied. Such aspects as limited resources, providing logistic support, operational costs and finding good staff in the districts, were listed as problems.

One of the main difficulties is deemed to be communications from the districts to Dili. This is a concern in dealing with field staff from within the organisation as well as communicating with partner organisations and communities. Ten of the organisations outlined the frequent necessity to physically visit district locations in order to communicate. Another major difficulty identified by six of the organisations is to do with community or village politics and the inability to mobilise communities to undertake activities. The problem is considered to be infighting within communities in relation to what activities should occur and who should benefit.

Also of major concern are communities refusing to work for free, even on projects that appear to have significant value to the entire community. This problem has been compounded by some organisations paying communities for labour, and therefore other communities expecting the same conditions from other organisations. One organisation stated that the most problems occur in the projects that communities are being paid for their labour, as opposed to the communities that have bought into projects and were willing to participate in the execution.

Most organisations identified the poor roads and accessibility to district and sub-district locations as a difficulty that requires much attention to overcome. This was observed as especially prevalent during the wet season where numerous areas become even more difficult to reach. The remoteness of particular districts is also a difficulty. A particular example is Oecussi, and the associated transportation difficulties in relying on a ferry to reach that location. Likewise the ability to monitor projects in difficult to reach locations was also recognised as a problem.

Another difficulty outlined by nearly a quarter of the organisations is reasonable infrastructure to support international staff living and working in district locations. This included elements such as housing, water and sanitation, and electricity. Some organisations have a minimum standard of accommodation for international staff and it has sometimes proved difficult to obtain accommodation in the districts that meets those standards.

Cost Benefit Analysis

A number of INGOs recognise cost benefit analysis as a tool that can be useful in determining projects. However, only nine of the INGOs interviewed actually conduct cost benefit analysis as part of the project identification and acceptance process. Even though this analysis was conducted by approximately half of the INGOs, three quarters of them stated that a project would not be discounted due to a negative cost benefit analysis. In fact a number of INGOs stated that cost benefit is not important in determining

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locations and projects, the main issue was whether the required amount of support can be provided to the project locations.

Project Locations Farthest from Dili

Oecussi is the farthest district from Dili in terms of travelling time to reach it. It proves to be the farthest location for seven of the organisations working in the districts. Organisations stated that it takes between eight hours and one day to travel to Oecussi by either boat or road, although travelling time is less than an hour by helicopter it is now rare to gain access to UN flights. Oecussi is followed by two and three organisation identifying that Cova Lima and Bobanaro respectively as their farthest locations. However the travelling time is significantly different between these two districts. Organisations identified that it takes between five to six hours to travel to Cova Lima as opposed to three and a half hours to travel to Bobanaro.

Two organisations determined that Lautem is their farthest location with a travelling time of between four and a half and six hours to reach project sites. One organisation determined each of Manafahi and Manatuto as the farthest locations with travelling times of four and a half and three hours respectively.

Affects of Weather

Weather is certainly a factor in East Timor considering that it has effectively a wet season and a dry season. The monsoon or wet season occurs between late November and March. Whilst it may not have the overriding impact on projects conducted it does need to be taken into consideration.

Almost half of the INGOs stated that the weather does not have an affect on determining locations or types of projects that undertaken. Although over a quarter of the INGOs said that it does. A quarter of the organisations see access to project sites as a major affect of the weather during the wet season.

Other issues surrounding the weather are considered to be aspects such as the rate of project progress, ability to monitor, planning and conduct of

activities during the dry season, agriculture seasonal implications. Some specific issues raised by INGOs include:

- *It has necessitated doing hardest to reach locations during the dry season and others during the wet. This impacts on costs because resources are being used to reach difficult locations at opposite ends of the district.*

- *Affects transportation especially when something urgent happens.*

- *Logistical requirements were difficult, couldn't load vehicles as heavy, so needed more vehicles. Vehicles would get broken and the state of roads was is not good.*

- *Some areas are unreachable by vehicle even in the dry season and there is a need to go by horse or walk.*

- *Ensure that majority of activities are finished or running prior to the wet season.*

Access to districts and sub-districts is identified as a problem in East Timor particularly during the wet season. Half of the organisations advised that they work in locations that are unreachable for periods during the wet season. In some cases this is only a few hours due to rising rivers but in other cases it can cause complete road closures. A further five organisations said that they worked in what they consider difficult to reach locations.

It is interesting to note that with these numbers of difficult or unreachable locations that over half of the organisations do not undertake any mitigation strategies to minimise the risk to projects during the wet season. On top of this almost a quarter of the organisation claimed to conduct some planning measures to assist with the minimising of weather effects.

Diplomatic

Each INGO will undoubtedly voice the importance of good relations with those people and organisations that fund or can influence a programme. Visits by head office, donors, VIPs and other influencing entities are a key part of maintaining relationships and important in ensuring continuing support for a programme. All the INGOs interviewed receive visitors to their programme on

a reasonably regular basis. Table five below summarises the information
relating to visits to INGO projects.

Table Five – Visitors

Information	Number of INGOs
Have visitors to the programme	20
Visitors from East Timor	13
Visitors to East Timor	20
Donors	12
Head Office	17
Regional Office	4
VIPs	1
Media	2
Other NGOs	3
Consultants	1

Almost three quarters of the INGOs accommodate visits from people and
organisations from within East Timor. These are generally international donor
agencies and government officials. All of the INGOs receive visitors from
outside East Timor, which include head office and regional office staff, other
donor agencies, media and other interested parties or organisations.

The majority of visitors to INGOs programmes spend from one to three days
in country during their visit. Just over a quarter of the visitors would spend
three days to one week visiting, whilst none of the INGOs reported visitors
spending more than one week in country.

Table Six – Types of Visits

Information	Number of INGOs
Visitors taken to locations outside of Dili	15
Visitors stay in the districts	8
Visitors taken to more successful projects	6
Visitors taken to more accessible projects	11

It was indicated previously that most of the INGOs conduct projects in the districts. It is of interest to note that three quarters of the visitors will visit project locations outside of Dili and a quarter will only visit Dili. Over half of the visitors will not stay in the districts, with the preference to conduct day trips and return to Dili for accommodation. This statistic indicates that visitors can only be taken to locations that can be reached within a few hours in order to visit and have the ability to return to Dili within one day.

Slightly over half of the INGOs indicated that they take visitors to easily accessible project sites. This is mainly due to the need to conduct day trips and because of the limited time that visitors spend in country. It was also indicated that visitors from East Timor generally conduct day trips to project sites unless they are conducting other business in the area.

Over half of the INGOs also stated that visitors are taken to more successful project sites to ensure exposure to the quality of the programme. The remaining INGOs were adamant that they take visitors to any of projects in order for visitors to see the projects as they are without embellishments.

Some stated that they prefer to take visitors to see the reality, which often means seeing the projects that are not going well and those that are difficult to reach as this provides a more realistic picture of conducting development practice in East Timor.

Summary

A number of key research aspects were identified in this chapter. In summary these main findings from the research are identified below.

The INGOs were seen to be working across all 13 districts, although only three claimed to work in all. Dili has the most INGOs working in it with 11, followed by the two districts on the border with West Timor, Cova Lima and Bobanaro, having ten. Ermera and Baucau each have the least INGOs working there, with only four.

All but one INGO have their country office in Dili. INGOs also have field offices in all of the districts except Ermera. There are ten field offices in the districts of Oecussi, Cova Lima and Bobanaro. Nine organisations have international staff working in eight districts.

Thirteen INGOs work with or coordinate with the government and its agencies. Most of these INGOs stated that the government have influence over the projects they are involved with, however most INGOs also conceded that this influence is not significant.

The INGOs conduct an extremely diverse range of analysis prior to committing to a project. None of the organisations claim to use pure development tools during this analysis. All of the INGOs have some guidance from head office over activities in East Timor.

All INGOs have a preference for conducting rural based projects. Half of the organisations were identified to predominately conduct rural projects and a quarter conduct rural projects only. Most of the INGOs manage projects from Dili, with the remainder managing from district urban centres.

A number of difficulties were considered to be prevalent in conducting activities in the districts, the main examples are communications, poor infrastructure and accessibility to sub districts. Nine of the INGOs conduct cost benefit analysis during the project process, but none would discount a

project because of a poor cost benefit ratio. The weather is an issue in terms of planning and conduct of activities, but it does not dictate location of projects.

All INGOs considered visits to their projects to be important, and all of the organisations receive visitors from within East Timor, external and particularly from head office. Three quarters of visitors will travel to the districts, but only half stay overnight. Six of the INGOs said they take visitors to the more successful projects, and 11 said they choose more accessible project sites for visits.

These aspects and the general information discussed in this chapter will be used in comparison against the six biases in the following chapter in order to determine the areas of comparison and contrast.

Chapter Five
Comparison – Theory and Practice

Introduction

In the previous chapters a background to the East Timor situation has been provided, the theory of urban trap and in particular the six biases have been outlined, the methods of research discussed and the research detailed. All of these chapters were necessary in order to build the picture to enable the comparison of the theory with the research.

It is important to note that it is not the expectation of this comparison to draw conclusions on the accuracy and relevance of the theory in the current development environment. To undertake such a conclusive study would entail more detailed and specific research and analysis across a number of development contexts.

The intention of the comparison between the theory of urban trap and the activities conducted by INGOs in East Timor is to observe whether aspects of the theory are accurate in practical application or do the practical activities differ in some, or many, respects. Through this comparison there will be indication of the effectiveness of INGOs in East Timor.

In this instance the activities of INGOs in East Timor is seen as a particularly topical study given the context of East Timor being the newest country in the world, and in the early stages of development.

The specific process of comparison will be conducted using the framework of the six biases, and in turn comparing aspects of the research gathered from INGOs in East Timor. For each element, features of similarity and contrast will be highlighted and discussed.

Spatial Biases

The first element of the spatial biases is in relation to outsiders travelling to areas that are more accessible. The second element is the result of wanting to travel on the better roads and shorter distances, which leads to activities being concentrated in rural areas near to urban centres. The third element is that of visible development following main roads.

The research does indicate examples of spatial biases. Four of the districts only have four or five INGOs working in them, and of these two districts would be considered the most difficult to reach and operate in. However, it needs to be noted that INGOs conduct activities across all of the 13 districts.

The common trend among all NGOs is for projects to be located from major district urban locations provides initial evidence of spatial bias. This is identified to be the case because these towns generally have at least the minimal infrastructure deemed essential to support projects within the districts. Whilst these are not necessarily in close proximity to Dili, they are the most accessible locations within each respective district.

Further indication is those INGOs that utilise field offices to manage their operations in the districts, also have these offices situated in the major urban centres of the relevant districts. Logically, any of the INGOs that have international staff living in district locations have them situated with the field office.

Within the research it was found that the staff of INGOs working from Dili would stay in the districts when visiting project sites. However, all of the INGOs receive visitors from outside of East Timor and many receive visitors from donors within East Timor and government officials. INGOs identified that over half of the visitors would not stay in the districts when visiting project sites.

The further implication of this scenario is that possible sites for visits are limited to proximity of two or three hours of Dili in order to accommodate a round trip by road within one day.

Lastly a few of the INGOs only conduct projects from Dili or within the districts close to Dili. There was also indication of a large number of INGOS implementing projects in Dili or the districts bordering or close to Dili, but these INGOs also have other project locations.

Project Bias

The notable components of project bias are the process undertaken to determine a project and the 'showpiece' or model project.

Focussing on the first component, the research details possible similarities to the theory through the manner in which they determine a project, consultation, the districts that they work in, and the way in which they gain funding.

The types of analysis conducted by the INGOs prior to committing to a project are diverse. Some INGOs stated that they undertake analysis such as community involvement, participatory rural appraisals and needs assessments. But, all of them appear to have narrowed the scope of projects that will be considered even before conducting analysis.

Another factor attributing to this element may be the direction provided to the INGOs by their head offices. All INGOs stated that they have mandates or strategy from head office that provides guidance to their activities in East Timor. This displays an element of project bias as it usually limits the scope of activities INGOs will undertake.

A further observation of project bias is through interaction with government agencies. Thirteen of the INGOs are conducting coordination or working with components of the government. Although not substantiated in the research, it is likely that INGOs deal with government departments at national level, and then be directed towards the district level offices applicable to the location

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they are looking at working in. This could manifest project bias through their learning and contact being with a small portion of people.

Almost all of the INGOs indicated that they receive funding from international donor organisations. The majority claim that these donors have restrictions on the type of projects they will fund and the locations of the project. This indicates a symptom of project bias, because it would automatically limit the type of project that the INGOs will attempt to secure funding for.

The second component of project bias is that of the showpiece or model project. None of the INGOs interviewed acknowledged involvement with any type of 'showpiece' project in East Timor. However, all of the INGOs purveyed the importance of good relations with the people and organisations that fund their activities. Visits to project sites are one mechanism to guarantee this. Out of the 20 INGOs interviewed over half specified they take visitors to more successful project sites to ensure exposure to the quality of the programme.

Person Bias

The person bias has a few elements to it, associated with outsider contact and interaction at rural level with a particular set of people. These main elements are the rural elite, the male bias and the user adopter bias.

A number of links to person biases are observed in the research although these links seem to be indirect. The first instance is through funding processes. As previously stated, by far the majority of the organisations gain funding from international donors, and the majority claim that these donors have restrictions on the type of projects they will fund and the locations of the project.

This transposes into the user and adaptor portion of person bias because INGOs in this situation will generally deal straight to the people with needs associated to the type of funding they know they can bid for, automatically bypassing a significant proportion of the people with possibly higher needs.

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Another area of possible person bias was identified through the interaction with government agencies. This fits with elite bias, because INGOs often initially deal with government officials in Dili, who logically put them in contact with their representatives in the districts. Subsequently the district level officials would likely direct INGOs to coordinate with a specific set of people also.

Further evidence of person bias was seen in the methods of analysis utilised by INGOs before committing to projects. The research did not provide conclusive evidence of bias because the methods used by INGOs were extremely diverse. However, the information submitted by INGOs indicates that it is highly likely that they consult with specific sets of people, rather than with the most in need, or across the spectrum. This gives indication of both elite bias, and user and adaptor bias.

Another observation of these two elements of person bias was highlighted in the information INGOs presented regarding visits to their project sites. The restricted amount of time and types of visits signal that a limited number of people would be interacted with during visits.

The male bias is also prevalent within East Timor. Even though this did not necessarily come through in the research, personal experience of East Timor recognises that the political and traditional structure of East Timor is male dominated. Males hold most positions of power at government, district and community level.

Dry Season Biases
The aspects of dry season biases are firstly regarding organisations conducting their activities in the dry season. Therefore organisations are prone to basing their impressions on what they see in the dry season without regard for the difficulties endured by the poor during the wet season. Secondly it relates to the practical aspect of accessibility and the fact that some rural areas can be effectively inaccessible by road during the wet season.

The research outlined that approximately half of the INGOs considered that weather has little or no affect on determining the locations or types of projects that are undertaken. A quarter stated that it does. None of the INGOs indicated that their work is conducted solely in the dry season. They did perceive a number of difficulties due to the wet season. These difficulties were identified to be the rate of project progress, ability to monitor, planning and conduct of activities during the dry season, agriculture and seasonal implications.

The main comparison of the research to dry season biases was the access to districts during the wet season. Half of the INGOs advised they work in locations that are unreachable for periods during the wet season; this varies between a few hours to complete road closures. A further quarter of the INGOs said they work in what they would consider to be difficult to reach locations.

Whist the INGOs indicated these difficulties, over half of them do not undertake any mitigation strategies to minimise the risk to projects during the wet season.

The research did not detect any examples that give support to organisations only gaining their impressions through interaction with locals during the dry season. Conversely, however, there is no substantial evidence either way regarding INGOs interacting with people in the remotest areas of the rural peripheries. Therefore there can be no conclusion on what portion or the poor are not seen when at their most vulnerable.

Diplomatic Biases

The diplomatic biases hold some common elements with the person biases, because again there is relation to the limitations of outsiders interacting with people in the rural peripheries. The expression of this bias is through outsiders being deterred from asking questions or listening fully to the poorest people who need most assistance and would be able to give understanding of the true extent of problems. The reasoning behind these limitations is the

reaction to awkward situations and not wanting to probe into the difficult areas.

There is some prevalence of this bias in the research, but it is somewhat indirect. The relevant parts of this theory are exposed through the INGOs conduct of visits to their project sites. The INGOs do not specifically indicate areas of similarity to the bias. However, the information regarding visits details that limited time is spent at project sites. In particular, those from visiting from outside East Timor, from government or donor agencies will rarely spend a night in the districts. This implies their exposure to the poorest people will likely be constrained, as they are on tight schedules, giving precursory interest to the projects and then escorted back to Dili.

Perhaps by design this ensures there are no moments of awkwardness and no time to alter off the predetermined visit script. This may possibly be through planning of the INGO at hand, but is not qualified through the research.

Professional Biases

Outsiders training, experience and specialisation shaping the way they see things make the professional biases apparent. The more specialised they are the less likely they will observe and understand the full scope of a problem. Also outsiders can be limited by narrowing their research or analysis to the specific area they are interested in, again contributing to not understanding the wider issues.

In general there is evidence of similarities between the professional biases and the research of INGOs. A number of the similarities have already been discussed in components of the other five biases.

The information gathered from INGOs surrounding the direction provided from head office is one example of professional bias. The mandate and strategy of an organisation for East Timor limits their objectives and scope, thus cancelling out a number of potentially high need development problems. All

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of the INGOs have some form of guidance from their head office, even though they may have relative autonomy to enact that in country.

The analysis the INGOs undertake before committing to a project whilst extremely varied is another example of professional bias. None of the INGOs interviewed specified that they utilise pure development tools in terms of consultation, participation etc. This implies that there is professional bias because there are already preconceived ideas about the location or type of project they wish to implement.

Summary

The research does provide more examples of comparison to the theory of urban trap augmented through the six biases, than it does of contrast. The majority of these areas of comparison are somewhat general nature, extrapolated from the information gathered from the INGOs. There are also a few instances where the theory would be considered to be in contrast to the practice of INGOs in East Timor.

The indication of projects being centred around major district urban centres and the fact that many visits are limited to areas of close proximity to Dili, highlight similarity to spatial biases. There were also many examples indirectly conveying person biases, this was particularly relevant to elite bias and user and adaptor bias.

The restrictions set by international donors and the methods of consultation in determining projects emphasize project biases and professional biases. Professional biases are possibly further manifested through guidance from head offices limiting the scope of projects.

There was indirect indication or diplomatic biases purveyed through visits to project sites and the methods of consultation in determining projects. The main contrast to any bias was shown through dry season biases. Whilst accessibility to districts during the wet season was raised as an issue, there was no evidence of locations being discounted due to accessibility.

Furthermore there was no evidence of INGOs limiting their impressions to interaction with rural peripheries only during the dry season.

Lastly a point of note is the research provided no ability to express any confirmation as to the amount of interaction with the poor in the most remote areas of East Timor.

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Appendix A: Research Questions

1.   Period of time organisation has been working in East Timor?

2.   How many international staff are employed?

3.   How many local staff are employed?

4.   What districts is your organisation working in?

5.   Is your main country office in Dili?

6.   Do you have offices outside Dili? If Yes - Where?

7.   Do you have international staff working outside Dili?

8.   Is their usual residence in Dili or in the districts?

9.   Where do you gain your funding from?

10.   Do your donors have offices in East Timor?

11.   Do the donors have restrictions on the type of projects they will fund?

12.   Do the donors have restrictions on locations of projects they will fund?

13.   Do you have projects being conducted in partnership with government agencies?

14.   Do government officials visit these projects?

15.   What locations have been visited?

16.   Do government officials influence the location or delivery of projects?

17.   Are these project based on your organisations own needs analysis or on government decisions?

18.   What are the criteria you use for involvement with government agencies?

19.   Or are your projects directly involved with communities or civil organisations?

20.   What type of analysis does your organisation conduct prior to committing to a project?

21.   Does your organisation have operating procedures or mandates from a head office that dictate how your operations in East Timor occur?

22.   Are there restrictions on locations of activities?

23.   Is there a focus on particular activities or work in specific sectors?

24. How many projects is your organisation currently involved in?

25. Why were the specific projects chosen?

26. Are your projects urban or rural based?

27. Are the projects run from a major urban location?

28. Do international staff always return to Urban areas for accommodation?

29. What type of accommodation would they stay in if visiting longer than one day?

30. Does your organisation have difficulties working in district locations?

31. What are some of the difficulties?

32. Is cost benefit analysis conducted when choosing project locations?

33. Are locations discounted because of the cost of supporting work in those areas?

34. Which of your projects is furthest away from Dili?

35. What would be the maximum travelling time to one of your projects?

36. Is weather a factor in determining locations or types of projects your organisation is involved with?

37. How does the weather (wet season) affect ways in which your organisation operates?

38. Does your organisation work in any area that is possibly unreachable by road during the wet season?

39. Do you do anything in order to mitigate risk to projects caused by the weather?

40. Do you have visitors to your programme?

41. What length of time do visitors spend at project locations?

42. From East Timor?

43. Coming to East Timor?

44. Are they Donors/head office / VIPs?

45. Do they visit project locations outside Dili?

46. Do they stay in the districts when visiting or return to Dili on the same day?

47. Are they taken to more successful projects?

48. Are they taken to easily accessible locations?

Appendix B: Research Interviews

<u>**INGO 1**</u>

1. October 1999
2. 8 international staff
3. 105 local staff
4. Ainaro, Lauteum, Dili
5. Dili
6. Maubisse, Los Palos
7. Yes two in each location
8. In the district location
9. Through donors and a mixture of in country donor funding. Also from core budget of head office, however the main focus is from in country donor support specific to this programme.
10. Only one
11. Yes. Fund one-year projects only, and they have to be emergency intervention. They will not fund development projects.
12. Not apparent. ECHO work with a conglomerate of INGOs with each being responsible for a different area or district.
13. Yes
14. No. Coordination is with Water supply and sanitation, not directly with government.
15. No, but have been invited. Easier to get to locations take priority for visits.
16. Sub district administration does have some influence on project locations and delivery. This is generally to fit to whatever planning they have already done, or what they perceive as greater need areas. In coordination with, but not dominated by.
17. ECHO based on their assessment for water and sanitation project. Conduct our own needs assessment for other projects and the overall programme in East Timor.
18. Conduct coordination with government agencies, but don't implement through government agencies. It is planned for some project to do so in the future.
19. The focus is through communities. Process is to go to a village or community with aid or an idea and ask if they want or need it. So driven by our organisation.
20. As for 19. Our women's programme is slightly different, there was more participation in design and implementation. The initial programme was to establish our organisation in East Timor, after getting established more emphasis was given to solid needs analysis and participation in project development. Donor influence and restrictions occur due to confusion between emergency and development approaches to projects. Donors are funding 'emergency projects' but with some expectation of participation etc, however with strict timelines for project completion.
21. Developed between country office, district field offices and sent back to head office. Also fits in with the organisations global strategy
22. The global strategy is broad but does target certain specific areas.

