

European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation 2006-2007



Gender, War, Peace

*Mainstreaming Gender in Peace Processes:
Lessons Learned from the United Nations in Timor-Leste*

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To my mother

“The future of Timor-Leste depends on the women, for it is they who will rear the next generation. However, they cannot rear a generation committed to peace in the current context of gender relations”

Lorraine Corner, UNIFEM, East and Southeast Asia Regional Office (Questionnaire submitted on 25 May 2007)

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INTRODUCTION

Where are the women?

For decades, most political and social research remained silent on gender and gender analysis.¹ Whether deliberate or not, gender blindness in research has meant that male behaviour and necessities have emerged to represent the human norm, while women and their perspectives have been silenced. This has resulted in a gross distortion of reality and in seriously incomplete analyses and responses. Conflict and peace research has been largely affected by the same silence. In conflict analysis, gender inequality has rarely been regarded as a causal factor of war; the large use of the “women-and-children” formula in war accounts has commonly denied the agency of women in armed conflicts, reducing them to the status of vulnerable victims; the overwhelming presence of men among decision-makers at the peace table and in post-war governments has rarely been questioned or even noticed.

My work represents an attempt to adopt a gender approach to war, violent conflicts and peacebuilding efforts and to show that the inclusion of a gender perspective in conflict analysis and across the spectrum of peace processes makes the ultimate goal of achieving sustainable peace far more likely.²

Part I of this work explores the interconnections between war, militarism and sexism and attempts to unveil the system of structural violence that legitimises the oppression and the “invisibility” of women in many societies, in wartime as well as in times of “peace”. Further, it analyses how radical and holistic view of peace entrenched in the feminist conceptualisation of power and security can constitute the building block for a peace politics capable of eradicating war and violence. In the light of the findings I ascertain, I design a conceptual framework aimed at providing essential guidelines for mainstreaming a gender perspective in peace efforts, i.e. for making gender a systematic and integral part of all phases of a peace process.

In Part II, I attempt to make this conceptual framework operational by applying it to a concrete

¹ Throughout the thesis, gender is intended as the “socially constructed roles played by women and men that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex”, *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women*, 15 September 1995, A/CONF.177/20/1995, Annex IV.

² *Ibidem*.

case study: United Nations (UN)-led peace efforts in East Timor/Timor-Leste.³ First, I evaluate achievements and shortcomings of gender mainstreaming endeavours of UN Missions in the region from 1999 through the present day. Subsequently, I look at the main lessons that can be drawn from this experience and I put forth concrete recommendations which would, in my view, make the UN's approach and work on gender in Timor-Leste more comprehensive, forward-looking and sustainable.

My evaluation is based on extensive review of relevant documentation by UN peace Missions in Timor-Leste, multi-lateral agencies, governments and Civil Society Organisations (CSO), as well as on the results of an inquiry conducted among over forty people, with the help of two questionnaires and qualitative interviews.⁴ The inquiry allowed me to collect direct testimonies and first-hand information and, ultimately, to test the validity of my conclusions. Interviewees included: current and former UN civilian staff in Timor-Leste; gender and military officials of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) Headquarters (HQ); Timor-Leste government officials and diplomatic staff; independent consultants; international and local women's networks and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) representatives; and East Timorese residents in Portugal, including students, activists and former members of the resistance.⁵

The case of Timor-Leste is of unique relevance in the history of UN peace interventions: for the first time the UN had sovereign control over a trust territory and for the first time a UN peacekeeping Mission included a Gender Affairs Unit (GAU). Eight years after the first arrival of the UN in Timor-Leste, the world's only former UN-administered territory – along with Kosovo – is still not at peace. What once was considered a “UN success story”, both in terms of successful state-building and its good practices in gender mainstreaming, now risks becoming the first “UN failed state”. The breakdown of law and order which followed the serious security crisis in April-May 2006 revealed the fragile nature of the young country's public institutions and the lack of solid premises for good governance and durable peace.

Where are the women? In today's Timor-Leste women are marginalized in most formal and traditional political fora. Despite the advancement of women's status since the first UN arrival in 1999, women remain today “second class citizens,”⁶ frequently unable to inherit or own property, widely excluded from peacebuilding efforts, and commonly encouraged to resolve rape and

³ East Timor is the English name used by the UN prior to independence in 2002; Timor-Leste is the official name of the country after independence.

