

# CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENT IN FISCAL AND ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION POLICY ENVIRONMENT



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November 2022



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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have not exerted significant influence on fiscal and economic diversification policy development processes in Timor-Leste, for the following reasons:

- For the most part, CSOs' involvement in fiscal and economic diversification policy development processes has occurred at levels in which CSOs have little ability to set the agenda from the beginning, while they have not been involved in decision-making processes. The public participation methods most used by the Government are informationsharing meetings and consultations, which in practice tend not to result in the incorporation of ideas from CSOs in the resultant public policy.
- Mechanisms established by the Government to facilitate CSOs' participation in developing fiscal and economic diversification policies are inadequate, in that they are not designed to facilitate serious discussion between the Government and CSOs.
- CSOs themselves have not yet maximized their influencing activities due to various limitations and challenges, including subject matter knowledge related to fiscal and economic diversification policies, capacities for evidence-based research, analysis and

advocacy, and capacity to mobilize CSOs to be involved in the policy process, particularly those groups which are based in the municipalities (outside the capital city, Dili).

- The lack of access to information related to fiscal and economic diversification policies is another challenge to the effective participation of CSOs, as they tend not to access sufficient information within the timeframe needed to conduct serious analysis in advance of making an intervention. The Government has attempted to increase public access to relevant documents, and now publishes documents which previously were not published. This is a positive development, and it must continue, particularly to guarantee that people with disabilities can access these documents.
- The Government tends to already have a fixed position on public policies about which it consults with CSOs and thus has no intention to change the policies based on recommendations from CSOs.

CSOs have established various mechanisms and strategies to increase their influence over fiscal and economic diversification policy processes. These mechanisms have created space for CSOs to gain more control over how they communicate their



ideas to decision-makers. However, there is no indication of any synergy between the mechanisms created by each CSOs. These mechanisms should be evaluated to understand their effectiveness in influencing decision-making processes, because even though CSOs have adopted various methods, positive results have been limited.

Few CSOs focus on issues such as fiscal and economic diversification policy. Furthermore, most organizations which nominally work on fiscal policy spend most of their time on advocacy related to economic diversification. Often, advocacy on these two issues is done simultaneously. Although the two topics are closely related, conflating them creates a risk that advocacy related to economic diversification depends on the General State Budget (GSB) cycle. The result is that CSOs can miss valuable opportunities to influence policies related to economic diversification.

The Government has not yet consistently facilitated the participation of people with disability or other vulnerable and marginalized groups, such as the LGBTQI+ community, in fiscal and economic diversification policy processes. Policy documents are not produced in a format which facilitates people with disabilities to access them. Furthermore, the LGBTQI+ community is an important part of Timor-Leste society, with the same rights as all Timorese people to have their

aspirations represented in the State Budget. However, the State Budget document has consistently ignored the existence of the LGBTQI+ community.

Respondents from the Government and development partners emphasize the role of CSOs as a bridge to make the voices of communities heard; voices which usually do not reach the government. Many CSOs can play this important role since they work closely with communities. At the same time, CSOs can take advantage of this unique role to maximize their influence over public policy development processes. However, CSOs need to have a clear understanding of the interests of the communities they represent, and also about how their recommendations can help to meet communities' needs.

CSOs believe that there should be a platform or mechanism which can facilitate the active participation of all CSOs in fiscal and economic diversification policies, including those based in the municipalities. On one hand, organizations which operate in the municipalities think there should be a new mechanism created, as the existing mechanisms do not function effectively. On the other hand, organizations based in Dili generally take the view that existing mechanisms merely require re-organization under FONGTIL and through CSO networks or coalitions.

## AKRÓNIMU

CSO	Civil Society Organization		
FA0	Food and Agriculture Organization		
FONGTIL	NGO Forum Timor-Leste		
GoTL	Government of Timor-Leste		
GOP	Grande Opcões do Plano/Major Planning Options		
GSB	General State Budget		
KKFP	Consultative Council on the Petroleum Fund		
KONSSANTIL	National Council on Food Security and Nutrition Timor-Leste		
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries		
MoF	Ministry of Finance		
MPCM	Ministry of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers		
NGO	Non-Government Organization		
NP	National Parliament		
RAEOA	Special Administrative Region of Oe-Cusse Ambeno		
SDP	Strategic Development Plan 2011-2030		





### BACKGROUND

Civil society organizations (CSOs) play a critical role in the formulation of fiscal and economic diversification policies. The Sustainable Development Goals, which have been adopted by most countries, including Timor-Leste, lay out in Goal 16 the need to "ensure responsive, participatory and inclusive, representative decision-making at all levels" (United Nations 2015). Public participation, including that of CSOs, will improve the quality of decision-making by providing additional and unique information about local conditions (Newig 2007). In addition, the participation of CSOs increases the legitimacy of decision-making processes (Fox and Stoett 2016). This also implies that a lack of CSOs' participation in public policy processes will reduce public trust in the results of these processes.

Timor-Leste's political environment is relatively favourable to the participation of CSOs in fiscal and economic diversification policy debates. CSOs have been involved in the process of establishing major national policies, such as the Petroleum Fund Law and the National Strategic Development Plan 2011-2030 (SDP). Moreover, they continue to be involved in public policy development processes until now, including fiscal and economic diversification policies. An assessment by USAID (2021) of the sustainability of CSOs in Timor-Leste also showed that advocacy continues to represent a major strength of CSOs, as their work is responsive to community demands and they play an active role in policy development processes. Nonetheless, despite CSOs' active involvement in these public policy debates, their influence over the final policies resulting from these processes has been minimal.

