

MASTER IN PEACE AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

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**THE FIGHT AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
IN EAST TIMOR:
FORGETTING THE PERPETRATORS**

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MAP OVER EAST TIMOR



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ABBREVIATIONS

CAVR- The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor.

CEDAW- the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women

CivPol- the Civilian Police

Coriac- Colectivo de hombres por las Relaciones Iguaitais (Men's association for equality)

ETWAVE- East Timor Women Against Violence and Care for Children

FALINTIL- Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste (Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor-Leste)

FOKUPERS- Timor Leste Women's Communication Forum

FRETILIN- Frente Revolucionaria do Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for East Timor)

GDP- gross domestic product

HDI- Human development index

HDR- human development report

ICMC- the International Catholic Migration Commission

INTERFET- International force in East Timor

IRC- International Rescue Committee

IRCT- International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims

JSMP- Justice System Monitoring Programme

KB- *Keluarga Berencana Nasional* (Indonesia's National Family Planning Program)

NGO- non-governmental organisation

OPE- The Office for the Promotion of Equality

REDE FETO- East Timor women's network

SRSG- Special Representative of the Secretary General

UN- United Nations

UNAMET- United Nations Mission for the Support of East Timor

UNDP- United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA- United Nations Population Fund

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF- United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFEM- The United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNMISSET- United Nations Mission in East Timor

UNOTIL- The United Nations Office in Timor-Leste

UNPAZ- Universidade da Paz (University of Peace)

UNTAET- United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

VPU- Vulnerable Persons Unit

WHO- World Health Organisation

Map over East Timor

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All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.¹

UN Declaration of Human Rights

Intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence against women, and has a major impact on women's health.²

World Health Organisation

Violence against women is perhaps the most serious violation of human rights. We can not claim that we have achieved progress regarding equality, development and peace as long as the violence continues.³

Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan

Even though East Timor is now peaceful, violence within the communities continues to take place, particularly violence against women. Since the violence has an impact on other human rights, and the fact that a woman continues to suffer from violence, she would not be able to fully participate in the lives of the nation economically, socially nor politically.⁴

Prime Minister Marí Alkatiri

In our new era of independence, which follows 24 years of violent struggle against Indonesia accompanied by unrelenting human-rights violations, the rights of East Timorese remain largely neglected. The continuing severity of gender inequality raises the fundamental question: has independence in Timor-Leste¹ resulted in liberation for men only?⁵

Mario de Araujo, NGO activist

1. INTRODUCTION

The reported cases of domestic violence increase in most post-conflict societies. This has been documented in cases including East Timor, South Africa (the end of the apartheid regime) and Lebanon.⁶ It is uncertain whether the prevalence rises with peace or if domestic violence only becomes more visible in post-conflict societies, but it is an understanding that violence seems to evolve into more personal violence with the end of war.⁷ War is an extreme situation where nationalism and solidarity are decisive factors. With peace in East Timor, men and women are returning back to daily life, but whereas men are expecting to return to the more traditional way of living, women – having adapted to a new way of living and often have become more independent – seem to want to expand on the new roles they gained during the occupation. Men do realize that these domestic conflicts of interests are of more public concern. With especially an increased focus on women's rights and a focus on democracy, modernity and human rights conventions. Thus traditions and patriarchy are not only challenged by the East Timorese women; structural and institutional changes are also being introduced. With violence having become an intricate part of daily life through years of war, men's frustration and feeling of powerlessness often result in more violence against women.

When I set out for my fieldwork in June 2004, the idea was to examine women's role in the post-conflict reconstruction of East Timor, knowing the UN

1 The General Assembly: "Article" 1 in *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, <http://www.unhcr.cr/udhr/lang/eng.htm> (downloaded 24.10.2005)

2 World Health Organisation: *Landmark Study on domestic violence*, <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/news/releases/2005/pr62/en/index.html> (downloaded 25.11.2005)

3 Statement by Kofi Annan in Fokus: "Vold mot kvinner," in *Fokus kvinner*, http://www.fokuskvinner.no/Temasider/Vold_mot_kvinner/793?view=print (downloaded 7.9.2005)

4 UNOTIL: "PM Alkatiri on Timorese women and the UN presence," in *Daily Media Review*, 25.11.2005

5 Mario de Araujo: "Liberation for everyone, not just men," in Ruxton, Sandy (ed.): *Gender equality and men: learning from practice*, Oxfam GB, 2004, p.140.

6 Kari Karamé: *Gendering Human Security: From marginalisation to the Integration of Women in Peace-building*, NUPI/FAFO report, Centraltrykkeriet AS, Norway, 2001/ UNFPA: *Just as spoon and fork always touch each other: domestic violence in East Timor*, 2001/Office for the promotion of equality: *Domestic violence legislation Policy Paper*, 2004/ Fokus: "Hvorfor menn i Sør-Afrika slår," in *Fokus kvinner*, http://www.fokuskvinner.no/Temasider/Vold_mot_kvinner/Artikler/789?view=print, (downloaded 7.9.2005)

7 Kari Karamé, *ibid*, 2001

claimed that its focus on gender in its mission was a success story.⁸ During interviews with people working in the UN, the government, the Catholic Church and a number of local and international women and human rights' NGOs, it soon became apparent that the fight against domestic violence was the gender issue of uttermost concern. This motivated me to examine and analyse the domestic violence campaign in East Timor, its successfulness and shortcomings.

This thesis has three major themes. First of all I set out to examine post-conflict East Timor, and specifically the high prevalence of men's violence against women. Why has the reported number of domestic violence cases increased since the end of the occupation? What implications do war and conflict have on a population concerning questions of attitudes to violence – and the use of it? Secondly I have looked at the more general phenomenon of violence against women. Why do so many men use violence against women, and what are the theoretical explanations for men's violence? The third theme of my thesis is the analysis of the domestic violence campaign in East Timor. I have attempted to assess its impact, both in terms of reduced violence and in attitude change. In conclusion, I present some suggestions that may secure a more sound approach for future campaigns.

1.1 THE SCOPE AND OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The first part of this thesis (chapters 2-4) deals with theoretical aspects related to gender, feminism, masculinity and violence against women. How can gender and identity be understood? Do all women experience oppression in the same way, and can we speak about women as a group? Why is it important to have a gender perspective when examining a post-conflict society? How can 'masculinity' be defined, and what is embedded in such a concept? What is the concept of the 'hegemonic masculinity,' and how can this theoretical term be related to the fight against domestic violence? Can men feel powerless and be losers of the patriarchal system as well?

In chapter 4, I move on to the problem of men and violence, with the aim of examining some of the theoretical explanations for men's violence. How can violence be defined? What are the causes of violence, and why do men

⁸ UNIFEM: *Gender profile of the conflict in Timor-Leste*, 2003, www.womenwarpeace.org/timor_leste/timor_leste.htm (downloaded 19.09.2005)

predominate across the spectrum of violence? What is embedded in the concept of violence against women? Having answered these questions I move on to the roots and articulations of men's violence. Are men inherently more aggressive than women? Can masculinities and gendered expectations be changed? In what ways are violence related to powerlessness? Does the violence have a function? How do men themselves look upon their violence?

In the second part I move on to the empirical case of East Timor. Chapter 5 gives a historical background to this new nation-state. Chapter 6 deals with the role of the UN in peace support operations, specifically concerning gender mainstreaming, and finally I examine the UN's role in East Timor. I present some of the ways in which the UN is dealing with issues concerning gender and the status of women, and attempt to give an assessment of whether the UN's inclusion of gender in the East Timorese mission may be characterized as a success or not. In chapter 7 I explain the methodology behind my fieldwork, which is based on qualitative research, specifically feminist and social research. 'Women in East Timor' is the topic of chapter 8, where I analyse the status of women, and their challenges and problems in achieving equality with men in East Timor. I present some of the specific cultural traits of East Timor, and how these influence women's roles and status. One of the interesting questions raised is if East Timorese women may be seen as a coherent group sharing the same oppression.

Part Three (chapters 9-11) deals with issues of domestic violence in East Timor. In 2002 the United Nations Transitional Administration (UNTAET) recognized the severity in the high prevalence of domestic violence in East Timor and launched a large-scale domestic violence campaign.⁹ While it is uncertain how prevalent the problem actually is, cases reported to the police have increased dramatically in the last years.¹⁰ Why is there a lack of data documenting the prevalence of domestic violence? What are the causes of East Timorese men's violence against women? These explanations are complex and intertwined, the underlying perception being that women are subordinate to men. How has this perception come about? I further try to document some of the ways in which the patriarchal traditions influence men's attitudes to using violence against women.

⁹ UNTAET: *Daily Briefing*, "Chief Minister, SRSG speak out against domestic violence," 22 January, 2002, <http://www.pcug.org.au/~wildwood/02jandv.htm>.

¹⁰ Appendix IIII

Has a culture of violence evolved among the East Timorese? I examine the practice of *barlake*, the dowry system, and what influences it has had on women's status and men's treatment of their wives. I then continue with assessing the newly developed justice system, and how far it is able to handle cases of domestic violence. Moreover, how does the traditional justice system solve domestic conflicts, and are women listened to? I found it important to examine the Catholic Church's attitudes and stance on domestic violence. The wider social and economic situation of course plays a significant role. What impact do the high unemployment rate (50 per cent) and the widespread poverty (42 per cent)¹¹ have on the East Timorese? I further look into the relevance of psychological factors, and examine what is meant by the term "traumatic violence" and how it is related to the East Timorese context.

Having identified causes of domestic violence in East Timor the next step is to identify the protagonists in the domestic violence campaign, and examine the efforts that have been – and currently are – being undertaken to address the issue. The police, the health system, the counselling services, the legal system, and the media have implemented a broad range of activities. Similarly the UN, the government, and the various local and international organisations have put into practice several programmes and projects. In chapter 12 I provide a critical examination of the efforts aimed at the reduction of domestic violence in East Timor. My concluding question is to what extent these activities have been able to reduce the violence. Have the victims been protected and helped to become independent, economically and socially? I further question whether imprisonment is the most viable solution in dealing with the perpetrators. And finally, has the men, the perpetrators of the violence, been included and focused upon in the domestic violence campaign? My findings and analysis will show that gender has become the domain and concern of women, and I therefore claim that one of the things urgently needed in East Timor is a focus on the men. I conclude by giving some recommendations of activities that may be included in the campaign to promote a change of men's perceptions and attitudes to violence. The underlying argument is that violence against women primarily is men's problem and men's responsibility.ⁱⁱ

¹¹ CIA: *The World Fact Book- East Timor*, <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/print/tt.html>, (downloaded 30.08.2005)

2. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO FEMINISM

2.1 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

Before examining the concept of gender in East Timor, I will explore some theoretical aspects of the concept of gender and feminism in general. There exist two opposing views that characterize different understandings of gender and identity: an essentialist and a constructionist approach. Essentialism assumes that gender identities are unchangeable, and a result of stable underlying factors. Biology thus becomes the primary source for explaining differences in male and female behaviour, attitudes and thinking. The main problem with essentialism is that it does not allow for change, instead it holds that we remain essentially the same people throughout life.¹² To define gender from the perspective of social constructivism, assumes that our social worlds are constantly changing. Furthermore, gender identity is seen as not within the individual but in the transaction between individuals. The social constructionist position argues that our identities are not given by nature: we become who we are through our interactions with our social surroundings.¹³ In my thesis I will define gender as referring to:

*The array of socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviours, values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to the two sexes on a differential basis. Whereas biological sex is determined by genetic and anatomical characteristics, gender is an acquired identity that is learned, changes over time, and varies widely within and across cultures. Gender is relational and refers not simply to women or men but to the relationship between them.*¹⁴

2.2 NON-WESTERN/GLOBAL/MULTICULTURAL FEMINISM

Since gender is a way of structuring social practice in general, it is unavoidably linked with other social structures, and then interacts with race, class, age,

¹² Inger Skjelsbæk: 'Is femininity inherently peaceful? The construction of femininity in the war,' in Skjelsbæk, Inger and Smith, Dan (eds.) *Gender peace and conflict*, Sage Publications, London, 2001, pp.49-50

¹³ Skjelsbæk, 2001, pp.51-52

¹⁴ INSTRAW (United Nations Training Institute for the Advancement of Women): *Glossary of Gender-related terms and concepts*, 2003

nationality and position in the world order. By the early 1980s it became apparent for many feminist scholars that by focusing on the Universal Woman, one failed to capture the immense variations between women; within the previous single category 'women' the working class, black, lesbians, immigrant women etc. were facing their own struggles and faced different prejudices. This had been overlooked by Western feminism and the stereotyping of the two sexes. The consequence was that it became philosophically unsound to continue to assert broad-ranging theories about women's experiences.¹⁵ A much-discussed question then, is to what extent we can legitimately speak about women as a group. This new line of feminist studies has been given different names such as non-western; global; and multicultural feminism. Much of the literature and the approach that I will use in my analysis will be based on this type of feminism which claims that each woman experiences oppression differently depending on her age, class, religion, education, occupation, marital status and so on. I believe furthermore that neither 'women' nor 'men' can be seen as single categories; rather one must recognize that there are differences within these gendered groups as well. Accepting the multitude of lived lives for both women and men, Julia Mosse, a feminist scholar, recognizes that there can be no simple statement of a universal 'position of women', and that within most societies it is not possible to speak of women as a group sharing common interests.¹⁶ However, she also recognizes that although women are 'positioned' differently in their societies on account of for instance their class and ethnicity, there are also factors that unite women as a gender. Her main point, however, is that women are oppressed not only by their gender but also by their class, race, caste, and colour, sharing these oppressions with men from similar social groupings, but the women are also oppressed by those men.¹⁷ This is a position I share and consequently will be using in my analysis of gender in East Timor.

15 Andrea Cornwall: "Men, masculinity and gender in development," in *Gender and development*, Vol.5, No. 2, 1997, p.9/ Robert W. Connell: "The social organisation of masculinity," in Stephen M. Whitehead and Frank J. Barrett (eds.): *The masculinities Reader*, London, Polity, 2001, p.37

16 Julia Cleves Mosse: *Half the world, half a chance: an introduction to gender and development*, Oxfam, Oxford, 1993, p.2.

17 Ibid, 1993, p.86.

2.3 THE NEED FOR GENDER SENSITIVITY AND A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

There are several arguments that support the use of a gender perspective when looking at conflicts and post-conflict societies. Kari Karamé presents four main reasons for taking a gender perspective when looking at conflicts. First of all, having a gender perspective prevents ‘gender neutral’ studies, which in fact are not that neutral. Indeed they always imply that the case is seen from a male perspective. Secondly, using a gender perspective prevents essentialism: men make war; women make peace. Of course real life is far more complicated than that. Not all women are peaceful; they might participate in a war as combatants, they feed the soldiers, they send their sons and husbands to become soldiers, or they passively accept the fighting. Similarly not all men are violent and aggressive. A third reason for having a gender perspective is that it leads to a broader knowledge of the conflict, and equally important, to a better basis for sustainable peace. Finally, having a gender perspective improves the quality of intervention and assistance.¹⁸ Acknowledging these reasons I will be using a gender perspective when looking at the domestic violence campaign in East Timor in the following chapters.

¹⁸ Kari Karamé, *op.cit.*, 2001

3. THEORIZING MASCULINITY

3.1. THE CONCEPT OF MASCULINITY

Having a gender means being the bearer of a physical mark. You can generally recognize a man or a woman from their exterior appearance. When we look at people, consider them and judge them, their sex is an active category. In this process, we have a double standard system for normality. What is considered to be within the range of normality for a woman is not necessarily considered normal for a man and vice versa.¹⁹ While all societies have cultural accounts of gender, not all have the concept of ‘masculinity’. Thus ‘masculinity’ is neither tangible nor an abstraction whose meaning is everywhere the same.²⁰

The common modern usage of the term masculinity assumes that one’s behaviour results from the type of person one is. That is to say, an unmasculine person would behave differently: being peaceable rather than violent, conciliatory rather than dominating, hardly able to kick a football, uninterested in sexual conquests, and so forth. Thus definitions of masculinity are often rigidly stereotypical: a ‘real man’ acts; he is not the object of action: he is demanding or aggressive in articulating his desires and striving towards his goals. His proper sphere of action is economic or political, not domestic or familial. Furthermore, a ‘real man’ is the head of his family, and he provides for the household, but he may choose personal pleasure above family expenses. A ‘real man’ is strong, thus he does not recognize or admit uncertainty, which would be a sign of weakness. The same goes for emotion, a ‘real man’ will therefore admit little concern for his partner’s wishes, pleasure or well-being. These stereotypes and others like them do no match reality, either for men or for those who depend on them. Men who – consciously or unconsciously – measure their lives against such stereotypes set themselves up for failure, difficulty in family relationships and unreasonable stress. This concept is furthermore inherently relational: ‘masculinity’ does not exist except in contrast with ‘femininity’.²¹

19 Knut Oftung.: “Men and gender equality in the Nordic countries,” in I. Gujit, I. and Shah, M. Kaul (eds.): *The myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development*, Routledge, London, Intermediate Technology Publications, 1998, p.147

20 Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne: ‘dislocating masculinity: gender, power and anthropology’ in A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarne, (eds.): *Dislocating masculinity. Comparative ethnographies*, Routledge, London, 1994, p.12.

21 Connell, op.cit, 2001, pp.30-31/UNFPA: “Men, reproductive rights and gender equality” in *The state of world population*, 2000, <http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2000/english/ch04.html>, (printed 20.11.2004), p.1./Cornwall and Lindisfarne, 1994, p.11.

Robert Connell points out that no masculinity arises except in a system of gender relations. Thus rather than attempting to define masculinity as an object (a natural character type, a behavioural average, a norm), we need to focus on the processes and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives.²² Following this line of thought, I will be using Robert Connell's concept of masculinity in this thesis, since it is not men per se that is seen as the problem, but rather the interpretation of what it means to be a 'real man'. Accordingly in order to influence men's attitudes to violence against women, we need to challenge men's interpretation of masculinity.

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF 'HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY'

In an influential early article 'Towards a new sociology of masculinity' Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) outlined a model of masculinity that today is commonly known as 'hegemonic masculinity.' By this model they argued that there are not only one way of being a man, but many, and that some are more valued than others. Thus men experience social pressure to conform to dominant ideas about being a man, namely the 'hegemonic masculinity.' The men that do not conform to this ideal might find themselves in disadvantage, and even discriminated against.²³ The concept of 'hegemony' refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life. At any given time, one form of masculinity rather than others is culturally exalted. Thus what is the dominating and 'correct' masculinity varies over time, it is an ongoing fight, although some behavioural patterns are more unacceptable than others.²⁴

Andrea Cornwall argues that the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' is valuable in showing that it is not men per se, but certain ways of being and behaving that are associated with dominance and power. Thus in each cultural context the ways in which masculinity is associated with power will vary, and some ways of being a man will be more valued than others. This does not imply, however, that all men will behave in that way, and attributes associated with masculinity will not always be associated with men. Women too can possess masculine attributes. Crucially to notice is that not all men have power, and not all

22 Connell, *ibid*, 2001, pp.31-34.

23 Carrigan, T., Connell, R. and Lee, J: 'Towards a new sociology of masculinity,' in *Theory and society*, 14:5, 1985.

24 Knut Oftung: "Maskulint mangfold," in *NIKK magasin: Kön och vold*, No.2, 2005, p.32.

of those who have power are men.²⁵ On the other side, however, while the number of men rigorously practising the hegemonic pattern in its entirety may be quite small, the majority of men still gain from its hegemony since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend.²⁶

3.3 THE POWERLESSNESS OF MEN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Sarah White underlines that models of masculinity have costs for men both on the intimate and public level. Men suffer as they try to adjust their sense of themselves with the demands that society makes on them.²⁷ Knut Oftung similarly underlines the importance of recognizing that many men feel powerless and can be losers in patriarchal systems as well. Thus, he claims that a concept of patriarchy must also embrace the oppression of not only women, but also of groups of men. The relationship between men and women is consequently not a zero-sum game, where one side's gain is the other side's loss.

A more nuanced view of patriarchy shows clearly that there are a significant number of men who lose out in the patriarchal systems. Incorporating this into gender analysis is not easy, and has not been a priority. Oftung refers to earlier debates on men, gender equality and sex perspectives, where the zero-sum game has played a dominant part. The argument has been that if women are the losers in a patriarchal society, men must be the winners. Oftung emphasises that this is not correct, and that social and health statistics show that the modern form of society is extremely costly for men.²⁸ In fact many forms of masculinity have proved to be very costly, also for men themselves. Men are over-represented in several social statistics, be it for accidents, suicide, and misuse of alcohol or psychiatric illness. Some traditional masculine roles are also extremely costly for other people. For example, around 85-90 per cent of those found guilty of criminal offences are men, and the great majority of perpetrators of violence. In fact, Oftung calls men 'the extreme sex', since they represent both the top and the bottom of social statistics.²⁹

25 Cornwall, op.cit, 1997, p.11.

26 Connell, op.cit, 2001, p.40.

27 Sarah White: "Men, masculinities and the politics of development," in *Gender and development*, 1997, Vol.5(2), p.18.

28 Oftung, op.cit, 1998, p.148.

29 Ibid, p.153.

Sarah White, on the other hand, argues that it is necessary to move beyond saying that both genders are disadvantaged. While she recognizes that men may suffer too, structurally they clearly benefit from gender inequality, even those who do not conform to society's ideas of what men should be.³⁰ In fact men have often reaped considerable 'automatic' benefits from being men. Moreover being a man has not only been an advantage, it also used to be (and in some places still are) necessary in order to participate in arenas such as politics and working life. Thus, even if many men may feel powerless and are losers in patriarchal systems, all of them do, to a varying degree, benefit from gender inequality.