⁴ The two English/Portuguese bilingual questionnaires are in Annex 1.

⁵ The list of people consulted and interviewed is in Annex 2.

⁶ Questionnaire by Catharina Maria, Co-ordinator, Solidarity Observer Mission for East Timor (SOMET), Timor-Leste (Ref: INT-11, 6 June 2007).

domestic violence cases as “private issues” through traditional rules.⁷ UN gender mainstreaming in Timor-Leste does not appear to have lead, over the last eight years, to a rooted culture of women’s rights and gender equality in the country and this remains a hindering factor towards the achievement of real peace. As the Kosovo parabola slowly approaches its end, however uncertain, Timor-Leste shows that state-building, good governance and lasting peace are not sustainable if women are not involved and if gender is not taken seriously by national actors, the United Nations and the international community at large.

⁷ Amnesty International, *Timor-Leste Report 2005* at <http://web.amnesty.org/report2005/tmp-summary-eng> (13 May 2007).

I

A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO THE GENDER DIMENSIONS OF WAR & PEACE

CHAPTER 1

Gender & War

The connection between gender relations and the sphere of violent conflicts is a complex one. At least two different levels of analysis must be adopted in order to explore it.

The first is impact-oriented. It examines the difference in how wars are experienced by women and men and looks at the impact wars and violent conflicts have on gender roles and gender relations. Women's involvement and experiences in wars have only recently become the interest of observers and researchers and, in this way, visible. A gender analysis of war needs therefore to start with the acknowledgment of women and women's agency in war.

The second level of analysis is deeper and looks at the gendered causes of wars. It looks at how violence is generated in gender relations and aims to unveil the forms of conflicts that underlie gender relations also in times of "peace". For it is in the gendered dimensions of inequality and violence in the "pre-war" period that lies a large part of the root-causes of wars and violent conflicts.

1.1 Gender in new wars: are women victims, perpetrators or actors?

1.1.1 Victims of war: the feminisation of war suffering

Changes in the post-Cold War geopolitical landscape have increasingly seen the emergence of intrastate conflicts, characterised by a greater-than-ever involvement of the civilian population and the deliberate targeting of civilians by groups who use terror as a tactic of war.⁸ While men

⁸ Münkler, 2004.

constitute the largest percentage of the mortal victims of wars, as they are generally more mobilized into the fighting forces, when war is brought to the civilian population women are disproportionately hard-hit by other forms of war suffering.

The phenomenon of the “feminisation of poverty”⁹ usually worsens during armed conflicts and in their aftermath; access to jobs, capital, credit and land diminishes or disappears during wars, with women falling more deeply into the poverty they knew before the war began. Because of their reproductive responsibilities, women, along with their children, disproportionately suffer the consequences of disrupted services compared to men. Sustained violence also erodes household and community trust and relations and exacerbates the breakdown of the traditional support mechanisms upon which the community, especially women, rely.¹⁰

During wars, the experience of displacement also differs considerably between men and women. While most reasons for flight may be the same as men’s, some additional specific motives push women to leave their homes and villages, for example the activities of some member of their family or the transgression of some cultural or religious custom that may put at risk their physical integrity. During flight from home, the plight of women refugees is multiple and refugee camps, instead of a place of refuge, often become a place of violence for women. After-camp situations do not prove to be any better when it comes to gender-differentiation.¹¹

1.1.2 Rape and the brutalisation of women’s body in war

The instruments that are used to abuse the body in warfare tend to be gender differentiated.¹² For a long time, rape during war has been minimised or silenced, considered an inevitable side effect of armed conflicts and lost, from a legal point of view, in the barbarous mass of the overall crimes. Specifically codified for the first time as a recognisable and independent “war crime” within the statutes of the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)¹³ and for Rwanda (ICTR)¹⁴ and as a “crime against humanity” within the Statute of International Criminal Court (ICC)¹⁵ in 1998, rape has now entered the vocabulary of war to the extent that some speak of

⁹ UNDP, *Timor-Leste Country Program Review*, 2005, at http://www.tl.undp.org/undp/pdf_files/reports_documents/CPR_matrix_eng.pdf (7 June 2007), p. 4.

¹⁰ Lindsey, in Durham & Gurd (eds.), 2005, p. 23.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

¹² Cockburn, in Moser, 2001, p. 22.