23. Gender, health, food security, environment sanitation and emergency response
24. Three women's projects at district level. Water supply and sanitation project across two districts, and refugee transit site in Dili.
25. Set up emergency response. Decided to work in districts and rushed to get established and into a couple of districts. The districts chosen were essentially areas that were not being covered by another INGO at the time, but no actual assessment was done prior to committing to the districts. The new programme being developed for start in 2003 has had a more comprehensive needs assessment conducted. This assessment has meant that there has been a change of focus for the next phase (new programme). Whilst staying within the same districts, we are moving project locations to higher need communities.
26. Projects are rural based, less the refugee site in Dili.
27. Support and network comes from Dili, this includes logistic support. Management and direction is provided from Dili, but projects are run from district urban centres with focus to rural peripheries. District offices are located in either district capital or major urban centre.
28. International staff almost always return to urban location for accommodation (9/10 times) Local staff stay out in communities.
29. Village houses or chiefs house etc are used. With the Water and sanitation project villages provide somewhere to stay
30. Roads/access to project sites – particularly in wet season with landslides etc.
31. Might arrange meetings but physically can't reach the location, then villagers get annoyed. Village politics is also an issue; with some villagers not wanting maeli's (international's) in village, or the village has its own infighting problems. Also inheriting problems from other NGO's in the past. District staffing not being able to get good staff from within the district and having to bring in personnel from Dili. This causes tension because the locals want people from their area hired to work with them. Liaison with district administration is a problem because it is two hours away in one case and they seldom travel through the district to see what INGOs are doing.
Communications between Dili and districts is difficult. Even with codan radios weather impedes transmission. Also the country office in Dili only listens to the radio during office hours, so there is no after hours ability to contact in emergency situations. Communications also makes logistics difficult, passing information of requirements etc.
Our organisation has a standard of housing that international staff must have. This requires aspects such as security, running water, etc. Therefore these houses need to be in more urban environments, because they don't exist in rural areas. Also they need to be on major transport routes for supplies.
32. Location can cause higher costs but need to look at the strategic plan and why the organisation is working in East Timor.
33. Don't know any instances of discounting a project because of cost though
34. Our women's programme in Turascai, and also Los Palos

35. 4 ½ hrs to Los Palos. Turascai is 2 ½ hrs from the field office in Maubisse (one way), which is another 2 hrs one way to Dili.
36. Not on its own
37. Weather has impacted on the way the organisation operates. It has necessitated doing hardest to reach locations during the dry season and others during the wet. This impacts on costs because resources are being used to reach difficult locations at opposite ends of the district. Seasonal aspects also impact, because peoples priorities change due to cropping etc.
38. Yes. Manatuto, Man Lobus. Have had to not work in some areas because we can't reach them by road. Donors also wouldn't visit these locations.
39. As indicated previously (36.)
40. Yes.
41. One to Two days. Donors only conduct day trips to sites.
42. Yes
43. Yes, but no donors from outside East Timor have visited.
44. Country office visits sites, Regional and head office visit 1 or 2 times a year, and donors
45. Head office would visit some locations but not all
46. No
47. Definitely take them to more successful or completed projects. Often try to reach all if possible though.
48. Yes. Only has one day so need to see the ones that are accessible

INGO 2

1. 98
2. 4
3. 3
4. Livelihood project – VKK, Los Palos, Atauro Island
   Education – OMT – Los Palos, Baucau, Manatuto, Liquica, Dili, Maliana
   Tais Weaving project – Los Palos, Baucau, Suai, Ainaro, Oecussi, Maliana
5. Dili
6. District coordination is conducted through district offices of partner INGOs. These are in Liquica, Oecussi, Maliana, Suai, and Manatuto.
7. No
8. N/A
9. Most funding is from one donor, with core funds from head office assisting with overhead costs.
10. Don't deal with a donor in East Timor; everything is coordinated through the donor's regional office in Hong Kong.
11. Yes, but generally the donor is very flexible due to a long-term relationship. The funding is generally in the form of a block grant.
12. No. Because they are not intimately involved with the actual projects that are being conducted. They only provide funding to the overall East Timor programme
13. Yes. Involved with ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, National Disaster Management Organisation, Trade and Investment and Ministry of Education. Also coordinate with district administration. Although the actual work is conducted through local NGOs and community groups.
14. No
15. N/A
16. No, because only co-ordination conducted with them, not actual project planning and implementation.
17. Based on needs of local partners
18. Our organisation works to 5 rights as the basis for our programmes and commitment. These are
    Right to sustainable livelihood
    Right to Basic Social Services
    Right to Security
    Right to be Heard
    Right to Equity (gender etc)
19. The organisation undertakes a partnership approach to working with communities, government or national NGOs. Not specifically with just one or the other. The organisation doesn't actually implement any projects itself; these are implemented through partnership with other agencies and through funding specific agencies for projects involving capacity building of them within the project management.
20. When dealing with national NGOs we look at a number of aspects. Who they are, What their history is, Financial records, Identify what their progress is on other projects, The logic behind the project they

have identified the process to developing the project, sustainability and usefulness of the project to the community.

21. Yes the basis of which is the 5 rights

22. No. We answer to a regional management centre in Bangkok, through a regional office in Indonesia. They deal with the head office for our organisation. This provides us with a lot of autonomy in country.

23. Yes. This is guided by the 5 rights and then fitted to each country scenario.
Livelihoods, Trade, Education, Advocacy, National Development Plan and Gender

24. 6

25. Again based on the 5 rights and then determining the needs that apply to these 5 rights within the districts we have chosen to work in.

26. Mostly rural, some literacy groups are in district urban locations. There is also a small amount of Dili based work

27. Generally run from urban locations

28. Yes

29. Tent or local housing

30. Communications is a big problem
Also if you get off track with a project being driven by the locals it can be very difficult to massage the direction.

31. Firming up relationships with other INGOs to make processes easier.

32. It is generally conducted within reporting, however not a consideration at this stage for choosing projects

33. No. Actually our organisation is working in some locations that have a negative CBA.

34. Tutuala (Lauteum)

35. 6 ½ hours one way

36. No

37. Not yet

38. No

39. Just planning to minimise affect

40. Only Audit so far.

41. 2/3 days

42. No

43. Yes

44. Auditors on contract to head office

45. No it was a financial management audit so was Dili based. In the future they would also visit partner organisations to audit their books.

46. No

47. N/A

48. N/A

INGO 3

1. 1998
2. 3 and one volunteer
3. 66
4. Bobanaro, Same, Cova Lima, Oecussi
5. Dili
6. Oecussi, Suai, Same
7. No
8. Yes
9. Donors
10. External and one donor in East Timor
11. No
12. No
13. Yes
14. Yes – Civic education and health education
15. Bobanaro
16. No
17. At request of donors or on staff ideas. Future projects will include bidding on requests for tender. Currently staff are being trained on needs assessments and community based projects
18. No other special criteria
19. Current projects are community based
20. Try to see problems, which locations NGOs are already working in and then work in another district.
21. Working to develop procedures
22. No. But have been working in more difficult district locations
23. Basic community development and health education, Trauma counselling, Civic education
24. 11
25. Try to work in same districts that we were involved in during the emergency phase. Future projects based on data and needs assessments.
    Currently based on ideas of staff as they see problems or areas that need assistance. But in the future will be more needs assessment oriented.
26. A mix of rural and urban-based projects. Just 3 projects are rural based; the remainder are either urban or focussed on district urban locations.
27. Have district managers who run the projects. Dili office monitors progress etc
28. Return to town for accommodation
29. Stay at district offices which usually have sleeping areas
30. Transport to Oecussi is difficult because the ferry takes about 8 hours if it is working, so if people are going there they need to stay for at least a week.
31. Communications with Oecussi is also difficult. We have no Communications with the manager there apart from them coming to visit on a monthly basis. Other districts are not such a problem though; because there is either telephone or people can visit Dili much easier.

32. Not yet
33. No
34. Oecussi
35. Oecussi- up to 8 hours by boat and they only travel once a week. Suai is about 5 ½ hours.
36. At the moment no.
37. Doesn't really
38. No some areas are difficult but not impossible.
39. No
40. Yes
41. One to two days
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors
45. Yes
46. Donors stay at district accommodation
47. They will visit any project that they are funding
48. No.

INGO 4

1.   Mar 2001
2.   1
3.   2
4.   Manatuto, Liquica, Oecussi
5.   Dili
6.   No
7.   No
8.   Dili
9.   All funding is from head office core budget, or donor funding to head office
10.   No
11.   No. But a strong focus on sustainable livelihoods
12.   No
13.   Not currently, but plan to in the future
14.   N/A
15.   N/A
16.   Yes. In conjunction and coordination. One programme selection was based on connection with district administration and UN staff in Manatuto. District administration will continue to be included in the process.
17.   Not formal assessments. Will involve government in the process.
18.   They need to fit with the 5 aims of the organisation or the 5 rights. These are
Right to sustainable livelihood
Right to Basic Social Services
Right to Security
Right to be Heard
Right to Equity (gender etc)
19.   At the moment they are community based with some coordination with government agencies.
20.   The framework and ideas for the programme are driven from East Timor. This also fits into the regional strategy for the organisation. A project document is put forward for funding based on the country strategy and fitting to the 5 rights.
21.   The organisation has a 3-year mandate for the programme initially. Evaluation of the requirement for international positions will be conducted next year.
22.   No. Except for the size of the budget. (A percentage goes towards overheads and management costs.) This affects the size of the programme and therefore what locations can be worked in linking into local organisations and other International partner NGOs. Consultants will also be brought in for particular aspects of the programme.
23.   Focus is on Sustainable livelihoods, disaster preparedness, Participation, and a small amount towards environmental health.
24.   Programme development and coordination is the main role of the organisation with implementation occurring through national NGOs and community groups.

Current Projects are:
Community development project in Manatuto and Liquica districts, in partnership with local NGO on a one year plan. Will include Agro forestry, some micro credit and farming groups.
Funding for a film documentary
Tais (woven cloth) feasibility study- funding and research into an export possibility
National planning – participation of locals in the national process
Technical training centre in Dili – support to start up the centre

25. Districts were selected as follows
Oecussi – because another branch of our organisation is already working there and it is extremely isolated.
Manatuto- because of a local government/ district administration connection and weren't aware of other INGOs working there
Liquica – As a testing ground for potential partners through small grants to local organisations to measure success with possibility of following on with larger scale projects.

26. Emphasis on being rural based

27. All projects that have direct involvement are run from Dili. There is a possibility of employing a district project officer in the future.

28. Only conduct day trips to Liquica and Manatuto. Because of transport difficulties Oecussi trips take 4/5 days.

29. Stay in district offices of other international branches of our organisation.

30. Yes

31. Transport and timeframe are the two key problems at the moment. It generally takes one trip to the districts just to organise a meeting and then another to actually conduct it.
Would need to conduct analysis to determine feasibility of district offices, but it is felt that it would slow the process of developing the country programme.

32. Should be conducted but not overtly done at the moment. Evaluation is done on impact of projects though.
Question the cost/ benefit of providing funding for individuals to attend conferences etc, as there needs to be some benefit on their return.

33. No. Access was the consideration
Even though two locations are close they have high needs so it is felt that they are appropriate at the moment.

34. Oecussi

35. 1 day each way by boat, or ½ an hour by plane if they are available (very limited access to UN flights now)
Liquica – One project takes 2 hrs

36. Not in determining locations

37. It did influence choice of vehicle to be purchased for the programme.

38. In Oecussi there is on sub district that can be unreachable during the wet season.

39. No

40. Yes

41. Couple of hours, unless Oecussi

42. No

43. Yes
44. Donors haven't visited yet, only the manager from the regional office.
45. Yes
46. Apart from Oecussi they return to Dili for accommodation
47. Head office visitors visit as many projects as time permits
   When donors visit it will be for education so they will be taken to projects that will give them the best understanding of East Timor, including difficulties, infrastructure etc.
48. Yes due to time constraints

INGO 5

1. Small involvement 1996 to 1999 then increased from September 1999.
2. 12
3. 100
4. Oecussi, Cova Lima, Liquica, Bobanaro. Also support programmes in other districts but not active.
5. Dili
6. In each district
7. In each district, 7 in total through the districts
8. At the district location
9. Donors, with government aid agencies working in East Timor, and through head office core funding.
10. Yes. Most now do. In the past used some donors that weren't in East Timor.
11. Yes. Country windows and funding windows. I.e. They will support particular activities for particular timeframes. Examples that we are involved with are Water supply and sanitation (WATSAN), and community development projects.
12. Most donors don't have restrictions, except for the national NGOs that our organisation is supporting through donor funding.
13. Yes we have an MOU for the main work in WATSAN and training local government. And Health education for teachers.
    Also work with Ministry of Health for training health promotion activities. With planning commission and Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries both of which are policy oriented activities.
14. Yes, particularly to do with the WATSAN project. It helps for lobbying purposes to get officials to visit projects.
15. Try to reach all locations less Oecussi
16. Not really, government don't have influence on donors either.
17. Relationship based on ongoing projects. Now trying to develop the relationship further.
    One project for school rehabilitation was driven from government to get assistance.
18. We work quite a lot with government especially supporting policy issues and trying to help strengthen their role. Also encourage the government to look at participation.
19. Also work with community based development.
20. Not enough.
    Talk a lot at district level, community and district administration etc. Also talk with Ministry's.
    Programme development and research at the beginning of the programme (once funding is received for that programme)
21. The main emphasis is the 5 rights
    Right to sustainable livelihood
    Right to Basic Social Services – Education and Health
    Right to Security – Disaster preparedness and justice
    Right to be Heard
    Right to Equity (gender etc)
    Work from a broad and flexible country strategy.

Use a lot of active participation, working from community/district and national level, feeding into policy issues and advocacy.

22. Focus on western districts. Those along and near the border.
23. Focus on activities associated with the 5 rights. Especially sustainable livelihoods, health, education and disaster preparedness.
24. 15 approximately. District programmes then fit into national programme.
25. Before 1999 we worked with national NGOs that had contacts in broad areas. From September 1999 the focus was WATSAN and transit camps for refugees. Also during this time we did an assessment for OCHA and through this found that the focus should be along the border.

    Then had built up relationship in the border districts so decided to continue in those districts.

    Looking at bring a lot more training and capacity building focussed rather than operational into the future.
26. Rural and national level policy and advocacy.
27. Yes, District offices at district main urban centres.
28. Yes
29. In one of our district houses or offices
30. Yes
31. Remoteness of Oecussi.

    Language for national staff to be able to communicate with key players, international staff and donors.

    Recruiting good staff to work in districts. Most people want to work in Dili.

    Communications are an issue for face-to-face discussions and meetings. Mobile phones help in most districts

    Maintenance of vehicles is a problem. Due to cost and getting a mechanic to all project locations in the districts, especially Oecussi. Have to send a mechanic from Dili.

    Using national staff from districts helps because the use their own houses.
32. It is expensive to work in districts because of overheads and logistic support. But weighing up between trying to travel to the districts to work, at the moment it is necessary to have people actually living in the districts. So cost/ benefit is not really an option at the moment.
33. No
34. Oecussi
35. By road about 12 hours. By boat 8 hrs and then 3 hrs driving to project site

    Suai is 9 hrs to project site – 5 ½ to Suai then 3 ½ to the site.
36. All districts are a problem during wet season.
37. Need to plan in detail for wet season. It affects monitoring of projects.
38. Yes
39. Just planning
40. Yes
41. If government one day visits. If donors a couple of days. Head office visits about 3-4 days.
42. Yes

43.	Yes
44.	Government, donors and head office
45.	Yes
46.	Head office visitors stay in the districts, government visitors don't
47.	Not to complete disasters unless it is believed that they need to see them. The communities are informed before taking visitors to the sites.
48.	Depends on the donor and their timeframe.

INGO 6

1. 2. July 2001
2. 3
3. 1
4. Dili
5. Dili
6. No
7. Two people conduct work in the districts, but live in Dili
8. Dili
9. Most funding comes from the organisations core budget, but assistance is provided by partner organisations to fund volunteers accommodation, living costs etc
10. N/A
11. N/A
12. N/A
13. Not at the moment, but are trying to do some work with setting up a national volunteer corps in East Timor with assistance from the government
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A   ·
19. Working directly to National NGOs and assisting in their delivery of projects to communities
20. Go through a consultation period with an interested national NGO, and assess their needs. Once it is decided to try and place a volunteer with the organisation a placement description is written. The description is then sent to head office for recruitment of a volunteer to fill the position. Once a person is recruited and accepted by the partner organisation then the person is brought to East Timor to commence their assignment.
21. Our organisation has a specific mandate to work with national NGOs.
22. The areas the we work are restricted by home government and travel advisories, so assignments at the moment need to be Dili based and travel to assignment/ project locations as necessary. In order to work in the districts there is also the need for a good support network from Dili in terms of security procedures, logistics etc. Our organisation is too small to be able to do this successfully.
23. Social Justice is the overriding principle of our organisations work. Currently the focus is on youth empowerment, children's education, human rights/ women's rights and sustainable agriculture
24. 4 current projects
25. They fitted into the overall criteria of social justice. All have components of capacity building, inter cultural sharing and advocacy
26. Urban based with a rural aspect or outreach within each project
27. Run from Dili
28. Usually, but on occasion they will stay at project sites for short periods up to a few days.

29. If they stay at a project site they will be accommodated in local houses
30. Haven't been district based yet. Need to have support mechanisms set up before moving to district locations.
31. N/A
32. The organisations limited funding makes it more difficult to fund district projects because of costs. Therefore an urban based programme.
33. As stated above working an living in any district are discounted at the moment due to the support costs associated and limited funding
34. All Dili based
35. To a project site would be about 3 hours one way.
36. N/A
37. N/A
38. Rain does affect visiting locations during the wet season because some areas are unreachable
39. No
40. Yes
41. Two or three days
42. No
43. Yes
44. Head office and regional office
45. Visit partner organisations in Dili only
46. No
47. N/A
48. N/A

INGO 7

1. 1990
2. 1
3. 19
4. Lauteum, Manatuto, Liquica, Cova Lima, Ermera, Bobanaro.
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. Dili
9. Sponsors/ Donors who provide grants or sponsor to particular projects. The international head quarters, and UN agencies
10. No
11. Sponsors instruct what project they want the money to go to. The organisation reports on the use of money, progress of the project etc. Administration and overhead costs are covered by the international headquarters
12. Yes, as detailed previously
13. No
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A
19. All work is conducted through community groups and national NGOs
20. Projects are based on needs of the community and must fit into the international vision statement. Any project now must fit within the districts we are already established in. The international headquarters provide a quota that must be achieved by the East Timor programme. New projects are only considered to maintain the quota level.
21. The international headquarters provides vision and mission statement. This office then has its own vision and mission statement particular to East Timor.
22. We will only focus on the 6 districts we are currently working in. This will only be expanded if the quotas set by international headquarters are such that we need to move to other districts to undertake that amount of work.
23. Main focus is on children from the age of 4-18. Education and health are the primary project considerations and any associated projects
24. Currently working on 13 projects and 5 other grants
25. In the early stages of developing the country programme an evaluation of communities and needs was conducted. Proposals were submitted and evaluations conducted. If a proposal fits into the criteria and the needs of the community to benefit are high, then assistance will be given. Must be within the districts that we are currently working though – obviously exceptions given.
26. Mostly rural with 5 projects in Dili
27. All projects are coordinated from Dili, but implementation occurs through local implementing partners who are rurally based and focussed

28. Yes
29. N/A
30. Yes
31. The security situation is an issue that is monitored. Communications can be difficult because not all districts have telephone communications. Must plan for visits to conduct training to assist in capacity building of local partners and evaluations of projects
32. Not formally
33. Sometimes projects are discounted due to cost
34. Suai
35. 5 ½ - 6 hours
36. No
37. Affects transportation especially when something urgent happens
38. No, it can just be more difficult to travel
39. No
40. Yes
41. Up to a week in country depending on the donor.
42. No
43. Yes
44. Headquarters and sponsors
45. Districts and Dili
46. Depends on the distance to projects. They will stay at the further projects, but prefer to return to Dili
47. Sponsors will visit their projects. Headquarters will visit all projects
48. Not an issue.

INGO 8

1. Oct 1999
2. 9
3. 136
4. Oecussi, Cova Lima, Bobanaro, Dili
5. Dili
6. Offices in all districts that the org is working in
7. At least one international staff in each district
8. Their residence is in the town they work in
9. Some comes from International HQ. Most comes from donor agencies, governments etc
10. Yes, most have offices in Dili
11. Yes they have some restrictions. An example of one would be no income generating projects
12. Most donors appear to want to only concentrate on certain districts. Sometimes it is necessary to use a number of donors to cover all the districts we are working in
13. Especially now. Won't do anything without government endorsement or request from them for our organisation to conduct a project. Also ensure that projects fit in with the national development plan.
14. Yes, but generally only if they are conducting other business in that district anyway
15. Cova Lima, Bobanaro, Dili
16. The government agency basically decides what their priorities are. We work to their request. Our organisation tries to work to what the Timorese and government want to achieve
17. Needs analysis is either conducted in conjunction with the particular government agency or by our organisation
18. We are trying to follow the national development plan in conjunction with gathering our own information from the grass roots level. Include information from other national surveys, planning commission information etc.
19. The government or district administration is always informed of projects, but some occur directly to communities
20. Gain an understanding of what donors want to fund in order to balance against what needs are perceived to be high
21. Our organisation has a wide mandate to undertake particular activities
22. No, except that must adhere to UN security rules, which can restrict the way in which we undertake activities in the districts
23. Main focus has been the returnee programme including provision of logistic support and medical checks; Programme personnel working in field offices to assist reintegration of returnees; Voluntary repatriation of refugees/returnees;
   Post emergency capacity building
24. 8 main projects with over 200 sub projects within each project scope. Ie. Down to community level etc
25. To assist Timor population with infrastructure redevelopment. In accordance with what the major needs were/are. Because they linked

into previous projects related to post conflict situation. Now moving to projects that assist with sustainable development

26. Like to target remote areas because our organisation has the resources and infrastructure to do so, as opposed to some other organisations

27. Our organisation uses a decentralised management system. Each project is managed from the district urban locations. Although some projects are managed from Dili

28. Field staff work at each district office

29. They have houses in each district urban centre and drive to and from project sites on a daily basis

30. Yes

31. Oecussi is particularly difficult due to isolation and lack of transportation. You either have to take the ferry or if extremely lucky get a ride on the UN flight
There is poor roading infrastructure within the district.
A lack of basic utilities like electricity and water. Nutrition is poor and general living conditions are poor.

32. No. If a project is logistically possible then it will occur. Cost is not a consideration if there is a need

33. No

34. Los Palos – Tutuala. And Oecussi

35. 6-7 hours one-way to Tutuala. About 8 hours by boat to Oecussi.

