

1 **Understanding HRH recruitment in post-conflict settings: an analysis of central-level policies**  
2 **and processes in Timor-Leste (1999-2018)**

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4 Maria Paola Bertone<sup>1\*</sup>, Joao S. Martins<sup>2</sup>, Sara M. Pereira<sup>3</sup>, Tim Martineau<sup>4</sup>, Alvaro Alonso-Garbayo<sup>5</sup>

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6 <sup>1</sup> ReBUILD Consortium & Institute for Global Health and Development, Queen Margaret University,  
7 Edinburgh (UK) – [MBertone@qmu.ac.uk](mailto:MBertone@qmu.ac.uk)

8 <sup>2</sup> ReBUILD Consortium & Faculdade de Medicina e Ciências da Saúde, Universidade Nacional Timor  
9 Lorosa'e (Timor-Leste) - [joasmartins@hotmail.com](mailto:joasmartins@hotmail.com)

10 <sup>3</sup> ReBUILD Consortium & Faculdade de Medicina e Ciências da Saúde, Universidade Nacional Timor  
11 Lorosa'e (Timor-Leste) - [saramariap82@gmail.com](mailto:saramariap82@gmail.com)

12 <sup>4</sup> ReBUILD Consortium & Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine (UK) -  
13 [tim.martineau@lstm.ac.uk](mailto:tim.martineau@lstm.ac.uk)

14 <sup>5</sup> ReBUILD Consortium & Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine (UK) -  
15 [alvaro.alonsogarbayo@lstm.ac.uk](mailto:alvaro.alonsogarbayo@lstm.ac.uk)

16

17 \* corresponding author. Queen Margaret Drive, Edinburgh EH21 6UU, UK

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19

20 **Abstract**

21

22 **Background:** Although human resources for health (HRH) represent a critical element for health  
23 systems, many countries still face acute HRH challenges. These challenges are compounded in  
24 conflict-affected settings where health needs are exacerbated and the health workforce is often  
25 decimated. A body of research has explored the issues of recruitment of health workers, but the  
26 literature is still scarce, in particular with reference to conflict-affected states. This study adds to that  
27 literature by exploring, from a central-level perspective, how the HRH recruitment policies changed in  
28 Timor-Leste (1999-2018), the drivers of change and their contribution to rebuilding an appropriate  
29 health workforce after conflict.

30 **Methods:** This research adopts a retrospective, qualitative case study design based on 76 documents  
31 and 20 key informant interviews, covering a period of almost 20 years. Policy analysis, with elements  
32 of political economy analysis was conducted to explore the influence of actors and structural  
33 elements.

34 **Results:** Our findings describe the main phases of HRH policy-making during the post-conflict period  
35 and explore how the main drivers of this trajectory shaped policy-making processes and outcomes.

36 While initially the influence of international actors was prominent, the number and relevance of  
37 national actors, and resulting influence, later increased as aid dependency diminished. However, this  
38 created a fragmented institutional landscape with diverging agendas and lack of inter-sectoral  
39 coordination, to the detriment of the long-term strategic development of the health workforce and  
40 the health sector.

41 **Conclusions:** The study provides critical insights to improve understanding of HRH policy  
42 development and effective practices in a post-conflict setting but also looking at the longer term  
43 evolution. An issue that emerges across the HRH policy-making phases is the difficulty of reconciling  
44 the technocratic with the social, cultural and political concerns. Additionally, while this study  
45 illuminates processes and dynamics at central level, further research is needed from the decentralised  
46 perspective on aspects, such as deployment, motivation, career paths, which are under-regulated at  
47 central level.

48

49 **Keywords:** Human resources for health, health workers, recruitment, deployment, fragile and conflict-  
50 affected settings, Timor-Leste

51

## 52 **Background**

53

54 Human resources for health (HRH) represent a critical element for the functioning of health systems.  
55 Poor availability and management of human resources have been recognized as key health system  
56 barriers and, despite the efforts, many low-income countries continue to face acute HRH challenges  
57 [1, 2]. These challenges are compounded in conflict-affected settings where health needs are  
58 exacerbated as a result of the conflict and the health workforce is often decimated by either death or  
59 flight due to violence [3, 4]. Consequently, the challenge of attracting and recruiting the right persons  
60 into the health workforce, according to needs, becomes more acute and relevant [5-7]. Some studies  
61 in low and middle-income countries (LMIC) have focused on Human Resource Management (HRM) [8-  
62 14] and highlighted how recruitment affects retention in remote areas [15-19]. Research has also  
63 looked at the specific HRM challenges in fragile and conflict-affected countries [5-7, 20-27], with a  
64 focus on health worker retention and (financial and non-financial) incentives.

65

66 This research adds to that literature by focusing in particular on the role that recruitment policies and  
67 practices play in rebuilding an appropriate health workforce after conflict and following the trajectory  
68 and patterns over the subsequent years. Our case study is Timor-Leste from the immediate post-  
69 conflict period to 2018 (Box 1), which gives a retrospective view covering a period of almost 20 years.  
70 This paper focuses on policies and policy-making processes at central level related to health workforce

71 recruitment and presents a political economy analysis about how and why official and informal  
72 practices developed, including the drivers, challenges and blockages at different stages.  
73

**Box 1: History and context of Timor-Leste**

The history of Timor-Leste has been one of struggle for self-determination. In 1975, after more than four centuries of colonial domination, Timor-Leste proclaimed its independence from Portugal. This lasted only 9 days before Indonesia illegally occupied the country. A repressive government ruled for 24 years (1975-1999) during which around 20% of the population died due to violence, starvation and disease [28]. The publication in September 1999 of the results of a UN-backed referendum to determine Timor's status in favour of independence triggered a violent withdrawal of Indonesia which left around 1,400 people killed, more than 300,000 displaced and the governance structure and infrastructure including the health system virtually collapsed. In May 2002, the country finally restored its independence after a UN transitional government (United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor - UNTAET) was put in place from 1999 to 2002 and had facilitated the process of development of a new independent Timorese government [29, 30].