¹³ ICTY Statute, S/RES/827/1993, Art. 5.

¹⁴ ICTR Statute, S/RES/955/1993, Art. 3.

¹⁵ ICC Statute, A/CONF.183/9/1993, Art. 7.

the “sexualisation of war violence.”¹⁶

Although not exclusively a female-specific type of violence, rape in war has been and is principally used as a tool to conquer and abuse women’s body in the struggle for power and spread of political terror. Beyond the primary connotations of rape as “war booty”, as a booster of male soldiers’ sense of superiority, or as a random act of brutality, lies the deeper significance of rape as a collectivised socially-constructed experience, produced by a series of deliberate policy decisions with the intent of destroying the fabric of society.¹⁷ The systematic use of rape as a tool for ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina is one example, among many, of the symbolic use of rape’s “polluting” and annihilating power. From this perspective, rape appears as an institutionalised military strategy¹⁸ aimed at conquering women as symbolic battlefields,¹⁹ and in this way terrorising communities, punishing an entire ethnic group, reducing woman’s existence to a life of rejection, and her body to no more than an object open for humiliation and abuse.

Although they experience great deprivation during wartime, women shall not be reduced to the role of victims. The multiplicity of women’s roles during armed conflicts encompasses other realities: they can perpetrate violence, they can become society’s new leaders, they can be constructors of peace. Before analysing these roles more in detail, it is important to acknowledge that the “silent side” of wars is populated by a majority of women who remain in control of the basic function of sustaining life in the middle of destruction and death. This “radical” politics of life has been largely remained invisible to the political culture, for it is widely seen as “natural” and, therefore, devalued.

1.1.3 Women can be perpetrators

In most war accounts, the centrality of women as victims often silences the fact that women have never absented themselves from wars. Not all women are innocent. Women too are capable of inflicting and perpetuating violence. Whether as combatants, apartheid supporters, recruiters of guerrilla groups or suicide bombers, women are capable of contributing to the prosecution of wars for the same political, ideological or economic reasons as men.²⁰

In modern intrastate wars, as more and more civilians are drawn into conflicts, the conventional separation of male belligerents and female inhabitants no longer prevails. Women join the fighting

¹⁶ Bjelic & Savic, 2003, p. 314.

¹⁷ Magallón, 2006 (a), p. 56.

¹⁸ Turshen, 1998, p. 12.

¹⁹ Brownmiller, 1975, p. 38.

²⁰ Magallón, 2006 (a), p. 23; Ruddick, 1995, p. 86.

force, they resist and fight back, they take sides, spy and fight among themselves. Women committed atrocities in the genocide in Rwanda; fought in some units of the Bosnian government army from 1992-95; made up a third of the forces of guerrilla armies in liberation and ideological struggles in Eritrea, South Africa and across Latin America; at the beginning of the 1990s there were reported to be over 3.000 women serving in the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, which has one entire elite battalion of female suicide bombers.²¹

The active role of many women in the war effort also encompasses a wider series of behind-the-lines contributions. Women often provide moral support, food and information. They transport materials and arms to combat lines, harbour guerrilla members, assist wounded fighters and provide aid to families and children of resistance fighters and prisoners. Although not comparable in ferocity to direct combat roles, these “support roles” women so often undertake prove to be no less crucial and necessary to the continuation of the war.

1.1.4 Neither Cain nor Abel: undertaking “new” roles in wars and organising for peace

Due to the disruption of society and family life, war sometimes gives women the opportunity to assume roles usually played by men and step into new spaces of expression and power from which they were previously barred. In times of war, women often become the primary bread-winners in the family and may come to acquire control over economic production. They may step into visible public political roles or even carry out religious functions. Whether these *de facto* changes in the roles between sexes in society and in the family are temporary or permanent remains to be seen.²²

Many women also take on roles as peacebuilders during wartime. As citizens, they publicly protest against the dynamics of death perpetrated by their governments. As mothers, they show their opposition to raising their children to war and violence. As pacifists, they subvert the concept that killing is a citizen’s “duty” towards the state. As peacebuilders, they assert the need to accept “the enemy” and propose ways of co-existence in the middle of violent conflicts. Practical examples are numerous. In the Philippines, the Balkans and the Caucasus women resisted the military recruitment of husbands and sons by hiding them, lying to the authorities and even arriving at the front lines to take them home.²³ In Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Burundi and Bosnia, women boosted community-based conflict resolution and reconciliation projects to bridge deep, political, ethnic and religious

²¹ International Alert, *Women, Violent Conflict and Peacebuilding*, 1999, p. 11.