36. Definitely.

37. The rainy season influences projects. Can't access many places in the rainy season (especially in Oecussi).

38. Yes. Areas can be cut off for short periods

39. Projects are always planned according to weather conditions

40. Yes

41. A few hours

42. Yes

43. Sometimes

44. Donors and headquarters

45. Donors do, depending on the visitor from headquarters whether they do or not

46. No. They all conduct day trips

47. No. Donors are taken to see the reality

48. Yes. Because of limited time so visitors are taken to accessible project sites

INGO 9

1. Dec 1999
2. 1
3. 4
4. Maliana, Alieu
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. Dili
9. Grants/ from donors
10. Some, but most are external
11. Yes. An example is of no aid, only grants for sustainable development
12. Yes. No areas that are already funded by other agencies
13. Yes
14. Yes
15. Maliana and Alieu
16. Yes they have influence over timeframes and the implementation of projects
17. Our organisation does and assessment for planning data but also use secondary data for back up. Also consultation with stakeholders and government
18. No. But need to ensure there is good monitoring and participation
19. Some projects are conducted directly to communities. In these cases consultation occurs with the government in order to work in line with government policy, but delivery is direct to the communities
20. Conduct and assessment – data, community needs and priorities, what other NGOs are working in the area of interest, government priorities
21. The organisations procedures for East Timor, which fit to the global strategy.
22. During the assessment phase we look at aspects such as accessibility, population (especially numbers of children), Geographical structure of a village or area.
23. Early childhood education and development activities
24. Currently involved in six projects
25. They were seen as highest needs of all areas assessed. Some ideas requested by communities were also included
26. Rural
27. Run from district locations, obviously with overall management and monitoring from head office in Dili
28. Usually return to Dili
29. Homes of locals
30. Yes
31. Water and sanitation, nutrition and basic necessities. Poor infrastructure. Ability to monitor projects
32. Yes it is
33. No
34. Maliana
35. 3 hours one way
36. Not so much because assessments are needs based

90

37. It doesn't really
38. No, but can be difficult to reach
39. No
40. Yes
41. Approximately 3-4 hours
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors, Media, Other NGOs, Consultants and head office
45. Generally visit all project sites
46. Usually try to return to Dili
47. They will visit all or any sites
48. No

INGO 10

1. April 2002
2. 2
3. 2
4. The focus is national with ability for any community within any district to be involved if they request funding and get their project approved
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. N/A
9. An international donor has provided funding which is managed by the world bank and administered by our organisation
10. No
11. The donor has created a fund for capacity building with certain restrictions which have been applied in the management agreement
12. No, although preference is to reach communities that are isolated and have not received much assistance. Particularly want to reach out from Dili
13. No, all projects will be directly to communities or national NGOs
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A
19. All are community based
20. Currently at the stage of receiving proposals from groups
    Each application is gone through in detail and further discussions held with the community or group to ensure as much information as possible is contained. Applications cover timeframes, budget, beneficiaries, history of the organisation/group, contacts, long term vision or sustainability of the project
    The proposal is then submitted to the steering committee (all Timorese) to decide who gets funding
21. The organisation's global vision statement and objectives are fitted to the East Timor situation
22. The programme director is responsible for implementation of the programme. They adhere to rules set by the head office
23. Capacity building
24. One project supporting local initiatives and sub grants to local NGOs and community groups
25. The steering committee makes the decisions, our organisation facilitates the process, and monitors implementation
26. Both, but the mix is yet to be established
27. Projects will be run from the district locations with monitoring occurring from Dili and through a network of agencies working in the districts where projects occur
28. Yes
29. N/A

30. Yet to operate at district level so haven't encountered specific difficulties
31. Perceive the following to be problems in the future
   Small team working in many districts with limited resources
   How communities will react and work with our organisation
   Wet season
32. It is part of the evaluation process on an informal level. Pertinent information is gathered from prospective organisations to determine who benefits and who misses out, and how this can be minimised
33. Not yet, but possibly as the process continues
34. No projects established yet, still in the planning stages
35. Implementation will be determined by the steering committee and what locations project proposals are received from. Efforts are being made to ensure that all districts are aware of the opportunity to receive grants
36. No, but may cause difficulties
37. Not yet known, but location is not a factor in deciding projects
38. Not yet
39. No
40. Yes
41. Up to a week in country, but don't have any projects to visit yet
42. No
43. Yes
44. Head office
45. No
46. No
47. N/A yet
48. N/A yet

INGO 11

1. 1995
2. 5
3. 47
4. Alieu and Bobanaro
5. Dili
6. Have bases in both districts
7. One international working in Maliana
8. At the district base
9. International donor organisations and some funding from other offices of our organisation
10. Yes international donors have offices in Dili
11. Appear to have preferences for type of work they will fund. I.e. Capacity building, water and sanitation, agriculture etc
12. In some cases, especially when attempting to divide responsibility between different organisations. Or, the donor may want to work in particular districts and therefore find an NGO that is working there to undertake a particular project
13. Yes. Health
14. Probably not as strict a visit regime as donor visits
15. Bobanaro
16. Yes. Try to identify needs. The example of the shelter programme where they found beneficiaries
17. In coordination. More conducted at district administration level to identify the problem and then looked at by our organisation
18. If a contract is involved it needs to legally fit with the organisations core values. It will be submitted to legal sect at headquarters before committing to the project
19. Not really. But have assisted with needs analysis and history of villages. Projects are not direct to communities though
20. Have a strategic plan of areas of interest.
    Find out needs by communications with government and communities, trying to find areas of need and fit projects to them
21. Policies from headquarters dictate the operations in East Timor, but really have open slather on what activities to be involved with
22. Yes. Focus is to help the poorest of the poor
23. Health, agriculture, water and sanitation and micro enterprise
24. 3 main projects with a couple about to start
25. It is a hangover from the emergency phase. Districts were essentially divided up between NGOs. These were the districts that our organisation was involved in then. They are reasonably central, but high need
26. Both, about 80% rural though
27. Projects are managed from Dili and then lower level management conducted from the district bases
28. Yes. Not in the field very much
29. Accommodated at a team house or accommodation within the bases
30. Yes

31. Seasonal difficulties mostly. Main complain is lack of co-operation from communities not wanting to work for nothing, even though projects are community based
32. Big project yes, small projects not so much
33. Yes they could. An example was Atauro island
34. The sub districts in Bobanaro
35. About 3 ½ hours to Maliana and then another 1 hour to project sites
36. Yes, but tend to just accept it as a factor.
37. Accessibility is an issue in wet season
    the water and sanitation project was particularly affected. Logistical requirements were difficult, couldn't load vehicles as heavy, so needed more vehicles. Vehicles would get broken and the state of roads was is not good
38. Yes. Have used helicopters to shift logistical supplies
39. Undertake planning contingencies
40. Yes
41. 2/3 days in country, mostly day visits to project sites
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors, other offices of the organisation, head office
45. Donors go to the districts. Head office only visit if they are coming to Timor for other reasons, they will visit the districts if time permits
46. Have stayed in base accommodation in the districts
47. All the time
48. Yes. Normally there is a time factor involved

Indonesia decided to allow a referendum for Independence or greater autonomy. The UN was brought in to observe the process. This further heightened infliction of terror from pro Indonesian elements and Indonesian forces, offset by mounting guerrilla tactics by the pro independence resistance.

Due to the escalating violence there were doubts that a referendum would even be able to take place. However, it was, with the result being resounding support for Independence. After the referendum the country was thrown into utter chaos as the pro Indonesian militia and Indonesian forces attacked the general population and forced them to flee for their lives. The majority took to the highlands and bush, leaving everything behind them.

In combination came the destruction of vast amounts of the infrastructure as the Indonesian forces and Militia fled to West Timor in front of the arrival of the first United Nations peacekeeping forces. The resulting picture towards the end of 1999 showed the International Forces in East Timor (INTERFET) stabilising the situation, enforcing a border with West Timor to stop infiltration by militia, and seeking out any remaining militia hiding or still active on the East Timorese side of the divide.

With a mostly destroyed East Timor, and the population slowly returning to their own homes or what was left of them, the next stage of East Timor becoming independent was under way. This began with the emergency phase of humanitarian support to try and stabilise the delicate position in which the state was sitting.

On the military front a transition occurred from INTERFET to a United Nations Administration East Timor Peacekeeping Force (UNTAET PKF), and the huge introduction of military forces from around the world. This provided the security to enable the establishment of a UN administration (UNTAET) and other UN agencies and INGOs to commence the difficult task of providing aid to those that desperately needed it, and assist with the rehabilitation of the most essential components of the infrastructure.

The requirement for such attention in a post conflict situation is not uncommon, however in no case does it assist the rapid stabilisation and development of a new country such as East Timor. The vast amount of resources and financial support directed into the emergency phase only made the overall availability of funding smaller for the sustainable development of the country that needed to follow.

Post Independence

Time moved toward May 2002 and the end of UNTAET, the independence of East Timor and the beginning of its actual government and public administration. As it did so, there was also a change in focus from the emergency phase of humanitarian support, to the phase of sustainable development. There was a certain amount of overlap between these phases with organisations completing their responsibilities within the emergency phase and concentrating more on the development phase.

A number of organisations either downsized their operations or withdrew completely and other organisations with a purely development focus entered the arena. Realistically proper development activities within East Timor probably began somewhere within 2001, but certainly by Independence on 20 May 2002, the major focus was development and not emergency support. Many of the emergency support projects also had flow on activities into the development phase.

By mid to end of 2001 by far the majority of the INGOs that are currently working in East Timor, and are part of the target research area of this project, were well established in East Timor. They either had a mixed focus to development and emergency support or solely to emergency support. The sectors and geographical areas within East Timor in which they are working had been determined and planning and conduct of activities was well underway.

East Timor[5]

East Timor or Timor Lorosae – 'Timor of the rising sun' – is situated on the eastern part of the island of Timor, the easternmost of the Lesser Sunda Islands. It is bordered on the west by the Indonesian province of Nusa Tengarra Timur. To the north lie the Savu Sea and the Strait of Wetar. TO the south 500 kilometres across the Timor Sea, is Australia. Also part of the national territory of East Timor is the enclave of Oecussi in the western part of Timor Island and the islands of Atauro and Jaco.

Timor's relief is broadly characterised by a core of rugged hills and mountains consisting of a confused mass of knife-edged ridges and craggy upland blocks. The land rises to 2,000 metres and above including Mount Tatamailau at 3,000 metres. Around 44% of East Timor may have a slope of approximately 40%, which, combined with heavy rainfall, encourages soil erosion. The climate is hot, with an average temperature of 21°C and around 80% humidity. During the dry season East Timor has moderate winds and slightly milder temperatures – 18°C on the coastline and 10°C or lower in the mountains. But between November and April, the monsoon season, the rivers become torrents due to extremely high precipitation.

During this period, the average temperature on the coastline is about 25°C. On the northern coast, the rainfall ranges from 500 to 1,000 millimetres per year and there is only one harvest. The southern coastal plain, however, can receive over 2,000 millimetres and has two wet seasons and two harvests. The island is also affected by El Nino-related weather anomalies.

Key District Information

East Timor consists of approximately half the island of Timor. It runs east/west for about 250 km and north/south for approximately 75 km. It consists of 13 districts, including the enclave of Oecussi. Dili is the capital of the country and is situated on the northern coast. Baucau is the one other major urban centre approximately two and a half hours drive along the

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5   UNDP (2002). East Timor Human Development Report 2002. p.viii.

northern coast from Dili. Each district has a main urban centre that acts as district capital and provides the hub for markets and trade from the surrounding rural areas. A map is provided at Appendix C for reference.

The roading infrastructure through the island varies quite significantly. In Dili a large amount of the roads are well maintained tar seal. The main arterial routes from Dili are average tar seal roads with many points of degradation and poor maintenance. The main road runs east from Dili to Los Palos and west to Maliana following the northern coast. Other main routes dissect the country from Dili through the central plateau to Manafahi and Cova Lima districts, another from Baucau to the southern coast and Viqueque district. Lesser routes join together the districts from Lautem to Cova Lima along the Southern coast and across the border from Bobanaro to Cova Lima. Many routes are hard going and require 4x4 vehicles for ease of travel.

To reach many of the district capitals require arduous travel over routes that vary between patches of tar seal to unsealed rough roads. Travel distances through out East Timor are not large, however the travel times are significant due to the lack of good roads. The accessibility of each district from Dili varies considerably. A summation of each is given below to provide background on ability of INGOs to operate in each district.

North Eastern Area.
Baucau is two and a half hours from Dili on a reasonably good tar sealed road. Baucau is the second largest town in East Timor. The rural areas of the district are reasonably accessible.

Lautem is the district on the eastern tip of the island. The main town is Los Palos, which is four and a half hours from Dili along a predominately good tar sealed road. The Sub districts within the district can be difficult to reach particularly those in the hills during the wet season.

Viqueque district is on the central southern coast. The town of Viqueque is reached by travelling via Baucau. The route is on mostly unsealed rough road, making it one of the more difficult district capitals to reach. It takes approximately four and a half hours to reach from Dili. The roads and infrastructure through the sub districts is poor.

Central Area

Manatuto is a large district immediately to the East of Dili. Whilst the town of Manatuto is an easy one and a half hour drive from Dili on good tar seal road, the remainder of the district has very poor roading and infrastructure with some sub districts and villages difficult to reach even in the dry season.

Alieu is inland from Dili. The main town of the district is Aileu, one and a half hours and approximately 80 km from Dili. It is accessible by tar seal road. The sub districts have poor roading to them especially affected during the wet season.

Ainaro is further inland on the same route from Aileu. The main town is Ainaro, which is three hours from Dili. The sub districts within Ainaro are difficult to reach. Some only have foot or horse access all year round.

Manafahi district is on the southern central coast. It is reached through Aileu district and takes approximately four hours from Dili. The roading is average unsealed road once reaching the district border. Same is the main town in the district and has reasonably poor infrastructure. The sub districts are some of the more isolated in the country.

Western Area

Liquica is one of the most accessible districts. It is immediately to the west of Dili, with Liquica town an easy 30-minute drive from Dili on a good tar seal road. It is one of the smallest districts with few accessibility problems.

Bobanaro covers the north western portion of the border with West Timor. The main town of Maliana is three and a half hours from Dili on predominately good tar seal road, although it does have subsidence issues during the wet season. The sub districts of Bobanaro are reached on unsealed roads, and those along the border are quite difficult to reach.

Ermera district is completely inland on a plateau on the western central area of the country. The town of Ermera is two hours from Dili along average tar seal road, however unreachable by car due to a failed bridge that is impassable. The area is the major coffee growing area of East Timor and is a comparatively affluent district.

Cova Lima is the other district along the border with West Timor, situated on the south coast. Suai is the main town, which is six hours drive from Dili across a mixture of tar seal and unsealed roading. Portions of the route can be difficult during the wet season with river crossings affecting travel. Most of the sub districts of Cova Lima lay in extremely rugged terrain with poor roads connecting them to Suai.

Oecussi Enclave

Oecussi district is an enclave contained on the northern coast of West Timor. The main town is Oecussi. The district is the most difficult to reach in East Timor because it requires an eight hour trip by ferry or about a twelve hour drive by road through West Timor. The district is extremely isolated from the rest of the country.

Why this topic

Through the experience gained from working in East Timor the areas of possible topics for a research project became evident. Rather than simply choosing a topic based on theoretical experience, there was the opportunity to observe the actual practical application of the development process in a newly developing country such as East Timor. This yielded the ability to understand more about the practical aspects of development work and therefore conceptualise the differences between theory and practice.

Looking closely at the situation a number of viable options came to the forefront. The make up of development needs within East Timor assisted in narrowing the possible topics to one that was truly applicable to this environment. East Timor has a largely rural based population with only a handful of main rural urban centres within the districts and one main urban centre in the capital, Dili. This geographical make up led towards choosing the topic of the theory of urban trap of development compared to the practical application in the development of East Timor. Through experience of working in East Timor a number of elements of the theory could be seen, but it was of interest to research the theory and practice to be able to observe whether the trends of the theory held true in the reality of East Timor.

Chapter Two

Urban Trap and Six Biases – Theory

Background

*Outsiders under perceive rural poverty. They are attracted to and
trapped in urban 'cores' which generate and communicate their own
sort of knowledge while rural 'peripheries' are isolated and
neglected. The direct rural experience of most urban-based
outsiders is limited to the brief and hurried visits, from urban centres,
or rural development tourism. These exhibit six biases against
contact with and learning from the poorer people. These are spatial-
urban, tarmac and roadside; project- towards places where there are
projects; person – towards those who are better off, men rather than
women, users of services and adopters of practices rather than non-
users and non-adopters, and those who are active, present and
living; seasonal, avoiding the bad times of the wet season;
diplomatic, not seeking out the poor for fear of giving offence; and
professional, confined to the concerns of the outsider's
specialisation. As a result, the poorer rural people are little seen and
even less is the nature of their poverty understood.[6]*

This statement underlines the central focus of the research on INGO activities
in East Timor. It is the specific component of the broader theory of urban trap
that the INGO activities are related to and will be compared with in a further
chapter.

Each of the six biases that are identified within the statement above will be
discussed in further detail during the body of this chapter in order to illustrate
the significance of the biases. However, prior to investigating the specific
relevant detail, it is important to ensure a broader understanding of the basis
for such a statement and the greater discussion surrounding development

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[6] Chambers R. (1983) *Rural Development. Putting the Last First.* Longman Scientific & Technical, Harlow. P.2.

theory of urban and rural relationships, the so called core and peripheries. Discussion will initially concentrate on some of the relative general themes and issues that offer background understanding to the theme of urban trap. These themes will be Core versus Periphery, Participation, and Urban Based Outsiders.

Core Versus Periphery

' "Core regions" are major centres of innovative change, while all other territory consists of "peripheral regions", which are dependent on the core regions and whose development is largely determined by institutions of the core regions.'[7] This situation arguably exists in all developing countries. The urban 'core' national capital, and any other main urban centres, usually will contain the dominant political and economic focus of most countries. The decision-making occurs from the core by the national elite. These decisions not only affect the urban dwellers but also the peripheral or rural population as well.

Understandably much development will have an urban flavour to it, whether this is at main urban centres or through major district urban centres. A reason for this is: 'urban populations are often more politically visible and articulate, and politicians usually reside in urban areas, so that the political process is one that responds much better to the demands of urban people than the needs of the rural poor. As a consequence, resources get channelled to urban areas and not to the countryside where they are needed most. Development is skewed towards urban and industrial projects and usually fails to alleviate rural poverty.'[8]

The political process functions around an urban centre, even though a number of the politicians and bureaucrats will undoubtedly have strong links to certain rural areas of the country, their physical location has changed, and often over time their mindset moves with it. Through a number of avenues,

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[7] Stohr W.B. and Taylor. F. (Ed) (1981) *Development from Above or Below*. John Wiley and Sons, New York. P.20.

[8] Study Guide. (2001) *131.701 Development and Underdevelopment*. Massey University, Palmerston North. p.25.

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decision makers become aware of what keeps them in power, and manifested through political pressure or a measure of human weakness, they will often safely position themselves through making decisions that appease those that apply pressure to them.

An application of this issue is the use of resources, which is a central issue in any developing country. A perceived focus on urban centres and their people may direct needed resources away from other areas. But the allocations may not be just perceived, because 'the analytic mistakes made by honest and intelligent people, in the course of justifying heavily urban resource allocations, suggests a prevailing disposition to make and justify such allocations.'[9] In many cases resources available are scarce to begin with, and the resource flow to the rural areas can be even more limited as a result of allocation to urban centres.

A negative observation of resource distribution is that ' rather than spreading development through positive urban-rural linkages, cities [have] become parasitic, sucking up resources and surplus value from their surrounding regions.'[10] Urban centres are seen to be leaving the rural population with less in terms of resources and subsequently capability to conduct necessary activities that could infuse stabilisation and growth within the rural area.

As a direct result 'many outlying rural areas [have] been relegated to an ever more dependent and peripheral status – unable to generate their own internal development and increasingly subjugated to the dominant interests of the national elites in core urban areas.'[11] As a result a downward spiralling effect occurs that requires the attention at the decision making level to avert.

The situation displays a condition that may essentially see the rural peripheries getting less and less and less, and the urban core gaining more and more and more. This is cemented in the statement that 'where ideology,

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[9] Lipton M. (1977). *Why Poor People Stay Poor. A Study of Urban Bias in World Development.* Temple Smith, London. P. 63.
[10] Brohman J. (1996) *Popular Development. Rethinking the Theory and Practice of Development.* Blackwell Publishers, Oxford. p.227.
[11] Op cit. p.227.

advice, predilections and immediate pressures all dispose towards urban bias, it is almost certain to win.'[12]

The spiralling effect, contributing to the lack of infrastructure and resources of the rural peripheries, underpins a notable problem in order to halt the further degradation of rural communities. 'Characteristically, local services and infrastructure which were needed to overcome problems of economic stagnation in peripheral rural regions were virtually nonexistent.[13]

Participation

Whilst it is recognised that the theme of participation is an entire topic on its own, it is considered important to briefly outline some of the ideas of participation. This is to further expand on the discussion above regarding the political power of the urban core and the decision making from the power brokers over development activities for rural peripheries and the subsequent lack of allowance for rural populations to be an integral part of their own development.

'Participation is thus a key prerequisite of success and development must come from "below", from the needs, aspirations, resources and work of the people themselves, rather than being imposed from outside or "above".'[14] Although the change of theoretical focus to recognise this requirement has been relatively recent, under these circumstances the ownership of activities and buy in to success will lay with the key beneficiaries.

The practice that inevitably follows the theory is still in the process of reaching fruition, although it is generally a consideration of stakeholder analysis, social impact assessments and the like, the fundamental step is actually making participation a focus of a project as opposed to simply stating it in the project documentation.

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[12] Ibid. Lipton. P.66.
[13] Op cit. p.227.
[14] Ibid. Study Guide. p.18.

Until recently 'It has not been uncommon for development workers to be very frustrated when they find that their well-intentioned, well-planned and well-monitored projects, not to mention their own toil, have been met by the indifference and non-cooperation of the people their work is supposed to help. In many cases this led to charges that those people were conservative, ignorant or lazy; in others, fortunately, it led to a closer examination by development practitioners of their own methods and philosophies.'[15] Closer reflection of the activities that had these results would hopefully discover more often the later reason for the lack of achievement.

A study of the methods and techniques utilised to implement such projects would likely show a lack of involvement of the beneficiaries. Often the situation has seen an organisation genuinely trying to do good, but falling short due to lack of effort or understanding in developing solid relationships with the beneficiaries and intimately involving them through out the project process. Thus there has not been an environment of breeding success, which would lead to continued support for the project by beneficiaries and therefore provide a level of sustainability.

There is a reality that needs to be dealt with in these situations where participation has been minimised and marginalized because 'once the politicians and aid donors come to the opening ceremony, cut the ribbon, have their photos taken and leave, people are left to their own devices to operate a project which they may not have really wanted, which does not meet their needs, in which they were not involved in building, and for which they do not have the skills to operate but are often expected to pay! It should be little surprise that such schemes often fail.'[16]

There are many components that need to be included in successful participation activities. There needs to be a genuine effort made by the implementers and facilitators to allow a true participatory approach.

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[15] Op cit. p.18.
[16] Op cit. p.27.

Participation can be' "authentic" participation, in which local people democratically control project decision making, and "Pseudo" participation, in which projects are carried out according to prior decisions made by outsiders.'[17] In order to break down the urban biases, participation needs to occur in an "authentic" manner allowing actual ownership of activities lay with the beneficiaries.

This is a principle perspective to bear in mind during the further discussion. Remembering this section was not designed to state that participation does not occur in development practice, its aim was to reinforce the importance of participation as a fundamental issue in formulating successful development projects. It will be an issue of relevance when analysing and comparing the practice of INGOs in East Timor, against this theory, in a later chapter.