The UNTAET and World Bank-managed support to the transition was considered a successful development story [31]. Since independence, there have been four presidential elections (2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017) and a succession of eight Constitutional Governments, and the country ranked highest the Democracy Index of the Economist Intelligence Unit in South East Asia in 2016 [32]. However, an outbreak of violence in 2006-2007, triggered by disputes within the Armed Forces between the leadership and the ex-FALANTIL soldiers (armed group fighting in the independence struggle, which had been absorbed into the Army) caused the displacement of 150,000 people and led to the resignation of the Prime Minister. This wave of instability revealed the tensions between leaders, the frustration among the younger population due to high unemployment, and other state-threatening problems such as ethnic rivalry between the East and West of the country [33, 34]. The violent events impacted the health system, although most services remained available thanks to the Cuban Medical Brigade (CMB) which was perceived as a neutral health workforce and therefore not targeted [35]. However, the violence was reported to have had a negative impact on the perceived State legitimacy [36]. While no such level of violence has happened since, tensions still prevail and few people have perceived benefit from the positive development of macroeconomic indicators [37]. The country has actually greatly benefited from oil revenues since signing an agreement with Australia in March 2003 on the exploitation of the gas and oil fields in the Timor Sea [38]. However,

the economic benefits of this have not reached all layers of society equitably and in 2014 more than 41% of the population was still reported to live below the poverty line [39]. In addition, loans from World Bank, ADB and other bilateral and multilateral institutions appear to be largely invested in 'megaprojects' with limited impact on the overall economy. Cronyism and corruption are growing significantly [40] with limited local capacity and accountability being built over time in this regard and, as a result, the Corruption Perception Index increased from 28 in 2014 to 38 in 2017 [41]. Related to the violent events in 2006 and following a 14-fold increase in national budget from US\$135M in 2006 to US\$1,850M in 2013, mainly from oil-revenues [42], the civil service grew by 75% from 20,000 to 35,000 staff [43]. This was reported to have mitigated the risk of further violence [43] but the increase in government's capacity has not been commensurate with staffing growth; furthermore, the workforce expansion is unsustainable in light of the decline in oil-revenues in more recent years (Figure 1) [42, 44, 45].

*[Insert Figure 1 about here]*

Elections in July 2017 resulted in a minority government which lasted only a few months before the President dissolved the Parliament in January 2018 and called for early elections which were held in May 2018. Today, Timor-Leste has a population of 1,167,242 with 70% under the age of 35, an equal gender distribution and an estimated annual growth rate of 1.81% [46, 47].

74

## 75 **Methods**

76

77 This study is part of a broader research covering HRH recruitment and deployment in Timor-Leste and  
78 exploring both the central and sub-national debates. In the present paper we focus exclusively on the  
79 central level perspective. The research adopts a retrospective, qualitative case study design [48],  
80 drawing from documentary review and key informant interviews. Policy analysis was conducted, with  
81 elements of political economy analysis which allowed the identification of how elements of the agency  
82 (actors, agendas, power relations) and structure (socio economic conditions, historical legacies, formal  
83 and informal institutions, cultural norms) contributed to drive the policy trajectory [49].

84

### 85 *Data collection*

86

87 A document search was carried out to identify published literature and documents relevant to HRH  
88 recruitment policies and regulatory frameworks in Timor-Leste between 1999 and 2017. Internet  
89 searches were carried out using Google, PubMed, HRH Journal and Government websites (e.g., Official

90 Gazette, Public Service Commission, UNTAET legislation archives). Additionally, key informants were  
 91 asked to suggest relevant documentation and the contextual knowledge of the team in country also  
 92 allowed retrieving further documents. In total, 76 documents were reviewed (a summary is provided in  
 93 Additional File 1).

94  
 95 Key informants were purposefully selected to include a wide range of actors involved in HRH policy-  
 96 making over the study period. Twenty key informants were interviewed (Table 1) by AAG and JM  
 97 between March and May 2018, either face-to-face or remotely, and in Tetum, English, Spanish or  
 98 Portuguese depending on the location and the language preference of the respondent. A standard  
 99 topic guide was used flexibly to adapt to each respondent’s knowledge and elicit a retrospective  
 100 enquiry about the main HRH challenges with a focus on recruitment, policy solutions to HRH issues,  
 101 changes in policies and practices, drivers of change, actors, and agendas. (Additional File 2).

102  
 103 **Table 1:** Summary of key informants by type and gender

Type of KI	TOTAL	Gender	
		M	F
Ministry of Health (MoH)	8	8	0
National (governmental non-MoH)	5	5	0
International*	7	4	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>3</b>

104 **Note:** (\*) international actors include both those who were still in Timor Leste at the time of the interviews as well  
 105 as those who had been there some time during the study period but are now based elsewhere  
 106

107 *Data analysis*

108  
 109 Information was extracted from the documents using an Excel-based template including an analytical  
 110 thematic framework developed for this purpose (Additional File 3). Based on this, an initial draft of a  
 111 ‘policy timeline’ was prepared which described in chronological order the key events and changes that  
 112 had happened. The documentary analysis also helped to identify gaps in the information available, so  
 113 that these could be addressed during the key informant interviews.

114  
 115 Key informant interviews (KII) were recorded, transcribed and translated (where needed). Verbatim  
 116 transcripts were manually analysed, using a series of pre-defined descriptive themes (Additional File  
 117 3), but also focusing on emerging cross-cutting, analytical themes, more apt to capture the political  
 118 economy issues and the dynamics which shaped the decision-making processes [50]. Data  
 119 triangulation was carried out between different sources of data, comparing the narratives of different  
 120 key informants, but also triangulating information from informants and documents. Based on the KIIs’

121 analysis, the 'policy timeline' was revised, updated and enriched and key elements, themes and  
122 patterns were teased out and discussed among all authors before the final drafting of the article.