A challenge then, is how to make men and women aware of the problems patriarchy and the current constitution of gender identities are causing, not only for women, but men as well. This is especially relevant for efforts aimed at attitude changing in the domestic violence campaign in East Timor.

³⁰ White, *op.cit.*, 1997, p.19-20

4. THE PROBLEM OF MEN AND VIOLENCE

4.1 DEFINING VIOLENCE

There is no single, universally accepted definition of violence. With a very broad definition, violence could cover a wide range of acts of violations of human rights recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the right to economic and social rights such as food, shelter, work and access to health and education and other basic social services.³¹ This definition is built on Johan Galtung's line of thinking, where he divides violence into two groups: direct violence and indirect or structural violence. Direct violence is harming the basic needs of others, while indirect violence comes from the structure itself – between humans, between sets of humans (societies), and between sets of societies (alliances, regions) in the world. Indirect violence also covers the indirect, non-intended, inner violence inside human beings that comes out of the personality structure. Galtung further adds cultural violence, meaning those aspects of culture (such as religion and language) that legitimize direct and structural violence.³² This thesis is based on the above definition of violence, while the main focus will be on direct violence between men and women. Thus interpersonal violence, which covers violent crimes against unrelated individuals as well as family and intimate partner violence, is the main focus of this thesis. Nevertheless, gender inequality and discrimination is also structural and cultural violence, which are consequently a major part of the discussion.

4.2 THE VIOLENT GENDER

There are many causes of violence, including dispossession, poverty, greed, nationalism, racism and other forms of inequality, bigotry and desire. Gender dynamics are by no means the whole story. Yet given the concentration of weapons and the practice of violence among men, gender appears to be a major factor. Masculinities are the forms in which many dynamics of violence take shape. In fact, men predominate across the spectrum of violence, ranging from participation in combat, criminal activity, violence in the household, body-contact

³¹ Stefan de Vylder: "Costs of male violence," in Ferguson, Hearn, Holter, Jalmert, Kimmel, Lang and Morrell (eds.): *Ending gender-based violence: A call for global action to involve men*, Sida, Stockholm, 2004, p.65.

³² Johan Galtung: *Peace by peaceful means: peace and conflict, development and civilization*, Sage Publications, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi, 1996.

sports to dangerous driving. Thus while the victims of violence include all ages of both sexes, acts of violence are primarily committed by men.³³ Stefan de Vylder estimates that boys and men constitute well above 90 per cent of all perpetrators of violence. Consequently, it can be argued that it is legitimate to treat violence as a phenomenon which is largely a problem of male violence and of prevailing male gender roles and role models.³⁴ Johan Galtung³⁵ and Robert W. Connell support this statement, and the latter argues that “a strategy for peace must concern itself with this fact, the reasons for it, and its implications for work to reduce violence.”³⁶ “It is, overwhelmingly, the dominant gender who holds and uses the means of violence,” concludes Connell.³⁷ What follows from this situation is that many members of the privileged group use violence to sustain the dominance. Intimidation of women ranges from sexual harassment in school, to rape and domestic assault, to murder. It is of course important to underline that most men do not attack or harass women, but those who do are unlikely to think themselves as deviant.³⁸

4.3 FOCUSING ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The growing importance and recognition of violence as an issue at the international level is the result of almost two decades of lobbying by women’s groups internationally. As a result of these campaigns and discussions, the knowledge has steadily increased. At the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995, for instance, the issue of violence against women formed a key part of the discussions.³⁹ In September 1992, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women produced a definition of violence against women “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is

33 Rebecca E. Dobash and Russell P. Dobash “Violent men and violent contexts,” in R.Emerson Dobash and Russell P.Dobash (eds.): *Rethinking violence against women*, SAGE series on violence against women, Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi, 1998/ Per Isdal and Marius Råkil: “Volden er mannens ansvar- behandling av mannlige voldsutøvere som tiltak mot konemishandling,” in Marius Råkil (red.) *Menns vold mot kvinner- behandlingserfaringer og kunnskapsstatus*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 2002, p.103

34 Stefan de Vylder, op.cit, 2004, p.63

35 Johan Galtung, op.cit, 1996, p.41

36 R.W. Connell: “Arms and the man: using the new research on masculinity to understand violence and promote peace in the contemporary world,” in I. Breines, R. Connell and I. Eide (eds.): *Male roles, masculinities and violence: a culture of peace perspective*, Paris, UNESCO Publishing, 2000, pp.21-22

37 Connell, op.cit, 2001, p.44

38 Ibid, 2001, p.44/ Galtung, op.cit, 1996, p.41

39 Monica McWilliams: “Violence against women in societies under stress,” in R.Emerson Dobash and Russell P.Dobash (eds.): *Rethinking violence against women*, SAGE series on violence against women, Thousand Oaks/London/New Delhi, 1998, p.111

likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.”⁴⁰ Article 2 states that violence against women should be understood to encompass, but is not limited to, the following:

1. Physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring in the family,
2. Physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including sexual harassment, trafficking in women, and forced prostitution, and
3. Physical, sexual, and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs.⁴¹

4.4 THE ROOTS AND ARTICULATION OF MEN’S VIOLENCE

There is a widespread belief that it is ‘natural’ for men to be violent. Males are inherently more aggressive than women, many argue. There is thus often an appeal to biology, with testosterone in particular, the so-called ‘male hormone’, as a catch-all explanation for men’s aggression. Careful examination of the evidence shows that this biological essentialism is not credible. Cross-cultural studies of masculinities, such as Cornwall and Lindisfarne’s *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*,⁴² reveal a diversity that is impossible to reconcile with a biologically fixed master pattern of masculinity. It is crucial to note that not all men are violent, in fact there are non-violent men in the world, and this must be considered in a strategy for peace, in development interventions and when dealing with the problem of domestic violence. Connell also emphasises that we are not just talking about individuals; we are also speaking about masculinized institutions. It is then in social masculinities rather than biological differences that we must seek the main causes of gendered violence, and the main answers to it.⁴³

⁴⁰ United Nations General Assembly: *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women*, General Assembly resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Cornwall and Lindisfarne, op.cit, 1994.

⁴³ Connell, op.cit, 2001, p.44.

4.5 WHY DO MEN USE VIOLENCE AGAINST THEIR PARTNERS?

*The argument, based on biological determination, that aggression is an inherent and necessary part of masculinity also helps to intensify the hysterical paralysis. It is difficult to gain acceptance for the idea that it is worthwhile treating men who use violence in the home.*⁴⁴

Knut Oftung

The above statement by Knut Oftung refers to the two opposite explanations of men's violence: the biological/essentialist and the socio-cultural. The essentialist perspective sees men as naturally more aggressive and violent; hence there is not much to gain from trying to treat violent men. The socio-cultural perspective, on the other hand, sees the violence from a societal perspective: masculinities and gendered expectations are socially constructed; consequently they can be changed. Believing that violent men can be treated, I will in this thesis take the socio-cultural perspective and look at some of the possible explanations of men's violence. Although they will be separated into various categories, they are all interlinked, and since we are talking about violent individuals they all explain to some degree men's violence.

4.5.1 GENDERED EXPECTATIONS AND THE MALE ROLE

Both women and men are influenced and directed by their own beliefs of what it means to be a man or a woman, and how the relationship between men and women should be. This can be called gender-oriented expectation-systems. These are internalised through the socialisation processes starting from birth. Men and women are influenced by patriarchal oriented expectations; expectations that women are subordinate and men are dominant. These expectations create the base for the male role, meaning how men believe they should act to be a man. Per Isdal, the leader of 'Alternative to violence' in Norway, argues that a central explanation for men's violence against women is the unequal gender balance regarding power, money, opportunities and rights; patriarchal values of a culture give the men a feeling of a justified right to exercise violence on women on an individual level.⁴⁵ The gender-oriented expectation-systems and the male role

⁴⁴ Oftung, op.cit, 1998, p.159.

⁴⁵ Hanne Sogn: "Hvorfor slår menn?," in *Amnesty Nytt: Stopp volden mot kvinner*, No.1, March, 2004, p.6/Isdal and Råkil, op.cit, 2002, pp.103-104

constitute the foundation for each individual's 'manliness-project,' meaning in which ways he comprehends himself in relation to women and how he seeks to confirm his manliness. If his expectations equalize that he as a man is entitled to more power and freedom than women, and if his feeling of manliness is made dependent of the partner's adaptation to his feelings and needs, the result is that the 'manliness-project' evolves to maintaining this type of organising in the relationship.⁴⁶

4.5.2 VIOLENCE AS AN EXPRESSION OF POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

Jørgen Lorentzen emphasises the need for understanding the significance of gender and its historical evolution in relation to violence. Thus the violence must be understood as a reaction to men's powerlessness. This powerlessness is connected to expectations, and these expectations are a part of men's cultural heritage and gender.⁴⁷ One of the features of violence is that it is directed downwards in systems of power, towards people who have less power than the perpetrator. Power can be distinguished by three qualities: intentionality, rationality and the method of pushing through one's will. Power is thus a relative phenomena, it is a characteristic of the relationship between individuals or between systems. Looking at the power system between men and women, physical power is what often defines the power relation when related to violence. Isdal and Råkil underline that this is important knowledge for those dealing with violent men, since men undergoing treatment for violent behaviour tend to overlook their own power dominance and rather look upon themselves as equal or subordinated to the women they are beating.⁴⁸ Hence violence can be seen as an attempt to deal with a subjective feeling of powerlessness. Powerlessness is characterized as being a natural reaction to experiencing others abuse of power. It can be attached to a concrete emotional experience, but also many men's relationship to their own emotional life. Violence is the opposite of powerlessness, since it gives the perpetrator a feeling of power. Consequently the

46 Isdal and Råkil, op.cit, 2002, pp.105-106.

47 Sogn, op.cit, 2004, p.6.

48 Isdal and Råkil, op.cit, 2002, p.104.

violence becomes a way of turning a feeling of powerlessness to a feeling of power, strength and control.⁴⁹

4.5.3 A CYCLE OF VIOLENCE

Knut Oftung emphasises that in the efforts to combat violence in the home, it is important to see the connection between having been exposed to violence or having seen a lot of violence in childhood and the later experience of violence.⁵⁰ Per Isdal shares this view, saying that Alternative to violence's experience "shows that the father is central with the young violent men. In fact, 80 per cent of those that are violent grew up in families where the father was violent."⁵¹ It is not only the experience of violence that has a negative effect, the feeling of having lacked something such as love, intimacy, restrictions, or protection is also a factor. The parallel between these two experiences is that they both create feelings of powerlessness.⁵² Several researchers, however, warn against seeing a determining connection between exposure to violence in childhood and exercise of violence in later life. Many men who grew up with a violent father do not exercise violence themselves as adults. Exposure to violence as a child could be, but is not always, significant for the use of violence later in life because the child learns a specific behaviour and how men relate to women.⁵³ Other factors are also important such as the child's social network, the reactions of the society to the violence the child is witnessing, and perhaps also the child's personality.

4.5.4 THE FUNCTION OF VIOLENCE

The use of violence can be an effective way of maintaining a position of power. Furthermore, violence can hide weakness and vulnerability. Hence violence has a function. It is an action with intention and direction; it is an active choice aimed at a certain person in a certain situation. Much of the time the intention of the violence in the relationship is to control the woman.⁵⁴ Rebecca and Russell Dobash discovered through interviews with violent men and female victims that

⁴⁹ Ibid, 2002, pp.104-105.

⁵⁰ Oftung, op.cit, 1998, p.158.

⁵¹ Sogn, op.cit, 2004, p.6.

⁵² Håkon Sverre Lycke og Pål Kristian Molin: "Jeg er ingen voldsmann," in Marius Råkil (red.) *Menns vold mot kvinner-behandlingserfaringer og kunnskapsstatus*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 2002, p.85.

⁵³ Oftung, 1998, p.158.

⁵⁴ Isdal and Råkil, op.cit, 2002, p.105.

when a men use violence against his partner, it is the outcome that is valued and at stake (getting what he wants, not letting a woman win an argument, ensuring that she is isolated from other men and from others who might intervene on her behalf). Unlike encounters between men, the act of violence itself does not reaffirm masculine pride, identity and status. Thus, whereas a violent encounter with another man, whether won or lost, may valorise masculine identity, only the outcome of an encounter with a woman has the potential to do so. Accordingly, Rebecca and Russell Dobash argue that a crucial difference between encounters between genders is the differential importance of the outcome of the act of violence rather than the act itself. Masculine identity, social ideals about husbands and wives, as well as personal privilege and material benefits are all at stake when men use violence against a woman partner.⁵⁵

One of the main impressions from Norwegian criminologist Kristin Skjørten's interviews of 2000 violent men was that they tried to play down or minimize the violence. She found that they tried to minimize the extent of their violence, and they did not see the connection between the abuse and its consequences for the woman. Even if the men during the interviews confirmed that the women were afraid of them, they often chose to interpret this as an unfounded fear. They did not see themselves as violent; they often shut out the connection between the violence they exercised and the other person's reactions. Skjørten's main impression from the interviews was that the men did not deliberately distort the truth, but that they often unconsciously minimized their use of violence.⁵⁶

55. Dobash and Dobash op.cit, 1998, pp.164-168.

56 Kristin Skjørten: "-Vi trenger flere perspektiver," in *NIKK magasin: Kön och våld*, No.2, 2005/Oftung, op.cit, 1998, p.158.

5. EAST TIMOR AS A CASE

5.1 THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

5.1.1 COLONIAL ERA

Little is known of the island Timor before 1500, however starting at the 13th century both Chinese and Javanese traders visited the island in search of sandalwood and beeswax. Portuguese traders arrived in 1509, but the first Portuguese settlement was not established before 1556. The Dutch who occupied many parts of present day Indonesia had interests in the island as well, and the two colonial powers fought over the island until the 1859 Treaty of Lisbon divided Timor. Portugal obtained the eastern part of the island, together with the north coast pocket of Oecussi, while the Dutch got the western part. From then on East Timor became a neglected outpost of the Portuguese empire, and it was ruled through a traditional system of local chiefs (liurai). Control outside of Dili was limited, and it was not until the 20th century that the Portuguese intervened in the interior.⁵⁷

5.1.2. CIVIL WAR AND INVASION

When the former Dutch colony of Indonesia gained its independence in 1954, East Timor continued to remain an impoverished outpost of the Portuguese empire. Not until 1974 was a decolonization process started, following the end of the dictatorship in Portugal on 25 April 1974. Portugal's new democratic government announced a decolonisation program, which went badly wrong in East Timor, leading to abrupt Portuguese withdrawal. An internal power struggle fuelled by the Indonesian authorities led to a short civil war, with the result that the nationalist movement Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an independent Timor-Leste) declared independence for East Timor on November 28, 1975. Indonesia, however, opposed the formation of an independent East Timor and argued that the presumably leftist Fretilin raised the spectre of communism. Thus after only ten days of self-proclaimed independence, on December 7, Indonesian troops invaded Dili, the capital, claiming that intervention was necessary to restore peace and security in the territory. This was only one day after US Secretary Henry

⁵⁷ UNIFEM, *op.cit*, 2003, p.2.

Kissinger had visited Jakarta – presumably having stamped a US seal of approval on the invasion.⁵⁸

5.1.3 INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, BUT NO ACTION

In December 1975, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 384 recognized “the inalienable right of the people of Timor-Leste to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principle of the Charter of the UN...” and called upon Indonesia to withdraw its forces from the territory (Article 2) and on the government of Portugal to cooperate fully with the UN “so as to enable the people of Timor-Leste to exercise freely their right of self-determination” (Article 3).⁵⁹ In 1976, Resolution 389 of the Security Council once again reaffirmed this position.⁶⁰ Despite public utterances about the importance of self-determination for the people of East Timor, East Timor and Falintil (Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor-Leste) had to face the Indonesian forces alone. The Indonesian authorities ignored the strong reactions from the UN, and slowly gained control over the island. Despite international condemnation, in 1976 Indonesia formally integrated East Timor as one of its provinces.⁶¹

5.1.4 EAST TIMORESE RESISTANCE

East Timorese resistance movements developed on several levels. During the initial Indonesian military strike, a large part of East Timor’s 600,000 inhabitants, including Falintil, the armed wing of Fretilin, moved into the mountains. As the conflict continued, starvation and carpet-bombings eventually forced most of the surviving population to settle in camps and towns controlled by the Indonesian military (ABRI). Military attacks, executions, starvation after crops were destroyed or abandoned, forced migration and disease claimed an estimated 100,000 in the first year of occupation alone. Falintil had marked success in the first two or three years but after that began to weaken considerably. Non-violent opposition was significant during the occupation, and the Catholic Church transformed into becoming a church on the people’s side, supporting the claim for self-determination. Despite continuing condemnation by the UN, the occupation

58 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.2./Gendecide Watch: *East Timor 1975-99*, http://www.gendecide.org/case_timor.html (downloaded 12.05.2004)

59 United Nations Security Council: *Security Resolution 384*, 22 December 1975

60 United Nations Security Council: *Security Resolution 389*, 22 April 1976

61 Gendecide Watch, op.cit, 2004

continued. The military used harsh techniques to coerce cooperation from the people and solidify Indonesian rule. One in four East Timorese is thought to have perished in the struggle.⁶²

5.1.5 THE REFERENDUM AND UN INTERVENTION

Indonesia showed no sign of making concessions until 1998. Economic and political change in Indonesia, along with intense international pressure, led to the resignation of Suharto and the succession of Habibie, who relented to pressure concerning East Timor and allowed a referendum.⁶³ The referendum on autonomy or independence was held on August 30, 1999, under the auspices of the United Nations Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET). Participation was overwhelming (98,6%) and the result showed a clear majority for independence (78,5%). After the result was made public pro-Indonesian militia groups and Indonesia military started attacking civilians, and an estimated 70-80 percent of the country's infrastructure was damaged severely by the systematic scorched-earth campaign that Indonesian military and militia forces conducted in September 1999, as they withdrew.⁶⁴ Security Council Resolution 1262⁶⁵ had only given UNAMET the mandate to only observe, thus the UN did nothing to protect the East Timorese from the attacks and forced expulsion to West-Timor. Eventually recognizing the severity of the situation, Security Council Resolution 1264 was adopted, where the Security Council deployed a peacekeeping mission in order to restore peace and security.⁶⁶ The International Force in East Timor (Interfet) arrived on 20 September and quickly controlled the violence, but an unknown number of people had lost their lives (estimated numbers ranging from hundreds to tens of thousands), and half a million people were displaced.⁶⁷

Interfet was succeeded by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), established in Security Resolution 1272, with the mission

62 Budiardjo and Liong: *The war against East Timor*, 1984, pp.ix-xiv/U.S. department of state: *East Timor-Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, 2002, p.1/UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.2/Utenriksdepartementet: Øst-Timor, Utenriksdepartementet: Øst-Timor, pp.1-6. <http://odin.dep.no/ud/norsk/fn/asia/p10003394/index-b-f-a.html> (downloaded 15.03.2004)

63 Chris Lundry: *From passivity to political resource: the Catholic Church and Nationalism in East Timor*, 2000, p.22

64 Jill Jolliffe: *Women as agents of tolerance and peace-building*, ICMO/UNIFEM, Hollands Printing Solutions, Dili, 2003, p.3

65 United Nations Security Council: *Security Resolution 1262*, 27 August, 1999.

66 United Nations Security Council: *Security Resolution 1264*, 15 September, 1999.

67 Jolliffe, op.cit, 2003, p.3./ Gendercide Watch, op.cit

of overseeing East Timor during its transition to independence.⁶⁸ Aid and foreign workers flooded the country. As well as the physical reconstruction, the civil service, police, judiciary, education, the health system, etc. all had to be created.⁶⁹ UNTAET remained in authority until East Timor became a fully independent republic on May 20, 2002. Elections held in May 2002 saw Xanana Gusmão, the charismatic Falintil guerrilla leader elected as the first head of state. The Constituent Assembly, which wrote the constitution, became the country's first parliament. Mari Alkatiri became prime minister, while José Ramos-Horta, co-winner of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize with Dili's Bishop Carlos Belo, became the new foreign minister. The UN presence was significant until May 20, 2005, when the UN Mission for the Support of East Timor (UNMISET) ended its mission.⁷⁰

5.2 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

5.2.1 FROM PASSIVISM TO ACTIVISM

Catholicism was early introduced by the Portuguese as part of the colonization process. Consequently during the period of Portuguese control, the Catholic Church in East Timor acted to at least some extent as an instrument of government policy. It was at heart a foreign church, and the majority of Timorese did not identify with it. In fact church statistics record that in 1970 most people were animists; less than one third were Catholics.⁷¹ This situation changed dramatically, however, with the Indonesian invasion. With the isolation of the church that accompanied the early years of the occupation, priests found themselves identifying with the persecuted Timorese and became more engaged socially and politically. Soon Catholic priests came to be viewed as leaders of their communities.⁷² An enculturation or 'Timorization' of the church took place, and the church became the only tolerated public representation of civil society. This in turn contributed to the growth of Timorese nationalism.⁷³ The change in the role of the church was accompanied by a substantial conversion to the

⁶⁸ United Nations Security Council: *Security Resolution 1272*, 25 October, 1999

⁶⁹ UNICEF: *At a glance: Timor-Leste- the big picture*, <http://unicef.org/infobycountry/Timorleste.html>, (downloaded 30.08.2005)

⁷⁰ Budiardjo and Liong, *op.cit*, 1984, pp.ix-xiv/ U.S. Department of State, *op.cit*, 2002, p.1

⁷¹ Pat Smythe: "The Catholic Church in East Timor," in Retbøll, Torben: *East Timor: Occupation and Resistance*, IWGIA-Document, No.89,1998, p.155/Lundry, *op.cit*, 2000, p.7/Robert Archer: "The Catholic Church in East Timor," in Carey, Peter and Bentley, G. (eds.): *East Timor at the Crossroads*, New York, Social Science Research Council,1995, p.121.