Urban Based Outsiders

A common occurrence 'in third world countries as elsewhere, academics, bureaucrats, foreigners and journalists are all drawn to towns or based in them. All are victims, though usually willing victims, of the urban trap.'[18] It is in these locations where there is more likely to be comfortable surroundings and the ability to live a relatively 'normal' lifestyle amongst the poverty and despair that might well be happening under their nose, but certainly in the unseen peripheries. Under these circumstances 'rural poverty is remote. It is even remote, most of the time for those outsiders who are 'working in the field' but who are urban-based.'[19]

Isolated from the reason for outsiders being in the country there is the opportunity for them to have a limited understanding of the true level of the problems. 'For all these urban-based professionals, the major source of direct experience of rural conditions is, then, rural development tourism, the

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[17] Ibid. Brohman. P. 252.
[18] Ibid. Chambers. p.7.
[19] Op cit. p.4.

phenomenon of the brief rural visit. This influences and is part of almost all other sources of information.'[20]

For the majority of outsiders that fall in the urban trap there is a large risk of misunderstanding the scope and severity of a problem. The dislocation from the nucleus of the problem means that outsiders can and often do have a biased view on the actual problem and possible solutions. 'Yet it is through this rural development tourism, if at all, that "core" (urban based, professional, powerful) visitors see and meet those who are "peripheral" (rural, uneducated, weak). The brief rural visits by "core" personnel can scarcely fail to play a key part in forming their impressions and beliefs and influencing their decisions and actions.'[21]

This is not to say that outsiders do not attempt to understand and associate with the people and their problems. Simply because of outsiders different backgrounds, education and specialisation they will see things from a given stance, which may not encompass the picture in its entirety. In some respects no manner of trying to bridge that gap will necessarily dissipate the variance.

Urban Bias – The Six Biases

The focus on rural development inevitably raised many important policy issues concerning the neglect of the countryside as resources were concentrated in urban areas, the bias of development efforts toward industry at the expense of agriculture, and the manipulation of internal terms of trade against agriculture, particularly domestic food production. These issues were regrouped together within the broad concept of "urban bias".'[22]

As previously stated the notion of urban bias is the major theoretical component for this research. The six biases provide the underlying

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[20] Op cit. p.10.
[21] Op cit. p.10.
[22] Ibid. Brohman. p.210.

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statements and definitions on which the comparison of theory of urban trap and the practice of INGOs in East Timor is to be based.

To enable the critical and accurate comparative analysis to occur, it is important therefore to gain a solid understanding of the information that comprises the core of this theory. The six biases are a considered to be a result of the urban trap that outsiders find themselves subjected to. To restate the six biases are Spatial biases: urban, tarmac and roadside; project bias; person biases; dry season biases; Diplomatic biases: politeness and timidity; and, professional biases.

Spatial Biases: Urban, Tarmac and Roadside

There are a few significant elements to this bias. The first is that outsiders are more likely to travel to places that are easily accessible. Most people would prefer to travel shorter distances on better roads to reach the locations of project sites. As stated previously it is likely that the majority of outsiders will conduct short visits to the rural locations of their projects, with only a few actually living, working and immersing themselves in the rural peripheral areas. 'Starting and ending in urban centres, visits follow networks of roads. With rural development tourism, the hazards of dirt roads, the comfort of the visitor, the location of places to visit and places for spending the night, and shortages of both time and fuel dictate a preference for tarmac roads and for travel close to urban centres.'[23]

The second element is a compounding result of the desire to travel on better roads and shorter distances, enabling outsiders to return to the comfort of urban centres for accommodation. Through this desire 'urban bias concentrates rural visits near towns and especially near capital cities and large administrative centres. But the regional distribution of the poorest rural people often shows a concentration in remoter areas.'[24]

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[23] Ibid. Chambers. p.13.
[24] Op cit. p. 13.

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As a consequence it is possible that many of the highest need areas may be partially or completely neglected during the visits of outsiders. Thus 'tarmac and roadside biases also direct attention towards those who are less poor and away from those who are poorer.'[25] Whilst possibly still in need of assistance, these are not the people of highestnee d and enduring greatest poverty.

The third element of this bias relates to the fact that 'visible development follows main roads. Factories, offices, shops and official markets all tend to be at the sides of main roads.'[26] With outsiders more likely to visit such facilities and locations, further development projects are potentially going to occur in their vicinity.

A cycle of positive expansion is possible because improvements in particular sections of an area or community may be the catalyst for other activities to occur. An example of this is where 'an improved tarmac or all-weather surface can bring buses, electricity, telephone, piped water supply, and better access to markets, health facilities and schools.'[27] This results in further development for such an area, but with total disregard for the fact that the area was not of highest need in the first place.

The other spin off, that activity portrayed above can have, is to cause misjudgement by outsiders on the standard of living and poverty level within the rural peripheries. If their experience of the rural environment consists of visits to areas observed above, then they will be more likely to perceive it as the level at which the entire rural population is at. Of course this is known not to be true, but people's perceptions are reinforced by what they see, not by what they do not see. This may lead to the case where 'the better the road, the nearer the urban centre, and the heavier the traffic, so the more pronounced is the roadside development and the more likely visitors are to see it and be misled.'[28]

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[25] Op cit. p. 13.
[26] Op cit. p. 13.
[27] Op cit. p. 13.
[28] Op cit. p.14.

Project Bias

There are two notable aspects of project bias. The first is the process that is undertaken to determine a project. Those organisations that seek to commence a project (whether for the first time or starting another) will undoubtedly undertake a process of consultation and verification in order to determine the location and scope of the project. In doing so 'they are then pointed to those rural places where it is known that something is being done – where money is being spent, staff are stationed, a project is in hand.'[29]

This is an unavoidable circumstance whether the outsiders conducting the process are new to the environment or not. They will either direct their questioning and analysis at areas within communities that they know will be in a position to supply the information being sought, or as in many cases 'ministries, departments, district staff, and voluntary agencies all pay special attention to projects and channel visitors towards them. Contact and learning are then with tiny atypical islands of activity, which attract repeated and mutually reinforcing attention.'[30] Thus the perpetual cycle of project bias.

The other component of project bias is observed through the showpiece, 'the nicely groomed pet project or model village, specifically staffed and supported, with well briefed members who know what to say and which is sited a reasonable but not excessive distance from the urban headquarters.'[31] This can be a sometimes-purposeful manoeuvre by an organisation to display success of their operations. Utilised to appease head office and other visitors, or, as often the case, a tool for attracting donor funding that will enable the continued presence of the organisation.

Person Biases

There are a number of elements of bias associated with people. All are related to the type of people that outsiders interact with in the rural peripheries.

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[29] Op cit. p.16.
[30] Op cit. p.16.
[31] Op cit. p.16.

The first is elite bias. Elite was previously utilised to describe the power brokers etc in the urban core. In this instance the term elite is used 'to describe those rural people who are less poor and more influential. They typically include progressive farmers, village leaders, headmen, traders, religious leaders, teachers, and paraprofessionals. They are the main sources of information for rural development tourists, for local-level officials, and even for rural researchers. They are the most fluent informants. It is they who receive and speak to the visitors; they who articulate 'the village's' priorities for development.'[32] These are the people that outsiders deal with and that have opportunity to influence the projects that are being investigated.

It would be considered that these people are not the true voice of the rural peripheries, however 'the poor do not speak up. With those of higher status, they may even decline to sit down. Weak, powerless and isolated, they are often reluctant to push themselves forward.'[33]

Male bias is aligned with elite bias, because it is often considered to be males that are the status holders. 'Most local-level government staff, researchers and other rural visitors are men. Most rural people with whom they establish contact are men.'[34]

Among the immediate causes of male bias 'are conscious and unconscious prejudice and discrimination, socio-economic structures that rationalise male bias, and theoretical models which neutralise categories (e.g. farmers, workers) and interpersonal relations (e.g. In households), thereby rendering gender relations invisible and conflict-free.'[35] But, in spite of these terms designed to neutralise the bias, the reality is that a large amount of male bias exists in developing countries.

User and adopter bias relates to the fact that outsiders interact with a specific set of people when they visit projects, or rural areas 'they tend to visit

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[32] Op cit. p.18.
[33] Op cit. p.18.
[34] Op cit. p.19.
[35] Ibid. Brohman. p.278.

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buildings and places where activity is concentrated, easily visible, and hence easy to study.' This forms a bias because only a certain set of local people will be involved in the activity occurring at that given place.

What is left is possibly the larger portion of the people who need the assistance but are not visible for a range of reasons. Magnification of this aspect is seen where 'children in school are more likely to be seen and questioned than children who are not in school; those who use the health clinic more than those who are too sick, too poor, or too distant to use it; those who come to market because they have goods to sell or money with which to buy, more than those who stay at home because they have neither... '[36] This bias can be strengthened through those that are not the poorest of poor.

All of the person biases are linked through lack of interaction with the poorest of poor, as they are 'a residual, the last in the line, the most difficult to find, and the hardest to learn from.'[37]

Dry Season Biases

Dry season bias pertains to organisations conducting the majority of activities in the dry season. On the surface this may seem reasonable, because obviously the whether allows for a more productive environment, particularly in terms of physical infrastructure projects and interaction with communities and knowing the weather will not put a stop to attendance.

Delving further into the situation however a number of key issues arise. 'For the majority whose livelihoods depend on cultivation the most difficult time of the year is usually the wet season, especially before the first harvest. Food is short, food prices are high, work is hard, and infections are prevalent.'[38]

But in accordance with the dry season bias, this is a time when the majority of outsiders do not see the rural environment, and gain the insight to the full

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[36] Ibid. Chambers. p.19.
[37] Op cit. p.18.
[38] Op cit. p.20.

picture. Their impressions are mostly founded on observations from dry season visits. This leaves a large gap in critical information though, entailing that the type of development assistance that rural peripheries are receiving is falling short of the mark in terms of ensuring a stable platform for development no matter the season, as opposed to through the dry season.

The wet season often brings about many reasons not to attempt consultation and activities into the rural peripheries. 'The rains are a bad time for rural travel because of the inconveniences or worse of floods, mud, landslides, broken bridges, and getting stuck, damaging vehicles, losing time, and enduring discomfort.'[39] Again strengthening the urban bias and the desire to be more comfortable.

There is also a practical reason to the dry season bias. The simple reality that 'many rural areas, especially those which are remote and poor, are quite simply inaccessible by vehicle during the rains. The worst times of the year for the poorer people are thus those that are the least perceived by urban-based outsiders.'[40]

The dry season brings about the suitable conditions for travel, and also a time where the misled impressions are reinforced once again. 'It is in the dry season, when disease is diminishing, the harvest in, food stocks adequate, body weights rising, ceremonies in full swing, and people at their least deprived, that there is most contact between urban-based professionals and the rural poor.'[41]

The combination of 'many factors thus conspire to ensure that the poorest people are most seen at precisely those times when they are least deprived; and least seen when things are at their worst.'[42]

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[39] Op cit. p.21.
[40] Op cit. p.21
[41] Op cit. p.21.
[42] Op cit. p.21.

Diplomatic Biases

In the first instance diplomatic biases present a situation of cultural difference 'urban-based visitors are often deterred by combinations of politeness and timidity from approaching, meeting, and listening to and learning from the poorer people.'[43] Outsiders that do not spend large amounts of time based in the rural peripheries will unlikely overcome this predicament. Resulting from this situation the right questions may not be asked, the right information not gained, and subsequently an inaccurate appraisal conducted and a less successful project committed to an implemented.

Human nature protrudes at a time when there needs to be the ability to build a relationship, as honest consultation may be the difference between success and failure. More importantly though for the beneficiaries it may be the difference between life and death, or to a lesser, but still important, degree, being lifted out of the poverty cycle and onto a stable development platform. 'Politeness and prudence variously inhibit the awkward question, the walk into the poorer quarter of the village, the discussion with the working women… Courtesy and cowardice combine to keep tourists and the poorest apart'[44] and until this is overcome the necessary improvements may not occur.

Professional Biases

Outsiders involved in a developing country will be professionals of some description. Some will have broad experience and abilities and others will have specialist skills. Either way they will have training and/or experience that will shape the way in which things are perceived.

A difficulty is that the more specialised people are, the less of the entire picture they may be able to see. 'More generally, specialisation, for all its advantages, makes it hard for observers to understand the linkages of deprivation. Rural deprivation is a web in which poverty (lack of assets, inadequate stocks and flows of food and income), physical weakness and

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[43] Op cit. p.22.
[44] Op cit. p.22.

sickness, isolation, vulnerability to contingencies, and powerlessness all mesh and interlock.'[45]

The view of a specialist may not be able to detect the wider aspects of the problem. Because 'narrow professionalism of whatever persuasion leads to diagnoses and prescriptions which underestimate deprivation by recognising and confronting only a part of the problem.'[46]

The other common problem for these outsiders can often be that 'knowing what they want to know, and short of time to find it out, professionals in rural areas become even more narrowly single-minded. They do their own thing and only their own thing. They look for and find what fits their ideas. There is neither inclination nor time for the open-ended question or for other ways of perceiving people, events and things.'[47] This can be another definitive means of isolating the intended beneficiaries from the equation, producing information and proposals that implement development activities intended to resolve problems, without input of the key stakeholders.

Summary
The theory of urban trap is comprised of many components, and naturally entails cross over into other development theories. All of the information outlined in this discussion is interrelated. Invariably none of the points of interest would occur in isolation.

The initial discussion on core versus periphery, participation and urban outsiders was intended to provide background on the urban trap theory before focussing on the six biases that specifically detail the foremost theoretical issues for comparison with the practical research based on INGO activities in East Timor.

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[45] Op cit. p.22.
[46] Op cit. p.23.
[47] Op cit. p.23.

Through the process of the discussion it has become evident that urban trap theory contains numerous characteristics. The six biases in particular provide many issues for the theorist to ponder and the practitioner to attempt to resolve, balance and overcome in the process of raising the benchmark of successful development to another level.

The analysis of INGOs in East Timor will provide insight into whether the six biases are noticeable in development practice, or have the practitioners embraced the theoretical pitfalls and therefore able to conduct activities in a manner that raises the benchmark.

Finally, in the aim of improving understanding of urban trap it is important to realise that 'the way in which spatial, project, person, dry season, politeness/timidity and professional biases interact can be seen by analysing almost any example of an urban-based outsider investigating rural conditions. With many 'insights' and beliefs about rural life, the several biases can and do reinforce each other.'[48]

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[48] Op cit. p.24.

Chapter Three
Explanation of the Research

Background to the Research Topic

The experience of living and working in East Timor led to the choice of urban trap as a broad theory on which to conduct a research project. The author observed that the vast majority of international workers in East Timor lived in Dili, the capital and single large urban centre in East Timor. It was further observed through travel around East Timor, that organisations tended to have projects being conducted predominately from district urban locations.

Once the theory on which to base a topic, had been determined, the next step was to determine how to undertake the research, and against what practical application. It was determined that INGOs would be the target of the research for the following reasons:

- It was decided to explore the INGO activities because the reduction of United Nations Administration East Timor (UNTAET) activities in the districts means INGOs remain as the single major providers of development projects to district level.
- Working for an INGO made the choice relevant and provided the opportunity to gather the information.

The intention was to compare the theory of urban trap with the practice of INGOs in East Timor to determine the aspects of similarity and contrast between the theory and a practical development context.

Further investigation on the theory of urban trap identified that the six biases associated with outsiders' interaction with local people would be an ideal central theme on which to focus the research. This was due to the specific focus of six biases rather than encompassing the entire theory, and because the six biases could neatly be separated in order to establish the range of the research. The information requirements and specific methods for collection were then determined.

Research Design

The purpose of the research into activities of the INGOs in East Timor is to establish the similarities and contrasts of the activities they are conducting, against the theory of urban trap of development, with a particular focus on the six biases.

'Social research can serve many purposes. Three of the most common and useful purposes are exploration, description and explanation.'[49] This research into INGO activities, in the most part, has components of description and explanation. It is considered to have these two components because there is a requirement to describe observations, answering 'questions of what, where when, and how' and from this information there is a need for explanation of 'why'.[50]

The research project was conducted as a cross-sectional study. This essentially means that it is a snap shot of activities being conducted at the point in time that the research is gathered.

In terms of research theory it is important that the research being conducted have a level of validity and considered to be reliable. Determining validity was not an issue because 'Field research seems to provide measures with greater validity than do survey and experimental measurements, which are often criticised as superficial and not really valid'.[51]

'Field research has, however, a potential problem with reliability.'[52] This is often the case because there is not necessarily the ability to be sure that another observer would characterise the research in the same manner. This issue is mitigated in this research project because the researcher has professional knowledge of the country as well as the target INGOs that will be involved in the research process. The information being gathered is also

[49] Babbie. E. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth Thomson Learning, Belmont. p.91.
[50] Op cit. p. 93.
[51] Op cit. p. 298.
[52] Op cit. p. 299.

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more of a descriptive and explanatory nature, which will provide less opportunity for differing interpretation.

Research Techniques Considered

When deciding to undertake the research on this topic it was important to ensure that the method of gaining information was appropriate. The techniques utilised needed to provide the right information in a useable format. The requirement was to gather a snap shot of specific information from the INGOs regarding their activities, in relation to the six biases associated with urban trap.

The first technique considered was the use of a questionnaire. This is a common technique for gathering information 'widely used in experiments, field research, and other data collection activities'.[53] It was discounted as an option though because of the following reasons:

- The requirement for specific preparation of questions that would enable gathering relevant and applicable information.
- Possible necessity to conduct follow up interviews.
- Inflexible in terms of probing for further information on particular areas.
- Emphasis on individuals to complete the questionnaire.
- Attempting to mail out questionnaires would be impractical because the mail system in East Timor is extremely limited and inadequate.

A second option was to conduct research of INGOs in a group environment. This was quickly discounted because of the following reasons:

- The likelihood of being able to get INGOs together to conduct any type of group work was an unrealistic option.
- INGOs are not going to give up a lot of time to assist someone with personal research.
- The results from any group discussions would likely have bias from the more dominant participants.

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[53] Op cit. p. 245.

- It would be unlikely to enable the required level of information on each INGO to be gathered.

The third option was to conduct a semi-structured interview process. This was the option that was chosen because it was determined to be most appropriate to obtain the necessary information from INGOs. Semi structured interviews are utilised to obtain specific information from individuals or small groups on a range of issues. They allow the interviewer to guide the interview process through establishing a set of questions to be covered, but allows the opportunity to shape the questions to follow a particular issue. This is utilised to ask further questions on a specific component on which the participant is observed to have more information to provide.

Optimum information can be obtained through the selected use of closed questions to obtain initial factual information, whilst building the trust of the participant, and then progressing to open ended questions to gain more detailed information and opinion of the participant. The use of semi structured interviews provide the opportunity to gather factual information from the INGOs as well as gaining more detailed information about specific components of their programmes as deemed appropriate to the topic.

A more detailed understanding of each INGOs programme would assist the preparation and analysis of the research, rather than simply transferring data from a questionnaire and comparing it against the theory.

Gathering Information
As discussed the target for gathering information was the INGOs working in East Timor. There are approximately 30-40 international NGOs operating on any significant level in East Timor.[54] It was decided that to gain a suitable spread of information at least half of these international NGOs needed to be interviewed. The figure of 20 was chosen as a suitable level that would provide the relative spread of information.

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[54] From the list of INGOs registered with the NGO forum, Dili, East Timor

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To clarify the operations of NGOs in East Timor, whilst there are quite a number operating, there are only a small proportion that are considered to be large INGOs with influence across a number of sectors and districts. All of these would be part of the information gathering process as well as a number of other NGOs that are common participants within the NGO community.

The larger organisations are the most important in terms of INGO activities in East Timor, and therefore it was most important that they were included in the interview process. Particular effort was made to include such NGOs. This was not conducted to provide bias to the research but more to assist in making the research credible by including information relating to organisations that perform by far the majority of work undertaken by INGOs in East Timor.

In fact to exclude any of those INGOs would have actually meant that the information gathered would be distorted because it would not be representative of INGO work in East Timor.

A number of INGOs interviewed were also adverse to any information pertaining to their organisation to be used by name. Their anonymity has thus been preserved. The actual names and details of individual NGOs are not deemed to be of any significance or relevance in achieving the aims of this research. The important aspect was to gather the required amount of information to be able to put forward a credible project. Thus the collation of the information gained from all of the NGOs was the critical activity, not necessarily analysing individual NGOs their methods of operation and delivery of projects in East Timor.

The value of the information is measured through the overall picture that it provides, showing particular trends and then being able to compare the information against the six biases and determine whether the theory holds true in the development occurring in East Timor, outlining anomalies and variations from the themes of the theory.

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Within the interview questions there are a number of categories that relate to the theory of urban trap and are designed to provide information that can be compared to the theory. The main components of the theory are the six biases; spatial biases, project bias, person biases, dry season biases, diplomatic biases and professional biases. Answers relating to each of these biases are collated across all INGOs interviewed and subsequently used to provide the core research for this project.

Difficulties in Gathering the Research

Timeframe

The first difficulty in gathering the research was the amount of time it took to interview each NGO and document the information gained. Each interview took between 25 minutes to one hour depending on the INGO and how much information they had to put forward.

Secondly it took up to one hour per interview to actually document the information accurately and in a useable format. It was important to ensure that this part of the process was conducted as soon as possible after the interview in order not to lose any accuracy of the information transcribed during the interview.

Actually arranging interviews with all the required INGOs proved difficult. The directors or country representatives of each INGO were the targets for interviews (or in some cases the deputy or assistant). This was the case to insure the person being interviewed had a sound knowledge of all activities of the INGO avoiding interviews with people who only have knowledge of a specific project or area of the INGOs work.

With the pace of development work being rather hectic it proved a long process to set up and conduct interviews with the 20 selected INGOs. Each interview had to be set up to a week in advance in order to fit into the schedule of the interviewees.

The entire interview process was conducted over a six-week period. It was fortunate that the timeframe for conducting the interviews was not limited to a short window, because this would have made it difficult to obtain the required level of information. It was also an advantage that the interviewer had a professional relationship with most of the interviewees rather than just cold calling on them and hoping to set up interviews.

The INGO community is relatively open, with most INGOs contributing to a fortnightly INGO meeting to discuss significant issues relevant to all INGOs. The forum is also utilised to lobby the UN and East Timor Government on particular issues, using a unified front. The meetings provided an opportunity to make contact with country directors of the INGOs, and assist with organising the interview schedule. It was however difficult to ascertain when individuals would be attending the meetings, as they would often be involved in other work commitments such as visits to their project sites.

Through combination of use of telephone, e-mail, meetings and calling on people, the interviews eventually were conducted. The end result of the interview process was positive with the 20 INGOs interviewed and a credible level of information collected.

Scope of Questions

Defining the scope of information to be collected was a challenge. Setting the target of information gathering at the right level can be a difficult task. Initially it was difficult to ascertain what type of information was going to be appropriate.

The first step of trying to define the boundaries for information gathering was to analyse the theory of urban trap and particularly the six biases on which the research is based. As discussed above the theory was important in providing assistance to determining the techniques and methods of information collection, and obviously this also proved the case in what type of information to gather.

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As a central theme to the research project, the theory was critical to outlining questions and scope. An integral step in this process was identifying the components of the theory that were deemed to be essential to the research. Through these categories it was then easier to define the boundaries of information requirements.

Each bias needed to have a relevant amount of questions pertaining to it. Thus the boundaries were set, and the next step was to determine the types of questions relating to each bias that would provide a suitable level of information, and have the flexibility to examine particular areas during the interview process that would identify further appropriate information from the INGOs.

A range of questions were developed covering the six biases and general information outlining the INGOs activities and focuses within East Timor. These questions provided the basis for interviewing with ability to expand the line of questioning to probe particular areas that the INGOs indicated to be of further value. There were 48 questions in total. Some being quantitative and building statistical data, and others being of a qualitative nature to provide information about the operations of each NGO.

The questions were structured in order to build a picture about each INGO that would be then collated against all other INGOs interviewed to display an overall picture of the practical application of development in East Timor.

Chapter Four

The Research

Introduction

On completion of gathering all the primary information from the INGOs, the next stage was to actually formulate the information into a structure that would enable it to be analysed in relation to all other information and then be compared against the theory.