123

124 Ethical approval was obtained from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine and from Timor-Leste  
125 National Health Institute.

126

## 127 **Results**

128

129 In this section, we present the main findings of our analysis following a chronological order to show  
130 how events unfolded overtime. We also highlight the key turning points and the main drivers and  
131 dynamics that shaped the policy-making processes.

132

### 133 ***Immediate aftermath of Indonesia's withdrawal and the transitional period (1999-2002)***

134

135 In September 1999, with the violent withdrawal of Indonesia, the health system, like much of the rest  
136 of the social, economic and organisational structure and the infrastructure of Timor-Leste, had been  
137 destroyed [51]. In terms of HRH, the damages were profound. Most of the 135 doctors working in  
138 Timor-Leste under the Indonesian government were non-Timorese and left; only about 26 doctors  
139 remained [28]. Other critical staffing issues included the shortage of midwives, technicians and health  
140 managers, and the rural-urban imbalances both of which were further exacerbated by the insecurity  
141 following the 1999 violence; and the excessive number of nurses inherited from the Indonesian system  
142 [52].

143

144 Faith-based and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were the first to be able to provide basic  
145 health services [51, 53] and, to do so, they brought in expatriate staff, but also recruited and paid local  
146 health personnel available in the districts [54]. Key informants reported that recruitment criteria were  
147 rather loose as it was not always possible to find formally qualified staff to fill the position and vacancy  
148 advertisement and recruitment were often based on word-of-mouth.

149

150 "We did not do the recruitment per merit. We just indicated people. [...] I called them to the  
151 health centre and proposed them to the expatriates of the NGOs. If they agree, we'd recruit  
152 them" (MoH KI).

153

154 While much of the technical and financial support for the health sector (including HRH) was provided  
155 by external partners [55], the Timorese health leaders of the nascent Ministry of Health (MoH) were

156 keen to strengthen their role, increase the legitimacy of the state and the credibility of the emerging  
157 government through the so-called '*timorisation*' process [28, 52]. In line with this state-building  
158 aspiration, it was important for them to build a health workforce that would distance itself from the  
159 Indonesian one, considered inefficient. Key informants recalled,

160

161 "The administrators took the line that it wasn't just matter of putting people back into the  
162 positions they were in and paying them, but it was creating the whole civil service. [...] They  
163 were very much trying to get a sense of unity [through the civil service]" (international KI).

164

165 This overhaul was to be achieved in three ways. Firstly, it was imperative to rationalise the number of  
166 health workers (nurses, in particular) employed in the public sector which was inflated for political and  
167 patronage reasons under the Indonesian occupation. Secondly, there was a desire to reduce or  
168 eliminate corruption, collusion and nepotism (often referred to using the Indonesian acronym, KKN)  
169 that was a key feature of the previous system and introduce a meritocratic approach. Finally, it was  
170 important to create a health workforce loyal to the new country, excluding those who had supported  
171 the pro-Indonesia militia during the independence struggle (KIIs). The aim was to ensure equitable  
172 access to quality service for the entire population of the newly formed state.

173

174 "Our leaders wanted to build a public administration that was not a replica of the previous  
175 system. So, when we defined the regulations to form our public service, we did not look at the  
176 Indonesian model which was disproportionate. We started from zero" (national KI).

177

178 These objectives laid the foundation of the first civil service recruitment which started in mid-2001  
179 (UNTAET Regulation 2000/03). The final estimate of the health staff needed was of 1,242 as agreed  
180 between UNTAET, MoH and the Civil Service and Public Employment Office (CISPE). Informants  
181 reported that this number, about 47% of the 2,632 in place during the occupation, was mainly  
182 dictated by the budget available, which was limited and dependant on international partners [56]. Fifty  
183 job descriptions were developed, vacancies opened, and recruitment of health staff began. In order to  
184 ensure staff retention in remote areas, vacancies were initially tied to specific locations rather than a  
185 central pool from which new recruits would subsequently be deployed (an approach which was later  
186 adopted). According to one key informant, in line with the aims of the recruitment, selection criteria  
187 included professional training, place of birth and perceived loyalty to the new state, against the  
188 Indonesian regime.

189

190 "The first criteria was that the person had to be trained as a nurse or healthcare professional.  
 191 The second, we had to look for people that were from that district to facilitate them going there  
 192 [...]. Then the third criteria that we considered was that it had to be people that in 1999 didn't  
 193 run away to Indonesia. These people are a priority" (MoH KI).

194  
 195 However, a number of issues hampered the recruitment process. The shortage of doctors remained a  
 196 challenge and terms and conditions provided by NGOs were much more favourable so that many  
 197 stayed in that sector. Additionally, strikes and protests broke out due to accusations of favouritism  
 198 and mismanagement. One informant recalled,

199  
 200 "The Bishop came down to calm the situation at the hospital and to listen to the demands of  
 201 the demonstrators. They were saying that those who had fought for independence had not  
 202 passed the recruitment. So, I went with [xxx] and we modified the recruitment. Those who had  
 203 stayed would have work first, and those who went to Indonesia, they have to work last" (MoH  
 204 KI).

205  
 206 In 2001, 724 workers were recruited (Table 2). The remaining vacancies were filled by international  
 207 staff recruited by NGOs or by the MoH with Australian Government's funds.