⁷² Lundry, *op.cit*, 2000, p.7/Curt Gabrielson: "The Church in East Timor," *ICWA Letters*, 2001b, p.4.

⁷³ Lundry, *ibid*, 2000, pp.2-3.

Catholic Church. In the space of a few years, the proportion of nominal Catholics shot up from less than 30 per cent to more than 80 per cent of the population.⁷⁴

5.2.2 THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TODAY

The Catholic faith is deeply ingrained in the culture of East Timor, with more than 90 percent of the East Timorese being members of the Catholic Church. In fact, the Church and its leaders is, if not the strongest political entity, certainly the strongest moral authority in the land. According to Curt Gabrielson; “how the Church chooses to use its enormous power in East Timor will be one of the great determining factors in the future of this nation.”⁷⁵

5.3 THE CURRENT SITUATION

Despite President Xanana Gusmão’s popularity and the easing of border tensions with Indonesian West Timor, East Timor still faces extensive problems. Many of those are tied up with the economy and foreign aid. With a per capita gross domestic product (GDP) of less than US\$500,⁷⁶ 43 per cent of children underweight for age, an adult literacy rate of 58.6%, and a human development index (HDI) value of 0.436, East Timor is ranked last of the Asian countries.⁷⁷ The population was estimated to be 1,019,252 in July 2004, and with the highest birth rate in the world (27.19 births/1000 population),⁷⁸ this number is increasing fast. This poses a serious challenge to the country with increasing demands for schools, jobs, health, food and other infrastructure facilities. The country has a young population with a median age of 20,⁷⁹ and a life expectancy at birth of 49.3 years.⁸⁰

20 May 2005 UNMISSET ended the six year long UN mission. However, influenced by a letter from the Prime Minister, Marí Alkatiri, urging for a continued UN presence, the Security Council decided in Resolution 1599 to establish a one-year follow-on special political mission in East Timor, the United Nations Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL). This mission will remain in the

74 Archer, op.cit, 1995, p.127.

75 Gabrielson, op.cit, 2001 b, p.8.

76 CIA, op.cit, 2005

77 UNDP: *Human Development Report 2004. Kulturell frihet i en mangfoldig verden*, UNDP Nordic Office, 2004, p.38

78 CIA, op.cit, 2005

79 Ibid

80 UNDP, op.cit, 2004, p.55.

country until 20 May 2006, and is led by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The aim of this mission is a rapid and smooth transition from a special political mission to a sustainable development assistance framework.⁸¹

Despite the continued presence of the UN, this young state has major problems with managing on its own. The UN mission consisted of 9000 people at the largest, and has been the greatest financial income for the country. When the last 1300 UN employees left the island state, a secure income disappeared as well. Now only 130 advisors are left, and East Timor expects a budget deficit of 200 million NOK over the next five years. It is therefore crucial that a debated oil agreement with Australia is in place as soon as possible. East Timor's GDP decreased with three per cent in 2003, for the largest part because of the reduced presence of the UN. The financial stagnation and high level of unemployment – over 20 per cent in rural areas and over 40 per cent in urban areas – create a tense situation.⁸² The vast majority of the population is likely to remain employed in subsistence agriculture. Coffee has a strong potential but at the moment yields are low and production costs are high. Tourism is its infancy, and the outlook for other income is pale.

5.3.1 PROBLEMS OF GOVERNANCE AND THE PATH AHEAD

The World Bank, in a mid-2005 report on East Timor, warned of emerging high-level corruption and of a government increasingly out of touch with the people. The report found that East Timor is at a “crossroads” and that the establishment of a functioning democracy will probably take decades. Despite the fact that East Timor has performed considerably better than other post-conflict countries, the progress remains fragile, according to this report. Among its biggest concerns is the re-emergence of corruption, endemic during the harsh quarter-century rule of Indonesian occupiers. Another problem is the inadequate and often ineffective

⁸¹ United Nations Security Council: *Security Resolution 1599*, 28 April, 2005

⁸² Global Policy Forum: *UN troops leave East Timor*, 2005,

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/etimor/2005/0521withdraw.htm> (downloaded 24.11.2005)/ International Monetary Fund: *Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper- National Development Plan, Road Map for Implementation of National Development Plan, Overview of Sector Investment Programs- Strategies and Priorities for the Medium Term*, IMF Country Report, No.05/247, July 2005/ World Bank: *Background paper for the Timor-Leste and Development Partners Meetings*, Dili, 3-5 December, 2003

communication between the government and the population, resulting in limited mutual understanding. Peace and stability also remain fragile, according to the World Bank, the current danger posed not by armed anti-independence militias but internal fault lines contributing to the risk of renewed violence, including declining income, increased poverty, high unemployment and emerging corruption – the report underlined.⁸³ Thus the World Bank now sees the country at a juncture where it can consolidate gains and create conditions for sustained growth and poverty reduction, or descend down a path of poor governance, continuously increasing poverty and inequality and possibly renewed conflict.⁸⁴

⁸³ World Bank: *The International Development Association: Country Assistance Strategy for the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste*, June 22, 2005, p.4.

⁸⁴ Ibid

6. THE UNITED NATIONS

6.1 THE UN AND PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

United Nations peace support operations have been used as an instrument for international intervention in armed conflicts for over fifty years. The effectiveness of UN peace operations has been questioned since the end of the Cold War and the UN itself has recognised the need to think anew about the operations. Post-Cold War conflicts are seldom inter-state wars, but rather complex situations where many actors engage in political violence over a variety of issues. Civilian populations are the main sufferers of this new warfare. Moreover, UN peace operations face more and more the use of sexual violence as a systematic strategy in the times of war.⁸⁵ Stemming from lobbying by women within the UN, as well as pressure from member states, the UN has the last years turned its focus towards women's roles in conflicts, peace processes and post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction. This is something that East Timorese women have benefited from.

6.2 GENDER MAINSTREAMING WITHIN THE UN

Since its inception the United Nations has addressed issues related to the status of women. The organisation itself divides its work on the promotion of women's rights into four periods of time; 1945-1962: the creation of the foundation for gender equality; 1963-1975: recognition of women's significance for development; 1976-1985: the UN decade for women; 1986-: gender equality, development, peace.⁸⁶ Until the 1970s, women were viewed in the UN system as entities or objects that needed the protection of the world community. In the 1970s, however, women's integration into development began; women were viewed as 'resources' whose contributions would improve the development process. Equally important, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, and is often described as an international bill of rights for

85 Tarja Väyrynen, Why involve gender in UN peace keeping? in *NIKK magasin*, No.1, 2004, p.15/Siv Mjaaland: "Mer enn fine fraser," in *Klassekampen*, 10.10.2005, p.16

86 Hilka Pietilä: *Engendering the Global Agenda. The story of women and the United Nations*, Development Dossier, the UN Non-governmental Liaison Service, 2002.

women. By accepting the Convention, States commit themselves to undertake a range of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms.⁸⁷

In the 1980s, at the end of the UN Decade for Women, the UN officially recognized women's equality and rights as critical in their own right and 'at all levels of the development process.' Many analysts have noted the shift as one from seeking to integrate women in development to seeking to transform the structures and relationships which perpetuate the marginalization of women.⁸⁸ This realisation that it is time to think anew has resulted in several positive efforts: since the Beijing conference in 1995, requests have been made for mainstreaming gender into all of the UN activities, and increasing the number of women in the organisation's peace support operations has been emphasised in a variety of UN documents.⁸⁹ Gender mainstreaming in the UN context is normally defined as:

The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.⁹⁰

In the last decade an increasing number of UN documents have been published that look into the case of women in human security politics. These documents acknowledge that women have been denied a full role in multidimensional peace support operations both nationally and internationally, and that the gender dimension in peace processes has not been adequately addressed.⁹¹ This recognition resulted in the Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 2000, which clearly states that women have an important role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace building. It stresses "the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and

87 Division for the Advancement of Women: *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw.htm> (downloaded 7.9.2005)

88 The La'o Hamutuk Bulletin: *The United Nations, Gender Affairs, and East Timor*, Vol.2, No.5, August 2001a, p.15.

89 Väyrynen, op.cit, 2004, p.14.

90 Torunn L. Tryggestad: "Kvinner, fred og tryggleik- ein ny dagsorden i FN?," in *NUPI: Hvor hender det?*, 20.01 2003.p.3.

91 Väyrynen, op.cit, 2004, p.15./Tryggestad, ibid, 2003

promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.”⁹²

According to UN’s new guidelines, gender equality should permeate the entire mission of peace support operations. The special need to protect women’s security in conflict zones is also noted by the organisation. The UN furthermore calls for all parties to armed conflict to take special measure to protect women and girls from gender-based violence.⁹³ The UN has adopted the strategy of mainstreaming, ranging from specialised to increased representation of women in managing and resolving conflicts, when encouraging gender equality.

6.3 THE UN MISSION IN EAST TIMOR

UN peacekeeping missions have continuously developed to becoming more multi-functional; and that this is especially the case of East Timor, which included a wide range of activities to rebuild the society. These types of activities necessarily include the involvement of women. However, the facts show that the UN has only to a small extent considered and looked into women’s roles and needs in reality. Resolution 1325 has put these problems on the agenda, and this is something East Timor has benefited from. The UN had never done something similar to what it set out to do with East Timor in 1999: to rebuild and run a whole country. Reflecting the increased status of women and the importance of their involvement in post-conflict situations, incorporating gender components in the various UN missions (UNAMET, UNTAET, UNMISSET, UNOTIL) has become a priority. The gender focus of the post-conflict rebuilding and rehabilitation has been on a range of areas: the creation of the Constitution, social structures, the electoral systems, the legislation, and the economy.

From many points of view, the UN’s involvement in Timor-Leste was a great success; the strong inclusion of gender components in the mission’s activities has ensured that women are involved in the reconstruction of Timor-Leste and that they fully participate in the independent Timorese future. The foundation of equality and justice upon which the institutions were built, as articulated by the late Sergio Vieira de Mello, demonstrated to the world

92 United Nations Security Resolution: *UN Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security (S/RES/1325)*, 31 October 2000, www.un.org/resolutions.

93 Väyrynen, op.cit, 2004, p.15.

*how peace operations and post-conflict reconstruction can promote gender equality and capitalize on women's skills and efforts at the same time.*⁹⁴

The above quote by UNIFEM illustrates clearly how the UN looks upon its role in East Timor considering gender. The UN argues that it has succeeded in including women's issues and perspectives in the post-conflict rebuilding; hence the activities in East Timor are looked upon as something the organisation wants to expand on and use in other similar contexts. Consequently looking at and discussing the UN's role in East Timor is important, since the experience from East Timor may influence heavily further peace support operations. Developing and improving what has worked – and changing what has not – is crucial. I will now briefly look upon some of the major achievements by the UN regarding gender mainstreaming in East Timor, while more specific activities targeted at domestic violence will be discussed in Chapter 11.

6.3.1 THE GENDER AFFAIRS UNIT

One of the positive outcomes from the UN intervention is the creation of an Office for the Promotion of Equality. In fact, the UNTAET created for the first time in the UN's history a Gender Affairs Unit in a peacekeeping mission. The stated objective of this Unit was to advocate for gender equity and equality, for a situation in which women are "equal partners with men in the promotion of sustainable development, peace and security, governance and human rights."⁹⁵ A primary focus of the Unit was 'mainstreaming a gender perspective' within all divisions of the UNTAET and all activities of the Peacekeeping mission.⁹⁶ Later this unit became the 'Office for the Promotion of Equality', which has the objectives of providing policy advice on the promotion of equality between men and women as well as the full participation of women in the national and district development process. This office is located within the Office of the Prime

94 Unifem, op.cit, 2003, p.2

95 The La'o Hamutuk Bulletin, op.cit, 2001a, p.16

96 Ibid

Minister, headed by Maria Domingas Alves (commonly known under the name Micato), who is the former director of a local women's NGO called Fokupers.⁹⁷

6.3.2 THE CONSTITUTION

The recognition and inclusion of women's rights and needs in the Constitution of East Timor was a significant achievement for the women of East Timor. The Constitution includes basic provisions on Universality and Equality (Section 16) between women and men (Section 17, which states "women and men shall have the same rights and duties in all areas of political, economic, social, cultural and family life.")⁹⁸ Thus the Constitution guarantees equal rights and responsibilities for women and men, and it also contains an article on non-discrimination, which guarantees protection against discrimination based on sex.⁹⁹

6.3.3 WOMEN IN THE PARLIAMENT

Women were elected to 27 percent of the seats in the Constituent Assembly in August 2001,¹⁰⁰ and held 26.1 percent of the seats in the parliament as of March 2004.¹⁰¹ Thus of 88 members in the parliament, 24 of them are females, which is a fairly high number in the global context. Numbers is not always enough: "a lot of the parliaments' understanding of gender is still very basic, and even women who are sitting in parliament now have a very basic understanding of women's rights, and tend to be pushed into the party line," said Oxfam worker Inga Mephram.¹⁰² Most of the time women in the parliament follow party politics, and there is little bonding between women across parties. According to Lucia Lobato, a member of the National Parliament, "when we discuss women's issues, the others keep silent. Thus, twenty-four women is a good number to have in the parliament, but we can do nothing there."¹⁰³

97 Office for the Promotion of Equality. *Women in East Timor: a report on women's health, education, economic empowerment and decision-making*, East Timor Public Administration, UNTAET, Dili, April 2002, p.7/UNTAET Press Office: Fact sheet 11, in *UNTAET's major achievements: Fact sheets 1-20*, April 2002, , www.un.org/peace/etimor/fact/fs11.PDF

98 *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor*, http://www.constitution.org/cons/east_timor/constitution-eng.htm/UNTAET Press Office, op.cit, 2002

99 *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of East Timor*, *ibid*/Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: "Majority of Timor Leste's women marginalised," in *PeaceWomen*, 2005, <http://www.peacewomen.org/news/Timor-Leste/May05/marginalised.html> (downloaded 30.08.2005)

100 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.3.

101 UNDP, op.cit, 2004, p.65.

102 Author's interview with Inga Mephram, Oxfam, 1.7.2004.

103 Lucia Lobato: *Legal protection for East Timorese women*, Discussion paper, 2004, p.2.

6.4 LIBERAL FEMINISM: THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Since this thesis examines some of the strategies and methods the United Nations applies in their activities and projects targeting domestic violence, I will also need to examine the theoretical framework the UN derives its gender analysis from, namely liberal feminism. Liberal feminism is derived from liberal political thought, which argues that the uniqueness of human nature is our capacity for reason. Thus humans share some basic qualities in that we have the ability to reflect on and choose among conceptions of the good life, and we have a right to do so, provided that we do not deprive others of theirs. This is how our system of individual rights is justified, and importantly, the right takes priority over the good. Thus as rational individuals we have endowed ourselves with particular rights, and together with the freedom of the individual and the ability to choose, this is the main drive behind liberal feminism.¹⁰⁴ Classical liberal feminists believe that besides creating a legal framework based on equality for men and women, “not much else can be done.”¹⁰⁵ There is, however, another branch of liberalism: the welfare liberal feminists, who are committed to major economic re-organization and considerable redistribution of wealth.¹⁰⁶ The critique of liberal feminism is varied and extensive; a major one is that they have tended to accept male values as human values, in addition to having tended to overemphasize the importance of the individual freedom over that of the common good and their tendency to valorise a gender-neutral humanism over a gender-specific feminism.¹⁰⁷

Looking at the domestic violence campaign in East Timor, one clearly sees that it is dominated by liberal feminism. During the years of UNTAET government they incorporated the goal of gender equality into East Timor’s legal framework through the adoption of Regulation 1999/1. Section 2 obligates all public officials to uphold international human rights standards and principles, including the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Pursuant to its obligations under CEDAW, UNTAET was required to take measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the enjoyment of all

104 Rosemarie Tong: *Feminist thought: a comprehensive introduction*, Westview Press, Boulder and San Francisco, 1989, p.11-12

105 Ibid, p.29

106 Ibid, p.12.

107 Ibid, p.31.

civil, political, economic and cultural rights. Moreover, UNTAET was mandated to mainstream gender equality throughout the development of the transitional administration.¹⁰⁸ To fulfil its mandate 'The Gender Affairs Unit' was established as the institutional mechanism to facilitate the integration of gender perspectives into the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all UNTAET programmes and policies.¹⁰⁹

In creating the East Timorese constitution the focus was also directed on gender equality and non-discrimination.¹¹⁰ Thus the focus of the UN has been on creating the legal framework, as well as securing the equal participation of women and men. There is no doubt that the UN has been able to achieve some remarkable successes, particularly from a liberal feminist perspective, but numbers and legal rights do not always equalize improvement in people's daily life.

108 Office for Promotion of Equality, op.cit, April 2002, p.6.

109 Ibid, pp.6-7.

110 UNTAET Press Office, op.cit, *Fact sheet 11*, 2002/ *Constitution of the democratic republic of East Timor*, op.cit, 2002.

7. METHODOLOGY

This chapter is based on the conviction that research should be accompanied by accounts of how it was really done. Since decisions about research instructions are made in gradual response to the nature of the social setting being investigated as its nature is revealed, every qualitative research design will be different. This means that qualitative research has to show its workings every single time. Furthermore I as a researcher must justify choices made, and in particular demonstrate how the overall strategy is appropriate to the social setting and the researcher-subject relationships within it.¹¹¹ Qualitative research is based on a conviction that what is important to look for will emerge,¹¹² and this is precisely the conviction that guided me. When setting out for my fieldwork I wanted to see which issues came up, and thus was very flexible during my research. This methodology chapter will describe the fieldwork, the research process, give an explanation of procedures, methodological limitations, and finally describe how the data was analysed.

7.1 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The initial phase of the research process can be divided into three stages: determining the area or topic; determining the research question; and thirdly determining the research setting.¹¹³ This was not the sequence of my research however. I actually began by deciding on the research setting; I determined at an early stage that I wanted to do my fieldwork in East Timor. I found this island state fascinating because of its history, its newly won independence and its UN dominance. After having researched about the country for a while, one topic soon crystallized: the quest for gender equality. The focus on gender and gender equality was in fact presented by the UNTAET administration as a success story,¹¹⁴ and this made me curious. Thus I first decided on the setting, then the topic. Determining the research question was most challenging, and I actually had several options when I began my fieldwork. In the same way that hypotheses

111 Adrian Holliday: *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, London, 2002, pp.7-9.

112 Ibid, p.6.

113 Ibid, p.28.

114 International Alert, 2001: *Gender and Peace Support Operations: opportunities and challenges to improve practices*, 2001/Emily Royenstad: *Peace Agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring Participation of Women*, United Nations, 2003, p.2/UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.2.

develop and adapt throughout the research process, research questions can also change. That was exactly the case of this research, where initial questions led me to investigate in a certain direction; but within this process there were unforeseen discoveries which raised further or different questions. The justification for this change is the non-prescriptive nature of ethnographic enquiry where themes emerged from the data and so the concern of my study changed. Thus my initial project description was an initial proposal with a set of possibilities, and not fixed absolutes for the research.