The intention of this chapter is to summarise the responses to the research questions from the 20 target INGOs. The research questions, as outlined in chapter three, are related to the six biases associated with urban trap of development. Essentially a number of questions have been asked associated with each bias in order to formulate a suitable amount of information on the activities of the INGOs in relation to the biases.

The summation of research information from this chapter will be utilised to discuss comparison and contrast between the activities of INGOs in East Timor against the six biases associated with urban trap in the following chapter.

There are 48 research questions in total. The first section of questions is structured to gain broad information on the organisations and their programmes in East Timor. The following sections then investigate the detail of activities in relation to the six biases. There are a number of areas where the questions relate to more than one of the biases, as the biases do not exist in isolation.

General

The INGOS that have been interviewed as part of the research cover a range of development streams. As will become evident in the analysis of the research interviews, the types of activities undertaken by the INGOs are quite extensive. A few of the larger organisations have broad mandates that cover

a number of key development sectors. They have the staff and funding levels to allow this. These INGOs are more likely to work across a larger number of districts.

Most of the INGOs within the study have a more specific mandate and area of interest. Limited funding and staffing levels requires them to concentrate on a few niche areas. The focus of these INGOs does not allow them to work across a large number of sectors or geographical areas.

The major aspects of the INGO programmes and their relation to the six biases will become apparent in the following summary of the research information obtained from them.

Period in East Timor

The international focus was really brought to East Timor during 1999, the lead up to the referendum for independence and the ensuing violence that erupted as a result of the overwhelming response in favour of independence. In reaction to this it would seem logical that INGOs in the most part would have only entered the arena as the international spotlight fell on East Timor.

Of the 20 INGOs interviewed, except for one INGO all had established their programs in East Timor prior to Oct 2001. These figures fit with the expectation, however it is significant to note that eight organisations had been working in East Timor prior to 1999 with six of these having been working for a significant time prior to that as early as 1980, with most commencing operations in the early to mid 1990's.

Very few INGOs actually remained active in country right through the height of the conflict during 1999, most evacuated for a few months and then re-established programs in conjunction with the introduction of the United Nations peacekeeping force in September 1999. At that stage operations were still extremely difficult but slowly progressed as the security situation stabilised. It needs to be noted that during the initial phase after September

1999, the focus was on emergency humanitarian support as opposed to development.

Numbers of staff

Since the emergency phase most INGOs that had been working in East Timor during the 1999/2000 period have seen staff numbers drop, in some cases quite dramatically. The figures provided by these INGOs are possibly a more realistic indication of the size programs will be into the future. The main reason for these decreases is that funding from international donors during the emergency phase was quite generous and almost all INGOs operating from late 1999 had larger programs to deal with the immediate emergency response.

Now as programs have transferred to a development focus, the ability to sustain large programs is less realistic. This is due to the programs often having a longer term focus with a lower activity rate or intensity, as well as the fact that donor funding is becoming more difficult to obtain.

From the 20 INGOs interviewed, the average number of international staff in each organisation is five. Only two of the organisations have more than 10 international staff and nine of the organisations have three or less international staff.

On the national staff ledger, the average number of staff across the INGOs interviewed is 44. To put this into perspective nine of the organisations have 10 or less national staff. The average figure is drawn higher due to eight of the organisations having numbers of national staff above the average, and of these five organisations employs over 100 national staff.

These figures above indicating international and national staff numbers provide background to the sizes of INGO programs operating in East Timor. Whilst they are not directly related to the main portion of this research, the numbers do provide useful background when considering the information

throughout the core of the research and any trends or observations made there within.

Table One – Districts, Offices and International Staff

District	INGOs Working	Country Office	Field Offices	INGOs Have Internationals Working	INGOs Have Internationals Living
Aileu	6		1		
Ainaro	6		3	1	1
Baucau	4	1	1	2	2
Bobanaro	10		3	3	3
Cova Lima	10		4	4	4
Dili	11	19	1		
Ermera	4				
Lautem	6		2	1	1
Liquica	8		1	1	1
Manafahi	5		1		
Manatuto	7		1		
Oecussi	9		5	4	4
Viqueque	5		1	1	1

Table one above provides summary of research information relevant to the next four sections of this chapter

Districts that INGOs work in

East Timor is made up of 13 districts, including an enclave isolated within West Timor. From the information relating to activities conducted in districts, provided by the 20 interviewed INGOs, it is observed that INGOs are conducting activities in all 13 of the districts. This statistic should not be surprising, as it would seem somewhat strange if a particular portion of the country were entirely missed by development organisations.

Further investigation of the information indicates that of the 20 INGOs only three claim to be conducting activities across all 13 districts. Of these, none actually have offices and/or staff operating in all the districts on a permanent basis, activities are based out of a number of the districts but visits occur to the remainder as work dictates.

Districts with the Most INGOs

The highest number of organisations working in any district is 11 working in Dili. Ten organisations are working in Cova Lima and Bobanaro, which are the two border districts covering the width of East Timor and the entire border with Indonesia. From the respect that these two districts received the heaviest amount of the devastation reeked in late 1999, it is not surprising that organisations would be focussing towards these districts.

It is interesting to note that Cova Lima has such a high proportion of INGOs working there, because it is arguably one of the more difficult districts to reach. The most difficult district to reach is undoubtedly the enclave of Oecussi, and it has a total of 10 organisations working there also.

Districts with the Least INGOs

The districts where the least number of organisations are Ermera and Baucau, which each have four INGOs working in them. These two are followed closely by Manafahi and Viqueque, which both have just five INGOs conducting activities. The reasons for the lack of INGO support to these districts vary though.

Baucau is the second largest urban population behind the capital Dili. It is arguably far more developed than the other three districts. Ermera is not overly difficult to reach, as it is only approximately two and a half hours from Dili on some of the better roads in East Timor.

Ermera district encompasses the majority of the coffee industry for East Timor though, and therefore may be seen as a low need for development due to reasonably well-established business and social structure.

Manafahi and Viqueque are a totally different story. Both are relatively difficult to reach and have limited infrastructure to support any organisation that is working there. Operations in either of these districts would necessitate a solid logistical plan and good support mechanisms from Dili.

With four districts gaining good INGO support and four districts gaining minimal support, that leaves five districts in the equation. Two of the remaining districts are very accessible from Dili and therefore gain a reasonable amount of support, these being Manatuto and Liquica with seven and eight organisations respectively. Lautem on the north eastern point of the country has just six organisations operating in it.

The two districts left are Aileu and Ainaro, which are both in the central area of the country. The main district urban centre of each is not difficult to reach, however to provide outreach to the sub districts of either district causes difficulties. Again good logistical support is required from Dili, as limited resources and infrastructure exist throughout either district.

INGO Offices

With the exception of one organisation, all the INGOs interviewed have main country offices in Dili. This is logical given that all the other agencies that necessitate coordination are in Dili and there is also the infrastructure to support the operations. The one other organisation has its head office in Baucau, the next largest urban centre after Dili. This was because the organisation has been involved in East Timor since 1980, and due to historical ties to the Baucau district the office has remained there. However there is also an office in Dili, which is utilised to make the running of operations easier.

Ten organisations have field offices or bases in the districts. In line with the information above on districts that have most INGOs working in them, it follows that the most field offices are in Oecussi, Cova Lima and Bobanaro. The reasoning for these offices would appear also to be due to the difficulties of working in those districts, and therefore the requirement to have a support network integral to the district activities.

Twelve of the thirteen districts have at least one field office, with Ermera being the only district, which has no office of an INGO. Seven of the districts only have one INGO office. These districts are the ones that have less INGOs working in them, and also cover the districts surrounding Dili, which due to accessibility do not really necessitate field offices. The district of Ainaro has offices of three INGOs operating in it. This fact provides evidence that the district is difficult to work in, because Ainaro was one of the districts with only six INGOs working in it, yet three of those have offices to support activities.

International Staff Working in the Districts
The general trend is that international staff work in districts where there are field offices. This is a logical occurrence since the international staff requires somewhere to conduct work from. It is not true in all the cases however. Only three of the field offices of the organisations do not have international staff working at them. Nine of the organisations have international staff working in eight of the districts. All of these staff resides in the districts in which they work.

A couple of organisations have international staff working to the districts but based out of Dili. This is either because the districts they are working in are close enough to base in Dili, or because they only spend short periods of up to one week working in the districts, with the majority of time in Dili. Most organisations also have staff working in Dili that will simply visit project sites in the districts as required. These staff will often be providing overall management to the projects even if there is someone working directly with the project from the district location.

It is important to note that these findings simply indicate where INGOs are operating; the information does not give weight to the types of projects conducted, the need within each district or the impact of activities. These aspects will be covered in more detail within the following sections of the text.

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Funding and Donors

By far the majority of organisations gain funding from international donor organisations. Nine of the organisations gain funding either from head office or from a mixture of head office and donor funding specific to the East Timor country program. Of those organisations that receive funding from international donors, 12 of the organisations deal with donors that have offices in East Timor. Table two below provides a summary of the main funding sources of INGOs.

Table Two- Summary of INGO Funding Sources

INGO Funding Source	Number of INGOs
External Donors	5
International Donors with Office in East Timor	12
Head Office	9

Note: Some INGOs receive funding from more than one source

Of those organisations that receive donor funding, the thirteen of them claimed that the donors have restrictions on type of project that they will fund and nine stated there are restrictions on the location of projects. Particular comments made by organisations in relation to restrictions of international donors include:

- *[Donors] want to get to areas where not many NGOs or to districts that have high needs.*
- *Appear to have preferences for type of work they will fund. I.e. Capacity building, water and sanitation, agriculture etc.*
- *The donor may want to work in particular districts and therefore find an NGO that is working there to undertake a particular project.*
- *Yes, have particular interest in sectors i.e. civil society focus or economic activities etc.*
- *An example is of no aid, only grants for sustainable development.*
- *No areas that are already funded by other agencies.*

- *Most donors appear to want to only concentrate on certain districts. Sometimes it is necessary to use a number of donors to cover all the districts we are working in.*

Involvement of Government

The government of East Timor is in a fledgling state, trying to come to grips with the responsibilities and reality of running a country. It is vital for the government to gain firm support from all organisations involved in the development of East Timor. Table three outlines involvement with government.

Table Three – Involvement of Government

Information	Yes	No
Conduct activities with government	13	7
Government Officials visit project sites	7	6
Government has influence over projects	9	4
Needs analysis conducted by government*	1	6

* Six INGOs stated that needs assessments are conducted in coordination

A number of UN agencies, international donors and INGOs are working with the government to assist in providing the capacity and the direction to cope with the requirements of making East Timor politically and economically stable. Thirteen of the INGOs interviewed are working with components of the government or in coordination. Some of the INGOs are working directly to ministries on particular sectors of focus. Others are liasing and coordinating with government as part of the process of conducting activities to communities and districts.

Whilst it is understood that the government is new and learning it is important that it is provided with the opportunity to install its own methods and process to the development of the country. Ownership is an issue that needs to sit

with the government and the target beneficiaries alike. Of the thirteen INGOs working with government nine of them stated that the government has influence over the delivery of projects they conduct. The indication by the organisations was that government influence in general was not high. A method of improving government involvement is through visits to project sites. Only seven of the INGOs working with government agencies stated that officials conduct visits. Of these, a few of the visits are by district government officials.

In some cases it appeared that the government influence was tolerated by the organisations, but programs on the most part would have continued without government influence. These aspects are magnified by the fact that basically half of the organisations said that needs assessments for activities conducted with government were based on their own analysis and then passed to the government for requirements of coordination or in some cases for approval. A further six claimed it was a process conducted in conjunction with the government, whilst only one of the INGOs stated that the government produced the needs assessment.

Criteria for Working with Government

In relation to criteria for working with the government the vast majority of the organisations don't have any criteria to dictate how the relationship works. The common answer when questioned was that coordination and participation was conducted. Only five organisations have any specific criteria. These include:

- *Trying to follow the national development plan in conjunction with gathering our own information from the grass roots level. Include information from other national surveys, planning commission information etc.*

- *Identify [governments] need. Determine whether another NGO or agency has or intends on providing assistance to them. Ensure that their need fits with the strategy and areas of interest of our organisation. All assignments*

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must be based on capacity building and skill sharing, improving the skills of individuals within the organisation and developing processes and capabilities.

◦ *[Government] approve all programs. Consultation done during needs assessment.*

Seven of the organisations work directly to communities without coordination or input from government. The majority of those organisations that work with the government also have activities that are conducted directly to communities. In some cases the organisations may inform the government of the activities, but there is no actual coordination with the government in the execution of those projects.

Analysis before committing to a project
The analysis conducted by organisations is almost as varied as the number that was interviewed. Analysis may involve activities such as community involvement, participatory rural appraisal techniques and needs assessments. Some organisations decide which district and which communities they want to work with, and then start the process of coordination and participation to determine the needs.

Another organisation will have a niche set of activities that they want to conduct and will seek out those communities that have the need for that assistance. A further INGO will assess what the donors want to fund and then commence the search to build a proposal surrounding the possibility of funding.

Other examples include an INGO wanting to work through national NGOs and local organisations, so will seek out those that they deem appropriate and of limited risk. Some will wait to be approached by organisations or communities with needs and then analyse them and decide which to fund and provide organisational strengthening and capacity building in order to improve

probability of success. A few are also based on historic ties to particular communities over the time that the organisation has been active in East Timor.

Each organisation has a different process and different reasons for working on particular projects. The base agenda or core meaning for each organisations existence is the driving factor in determining what activities they become involved in. Few organisations indicated that, what are considered to be, pure development tools are not used in the process of determining appropriate activities which to contribute.

Direction from Head Office

All organisations interviewed have some form of mandate, regional or global strategy from head office that provides guidance to activities in East Timor. Some organisations have a more formalised set of procedures and direction for activities in East Timor.

Many organisations were given overall guidance from head office, but left with relative autonomy within that broad scope to determine the appropriate direction and priorities for the country program in East Timor. Few of the organisations conducted a detailed process within country including field offices and key staff to assist in producing a country plan commensurate with the global or regional strategy.

Most organisations took the mandate or direction from head office and informally fitted it to the situation in East Timor. Very few of the organisations had specific operating procedures that organised the detailed running of the organisation in East Timor, although many did have simple guidelines documented to assist staff with carrying out functions and understanding other staff's responsibilities within the organisation.

A number of organisations also indicated that there were some restrictions on activities that were enforced from head office. A couple of organisations felt

that the size of their organisation and budget are restricting factors that means focus can only be on a small niche of projects. A few other organisations sited restrictions as needing to work with the poorest, and in areas of high need particularly along the border districts. Most organisations also stated the main restriction as being the focus to particular sectors.

Each organisation had a clear set of sectors they will work in, or types of activities that they will conduct in East Timor. Obviously individual organisations each have a certain area of interest and expertise.

Rural or Urban Projects

Whilst most INGOs indicated that the preference is for projects to have a rural focus the reality is that most INGOs still conduct some work in urban areas. Almost half of the organisations have a predominately rural focus with some attention paid to district urban centres also. One quarter of the organisations conduct programmes that they consider to be completely rural based. Another quarter operates projects that have reasonable mix between the rural and urban sectors of the country. There is only one INGO that considers all of its projects to be urban based. The overall trend is decidedly towards rural based projects with an aspect of urban involvement.

Table Four – Rural or Urban Projects

Information	Number of INGOs
Conduct only rural base projects	4
Conduct only urban based projects	2
Predominately rural based projects	8
Predominately urban based projects	1
Conduct a mix of rural and urban projects	5
Manage projects from Dili	12
Manage projects from major district urban centres	8

Although the trend of projects has a definite rural flavour to it, over half of the organisations run projects from Dili. The remaining organisations stated that projects are run from district urban locations. All of these organisations also stated that whilst the projects are run from the district urban location, overall management and logistical support is conducted from Dili. No organisations run projects directly from decentralised rural locations.

When international staff visit the project locations in the districts (not including those that live in the districts) it was found that half of them usually return to Dili for accommodation. Almost the other half will stay at district urban locations, whilst only one INGO has international staff that stays at actual project sites regardless of the locations. Most staff stays in either local's houses or at their district office or house locations if they do stay in the districts. A couple of organisations stay at guesthouses if they are available.

Infrastructure

All of the organisations that work in the districts, except one, explained that they have difficulties carrying out activities. The other organisation felt that there are no difficulties that are unmanageable. The range of perceived difficulties is wide and varied. Such aspects as limited resources, providing logistic support, operational costs and finding good staff in the districts, were listed as problems.

One of the main difficulties is deemed to be communications from the districts to Dili. This is a concern in dealing with field staff from within the organisation as well as communicating with partner organisations and communities. Ten of the organisations outlined the frequent necessity to physically visit district locations in order to communicate. Another major difficulty identified by six of the organisations is to do with community or village politics and the inability to mobilise communities to undertake activities. The problem is considered to be infighting within communities in relation to what activities should occur and who should benefit.

Also of major concern are communities refusing to work for free, even on projects that appear to have significant value to the entire community. This problem has been compounded by some organisations paying communities for labour, and therefore other communities expecting the same conditions from other organisations. One organisation stated that the most problems occur in the projects that communities are being paid for their labour, as opposed to the communities that have bought into projects and were willing to participate in the execution.

Most organisations identified the poor roads and accessibility to district and sub-district locations as a difficulty that requires much attention to overcome. This was observed as especially prevalent during the wet season where numerous areas become even more difficult to reach. The remoteness of particular districts is also a difficulty. A particular example is Oecussi, and the associated transportation difficulties in relying on a ferry to reach that location. Likewise the ability to monitor projects in difficult to reach locations was also recognised as a problem.

Another difficulty outlined by nearly a quarter of the organisations is reasonable infrastructure to support international staff living and working in district locations. This included elements such as housing, water and sanitation, and electricity. Some organisations have a minimum standard of accommodation for international staff and it has sometimes proved difficult to obtain accommodation in the districts that meets those standards.

Cost Benefit Analysis

A number of INGOs recognise cost benefit analysis as a tool that can be useful in determining projects. However, only nine of the INGOs interviewed actually conduct cost benefit analysis as part of the project identification and acceptance process. Even though this analysis was conducted by approximately half of the INGOs, three quarters of them stated that a project would not be discounted due to a negative cost benefit analysis. In fact a number of INGOs stated that cost benefit is not important in determining

locations and projects, the main issue was whether the required amount of support can be provided to the project locations.

Project Locations Farthest from Dili

Oecussi is the farthest district from Dili in terms of travelling time to reach it. It proves to be the farthest location for seven of the organisations working in the districts. Organisations stated that it takes between eight hours and one day to travel to Oecussi by either boat or road, although travelling time is less than an hour by helicopter it is now rare to gain access to UN flights. Oecussi is followed by two and three organisation identifying that Cova Lima and Bobanaro respectively as their farthest locations. However the travelling time is significantly different between these two districts. Organisations identified that it takes between five to six hours to travel to Cova Lima as opposed to three and a half hours to travel to Bobanaro.

Two organisations determined that Lautem is their farthest location with a travelling time of between four and a half and six hours to reach project sites. One organisation determined each of Manafahi and Manatuto as the farthest locations with travelling times of four and a half and three hours respectively.

Affects of Weather

Weather is certainly a factor in East Timor considering that it has effectively a wet season and a dry season. The monsoon or wet season occurs between late November and March. Whilst it may not have the overriding impact on projects conducted it does need to be taken into consideration.

Almost half of the INGOs stated that the weather does not have an affect on determining locations or types of projects that undertaken. Although over a quarter of the INGOs said that it does. A quarter of the organisations see access to project sites as a major affect of the weather during the wet season.

Other issues surrounding the weather are considered to be aspects such as the rate of project progress, ability to monitor, planning and conduct of

activities during the dry season, agriculture seasonal implications. Some specific issues raised by INGOs include:

- *It has necessitated doing hardest to reach locations during the dry season and others during the wet. This impacts on costs because resources are being used to reach difficult locations at opposite ends of the district.*
- *Affects transportation especially when something urgent happens.*
- *Logistical requirements were difficult, couldn't load vehicles as heavy, so needed more vehicles. Vehicles would get broken and the state of roads was is not good.*
- *Some areas are unreachable by vehicle even in the dry season and there is a need to go by horse or walk.*
- *Ensure that majority of activities are finished or running prior to the wet season.*

Access to districts and sub-districts is identified as a problem in East Timor particularly during the wet season. Half of the organisations advised that they work in locations that are unreachable for periods during the wet season. In some cases this is only a few hours due to rising rivers but in other cases it can cause complete road closures. A further five organisations said that they worked in what they consider difficult to reach locations.

It is interesting to note that with these numbers of difficult or unreachable locations that over half of the organisations do not undertake any mitigation strategies to minimise the risk to projects during the wet season. On top of this almost a quarter of the organisation claimed to conduct some planning measures to assist with the minimising of weather effects.

Diplomatic

Each INGO will undoubtedly voice the importance of good relations with those people and organisations that fund or can influence a programme. Visits by head office, donors, VIPs and other influencing entities are a key part of maintaining relationships and important in ensuring continuing support for a programme. All the INGOs interviewed receive visitors to their programme on

a reasonably regular basis. Table five below summarises the information relating to visits to INGO projects.

Table Five – Visitors

Information	Number of INGOs
Have visitors to the programme	20
Visitors from East Timor	13
Visitors to East Timor	20
Donors	12
Head Office	17
Regional Office	4
VIPs	1
Media	2
Other NGOs	3
Consultants	1

Almost three quarters of the INGOs accommodate visits from people and organisations from within East Timor. These are generally international donor agencies and government officials. All of the INGOs receive visitors from outside East Timor, which include head office and regional office staff, other donor agencies, media and other interested parties or organisations.

The majority of visitors to INGOs programmes spend from one to three days in country during their visit. Just over a quarter of the visitors would spend three days to one week visiting, whilst none of the INGOs reported visitors spending more than one week in country.

Table Six – Types of Visits

Information	Number of INGOs
Visitors taken to locations outside of Dili	15
Visitors stay in the districts	8
Visitors taken to more successful projects	6
Visitors taken to more accessible projects	11

It was indicated previously that most of the INGOs conduct projects in the districts. It is of interest to note that three quarters of the visitors will visit project locations outside of Dili and a quarter will only visit Dili. Over half of the visitors will not stay in the districts, with the preference to conduct day trips and return to Dili for accommodation. This statistic indicates that visitors can only be taken to locations that can be reached within a few hours in order to visit and have the ability to return to Dili within one day.

Slightly over half of the INGOs indicated that they take visitors to easily accessible project sites. This is mainly due to the need to conduct day trips and because of the limited time that visitors spend in country. It was also indicated that visitors from East Timor generally conduct day trips to project sites unless they are conducting other business in the area.

Over half of the INGOs also stated that visitors are taken to more successful project sites to ensure exposure to the quality of the programme. The remaining INGOs were adamant that they take visitors to any of projects in order for visitors to see the projects as they are without embellishments.

Some stated that they prefer to take visitors to see the reality, which often means seeing the projects that are not going well and those that are difficult to reach as this provides a more realistic picture of conducting development practice in East Timor.

Summary

A number of key research aspects were identified in this chapter. In summary these main findings from the research are identified below.

The INGOs were seen to be working across all 13 districts, although only three claimed to work in all. Dili has the most INGOs working in it with 11, followed by the two districts on the border with West Timor, Cova Lima and Bobanaro, having ten. Ermera and Baucau each have the least INGOs working there, with only four.