Existing reports indicate that there are several internal and external obstacles to CSOs exerting greater influence over public policies. Internally, CSOs still need to strengthen their capacity to carry out evidence-based advocacy and to present their viewpoints in ways that can convince decisionmakers. External barriers include the fact that the Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) has tended not to publish key information on public policies in a timely fashion. The World Bank report on Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability 2020 stated that public access to documents related to fiscal policy does not yet meet the required standards (World Bank 2020). This also affects the level of public participation in fiscal policy processes, which is minimal. According to the Open Budget Survey 2021, Timor-Leste scored only 7/100 concerning public participation in the GSB process (IBP 2022). These examples represent only some of the barriers to greater public participation in policy processes. This issue requires further investigation, taking into account the diversity of Timor-Leste's civil society, socio-cultural context, political economy and changes at the level of governance.

This situation illustrates that a favourable policy environment alone is insufficient to guarantee significant participation by CSOs in fiscal and economic diversification policy. Specific conditions must also be met to enable CSOs and Government

to collaborate in a way which results in public policies which respond to the problems faced by communities. Furthermore, existing literature on public participation in policy also suggests that simply increasing public participation does not guarantee that policies that truly respond to public needs will be produced. When public policy development processes are not specifically oriented towards listening to the voices of communities and marginalized and vulnerable groups, the result can be policies which benefit some groups while increasing overall inequality (Berry et al. 2019). In Timor-Leste's context, for example, there are numerous limitations to equal participation of women, people with disability, the LGBTQI+ community and other vulnerable and marginalized groups.

Many CSOs in Timor-Leste depend on donor support, which highlights the importance of understanding the perspective, expectations and role of development partners to strengthen CSOs' involvement in the development of fiscal and economic diversification policies. Over the last decade, external donor support has fallen, with the result that CSOs have become increasingly dependent on funds from the GoTL to implement their programs. However, key development partners continue to provide support to help CSOs' involvement in fiscal and economic diversification policy processes be more effective and significant.

Several studies and analyses of CSOs in Timor-Leste have discussed various aspects of their work in relation to national development issues, such as their role and challenges they face (ADB 2019), institutional capacity (FONGTIL 2019), the mechanisms of their engagement in various sectors (USAID 2022), and how to strengthen CSOs' capacity (ACFID 2008). Many studies have focused on the capacity of CSOs to manage programs which donors want to implement, while also discussing approaches used by CSOs to engage in public policy debates. However, so far there has not been any research focused specifically on CSOs' engagement in fiscal and economic diversification policies. This report will address this gap to provide useful information to the GoTL, CSOs, development partners and other parties interested in the participation of CSOs in fiscal and economic diversification policy processes.

## **OBJECTIVE**

The objective of this research is to analyse and understand the role played by civil society in the area of fiscal and economic diversification policies, and to provide data to form a base of information for the GoTL, CSOs and development partners. In this way, it is hoped that CSOs' role in policy-making processes can be strengthened. To achieve this objective, this research responds to the following questions:

- 1. What is the existing level of CSOs' engagement and influence in the area of fiscal and economic diversification policies?
- 2. What approaches do civil society groups use to engage with and influence public policies, and how effective are they?
- 3. What are the main challenges to effective civil society engagement and influence in the area of fiscal and economic diversification policies?
- 4. What examples of positive impacts or results from civil society engagement in these policy areas can be identified?
- 5. What are the perspectives, expectations and preferred approaches of the Government and development partners concerning CSOs' role in fiscal and economic diversification policies?
- 6. What kind of platform is needed to improve CSOs' engagement and influence over fiscal and economic diversification policies?



#### **METHODOLOGY**

This research applies a qualitative method which seeks to understand the realities of the level and effectiveness of CSOs' involvement in public policy development processes and identify central themes of the topic being explored, based on the perspective of the key actors, namely the Government, CSOs and development partners. The methods to be applied are:

- 1. Literature review to assess CSOs' role in public policy development processes in Timor-Leste, as well as draw from experiences in other countries about the importance of civil society participation in public policies.
- 2. Key Informant Interviews to document the viewpoints of key actors regarding the current

situation concerning CSOs' involvement in public policies, the expectation of those in Government regarding CSOs' role, and the role of development partners in increasing the involvement and effectiveness of civil society participation in policymaking. Informants were chosen based on their area of work and are composed of three [3] Government representatives, twenty-one (21) civil society members, six [6] development partner representatives and three [3] experts (Annex A).

3. A Focus Group Discussion was conducted with members of CSOs to enable further discussion and confirmation of the viewpoints and ideas collected during interviews. The discussion involved the participation of representatives of eight (8) NGOs in interviews.

## **COVERAGE AREA AND LIMITATIONS**

In addition to Dili, this research covers Baucau and Covalima Municipalities, as well as the Special Administrative Region of De-Cusse Ambeno (RAEOA), to gain a further understanding of the experience of CSOs working in the municipalities. These locations were chosen to represent different geographical areas of Timor-Leste, and because Oxfam in Timor-Leste has a long history of working in these areas. The results of the research reflect the views of respondents, but it is hoped that they can also serve as a strong reference to understand the situation related to the role played by Timorese CSOs – and the challenges they face – concerning their engagement with fiscal and economic diversification policy processes.

The term "civil society" as used in this research refers generally to civil society organizations which exist in the form of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) based on Law No. 5/2005.



## CIVIL SOCIETY'S INVOLVEMENT AND INFLUENCE IN FISCAL AND ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION POLICIES

CSOs in Timor-Leste do not yet exert significant influence over decision-making processes in the area of fiscal and economic diversification policies. CSOs' involvement in fiscal policy issues mostly occurs during the General State Budget (GSB) process, which is the main government means of implementing its fiscal policy. In GSB processes before 2023, civil society was involved at the stage of Jornada Orsamental/ Budget days - which forms just one component of the lengthy GSB process. During the 2023 GSB process, the Government invited participation from civil society in the Jornada Planeamentu/ planning days and discussions about the Law on Major Planning Options, which are new steps in the GSB process based on Law No. 2/2022 on the Framework of the General State Budget and

> Public Financial Management. This Law also emphasizes that the State must consult citizens during the GSB planning phase, a requirement which was not explicitly mentioned in the law which applied before the 2023 GSB (Law No. 9/2013).