7.1.1 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER: THE OUTSIDER PERSPECTIVE

When I approached the culture of East Timor I brought with me my residues of my own cultural background. Furthermore as an outsider with little knowledge of the social setting I was going to research I needed some time to adapt and understand the social realities of the East Timorese society. Thus the first step was to understand the informants social reality and what the messages in their stories actually meant. The second step was to test my beliefs in the interviews to see if they reflected the opinions and beliefs of the informants. The advantage of coming in as an outsider is that I saw the setting with an untouched mind, and perhaps discovered things that those inside the setting saw as a natural and thus overlooked.¹¹⁵ I can illustrate this with an example from one interview. The informant asked me of my impressions so far of Dili, the capital. I responded by telling her that I was surprised to notice the apparent absence of women in the streets. Her response illustrates one of the advantages of an outsider's point of view:

*Really? That's interesting. I haven't thought about that. Maybe it is because I have been living here for so long that I don't notice that.*¹¹⁶

7.2 FEMINIST AND CRITICAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

The qualitative research that was conducted in East Timor (11.06-30.08.2004) was based on an inductive reasoning. Thus I began by examining the social world in East Timor and during and after that process developed hypotheses, which were

115 Holliday, op.cit, 2002, p.15/Tove Thagaard: *Systematikk og innlevelse: en innføring i kvalitativ metode*, Fagbokforlaget, Polen, 1998, p.183.

116 Author's interview with Jaqueline Siapno, Director of the International Studies Program at UNPAZ, 16.06.2004

consistent with what I was seeing. This approach is also called ‘grounded approach.’¹¹⁷

This thesis is based in on a combination of critical social research and feminist research in that I aim to seek insights into the social world of East Timor in order to hopefully give a small contribution to the Timorese in changing these oppressive conditions. These two branches of research are similar in that they both can be seen as alternatives to the traditional theories. The feminist research further assures that gender issues within all relations are discusses, and that the gender relation is seen in connection with power and suppression.¹¹⁸ As a critical researcher I tried to pay close attention to the underlying mechanisms that account for unequal social relations and my aim was to examine the nature of inequality in East Timor. Thus, not only do I want to understand people’s subjective feelings and experiences but also the material world and power relations within it. An important part of critical social research is that it is action-oriented and values are involved. The implication of this is that I have to not only be aware my own values, but also embrace a set of carefully considered values.¹¹⁹ I also hope to be able to communicate my findings to people, especially the East Timorese and the people working in East Timor that I was actually studying, so that hopefully they can use them to better their lives.

7.3 THE EXPLANATION OF PROCEDURES

7.3.1 CHOOSING INFORMANTS

Working within a critical social research tradition where my objective is to make a contribution towards social change, I first had to identify the protagonists in achieving gender equality in East Timor. This was in fact a fairly easy task and I soon realized that the ones who are most outspoken on these issues where the activists within the various local and international NGOs, and of course the people (mostly women) working in the ‘Office for the promotion of Equality.’ Women in general, and some men, do all have a stake in this issue, but I had to limit who I could research because of the short amount of time and language barriers. The next step was to identify who has the power to effect change and just as

117 Kristin G. Esterberg: *Qualitative Methods in Social Research*, McGraw-Hill Companies, New York, 2002, p.7.

118 Thagaard, op.cit, 1998, p.40.

119 Esterberg,op.cit, 2002, pp.17-18.

importantly, what the people I was interviewing/talking to, believed there was a need for more research on. I actively did that by asking people I met involved in gender issues what they felt there was a lack of research on, and although I got a substantial number of different answers, some soon crystallized. Thus I tried to begin with a clear statement of the needs and priorities of some of the people actively involved in gender issues.¹²⁰

One of the crucial questions during my fieldwork was deciding whom to interview, and on what basis. This is an important issue considering that if I did not choose the appropriate people to interview, I could have ended up with not getting the information I was looking for. In fact, I used a purposive strategy, in which I intentionally sampled research subjects for the specific perspectives and knowledge I thought they would have. In order to gather information about whom to interview I used a method called snowball sampling.¹²¹ My supervisor had given me some suggestions of people that I could talk to and I started by interviewing those. After each of those interviews I asked for suggestions for other people that I could benefit talking to, which was a very efficient way of getting an overview of the East Timorese involved in gender issues. From starting out with some key informants, I ended up with interviewing 23 East Timorese and international women and men, working in NGOs, the UN, the government and the Church.

7.3.2 FORMAL IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

My qualitative research is based on formal in-depth interviews with people involved in gender issues in East Timor. I ended up choosing to conduct semi-structured interviews, which are less rigid than structured interviews. One of the reasons for that choice was that in-depth interviews are particularly useful for exploring a topic in detail or in constructing a theory.¹²² The aim of the interviews I conducted was to explore a topic more openly and to allow my informants to express their opinions and ideas in their own words. I did, however, begin with some ideas, themes and general questions about what I wanted to get covered during the interview, but I let the informant's responses shape the order and structure of the interview. The questions I prepared in advance were open-ended

120 Esterberg, *op.cit.*, 2002, p.34.

121 Esterberg, *ibid.*, p.93/Thagaard, *op.cit.*, 1998, p.54.

122 Esterberg, *ibid.*, 2002, p.87/Thagaard, *ibid.*, 1998, p.81.

so that they could help me spark discussion and encourage the participants to talk. There was one question that I asked all my informants, namely: “what do you feel are the greatest challenges facing East Timorese women today?” This gave some interesting insights, since the answer to this question varied widely; from the whole patriarchal culture to general health issues.

I tape-recorded all my interviews except one. Before recording I asked for the interview subjects consent, and explained that I was recording for my own purpose, not to show anyone else. Since many of those I interviewed have conducted research themselves, or been interviewed several times already, I experienced few questions or uncertainties regarding the recording. And although some might have been cautious or uncomfortable in the beginning of the interview (often because of their felt lack of skills in English) it seemed that a majority forgot about the recording after a while.

7.3.3 OBSERVATIONAL STUDY

I did to a small extent conduct an observational study, in which I gathered data by observing interaction in the East Timorese society, especially during ‘the Second National Congress for women in East Timor.’ This method is a good way of studying relations between people, since as a researcher I got the opportunity to focus on how the various actors related to each other in different social settings.¹²³ This was not ‘natural’ interaction however, but instead interactions and discussions set up in a fixed setting. By observing the congress I was able to see which issues East Timorese women prioritized to focus upon and what conclusions and recommendations they reached. I was also able to observe how the congress was conducted, the participants and their interactions, and the contributions by the government, the UN and the various NGOs.

7.4 METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS

There were two main obstacles in my fieldwork that I would like to mention: the limited time available, and the lack of knowledge of the local language. Because of the short period I was spending in East Timor I ended up staying in Dili, the capital, thus I only got to see the more urban side of the country. Furthermore, I do not speak Tetun, the local language, and I did not have enough time to learn it

¹²³ Thagaard, *ibid*, 1998, p.61.

sufficiently to conduct interviews in Tetun. An alternative could have been to use a translator, but it was quite expensive, and difficult to find. Thus I ended up interviewing people who spoke English, which naturally limit my findings to some degree, since I only got the perspectives and viewpoints of educated East Timorese and internationals, which is a minority. This limitation is also connected to the fact that I used snowball sampling as method to find informants, thus most of my informants knew each other and represented the same group of professionals.¹²⁴ On the other side that was the scope of this research; to look at the strategies and programmes of the protagonists in East Timor regarding the gender issue.

7.5 ANALYSING REPORTS AND DOCUMENTS

In addition to the qualitative data gathered during the fieldwork this thesis is also based on documents and records collected in East Timor. These materials are secondary sources such as other researcher's analyses, UN documents, NGO reports, surveys, etc. The status of women in East Timor, the gender mainstreaming, and the domestic violence campaign have become the focus of much research recently. Nearly all of the materials I have been able to obtain are accounts written and produced by various NGOs, the UN and the government. I have not been able to find articles/books written by independent scholars on issues of gender mainstreaming, the domestic violence campaign and evaluation of the work done so far (except by the UN). Thus there seems to be a gap in knowledge in that area.

7.6 THE DATA ANALYSIS

Moving from the data collection and analysis to the writing of the data analysis of this written study involved organising the data into themes which then acted as headings in the written study. This thesis is based on an issue-focused or cross-sectional analysis where I have looked at theme 'the domestic violence campaign' by comparing the information from my informants. By comparing what the various informants said I was able to get an impression of what the various organisations are doing, which programmes they have, and why they have chosen to focus on those projects. A common criticism against this particular type of

¹²⁴ Ibid, 1998, pp.54-55.

analysis is that is not able to retain the holistic perspective. Thus when a part of the text is taken out from the transcription it is in fact taken out of its context. Then it is crucial that important information from each informant is seen from the context that the issue was taken from. As long as this is done this analysis gives a holistic understanding through the comparison between the various themes.¹²⁵ The themes I divided my material into are reflected in the chapters and sub-themes in the thesis. I surveyed the transcriptions to find what the various informants, for instance, had said about the inclusion of men in their gender programmes. The data analysis was a continuous process as were the other phases of the research; each stage overlapped with the others.

125 Ibid, 1998, pp.149-150

8. WOMEN IN EAST TIMOR

8.1 PATRIARCHY AND TRADITIONS

East Timor is a very traditional society in most aspects and the family is the first and indivisible form that defines the complex structures of this society. The majority of women in East Timor are illiterate, uneducated subsistence farmers. They are marginalized from politics, and collective community agency has been hampered not only by cultural norms, but also by colonial and neo-colonial obstacles, felt most acutely over the last 25 years during the Indonesian occupation.¹²⁶ On a daily basis, East Timorese' women mostly fill the domestic role. East Timor can thus be characterized as a patriarchal society, which means that men hold power in the different sectors of society, and that women are, mainly, deprived of access to that power. It does not imply that women are totally powerless, or totally deprived of rights, influences, and resources, rather that the balance of power is in men's favour.¹²⁷ Women and men are equal under the law, but the social reality does not reflect that. Similar to many other societies, women suffer more from poverty, they have less education, men have the decision-making power in the households, traditional justice is insensitive to women, and the role of religion (the Catholic Church) and animistic beliefs contributes to the subordination of women.¹²⁸

8.2 POVERTY AND DESPAIR, FEW CHANGES IN GENDER PATTERNS

It is often taken for granted that change in the public sphere – economic growth, political transformation, and new means of communication and transport – will be reflected in changes in individual attitudes and behaviours. This could consequently be expected with East Timor following the UN intervention and the subsequent independence, where the UN has introduced democracy, incentives for growth, modernisation and education. The statement by UNIFEM below, however, explains that while the situation has improved since the occupation, at least regarding the physical security, the situation is still very difficult:

126 Royenstad, op.cit, 2003., p.2.

127 Julia Cleves Mosse: *Half the world, half a chance: an introduction to gender and development*, Oxfam, Oxford, 1993, p.51/INSTRAW, op.cit, 2003.

128 Office for the promotion of equality, op.cit, 2002/UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003/UNTAET Language and Training Unit: *Working in East Timor: Culture, Customs and Capacity Building*, Dili, 2001, pp.18-20

*Post-conflict aid has not made a dramatic impact on women's lives; women continue to live in extreme poverty and lack access to health care, particularly pre- and post-natal care.*¹²⁹

The numbers supporting this statement speaks for themselves: there is an estimated infant mortality rate of 85 per 1000 live births, and a maternal mortality ratio of 800 per 100 000 live births. Child morbidity is high, due mainly to infectious and parasitic diseases and persistent malnutrition. A lack of trained birth attendants and poor access to emergency obstetric care aggravates the situation.¹³⁰ In line with this lack of development, the UNFPA argues that the expectation for change does not extend to the private sphere, where basic issues of identity and family are involved. Society may change, but gender roles are not expected to change with it. The UNFPA concludes, “this anomaly is at the root of continuing gender inequality.”¹³¹

8.3 WOMEN IN THE RESISTANCE

*From the invasion of 1975, Timorese women have contributed to all aspects of the resistance in the mountains: Timorese women were at once mothers, we assisted FALINTIL (the armed resistance of East Timor) in the preparation of food and other natural resources for combat rations, as well as being fighters ourselves.*¹³²

The above quote by Albina Freitas, member of Rede Feto (East Timor women's network) illustrates how East Timorese women have played a critical role in East Timor's struggle for national independence. Both inside the country and in the diaspora, they challenged the Indonesian invasion and occupation, as well as the international support that made this possible. In the absence of the male household head, women assumed new responsibilities in traditionally male income generation efforts. The women showed themselves as leaders, though they were often sidelined in political discussions. The extent to which they were included at

129 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.4.

130 UNICEF, op.cit, 2005

131 UNFPA, op.cit, 2000, p.4.

132 Albina Freitas on behalf of Rede: Feto Timor Lorosae: “The Role of Women in Maintaining International Peace & Security,” *ETAN*, 2000, <http://www.etan.org/et2000c/october/22-31/24ther.htm> downloaded 25.11.2005)

a decision-making level is an ongoing debate, but their role has been acknowledged by many men to be important. While traditional conflict resolution methods emphasized respect for the wisdom of the patriarchal society and did not allow for women to sit on the decision-making panel, a return to those practices after being active members of the independence struggle could have been avoided. Unfortunately, it seems that East Timorese women are now returning to their pre-conflict roles. Thus they have not been able to draw on the new roles that they took on during the conflict.¹³³

8.3.1 WOMEN AS TARGETS OF VIOLENCE

Women have been raped in every war – as retaliation, as damage to another man’s property, and as a message to the enemy. Rape is an efficient weapon for demoralization and humiliation;¹³⁴ and the East Timorese women have paid the price. During the occupation and particularly in 1999, Indonesian militia and military frequently used rape as a form of torture and intimidation against the resistance. Sexual slavery was also common with soldiers on duty in East Timor, reportedly demanding sexual services or a live-in arrangement, threatening to harm a family member if she did not comply. East Timorese women were further subjected to forced sterilization and were forcibly given injectable hormone contraceptives during 1987-1989 while under Indonesian occupation by Keluarga Berencana Nasional (KB), Indonesia’s National Family Planning Program. Adding to this is the fact that during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Indonesian military killed husbands and children in front of their wives and mothers and asked them to smile and yell ‘Viva Indonesia’. Then the wives were required to bury their husbands and children.¹³⁵

8.3.2 THE PUNISHMENT OF PERPETRATORS

Rape during war was first discussed internationally in the 1993 Human Rights Conference in Vienna. Consequently the UN for the first time recognised rape in wartime as a war crime. This was a significant breakthrough for the issue of rape

133 Royenstad, op.cit, 2003, p.3/ The La’o Hamutuk Bulletin: *Women and reconstruction of East Timor*, Vol.2, No.5, August 2001b, p.1/UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, pp.2-5/Kirsty Sword-Gusmão: *Still fighting to be free: East Timorese women, survivors of violence*, 2001, www.alolafoundation.org/pdf/freefight.pdf (downloaded, 30.8.2005), pp. 2-3.

134 Monica McWilliams, op.cit, 1998, p.114.

135 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, pp.3-4/Gusmão, op.cit, 2001, p.2./Curt Gabrielson: “East Timorese Women’s fight Against violence,” in *ICWA Letters*, 2001a

in wartime, and today it features in most human rights reports.¹³⁶ With the case of East Timor, however, very few perpetrators have been charged for violations of human rights during the occupation. East Timorese, particularly the victims and their relatives, have been demanding an international tribunal since the 1999 takeover, but focus on economic development and resistance from Indonesia and some East Timorese politicians have slowed down the process. The few perpetrators that have been put on trial have been ordinary militia members, while none of the responsible actors behind the violence have been prosecuted. The demand for an international tribunal is still a debated issue with wide support among the population.¹³⁷

8.4 THE IMPLICATIONS OF LIVING IN A WAR-TORN SOCIETY

A major implication of the occupation is the high number of war widows in East Timor. In fact, it is estimated that at least 9 per cent of East Timorese' households are female-headed, as a result of the murder or disappearance of their husbands throughout the period of the armed struggle.¹³⁸ For cultural reasons, a widowed woman has little hope of remarrying and may even find herself "appropriated" by a male member of her deceased husband's family. In addition, she faces the emotional and economic hardship associated with the loss of her husband and with bringing up her children on her own.¹³⁹ A second implication of the war is the widespread physical and psychological trauma among the survivors. Apart from those who also suffered physical injuries in the attacks, many people, including children, were involuntary witnesses to killings and are suffering from post-traumatic stress. Living and growing up in a society where violence is 'normal' and thus enduring constant fear, has implications far beyond what is possible to imagine. Violence has for many become the 'natural' way of solving conflicts. A third consequence is the disruption of village life since more than half a million people fled or were deported in 1999. Although most of these have returned now, they have had to resume life from zero – their homes having been

136 Trine Lynggard: 'Voldtekt i krig- mer enn krigsstrategi', in *NIKK magasin*, no.1, 2004, p.18.

137 ETAN: *A Refutation for Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Jose Ramos Horta: Victims wish for an International Tribunal*, August 7, 2005, <http://etan.org/news/2005/08all.htm> (downloaded 19.09.2005)

138 ADB: *Country Assistance Plans- East Timor*, <http://www.adb.org/Documents/CAPs/ETM/0103.asp> (downloaded 20.11.2005)

139 Sword-Gusmão, op.cit, 2001, p.3.

burnt and belongings looted. The migration and the abuse by militia leaders of those in the camps, including young women, created additional trauma.¹⁴⁰

8.5. WOMEN AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Catholic Church in East Timor holds conservative views on women, which is quite in line with the patriarchal dominant discourse. Bishop Belo has previously stated in mass that people need to accept their positions and learn to “bow,” in other words submit, for instance students must bow to teachers, children bow to parents, and wives must bow to their husbands.¹⁴¹ Instead of taking a strong stand against domestic violence, the Church is putting pressure on women’s organisations to avoid presenting divorce as an alternative, and to focus all efforts on reconciling husband and wife.¹⁴² The Catholic Church’s official view came clearly forward in an interview with the Bishop of Dili, Ricardo da Silva. This is his response when asked about the prevalence of domestic violence in East Timor: “For me domestic violence is not such a large a problem. So small problems can become big.”¹⁴³ The Bishop of Dili in other words considers the focus on domestic violence to be exaggerated, and he indicates that there are other problems that are just as important to discuss. During the same interview, the Bishop often avoided answering my questions related to women’s issues. He confirmed that the church is against divorce in almost any circumstance, and that the solution to domestic violence is reconciliation. He further was quite reluctant to call East Timor a patriarchal society, while he did in the end admit that men dominate the East Timorese society.¹⁴⁴ Since the Catholic Church is so influential in East Timor, one of the main challenges for women’s NGOs is to get the Church on its side and be supportive. The fact that the Bishop seems to underestimate the prevalence of domestic violence and the consequences it has for East Timorese women, is an added challenge for the women’s protagonists.

8.6 *BARLAKE*

Barlake, or the tradition of dowry, has evolved as a traditional practice where the intention was to give value to the woman as a housewife and mother. The woman

140 Jolliffe, op.cit, 2003, pp.4-5.

141 Gabrielson, op.cit, 2001b, p.7.

142 Ibid.

143 Author’s interview with Bishop Ricardo da Silva, Dili, 10.8.2004.

144 Ibid.

was seen as creating a link and unifying the two families that got into marriage, preventing conflicts in a village. The dowry that is being applied today, however, has become detached from its original purpose. *Barlake* is currently the process of giving material or goods to the bride's family that is handed by the man (husband to be) who wants to marry a woman. The family on the woman's side determines the amount of the dowry which is usually proposed by the uncle of the woman's family and not the parents of the woman or by the woman themselves. Normally, the demanded dowry is substantial and varies in substance such as goats, buffalos or money. The process of giving dowry can be seen as similar to a transaction where the man buys his wife. The practice today is therefore by many regarded as a transaction process, where the woman is practically bought by her husband and his family as a compensation to her family for the loss of labour. The husband and his family often see the woman as their property, and feel that they can treat the woman as they see fitting. It can be described as a 'systemic context of a ring', in which the woman is never an individual, first she belongs to her father, then to her husband. Once the dowry has been paid, the woman has become the possession of the man and his family. Consequently if the husband dies, the wife is still in the possession of the husband's family.¹⁴⁵

Numbers from a survey of women in East Timor done by the International Rescue Committee illustrates the current prevalence of *barlake* in East Timor, (Appendix I). Out of a total of 254 women interviewed, the survey shows that 56 per cent of the women did not wish to marry their husbands, which is striking in itself. Furthermore, 50 per cent of the marriages had involved some sort of payment through the *barlake* system. This is a significant number that illustrates the widespread use of dowry in East Timor. The survey further shows that 38 percent of the women interviewed believed that the dowry in fact had a positive influence on the husband's treatment of them, while 43 percent believed that it had no influence on treatment. If this is the case, it is surprising, but of course positive. (It is another discussion whether these women are able to neutrally see the possible influence *barlake* might have on their marriage.)