²² See below, chapter 1.2.1.

²³ Anderlini, 2000, p. 12.

divides.²⁴ The Women in Black (WIB) movement, today a world-wide network of peace activists, embodies the capacity of many women to build bridges between conflicting communities. A group of women standing once a week at the same time and at the same location in Israel since 1988, dressed in black and holding a black sign with the motto “stop the occupation”, started “a simple form of protest that women could do easily.”²⁵ By making use of their bodies and the symbolic value of silence as subversive tools for civil protest, WIB want to show that women, the silenced subjects in the private realm, use silence to break the “wall” of isolation and make their voices heard.

1.2 Gender and war in times of peace: patriarchy and the War System

A classic-feminist truism highlights “rape in war is a horrible thing, but still only the tip of the iceberg of the oppression of women.” Acquiring a gender lens in the analysis of war and peace does not mean only looking at gender relations and gender roles *during* conflicts but also in *out-of-war* contexts. In fact, in many societies rape, inequality, discrimination against women and other forms of private and public violence(s) continue after war ends and “normality” sets in. Although the fighting is over, women do not live in peace.

1.2.1 Going at the roots of violence(s): the unequal “peace” in pre- and post-war periods

Looking attentively at pre-war societies, i.e. societies that later featured armed conflict, it is possible to see predisposing conditions, warning signs and possibly causal factors. One of these main signs is the increase of “structural violence”, defined by Galtung as that kind of violence deriving from repressive structures and existing whenever the potential development of an individual or group is held back by the uneven distribution of power and resources.²⁶ Structural violence both legitimises and is legitimised by direct violence. Violent structures and its elites resort to direct violence whenever they see their power being threatened; at the same time, direct violence ultimately has the effect of reinforcing the superiority of these groups and the legitimacy of resorting to violence.

Women experience structural violence in those societies where male elites are the holders of

²⁴ *Ibidem.*

²⁵ *1000 Peace Women*, 2005, p. 607.

²⁶ Galtung, 1969, p. 173.

exclusive rights and roles – whether political, civil or regarding mediation with the divine – and where unequal power relations are claimed on the basis of sexual differences and gender roles.²⁷

Structural violence subordinates women in multiple ways. A first expression is physical aggression against women. Rape, gender-based violence (GBV) and the monopolisation of women's bodies do not belong exclusively to the dynamic of violent conflicts; all exist prior to conflict and persist in the post-conflict period. Domestic violence and many aggressive practices against women,²⁸ still justified by too many states and societies in the name of cultural identity, persist also in times of “peace”.

A second way in which structural violence expresses itself is the restoration in post-war periods of a space of power which does not acknowledge women's agency in war. Most of the times, women do not gain equality through their active engagement in war because the models for the exercise of power in society do not change after the fighting ends.²⁹ The “disorder” of war is followed by the restoration of the pre-war “order” of spaces and functions. Most female ex-combatants are excluded from Disarmament-Demobilisation-Reintegration (DDR) projects and veteran's associations established after war ends. Women's voices are rarely heard in the established, male elite-driven post-war security reforms and army restructuring processes. Moreover, women former combatants are likely to experience a sense of alienation once they return to their families and communities: while their choices may have violated traditional expectations, tensions may also occur when women have joined armed groups and factions that the villagers did not support.³⁰

Those women who have acquired leading roles in the political and economic realms during war times frequently face a similar destiny. Notwithstanding their sometimes prominent status during wars, the skills and confidence forged in some women during the conflict can seldom be turned to their advantage once the fighting is over. While in the public sphere women remain largely excluded from peace tables and post-war governments, also in the sphere of the family, once the man returns and his status is restored gender relations tend to automatically revert to their pre-war situation. Sometimes, women's assumption of traditionally male roles during wars may even spark a backlash from those men who feel emasculated by their own loss of control and authority.

²⁷ Reardon, 1985, p. 13.

²⁸ Some examples include: selective female infanticide, forced sterilisation and genital mutilation.