The Government involves civil society in the GSB process because civil society can represent the aspirations of citizens who cannot be involved in this process.<sup>1</sup> This aligns with the results of prior assessments of CSOs' sustainability which also noted that the government and communities have a positive impression of the role of CSOs because they are responsive to the problems which communities face (USAID 2021). On the other hand, CSOs feel that the Jornada Orsamental format is not conducive to serious discussion between the Government and CSOs. CSO representatives who participated in

the meeting on the Law on Major Planning Options also said that this meeting was not designed to facilitate in-depth discussions between the Government and CSOs. This suggests that while the Government expects to involve CSOs in the GSB process, the current mechanism does not enable this to be fully realized.

<sup>1</sup> Interview with José A. de Carvalho, Minister of Finance, 10 June 2022

Following the Jornada Orsamental meeting, the formal involvement of CSOs in the GSB process only occurs again at the National Parliament, when the Government submits the proposed GSB for the Parliament to debate. The National Parliament then consults with civil societies based on the Parliamentary Regime, which provides space for Parliamentary Committees to conduct public hearings with various entities concerning proposed legislation. At this stage, robust dialogue often takes place about various issues in which CSOs have concerns, as CSOs are provided with the opportunity to express their views about specific topics in discussion with members of Parliament. This finding is consistent with the results of the Open Budget Survey which shows that public participation in the National Parliament is stronger than at the Government level during the formulation of the GSB. Despite this, CSOs have not succeeded in making many changes to the GSB at the parliamentary level, because Deputies tend to direct CSOs to discuss various key issues directly with the Government.

Cooperatives. Moreover, the SDP clearly states that Timor-Leste's economic diversification will be based on three pillars: agriculture, tourism and petroleum. On their side, CSOs have generally stated that government institutions are open to involvement from CSOs in policy processes related to economic diversification.

Ministries working on economic diversification have adopted similar processes when developing policies, which are often led by international consultants facilitated by the Government or development partners. In general, the following six steps are followed:

- Identify the problem, led by the Government or development partners
- Develop draft law/policy, led by a consultant
- Consult with civil society
- Validation meeting
- Finalize policy document
- Submit to Minister/Council of Ministers/ National Parliament



Figure 1. The General State Budget process, as adapted based on Law No. 2/2022, is comprised of around ten steps, but at the Government level, CSOs participate in only one or two steps, while these steps are not designed in a way which is conducive for in-depth consultations with CSOs to occur.

Concerning economic diversification policies, the involvement of CSOs is not regulated by any specific legal framework. According to the President of the Council of Ministers, all Ministers have the responsibility to consult with the public when developing laws and policies, including with CSOs.<sup>2</sup> Ministries in charge of areas related to economic diversification are responsible for deciding CSOs' level of involvement. Based on the National Strategic Development Plan 2011-2030 (SDP), the Ministries which work most closely on economic diversification policies are the Ministry for Coordinating Economic Issues, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, the Ministry of Tourism, Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Petroleum and Minerals, and the Secretary of State for

In an ideal process, CSOs would be involved in each of these steps to be able to exert significant influence over decisions. However, Timorese civil society groups have said that they are only involved in the consultation and validation steps. CSOs are not involved in the problem identification stage, or the elaboration of the final policy document before it is submitted for approval. Civil society groups also often don't know whether the Government is developing a policy, and their involvement is delayed without adequate access to information which can enable them to prepare their interventions. With this level of involvement, CSOs cannot significantly influence policies as they are produced. This leads to many members of CSOs becoming sceptical about policymaking processes, and some suspect that the Government involves them, "just as a formality,

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Fidelis Magalhães, President of the Council of Ministers, Dili, 3 May 2022

even though the Government has no intention of accepting CSOs ideas".<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it has been noted that when governments are more open to public participation, the public increasingly expects that it can significantly influence policies (Coenen 2009), but if the Government does not carefully manage these expectations, public confidence in the policy-making process will decrease.

All fiscal and economic diversification policies begin at the national level, while most steps which involve CSOs take place in Dili. CSOs based in other municipalities see this as a major obstacle to their participation. Furthermore, their participation is usually limited to information-sharing meetings at the municipal level.<sup>4</sup> These organizations sometimes participate in consultations in Dili, but more often they cannot participate due to budget or human resource limitations. As a result, CSOs which work closest with communities in rural areas are unable to influence fiscal and economic diversification policies. This weakens CSOs as a whole, especially as one of CSOs' most important roles is to enable community voices to be included in public policy debates.

In addition, public policy development processes put in place by the Government do not yet enable the full participation of people with disabilities and marginalized groups such as the LGBTQI+ community. Many public spaces do not yet have facilities to enable people with disabilities to access and participate in meetings and public consultations. The Government has also not made policy documents available for people with disabilities, such as producing documents using braille. The LGBTQI+ community also feels marginalized from policy processes, including the GSB process which has not yet formally recognised the rights of LGBTQI+ people. As noted by the respondent from the Coalition for Diversity (CODIVA), "...in terms of inclusivity, [the Government] doesn't mention LGBTQI issues; they talk about people with disabilities, but usually, they don't mention LGBTQI, especially talking about gender-responsive budgeting, there is still no budget allocated to LGBTQI organizations. They allocate [budget] to women and children's organizations but not to LGBTQI organizations."5

When we apply Arnstein's Ladder (1969) to measure the degree of citizen participation in planning, we find that Timorese CSOs' participation

in fiscal and economic diversification policy processes is mostly limited to the "informing" and "consultation" stages. When limited to these stages, CSOs have no significant ability to influence decision-making. CSOs simply express their ideas about policies which have already been formulated by the Government or other decisionmakers. This limits the ability of CSOs to exert significant influence during the policy-making process, compared to when CSOs are involved at the "partnership", "delegation" or "citizen control" levels.



Figure 2. Degrees of citizen participation ladder which serves as a guideline to see which groups have influence when important decisions are made.