208  
 209 **Table 2:** Public workforce situation (October 2001)

	<b>Establishment</b>	<b>Filled</b>	<b>Vacant</b>	<b>Vac. Rate (%)</b>
<b>National Level</b>				
National DHS	49	22	27	55
NCHET	32	23	9	28
Central Lab.	22	15	7	32
National Hosp.	251	9	242	96
<b>Districts</b>				
Aileu	46	36	10	22
Ainaro	42	34	8	19
Baucau	152	135	17	11
Bobonaro	85	69	16	19
Covalima	58	46	12	21
Dili (District)	123	50	73	59
Ermera	54	38	16	30
Lautem	60	42	18	30
Liquica	39	38	1	3
Manatuto	48	40	8	17
Manufahi	57	44	13	23
Oecusse	57	29	28	49
Viqueque	67	54	13	19
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1242</b>	<b>724</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>42</b>

210 **Source:** Civil Service and Public Employment Office (CISPE) 2001



211 **Note:** DHS: Division of Health Services; NCHET: National Centre for Health Education and Training  
 212

213 Recruitment was reported to be slow and haphazard leading to poor morale and loss of trust in the  
 214 administration by those involved in the process [28]. Their analysis lucidly highlights the trade-off  
 215 between incompatible ‘technical’ and ‘political’ objectives (Table 3) [28]. However, despite the salience  
 216 of the HRH challenges identified then, the immediate health sector reconstruction in Timor-Leste and  
 217 the model of post-conflict health system rehabilitation has generally been judged a success [31, 52].  
 218

219 **Table 3:** Competing goals for the recruitment of civil servants for the health sector

Goal	Competing goal
• Produce measurable results quickly	• Achieve transition to full East Timorese management
• Disburse funds quickly	• Ensure national decision making and full ownership
	• Focus on building capacity
	• Ensure sustainability
• Ensure a coherent sector-wide approach	• Accommodate individual donor needs
• Provide services to all now	• Improve scope and quality of services
• Develop health policies soon, before it is ‘too late’	• Consult widely on all policy issues
	• Start flexible to avoid setting directions too early

220 **Source:** [28]

221  
 222

223 ***A “game changer”: the involvement of the Cuban Medical Brigade (2003-2005)***

224

225 The idea of requesting Cuban support to address staff shortages had been discussed since 2001 [57].  
 226 In February 2003, this option was adopted at top political level when an agreement was brokered  
 227 between the then President Xanana Gusmao, José Ramos Horta (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Fidel  
 228 Castro for the provision of Cuban doctors as well as the training of Timorese students. The Cuban  
 229 involvement was described by one key informant as “a game changer” for the health sector. In  
 230 December 2004, the engagement was further detailed as the training of 1,000 doctors (calculated as  
 231 roughly 1 doctor per 1,000 population) at the Latin American Medical School (LAMS) in Cuba<sup>1</sup> and the  
 232 deployment of 300 Cuban doctors to provide medical care across the country as well as to supervise  
 233 and further train the medical students and new doctors [57].

234

235 The use of subsidised training effectively shifted the focus from post-graduation recruitment  
 236 procedures to pre-service education scholarship awards, as those trained in Cuba were expected to  
 237 return to serve in Timor-Leste and were automatically absorbed in the public health sector<sup>2</sup>. While in  
 238 recent years, the absorption of medical graduates into public service is becoming problematic (see  
 239 below), at the time, it was clear that scholarship assignment became a synonym of hiring.

240

241 "Instead of recruiting, the MoH is appointing through training" (national KI).

242

243 The selection of students to access Cuban medical training was undertaken initially by the MoH, based  
244 on academic results in secondary school, a written exam, an interview and a physical examination  
245 (KIIs). Gender balance was also sought in the selection, and quotas were introduced based on the  
246 geographical origin of the candidates<sup>3</sup>, with the intention that they would be deployed in their  
247 districts of origin ensuring an appropriate coverage across districts, increasing retention and health  
248 worker acceptability for local communities. Although the geographical criterion initially created  
249 difficulties due to the low skills of those coming from remote areas, these were overcome in  
250 subsequent years.

251

252 By mid-2018, the Cuban-supported programme had graduated 934 Timorese medical doctors (KII).  
253 Based on the MoH database, this rapid scale-up of the medical workforce has increased the density of  
254 doctors per population from 0.03 to 0.71 per 1,000 in 2000 and 2017 respectively, among the highest  
255 in South-East Asia (Figure 2). In 2017, the gender distribution of the medical workforce was almost  
256 equal with a male to female (M:F) ratio of 1.01 although the balance was in favour of males at  
257 specialist level (M:F ratio of 2.6).

258

*[Insert Figure 2 about here]*

259

### 260 ***Relapse into violence, stabilisation and expansion period (2006-2012)***

261

262

263 The relapse into violence in 2006 and the tense political environment affected the state's legitimacy  
264 [58] and led to a degradation of accountability and transparency with increased perception of  
265 corruption and nepotism [41]. This probably influenced recruitment practices for the health workforce.  
266 For example, it is possible that the settlement of the dispute between government and ex-FALANTIL  
267 soldiers led to the provision of privileges for the families of veterans of the armed struggle. These  
268 privileges included the possibility of obtaining scholarships for higher education bypassing the entry  
269 requirements and examinations (Decree Law 8/2009), which opened the system to opportunities for  
270 discretion and patronage.

271

272 From 2011, the responsibility for selecting students into higher education for all health professions  
273 was moved to the Ministry of Education (MoEd) (KII). Key informants highlighted the alarming absence  
274 of functioning mechanisms for inter-sectoral coordination, which not only left room for discretion and

275 abuse in decision-making, but also had important consequences for the development of the health  
 276 workforce. Indeed, the fact that decisions about access to training were moved outside the MoH and  
 277 some groups were exempted from the standard selection procedures had (and continues to have)  
 278 critical consequences in terms of quality as well as of numbers and profiles of the future health  
 279 workforce and may determine a mismatch between intake and needs which the MoH has been left to  
 280 deal with.

281

282 "The MoH is not involved in any decisions on the number of students. [...] There are no  
 283 mechanisms for coordination between the MoH and the MoEd. This is a little bit very sad. [...] If  
 284 we recruit too much it will be a disaster for our country" (MoH KI).