I would argue that both young East Timorese women and men may be seen as victims of this dowry system, since this is not something they have

145 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003/UNTAET Language and Training Unit, op.cit, 2001, pp.18-20/UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp. 8-9/Office For the Promotion of Equality, op.cit, 2004, p.15/ Author's interview with Aisling Swayne, June 2004

chosen, it is an expectation from their parents and the extended family. In an interview I conducted with Milena Pires, the head of UNIFEM Timor-Leste, I was told that some of the men who have been, or are, studying in Indonesia have chosen to get married to Indonesians. Although some of these are marriages of love, some men actually do this to escape the whole ritual of funding and going into debt. Hence some men experience this as a tradition which they do not really want to follow.

8.7. THE PATRIARCHAL BARGAIN

*Women strategize within a set of concrete constraints that reveal and define the blueprint of what I will term the 'patriarchal bargain' of any given society, which may exhibit variations according to class, caste and ethnicity.*¹⁴⁶

Deniz Kandiyoti

The above statement by Deniz Kandiyoti refers to 'patriarchal bargain,' explaining why women collude in gender subordination. In a culture such as the East Timorese, there exists a hierarchical division between women within families according to generations and in-laws. Newlywed women are on the bottom of the hierarchical ladder, and are thus subjected to subordination not only by men, but also by older women. Traditionally, increased status and rewards accrue to women later in life when their sons get married and their new daughters-in-law move into the family. Then they come to dominate the young women, and finally can exercise power over someone. This tradition can result in compliance from the older women to the patriarchal system, since they finally are in a position of power of privilege, while the younger women comply because they know that one day it will be their turn.¹⁴⁷ Men also strike various patriarchal bargains; they lose something, but they also stand to gain something.¹⁴⁸

8.8 RURAL VERSUS URBAN WOMEN

Maria Domingas Alves, head of the Office for the Promotion of Equality, argues that poor women in rural communities are often left out of the development

146 Deniz Kandiyoti: "Gender, Power and Contestation: "Rethinking bargaining with patriarchy," in Jackson, Cecile and Pearson, Ruth (eds.): *Feminist Visions of development*, Routledge, London, 1998, p.86

147 UNFPA, op.cit, 2000, p.4

148 White, op.cit, 1997, p.18.

picture. Alves criticizes development planning in East Timor for focusing disproportionately on urban development, leaving rural communities neglected and leading to a flux of rural youth to cities in search of work.¹⁴⁹ Hence there is a clear distinction between urban and rural women, in opportunities, in educational level, economically and culturally. It is particularly hard for women in rural communities because traditional structures and practices keep men in the most powerful community position. In rural areas, information is particularly difficult to access because of limited media sources, illiteracy, and a lack of civil society organisations with experience working non-clandestinely.¹⁵⁰ Several of my informants recognized this, and acknowledged that the biggest challenge for the future is to be able to change gender patterns in the rural areas. While gender mainstreaming and increased attention to gender inequality seems to have influenced the climate in Dili, the capital, this is far from the case in rural areas. Inga Mephram of Oxfam criticized the lack of women's organisations in the districts focusing on health, agriculture, environment, water and sanitation, which she believed are the biggest issues affecting women in East Timor.¹⁵¹

Maria Domingas Alves shared Inga Mephram's criticism, and argued for envisioning development from the perspective of people's daily lives and with a focus on basic needs, such as health, education, housing and agriculture. Thus in her opinion development policies must focus on the most marginalized people in society, such as the poor girls and women in rural communities, and women must be involved in the development planning.¹⁵²

149 Maria Domingas Alves: "Women's participation in East Timor's development at the rural community level," in *La'o Hamutuk Bulletin*, Vol.2, No.5, August 2001, p.4.

150 *Ibid*, p.4.

151 Author's interview with Inga Mephram, Oxfam, 1.7.2004.

152 Alves, *op.cit*, 2001.

9. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN EAST TIMOR

Domestic violence has been the focus of most gender programmes and projects in East Timor since 2002. There are several reasons for that, not all of which will be discussed here, but the main reason is probably that the number of domestic violence cases reported is high. Another important reason could be that most of the women's local NGOs are very focused on rights issues in comparison to health and poverty issues. There are several explanations for domestic violence in East Timor which will be discussed in this chapter.

9.1 PREVALENCE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

“Domestic violence constitutes the highest number of cases reported to legal enforcers in East Timor,” according to the Office for the Promotion of Equality.¹⁵³ This underlines the severity of the prevalence of domestic violence in East Timor, though in fact there is no nation-wide data available documenting the exact prevalence of domestic violence. While it is uncertain whether the amount of domestic violence has increased or decreased since the end of the occupation, cases reported to the police have increased drastically (from 13 cases in 2000 to 85 cases in 2002).¹⁵⁴ Ubalda Alves, member of Fokupers, believes that the prevalence of domestic violence has stayed the same since 1999, the difference being that women now have the opportunity to report the violence and discuss it publicly in opposition to during the occupation where domestic violence was more hidden.¹⁵⁵ This seemed to be a general perception among my informants. Kirsty Sword-Gusmão, the First Lady, argues that the reason why the reported incidents of domestic violence have increased in the recent years is probably because women have decided to go public on the abuses they suffer in the home. This may be due in part to the greater freedom of expression and to a burgeoning of civil society organisations, including women's NGOs, which has empowered women to speak out with dignity and courage.¹⁵⁶

While there are no certain numbers, domestic violence was estimated to affect thirty percent of the female population during the UNTAET period, according to the Gender Affairs Unit. In 2001, forty percent of all crimes

153 Office for the Promotion of Equality, op.cit, 2004, p.53.

154 Appendix III

155 Author's interview with Ubalda Alves, Fokupers, 21.7.2004.

156 Sword-Gusmão, op.cit, 2001, p.6

committed in Dili were violence against women.¹⁵⁷ A survey on women conducted by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) in 2003 showed that 53 per cent of the respondents believed that the amount of domestic violence has stayed the same since the 1999 crisis. Furthermore, of the women who were married or living with a man in the sample, 51 per cent stated that in the last 12 months they had felt unsafe in their relationship with him.¹⁵⁸

There are several reasons for the lack of data, but they can be divided into two main groups. On the individual level the problems are related to the lack of reported cases. Women still often choose not to report cases of domestic violence for several reasons; cultural and traditional values; lack of public awareness about their rights; lack of faith in just implementation of law enforcement in the previous and/or current justice system; lack of information on what to do, including where to report; and fear of being victimised again by the system and/or perpetrators. The second group of reasons for lack of data on domestic violence cases is related to the institutional level. Among those are weaknesses of the existing monitoring system and database maintained by relevant parties; limited number and capacity of human resources in both government agencies and NGOs working in this area; and finally that the civilian police only began registering cases of domestic violence in October 2000.¹⁵⁹

9.2 CAUSES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

*Generally they think domestic violence is wrong, but 'If my wife haven't cooked me dinner, then what do you expect? Of course I'm going to hit her.'*¹⁶⁰

Sophia Cason

The above quote unfortunately illustrates the perception many men hold in East Timor today. Women are seen as inferior, they are obliged to obey, and the men can treat their wives as they see fitting. Thus if a woman has not fulfilled her role, the man has the right to beat her.¹⁶¹ The following section will look into what may be the underlying causes of this perception.

157 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.3.

158 International Rescue Committee, op.cit, 2003, p.6/pp.21-23.

159 UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, p.1.

160 Author's interview with Sophia Cason, Justice System Monitoring Programme, Dili, 12.7.2004.

161 Appendix II

*Violence against women – whether abuse, rape or prostitution – is the ultimate expression of the patriarchal social system that subordinates women to men.*¹⁶²

Mona Sahlin

- *The patriarchal traditions:* Patriarchy award men with the status of ‘head of household’ or those who should be in control and protect women. Consequently, they are entitled to resort to any tactics when they feel a loss of control or a need to protect women. The tactics include economic subordination, threats, isolation, and violence. Women themselves contribute to the preservation of the patriarchal tradition by treating their girls and boys differently, and placing ‘harsh judgments’ to other women for ‘violating’ the tradition, but being ‘very tolerant’ to men’s misbehaviours.¹⁶³

- *Conflict of interests:* During the occupation, nationalism and solidarity where the decisive factors, gender roles were more transparent. With peace, men and women are returning back to their traditional patriarchal roles and the dominance of men. While women want to continue and expand on the gender roles they gained during the war, the men expect life to return to ‘normal’ traditional life. East Timorese men and women are consequently experiencing a conflict of interests, and the consequences are far too often men’s violence against women and children.

- *The culture of violence:* Olandina Alves, head of ‘East Timorese Women Against Violence and Care for Children’ (ETWAVE), believes that the custom of beating ones wife stems from a long time ago.¹⁶⁴ The UNFPA and the OPE see domestic violence as a more recent phenomenon, and they suggest that the Indonesian occupation has created a culture of violence in East Timor. Since the people experienced a rampage of massive violence they have become desensitized to violence, including domestic violence. The psychological effects of living in such a violent environment for so long are still unclear, but high numbers indicate that violence has now become an intricate part of daily life. Women were particularly victimised in the campaign of terror; this reinforces the tolerance to

162 Mona Sahlin, “Preamble,” in Ferguson, Hearn, Holter, Jalmert, Kimmel, Lang and Morrell (eds.): *Ending gender-based violence: A call for global action to involve men*, Sida, Stockholm, 2004, p.5.

163 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.14/ UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp.4-5/Appendix III

164 Author’s interview with Olandina Alves, head of ETWAVE, 22.7.2004.

and provides a further model of targeting women as a victim of violence. In fact, both the UNFPA and the OPE argue that is now unclear what the real East Timorese culture is because of the long conflict and external influences.¹⁶⁵

- *Barlake*: In East Timor, *barlake* is often mentioned as the root cause of domestic violence in the marriage. This is illustrated in the statement below by Milena Pires, the head of UNIFEM East Timor:

*I think barlake as a principle is basically to create responsibility and commitment between the two families, and in older days it was probably used to ensure that the family was not dispersed or diluted. But I think it is being abused and that is why it is so common with domestic violence.*¹⁶⁶

Throughout East Timor there has been a custom for the groom to compensate the wife's family with dowry for their loss of labour. The result is that the woman is considered to be owned or controlled not only by her husband but even more so by her husband's family. The power of the in-laws and the fact that the women move in with the husband's family increase the possibility of conflict between husband and wife. Research from other countries also shows that there are higher rates of violence against women when women have to move in with the husband's families.¹⁶⁷

- *The Justice system*: The prevalence of violence in general and domestic violence specifically has been influenced negatively by the not yet fully functioning justice system. Significantly is the fact that the system is still rooted in the prevailing Indonesian legal codes, in which for instance rape in a marriage is not seen as a crime. Moreover, many villages still use the traditional justice system to solve problems, where the aim is reconciliation through the payment of compensation, which is not always in women's favor.¹⁶⁸

- *Adultery and polygamy*: According to the Office for the Promotion of Equality, adultery and polygamy within the cultural context of East Timor are also

165 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.17./ UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp.3-4.

166 Author's interview with Milena Pires, head of UNIFEM East Timor, 1.7.2004.

167 Office for the Promotion of Equality, op.cit, 2002/UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003/UNTAET Language and Training Unit, 2001, pp.18-20/UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp. 8-9/Office for the Promotion of Equality, op.cit, 2004, p.15/ Author's interview with Aisling Swayne, UNFPA/Office for the Promotion of Equality, 1.7.2004.

168 UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp.6-7/ Aisling Swayne: *Traditional justice and gender-based violence*, Research report, International Rescue Committee, August 2003.

main causes of the high prevalence of domestic violence. One of the effects of adultery is that the husbands do not provide and share maintenance with wives and children and tend to become more violent towards them. From the campaign and the dissemination of domestic violence information that were actively conducted by the UNFPA in collaboration with women's groups, it was indicated that polygamy is one of the root causes of domestic violence in East Timor.¹⁶⁹

- *Drinking, gambling and cock fighting*: According to the OPE, drinking, gambling and cock fighting enhances bad temper on the husbands, making it easier for them to lose their patience within the family. For example, they will have difficulties in keeping maintenance to the family as their incomes are spent on these activities (which are reserved for men in East Timor). When confronted with their squandering of money, the men's reaction might be violence.¹⁷⁰

- *Wife or husband incapable of having children*: In East Timor, children are very important, since they secure the continuation of the family lineage. A couple's family will encourage and push them to have children, putting pressure on the relation. The woman is often blamed if they are unsuccessful, and it might be accepted that the husband looks for a second wife so that he can carry on his genes.¹⁷¹

- *Family intervention in the marriage*: In East Timor, the family intervenes in a married couple's private matters through participating in a couple's private discussions and taking sides (often supporting the husband). This still happens on a large scale, and it is normally addressed at the woman. Again this will cause external pressure on their marriage. There are various reasons for a family's involvement; it is particularly the husband's family who intervenes since they are sharing the household.¹⁷²

- *Gender roles*: Traditional gender roles in terms of division of labour in the household persist; women are the housewives taking care of the household, while the husbands are seen as the breadwinners. If a man does any household work, it will bring 'bad luck' to him; this belief is called *adat* in East Timor.¹⁷³ As a consequence the woman is expected to do all the chores in the home, and if her

169 Office for the Promotion of Equality, *op.cit*, 2004, p.16.

170 *Ibid*.

171 *Ibid*.

172 *Ibid*, pp.16-17.

173 UNFPA, *op.cit*, 2001, p.5.

husband is not satisfied with her work, he has the 'right' to punish her by using violence. These gender roles are particularly dominant in the rural areas where perceptions of gender equality have not yet reached.

- *Religious factor*: Padre Jovito, a priest in Dili, argues that while “the Catholic Church is against violence, it also against divorce,”¹⁷⁴ which points to a significant obstacle in dealing with domestic violence; the fact that the Catholic Church advocates for reconciliation no matter the severity of the situation. Divorce is not an option. Hence, as the OPE argues; religious leaders give emphasis on family unity and harmony even regarding domestic violence cases. Religious leaders have expressed that female victims of violence should be very strong and when facing violence, women should be very patient. The church stance is in fact “stand together, no matter what.”¹⁷⁵ Without pro-active, clear and realistic intervention by the church addressing issues of domestic violence, this can increase women’s vulnerability in domestic violence cases. Up until now the Church has yet to deliver services for women victims of violence adequately. Perhaps just as importantly, religious leaders have yet to consider divorce as one of the ways out of domestic violence within the marriage context.¹⁷⁶

- *Social, political and economic factors*: Universally, it is indicated that domestic violence is not an ‘independent’ type of violence. Several countries that have carried out extensive research on domestic violence noticed that there is a correlation between domestic violence and social conditions. High percentage of unemployment, inadequate housing, lack of social and health services, drug abuse and alcoholism contribute to the number of domestic violence cases. Virtually all East Timorese experienced some form of loss and trauma during the occupation and the 1999 post-referendum destruction. These feelings have been heightened by the unfulfilled expectations that life would be better after independence. Despite all the suffering the East Timorese have gone through, very few of them have received professional counselling.¹⁷⁷

- *Public opinion*: Most of the East Timorese think that domestic relations and domestic violence is a private matter. The International Rescue Committee’s

174 Author’s interview with Padre Jovito, 26.7.2004.

175 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p. 17.

176 Ibid./UNFPA, 2001, pp.5-6.

177 OPE, op.cit, pp.18-19/UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp.7-9.

survey on gender-based violence in East Timor found that 84 per cent of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement “family problems should only be discussed with people in the family.”¹⁷⁸ Thus marital disputes – even if they escalate into serious physical assault – are commonly viewed as ‘normal.’ Physical abuse by father against his children and by husband against his wife is viewed as private family matters. This perception also affects legal enforcer’s opinion as they too think the same.

- *Individual and psychological factors*: There are a range of explanations for men’s violence, and individual and psychological factors such as those discussed in chapter 4 play a role in triggering domestic violence in East Timor, as everywhere else. Thus these factors are not specific to the East Timorese context, but are found on a worldwide scale; hence they will not be discussed any further here.¹⁷⁹

- *“Traumatic violence”*: This is a term that refers to violent behaviour as a consequence of traumatic experiences of violence.¹⁸⁰ “Traumatic violence” is particularly the prevalent case with East Timor, where a majority of the men are suffering from trauma and psychological problems as a result of their experiences during the occupation. It is not a coincidence that post-conflict societies seem to have a much higher prevalence of domestic violence than other societies. The men have learned to solve conflicts with violence, it has become naturalized and they might not be able to see the severity in what they are doing.

9.3 THE TRADITIONAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

East Timor has a model of traditional justice in terms of criminal and civil cases that is very much in force. ‘Traditional justice processes’ is a general term used to describe a large number of non-formal, local processes of justice. These processes are not standardized and vary greatly across the country. To a large extent these processes are based on traditional practices and beliefs. Elders or people with prestige in the community usually conduct these processes. The traditional justice system is utilized to solve a wide variety of problems such as robbery, land

178 IRC, op.cit, 2003, p.6/pp.21-22.

179 UNFPA, op.cit, 2000, p.9.

180 Lycke and Molin, op.cit, 2002, p.84.

disputes and marital disputes, domestic violence cases as well as other violence against women cases.¹⁸¹

9.3.1. WOMEN'S USE OF JUSTICE SYSTEMS IN EAST TIMOR

The normal way of solving domestic violence cases, particularly in rural areas, is by going through the traditional justice system. The victim and her family contact those who have the cultural power to solve such cases, and the normal practice is then to hold a hearing where both the accused and the victim get to present their version of the truth. In addition 'witnesses,' who are most probably friends, family and neighbours, give their version of the case. The resolution of the conflict is basically apportionment of blame in which compensation is decided, and the families settle the payment between themselves. If the parties are dissatisfied with the outcome they have the possibility of going to higher levels of justice.¹⁸² While the women get to present their case, this does not necessarily mean that they are guaranteed justice, nor that their stories are listened to. This is documented by the IRC report, which shows that women have a minimal and often superficial participation in the justice hearings. Furthermore, the rulings that are passed are often based on the justice administrators' biases regarding women's status. Another problem is that there are no mechanisms to ensure that the compensation is actually paid, nor that the violence will stop.¹⁸³

Keeping the families together is a major goal of any effort to settle domestic disputes regardless of who is the mediator. East Timor is a collective society and maintains a close-knit family relationship. Justice is not always served from the point of view of the wife in the settlement of family disputes.¹⁸⁴ When a case of domestic violence ends up in the local justice system for instance, the administrators of justice focus on the events which occurred prior to the act of violence, not the severity of the violence itself. Thus whoever is seen to be at fault during that time is therefore blamed for the violence. In reality this means that it is not always the accused that is seen as the guilty party, the woman can be apportioned blame for not having the dinner ready when the husband came home, for gossiping instead of working, or other neglects of her duties.

181 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.15/IRC, op.cit, 2003, p.7/p.9.

182 Swayne, op.cit 2003

183 IRC, op.cit, 2003.

184 UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp.9-10.

10. FIGHTING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN EAST TIMOR

*Domestic violence has become a cancer in this society, and we must, I repeat, we must put our heads together to eradicate it.*¹⁸⁵

This statement was made by the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) in East Timor, Sergio Vieira de Miello on 22 January 2002 when he, alongside Prime Minister Marí Alkatiri, launched a nationwide campaign against domestic violence in East Timor. The campaign was organized by UNTAET's Office of Communication and Public Information, with the aim of using television, radio and other media to disseminate information on domestic violence throughout each of East Timor's 13 districts. The campaign was also supported by Dili Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximénes Belo.¹⁸⁶ East Timor is today fighting domestic violence on many fronts. The government, local communities, women's groups, the police, judges, the Church, the media, health care providers and various NGOs have all engaged in efforts to end the violence.

10.1. ACTIVITIES TO ADDRESS DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

That domestic violence is a key target of the various gender programmes and projects in East Timor is underlined by the UN which argues that "one of the key issues that needs to be addressed in post-conflict reconstruction is that of domestic violence, which is exacerbated by the 'culture of violence' and militarization."¹⁸⁷ The activities that are currently taking place in East Timor are varied and include a wide range of institutions. The main activities will be briefly discussed in the following section, before I will look at some of the main actors.

- *Police practice:* When victims of violence call the police for help, it is critical that they are taken seriously. Domestic violence was handled by the Civilian Police (CivPol) during the UN mission, and their institutional capacity was weakened by the constant change in personnel, causing loss of expertise, knowledge and time. The campaign further worked in concert with the Civilian Police's Vulnerable Person's Units (VPUs) in each district, which were created

185 Statement by Sergio Vieira De Miello, in UNTAET: *Daily Briefing*, "Chief Minister, SRSG speak out against domestic violence," 22 January, 2002, <http://www.pcug.org.au/~wildwood/02jandv.htm>.