- 1. Manipulation and
- 2. Therapy these two are non-participatory and seek to cure or teach participants.
- Informing important to legitimize participation but often uni-directional without channels for correction.
- Consultation also a step to legitimize a process but often just serves as a curtain/ screen.
- 5. Placation provides opportunities for citizens to offer advice or plans but not to make decisions.
- Partnership citizens who have some power share responsibilities to make plans or decisions (example of a partnership – joint committee).
- 7. Delegation citizens have the power to make decisions and guarantee accountability.
- 8. Citizen control citizens make plans and decisions, and manage programs.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Zenito Santana, KSI, Dili, 10 March 2022

<sup>4</sup> Interviews with civil society respondents from Baucau, Covalima and RAEOA

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Laura Afonso, CODIVA, Dili 12 April 2022

## **CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION MECHANISMS AND METHODS TO** INFLUENCE FISCAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY

In general, CSOs advocate for the Government to adopt more sustainable budgets and economic development policies. CSOs frequently advocate for increased allocations in the state budget for social services and productive economic sectors such as education, health, water and sanitation, agriculture and tourism (La'o Hamutuk 2021; CGT 2020; TLCE 2020). CSOs also advocate for budgets which are sensitive to gender, people with disabilities and other vulnerable and marginalized groups (RHTO 2020; ADTL 2020). On the economic diversification policy, CSOs continue to demand that the Government adopts policies which reduce Timor-Leste's dependence on income from oil and gas exports. This includes investing in sectors which can contribute to more sustainable and inclusive economic growth, especially agriculture, fisheries, processing industries and tourism. CSOs have also regularly expressed concern about Timor-Leste's severe dependence on imported goods.6

CSOs use various methods and strategies to influence the Government and other decisionmakers, including through formal channels established by the Government (invited spaces), as well as through spaces created by CSOs (created space). "Invited spaces" include all mechanisms created by the Government to facilitate citizen involvement in decision-making processes (Coenen 2009), while "created spaces" are activities in which citizens or civil society groups conduct themselves to influence public policies (ibid.). CSOs are also actively involved in formal processes organized by the Government, such as the Major Planning Options seminar, Jornada Orsamentál and consultation meetings. While CSOs involved in these processes have said that the spaces are important for CSOs to be able to communicate and strengthen connections with the Government, some also note that they are not yet sufficient for CSOs to be able to effectively influence the decision. This is because these spaces are not designed to facilitate in-depth discussions about specific issues which can enable the Government and CSOs to find improved solutions.

6 Interview with Mariano Ferreira, La'o Hamutuk, Dili, 7 April 2022

Furthermore, in existing spaces, CSOs are frequently unable to make in-depth interventions, as they could not access relevant documents in time to be able to prepare their interventions adequately. For instance, during the formulation of policies related to economic diversification, several CSOs said that they did not hear any information that the Government was developing these policies, and only heard about this process when they received an invitation to participate in a public consultation. Sometimes, they do not participate at all in the consultation; at other times, they do participate, but often without adequate preparation (ibid.). Most CSOs do not have a mechanism in place which can enable them to anticipate if and when the Government is going to develop a public policy in a given area. This situation suggests that the public's participation in the policy-making process is unlikely to produce significant results. The consultation process should involve CSOs early during any decisionmaking processes or steps, while the Government should be required to accept and incorporate ideas and suggestions from CSOs (EPA n.d; ECSWA n.d.). This process should also allow adequate time for CSOs to prepare, express and discuss its recommendations. As noted by one CSOs member, the Government and CSOs must have:

"A space in which the two parties can sit together, talk to each other and try to understand the other's position, then make the best decision for Timor-Leste."<sup>7</sup>

#### Celestino Gusmão, La'o Hamutuk, 11 April 2022.

In addition to formal mechanisms established by the Government, CSOs also use various means of communication to influence decision-making processes. The adoption of various methods and mechanisms highlights the fact that CSOs are conscious of the need to adopt various approaches in different contexts to influence policy-making processes.

Interview with Celestino Gusmão, La'o Hamutuk, Dili, 11 April 7 2022

Table 1. Means used by CSOs to continuously influence fiscal and economic diversification policies

Mechanisms and means of communication	Objective
Consultation meetings	A formal mechanism used by Government to present draft laws and policies to obtain feedback from interested parties, including CSOs
Public hearings on the General State Budget	The formal mechanism for the National Parliament to hear the views of interested parties about the proposed General State Budget, including CSOs
Timor-Leste Development Partners Meeting	The mechanism used by the Government to share information about its plans and priorities with development partners
Social Audit meeting	The mechanism for CSOs to share the results of their "audit" of the implementation of government programs and policies
Audience with government members	Mechanism initiated by CSOs to express thoughts or concerns to relevant government members
Submissions, open letters, joint statements, research reports, public meetings etc.	Communication methods used by CSOs to provide ideas and in-depth analysis to Government and National Parliament
Press conferences, TV talk shows, radio podcasts, Public Service Announcement (PSA), social media campaigns (Facebook, website, blog etc.)	Communication methods CSOs used to provide ideas and in-depth analysis to Government and National Parliament and also to increase public consciousness and knowledge.
Municipal coordination meetings	The mechanism used by CSOs in municipalities to coordinate their work or express concerns to the government at the municipal level.
Influencing meetings	The method used by CSOs in RAEOA to enable communities to express their views to RAEOA authorities
Informal approaches	Creating connections with government members, parliamentarians, technical advisors or other individuals who share CSOs' visions.

### STRATEGIES TO STRENGTHEN INFLUENCING

CSOs apply various strategies or tactics to strengthen their influence over public policy development processes. This research has identified the following approaches which CSOs use to increase their influence:

# Monitoring the development and implementation of public policies

Many CSOs monitor the development of public policies and also their implementation. NGO La'o Hamutuk is a concrete example of an organization which continues to monitor public policy processes in the Government and Parliament, including policies related to fiscal and economic diversification issues. Respondents from La'o Hamutuk who participated in this research stated that this monitoring enables them to make quick decisions about necessary actions whenever the Government or Parliament is about to develop, evaluate or make changes to public policy. CSOs also monitor the implementation of public policies which have been approved. During the last decade, such monitoring has been mainly carried out through the "social audit" program, which monitors the implementation of programs related to agriculture, education, basic infrastructure and health. The program enables CSOs to inform the Government about problems with government policies or programs.