285

286 The tensions between different national institutions also reveal that, from the aftermath of the  
 287 independence, the decision-making arena has become more crowded. As a consequence, a number of  
 288 emerging competing agendas and interests made coordination and alignment more difficult. New  
 289 actors involved in HRH recruitment and deployment practices included not only the MoH, the MoEd,  
 290 National University of Timor-Leste (*Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e* - UNTL, but also the Ministry  
 291 of Finance, the Public Service Commission (PSC), the Human Capital Development Fund (HCDF) and,  
 292 more recently with the attempt to decentralise the deployment process, the Directors of  
 293 Municipalities.

294

295 As the number of actors involved in HRH decision-making increased, so did the official legislation  
 296 applicable to the civil service in general and to health workers specifically (Table 4). Importantly, key  
 297 informants stressed that these regulations were often overlooked or weakly implemented. Indeed, in  
 298 the increasingly fragmented and instable political environment with constant changes in governments,  
 299 policies were often blocked at approval or implementation stage. In other cases, funds are lacking to  
 300 support implementation.

301

302 "The implementation of the policies is not consistent. One government comes in with their own  
 303 policy, then suddenly there's another government with a different policy and that cause the  
 304 inconsistencies" (MoH KI).

305

306 **Table 4:** Key official laws and regulations on HRH recruitment

Law, Decree law, Directive	Content	Implementation / Comments
Directive 3/2000 (UNTAET)	Establishing Civil Service and Public Employment Office (CISPE)	Directive 4/2000 later defining the terms of the

		Civil Service
East Timor Health Policy Framework (June 2002)	Includes one chapter for Human Resources for Health (first HRH policy)	Still considered the overall policy framework for the sector in 2018
Decree Law 5/2003	Organic Statute of the Ministry of Health	Establishment of Department of Human Resources
Law 8/2004	Statute of the Civil Service	Not fully implemented due to lack of resources (KII)
Decree law 14/2004	Health professional practice including the registration for health professionals	In the absence of health professional councils registration of professionals is done at MoH
National Health Workforce Plan 2005-2015 (draft)	Health workforce situation analysis and strategic plan	Prepared but not approved/implemented
Government Resolution 6/2006	Policy on Decentralisation and Local Government. Established the basis for decentralisation to the Municipal level	Supported by 10/2006 establishing the Secretariat for Decentralisation
Revised National Health Workforce Plan 2007-2015 (draft)	Revision of previous National HRH Plan 2005-2011 including workforce projections	Prepared but not approved/implemented
Decree Law 30/2008	Regulation of scholarships to study abroad	As a key element of the plan for human capital development
Decree Law 34/2008	Regulations for recruitment and selection of civil servants (also promotion)	Further developed with DL 12/2009 (see below)
Decree Law 5/2009	Amending 8/2004 on terms for recruitment	The aim is strengthening accountability in recruitment
Decree Law 7/2009	Establishing Public Service Commission	
Decree Law 8/2009	Award of scholarships to children of veterans	
Decree Law 12/2009	Defines the rule for awarding scholarships for higher education and specialisation (terms of bonding agreements)	Ratified later by Decree 38/2012
Decree Law 36/2009	Legal regime for access to higher education	
Decree Law 16/2010	Statute of the Timor-Leste National University	
Decree Law 22/2011	Amendment to DL 34/2008 re. recruitment, selection and promotion of civil servants	More specific regulations about processes and criteria for recruitment, selection and promotion
Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan 2011-2030	Including HRH recruitment policy directions and minimum staffing norms	Approved and being implemented
National Health Sector Strategic Plan 2011-2030	Includes projections of HRH needs up to 2030	In the absence of an approved HRH Plan these are the figures used
Human Resources Management Manual (PSC)	Detailed procedures including one chapter for recruitment and selection	Approved and being implemented
Orientation 9/2016	Simplified recruitment of 400 health workers	Executive order waiving 400 newly graduated HWs supported by Government from technical tests
Ministerial Diploma 51/2017 "Saúde na Família" (Family Health)	Establishing the principles and procedures for the introduction of this family-based PHC model	This programme was a Prime Minister's initiative
National Health Workforce Plan 2018-2022	Projections updated from NHSSP 2011-2030	Drafted and waiting for government approval
MoH Dispatch 07/2018	Internships Regime (" <i>Internato</i> ") for newly	Terms of the agreement to

	graduated health workers beneficiaries of scholarships.	recruit 320 unemployed health workers as interns
Ministerial Dispatch 05/2018	Establishment of Liaison with Cuban (and Chinese) Medical Brigades	To facilitate communication and coordination MoH/C(and CH)MBs

307

308

309 The increasing number of actors involved in HRH processes, their conflicting agendas, the absence or  
 310 non-respect of formal regulations and the weak management systems all contribute to the weakening  
 311 of formal institutions and the emergence of informal practices. Over time, the recruitment process  
 312 appears to be reverting to the previous practices of patronage and discretion and past hierarchies.  
 313 This was noted by the key informants.

314

315 "In relation to recruitment for the MoH, we undergo procedures that are not necessarily based  
 316 upon the principles of meritocracy. [...] We observe the issue of corruption, collusion and  
 317 nepotism, the family approach. Why this is happening? Because, apart from being a post-  
 318 conflict country, there are also demands for livelihoods. At the same time, we have significant  
 319 gaps in regulations and procedures that define the recruitment process and therefore it was still  
 320 dominated by a situation called "calling each other" (*politika bolu malu*)." (national KI).

321

322 **HRH reforms under fiscal constraints (2013-2018)**

323

324 The HRH challenges highlighted above have been made starker by the fiscal constraints, which  
 325 increased in 2012 when oil revenues dwindled and in 2015 when the reserves in the Petroleum Fund  
 326 began to diminish [44, 45]. Yet a World Bank study [59] reported that the health wage bill increased  
 327 by 344% between 2008 and 2014, mainly due to the absorption of the newly graduated doctors into  
 328 the public sector (Table 5), despite the fact that doctors' salaries are not substantially higher than  
 329 those of other health professionals [60].