²⁹ Cockburn, in Moser (ed.), 2001, p. 21.

³⁰ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 120.

1.2.2 Militarism, patriarchy and the *continuum* of violence

A third embodiment of structural violence is militarism. Militarism relies on the idea that the security of a state or a community depends on the strength of its military force and its ability to wage war. At a deeper social level, militarism exists when, in Enloe's words, the military is "socially institutionalised" and "a person gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its wellbeing on militaristic ideas."³¹

When it penetrates into mentalities, social relations and institutions, militarism comes to affect interpersonal relations and individual identities. It manipulates individual and group identities and constructs gender identities in a way that masculinity and femininity become stable "negotiated interpretations" of what it means to be a man or a woman.³² The construction of masculinity in militarist societies is based on the aggressive image of the man who, by physique and tradition, is expected to protect women and children and be ready to sacrifice his life for the "motherland." Militarism calls on men to take up arms and casts on them expectations which are perceived as necessary for order, security and the defence of national interests.³³ Militarism also requires women to accept a particular conception of femininity. In the construction of a stereotyped femininity, militarism depicts women as "vulnerable", for the construction of a hegemonic masculinity depends upon a vulnerable femininity.³⁴ While they are denied autonomous agency, women are called to sacrifice their brothers, husbands and sons for the sake of superior national values and are reminded that, by biology and tradition, they are the keepers of the home and traditions.

If the preservation of order and the protection of national interests legitimise the use of violence by the state, in many societies they also provide ground for private forms of gender-related violence. It is evident that a society that encourages its men to be aggressive in situations of war has problems controlling man's fierceness when he comes home. Both these public and private contexts for the use of violence rely on the construction of respective public and private aggressive masculinities.

This organisation of gender roles necessarily reinforces patriarchal ideology, which nourishes its central belief system by assuming the "essentialized" features of women and men and their "natural" inequality.³⁵ Both militarism and patriarchy naturalise socially constructed behaviours

³¹ Enloe, quoted in Mazurana (ed.), 2005, p. 37.

³² Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 41.

³³ Reardon, 1985, p. 19.

³⁴ Enloe, 1993, p. 253.

³⁵ Essentialism is a mindset claiming to recognise the timeless essence of individual and social identity and perceiving gender identities and differences as stable factors. Smith in Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 34.

and do not allow for change: those men and women who do not conform to the expected/desired pattern are excluded and become “the other”, hence “the enemy”. The fear of the “other”, whether on the basis of sex, ethnicity or nationality, is constructed to obtain control; fear allows the male-dominated community to resort to armed violence as a means of defence and, in turn, both fear and armed violence become legitimising sources of the superiority of the male elite.

The picture which slowly emerges is one in which patriarchy and war constitute a *continuum* of violence, which links the violence entrenched in society and in interpersonal relations with the larger-scale use of weaponry for reasons of national interests and security.³⁶ This *continuum* also reveals the link existing between domestic violence against women and the use of women’s bodies during wartimes; rape in the streets and rape in the battlefield; the use of women as supporters of fighters during armed conflict and their exclusion from power after the conflict ends. In other words, war appears as the transposition of social patriarchal domination to a wider scale.

1.2.3 Unveiling the War System: when does the pre-war start?

The intuition of a crucial relation between violence in wartime and the “learning” of it during peacetime led Wolf to ask: “You can tell when a war starts, but when does the pre-war start?”³⁷ In *Sexism and the War System*,³⁸ Reardon suggests a convincing answer.

Far from considering war only the period of an armed conflict, Reardon unveils the War System that entrenches the very ideological and social premises of war *strictu sensu*. War begins not when weapons begin firing; it begins when the construction starts of a patriarchal social order imposing rigidly-defined sex roles and inspiring competitive and aggressive notions of State and Power.³⁹ Shaping a general social acceptance of violence and of the primacy of dominance-oppression relationships, this hierarchical male-centred apparatus grows in the measure that fear, threat and hatred between people become rooted in society and that the difference between gender roles is emphasised in unequal terms.⁴⁰ Reardon describes the War System as “this dichotomous, competitive, polarizing thinking that has negatively exaggerated and manipulated the differences between men and women and kept us playing the war game for most of human history.”⁴¹ Tickner

³⁶ Moura, 2005, p. 48.

³⁷ Wolf, 1988, p. 66.