A concrete example of policy monitoring conducted by CSOs includes following the press releases published each day by the National Parliament and Government after the meeting of the Council of Ministers. These official communications often lack substantial information, and therefore CSOs must follow up to access more in-depth information. However, it is difficult for organizations which lack internet access to these press releases. Thus, another technique used by CSOs involves direct monitoring in the National Parliament, asking government or parliament members for information, and following media publications.

#### Evidence-based research and advocacy

While there are few CSOs which conduct in-depth research on fiscal and economic diversification policies, there are some organizations which bolster their advocacy using data derived from research. For example, the Core Group on Transparency supports its advocacy on the Tasi Mane Project with research on infrastructure built by the Government on the south coast. The information generated by this research enables CSOs to advocate based on credible data. Thus, although only a few CSOs focus on research, respondents from all CSOs are conscious of the importance of using data and strong evidence to support their advocacy. They recognize that when advocating on the GSB, many CSOs lack the capacity to gather information, conduct serious analysis and advocate using the data provided in the GSB documents.

A basic challenge for CSOs relates to understanding the content of the GSB, which uses language and terminology which is unfamiliar to most CSOs members, as expressed in the following statement from a CSOs representative from Covalima Community Centre:

"... Policies are mostly in Portuguese, which most of civil society does not understand, so we have to look for a translation, prepare and then try to understand again. Thus, language is a challenge for civil society."

## Alberto Barros, Covalima Community Centre, Suai, 22 March 2022.

CSOs also face other challenges related to their capacity to analyse data presented in the GSB documents, which requires knowledge about the history of the budget as well as the domestic and global political-economic context.<sup>8</sup> This is important because respondents from the Government, CSOs and independent experts all agreed that in-depth knowledge about Timor-Leste's political-economic context will enable CSOs to be more involved in discussions about the GSB and economic diversification.

CSOs also recognize that the Government has published important documents related to fiscal policy, even though some documents are not published or are published late. Moreover, another major challenge for CSOs relates to accessing and using documents which are already available. CSOs outlined various obstacles they face in accessing

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Guteriano Neves, political economy expert, Dili, 11 May 2022; Interview with Dr Joao Saldanha, JSU, Dili, 8 April 2022.

and using official documents, including:

- There is little information available about how to access data or the sources of these data.
- There are limited ways to access data because of internet access problems.
- Even when CSOs can access documents, they often require additional explanation to help them understand the information, but there is no clear mechanism in place to enable this.
- The Government does not yet publish public policy documents according to a format and timeframe which enables the public to access and use these documents. Organizations based in the municipalities also face difficulties because printed documents often cannot be accessed by the municipal administration, as they are mostly kept in Dili.
- People with disabilities face even greater difficulties accessing policy documents as they are not published in braille format.

According to a CSO respondent, the lack of CSOs' access to information about the content of the GSB leads to reduced involvement in the GSB discussions:

"When civil society lacks information and knowledge about this issue, they lack the confidence to be involved. When they have enough information and knowledge, they can have the self-belief to be involved in the discussions."<sup>9</sup>

Furthermore, CSOs noted that they have participated in many programs aimed at increasing their knowledge and capacity to research and analyse the content of the GSB. Development partners have also provided support in this area, such as training on public financing and advocacy. Thus, the challenge for CSOs is how can the knowledge gained through such activities be retained and used within the organization, as many CSOs members have attended training as part of short-term programs, and then have not been active in the relevant area after the program has ended. Many CSO members also move to work in a different area after receiving training in research, analysis and advocacy.<sup>10</sup> This is consistent with USAID's (2021) assessment of the sustainability of CSOs in Timor-Leste, which found that staff turnover continued to present a problem, as CSO staff are often recruited on a project basis, and when funding for the project ends, staff leave the organization, taking with them the knowledge they gained during the project.

#### Influence through networks and coalitions

All CSOs which participated in this research are also members of at least one network or coalition. Respondents from CSOs stated that advocacy conducted through networks or coalitions can create a larger impact, as it shows that it is not only one or two organizations taking the position they are advocating. In addition to strengthening their influence, conducting advocacy through networks is also a means for CSOs who work on different issues or areas to complete each other, thereby adding further weight to their advocacy. However, according to CSO respondents from networks or coalitions, many of them require an improved organization to be able to function effectively, especially in terms of maximizing the resources which members have access to both at the national level and in rural areas, which would enable them to achieve their objective of engaging with fiscal and economic diversification policies.

CSOs participate in platforms established by the Government, such as the National Council on Food Security and Nutrition (KONSSANTIL) and the Consultative Council on the Petroleum Fund (KKFP). CSOs participate in KONSSANTIL's technical team, which is also composed of various Ministries including the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Ministry of Commerce, Tourism and Industry. Through this mechanism, CSOs can provide ideas directly to inform decision-making processes related to agricultural, commerce, tourism and industrial policies. In KKFP, CSO representatives have the opportunity to express their opinion to members of Parliament about the withdrawal of money from the Petroleum Fund, and also to increase the public's knowledge about this Fund. Based on Arnstein's "ladder" described above, participation in these councils comes under the "Placation" category, in which citizens can provide advice or influence plans, but do not make final decisions.

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Celestino Gusmao, La'o Hamutuk, Dili, 11 April 2022

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Ivo Colimau, FONGTIL, Dili, 16 May 2022

Table 2 shows CSO networks or coalitions which work in the area of fiscal policy, economic diversification, gender equality and inclusion, as well as platforms established by the Government which involve civil society participation.