330

331 **Table 5:** Number of staff by cadre in the public health workforce

Grades/cadres	2005	2010	2015	2016	2017
<b>General Grades</b>	356	615	1289	1270	1225
<b>Special Grades</b>					
Medical Specialist	0	9	23	23	29
Medical Doctors	40	75	820	835	891
Midwife	274	388	533	586	619
Nurse	820	883	1139	1205	1272
Assistant Nurse	N/A	N/A	237	234	232

Allied Health Professionals	100	316	440	512	630
<b>Total special grades</b>	<b>1234</b>	<b>1671</b>	<b>3192</b>	<b>3395</b>	<b>3673</b>
<b>Total all grades</b>	<b>1590</b>	<b>2286</b>	<b>4481</b>	<b>4665</b>	<b>4898</b>

332  
333  
334

**Source:** MoH HRH Database 2017

335 In this context, the absorption into the public sector of the growing number of health workers became  
336 a pressing problem. Although estimates vary (from 200 to 600), a high proportion of the pool of  
337 qualified doctors and other professionals is currently unemployed, due to lack of funds from the  
338 Ministry of Finance to recruit them into the civil service. Worryingly, pressure will be mounting over  
339 the next few years as the sustained production of health workers will continue and even increased,  
340 based on politically-pressured student intake. Indeed, beyond the privileges accorded to veterans'  
341 families described above, the introduction in 2016 of a 'special regime' to access higher education,  
342 following a simpler selection process without technical tests, for families of military and police officers,  
343 diplomats, members of Parliament, journalists, elite athletes and students from international  
344 secondary schools [61] contributed to this problem. While in principle only 10% of the annual intake  
345 should be recruited through this modality, key informants noted that the system is abused because of  
346 the (politically-pressured) acceptance of a high number of students through the special regime. For  
347 instance, in 2018 more than 65% of students enrolled in Nursing studies, 60% of those in Midwifery  
348 and 35% in Medicine went through the "special regime" (Table 6). While the Cuban Medical Brigade  
349 (CMB) deliberately kept out of the politics and simply scaled up their training capacity, the choice, as  
350 one respondent explained, has obvious long-term consequences for the quality and distribution of the  
351 workforce,

352

353 "We need to fix the special regime because the veterans' children have low marks, but they all  
354 choose Medicine. [...] If they don't have a good understanding [of Medicine] then they might  
355 give the wrong medication or make mistakes, and this is a problem" (national KI).

356

357 **Table 6:** Student intake in the Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences of UNTL (2004-2018)

Department	New students														
	2004	2005 (*)	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010 (**)	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017 (***)	2018 (***)
General Medicine	26	510	47	15	20	30	--	42	58	38	36	36	35	52 (12)	107(40)
Nursing					190	70	--	88	69	83	64	20	73	95 (34)	197 (130)
Midwifery					38	99	--	75	68	84	68	22	76	92 (35)	159 (96)
Pharmacy							--				35	25	70	63	135
Nutrition							--					20	64	59	103
Biomedical/ Lab.							--							45	120

<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>821</b>
--------------	-----------	------------	-----------	-----------	------------	------------	-----------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------

358 **Source:** UNTL Registry

359 **Note:** (\*) 2005: first mass enrolment for medical education by CMB

360 (\*\*) 2010: no enrolment of students due to disputes between MoEd and UNTL about UNTL's

361 accountability in the selection process.

362 (\*\*\*) 2017 and 2018: Numbers in parenthesis indicate the intake of new students under the Special

363 Regime, clearly surpassing the statutory 10% of the intake (no data available for 2016 or other cadres).

364

365 As an interim measure to address the absorption issue, a dispatch from the Minister of Health

366 (07/2018/I/MS) was issued in January 2018 to recruit 320 recently graduated health workers as interns

367 ('*regimen de internato*') with a standard stipend regardless of professional level of \$200 (in rural areas)

368 and \$150 (in urban locations) for a period of six months to be extended if the need persists and the

369 performance of the intern is satisfactory. However, as KIs said, the success of this programme in

370 reducing the tensions is yet to be seen, and there is a widespread perception that the government has

371 been and continues to waste money on the training of medical doctors rather than using data and

372 evidence on the real needs.

373

374 The contrast of the current situation with the immediate post-conflict phase could not be starker. As

375 one respondent put it,

376

377 "At that time, we didn't have the people, but the money was there. Now it is probable that we

378 have too many people but not the money" (MoH KI).

379

### 380 **Discussion**

381

382 Our analysis has some limitations. First, the long period of time covered, spanning over almost 20

383 years, created challenges during data collection, both in terms of locating and accessing documents

384 that may have been lost, as well as contacting key informants, in particular international actors who

385 have left Timor-Leste. Data were also difficult to retrieve due to the weak information systems.

386 Additionally, many interviewees struggled with recall bias. However, the fact that respondents were

387 open about it and distinguished between clear and only vague memories helped us make sense of

388 their accounts. In a sense, even the mental selection between remembered/forgotten could be

389 interpreted as an indicator of the key, most debated and contested areas of decision-making. In line

390 with this, in order to elicit views on issues clearly remembered and to reduce recall bias, the topic

391 guide we developed focused on the most relevant changes or challenges which respondents were

392 asked to reflect on. We also carefully applied triangulation between different key informants as well as

393 with documents and data to ensure the accuracy of the information and the relevance of the analysis.

394

395 Throughout the analysis, we have been explicitly reflective on our positionality with respect to the  
396 study subject [62]. Some authors (AAG, JM and SP) are 'insiders' to HRH policy-making in Timor-Leste  
397 and, although in different roles, have been directly involved in the policy changes described. This has  
398 advantages in terms of accessing information and actors as well as bringing participant-observations  
399 to the analysis, but it may reduce objectivity [63]. The presence of 'outsiders' among the authors  
400 allowed some distance from the study subject, while at the same time data interpretation could be  
401 collectively and iteratively reviewed.