³⁸ Reardon, 1985.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁴⁰ Reardon, in Breines, 1999, p. 145.

⁴¹ Reardon, 1985, p. 93.

agrees with this view: “war is a time when gender polarisation sets in.”⁴²

Reardon’s War System shows that the subaltern condition of women is pre-existent to armed conflicts, and that war is, therefore, an exacerbation of gender inequalities entrenched in the power structures in times of “peace”. Reardon also suggests that this deep-rooted link between war and sexism makes it impossible to overcome one without eradicating the other.

1.2.4 A feminist critique to the Realist approach to International Relations

Although patriarchal structures, gender power relations and their strategic and symbolic functions are crucial factors in the production of violence and in the outbreak of wars, these elements and categories are normally not found in history books, in manuals of international relations or in conflict analysis reports, all of which are much more focused on sovereign states, militaries and national security issues.

The dominant approach to International Relations, the so-called Realist approach, considers the state and the military as the primary referents of security, and regards sovereignty, war, power, and *realpolitik* as its main conceptual tools of analysis. Women and gender are silenced subjects. However, just as in any other discipline, also the field of International Relations speaks through its silences.⁴³

“The tradition that excludes women is the same that excludes peace,”⁴⁴ points out Magallón, suggesting that in realist analysis the issues of women and peace are symbolically united and qualified as passive entities, hidden in the “shade of war” – with peace being considered as nothing more than the period between wars and women being regarded only as victimized subjects. As argued before, there is something suspicious about presenting women exclusively as victims, while failing to address the rights and responsibilities of female citizens. Far from being unintentional, the discourse on vulnerability hides specific a purpose: the reinforcement of a vision which refuses to see women as able or willing to become agents and be empowered.

The contemporary international peace establishment remains largely entrenched in realist views. While the “women-are-vulnerable” formula dominates the images of conflicts in the media and NGO reports depicting women, along with children, as a fragile group in need of protection, most conflict analysis and post-conflict planning still overlook gender questions altogether. The gendered causes of armed conflicts, the experiences of women during wars and the gender aspects

⁴² Quoted in Smith, Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 40.

⁴³ Pureza, in Moura, 2005, p. 13.

⁴⁴ Magallón, 2006 (b), p. 121.

of peacebuilding have only recently, and slowly, begun being taken into consideration internationally as important issues. Gender concerns are still often dismissed as trivial by conflict analysts and distracting attention from the “big picture” composed of more substantive and pressing problems: political struggles, weapons technology, territorial control, ethnic hatreds, oil and diamonds. “What if patriarchy was the big picture?” Enloe asks.⁴⁵ What if the real threats were elsewhere?

It is in the light of these questions that the need for a gender approach to peace and conflict transformation becomes urgent. This approach must acknowledge that post-conflict phases bear the potential to change the pre-war gender social order that produce violence and represent, consequently, a unique opportunity to build a new reality of gender equality and the momentum to transcend all various forms of patriarchal power. the construction of peace as a “post-conflict phase”, but rather be present as a political horizon and a social aim ever since prevention.⁴⁶ Most importantly, it must conceive gender equality as the “frame” of any desirable future picture.

⁴⁵ Enloe in Mazurana (ed.), 2005, p. 280.

⁴⁶ Cunha, 2006, p. 30.

CHAPTER 2

Gender & Peace

Feminist research shows that, although not essentially male, the dominant discourses and value-system which lead to war are male-related.⁴⁷ This does not mean that men are violent by nature, rather – as I have argued in the previous chapter – that male positioning in the patriarchal gender system, and the masculine identities it generates, underwrite the reasons for men to take part in violence in the army, militias, political police forces and the armed gangs of warlords.⁴⁸

Essentialist views tend to consider women as peaceful by nature, mainly for their ability to give birth. However convincing this association may sound, women's inherent peacefulness is at least as mythical as men's violence: women are not monolithic and do not bear essential qualities such as kindness and compassion. A gender perspective on peace must go beyond essentialist paradigms and adopt more complex tools of analysis.