Network/coalition	Area of work	Municipality
FONGTIL	Umbrella organization for CSOs in Timor-Leste	Dili
Core Group on Transparency (CGT)	General State Budget	Dili
Strengthening Sustainable Agriculture Timor-Leste (HASATIL)	Agriculture	Dili
Disability Association of Timor-Leste (ADTL)	People with disabilities	Dili
Coalition for Diversity (CODIVA)	LGBTQI+	Dili
Rede Feto (Women's Network)	Gender Equality	Dili
National Social Audit Network	Agriculture, education, basic infrastructure, health	Dili
Oe-Cusse Information Network (Reino)	General	RAEOA
Covalima Network Association (ARC)	General	Covalima
Consultative Council on the Petroleum Fund (KKFP)	Petroleum Fund	Dili
National Council on Food Security and Nutrition Timor-Leste (KONSSANTIL)	Agriculture	Dili
Agriculture Coalition Timor-Leste (KATL)	Agriculture and GSB	Dili

A question explored in this research relates to the need to establish a new mechanism or platform for CSOs' participation in public policy development processes related to fiscal policy and economic diversification. CSOs based in Dili believe that it is only necessary to strengthen participation using existing mechanisms, including reorganizing CSO networks to better facilitate the participation of CSOs from the municipalities in public policies. On the other hand, CSOs based in the municipalities said that a new mechanism is needed which can facilitate their participation in policy processes. This illustrates that CSOs in Dili and municipalities are aware of the latter's lack of participation in policy processes, and want to address this by strengthening existing mechanisms, or, if these mechanisms cannot facilitate the participation of CSOs from outside Dili, by establishing a new mechanism or platform.

#### Advocacy by diverse civil society actors

Another strategy used by certain CSOs to achieve their advocacy objectives is to encourage other organizations to make greater efforts to influence fiscal and economic diversification policies to become more sustainable. Organizations such as La'o Hamutuk regularly share information and provide training for other CSOs about the General State Budget and economic development issues in Timor-Leste. It is expected that this strategy will result in increased numbers of organizations and individuals who will speak about budget and sustainable development issues. Interviews with government representatives revealed that the government generally pays attention when a diverse range of individuals or organizations speak about fiscal or economic diversification issues, instead of the same organization raising these issues repeatedly.



Only a few CSOs have focused on fiscal and economic diversification policies as their main area of work. Moreover, most organisations whose work touches on these issues are only involved in specific events but do not focus intensively on these areas. For example, most organizations just wait for the GSB deliberation process to be involved in discussions about budget and economic diversification issues. These organizations do not carefully follow the whole process to improve their understanding and expertise in the area of fiscal policy and economic diversification. In addition, they mostly participate in policy processes only when they are invited by the government, and do not follow the entire process. As a result, many CSOs fail to increase their knowledge of these areas, which means that their commentary often reveals a limited understanding of the ongoing policy processes and new developments which have occurred. Interviews with respondents from the Government noted further that when CSOs lack an understanding of the policy processes and context, it is difficult for the Government to have a productive discussion with them.<sup>11</sup>

This research has also found that CSOs which work specifically on economic diversification issues are the same organizations which work on fiscal policy issues. Indeed, CSOs in Timor-Leste generally see these two issues as inseparable. This can be seen in the statements they provide to the Government and Parliament during the GSB debates: submissions from FONGTIL, HASATIL, CGT and La'o Hamutuk frequently advocate for a GSB which will strengthen economic diversification. This reality suggests that programs aimed at increasing CSOs' capacity around fiscal policy and economic diversification must consider ways of combining these areas. On the other hand, it also indicates that CSOs' advocacy on economic diversification is minimal in the periods before and after the GSB process.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Fidelis Magalhães, President of the Council of Ministers, Dili, 3 May 2022

Table 3. Summary of advocacy strategies used by civil society, as well as their effectiveness and challenges

Strategy	Challenge	
Monitoring the development and implementation of public policies	Official communications often lack substantive information. It is difficult for organizations which lack adequate internet access to follow these communications.	
Evidence-based research and advocacy	Many CSOs lack the capacity for evidence-based research and advocacy. CSOs suffer from limited human resources, including people with strong research and analysis capacities.	
Influence through networks, coalitions and councils	Networks are not organized enough to be involved in the whole public policy cycle, including the GSB process.	
Advocacy by diverse civil society actors	Only a few organizations work on fiscal and economic diversification policies.	

### IMPACTS OF CIVIL SOCIETY'S INVOLVEMENT IN FISCAL AND ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION POLICY DEBATES

CSO representatives noted that their advocacy activities have consistently increased knowledge among decision-makers and the general public about important issues the country faces in the area of fiscal and economic diversification. The risk of dependency on the petroleum sector and the importance of economic diversification was raised by CSOs more than a decade ago, and now many more people are discussing this issue, including members of the government, parliamentarians and political leaders. According to the International Centre for Policy Advocacy, this can be considered a major success of CSOs' advocacy in Timor-Leste, as target groups of CSOs' advocacy are discussing CSOs' concerns, even though they do not usually acknowledge that they have been influenced by civil society (Young & Quinn 2012).

Concerns consistently raised by CSOs have also influenced the Government's management and public accountability. CSOs also stated that the government's transparency and GSB process has improved. The 2021 Open Budget Survey (OBS) report showed that Timor-Leste's transparency score during the budget process increased from 40 to 52, out of a maximum score of 100. This represents a significant change from 2010, which occurred mainly because the Government now publishes documents that it previously did not publish or published late. In addition to the GSB process, the Government has also incorporated many CSOs' recommendations into the Law on the General State Budget and Public Financial Management Framework. The OBS report also showed positive – albeit small – improvements in public participation in the GSB process.

CSOs' representatives said that although their advocacy on economic diversification issues has not succeeded in terms of achieving much greater investments in productive economic sectors, they have successfully achieved policy changes in relevant areas. For example, with the development of agricultural policies, the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries incorporated many CSOs' ideas into policies such as the national food security and nutrition policy, seed policy and forestry policy. CSOs also think that the Government has increasingly adopted principles of gender equality and inclusion into the GSB and the implementation of various government programs. Respondents from the Government also recognized that the Government should work more closely with CSOs to ensure that the GSB is more sensitive to gender, people with disabilities and other vulnerable and marginalized groups. These reported effects indicate that although CSOs have not succeeded in making major changes to fiscal and economic diversification policies, it has achieved several minor changes in secondary aspects of these public policies.



## GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PARTNER PERSPECTIVES AND EXPECTATIONS

"...the role of social organizations which are organized to speak about the public interest is essential for our country and government because even though I think it's somewhat chaotic, I think this is still better compared to other situations in which civil society has no voice." MPCM, 3 May 2022

Government respondents consider CSOs as development partners which support the government to improve its policies based on their knowledge of the problems faced by communities. Furthermore, they consider CSOs to be a "bridge" which enables communities which lack the ability the speak directly to the Government to be involved in discussions at the policy level. In addition, they see CSOs as an agent of social control which can monitor the implementation of approved policies, to provide feedback when implementation is incorrect or does not produce the results that the Government expected. These respondents further added that CSOs have met the expectations of the Government.

Concerning areas where CSOs require improvement, aovernment representatives underscored the need for CSOs to further define and examine their positions, including the reasoning underlying the positions they have adopted. This will assist the Government in better understanding CSOs' positions, as well as enabling comparison with the Government's position. Respondents also said that if discussions between CSOs and the Government are to become more productive, it is extremely important for CSOs to have an in-depth understanding of Timor-Leste's political economy context, as well as the global political and economic context. More specifically, experts on these issues highlight the importance of understanding Timor-Leste's context as a post-conflict country which is highly dependent on income from the petroleum sector.12

The Government also expects CSOs to contribute more actively to find solutions to problems Timor-Leste faces, including the problems of petroleum dependency and minimal non-oil revenues. CSOs can advance this issue by monitoring the implementation of programs approved in the

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Guteriano Neves, political economy expert, Dili, 11 May 2022

Parliament, to ensure that the approved GSB is implemented according to plan and that it provides benefits for the people. Through such monitoring, CSOs can then make recommendations to the Government to improve their future planning and budget allocations.<sup>13</sup> This finding reveals opportunities for CSOs to collaborate more closely with the Government in its monitoring and research activities.

Development partners shared similar thoughts regarding the importance of CSOs' participation in policy processes, especially given the fact that CSOs have a better understanding of the problems faced in communities and the context of these problems. CSOs' deep understanding of communities represents their unique value, which also means that CSOs' participation in policy processes is critical. In addition to bringing community voices to policy discussions, CSOs also play a key role in ensuring that the Government is accountable to the people in its decisions. Development partners can also play an important role by strengthening CSOs to be more active in policy debates, while also encouraging the Government to be more open to CSOs' inputs. Development partners can use their advisors who work directly in state institutions to influence the Government in this way.

Development partners have provided numerous trainings for CSOs concerning fiscal and economic diversification issues, while many CSOs have also participated in advocacy training. However, CSOs and some development partner respondents report that there are challenges related to the sustainability of the support provided by development partners. They recognize that much support provided by development partners is based on short-term projects, and oriented primarily towards achieving development partners' objectives, while often failing to strengthen the capacity of CSOs themselves. As noted by respondents from development partners, "development partners cannot consider CSOs simply as recipients of [our] support, or contractors which just implement development partner projects. Rather, development partners must show increased commitment to supporting the CSOs' involvement in the policy process by providing technical assistance, incorporating CSOs into their plans and supporting CSOs to be involved in

high-level meetings involving the government and development partners."<sup>14</sup>

In addition, to further improve CSOs' influence in public policy development processes, CSOs must clearly define their constituencies. CSOs cannot represent themselves but must represent the interests of communities. This implies that CSOs already have a deep understanding of community problems, including which factors contribute to these problems and how government policies can address them. In the context of fiscal and economic diversification policies, CSOs should be more specific when they speak about issues such as the GSB. For example, with the budget for the agriculture sector, CSOs must conduct a specific analysis to understand how changes in the agriculture budget will affect the lives of farmers in specific areas.<sup>15</sup>



<sup>14</sup> Interview with respondent #1, Dili, 31 March 2022

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Rofino Soares Gusmao, Ministry of Agriculture, Dili, 4 July 2022

<sup>15</sup> Interview with respondent #2, Dili, 13 April 2022



#### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This research has found that the level of CSOs' engagement in the area of fiscal policies and economic diversification policies is not yet effective or significant, which is a cause of reduced CSOs' influence in public policy development processes in the area of fiscal policy and economic diversification. On the other hand, the research has also revealed opportunities for increasing CSOs' engagement in these areas. The most important opportunity is that the Government and CSOs are open to continued collaboration on fiscal and economic diversification policy issues. This research has already identified several areas in which the two parties can improve their engagement so that it is more effective. From the government side, it is necessary to decide on the best mechanism for facilitating in-depth discussions with CSOs on policy issues. For its part, CSOs must continue to increase their capacity in the area of research, analysis and advocacy.

The results of this research also illustrate the Government's expectation that CSOs will bring community voices to policy discussions. However, the formal mechanisms already established by the Government do not yet enable CSOs to adequately express community problems in discussions with the Government to find solutions together. An additional challenge faced by CSOs is that the organizations which work closest to communities in the municipalities cannot participate actively in policy processes. In this regard, networks and coalitions which facilitate the participation of CSOs from municipalities also need to reorganize themselves to fulfil this responsibility.

The following are some specific recommendations on ways in which CSOs' engagement in the area of fiscal and economic diversification policy can be strengthened to increase CSOs' influence in public policy development processes.

In the area of fiscal policy, the Government expects CSOs to contribute to improving the GSB plans by expressing the aspirations of communities, thereby helping to bring about a GSB which responds to the people's needs. However, the *Jornada de Planemanetu, Jornada Orsamental* and Major Planning Options meetings which include CSOs are not adequately designed to facilitate indepth discussions about the problems observed by CSOs within communities.