186 Ibid

187 UNTAET Press Office, op.cit, 2002.

with the aim of specifically helping vulnerable persons, such as women, children and other minorities. Local police are inclined to believe that it is the woman who is at fault and that domestic violence is a private matter and tend to be insensitive to the victim during the process.¹⁸⁸ Recognizing this, the UNFPA and other partners have worked hard to include domestic violence in the curriculum of the Police Academy, and to provide training to all officers. A set of cards that police officers can carry in their pockets outlines the steps to take when responding to domestic violence. The cards stress the need to document evidence, like bruises, to get the victim out of harm's way immediately and let her know of available support and counselling.¹⁸⁹

- *Health services*: There is a serious lack of local medical personnel in East Timor, and while international health workers are likely to have better understanding of the issues, the language barrier and trust become the major constraints.¹⁹⁰ This lack means there is a need to educate local health personnel, particularly nurses and doctors, and include a gender perspective in their education, so that these people gain better understanding of the victim's situation, and hence better serve the victims' case.

- *Counselling services and shelter*: Institutions such as women's centres that can assist victims of violence are very scarce in East Timor. Three safe houses have been set up for women who seek shelter and counselling, and these are offered by two local NGOs: Fokupers and ETWAVE, and the church. The major challenges for the NGOs are receiving 'hostile responses' from the community and the victim's husband and their families. Despite their efforts to mediate reconciliation as the most preferred solution, they are viewed as 'breaking up families' by family members and members of the clergy.¹⁹¹ At the moment very few women have the option of leaving their husband since they have no place to go. Hence they stay in the marriage, even if that involves enduring more violence.

188 UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, p.11/OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.9.

189 Kristin Hetle: "A battle on many fronts: fighting domestic violence in Timor-Leste," in *UNFPA News*, 25.11.2003, <http://www.unfpa.org/printing/print.cfm?charset=windows-1252&template=htm> (downloaded 30.08.2005), p.2

190 UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, pp.11-12.

191 UNFPA, op.cit, 2003, pp.12-13/Sophie Boudre: "A cruel history for East-Timorese women," in *ETAN*, 19.10.2004, <http://www.etan.org/et2004/january/18-24/19acruel.htm> (downloaded 30.08.2005)

- *Legal aid*: Currently East Timor lacks a significant amount of legal enforcers, including police, judges, lawyers or prosecutors, to deal with domestic violence cases, and there is additionally a lack of capacity in handling the cases.¹⁹² Legal aid has until now largely been provided by human rights NGOs. Most lawyers, however, have other commitments which restrict their availability and continuity in handling cases. Hence the few women that are lucky enough to have their case tried in the court often are left with inexperienced or hostile lawyers.¹⁹³

- *Advocacy*: Women's NGOs and mass media have undertaken a number of advocacy activities to gain political and community support. In a number of districts 'Community Awareness Programs' have been arranged by local NGOs with the aim of increasing the understanding of gender related issues among women. Other advocacy activities include the two Women's Congresses that were held in 2000 and 2004, and these will be discussed more thoroughly later in this chapter. Relevant International Days have also been celebrated, for instance Women's Day and the 16 Days of Activism.¹⁹⁴

- *Public awareness and the media*: Community awareness activities on issues of domestic violence have been carried out through various training, including civic education, by the UN, NGOs and international NGOs. Their target groups included midwives, women's NGOs, other community-based organisations, and community at large. Unfortunately the effectiveness of these activities has been hindered by inadequate capacity of facilitators and lack of strategic planning and coordination among key players in all aspects of information, education and communication activities.¹⁹⁵ There are some positive signs, however, several informants with significant experience and knowledge, including Aisling Swayne, head of 'the Program on Gender-based Violence' at the Office for the Promotion for Equality, and Milena Pires, head of UNIFEM, expressed that domestic violence has moved from being a sensitive issue not to discuss, to increasingly being accepted and raised as an issue.¹⁹⁶ This can also be seen with the number of NGOs focusing on the issue and the proposed Domestic Violence Legislation. Thus the domestic violence campaign has been able to put

192 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.9

193 UNFPA, op.cit, 2001, p.13

194 Ibid/ IRC,op.cit, 2003, p.30

195 Ibid, pp.13-14

196 Author's interviews with Aisling Swayne, UNFPA/OPE, 1.7.2004/Milena Pires, UNIFEM, 6.7.2004

the issue on the agenda, and it can be said to have been successful in raising awareness.

They had an 'Adam TV', which was very effective. It was a cartoon that showed a man with tattoos and how he hit his wife, and then he walked out and was hit by a car. He died and was sent to hell. Thus the message was clear; if you hit your wife you will go to hell. I think it was quite effective because people used to recite it.¹⁹⁷

This example of 'Adam TV' illustrates one of the methods that have been used in the hope of reaching as many people as possible. Another similar activity is the *Bibi Bulak* (Crazy Goat) ensemble which toured East Timor's 13 districts with a new play addressing domestic violence. They made TV spots and radio plays dramatizing the issue in recognizable, everyday situations and demonstrated peaceful and respectful solutions to conflicts.¹⁹⁸ Hence media is a key player in the campaign against domestic violence, although a majority of my informants, including a public figure such as Maria Domingas Alves, head of the OPE, were critical to how far their involvement actually went. She argued that the media was often discriminatory in the way they presented women, particularly as victims, sometimes implying that the women had themselves to blame.¹⁹⁹

10.2 THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LEGISLATION

Talking about the regulation of domestic violence is very important. I raised the issue in the parliament, and asked for help and support from my colleagues. But they said, "we have so many other issues to discuss, for example immigration regulations, health regulations, and agricultural regulations, and so on... Next time you can discuss domestic violence."²⁰⁰

This statement by Lucia Lobato, member of the parliament, illustrates one of the big challenges of fighting domestic violence in East Timor, the fact that there are so many issues that need attention. The country is currently in a situation where there is a range of problems to solve in all areas, and choosing one over another is

197 Author's interview with Sophia Cason, JSMP, 12.7.2004

198 Hettle, op.cit, 2003, p.2

199 Author's interview with Maria Domingas Alves, The Office for the Promotion of Equality, 5.7.2004

200 Lobato, op.cit, 2004, p.2.

not an easy task. This is also the case with the legal sphere and the development of a viable legislation. The Indonesian Penal Code that currently is supposed to protect women from domestic violence is mostly focused only on physical maltreatment and criminal procedures, and consequently does not provide protection for victims of domestic violence, neither for maintenance or the use of property. Domestic violence is in fact not recognized or codified, and the scope of offences committed within the family is very restricted. Rape within marital relations is not considered, and there are no specific mechanisms of protection. Furthermore the lack of adequate and clear laws is one of the reasons pointed out by police officers to justify the ineffectiveness of response when handling domestic violence cases. The UNFPA with others therefore demand that the domestic violence legislation should be drafted immediately. Maria Domingas Alves has been appointed to supervise that process.²⁰¹

Aisling Swayne of the OPE, underlines a challenge that not only dominates the discussion on the domestic violence law, but most gender related questions; the fact that men, and particularly the chiefs, will say that the domestic violence legislation is a '*malay* (foreign) law';²⁰² that the focus on gender inequality is something brought in from the outside, that there is too much focus on it, and that it is not related to the East Timorese context. The case of the domestic violence legislation, however, indicates the opposite; East Timorese women themselves are the drivers behind this law.

The process of creating the domestic violence legislation began with a Round Table Meeting 12-15 November 2001,²⁰³ but the law has still not been passed by the East Timorese parliament. There have been several problems: it began with resistance among politicians and other powerful people during its initial creation, when that was finally solved a new problem developed. The legislative branch is currently undergoing a process of creating a new Penal Code; hence they will end the practice of using the Indonesian Penal Code. This might be good news for the East Timorese women, since they now will try to incorporate the domestic violence legislation into the new Penal Code. Its incorporation into

201 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.3/p.53/Boudre, op.cit, 2004, p.2./UNFPA and the OPE: *Training of trainers to raise community awareness on domestic violence as a crime*, July 2002, p.16

202 Author's interview with Aisling Swayne, The OPE/UNFPA, 1.7.2004

203 The OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.3

the Penal Code might enhance its status and acceptance – it will become a law in line with the others, not a ‘special women’s law’ on the side. But all of this depends on whether they incorporate the whole proposed domestic law into the Penal Code, and not only parts of it. Until now this is an unresolved issue.

10.3 THE UN AND THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN

I will now briefly present some of the activities that the UN has implemented; their successfulness will be discussed in chapter 12.

- *UNTAET*: The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor was established on 25 October 1999, to administer the territory, exercise legislative and extensive authority during the transitional period, as well as support capacity building for self-government. UNTAET has played a crucial role in placing domestic violence on the agenda, raising awareness and publicizing the issue, which is seen in the below quote by Milena Pires:

*Had it not been for UNTAET, the issue of domestic violence would still have been a non-issue today.*²⁰⁴

Furthermore, under UNTAET, the Civilian Police Unit established a Vulnerable Persons Unit (VPU) that deals with rape and domestic violence. Since the establishment of VPU, the reporting of violence against women has tripled. UNTAET was also active regarding other gender issues; for instance, it included in the mission mandate the upholding of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).²⁰⁵

- *The UNFPA*: The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) is particularly active in East Timor when it comes to gender issues,²⁰⁶ and it has been the UN organisation most active in the fight against domestic violence. Among its activities is compiling data on gender-based violence aimed at strengthening the capacity of the government and NGOs to respond to gender based violence. The violence project includes research, legislation, community

204 Author’s interview with Milena Pires, head of UNIFEM Timor-Leste, 6.7.2004

205 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.11.

206 United Nations Security Council: *Progress Report of the Secretary-General on the UNMISSET in East Timor*, S/2005/99, 18 February, 2005, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/238/59/PDF/N0523859.pdf?OpenElement> (downloaded 15.11.2005)

awareness raising, advocacy and the establishment of a network of victims. The three-year project targets diverse groups such as police and school children.²⁰⁷

10.4 THE OFFICE FOR THE PROMOTION OF EQUALITY

The Office for the Promotion of Equality (OPE) has been an active participant in the fight against domestic violence. It cooperates extensively with local and international organisations, as well as the government and the Catholic Church. The office has a separate branch working on ‘Gender-based violence,’ headed by Aisling Swayne. The OPE’s main focus has been on the Domestic violence legislation through cooperation with a range of actors, and specifically the creation of the ‘Domestic violence legislation Paper,’ the foundation for the proposed law.

10.5 INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

There are several international organisations operating in East Timor, many of which have a focus on domestic violence in their programmes and action plans. Not all of these organisations will be discussed here; I will instead concentrate on a few of them, and particularly look at how they address the issue of domestic violence. Oxfam is one of the biggest NGOs working on gender issues in the country, and domestic violence is one of their main targets. On this issue they particularly work in cooperation with UNIFEM, the OPE and *Mane kontra la violencia*. They have conducted several workshops on the issue, where both men and women have participated.

The International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) noticed in late 2000 that due to the death, disappearance and migration of several mental health professionals in East Timor, people were unable to escape or gain perspective on the traumatic experiences of the recent past. Thus the ICMC began implementing a UNIFEM-funded project entitled ‘Community-focused Trauma Education and Recovery’. This programme identified, trained and mentored respected community members on basic trauma identification and recovery skills. This allowed them to facilitate community education workshops on trauma and informal counselling for neighbours in need of trauma counselling.²⁰⁸

207 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.12.

208 Ibid, p.7

Other international NGOS focusing on domestic violence are the Asia Foundation and the Justice System Monitoring Programme (JSMP).

10.6 NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Maria Domingas Fernandes, head of the OPE, emphasises the importance of local NGOs, specifically women's organisations, in supporting women's participation in the reconstruction of East Timor. Women have started new community literacy programmes, community-based health initiatives, and small income-generating projects for women.²⁰⁹ At the same time, however, the reported number of incidents of domestic violence is rising. This realisation has led to a flourishing in the number of local NGOs, particularly women's NGOs, focusing on domestic violence. This is also in line with the previous focus of the NGOs; during the occupation they had a human rights and security focus – and this has continued until this day. Inga Mephram, Oxfam, underlines that it has become apparent that the local women's NGOs have a history and tradition of focusing on human rights and security, specifically eliminating violence against women in any form.²¹⁰

I will now look at some of these local organisations, and which types of activities and programmes they are implementing regarding domestic violence.

- *Fokupers*: Ubalda Alves, a leading member of Fokupers (Timor-Leste Women's Communication Forum), explained that their "key target is advocacy and campaign on domestic and sexual violence, second is assistance to victims, by giving support, counselling, and providing shelter."²¹¹ This women's organisation, founded in 1997, advocates women's human rights, and a significant part of their human rights' programme has been to develop a 'Women's House' (*Uma Feto*) network. This network of women's houses or *Uma Fetos* was established by widows' groups in three districts to support victims of rape and political violence. The centres still provide refuge, care and support to victims of domestic and other violence, but have now extended their work to include income generating projects; training in management, administration, leadership and human rights; as well as advocacy programmes. Women have been supported to start up local

209 La'o Hamutuk Bulletin, op.cit, 2001b, p.5.

210 Author's interview with Inga Mephram, Oxfam. 1.7.2004.

211 Author's interview with Ubalda Alves, Fokupers, 21.7.2004.

businesses, small market operations, handicraft businesses and restaurants. They are also in the process of providing access to credit programmes.²¹²

- *ETWAVE* (East Timor Women Against Violence and Care for Children) was founded in 1998 to provide support, counselling and shelter for victims of trauma and domestic violence. It is currently running three women's shelter in cooperation with Fokupers. ETWAVE further collected data in 1998 from victims of violence, and offered medical assistance to women as well as assisting victims in giving evidence to the United Nations Human Rights Commission.²¹³

- *The Alola Foundation*: According to Kirsty Sword-Gusmão, the first lady and the founder of the foundation, the Alola Foundations aims "to attract support for local East Timorese women's organisation and groups which are campaigning for justice for survivors of rape and sexual violence."²¹⁴ Among the Foundation's objectives is that of promoting greater community awareness of the suffering of survivors of gender based violence, thereby restoring dignity to the lives of East Timorese women. Currently its main activities are directed to helping victims of trafficking, but the foundation is also arranging workshops on weaving *tais* (colourful blankets, the local trademark) with the aim of making the women more financially and socially independent.

- *Mane kontra la violencia* (Men against violence) is the only organisation focusing on men and domestic violence in East Timor. The organisation was created in 2002 by a small group of men who realized that domestic violence is men's problem, inspired by visiting Nicaraguans who had created a similar organisation in their country.

*We created a men's organisation to create space for men, to enable discussions and the sharing of information. The objective is; how can men have a consciousness to involve in gender issues? Furthermore, how can men understand that gender issues are a social problem and that men also have a responsibility to resolve these problems?*²¹⁵

212 Oxfam: *East Timor: women take the lead*, http://www.oxfam.org/eng/programs_deve_east_asia_easttimor.htm (downloaded 17.11.2005)

213 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.6.

214 Sword-Gusmão, op.cit, 2001, p.3

215 Author's interview with Merício Akara, a founding member of *Mane kontra la violencia*, 30.6.2004

The aim of the organisation is two-fold: first to create a space for men to discuss the issue, and second to put the issue on the agenda as something that concerns men. While the organisation was met with scepticism in its initial period, both from women's organisations and men in general, the NGO is increasingly gaining ground and has currently more than 100 members. Its activities include arranging community meetings on the issue of domestic violence. The organisation uses a participatory methodology; social drama and active participation by the listeners is among its key strategies. With its increasing status and the growing awareness that men need to be included in the process of fighting domestic violence, most local and international women's organisations, as well as the UN, are cooperating with the organisation. Its leading members are often invited to participate in workshops and discussions on the issue of domestic violence to ensure men's participation.²¹⁶ The organisation's possible role will be further discussed in chapter 11.

10.7 THE FIRST AND SECOND CONGRESS OF WOMEN OF TIMOR LORO SA'E

- *The First Congress of Women in Timor Loro Sa'e* was held on 14-17 June 2000, and it was the first post-conflict gathering of representatives of women's organisations. 500 women attended, and workshops were held focusing on varying aspects of life in East Timor. Out of the Congress came a document entitled the Platform of Action for the Advancement of the Women of East Timor.' Another outcome of the Congress was the formation of REDE Feto Timor Loro Sa'e (The Timor-Leste Women's Network). The official statement of the platform highlighted that

Although there has been a small increase in women's participation in the socio-economic and political spheres, women's absence from decision-making continues to result in the absence of a gender perspective. Women's empowerment and capacity building are vital to their full participation in and contribution to reconstruction, development, and nation building.²¹⁷

216 Interviews with members of *Mane kontra la Violencia*, 30.6.2004/1.7.2004/7.7.2004

217 Royenstad, op.cit, 2003, p.4

A group working on 'Women and the constitution' organized meetings with women's groups throughout the country in order to hear issues affecting East Timorese women. The result of this process was a 'Women's Charter of Rights in East Timor,' which had over 8,000 signatures supporting the charter. The charter was presented to the SRSG Sergio Vieira de Mello on 25 September 2001 and was later presented to the Members of the Constituent Assembly.²¹⁸

- *The Second All East Timorese's Women's National Congress* was held in Dili 27-31 July 2004, and it attracted more than 500 participants from around the country. It was opened with a mass celebrated by Dili Bishop Ricardo da Silva and closed by Foreign Minister José Ramos Horta. The congress was the culmination of months of preparation by the women involved, regional congresses were held in several districts in the run-up to the event to ensure the participation of as many women and viewpoints as possible. Groups represented included government, church, youth, women's groups, religious congregations, police, ex-combatants and a few women parliamentarians. Around 15 per cent of the participants were men drawn from leadership positions in the government and administration, as well as key national NGOs. Among the key demands was a quick passing of the draft legislation on domestic violence.²¹⁹

218 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.5

219 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: "East Timor: Second all East Timorese women's National Congress," 2004, in *PeaceWomen*, <http://www.peacewomen.org/news/Timor-Leste/news04/nationalcongress.html>, (downloaded 30.08.2005)/fieldnotes from the Conference

11. A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN

In this Chapter I will critically examine the campaign against domestic violence in East Timor and discuss more thoroughly how successful it has actually been. Has the campaign been able to deal with the underlying problems, or has it been more directed toward treating symptoms? I will begin this discussion by looking at important aspects of the domestic violence campaign, then move on to focusing on the perpetrators. What can be done to change their perceptions? I will end the discussion with looking at some possibilities for the future.

11.1 THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN

11.1.1 THE ADVOCACY CAMPAIGN

Based on the survey on ‘The prevalence of gender-based violence in Timor Leste’, the International Rescue Committee (the IRC) recommends a continuation of the ‘Community Awareness Programs’ aimed at increasing the understanding of issues pertaining to safety for women in the home. The IRC further recommends that these community workshops must expand to include training for local representatives, so that these workshops can be developed as a far-reaching, repeated and ongoing service. Another factor the IRC feel is important is involving both women and men in the workshops, so far these workshops have been reserved for women only, with varied results.²²⁰ These types of workshops are clearly essential in a context such as the East Timorese where awareness on human rights in general, and women’s rights in particular, are lacking. There is a lack of education, particularly in the districts, and there is also a challenge getting information out. Another challenge is explained by Aisling Swayne: “while the East Timorese have learned about the concept of human rights and are even able to quote them, the problem is that they do not actually apply them since they do not know what they mean.”²²¹ It is not enough teaching men and women about human and women’s rights; further actions are needed. Thus while the first step is learning about human rights; the next step is understanding – and incorporating them into one’s mindset. This requires time, as well a lot of effort.

220 IRC, *op.cit.*, 2003, p.30

221 Author’s interview with Aisling Swayne, UNFPA/OPE, 1.7.2004.

11.2 THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Informants in key positions such as Aisling Swayne and Maria Domingas Alves of the OPE argued that making the Catholic Church an ally in the fight for gender equality, and thus in the fight against domestic violence, should be one of the primary goals for women activists.²²² If Church leaders could take a strong stance against domestic violence, the notion of domestic violence as ‘natural’ and a private issue might lose some ground. Currently, however, this is not the case. The Catholic Church has officially stated that reconciliation is the ultimate solution. Thus a woman who has left her violent husband is expected to return to him. There have been some positive actions, however; for instance the Church has cooperated with the OPE in creating pamphlets against domestic violence.²²³

During my interviews I was told that when a young couple is preparing for marriage they are obliged to talk with a priest. The aim of these talks is to see whether both of them really want to marry, and equally important; preparing them for married life. This is supposed to be a pre-marriage counselling course, in reality, however, there is a lack of implementation. Through pressure from the women’s NGOs, the Church has slowly begun putting more resources into the running of these courses.