All but one INGO have their country office in Dili. INGOs also have field offices in all of the districts except Ermera. There are ten field offices in the districts of Oecussi, Cova Lima and Bobanaro. Nine organisations have international staff working in eight districts.

Thirteen INGOs work with or coordinate with the government and its agencies. Most of these INGOs stated that the government have influence over the projects they are involved with, however most INGOs also conceded that this influence is not significant.

The INGOs conduct an extremely diverse range of analysis prior to committing to a project. None of the organisations claim to use pure development tools during this analysis. All of the INGOs have some guidance from head office over activities in East Timor.

All INGOs have a preference for conducting rural based projects. Half of the organisations were identified to predominately conduct rural projects and a quarter conduct rural projects only. Most of the INGOs manage projects from Dili, with the remainder managing from district urban centres.

A number of difficulties were considered to be prevalent in conducting activities in the districts, the main examples are communications, poor infrastructure and accessibility to sub districts. Nine of the INGOs conduct cost benefit analysis during the project process, but none would discount a

project because of a poor cost benefit ratio. The weather is an issue in terms of planning and conduct of activities, but it does not dictate location of projects.

All INGOs considered visits to their projects to be important, and all of the organisations receive visitors from within East Timor, external and particularly from head office. Three quarters of visitors will travel to the districts, but only half stay overnight. Six of the INGOs said they take visitors to the more successful projects, and 11 said they choose more accessible project sites for visits.

These aspects and the general information discussed in this chapter will be used in comparison against the six biases in the following chapter in order to determine the areas of comparison and contrast.

Chapter Five
Comparison – Theory and Practice

Introduction

In the previous chapters a background to the East Timor situation has been provided, the theory of urban trap and in particular the six biases have been outlined, the methods of research discussed and the research detailed. All of these chapters were necessary in order to build the picture to enable the comparison of the theory with the research.

It is important to note that it is not the expectation of this comparison to draw conclusions on the accuracy and relevance of the theory in the current development environment. To undertake such a conclusive study would entail more detailed and specific research and analysis across a number of development contexts.

The intention of the comparison between the theory of urban trap and the activities conducted by INGOs in East Timor is to observe whether aspects of the theory are accurate in practical application or do the practical activities differ in some, or many, respects. Through this comparison there will be indication of the effectiveness of INGOs in East Timor.

In this instance the activities of INGOs in East Timor is seen as a particularly topical study given the context of East Timor being the newest country in the world, and in the early stages of development.

The specific process of comparison will be conducted using the framework of the six biases, and in turn comparing aspects of the research gathered from INGOs in East Timor. For each element, features of similarity and contrast will be highlighted and discussed.

Spatial Biases

The first element of the spatial biases is in relation to outsiders travelling to areas that are more accessible. The second element is the result of wanting to travel on the better roads and shorter distances, which leads to activities being concentrated in rural areas near to urban centres. The third element is that of visible development following main roads.

The research does indicate examples of spatial biases. Four of the districts only have four or five INGOs working in them, and of these two districts would be considered the most difficult to reach and operate in. However, it needs to be noted that INGOs conduct activities across all of the 13 districts.

The common trend among all NGOs is for projects to be located from major district urban locations provides initial evidence of spatial bias. This is identified to be the case because these towns generally have at least the minimal infrastructure deemed essential to support projects within the districts. Whilst these are not necessarily in close proximity to Dili, they are the most accessible locations within each respective district.

Further indication is those INGOs that utilise field offices to manage their operations in the districts, also have these offices situated in the major urban centres of the relevant districts. Logically, any of the INGOs that have international staff living in district locations have them situated with the field office.

Within the research it was found that the staff of INGOs working from Dili would stay in the districts when visiting project sites. However, all of the INGOs receive visitors from outside of East Timor and many receive visitors from donors within East Timor and government officials. INGOs identified that over half of the visitors would not stay in the districts when visiting project sites.

The further implication of this scenario is that possible sites for visits are limited to proximity of two or three hours of Dili in order to accommodate a round trip by road within one day.

Lastly a few of the INGOs only conduct projects from Dili or within the districts close to Dili. There was also indication of a large number of INGOS implementing projects in Dili or the districts bordering or close to Dili, but these INGOs also have other project locations.

Project Bias

The notable components of project bias are the process undertaken to determine a project and the 'showpiece' or model project.

Focussing on the first component, the research details possible similarities to the theory through the manner in which they determine a project, consultation, the districts that they work in, and the way in which they gain funding.

The types of analysis conducted by the INGOs prior to committing to a project are diverse. Some INGOs stated that they undertake analysis such as community involvement, participatory rural appraisals and needs assessments. But, all of them appear to have narrowed the scope of projects that will be considered even before conducting analysis.

Another factor attributing to this element may be the direction provided to the INGOs by their head offices. All INGOs stated that they have mandates or strategy from head office that provides guidance to their activities in East Timor. This displays an element of project bias as it usually limits the scope of activities INGOs will undertake.

A further observation of project bias is through interaction with government agencies. Thirteen of the INGOs are conducting coordination or working with components of the government. Although not substantiated in the research, it is likely that INGOs deal with government departments at national level, and then be directed towards the district level offices applicable to the location

they are looking at working in. This could manifest project bias through their learning and contact being with a small portion of people.

Almost all of the INGOs indicated that they receive funding from international donor organisations. The majority claim that these donors have restrictions on the type of projects they will fund and the locations of the project. This indicates a symptom of project bias, because it would automatically limit the type of project that the INGOs will attempt to secure funding for.

The second component of project bias is that of the showpiece or model project. None of the INGOs interviewed acknowledged involvement with any type of 'showpiece' project in East Timor. However, all of the INGOs purveyed the importance of good relations with the people and organisations that fund their activities. Visits to project sites are one mechanism to guarantee this. Out of the 20 INGOs interviewed over half specified they take visitors to more successful project sites to ensure exposure to the quality of the programme.

Person Bias

The person bias has a few elements to it, associated with outsider contact and interaction at rural level with a particular set of people. These main elements are the rural elite, the male bias and the user adopter bias.

A number of links to person biases are observed in the research although these links seem to be indirect. The first instance is through funding processes. As previously stated, by far the majority of the organisations gain funding from international donors, and the majority claim that these donors have restrictions on the type of projects they will fund and the locations of the project.

This transposes into the user and adaptor portion of person bias because INGOs in this situation will generally deal straight to the people with needs associated to the type of funding they know they can bid for, automatically bypassing a significant proportion of the people with possibly higher needs.

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Another area of possible person bias was identified through the interaction with government agencies. This fits with elite bias, because INGOs often initially deal with government officials in Dili, who logically put them in contact with their representatives in the districts. Subsequently the district level officials would likely direct INGOs to coordinate with a specific set of people also.

Further evidence of person bias was seen in the methods of analysis utilised by INGOs before committing to projects. The research did not provide conclusive evidence of bias because the methods used by INGOs were extremely diverse. However, the information submitted by INGOs indicates that it is highly likely that they consult with specific sets of people, rather than with the most in need, or across the spectrum. This gives indication of both elite bias, and user and adaptor bias.

Another observation of these two elements of person bias was highlighted in the information INGOs presented regarding visits to their project sites. The restricted amount of time and types of visits signal that a limited number of people would be interacted with during visits.

The male bias is also prevalent within East Timor. Even though this did not necessarily come through in the research, personal experience of East Timor recognises that the political and traditional structure of East Timor is male dominated. Males hold most positions of power at government, district and community level.

Dry Season Biases
The aspects of dry season biases are firstly regarding organisations conducting their activities in the dry season. Therefore organisations are prone to basing their impressions on what they see in the dry season without regard for the difficulties endured by the poor during the wet season. Secondly it relates to the practical aspect of accessibility and the fact that some rural areas can be effectively inaccessible by road during the wet season.

The research outlined that approximately half of the INGOs considered that weather has little or no affect on determining the locations or types of projects that are undertaken. A quarter stated that it does. None of the INGOs indicated that their work is conducted solely in the dry season. They did perceive a number of difficulties due to the wet season. These difficulties were identified to be the rate of project progress, ability to monitor, planning and conduct of activities during the dry season, agriculture and seasonal implications.

The main comparison of the research to dry season biases was the access to districts during the wet season. Half of the INGOs advised they work in locations that are unreachable for periods during the wet season; this varies between a few hours to complete road closures. A further quarter of the INGOs said they work in what they would consider to be difficult to reach locations.

Whist the INGOs indicated these difficulties, over half of them do not undertake any mitigation strategies to minimise the risk to projects during the wet season.

The research did not detect any examples that give support to organisations only gaining their impressions through interaction with locals during the dry season. Conversely, however, there is no substantial evidence either way regarding INGOs interacting with people in the remotest areas of the rural peripheries. Therefore there can be no conclusion on what portion or the poor are not seen when at their most vulnerable.

Diplomatic Biases
The diplomatic biases hold some common elements with the person biases, because again there is relation to the limitations of outsiders interacting with people in the rural peripheries. The expression of this bias is through outsiders being deterred from asking questions or listening fully to the poorest people who need most assistance and would be able to give understanding of the true extent of problems. The reasoning behind these limitations is the

reaction to awkward situations and not wanting to probe into the difficult areas.

There is some prevalence of this bias in the research, but it is somewhat indirect. The relevant parts of this theory are exposed through the INGOs conduct of visits to their project sites. The INGOs do not specifically indicate areas of similarity to the bias. However, the information regarding visits details that limited time is spent at project sites. In particular, those from visiting from outside East Timor, from government or donor agencies will rarely spend a night in the districts. This implies their exposure to the poorest people will likely be constrained, as they are on tight schedules, giving precursory interest to the projects and then escorted back to Dili.

Perhaps by design this ensures there are no moments of awkwardness and no time to alter off the predetermined visit script. This may possibly be through planning of the INGO at hand, but is not qualified through the research.

Professional Biases

Outsiders training, experience and specialisation shaping the way they see things make the professional biases apparent. The more specialised they are the less likely they will observe and understand the full scope of a problem. Also outsiders can be limited by narrowing their research or analysis to the specific area they are interested in, again contributing to not understanding the wider issues.

In general there is evidence of similarities between the professional biases and the research of INGOs. A number of the similarities have already been discussed in components of the other five biases.

The information gathered from INGOs surrounding the direction provided from head office is one example of professional bias. The mandate and strategy of an organisation for East Timor limits their objectives and scope, thus cancelling out a number of potentially high need development problems. All

of the INGOs have some form of guidance from their head office, even though they may have relative autonomy to enact that in country.

The analysis the INGOs undertake before committing to a project whilst extremely varied is another example of professional bias. None of the INGOs interviewed specified that they utilise pure development tools in terms of consultation, participation etc. This implies that there is professional bias because there are already preconceived ideas about the location or type of project they wish to implement.

Summary

The research does provide more examples of comparison to the theory of urban trap augmented through the six biases, than it does of contrast. The majority of these areas of comparison are somewhat general nature, extrapolated from the information gathered from the INGOs. There are also a few instances where the theory would be considered to be in contrast to the practice of INGOs in East Timor.

The indication of projects being centred around major district urban centres and the fact that many visits are limited to areas of close proximity to Dili, highlight similarity to spatial biases. There were also many examples indirectly conveying person biases, this was particularly relevant to elite bias and user and adaptor bias.

The restrictions set by international donors and the methods of consultation in determining projects emphasize project biases and professional biases. Professional biases are possibly further manifested through guidance from head offices limiting the scope of projects.

There was indirect indication or diplomatic biases purveyed through visits to project sites and the methods of consultation in determining projects. The main contrast to any bias was shown through dry season biases. Whilst accessibility to districts during the wet season was raised as an issue, there was no evidence of locations being discounted due to accessibility.

Furthermore there was no evidence of INGOs limiting their impressions to interaction with rural peripheries only during the dry season.

Lastly a point of note is the research provided no ability to express any confirmation as to the amount of interaction with the poor in the most remote areas of East Timor.

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Appendix A: Research Questions

1. Period of time organisation has been working in East Timor?

2. How many international staff are employed?

3. How many local staff are employed?

4. What districts is your organisation working in?

5. Is your main country office in Dili?

6. Do you have offices outside Dili? If Yes - Where?

7. Do you have international staff working outside Dili?

8. Is their usual residence in Dili or in the districts?

9. Where do you gain your funding from?

10. Do your donors have offices in East Timor?

11. Do the donors have restrictions on the type of projects they will fund?

12. Do the donors have restrictions on locations of projects they will fund?

13. Do you have projects being conducted in partnership with government agencies?

14. Do government officials visit these projects?

15. What locations have been visited?

16. Do government officials influence the location or delivery of projects?

17. Are these project based on your organisations own needs analysis or on government decisions?

18. What are the criteria you use for involvement with government agencies?

19. Or are your projects directly involved with communities or civil organisations?

20. What type of analysis does your organisation conduct prior to committing to a project?

21. Does your organisation have operating procedures or mandates from a head office that dictate how your operations in East Timor occur?

22. Are there restrictions on locations of activities?

23. Is there a focus on particular activities or work in specific sectors?

24. How many projects is your organisation currently involved in?

25. Why were the specific projects chosen?

26. Are your projects urban or rural based?

27. Are the projects run from a major urban location?

28. Do international staff always return to Urban areas for accommodation?

29. What type of accommodation would they stay in if visiting longer than one day?

30. Does your organisation have difficulties working in district locations?

31. What are some of the difficulties?

32. Is cost benefit analysis conducted when choosing project locations?

33. Are locations discounted because of the cost of supporting work in those areas?

34. Which of your projects is furthest away from Dili?

35. What would be the maximum travelling time to one of your projects?

36. Is weather a factor in determining locations or types of projects your organisation is involved with?

37. How does the weather (wet season) affect ways in which your organisation operates?

38. Does your organisation work in any area that is possibly unreachable by road during the wet season?

39. Do you do anything in order to mitigate risk to projects caused by the weather?

40. Do you have visitors to your programme?

41. What length of time do visitors spend at project locations?

42. From East Timor?

43. Coming to East Timor?

44. Are they Donors/head office / VIPs?

45. Do they visit project locations outside Dili?

46. Do they stay in the districts when visiting or return to Dili on the same day?

47. Are they taken to more successful projects?

48. Are they taken to easily accessible locations?

Appendix B: Research Interviews

INGO 1

1. October 1999
2. 8 international staff
3. 105 local staff
4. Ainaro, Lauteum, Dili
5. Dili
6. Maubisse, Los Palos
7. Yes two in each location
8. In the district location
9. Through donors and a mixture of in country donor funding. Also from core budget of head office, however the main focus is from in country donor support specific to this programme.
10. Only one
11. Yes. Fund one-year projects only, and they have to be emergency intervention. They will not fund development projects.
12. Not apparent. ECHO work with a conglomerate of INGOs with each being responsible for a different area or district.
13. Yes
14. No. Coordination is with Water supply and sanitation, not directly with government.
15. No, but have been invited. Easier to get to locations take priority for visits.
16. Sub district administration does have some influence on project locations and delivery. This is generally to fit to whatever planning they have already done, or what they perceive as greater need areas. In coordination with, but not dominated by.
17. ECHO based on their assessment for water and sanitation project. Conduct our own needs assessment for other projects and the overall programme in East Timor.
18. Conduct coordination with government agencies, but don't implement through government agencies. It is planned for some project to do so in the future.
19. The focus is through communities. Process is to go to a village or community with aid or an idea and ask if they want or need it. So driven by our organisation.
20. As for 19. Our women's programme is slightly different, there was more participation in design and implementation. The initial programme was to establish our organisation in East Timor, after getting established more emphasis was given to solid needs analysis and participation in project development. Donor influence and restrictions occur due to confusion between emergency and development approaches to projects. Donors are funding 'emergency projects' but with some expectation of participation etc, however with strict timelines for project completion.
21. Developed between country office, district field offices and sent back to head office. Also fits in with the organisations global strategy
22. The global strategy is broad but does target certain specific areas.

23. Gender, health, food security, environment sanitation and emergency response
24. Three women's projects at district level. Water supply and sanitation project across two districts, and refugee transit site in Dili.
25. Set up emergency response. Decided to work in districts and rushed to get established and into a couple of districts. The districts chosen were essentially areas that were not being covered by another INGO at the time, but no actual assessment was done prior to committing to the districts. The new programme being developed for start in 2003 has had a more comprehensive needs assessment conducted. This assessment has meant that there has been a change of focus for the next phase (new programme). Whilst staying within the same districts, we are moving project locations to higher need communities.
26. Projects are rural based, less the refugee site in Dili.
27. Support and network comes from Dili, this includes logistic support. Management and direction is provided from Dili, but projects are run from district urban centres with focus to rural peripheries. District offices are located in either district capital or major urban centre.
28. International staff almost always return to urban location for accommodation (9/10 times) Local staff stay out in communities.
29. Village houses or chiefs house etc are used. With the Water and sanitation project villages provide somewhere to stay
30. Roads/access to project sites – particularly in wet season with landslides etc.
31. Might arrange meetings but physically can't reach the location, then villagers get annoyed. Village politics is also an issue; with some villagers not wanting maeli's (international's) in village, or the village has its own infighting problems. Also inheriting problems from other NGO's in the past. District staffing not being able to get good staff from within the district and having to bring in personnel from Dili. This causes tension because the locals want people from their area hired to work with them. Liaison with district administration is a problem because it is two hours away in one case and they seldom travel through the district to see what INGOs are doing.
Communications between Dili and districts is difficult. Even with codan radios weather impedes transmission. Also the country office in Dili only listens to the radio during office hours, so there is no after hours ability to contact in emergency situations. Communications also makes logistics difficult, passing information of requirements etc.
Our organisation has a standard of housing that international staff must have. This requires aspects such as security, running water, etc. Therefore these houses need to be in more urban environments, because they don't exist in rural areas. Also they need to be on major transport routes for supplies.
32. Location can cause higher costs but need to look at the strategic plan and why the organisation is working in East Timor.
33. Don't know any instances of discounting a project because of cost though
34. Our women's programme in Turascai, and also Los Palos

35. 4 ½ hrs to Los Palos. Turascai is 2 ½ hrs from the field office in Maubisse (one way), which is another 2 hrs one way to Dili.
36. Not on its own
37. Weather has impacted on the way the organisation operates. It has necessitated doing hardest to reach locations during the dry season and others during the wet. This impacts on costs because resources are being used to reach difficult locations at opposite ends of the district. Seasonal aspects also impact, because peoples priorities change due to cropping etc.
38. Yes. Manatuto, Man Lobus. Have had to not work in some areas because we can't reach them by road. Donors also wouldn't visit these locations.
39. As indicated previously (36.)
40. Yes.
41. One to Two days. Donors only conduct day trips to sites.
42. Yes
43. Yes, but no donors from outside East Timor have visited.
44. Country office visits sites, Regional and head office visit 1 or 2 times a year, and donors
45. Head office would visit some locations but not all
46. No
47. Definitely take them to more successful or completed projects. Often try to reach all if possible though.
48. Yes. Only has one day so need to see the ones that are accessible

INGO 2

1. 98
2. 4
3. 3
4. Livelihood project – VKK, Los Palos, Atauro Island
   Education – OMT – Los Palos, Baucau, Manatuto, Liquica, Dili, Maliana
   Tais Weaving project – Los Palos, Baucau, Suai, Ainaro, Oecussi, Maliana
5. Dili
6. District coordination is conducted through district offices of partner INGOs. These are in Liquica, Oecussi, Maliana, Suai, and Manatuto.
7. No
8. N/A
9. Most funding is from one donor, with core funds from head office assisting with overhead costs.
10. Don't deal with a donor in East Timor; everything is coordinated through the donor's regional office in Hong Kong.
11. Yes, but generally the donor is very flexible due to a long-term relationship. The funding is generally in the form of a block grant.
12. No. Because they are not intimately involved with the actual projects that are being conducted. They only provide funding to the overall East Timor programme
13. Yes. Involved with ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, National Disaster Management Organisation, Trade and Investment and Ministry of Education. Also coordinate with district administration. Although the actual work is conducted through local NGOs and community groups.
14. No
15. N/A
16. No, because only co-ordination conducted with them, not actual project planning and implementation.
17. Based on needs of local partners
18. Our organisation works to 5 rights as the basis for our programmes and commitment. These are
    Right to sustainable livelihood
    Right to Basic Social Services
    Right to Security
    Right to be Heard
    Right to Equity (gender etc)
19. The organisation undertakes a partnership approach to working with communities, government or national NGOs. Not specifically with just one or the other. The organisation doesn't actually implement any projects itself; these are implemented through partnership with other agencies and through funding specific agencies for projects involving capacity building of them within the project management.
20. When dealing with national NGOs we look at a number of aspects. Who they are, What their history is, Financial records, Identify what their progress is on other projects, The logic behind the project they

have identified the process to developing the project, sustainability and usefulness of the project to the community.

21.   Yes the basis of which is the 5 rights

22.   No. We answer to a regional management centre in Bangkok, through a regional office in Indonesia. They deal with the head office for our organisation. This provides us with a lot of autonomy in country.

23.   Yes. This is guided by the 5 rights and then fitted to each country scenario.
Livelihoods, Trade, Education, Advocacy, National Development Plan and Gender

24.   6

25.   Again based on the 5 rights and then determining the needs that apply to these 5 rights within the districts we have chosen to work in.

26.   Mostly rural, some literacy groups are in district urban locations. There is also a small amount of Dili based work

27.   Generally run from urban locations

28.   Yes

29.   Tent or local housing

30.   Communications is a big problem
Also if you get off track with a project being driven by the locals it can be very difficult to massage the direction.

31.   Firming up relationships with other INGOs to make processes easier.

32.   It is generally conducted within reporting, however not a consideration at this stage for choosing projects

33.   No. Actually our organisation is working in some locations that have a negative CBA.

34.   Tutuala (Lauteum)

35.   6 ½ hours one way

36.   No

37.   Not yet

38.   No

39.   Just planning to minimise affect

40.   Only Audit so far.

41.   2/3 days

42.   No

43.   Yes

44.   Auditors on contract to head office

45.   No it was a financial management audit so was Dili based. In the future they would also visit partner organisations to audit their books.

46.   No

47.   N/A

48.   N/A

INGO 3

1. 1998
2. 3 and one volunteer
3. 66
4. Bobanaro, Same, Cova Lima, Oecussi
5. Dili
6. Oecussi, Suai, Same
7. No
8. Yes
9. Donors
10. External and one donor in East Timor
11. No
12. No
13. Yes
14. Yes – Civic education and health education
15. Bobanaro
16. No
17. At request of donors or on staff ideas. Future projects will include bidding on requests for tender. Currently staff are being trained on needs assessments and community based projects
18. No other special criteria
19. Current projects are community based
20. Try to see problems, which locations NGOs are already working in and then work in another district.
21. Working to develop procedures
22. No. But have been working in more difficult district locations
23. Basic community development and health education, Trauma counselling, Civic education
24. 11
25. Try to work in same districts that we were involved in during the emergency phase. Future projects based on data and needs assessments.
    Currently based on ideas of staff as they see problems or areas that need assistance. But in the future will be more needs assessment oriented.
26. A mix of rural and urban-based projects. Just 3 projects are rural based; the remainder are either urban or focussed on district urban locations.
27. Have district managers who run the projects. Dili office monitors progress etc
28. Return to town for accommodation
29. Stay at district offices which usually have sleeping areas
30. Transport to Oecussi is difficult because the ferry takes about 8 hours if it is working, so if people are going there they need to stay for at least a week.
31. Communications with Oecussi is also difficult. We have no Communications with the manager there apart from them coming to visit on a monthly basis. Other districts are not such a problem though; because there is either telephone or people can visit Dili much easier.