**Recommendation**: CSOs should coordinate with the Government, especially the Ministry of Finance, to hold separate events during the GSB process to facilitate more in-depth consultations with CSOs, including those based in the municipalities, and marginalized and vulnerable groups, to discuss the problems faced by communities, as well as how the Government's GSB plan can respond to these problems. Such consultations will enable the Government to obtain more information about the problems faced by communities, thereby allowing it to develop more responsive plans and priorities. CSOs can also provide alternative viewpoints which can assist the Government to develop budget plans which are more sustainable and inclusive.

In the area of economic diversification policies, including during the GSB process, discussions about specific policies and laws related to economic diversification do not yet involve CSOs at important stages such as the problem identification stage, and the final formation of policy which consults with CSOs.

**Recommendation**: The Government involves CSOs in the whole policy cycle to ensure that CSOs have opportunities to influence the whole process, from the first to the final stage. This will also benefit the Government by strengthening the legitimacy of its policies, while also limiting distrust in the policy process on the part of CSOs.

An issue identified by CSOs which limits their ability to improve their influence over policy processes is their lack of capacity to conduct research, analysis and advocacy based on evidence. This situation persists even though many CSOs have participated in training in these areas.

**Recommendation**: CSOs incorporate capacity development in the area of research, analysis and advocacy into their programs, and develops strategies to maintain this knowledge within their organizations, even after projects end and staff move to another organization or position. Development partners must support capacity development activities, including supporting the creation of manuals for research, analysis and advocacy, while providing long-term technical assistance.

The lack of access to information related to fiscal and economic diversification policies is a major barrier to the effective participation of CSOs in policy debates, and they often do not access sufficient information, or access it within an adequate timeframe to be able to conduct in-depth analysis before making their intervention. The Government has made efforts to increase public access to information by publishing documents which were previously not released to the public. This is a positive step which is important to continue going forward.

**Recommendation:** The Government publishes information about the GSB and other public policy documents on time, in a language that the majority of CSOs can understand, and in a format which is accessible to people with disabilities. The Government can do this through collaboration with CSOs such as ADTL and RHTO which have extensive experience working on disability rights in Timor-Leste.

This research found that most organizations which work on fiscal policy also work on economic diversification policy. Advocacy on these two issues also frequently occurs simultaneously. While it is not necessarily a problem that organizations which work on fiscal policy also work on economic diversification policy, when advocacy on economic diversification relies excessively on the GSB schedule, CSOs can lose many opportunities to influence the public policy development process in this area.

**Recommendation**: CSOs continue to advocate economic diversification issues outside the GSB process, as this topic is broader than the GSB itself. Economic diversification policies also relate to policies related to market development, imports and investment.

The LGBTQI+ community is an important part of Timor-Leste's society whose equal rights are guaranteed by the Constitution. This research found that the LGBTQI+ community hopes to be included in the GSB plans, which until now has largely ignored the existence of LGBTQI+ people.

**Recommendation**: Incorporate the interests of the LGBTQI+ community in the GSB each year through in-depth consultations with LGBTQI+ community representatives before budget plans are made. This applies to the LGBTQI+ community as well as other marginalized groups in the economic diversification policy process.

Respondents from the Government and development partners emphasized the role of CSOs as a bridge that can allow community voices to reach the Government. Many CSOs groups can play this role because of their close working relationships with communities. However, CSOs need to clarify further the interests of the communities they represent, as well as think more about how adopting CSOs' recommendations will help these communities.

**Recommendation:** CSOs strengthen their interventions by carefully analysing how the recommendations they propose are important for community wellbeing in the short, medium and long terms. In the context of the GSB, this implies the need for analysis of the GSB at the municipal level.

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## ANNEX A

#### Table 1 List of Respondents

No	Name	Institution	Municipality
1	Fidelis Leite Magalhães	President of the Council of Ministers	Dili
2	Rufino Gama Soares	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries	Dili
3	Jose A. de Carvalho	Ministry of Finance	Dili
4	Estevanus Coli	Mata Dalan Institute	Dili
5	Zenito Santana	Kdadalak Sulimutuk Institute	Dili
6	Elisabeth Araujo	FONGTIL	Dili
7	Ivo Colimau	FONGTIL	Dili
8	Gil Maubere	HASATIL	Dili
9	Zaulino Gomes	Youth Parliament of Timor-Leste Alumni	Dili
10	Celestino Gusmao	La'o Hamutuk	Dili
11	Mariano Ferreira	La'o Hamutuk	Dili
12	Herminia Pinto	Permatil	Dili
13	Joaozito dos Santos	Ra'es Hadomi Timor-Oan	Dili
14	Zevonia Viera	Timor-Leste Journalists Association	Dili
15	Aida Exposto	Rede Feto/Women's Network	Dili
16	Sabino Fitun	Core Group on Transparency	Dili
17	Martinho D. S. C. Neno	Reino	RAEOA
18	Ramila da Costa	Masine Neo Oe-Cusse	RAEOA
19	Pedro Amaral	Covalima Network Association	Suai
20	Quintino A. Barros	Asosiasaun Rede Covalima (Covalima Network Association)	Suai
21	Alberto Barros	Covalima Community Centre	Suai
22	Vicente Matos Belo	Community Development Centre	Baucau
23	Laura Afonso	Coalition for Diversity	Dili
24	Natalino Guterres	Hatutan	Dili
25	Hector Salazar Salame	The Asia Foundation	Dili

26	Carolyn Peterken	Governance for Development	Dili
27	Karla da Silva Leitzke	EU Delegation	Dili
28	Bernard Harbone	World Bank	Dili
29	Paula Lopez da Cruz	FAO Timor-Leste	Dili
30	Diane Lynn Francisco	USAID NGO Advocacy for Good Governance Activity	Dili
31	Guteriano Neves	Independent expert	Dili
32	Joao Saldanha	Expert/ João Saldanha University	Dili
33	Charles Scheiner	Expert/La'o Hamutuk	Dili