402

403 The study findings provide critical insights to enhance our understanding of HRH policy development  
404 from a policy and political economy perspective, in a post-conflict setting, but also following the  
405 developments over the longer period. The analysis allows the identification of the main phases of the  
406 policy trajectory during which different drivers played a significant role in shaping policy outcomes. In  
407 terms of actors, there was a shift over time as the relevance of external players faded in favour of that  
408 of internal actors and institutions. As in other settings during the immediate post-conflict phase [3,  
409 64-66], Western donors and multilateral organisations were essential and influential in the aftermath  
410 of the violence to provide financial and technical support to the nascent Republic, including  
411 supporting HRH systems. Later, Cuba became a prominent player and, despite their professed  
412 disengagement from 'politics', their views and approaches (e.g., gender and geographical balance of  
413 students selected) undoubtedly influenced policy-making. More recently, the trajectory in Timor-Leste  
414 took a different direction to many post-conflict countries, as national actors have emerged to play a  
415 more prominent role and their number and influence have increased in an increasingly fragmented  
416 political landscape [67]. It is important to note that the shift in actors' roles is closely related to and  
417 driven by structural changes (specific to Timor-Leste's economic history) and in particular the move  
418 from aid dependency in the first phases of the reconstruction, to financial independence due to oil  
419 revenues and, more recently, budget constraints related to the diminishing revenues. Over time, the  
420 structural features remained informed by the formal and informal institutions (i.e., the rules and  
421 norms) which are prevalent in the country and underlie the overall political and economic context.

422

423 Agency and structure elements and their interplay influenced the policy processes and outcomes.  
424 Initially, the focus was on health workforce recruitment as is often the case [27], which was seen as  
425 fundamental not only for its contribution to the health sector but also in relation to the state-building  
426 efforts [6]. As in other settings [68], a key emerging issue was the challenge of achieving a balance  
427 between the 'what' (technical) with the 'how' (political) [67] and reconciliation of a technocratic  
428 recruitment process based on rules and merit with political, cultural, relational norms and practices.



429

430 It appears that the recruitment system created in the aftermath of independence did consider both  
431 technical and political aspects and, perhaps because of this, was generally effective and survived over  
432 time. The relative success of this first round of HRH reforms could also be linked to specific individuals,  
433 their skills and leadership, both among external and national actors. Local elites were quick to  
434 organise themselves with enthusiasm and focus [28], also because of their state-building aspiration  
435 through HRH recruitment [6] and there was a substantial alignment in their agendas with that of the  
436 technical assistants, as also noted by others [55]. For example, the need felt by national decision-  
437 makers to distance themselves from Indonesian rule and 'KKN' was in line with the technical and  
438 meritocratic approach of external advisers. Additionally, the fact that initially there were few actors in  
439 the decision-making arena limited the presence of competing agendas and disagreements. However,  
440 while this led to the re-establishment of a HRH recruitment system, the fact that the focus of our  
441 analysis rests predominantly on recruitment processes and doctors (rather than on other HR  
442 management issues or on other health professionals) highlights how these elements were priorities  
443 for policy makers at central level, while other cadres and issues (such as, deployment) remained  
444 under-regulated and dealt with at decentralised level, with the lack of overall strategy and clear official  
445 policies to enact, as documented also elsewhere [11, 12, 69]. Additionally, policy-makers paid little or  
446 no attention to health workers' job preferences [60, 70] and decision-making remained a top-down  
447 exercise.

448

449 Later, while the technical foundations of the recruitment system remained in place and were actually  
450 strengthened by institutions such as the PSC, the shift to 'appointment through training', due to the  
451 Cuban-supported training and virtually automatic absorption of newly graduated staff, meant a shift  
452 of power from the MoH to new actors (such as, MoEd and UNTL) with diverging interests not related  
453 to the long-term needs of the health sector, and increased the possibility of rule-bypassing, discretion  
454 and patronage.

455

456 The tension between competing agendas may have been initially reduced or resolved thanks to the  
457 fiscal expansion and to the presence of the CMB and their 'substitution' role [71, 72]. However, with  
458 decreasing oil revenues, the CMB potentially phasing-out and increased political fragmentation, the  
459 competing interests are more difficult to reconcile and the tensions appears starker and riskier in the  
460 long term, leading to a low-quality workforce, inappropriate skill-mix, geographic maldistribution and  
461 financial unsustainability [73]. In the future, it will be essential that policy processes in Timor-Leste lead  
462 to more robust, sustainable and better implemented strategies on HRH training and recruitment.

463

464 **Conclusions**

465

466 Our research aimed to provide a long retrospective account of the development of the systems to  
467 recruit health workers in post-conflict Timor-Leste. In this study, we explored the policies in place at  
468 central level, the main phases and key drivers of their evolution. Our findings point to patterns and  
469 elements both of the agency and structure in shaping the policy-making processes and outcomes.

470

471 While the influence of international actors was a prominent feature of the initial phase after the  
472 conflict, in Timor-Leste there was an important change as national actors increased in numbers and  
473 relevance later on. This shift led to a fragmented institutional landscape with diverging agendas and  
474 lack of inter-sectoral coordination, to the detriment of the long-term strategic development of the  
475 health workforce and the health sector. Furthermore, a key issue that cuts across all phases is the  
476 difficulty in reconciling the technocratic elements of the reforms with the social, cultural and political  
477 aspects. Finally, the research component discussed here looks exclusively at processes and dynamics  
478 at central level, and finds that they have focused on regulating HRH recruitment and production,  
479 which are the most visible aspects for those operating centrally. Further research on issues, such as  
480 deployment and transfer, motivation, promotions and career paths (unregulated areas at central level)  
481 as well as on how implementation practices differ, modify or bypass central regulations, from the  
482 perspective of decentralised actors will be important to shed further light on the topic and  
483 complement the central level perspective.