32. Not yet
33. No
34. Oecussi
35. Oecussi- up to 8 hours by boat and they only travel once a week. Suai is about 5 ½ hours.
36. At the moment no.
37. Doesn't really
38. No some areas are difficult but not impossible.
39. No
40. Yes
41. One to two days
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors
45. Yes
46. Donors stay at district accommodation
47. They will visit any project that they are funding
48. No.

INGO 4

1. Mar 2001
2. 1
3. 2
4. Manatuto, Liquica, Oecussi
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. Dili
9. All funding is from head office core budget, or donor funding to head office
10. No
11. No. But a strong focus on sustainable livelihoods
12. No
13. Not currently, but plan to in the future
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. Yes. In conjunction and coordination. One programme selection was based on connection with district administration and UN staff in Manatuto. District administration will continue to be included in the process.
17. Not formal assessments. Will involve government in the process.
18. They need to fit with the 5 aims of the organisation or the 5 rights. These are
    Right to sustainable livelihood
    Right to Basic Social Services
    Right to Security
    Right to be Heard
    Right to Equity (gender etc)
19. At the moment they are community based with some coordination with government agencies.
20. The framework and ideas for the programme are driven from East Timor. This also fits into the regional strategy for the organisation. A project document is put forward for funding based on the country strategy and fitting to the 5 rights.
21. The organisation has a 3-year mandate for the programme initially. Evaluation of the requirement for international positions will be conducted next year.
22. No. Except for the size of the budget. (A percentage goes towards overheads and management costs.) This affects the size of the programme and therefore what locations can be worked in linking into local organisations and other International partner NGOs. Consultants will also be brought in for particular aspects of the programme.
23. Focus is on Sustainable livelihoods, disaster preparedness, Participation, and a small amount towards environmental health.
24. Programme development and coordination is the main role of the organisation with implementation occurring through national NGOs and community groups.

Current Projects are:
Community development project in Manatuto and Liquica districts, in partnership with local NGO on a one year plan. Will include Agro forestry, some micro credit and farming groups.
Funding for a film documentary
Tais (woven cloth) feasibility study- funding and research into an export possibility
National planning – participation of locals in the national process
Technical training centre in Dili – support to start up the centre

25. Districts were selected as follows
Oecussi – because another branch of our organisation is already working there and it is extremely isolated.
Manatuto- because of a local government/ district administration connection and weren't aware of other INGOs working there
Liquica – As a testing ground for potential partners through small grants to local organisations to measure success with possibility of following on with larger scale projects.

26. Emphasis on being rural based

27. All projects that have direct involvement are run from Dili. There is a possibility of employing a district project officer in the future.

28. Only conduct day trips to Liquica and Manatuto. Because of transport difficulties Oecussi trips take 4/5 days.

29. Stay in district offices of other international branches of our organisation.

30. Yes

31. Transport and timeframe are the two key problems at the moment. It generally takes one trip to the districts just to organise a meeting and then another to actually conduct it.
Would need to conduct analysis to determine feasibility of district offices, but it is felt that it would slow the process of developing the country programme.

32. Should be conducted but not overtly done at the moment. Evaluation is done on impact of projects though.
Question the cost/ benefit of providing funding for individuals to attend conferences etc, as there needs to be some benefit on their return.

33. No. Access was the consideration
Even though two locations are close they have high needs so it is felt that they are appropriate at the moment.

34. Oecussi

35. 1 day each way by boat, or ½ an hour by plane if they are available (very limited access to UN flights now)
Liquica – One project takes 2 hrs

36. Not in determining locations

37. It did influence choice of vehicle to be purchased for the programme.

38. In Oecussi there is on sub district that can be unreachable during the wet season.

39. No

40. Yes

41. Couple of hours, unless Oecussi

42. No

43. Yes
44. Donors haven't visited yet, only the manager from the regional office.
45. Yes
46. Apart from Oecussi they return to Dili for accommodation
47. Head office visitors visit as many projects as time permits
    When donors visit it will be for education so they will be taken to
    projects that will give them the best understanding of East Timor,
    including difficulties, infrastructure etc.
48. Yes due to time constraints

INGO 5

1. Small involvement 1996 to 1999 then increased from September 1999.
2. 12
3. 100
4. Oecussi, Cova Lima, Liquica, Bobanaro. Also support programmes in other districts but not active.
5. Dili
6. In each district
7. In each district, 7 in total through the districts
8. At the district location
9. Donors, with government aid agencies working in East Timor, and through head office core funding.
10. Yes. Most now do. In the past used some donors that weren't in East Timor.
11. Yes. Country windows and funding windows. I.e. They will support particular activities for particular timeframes. Examples that we are involved with are Water supply and sanitation (WATSAN), and community development projects.
12. Most donors don't have restrictions, except for the national NGOs that our organisation is supporting through donor funding.
13. Yes we have an MOU for the main work in WATSAN and training local government. And Health education for teachers.
   Also work with Ministry of Health for training health promotion activities. With planning commission and Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries both of which are policy oriented activities.
14. Yes, particularly to do with the WATSAN project. It helps for lobbying purposes to get officials to visit projects.
15. Try to reach all locations less Oecussi
16. Not really, government don't have influence on donors either.
17. Relationship based on ongoing projects. Now trying to develop the relationship further.
   One project for school rehabilitation was driven from government to get assistance.
18. We work quite a lot with government especially supporting policy issues and trying to help strengthen their role. Also encourage the government to look at participation.
19. Also work with community based development.
20. Not enough.
   Talk a lot at district level, community and district administration etc. Also talk with Ministry's.
   Programme development and research at the beginning of the programme (once funding is received for that programme)
21. The main emphasis is the 5 rights
   Right to sustainable livelihood
   Right to Basic Social Services – Education and Health
   Right to Security – Disaster preparedness and justice
   Right to be Heard
   Right to Equity (gender etc)
   Work from a broad and flexible country strategy.

Use a lot of active participation, working from community/district and national level, feeding into policy issues and advocacy.

22. Focus on western districts. Those along and near the border.

23. Focus on activities associated with the 5 rights. Especially sustainable livelihoods, health, education and disaster preparedness.

24. 15 approximately. District programmes then fit into national programme.

25. Before 1999 we worked with national NGOs that had contacts in broad areas. From September 1999 the focus was WATSAN and transit camps for refugees. Also during this time we did an assessment for OCHA and through this found that the focus should be along the border.

Then had built up relationship in the border districts so decided to continue in those districts.

Looking at bring a lot more training and capacity building focussed rather than operational into the future.

26. Rural and national level policy and advocacy.

27. Yes, District offices at district main urban centres.

28. Yes

29. In one of our district houses or offices

30. Yes

31. Remoteness of Oecussi.

Language for national staff to be able to communicate with key players, international staff and donors.

Recruiting good staff to work in districts. Most people want to work in Dili.

Communications are an issue for face-to-face discussions and meetings. Mobile phones help in most districts

Maintenance of vehicles is a problem. Due to cost and getting a mechanic to all project locations in the districts, especially Oecussi. Have to send a mechanic from Dili.

Using national staff from districts helps because the use their own houses.

32. It is expensive to work in districts because of overheads and logistic support. But weighing up between trying to travel to the districts to work, at the moment it is necessary to have people actually living in the districts. So cost/ benefit is not really an option at the moment.

33. No

34. Oecussi

35. By road about 12 hours. By boat 8 hrs and then 3 hrs driving to project site

Suai is 9 hrs to project site – 5 ½ to Suai then 3 ½ to the site.

36. All districts are a problem during wet season.

37. Need to plan in detail for wet season. It affects monitoring of projects.

38. Yes

39. Just planning

40. Yes

41. If government one day visits. If donors a couple of days. Head office visits about 3-4 days.

42. Yes

43. Yes
44. Government, donors and head office
45. Yes
46. Head office visitors stay in the districts, government visitors don't
47. Not to complete disasters unless it is believed that they need to see them. The communities are informed before taking visitors to the sites.
48. Depends on the donor and their timeframe.

INGO 6

1. 2. July 2001
2. 3
3. 1
4. Dili
5. Dili
6. No
7. Two people conduct work in the districts, but live in Dili
8. Dili
9. Most funding comes from the organisations core budget, but assistance is provided by partner organisations to fund volunteers accommodation, living costs etc
10. N/A
11. N/A
12. N/A
13. Not at the moment, but are trying to do some work with setting up a national volunteer corps in East Timor with assistance from the government
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A   •
19. Working directly to National NGOs and assisting in their delivery of projects to communities
20. Go through a consultation period with an interested national NGO, and assess their needs. Once it is decided to try and place a volunteer with the organisation a placement description is written. The description is then sent to head office for recruitment of a volunteer to fill the position. Once a person is recruited and accepted by the partner organisation then the person is brought to East Timor to commence their assignment.
21. Our organisation has a specific mandate to work with national NGOs.
22. The areas the we work are restricted by home government and travel advisories, so assignments at the moment need to be Dili based and travel to assignment/ project locations as necessary. In order to work in the districts there is also the need for a good support network from Dili in terms of security procedures, logistics etc. Our organisation is too small to be able to do this successfully.
23. Social Justice is the overriding principle of our organisations work. Currently the focus is on youth empowerment, children's education, human rights/ women's rights and sustainable agriculture
24. 4 current projects
25. They fitted into the overall criteria of social justice. All have components of capacity building, inter cultural sharing and advocacy
26. Urban based with a rural aspect or outreach within each project
27. Run from Dili
28. Usually, but on occasion they will stay at project sites for short periods up to a few days.

29. If they stay at a project site they will be accommodated in local houses
30. Haven't been district based yet. Need to have support mechanisms set up before moving to district locations.
31. N/A
32. The organisations limited funding makes it more difficult to fund district projects because of costs. Therefore an urban based programme.
33. As stated above working an living in any district are discounted at the moment due to the support costs associated and limited funding
34. All Dili based
35. To a project site would be about 3 hours one way.
36. N/A
37. N/A
38. Rain does affect visiting locations during the wet season because some areas are unreachable
39. No
40. Yes
41. Two or three days
42. No
43. Yes
44. Head office and regional office
45. Visit partner organisations in Dili only
46. No
47. N/A
48. N/A

INGO 7

1. 1990
2. 1
3. 19
4. Lauteum, Manatuto, Liquica, Cova Lima, Ermera, Bobanaro.
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. Dili
9. Sponsors/ Donors who provide grants or sponsor to particular projects. The international head quarters, and UN agencies
10. No
11. Sponsors instruct what project they want the money to go to. The organisation reports on the use of money, progress of the project etc. Administration and overhead costs are covered by the international headquarters
12. Yes, as detailed previously
13. No
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A
19. All work is conducted through community groups and national NGOs
20. Projects are based on needs of the community and must fit into the international vision statement. Any project now must fit within the districts we are already established in. The international headquarters provide a quota that must be achieved by the East Timor programme. New projects are only considered to maintain the quota level.
21. The international headquarters provides vision and mission statement. This office then has its own vision and mission statement particular to East Timor.
22. We will only focus on the 6 districts we are currently working in. This will only be expanded if the quotas set by international headquarters are such that we need to move to other districts to undertake that amount of work.
23. Main focus is on children from the age of 4-18. Education and health are the primary project considerations and any associated projects
24. Currently working on 13 projects and 5 other grants
25. In the early stages of developing the country programme an evaluation of communities and needs was conducted. Proposals were submitted and evaluations conducted. If a proposal fits into the criteria and the needs of the community to benefit are high, then assistance will be given. Must be within the districts that we are currently working though – obviously exceptions given.
26. Mostly rural with 5 projects in Dili
27. All projects are coordinated from Dili, but implementation occurs through local implementing partners who are rurally based and focussed

28. Yes
29. N/A
30. Yes
31. The security situation is an issue that is monitored. Communications can be difficult because not all districts have telephone communications. Must plan for visits to conduct training to assist in capacity building of local partners and evaluations of projects
32. Not formally
33. Sometimes projects are discounted due to cost
34. Suai
35. 5 ½ - 6 hours
36. No
37. Affects transportation especially when something urgent happens
38. No, it can just be more difficult to travel
39. No
40. Yes
41. Up to a week in country depending on the donor.
42. No
43. Yes
44. Headquarters and sponsors
45. Districts and Dili
46. Depends on the distance to projects. They will stay at the further projects, but prefer to return to Dili
47. Sponsors will visit their projects. Headquarters will visit all projects
48. Not an issue.

INGO 8

1. Oct 1999
2. 9
3. 136
4. Oecussi, Cova Lima, Bobanaro, Dili
5. Dili
6. Offices in all districts that the org is working in
7. At least one international staff in each district
8. Their residence is in the town they work in
9. Some comes from International HQ. Most comes from donor agencies, governments etc
10. Yes, most have offices in Dili
11. Yes they have some restrictions. An example of one would be no income generating projects
12. Most donors appear to want to only concentrate on certain districts. Sometimes it is necessary to use a number of donors to cover all the districts we are working in
13. Especially now. Won't do anything without government endorsement or request from them for our organisation to conduct a project. Also ensure that projects fit in with the national development plan.
14. Yes, but generally only if they are conducting other business in that district anyway
15. Cova Lima, Bobanaro, Dili
16. The government agency basically decides what their priorities are. We work to their request. Our organisation tries to work to what the Timorese and government want to achieve
17. Needs analysis is either conducted in conjunction with the particular government agency or by our organisation
18. We are trying to follow the national development plan in conjunction with gathering our own information from the grass roots level. Include information from other national surveys, planning commission information etc.
19. The government or district administration is always informed of projects, but some occur directly to communities
20. Gain an understanding of what donors want to fund in order to balance against what needs are perceived to be high
21. Our organisation has a wide mandate to undertake particular activities
22. No, except that must adhere to UN security rules, which can restrict the way in which we undertake activities in the districts
23. Main focus has been the returnee programme including provision of logistic support and medical checks; Programme personnel working in field offices to assist reintegration of returnees; Voluntary repatriation of refugees/returnees;
    Post emergency capacity building
24. 8 main projects with over 200 sub projects within each project scope. Ie. Down to community level etc
25. To assist Timor population with infrastructure redevelopment. In accordance with what the major needs were/are. Because they linked

into previous projects related to post conflict situation. Now moving to projects that assist with sustainable development

26. Like to target remote areas because our organisation has the resources and infrastructure to do so, as opposed to some other organisations

27. Our organisation uses a decentralised management system. Each project is managed from the district urban locations. Although some projects are managed from Dili

28. Field staff work at each district office

29. They have houses in each district urban centre and drive to and from project sites on a daily basis

30. Yes

31. Oecussi is particularly difficult due to isolation and lack of transportation. You either have to take the ferry or if extremely lucky get a ride on the UN flight
There is poor roading infrastructure within the district.
A lack of basic utilities like electricity and water. Nutrition is poor and general living conditions are poor.

32. No. If a project is logistically possible then it will occur. Cost is not a consideration if there is a need

33. No

34. Los Palos – Tutuala. And Oecussi

35. 6-7 hours one-way to Tutuala. About 8 hours by boat to Oecussi.

36. Definitely.

37. The rainy season influences projects. Can't access many places in the rainy season (especially in Oecussi).

38. Yes. Areas can be cut off for short periods

39. Projects are always planned according to weather conditions

40. Yes

41. A few hours

42. Yes

43. Sometimes

44. Donors and headquarters

45. Donors do, depending on the visitor from headquarters whether they do or not

46. No. They all conduct day trips

47. No. Donors are taken to see the reality

48. Yes. Because of limited time so visitors are taken to accessible project sites

INGO 9

1. Dec 1999
2. 1
3. 4
4. Maliana, Alieu
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. Dili
9. Grants/ from donors
10. Some, but most are external
11. Yes. An example is of no aid, only grants for sustainable development
12. Yes. No areas that are already funded by other agencies
13. Yes
14. Yes
15. Maliana and Alieu
16. Yes they have influence over timeframes and the implementation of projects
17. Our organisation does and assessment for planning data but also use secondary data for back up. Also consultation with stakeholders and government
18. No. But need to ensure there is good monitoring and participation
19. Some projects are conducted directly to communities. In these cases consultation occurs with the government in order to work in line with government policy, but delivery is direct to the communities
20. Conduct and assessment – data, community needs and priorities, what other NGOs are working in the area of interest, government priorities
21. The organisations procedures for East Timor, which fit to the global strategy.
22. During the assessment phase we look at aspects such as accessibility, population (especially numbers of children), Geographical structure of a village or area.
23. Early childhood education and development activities
24. Currently involved in six projects
25. They were seen as highest needs of all areas assessed. Some ideas requested by communities were also included
26. Rural
27. Run from district locations, obviously with overall management and monitoring from head office in Dili
28. Usually return to Dili
29. Homes of locals
30. Yes
31. Water and sanitation, nutrition and basic necessities. Poor infrastructure. Ability to monitor projects
32. Yes it is
33. No
34. Maliana
35. 3 hours one way
36. Not so much because assessments are needs based

37. It doesn't really
38. No, but can be difficult to reach
39. No
40. Yes
41. Approximately 3-4 hours
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors, Media, Other NGOs, Consultants and head office
45. Generally visit all project sites
46. Usually try to return to Dili
47. They will visit all or any sites
48. No

INGO 10

1. April 2002
2. 2
3. 2
4. The focus is national with ability for any community within any district to be involved if they request funding and get their project approved
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. N/A
9. An international donor has provided funding which is managed by the world bank and administered by our organisation
10. No
11. The donor has created a fund for capacity building with certain restrictions which have been applied in the management agreement
12. No, although preference is to reach communities that are isolated and have not received much assistance. Particularly want to reach out from Dili
13. No, all projects will be directly to communities or national NGOs
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A
19. All are community based
20. Currently at the stage of receiving proposals from groups
    Each application is gone through in detail and further discussions held with the community or group to ensure as much information as possible is contained. Applications cover timeframes, budget, beneficiaries, history of the organisation/group, contacts, long term vision or sustainability of the project
    The proposal is then submitted to the steering committee (all Timorese) to decide who gets funding
21. The organisation's global vision statement and objectives are fitted to the East Timor situation
22. The programme director is responsible for implementation of the programme. They adhere to rules set by the head office
23. Capacity building
24. One project supporting local initiatives and sub grants to local NGOs and community groups
25. The steering committee makes the decisions, our organisation facilitates the process, and monitors implementation
26. Both, but the mix is yet to be established
27. Projects will be run from the district locations with monitoring occurring from Dili and through a network of agencies working in the districts where projects occur
28. Yes
29. N/A

30. Yet to operate at district level so haven't encountered specific difficulties
31. Perceive the following to be problems in the future
   Small team working in many districts with limited resources
   How communities will react and work with our organisation
   Wet season
32. It is part of the evaluation process on an informal level. Pertinent information is gathered from prospective organisations to determine who benefits and who misses out, and how this can be minimised
33. Not yet, but possibly as the process continues
34. No projects established yet, still in the planning stages
35. Implementation will be determined by the steering committee and what locations project proposals are received from. Efforts are being made to ensure that all districts are aware of the opportunity to receive grants
36. No, but may cause difficulties
37. Not yet known, but location is not a factor in deciding projects
38. Not yet
39. No
40. Yes
41. Up to a week in country, but don't have any projects to visit yet
42. No
43. Yes
44. Head office
45. No
46. No
47. N/A yet
48. N/A yet

INGO 11

1. 1995
2. 5
3. 47
4. Alieu and Bobanaro
5. Dili
6. Have bases in both districts
7. One international working in Maliana
8. At the district base
9. International donor organisations and some funding from other offices of our organisation
10. Yes international donors have offices in Dili
11. Appear to have preferences for type of work they will fund. I.e. Capacity building, water and sanitation, agriculture etc
12. In some cases, especially when attempting to divide responsibility between different organisations. Or, the donor may want to work in particular districts and therefore find an NGO that is working there to undertake a particular project
13. Yes. Health
14. Probably not as strict a visit regime as donor visits
15. Bobanaro
16. Yes. Try to identify needs. The example of the shelter programme where they found beneficiaries
17. In coordination. More conducted at district administration level to identify the problem and then looked at by our organisation
18. If a contract is involved it needs to legally fit with the organisations core values. It will be submitted to legal sect at headquarters before committing to the project
19. Not really. But have assisted with needs analysis and history of villages. Projects are not direct to communities though
20. Have a strategic plan of areas of interest.
Find out needs by communications with government and communities, trying to find areas of need and fit projects to them
21. Policies from headquarters dictate the operations in East Timor, but really have open slather on what activities to be involved with
22. Yes. Focus is to help the poorest of the poor
23. Health, agriculture, water and sanitation and micro enterprise
24. 3 main projects with a couple about to start
25. It is a hangover from the emergency phase. Districts were essentially divided up between NGOs. These were the districts that our organisation was involved in then. They are reasonably central, but high need
26. Both, about 80% rural though
27. Projects are managed from Dili and then lower level management conducted from the district bases
28. Yes. Not in the field very much
29. Accommodated at a team house or accommodation within the bases
30. Yes

31. Seasonal difficulties mostly. Main complain is lack of co-operation from communities not wanting to work for nothing, even though projects are community based
32. Big project yes, small projects not so much
33. Yes they could. An example was Atauro island
34. The sub districts in Bobanaro
35. About 3 ½ hours to Maliana and then another 1 hour to project sites
36. Yes, but tend to just accept it as a factor.
37. Accessibility is an issue in wet season
    the water and sanitation project was particularly affected. Logistical requirements were difficult, couldn't load vehicles as heavy, so needed more vehicles. Vehicles would get broken and the state of roads was is not good
38. Yes. Have used helicopters to shift logistical supplies
39. Undertake planning contingencies
40. Yes
41. 2/3 days in country, mostly day visits to project sites
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors, other offices of the organisation, head office
45. Donors go to the districts. Head office only visit if they are coming to Timor for other reasons, they will visit the districts if time permits
46. Have stayed in base accommodation in the districts
47. All the time
48. Yes. Normally there is a time factor involved

INGO 12

1. 1994
2. 16
3. 160
4. All districts (13 districts)
5. Dili
6. Suai, Los Palos, Manatuto, Maubisse
7. Mostly visit districts. One international lives in Suai
8. The person in Suai lives there, everyone else lives in Dili
9. Applying to donors. Usually one per project
10. Yes
11. Sometimes. More restrictions in terms of projects requiring aspects such as participation, gender equality etc than actual project type
    Usually donors identify needs and approach the organisation to do work
12. No, Usually needs based
13. Not really, some collaboration but no formal partnership
14. No
15. N/A
16. Have to be approved by government (ie water and sanitation), but never had any problems with location
17. Government needs assessment
18. No specific criteria
19. Most work is conducted directly to communities or local groups
20. Determine a range of communities that the organisation wants to work with. Find the needs of a community. Gauge the community's interest. Hire an external consultant to conduct a general needs assessment that is combined into the proposal. Once funding is gained choose the communities to be worked with
21. Changing from emergency phase to development. The process of strategic planning is occurring at the moment to develop a plan for the next five years
22. Depend of specific projects
23. Agriculture, agro forestry, primary school education (human rights and health), water and sanitation, micro finance
    With over arching principles of capacity building, strengthening of local situations and local agencies, incorporated into each project
24. 7
25. It is a carry over from the emergency phase
    In general recognising that before 1999 the Indonesian authorities did the higher level work so capacity of the locals needs developed
    The example of micro finance – part of the emergency response, as a developing country they need income generating capabilities
26. Rural mostly with an overlap into urban areas with the primary schools project
27. Management occurs straight to the project sites from the district bases and through the officers that work with the communities. Overall management and administration occurs from Dili.