11.3 THE TRADITIONAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Although East Timor has now established a formal justice system, many cases are still solved by the traditional justice system. Traditional practices are in general more dominating in the rural areas, and can be expected to be a governing conflict resolution practice for years to come. Although there are some positive traits with this traditional custom, Aisling Swayne, who conducted a study on the traditional justice system and its treatment of gender based violence in 2003, found that nothing is really done to deal with the causes of violence; hence the problem continues to exist.²²⁴ There is common perception among protagonists on gender issues that a reform would be needed if this practice is going to contribute to the fight against domestic violence. The main arguments being; women and men need to be given equal status, women need to be listened to, not automatically

222 Author’s interviews with Maria Domingas Alves, the OPE, 5.7.2004/Aisling Swayne, UNFPA/OPE, 1.7.2004

223 *ibid*

224 Swayne, *op.cit*, 2003.

apportioned blame for the violence, and importantly, the practice of solving the conflict through compensation needs to change dramatically.²²⁵

11.4 THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE LEGISLATION

Manuela Leong Peirera, the head of Fokupers, argues that there must be clear laws against domestic violence, marital rape and the treatment of women as property. Furthermore, these laws must provide for the assistance to victims of violence, assistance to men who are prone to acts of violence, appropriate medical services and police who are sensitive to violence against women.²²⁶ At the moment, it is still unclear whether a separated Domestic Violence Legislation will be implemented, or if domestic violence will be included in the new Penal Code. Either way, women's protection in the justice system will eventually be put on the agenda; the questions are when, how and to what degree.

11.4.1 PROTECTING THE WOMEN

How to protect and support the victims have been seen as one of the important aspects in dealing with domestic violence in East Timor. A criticism frequently mentioned by my informants was the lack of confidential and safe places for female victims of violence, particularly in the districts. Currently only three such places exist in the country.²²⁷ Such places can provide a safety net so that when the victims have come forward, reported the incidents to the police, and left their husbands; they have somewhere to reach for help. These safe houses may further contribute to the empowerment of women through teaching income-generating activities, where the aim is to make the women economically and socially independent.

11.4.2 THE SOLUTION: IMPRISONING THE MEN?

The influence of internationals and their involvement in the domestic violence campaign in East Timor has resulted in a similar approach to the one we can find worldwide. The belief that the victims need to be protected through legislation and that the perpetrators must be punished has been the dominating approach globally

225 Author's interviews June-August 2004/The OPE, op.cit, 2004/Swayne, op.cit, 2003, International Rescue Committee: *East Timor: Gender-based violence: challenges and ways forwards- a report of focus groups in four districts*, November 2002/ Lotfalie, Melanie and Soares, Aderito de Jesus, *Base Documents for the 2nd National Women's Congress*, Dili, 2004.

226 Manuela Leong Peirera: "Domestic violence: a part of women's daily lives in East Timor," in *The La'o Hamutuk Bulletin*, Vol.2, No.5, August 2001, p.9.

227 IRC, op.cit, 2002, p.9.

in the last decades. The argument is that men might stop their violent behaviour if they are aware of the possibility of imprisonment. Thus imprisonment serves two purposes: punishing the perpetrators as well as preventing violence from occurring. However, there are indicators that imprisonment might not be fulfilling both purposes: the possibility of imprisonment does not seem to have a preventive influence so far. There are, of course, several reasons for this: the threat is not real; few women actually report the violence, the number of perpetrators imprisoned is low, and those that are imprisoned only have to serve a short period of time, the women reporting the violence are not listened to, the perpetrators intimidate the women not to report, etc.

Jaqueline Siapno, Director of the International Studies Program at *Universidade da Paz* (UNPAZ), was very critical to the campaign against domestic violence, and particularly the method of imprisoning the men. As she argued, “this system is not working in the rest of the world, so why would East Timor be any different?”²²⁸ That imprisonment does not seem to be working in the East Timorese context was emphasised by many of my informants. Several of them pointed out that the women do not want their husbands to go to prison because they are dependent of them economically. The men are most often the breadwinners in the family; and their imprisonment would mean a loss of income for the whole family. Consequently women have on several occasions revoked their charge, rather risking their husbands’ anger than economical insecurity.²²⁹

Police officers and prosecutors normally allow the victims to revoke cases. There are several problems related to this, one of them is that domestic violence has yet to be categorized as a ‘crime’, consequently the reported cases are considered as ‘complaints’ that can be revoked by the victims. Moreover there is no procedure and protocol for dealing with ‘light maltreatment’ or alternative sentences or procedures. Therefore, all kinds of cases ranging from ‘light maltreatment’ to ‘serious maltreatment’ will be handled by the same procedures. The OPE therefore suggests that there should be a special unit for victims of violence that provide programmes to strengthen victims economically and

228 Author’s interview with Jaqueline Siapno, Director of the International Studies Program at UNPAZ, 16.06.2004.

229 Author’s interview with Sophia Cason, JSMP, 12.7.2004

psychologically. This will support the victims when they have to take decisions on their case.²³⁰

Socially and culturally speaking, the wife is ignored by the society and by her own family because of her inability to support her family.²³¹ An issue concerning the imprisonment of the perpetrators is thus related to the social consequences this might have. I was made aware of this through an interview with Padre Jovito, a Catholic priest:

*The man is taken into jail, and perhaps after 30 days they release the man, and the man says “now I have no pride in my life anymore, so I have to go away, because I have no value anymore;” and so he abandons his wife and children.*²³²

My findings show that the solution might not be to imprison the man, unless there is a security net ready to help the wife and the children so that they survive economically and socially. It therefore seems to be more important to focus on the woman’s surviving abilities than only focusing on punishing the perpetrator. If the family is so dependent on the husband’s income there needs to be a focus on creating alternative income possibilities for the wife. Additionally other options than imprisonment should be looked into. The proposed Domestic Violence Legislation actually looks into alternative methods of punishment which have been adapted from the local processes. For instance, there is an alternative option of being sentenced to community service and staying in the family. So the law is influenced of the practices that come from the Timorese people, thus the aim is to adapt the legislation to the East Timorese context.²³³

11.4.3 TRAUMA COUNSELLING

Many people in East Timor suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome as a result of extreme trauma.²³⁴ According to a survey conducted by Copenhagen-based International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims (IRCT) in November

230 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.32/ IRC, op.cit, 2002, p.9.

231 Lobato, op.cit, 2004, p.2.

232 Author’s interview with Padre Jovito, 26.7.2004.

233 Author’s interview with Maria Domingas Alves, Head of the Office for the Promotion of Equality, 5.7.2005/ OPE,op.cit, 2004.

234 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.4.

2000, of 1,033 East Timorese interviewed, 57 per cent had experienced some form of torture. Other forms of torture included submersion in water, electric shock, and the crushing of hands. Many people who were interviewed described having been threatened at gunpoint and 22 percent of the interviewees said they had witnessed a family member or friend being killed. In terms of trauma, 97 per cent of the respondents said they had experienced at least one traumatic event.²³⁵ These numbers underline the importance of creating an extensive apparatus of trauma counselling available for all East Timorese people. The ordeal these people have been through during the years of occupation need to be dealt with in a proper way so that the society can move forward. This is unfortunately not the case today: there are very limited resources aimed at psychological counselling and support. Few NGOs focus on this issue at all. Hence ex-combatants and men in general, who often have incorporated violence as part of their nature, do not receive any help to deal with their traumatic experiences.

11.5 THE NEGLECT OF OTHER AREAS

While domestic violence is high on the gender agenda in East Timor, this enthusiasm is not shared by everybody. I particularly noted some scepticism among my international informants. Katherine Hunter, head of The Asia Foundation, emphasised that the debate on gender needs to go beyond domestic violence, so as to address more systemic issues.²³⁶ The women of East Timor are struggling on many fronts; their daily struggle goes far beyond domestic violence. Inga Mepham, for instance, pointed out that there are no NGOs in East Timor working on maternal and child health, not much work being done in terms of education and illiteracy, and women's labour issues. She was particularly surprised of the lack of focus on reproductive health, which is a major issue in other countries.²³⁷

11.5.1 EDUCATION

In the campaign against domestic violence in East Timor, the potential of education seems to have been somewhat forgotten. A reason for this might be the fact that the whole education system and the curricula had to be created from

235 ETAN. *Danish Survey highlights Trauma and Torture in Timor-Leste*, <http://etan.org/et2000c/november/19-25/22dani.htm>

236 Author's interview with Katherine Hunter, head of The Asia Foundation, 19.7.2004

237 Author's interviews with Inga Mepham, Oxfam, 1.7.2004

scratch; the tasks have been substantial, while time has not. Unfortunately this situation does not seem to have been taken advantage of to its fullest potential. East Timor has had a historical opportunity of incorporating gender equality, gender empowerment and the work against violence into the curricula, but my findings show that this have only happened to a limited extent. Previous research indicates that the best place to start changing people's mentality and attitudes is at the school. This work should start as soon as possible, and be a continuous process. Sophia Cason of the Justice System Managing Programme (JSMP) argues, "you have to start at the school; that is the only place you can start really."²³⁸ If children learn from an early age that girls and boys are equal, that violence is not a legitimate way of solving a conflict, nor an accepted way of treating somebody, the current notion that violence and discrimination based on gender is 'natural' could be contested and challenged.²³⁹ The OPE has attempted to influence the Department of Education in incorporating gender equality in the curricula, but so far the results have been insignificant. On the positive side, however, the Ministry has spent resources on creating gender-neutral teaching material.²⁴⁰ Hence the awareness is there, and it is still not too late to create a gender focused curriculum as a part of the strategy of creating a society based on equality and justice.

11.5.2 *BARLAKE*

Considering East Timor's gender roles and patterns, a question that is relevant to ask is whether the culture is an obstacle to achieving a more equal society. Monica McWilliams argues that in any discussions following a period of conflict, both men and women should be empowered to decide which traditions are outmoded, which should be transformed, and which should be preserved. In wanting to reclaim the positive features of their traditions but not wishing to be forced back to what as for them the dysfunctional side of their culture, women are often caught between "a rock and a hard place."²⁴¹ This is noticeably the case with the issue of *barlake* in East Timor.

238 Author's interview with Sophia Cason, JSMP, 12.7.2004

239 Fokus: "Mannsforskere oppfordrer menn til å ta ansvar i kampen mot vold," in *Fokus kvinner*, 2005, http://www.fokuskvinner.no/Publikasjoner/Kvinner_sammen/1_2005/4000?view=print (downloaded 07.09.2005)

240 OPE, op.cit, 2004, p.44/Author's interview with Aisling Swayne, the UNFPA/ OPE, 1.7.2004

241 McWilliams, op.cit, 1998, pp.122-123.

Although the common perception amongst those working on gender issues is that *barlake* is one of the main causes of domestic violence, the majority of the people I talked to still want to keep it. But they want to move away from its current perception as a transaction process, and instead return its meaning back to promoting the value of women. How to achieve this, however, is another issue. Milena Pires of UNIFEM, for instance, argues that domestic violence is basically a result of the Timorese *barlake*. She personally believes that it needs to be revised and rethought as a practice, because it is a bit out of tandem in terms of the way people's mentality has developed and the way it was practiced and the way it was used.²⁴² Even though a majority of my informants shared this perception, which would imply that this traditional practice would be one of the main target areas for the domestic violence campaign, the reality is far from that. The main reason is probably that *barlake* is such a sensitive issue which few dare to touch. If you are a foreigner working in East Timor, the respect for the culture and traditions is a prime concern, thus criticizing *barlake* is a risky path to take. At the same time, being an East Timorese, it would be just as hard, risking being looked upon as a betrayer by your own people. The challenge is to know how to deal with the issue of *barlake* in such a way that one cannot be accused of being disrespectful, while at the same time facing the underlying problems. Until now the internationals have not been successful in developing such a strategy. Finding a balance between cultural practices and human right standards will therefore continue to be one of the main challenges for those working on gender issues in East Timor.

11.6 FOCUSING ON THE PERPETRATORS

I will now turn the focus to my main finding, namely that there is a lack of attention being paid to the East Timorese men as perpetrators. I will argue that there is a preventive potential in spending resources and effort in treating and helping violent men, since they are the actual perpetrators of violence. This is not to criticize the work that has been done so far in East Timor; what I am suggesting is that it is perhaps time to expand the activities and projects already going on in the country. Women need to be protected and the advocacy campaign needs to continue, but at the same time something must be done to change men's

²⁴² Author's interview with Milena Pires, head of UNIFEM Timor-Leste, 6.7.2004.

mentality, their attitudes to women and the ‘naturalisation’ of violence in general. I will now examine the major contributing factors to men’s violence in East Timor, before continuing the analysis of the domestic violence campaign and the lack of focus and inclusion of the perpetrators.

11.7 THE EFFECT OF WAR AND CONFLICT ON THE MALE POPULATION

Solveig Dahl argues that there has been far too little focus on how war breaks down the men psychologically and what consequences this has for the women.²⁴³ With the post-conflict situation that East Timor now finds itself in, the picture normally portrayed is that the men returning from the battlefield are received as heroes by the female population. Dahl, however, believes that it is necessary to focus upon the fact that the men returning to civilian life are traumatized people.²⁴⁴ How does this affect them, and how do they experience coming back and adapting to civilian life again? Dahl emphasises that domestic conflicts often occur when the men return from the war traumatized and unemployed, while the women have coped and become more independent. Additionally the man might feel he has lost his social status and role as the head of the family, and consequently his feeling of the value of being a man. Men can experience going from being the hero to degradation.²⁴⁵ This view is supported by journalist Sophie Boudre, who conducted interviews in East Timor and found that her informants believed that the trauma of recent years has helped shape a culture of violence, in which ‘wife beating’ has become one of the most common expressions.²⁴⁶

Since the former resistance fighters are uneducated, their participation in the rebuilding of their own country has been limited; instead they are placed on the sideline watching internationals coming in shaping their country. Furthermore, very few have received any professional counselling despite the trauma that they have suffered.²⁴⁷ However, independent Commissions on ex-combatants and veterans were established by the President. These Commissions were mandated to identify the ex-combatants and veterans and elaborate politics, which would

243 Lynggard, op.cit, 2004, p.19.

244 Ibid, p.18.

245 Ibid, p.19.

246 Boudre, op.cit, 2004

247 UNFPA, 2001, p.7/Boudre, ibid, 2004, p.2.

recognize and assist them. There are more than 10,000 men who are registered, but so far the help received has not yielded significant results.²⁴⁸

11.8 THE CRISIS OF THE GENDER ORDER IN EAST TIMOR

In a culture such as the East Timorese where patriarchy is accepted as the only proper family structure, men and women may be trapped in a pattern of relationships and dependencies that can frustrate them both. A woman without a husband may have no social standing, and have difficulty even finding the means of survival: but a man too may find life hard without a wife to do ‘woman’s work’: grow food, cook and bring up children. Men who cannot live up to expectations that men should be powerful and competent may respond by retreating into passivity and escape through drugs or alcohol, by resorting to violence towards those still weaker, or by exhibiting exaggerated bravado and risk-taking.²⁴⁹ The UNFPA argues that particularly among men who are poor, undereducated, underemployed and marginalized, attempts to live up to ideals of ‘masculinity’ are frequently compromised by harsh and changing realities. For men of relatively low status in their societies, control over women offers a position of power denied in other parts of their lives. Both women and men feel the stress, and the result is often that the wives become increasingly vocal about their frustration, consequently husbands are withdrawing from family responsibilities, and the households become ‘violent battlegrounds.’²⁵⁰

The high level of reported cases of domestic violence indicates that there is a problem in the relationship and communication between women and men in East Timor. There are no policies, programmes, or projects aimed at addressing ‘this crisis of the gender order.’

11.9 GENDER: THE DOMAIN AND CONCERN OF WOMEN

A view that permeates the domestic violence campaign in East Timor is that ‘women are victims, men are the problem.’ Thus men are seen as the problem, but solutions to address domestic violence rarely engage directly with them.²⁵¹ None of the documents/reports I have been able to find about gender in East Timor

248 UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, pp.3-4.

249 UNFPA, op.cit, 2000, p.2.

250 UNFPA, (printed 20.11.2004), p.2.

251 Andrea Cornwall: “Missing men? Reflections on men. Masculinities and gender in GAD,” *IDS Bulletin*, 2000, p.21

discuss to any significant extent masculinity, men as gendered beings or the role of men in domestic violence. Thus my own discussion on men as perpetrators in East Timor is based on data from the fieldwork and particularly interviews with the people working in various NGOs, the UN and the government. Additionally I will refer to the existing material (both empirical and theoretical) on the issue generally. A good illustration of the lack of focus on men is the answer I received from Milena Pires when asked if there exist any programmes that focus on changing men's attitudes and the way of thinking:

When the women's movement was working during the UNTAET period it was very much looking at the rights of women to participate, the rights of women to do a number of things. And I think that alienated men because they felt that we were focusing so much on women's rights. This is also a very difficult period; men are also trying to find their place in the society.²⁵²

When I conducted my interviews with the representatives for various institutions in East Timor I always made sure of at least mentioning the issue of men and masculinity. While most of the informants agreed with me that the inclusion of men in the domestic violence campaign is important, very few of them could provide examples of that having been done in East Timor. Furthermore, some of the internationals told me stories about the failure of the 'Community Awareness Programs' because they had only let women participate. Some even feared that the exclusion of the men had led to an increase in domestic violence. They told me stories about women coming home from popular education meetings on human rights where they had learned about their equal status with men and thus they felt empowered and confident. With this newly achieved confidence, some would, for instance, refuse to cook that day, and argue that it was the husband's turn to cook. The husband, however, having been excluded from the whole process, had not learned the same thing, and reacted with violence. It is especially a negative experience for the women, who not only experience more violence, it has also a psychological impact, since they now have become aware of the unfairness in the situation, while there is nothing they can do about it.

252 Author's interview with Milena Pires, head of UNIFEM, East Timor, 6.7.2004

11.10 MANE KONTRA LA VIOLENCIA

The only NGO in East Timor focusing on men, violence and gender is ‘*Mane kontra la violencia*’ (Men against violence). When I interviewed people in the UN, the various NGOs and the government about their involvement of men in the domestic violence campaign, many of them referred to this organisation and how they supported and cooperated with them, and this they felt was enough focus on men. Gender issues in general seem to have the effect of alienating men: gender is simply not considered to be ‘their’ issue, and this is clearly the case in East Timor. A number of my informants explicitly stated that gender means women’s issues in East Timor, and that this is one of the failures in the domestic violence campaign. Most of them, however, defended this by saying that they first had to empower women, then move on the ‘gender’ aspect, which they felt they had started to do now. Hence they recognized that men do have a role to play in the domestic violence campaign, they just had not had the opportunity to include them yet.²⁵³

11.11 INCLUDING AND FOCUSING ON THE MEN

Ending gender-based violence: A call for global action to involve men is a call from engaged (male) researchers to end gender-based violence. The book was presented at the UN in 2004 and includes a global plan for action on how to involve the men in the work. The authors are able to support their arguments with results and positive experiences from a number of countries. Instead of discussing violence in neutral and general terms, the authors concentrate on the perpetrator, the man. Instead of moralising, they challenge men to take responsibility and contribute in the fight against violence.²⁵⁴

Melanie Lotfalie has a suggestion on how to make men more positive to gender issues and acknowledge the injustice in how they are treating their women:

I think when we are dealing with boys and men, it is helpful to try to find the ways they are vulnerable, so that they can try to transfer that understanding into the gender situation. Hence for the East Timorese men to recognize the

253 Author’s interviews with Aisling Swayne, the OPE/UNFPA, 1.7.2004/Milena Pires, head of UNIFEM, 6.7.2004/Sophia Cason, JSMP, 12.7.2004/Maria Domingas Alves, the OPE, 5.7.2004/Dionisio Babo, Asia Foundation, 12.7.2004/Melanie Lotfalie, CAVR, 14.7.2004

254 Ferguson, Hearn, Holter, Jalmert, Kimmel, Lang and Morrell (eds.): *Ending gender-based violence: A call for global action to involve men*, Sida, Stockholm, 2004.

*parallels with the oppression by the Indonesians or other foreigners of East Timorese men, and the parallels with their oppression of women*²⁵⁵

By taking this as a starting point, I think it is possible to stir the men's consciousness, and make them realize that they have to begin changing their behaviour towards women. As the UNFPA argues "Men's attitudes and behaviours are strongly influenced by societal expectations about what it means to be a man."²⁵⁶ Thus these expectations need to be challenged and questioned by both women and men.

11.12. A MULTI-DIMENSIONAL APPROACH

Kristin Skjørten underlines the importance of seeing violence as a complex phenomenon. Consequently she argues that it is not enough to only focus on one type of strategy or one type of solution. There is a wide range of dimensions related to gender-based violence, thus the responses must relate to all of those.²⁵⁷

Robert W. Connell identifies six potential arenas for action for working for the reduction of masculine violence. The first arena relates to the upbringing and education of boys. So far, however, this arena has been little explored in the domestic violence campaign in East Timor, particularly when it comes to the education of boys. The second arena relates to the personal arena such as marital relations, family relationships and friendships. This is an area that has a great potential in East Timor; improving and making the Church's pre-marital courses obligatory is one suggestion. The third arena is the community life such as the neighbourhood life, leisure and peer groups, this is so far a rather unexplored arena in East Timor, and hence has a great potential. An example could be to establish 'neighbourhood watch groups' that could interfere in cases of severe violence. The fourth arena for action is cultural institutions, such as higher education, science and technology, mass media, the arts and popular entertainment. While most of these cultural institutions are still lacking in East Timor, the media has been an active participant in the advocacy campaign, which is something that can be expanded on. The fifth arena is the workplaces, such as occupational cultures, industrial relations, corporations, unions and bureaucracies,

255 Author's interview with Melanie Lotafalie, Researcher/CAVR, 14.7.2004

256 UNFPA, 2000, p.1

257 Skjørten, 2005, p.19

the State and its enforcement apparatuses. While the East Timorese State has been involved in the domestic violence campaign, the NGOs have been the organizers. Thus the State's participation can be increased substantially. The justice system is still in its early beginning, and there are several problems that need to be dealt with before domestic violence cases can be resolved in a proper way. Finally, the markets are targets for this work, such as the labour market and the effects of unemployment, capital and commodity markets both international and local, management practices and ideologies.²⁵⁸ This may be the arena where East Timor will face most obstacles in the future considering its weak economy, high rates of unemployment and few prospects for improvement.