484

485 **List of abbreviations**

486	CISPE	Civil Service and Public Employment Office
487	CMB	Cuban Medical Brigade
488	DHS	Division of Health Services
489	HCDF	Human Capital Development Fund
490	HRH	Human Resources for Health
491	HRM	Human Resource Management
492	KI	Key Informant
493	KII	Key Informant Interview
494	KNN	Indonesian acronym for 'corruption, collusion and nepotism'
495	LAMS	Latin American Medical School
496	LMICs	Low and Middle Income Countries
497	MoEd	Ministry of Education
498	MoH	Ministry of Health

499	NCHET	National Centre for Health Education and Training
500	NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
501	PSC	Public Service Commission
502	SEAR	South East Asia Region
503	UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
504	UNTL	National University of Timor-Leste ( <i>Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e</i> )

505

506 **Ethics approval and consent to participate**

507 Ethics approval was obtained from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine and from Timor-Leste  
 508 National Health Institute from Timor-Leste. Respondents who agreed to participate in the study  
 509 signed an informed written consent form.

510

511 **Consent for publication**

512 Not applicable

513

514 **Availability of data and material**

515 The interview transcripts generated and analysed for this study are not publicly available in order to  
 516 preserve the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents.

517

518 **Competing interests**

519 The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

520

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524

525 **Authors' contributions**

526 MPB, AAG, JSM and TM designed the study. AAG, JSM and SM conducted the data collection and data  
 527 extraction for the document review. AAG and JSM conducted the key informant interviews. MPB led  
 528 on the analysis of the data and drafted the manuscript, to which all other authors provided comments.  
 529 All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

530

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534

535 **Endnotes**

536 <sup>1</sup> In 2005 following the hurricane that affected Cuba, some of the medical training was moved to Dili  
537 where a Faculty of Medicine was established within the National University of Timor-Leste (UNTL), with  
538 Cuban teachers. Currently, students complete their training fully in Timor-Leste and nine Timorese  
539 doctors are being trained as faculty for pre-service education (KII).

540 <sup>2</sup> While newly graduated doctors are fast-tracked into the public workforce, nurses and midwives have  
541 to sit an exam for the recruitment into the civil service, under the oversight of the Public Service  
542 Commission with a full set of mechanisms to ensure meritocracy and fairness (Human Resources  
543 Management Manual, PSC 2014).

544 <sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that district-based quotas apply to medical students and not to other health  
545 sciences careers (e.g., nursing or midwifery).

546

547 **Additional Files**

548 **Additional file 1:** Summary of key bibliometric characteristics of documents reviewed (PDF file)

549 **Additional File 2:** Standard topic guide for key informant interviews (PDF file)

550 **Additional File 3:** Data extraction template and coding framework for the documentary analysis (PDF  
551 file)

552

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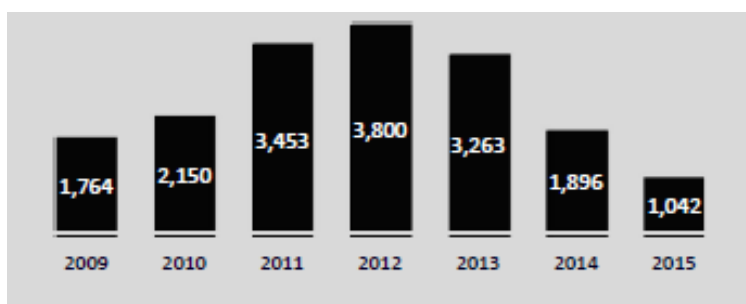
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728 **Figure Titles & Legends**

729 **Figure 1:** Oil and Gas Revenues in Timor-Leste (2009-2015) (US\$ million).

730 **Source:** [45]

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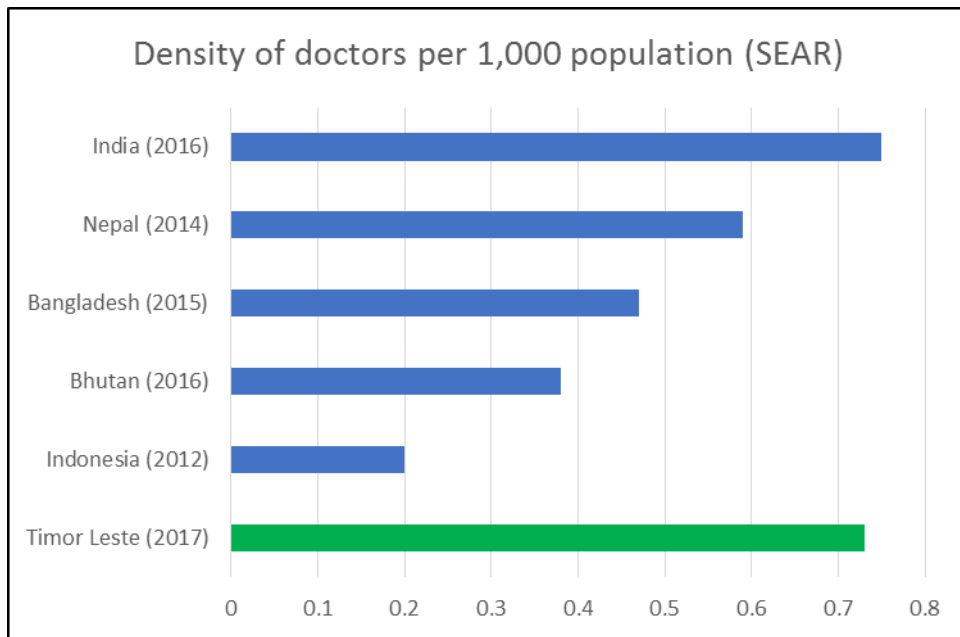
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734 **Figure 2:** Density of doctors per 1,000 population in the South-East Asia Region.

735 **Source:** WHO Global Health Observatory data repository

736 (<http://apps.who.int/gho/data/view.main.92100>)



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