28. International staff are predominately based in Dili. They will do field visits and stay a few days. Each project has a project manager and deputy who would visit the project sites
29. They stay in the district bases or at houses of local staff
30. Yes
31. Communications is an issue, because of road conditions and ability to travel to/ from project sites. There is a reliance on radio for communications and you can lose touch. Infrastructure affects field visits because they take a long time, therefore staff don't go to the districts as much
32. No
33. No
34. Oecussi
35. The person based in Oecussi only comes to Dili once a month
    It takes 8 hours by boat to reach Oecussi and then further time to each project site
36. No. It doesn't affect choosing sites or projects
37. It affects the progress due to weather delays
38. Some areas are unreachable by vehicle even in the dry season and there is a need to go by horse or walk
39. Try to plan around the wet season
40. Yes
41. 2 or 3 days on average in country
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors and head office
45. Yes
46. Yes
47. Not necessarily. Generally infrastructure projects are successful on initial completion but once the NGO leaves, sustainability becomes an issue
48. Yes, generally easier locations, and only ones accessible by vehicle

INGO 13

1. October 2001
2. 4
3. Nil
4. Cova Lima, Dili
5. Yes
6. No
7. Yes, 3
8. In Suai
9. From one donor agency
10. Yes
11. Not really but we attempt to focus on the same areas of interest that our donor has
12. No
13. Yes
14. One has in the past
15. Suai
16. Yes, all projects are based on the needs of the ministry that our organisation is working with. They provide the scope of involvement by one of our volunteers
17. In conjunction. Find out the needs and priorities of the possible partner organisation and then conduct our own analysis to determine if it is an area we want to be involved with. Also take into account other information gathered that may be relevant
18. Identify their need. Determine whether another NGO or agency has or intends on providing assistance to them. Ensure that their need fits with the strategy and areas of interest of our organisation. All assignments must be based on capacity building and skill sharing, improving the skills of individuals within the organisation and developing processes and capabilities
19. At the moment involved only with government ministries but can work directly to communities. The outcomes of our projects will have long term impacts to communities
20. Find out the need and priorities from a prospective partner organisation
    Find a specific role for a volunteer
    Write an assignment identification document and submit it to head office for analysis. Head office decides if it fits with the country and regional strategy, and whether there will be good opportunity for recruitment
    Gain approval to continue process
    Write a detailed assignment description that is used for recruitment
    Recruit and select a volunteer
21. Have a regional strategy from which the country office determines the focus for the East Timor programme
22. No, but because we are a small organisation we have to focus resources into only one or two districts in order to have reasonable impact
23. Particular focus is Agriculture and forestry, Early childhood education, vocational education and health

24. 3
25. Fitted our country strategy and would have impact into high need district/s
26. All are based in the district urban centre but are intended to have impact through out the district
27. Projects are conducted directly to partner organisations through volunteers placed with them. Administration support is provided from Dili
28. Yes
29. They have houses in Suai
30. Yes.
31. There are limited resources within the district administration and particular government sectors working in the districts. The government also doesn't have the resources or skill level to implement logical and sustainable programmes to district level across all sectors.
Communications and transportation can be difficult.   It is a long drive to Suai to provide logistical support etc
Difficult to monitor the success of projects because they are occurring in isolated areas, and there is limited contact
32. Any assignment is restricted by budget, but there is no actual cost benefit analysis conducted against each project. The benefit of a successful project is considered in planning, but not assessed in detail against cost. Although if an assignment was considered to be cost prohibitive it would be discounted
33. No
34. All three projects in Suai, Cova Lima
35. 5-6 hours drive
36. The weather is not a factor in determining location
37. It is taken into consideration in terms of access to projects and difficulty of working in the wet season
38. The road can be closed for periods during the wet season, which makes supporting and visiting volunteers difficult
39. There is no requirement from a management point of view to undertake mitigating strategies because of the wet season. The wet season only affects visits to the districts that volunteers are working in. It is however important for volunteers to integrate such strategies into their operations within the districts
40. Yes
41. A few hours to one day
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Head office and donor
45. Yes
46. Stay in the district, but in a hotel
47. Taken to the district urban location and may visit some of the areas that the volunteer is actually working
48. Yes

INGO 14

1. 1996
2. 2
3. 8
4. Manatuto
5. Dili
6. No
7. Only working to project sites for short periods of up to two or three days
8. In Dili
9. International donors and core funding from head office
10. Yes
11. Yes
12. Yes
13. No
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A
19. All projects are conducted directly to communities
20. The projects are based on ties to communities over the last 6 years. The communities have been identified as high need for food security assistance. ·
   Now the work conducted is a continuation to provide layers of development support to a number of communities within the one district
21. Work to a mandate from head office that dictates the type of work that the organisation is involved in.
22. No, but the organisation is small and therefore can only work in one district to ensure impact
23. The focus is on sustainable agriculture
24. 4
25. They fitted within the area of interest of the organisation and are in communities within Manatuto district that our organisation has been working in for the last six years
26. Rural
27. Run from Dili
28. Yes. Only on occasion do international staff stay at the district
29. Village houses
30. Yes
31. Communications with villages that projects are conducted in.
   In some cases getting villages motivated and interested in working on projects that will provide benefit to the community, without getting paid for their work.
   Transportation to the project sites can be particularly difficult during the wet season
32. No
33. No
34. Sub district in Manatuto
35. 3 hours

36. Yes
37. Most agricultural work needs to be planned to fit into seasonal requirements, for example having crops planted to gain benefit of the wet season but be read at the end of it.
38. Yes. One of the villages gets cut off for periods during the wet season.
39. Not really
40. Yes
41. A few hours
42. No
43. Yes
44. Head office
45. Yes
46. No, they return to Dili for accommodation
47. Not necessarily
48. Yes due to time constraints they visit the locations to Dili

INGO 15

1. June 2001
2. 1
3. 5
4. Will be training people from all districts on rehabilitation activities
5. Dili
6. No
7. No
8. Dili
9. Headquarters and international donors
10. Yes
11. Yes
12. Yes
13. Not yet
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. Yes, they influence the duration of training and to some degree the content and organisation of training, and who will attend the training
17. Combination. The idea was put forward by our organisation but the government conducted its own needs assessment, this was then compared
18. No particular criteria, just try and work towards a common goal with participation and good coordination
19. Also work direct to communities, but government is informed of projects and activities
20. Conduct needs assessment using tools such as participatory rural appraisal etc.
    People also approach the organisation for information and with requests for assistance
21. There is an overall mandate and then projects are based on needs assessments within country.
22. No. Want to work in all districts
23. To improve the quality of life of disabled people through capacity building, skills transfer and logistic support
24. 2
25. Based on needs assessment
26. Urban for now but hope to extend throughout
27. Yes they are run from Dili
28. Will stay in the districts for short periods, but generally return to Dili
29. Hotels or guest houses
30. No yet
31. It is anticipated that difficulties may occur in districts that are hard to reach and therefore not easy to monitor or have sufficient or efficient supervision
32. Yes
33. Would if a negative cost benefit occurred but have been no instances yet
34. N/A yet everything is Dili based
35. Nil

36. No
37. Can affect field trips or supervisory trips, and access to sites or travelling to training
38. Will but not yet
39. No
40. Yes
41. Only visit Dili so far
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Head office and Donors
45. No
46. No
47. No to both good and bad
48. Depends on time factor

INGO 16

1. October 1999
2. 3
3. 25
4. Ainaro, Aileu, Liquica, Dili, Manafahi
5. Dili
6. House in Ainaro
7. No, international staff will visit projects in the districts but work in Dili
8. Dili
9. International donor agencies, and small private donations
10. Most are in Dili
11. Generally have time restrictions and particular periods when proposals can be submitted.
12. Some donors prefer to work in specific districts
13. Yes
14. No
15. N/A
16. All projects that we are involved in because they are infrastructure projects
17. They are projects that were organised in the emergency phase through coordination between the UN and NGOs
18. N/A
19. All projects are community based. The organisation adheres to guidelines of the government and UN especially regarding infrastructure projects
20. Discuss with district administration and coordinate with communities and village/ community chiefs
21. Not specifically. Work within engineering type projects
22. No
23. Engineering projects including water and sanitation, and school rehabilitation
24. 7
25. Need based. Started from UNHCR project and then developed further projects on needs basis. Picked up districts that the organisation had contacts in already
26. Rural
27. All projects are run from Dili
28. Usually, but will stay in the districts for short periods of up to 3-4 days
29. At another international NGOs house or at local NGO houses
30. Yes
31. Community motivation/ enthusiasm, trying to keep their interest through to completion of a project
    Refugee repatriation causing conflict within communities
    Communities not working together
    Initially our organisation would pay communities, but now utilise a food for work scheme. Want them to work for free especially when the projects are focussed on assisting the community
    Most problems on a project occur when the community has been paid
    Communications can be a problem, but not too serious

32. Yes, first time this year
33. Not yet. Only reason to not work in any area will be because of difficulties with the community
34. Same, Manafahi
35. 4 ½ hours by road
36. Not in determining locations
37. During the wet season, communities don't want to work when it is raining
38. No just difficult and longer driving time
39. No
40. Yes
41. 10-15 minutes at each project site
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors and head office
45. Yes
46. No they only conduct day trips
47. Try to avoid non successful projects
48. Not a factor. Take them to more difficult because it makes them realise the difficulties of working in the districts

INGO 17

1. 1999 –2002
2. 9
3. 106
4. Mainly Oecussi, Cova Lima, Baucau, Viqueque, Dili, Maliana but covering the entire East Timor
5. Dili
6. Yes, Baucau, Viqueque, and Oecussi
7. Yes
8. Districts
9. Europe, US, UN, and other foreign governments, associations and foundations.
10. Yes
11. Yes, have particular interest in sectors i.e. Civil society focus or economic activities etc
12. Yes, want to get to areas where not many NGOs or to districts that have high needs
13. Yes
14. Yes
15. Baucau, Viqueque
16. No
17. Both
18. They approve all programs. Consultation done during needs assessment
19. Also conduct projects directly to communities
20. Physical and situational to determine what types of projects are required and in what districts/ areas
21. Yes
22. No
23. The focus is water and sanitation, environmental health, school health, domestic violence, child tracing and reunification, youth development
24. 5
25. Needs on the ground, and within the capacity of the organisation
26. Rural
27. Yes
28. Not in all cases
29. Families of national employees or government buildings
30. Yes
31. Isolation due to roads
    Difficulties with community mobilisation,
    Lack of government human, financial and physical resources
    Vandalism – particularly of school projects because of unbalance aid
32. Not always
33. Yes. Such projects cost more and therefore are not conducted
34. Oecussi
35. 6 hours
36. Yes
37. Rivers without bridges, and loose road surfaces
38. Yes, for certain periods

39. Yes. Early start dates and movement of equipment and materials before the wet season
40. Yes
41. 2 days to one week
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Head office and VIPs
45. Yes
46. Yes
47. Taken to any projects including problematic ones, because they are a fact in the development process and shouldn't be ignored
48. No

INGO 18

1. January 2001
2. 4
3. 10
4. Dili
5. Dili
6. No
7. Two staff will work out to the districts
8. Dili
9. Core funding from head office, private donations and international donor agencies
10. One donor has an office in Dili
11. No
12. No, interested in becoming involved in a wider range of issues
13. Yes
14. No
15. N/A
16. They approved the plan to be consistent with the overall ministry plan
17. Based on own assessment and the passed to government for approval
18. No specific criteria just coordinate with the ministry of health
19. No. Here to provide a service and willing to assist to complement other health resources
20. All projects are in coordination with government through the ministry of health
    Specialists did an assessment that identified a need for post operation care and wanted to develop capacity through training.
21. Mandate from head office, which covers care and well being of patients. This is transferred into the charter for East Timor
22. No
23. To provide full time non medical care given to people that need it at one facility on the outskirts of Dili
24. 2
25. From the needs assessment it was decided to give assistance to two categories of people given assistance
    Residents who were catered for in Indonesian times
    Visits by people with specific shorter term needs
26. Urban based but provide care to people from rural areas as well
27. Yes run from Dili
28. Yes
29. Home base accommodation
30. No at the moment don't work in the districts
31. Accessibility may be a problem when work does start in the districts, however the reach will be limited anyway
32. No
33. No
34. Will be Maliana
35. 3 hours
36. N/A
37. N/A

38. N/A
39. N/A
40. Yes
41. Come to the base compound to observe activities and may stay for up to one week
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors and head office, plus other interested parties i.e. Possible donors or specialists
45. No
46. N/A
47. No
48. No

INGO 19

1. 1980
2. 7
3. 27
4. Active in all districts
5. No
6. Main office is in Baucau with a second office in Dili
7. Three international staff in Baucau
8. In Baucau
9. International donors, Head office, private funds
10. Yes
11. Yes they have focus into particular sectors
12. Some donors have a fondness for areas or districts
13. Yes, all projects are coordinated heavily with government through constant liaison and information flow
14. Only from district administration
15. Baucau
16. Sometimes they can. It has only been in a positive way. An example is district administration getting development occurring in the community
17. Depends what project
   Find out what the government plan is then try and fit into it. Generally it is based on the organisations needs analysis
18. More in effect in emergency times. Now it is more coordination and meetings]
19. Also involved directly to community but inform government (district administration) of activities
20. Get requests for assistance or identify an area that appears to be high need
   Sometimes bring out technical advisers
   Analyse the situation and confirm the need
   Conduct participatory activities with possible beneficiaries
21. Operating policies overall from head office, but the country programme has relative autonomy
22. No
23. Micro Credit, Agriculture, Civil Society, Peace and reconciliation
24. 4 programme areas with about 7 projects across these
25. Peace and reconciliation because of historic work in East Timor prior to 1999
   Agriculture because of the dependency on agriculture in East Timor
   Civil society is needs based to improve capacity
26. A mixture but main focus is rural at village level
27. Yes either from Baucau or Dili
28. No, stay at district urban locations. Will remain at project areas for up to 1-2 weeks
29. Stay at guest houses or local houses
30. Yes
31. Communications- to districts with no capability to communicate apart from visiting in person

Cost of operations to most of the districts
Raising peoples expectations by commencing the project analysis process. Can only approach a village so many times prior to actually commencing a project otherwise they lose interest and trust becomes an issue
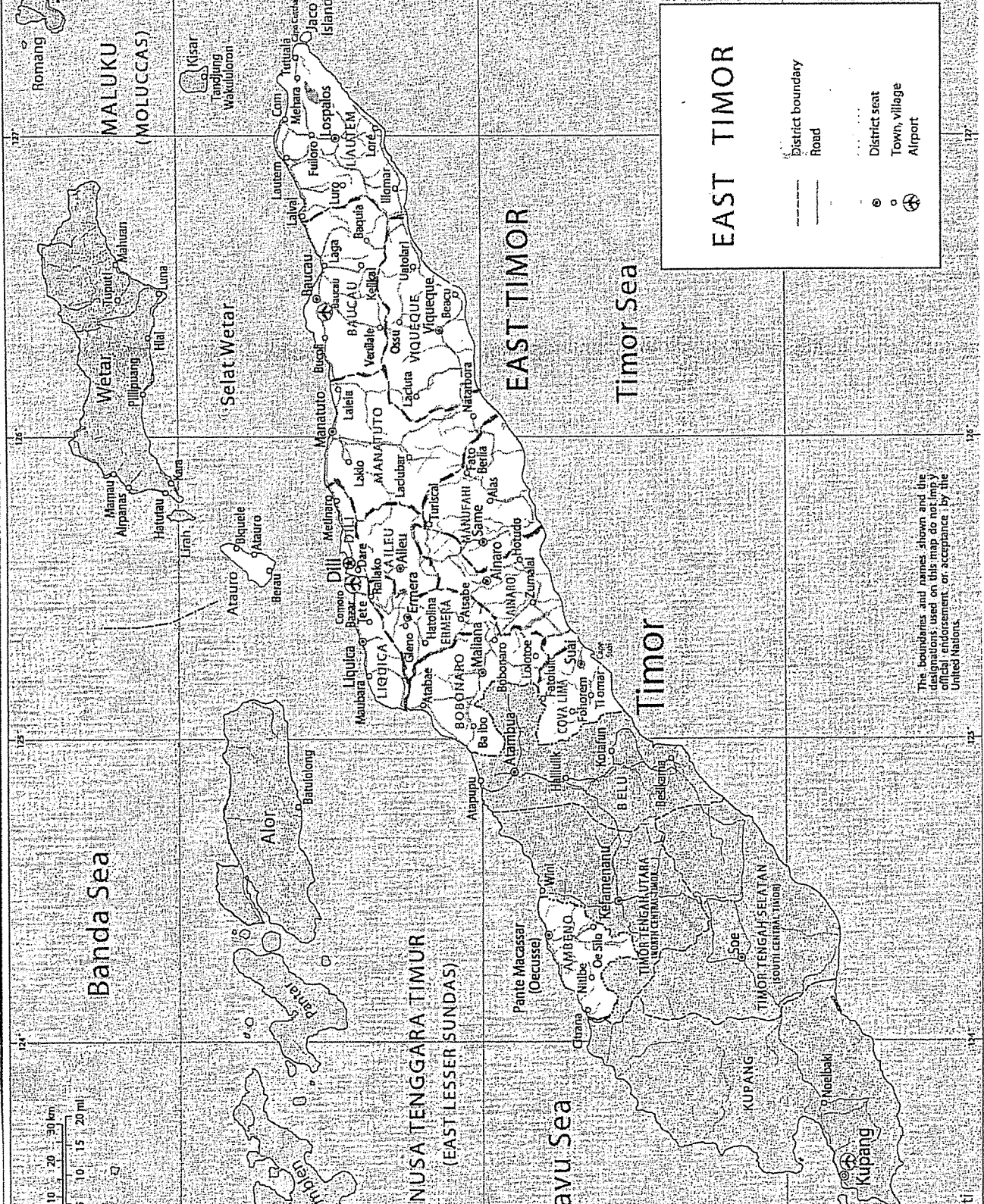
32. Yes
33. If there was a negative cost/benefit ratio a project possibly would not go ahead
34. Cova Lima
35. 6 hours
36. Yes, but doesn't necessarily affect working in an area
37. Always taken into consideration for access during the wet season in relation to accessibility and ability to conduct work
38. Yes. One sub district in Ainaro doesn't really have road access for about half of the year
39. Planning visits around weather
Ensure that majority of activities are finished or running prior to the wet season
40. Yes
41. Depends on the visitor. From a couple of hours to a week in an area.
42. Yes
43. Yes
44. Donors, head office and regional office, journalists and photographers
45. Yes
46. Donors usually do day visits but may overnight in Baucau. Head office may stay longer
47. Taken to every project. But more commonly to those that are visible ie. Activities are actually occurring for visitors to observe
48. No. Take people all over the place to show that the organisation is actually working in difficult areas

INGO 20

1. 1997
2. 4
3. 53
4. Every district in East Timor
5. Dili
6. Oecussi
7. 1 international works in Oecussi
8. Oecussi
9. Private donations and head office
10. No
11. No
12. No
13. No
14. N/A
15. N/A
16. N/A
17. N/A
18. N/A
19. Operational programmes with communities and civil society organisations
20. For Partner programme
    Grass roots programmes in districts
    Either agriculture of human rights based
    Strengthening the organisation as well as delivery of their own programme Capacity and funding of partners is equally important
    Conduct subjective analysis – If it fits within the broader framework, analyse the proposal and see if it fits and is legitimate
    For Agriculture and human rights support with local NGOs conduct the same analysis basically
21. Have a general mandate that provides international structures and programme overviews. The strategic plan for East Timor is developed in conjunction with the East Timor programme.
22. Not explicit, implicit is the agriculture programme in Oecussi, with human rights able to go anywhere. Also the need to separate mission activities from development activities
23. Agriculture in Oecussi
    Human rights in all 13 districts – the human rights training team focus on sexual assault but looking at widening to gender issues like domestic violence etc
24. 2 projects plus the partnership programme with local NGOs
25. Agriculture grew out of the initial shelter project replacing all burnt houses in Oecussi. This was followed by food distribution and then tools distribution
    Human rights grew from the evidence collection project in 1999.
26. Agriculture is definitely rural
    Human rights are a mixture of rural and urban.
27. Human rights are run from Dili. Agriculture is run from Oecussi with general management and administration from Dili

28. Stay in the districts for periods. i.e. One week. In Oecussi the international staff member is based in Oecussi town and does day trips from there
29. Whatever is available – usually with families or guest houses, but camp if necessary
30. Nothing that is not manageable
31. Slowness of project completion and consultation with communities
32. No
33. No. Trying to cover each district in turn so that all districts will eventually be covered
In Oecussi reach all sub districts. The town is given less priority than the isolated sub districts
34. Oecussi
35. 12 hours by ferry or ¾ an hour by helicopter
36. No
37. It doesn't really, just need to cope with the normal vagaries of agriculture
38. Yes but only for short periods in Oecussi
39. No
40. Yes
41. Just day visits with a few hours at project sites
42. No
43. Yes
44. Head office, general supporters, church groups, information gathering individuals
45. Yes
46. Stay in Dili, generally few would stay in the districts
47. Yes
48. Inevitably because of time limitations

EAST TIMOR

District boundary
Road

District seat
Town, village
Airport

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

MALUKU (MOLUCCAS)

Romang

Kisar
Tandjung Wakululoron

Banda Sea

Wetar
Tjupui Mahuan
Luna
Hilal
Pilipuang
Selat Wetar

Mamau Alpanas
Hatutau
Kara
Lirah
Bicuele
Atauro
Berau
Atauro

NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR
(EAST LESSER SUNDAS)

Alor
Batudolong

Pantar

Savu Sea

Com
Tutuala Jaco Island
Cape Lequico
Mehara
Lospalos
LAUTEM
Loré
Fuiloro
Lautem
Laivai
Luro
Baquia
Iliomar
Laga
Ossu
Uatolari
Baucau BAUCAU
Buciau
Venilale
Ossu
VIQUEQUE
Viqueque
Beaco
Laleia
Manatuto
Laclura
Natarbora
MANATUTO
Laclo
Laklubar
Fato Berliu
Alas
Medinha
Turiscai
MANUFAHI
Same
DILI Dili
Dare
KAILEU
Aileu
Laulara
Hatolia
ERMERA
Maliana
AINARO Ainaro
Hatudo
Zumalai
EAST TIMOR
Timor Sea
Comoro
Tete
Bazar
Gleno
Ermera
Atsabe
Liquiça
Maubara
LIQUIÇA
Atabae
BOBONARO
Bobonaro
Ba libo
Alambua
Lolotoe
Hatolin
COVA LIMA
Fohorem
Suai
Fatululik
Halilulik
Kotafun
Tilomar
Ti omar Cape
Suai
Atapupu
BELU
Balikama
Timor
Wini
Kefamenanu
TIMOR TENGAH UTARA
(NORTH CENTRAL TIMOR)
Pante Macassar (Oecusse)
AMBENO
Nitibe
Oe Silo
Citrana
TIMOR TENGAH SELATAN
(SOUTH CENTRAL TIMOR)
Soe
KUPANG
Noelbaki
Kupang

"Falling into the urban trap?" : practices of international Non Government Organisations in East Timor

Roy, Dallas

2002