In this last section, some concrete recommendations for the domestic violence campaign in East Timor will be presented. First of all, it is argued that the domestic violence campaign in East Timor needs to take on a range of strategies: from creating a domestic violence legislation, working through the education system, raising awareness and spreading information, protecting the women through setting up women's shelters, making women more independent economically and socially, changing men's attitudes and behaviour towards women, and finally offering treatment and counselling for violent men.

11.12.1 CHANGING MEN'S ATTITUDES TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Even men who do not themselves engage in acts of violence nonetheless receive some sort of reaffirmation of the power of men as a category or group vis-à-vis that of women. Thus all men vicariously benefit from the violent acts of the few insofar as such acts illustrate the potential of men to use violence and use it to resolve conflicts.²⁵⁹ Considering this, it is of utmost importance that non-violent men are made of aware of the consequences of a silent acceptance of their male companions' violence. Realizing how an accepting attitude legitimizes other men's violent behaviour, they will hopefully make a firm stand against such behaviour. Thus if non-violent East Timorese men come together and not only support the women's organisations, but even run their own campaigns, such as '*Mane kontra la violencia*' is currently doing, I believe that this could have an significant impact on men's attitudes toward gender-based violence.

258 Connell, op.cit, 2000

259 Dobash and Dobash, op.cit, 1998, p.166.

11.12.2 CREATING A SELF-HELP PROGRAMME FOR VIOLENT MEN

My main suggestion for the further work against domestic violence in East Timor is to start involving men in helping the violent men. Protagonists can take advantage of lessons learned abroad. In Mexico, for instance, a self-help programme for violent men has been created, which has had a significant success the past 12 years. The programme is called *Coriac* (Colectivo de hombres por las Relaciones Iguaitais), and is founded on the idea that violent men must help each other through group therapy and discussions. The programme has about 200 participants each week, and all the leaders are previous participants who only receive a symbolic salary. For now the programme concentrates on the participation of men, but the ultimate aim is that men and women work together.²⁶⁰

Similar self-help programmes for violent men could be established and play an important role in East Timor. Drawing in expertise from similar programmes worldwide in its initial phase would make the implementation easier.

11.12.3 STEP BY STEP

*Sometimes I feel that our programmes are ten years ahead of where East Timor is at. And that is a problem, is it appropriate or not? At the same time, even if it is a couple of steps ahead, it is sowing those seeds that might bring about long-term change into the next generations. I feel we are presenting options, as opposed to not having any options at all or any choice, when you are trapped in the cycle of violence.*²⁶¹

I am going to end the discussion with the above quote by Aisling Swayne, underlining that working with a complex problem such as domestic violence requires time and patience; there are no easy solutions. It requires time to change people's mentality, attitudes and perspectives. While it might take a while before we start seeing significant results, it is crucial to keep up the efforts.

²⁶⁰ Heidi Taksdal-Skjeseeth: "Menn hjelper menn," in *Klassekampen*, 20.10.2005, p. 9

²⁶¹ Author's interview with Aisling Swayne, UNFPA/OPE, 1.7.2004

12. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

12.1 A GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON POST-CONFLICT EAST TIMOR

In this thesis I have examined the issue of gender in post-conflict East Timor, and specifically analysed the domestic violence campaign. I have attempted to make assessments of the campaign's impact, both in terms of reduced violence and in attitude change. In order to put forth recommendations that may secure a more sound approach for future campaign, I have first looked at the theoretical explanations for men's violence, and then linked them to the activities implemented in East Timor. My analysis has indicated that a new approach is called for. Policy makers, and those creating and implementing programmes and projects aimed at reducing domestic violence, need to include and target the perpetrators as well as the victims in the domestic violence campaign.

The analysis has been based on qualitative research conducted during June-August 2004, where I interviewed people working in the UN, the government, the Catholic Church, and various NGOs. East Timor is the world's newest state and is slowly recovering from 24 years of Indonesian occupation. From 1999 to 2003, this small island- state was governed by the United Nations, which claims that its involvement in East Timor has been a great success. The organisation is particularly proud of its strong inclusion of gender components in its activities, which it argues has ensured the participation of women in the reconstruction and participation in the independent East Timor's future. The domestic violence campaign has been one of the key activities of the UN during its mission in East Timor.²⁶² My material, however, indicates that the success of this campaign has been rather limited.

I have defined gender from the perspective of social constructivism, where gender is seen as one of the ways in which social practice is ordered. Hence gender identity is created between individuals; it is learned, changes over time and varies widely within and across cultures. My basic premise is therefore that gender identity is negotiable, it is not given by nature, and consequently changing patterns of violent behaviour is possible. Taking such a position is essential when

²⁶² UNIFEM, op.cit, 2003, p.2.

working with a topic such as domestic violence, where the premise must be that the violence can be stopped.

12.2 THE ROOTS OF MEN'S VIOLENCE

Research shows that violence is largely, albeit not exclusively, a problem of male violence and of prevailing male gender roles and role models. Men use violence to sustain dominance. While there is no single, universally accepted definition of violence, I have used Johan Galtung's distinction between direct and indirect/structural violence. The focus of this thesis has been on interpersonal violence, specifically on family and intimate partner violence, which involves both types of violence.²⁶³ Concerning violence against women, I have used the definition from the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against women: "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life."²⁶⁴

There is no nation-wide data available documenting the exact prevalence of domestic violence in East Timor, hence it is uncertain whether the prevalence of domestic violence has increased or decreased since the end of the occupation. On the other hand, the reported number of domestic violence cases is rising and domestic violence is recognized as a major problem, which is supported by the fact that in 2001, forty percent of all crimes committed in Dili were violence against women.²⁶⁵

There exist two opposite explanations of men's violence: the biological/essentialist and the socio-cultural. While the first argues that it is 'natural' for men to be violent, the latter argues that masculinities and gendered expectations are socially constructed; consequently they can be changed. This thesis has taken as a starting point that we must seek the main causes of gendered violence in social masculinities rather than biological differences.

My findings show that men's violence has a function: it is an action with intention and direction. Masculine identity, social ideals about husbands and wives, as well as personal privilege and material benefits are all at stake when

263 Galtung, op.cit, 1996.

264 United Nations General Assembly, op.cit,Resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993

265 UNIFEM, op.cit 2003, p.3.

men use violence against a woman partner.²⁶⁶ The violence is further connected to gender-oriented expectation-systems; expectations that women are subordinate and men are dominant. In East Timor, the patriarchal values of the culture suggest that men have a justified right to exercise violence on women. This is specifically connected to the current practice of *barlake*, the tradition of dowry, where the woman is considered to be owned not only by her husband but also by her husband's family; the wife is not seen as an individual with equal rights and needs as the man.

During the occupation, women and men shared the experience of suppression and dominance, and together they were resisting the foreign power. With peace, men and women are returning back to their traditional patriarchal roles and the dominance of men. While women want to continue and expand on the gender roles they gained during the war, the men expect life to return to 'normal' traditional life. East Timorese men and women are consequently experiencing a conflict of interests, and the consequences are far too often men's violence against women and children.

Men's violence in East Timor is further expressions of problems from the past, this I term 'traumatic experiences of violence.' What is often forgotten is that the men returning to civilian life are traumatized people. Former resistance fighters have learned little but survival skills, thus returning back to 'normal life' has been a shock for them.

The occupation has created a culture of violence; the East Timorese are now desensitized to violence, including domestic violence. The psychological effects of living in such a violent environment for so long are still unclear, but high numbers indicate that violence has now become an intricate part of daily life.

Finally the violence can be seen as a reaction to men's powerlessness. Expectations were high after independence, thus the disappointment is significant with high levels of unemployment, widespread poverty and little prospects for improvements. The historical inequality of women and men are now being challenged with independence and the introduction of democracy, and men's responses are divided. Some respond with violence and frustration, while others support reforms and challenge the dominant hegemonic masculinities.

²⁶⁶ Dobash and Dobash op.cit, 1998, pp. 164-168.

Some of the men who cannot live up to expectations that they should be powerful and competent may respond with violence. The violence becomes a way of turning a feeling of powerlessness to a feeling of power, strength and control.

The high level of domestic violence has further been perpetuated by the not yet fully functioning justice system; of the continued use of the traditional justice system which favours reconciliation through the payment of compensation, often at the expense of justice being served, and finally the influence of the Catholic Church which advocates for the patience of women, and reconciliation through statements such as “stand together no matter what.” Hence the causes of domestic violence in East Timor are many; unfortunately my analysis shows that the effective responses are not.

12.3 THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CAMPAIGN IN EAST TIMOR

In 2002 the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) launched a nationwide campaign against domestic violence in East Timor. The government, local communities, women’s groups, the police, judges, the Church, the media, health care providers and various NGOs have all engaged in efforts to end domestic violence. The activities to address domestic violence in East Timor have thus included a wide range of actors, and the activities implemented range from establishing a Vulnerable Persons Unit that deals with rape and domestic violence, setting up three women’s shelters, community awareness activities including civic education, imprisoning the perpetrators, and finally trying to create a Domestic Violence Legislation.

A major focus of the domestic violence campaign has been on creating a Domestic Violence Legislation. Connected to this is the possible prevention of further violence through the imprisonment of the perpetrators, the underlying belief being that men might stop using violence knowing that imprisonment is a possible outcome. Thus imprisonment is meant to serve two purposes: punishing the perpetrators as well as preventing violence from occurring. My material, however, shows that imprisonment might not be fulfilling both purposes: while perpetrators may be punished, so far the possibility of imprisonment does not seem to have a noticeable preventive influence. Moreover, several of my informants pointed out that the women do not want their husbands to go to prison,

since they are dependent of them economically. This dependency makes it difficult for the victims to put the case forward due to fear of being left alone without the breadwinner for the family. My analysis therefore indicates that imprisonment does not seem to be the ultimate solution in East Timor; it might be time to consider other preventive measures.

The degree of success of the activities addressing domestic violence varies; but what they all have in common is their focus on the victims. My analysis has shown that this one-sided focus on the victims has not resulted in a notable decrease in domestic violence cases, nor significant help for a majority of the victims. This conclusion is supported by a recent statement during a Democratic Party consolidation meeting on 6 of November 2005 where Maria Tereza de Carvalho, member of the Democratic Party, stated that despite the high number of women's organisations focusing on domestic violence, the prevalence is still increasing.²⁶⁷ Based on my analysis I believe that a focus on the men, the perpetrators and those responsible for the violence, is called for. In fact, findings from my qualitative research indicate that some gender projects even have failed directly because of their exclusion of men, and perhaps even resulted in an increase in domestic violence. The exclusion of men in popular education meetings on human rights and domestic violence has resulted in an unequal division of information and knowledge. Informants told me about women, after attending popular education meetings on human rights, having gained a feeling of empowerment and confidence, have begun challenging their husbands' patriarchal attitudes. The husbands' reaction, however, having been excluded from the whole process, is increased violence. My analysis therefore indicates that a major reason for the limited success of the domestic violence campaign in East Timor is the exclusion and lack of focus on the men as perpetrators and responsible for the violence. My findings are supported by Maria Tereza de Carvalho:

We have carried out so many workshops for women but we never involve men in those kinds of meetings. Therefore most men never receive moral education for themselves on their responsibility and their obligations.

267 The United Nations Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL): "Many Women's Organisations exist, but Domestic Violence on the Increase," *Daily Media Review*, 7.11.2005

*This has led to the many occurrences of domestic violence in the family.*²⁶⁸

12.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has demonstrated that a substantial part of the domestic violence campaign has been aimed towards treating symptoms, overlooking the underlying problems. My material shows that it is not enough to create a Domestic Violence Legislation, build women's shelters and raise awareness about the problem; changing men's mentality and attitudes towards women is equally important. Unless one is able to change men's thinking and attitudes, the violence will continue. Deriving from my analysis, I will recommend the actors in the domestic violence campaign in East Timor to draw on the lessons and experiences of countries that have begun to involve the perpetrators of violence. Part of such an approach would be analysing the causes of men's violence and developing appropriate responses to those causes. On the basis of my analysis I have elaborated a three-fold argument: first, East Timor needs to protect the victims and make women independent both economically and socially, secondly East Timor needs to continue the strategy of advocacy and awareness-raising, and finally East Timor has to focus on men as perpetrators and what can be done to change their attitudes and violent behaviour. Currently only the first two are included in the domestic violence campaign in East Timor.

My material indicates that the domestic violence campaign in East Timor needs to take on a range of strategies. First of all the empowerment of women needs to continue, through the protection of victims of violence, and equally important, increasing the status of women both socially and economically. Secondly the 'Community awareness Programs' must expand and develop so that those attending not only learn about human rights, but more important, understand and incorporate them into their daily practices.

My analysis suggests that increasing attention should be paid to locally adapted, alternative methods of punishment for domestic violence such as community service while staying in the family. Otherwise one might risk having a vast number of men in prison, and an equal number of women struggling to survive. Thus I argue for the continued use of the traditional justice system,

268 Statement by Maria Tereza de Carvalho in UNOTIL, *ibid*, 7.11.2005

however with a radical twist: forcing the perpetrators to face their crime, while at the same time avoiding punishment for the whole family. Two of the main challenges attached to this, are first of all providing these services, and secondly persuading the holders of powers to implement these new practices. I believe that this is possible if the status of the traditional justice system is increased in relation to the formal justice system. I would further recommend that in addition to community services the men should be offered opportunities of treatment and counselling (or be forced to attend them) so that they are able to deal with and change their violent behaviour. My suggestion is that treatment groups for violent men are set up, so that the men are given an alternative to the current cycle of violence they are in. The aim of these groups could be to encourage a new, non-violent masculine identity.

Currently the hegemonic masculinity in East Timor is the dominant and patriarchal, which legitimizes the use of violence against women if they ‘deserve it.’ But this masculinity is not something permanent and unchangeable. Based on my analysis I consider that one of the main goals of both women and men should be to direct the hegemonic masculinity into becoming more egalitarian, non-violent and accepting of women as equal human beings. In order to achieve this, gender organisations, both women’s and men’s, must cooperate in changing the public ideal of being a ‘man.’ Through education, advocacy campaigns, and public statements from national icons such as President Xanana Gusmão, I believe that this can be achieved with time and patience. There is a wide range of differences within the category ‘men.’ Not all men share the dominant notion of what it is being a man. Those who do not are a resource that can be used to influence those complying with the dominant hegemonic masculinity. A perfect example is the members of *Mane kontra la violencia*. Another recommendation for the domestic violence campaign includes making the Catholic Church an ally and partner, specifically through its pre-marriage counselling courses, to secure that the marriage is voluntarily and to teach couples non-violent conflict resolution. My findings indicate that because of its moral authority and influence, the church’s participation and support is crucial in the domestic violence campaign, both on the preventive side as well as in the support of the victims. The final specific issue I would like to mention concerns the repatriation and social reintegration of ex-combatants – both men and women. Special support

programmes are needed to ease the process, as in some cases former combatants have turned to criminal activities and violence in the absence of a social network to assist them in re-integration.

This study has further indicated that the major focus on domestic violence has led to a neglect of focus on other equally important gender and women's issues. Hence I will argue that the gender debate needs to extend beyond domestic violence. The focus must include issues such as health, poverty, education, the role of the Catholic Church, *barlake* and other culturally related issues, and perhaps the biggest challenge of all: finding a balance between cultural practices and human right standards.

i Timor-Leste is the official name.

ii An example of this being done are the various campaigns held by the Red Cross, Amnesty International and the White Ribbon Campaign in Norway, where Norwegian men have been influenced to take violence more seriously, without being stamped as bad people. Other initiatives are the Alternative To Violence and anger management courses which have made many men aware of the possibility of doing something with their anger and violence. These activities advocate for a change in viewpoint: the focus must be on those responsible for the violence. Another example is The White Ribbon Campaign, which was launched by a few Canadian men in 1991, and has become a large-scale campaign. These men shared the belief that through men's silence, they allowed the violence to continue. Recognizing that men are a large part of the problem, they realised that men also need to be part of the solution. Their strategy involves wearing a white ribbon as a personal pledge never to commit, condone or remain silent about violence against women. The argument for using such a simple symbolic language is that it makes it easier to reach large masses of men and thus can be a catalyst for discussion and for self-reflection. These examples are introduced to show that a focus on men in domestic violence campaigns are an international phenomena. I have not expanded on these examples in this thesis because then I would open up for a different discussion; whether it is appropriate to introduce Western solutions to the problem of East Timorese men's violence? Since this is a thesis in itself, I have chosen to not go into that debate.

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APPENDIX I: MARITAL HISTORY

(Data from a survey done by International Rescue Committee: *Prevalence of gender-based violence in Timor Leste*, research report July 2003, p.19)

The scheme shows the marital status of 254 interviewed women:

The woman was asked if she wanted to marry her husband (N=254)	N	%
No	143	56
Yes	105	41
Don't know/refuse	6	3
Age when first married or lived with a man: mean age	20.8 years	
Marriage involved the brideprice payment (N=254)	N	%
Yes	128	50
No	122	48
Don't know/refuse	4	2
Brideprice influences how husband treats the woman (N=128)	N	%
Positive	49	38
No influence on treatment	55	43
Negative	11	9
Don't know/refuse	13	10

APPENDIX II: ATTITUDES TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

(Data from a survey done by International Rescue Committee: *Prevalence of gender-based violence in Timor Leste*, Research Report July 2003, p.21.)

The scheme shows attitudes to domestic violence among women, out of a total of 317 interviewed:

Attitude to Domestic violence	Strongly/ mostly agree %	Don't agree or disagree %	Strongly/ mostly disagree %	Refused %
Family problems should only be discussed with people in the family (N=313)	84	6	10	0
A good wife obeys her husband (N=314)	58	10	29	3
If a man treats his wife badly, others outside of the family should try to help the woman (N=306)	57	10	31	2
A man has good reason to hit his wife if she disobeys him (N=306)	51	6	42	0
A man has good reason to hit his wife if she does not complete her household work to his satisfaction (N=306)	47	6	45	1

APPENDIX III: PERCEPTIONS ON GENDER ROLES AMONG EAST TIMORESE

(Office for the promotion of equality: *Domestic violence legislation policy paper*, 2004, p.14)

Most of the East Timorese find the following concepts and behaviours as acceptable or 'normal':

1. Men (husbands) are the head of family who control and decide everything in the family. In contrary women (wives) are housewives and undertake the domestic role. Thus men have the right to dominate women, men are superior to women, and women should take submissive roles. This viewpoint is reflected in the fact that according to a survey the IRC undertook 51% of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement 'a man has good reason to hit his wife if she strongly obeys him.'
2. Being masculine means being dominant and tough; violence and virility go hand in hand.
3. Men, either children or adult, have privilege either in education or in other cultural practices. For example the son will be the first to obtain education.
4. A virtuous woman is a selfless, sacrificing woman, who suffers in silence.
5. Chastity of women is highly valued, while adultery by men is seen as 'normal' ('mane ne'e asu' = men are dogs)
6. Men are the breadwinners and women become housewives and economically dependent to the men. Thus women are the weaker gender, who needs to be protected.
7. Men receive more inheritance than women, with the assumption that men will be the breadwinners for their future family.
8. Most of the head in a village is male, therefore all the decisions that are made mainly reflect less advantage for women.

APPENDIX III: REPORTED CASES AND PROBLEMS WITH MEDIATION

(Office for the promotion of equality: *Domestic violence legislation policy paper*, 2004, p.33)

Domestic violence cases reported to the Prosecutors' office in East Timor

Districts	2000	2001	2002
Dili	13 cases	21 cases	54 cases
Ermera	NA	1 case	2 cases
Liquica	NA	1 case	9 cases
Ainaro	NA	1 case	4 cases
Maliana	NA	NA	13 cases
Aileu	NA	NA	3 cases
Process of the case	NA	<u>Settled with mediation:</u> 16 cases <u>Transferred to court:</u> 5 cases <u>Verdict by District court:</u> 3 cases	<u>Settled with mediation:</u> 50 cases <u>Transferred to court:</u> 7 cases <u>Verdict by district court:</u> 2 cases <u>Verdict by prosecutor:</u> 5 cases <u>In Civ-Pol:</u> 11 cases