2.1 Gender-related understandings of and approaches towards peace

2.1.1 Are women inherently peaceful? Deconstructing stereotypes

Both stereotypes of men's violence and women's peacefulness flow from essentialist understandings of reality, which – as argued – tend to naturalise behaviours and features which are culturally and historically specific. Essentialist stereotypes of men and women in war feed patriarchy, militarism and perpetuate discriminatory practices of power. Stereotypes of men and women in peace are equally dangerous. The vision that inextricably associates peace with the feminine constitutes, on one side, a source of resistance to the theoretical universalisation of the value of peace and, on the other, a way to its devaluation in practice.

What must be recognised is not that women are peaceful by nature, but rather that both women and men are *potentially* peaceful and that the values lying at the heart of peace politics – just as

⁴⁷ Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 65.

⁴⁸ Cockburn, in Moser (ed.), 2001, p. 20.

those of the War System – are gender-specific.

A way to challenge essentialism is by adopting a view inspired by constructivist paradigms, which warn against all simplified understandings of reality and regard notions about social phenomena as rooted in history and culture.⁴⁹ Constructivism sees becoming a “man” or a “woman” as a social ongoing activity: biological difference marks biological females and males, not the social creature they become. “A boy is not born, but rather becomes, a soldier,”⁵⁰ asserts Ruddick, echoing the well-known statement in de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*.⁵¹ In the same way, some women learn to become, and are not by nature, builders of peace.

Based on the premises of constructivism, a branch of feminist thinkers have rejoined the Ethics of Care, an approach that looks at the qualities and activities that women have been historically socialised to fulfil and the different views of morality and self that they imply.

2.1.2 The Ethics of Care as a natural resource for peace politics

The core argument of the Ethics of Care is that the values and practices of care to which women are socialised are able to inform the political sphere with virtues like attentiveness towards others, love and other life-affirming values and, therefore, have the potential to shape new and more human notions of public morality and citizenship.⁵² Care feminists are mostly inspired by the psychoanalytical theories of Chodorow and the theory of moral development of Gillian, both of whom assert that the differences between men and women are shaped by the different experiences lived by girls and boys during their early stages of development.⁵³ Different patterns of socialisation lead girls, more often than boys, to express an “ethics of care” at an early age, characterised by relational thinking and consensus-oriented cooperative efforts, which often determines that women’s development delineates a path to a less violent life.⁵⁴

Reardon, along with other theorists, has linked this understanding with peace and has transposed the concept of Care from the personal to a global level: having escaped masculine socialisation and having been excluded from the history of power, women are less likely to support war as an instrument of state policy and are more inclined to exercise decision-making and power-sharing in a

⁴⁹ Smith, in Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 51.

⁵⁰ Ruddick, 1995, p. 145.

⁵¹ “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”, de Beauvoir, 1974, p. 301.

⁵² In Ballmer-Cao (ed.), 2002, p. 145.

⁵³ Chodorow, 1978; Gillian, 1982.

⁵⁴ Gillian, 1982, p. 172.

way that enhances horizontality, reconciliation of opposites, mutual understanding and a more equitable distribution of resources.⁵⁵ In Reardon's view, however, the key strategy in building peace must be not only to give power to women, but also to investigate the construction of contexts of war and seek to change *from within* behaviours and value hierarchies which lead to war.⁵⁶ In this perspective, it is necessary to inject the public sphere with some of the values that have, for a long time, been exclusive to the private realm – cooperation, care, equity and love – not because these are naturally women's values, but rather because they break with militarist and sexist domination.⁵⁷

Other authors, like Ruddick, have focused more specifically on one specific care practice: the work of mothering.⁵⁸ They assert that there is peacefulness latent in maternal practice – a genderless set of behaviours which has been historically and culturally ascribed and “taught” to women – which intrinsically contradicts violence. Mothering aims and strategies, which non-mothers and men can also do, deeply contradict those of war, which – like mothering – is also an organised human activity with moral pretensions.⁵⁹

Care and Maternal thinkers have been criticised for reinforcing traditional stereotypes of the “good woman” and, therefore, reinforcing the “women-are-peaceful” paradigm.⁶⁰ Some authors have argued that the road to female empowerment must pass through the revival of more assertive militant images of women and through the entry of women into the symbolic masculine spaces of physical strength and determination from which they have always been barred.⁶¹

The counter-argument of Care feminists is that this vision uniquely rewrites the “sexual scripts of battles.”⁶² it tends to reproduce the existing practices of male-centred structures of power, while not putting into question physical strength as an agent of power. “Let us leave [the violent methods] for the enemy, we leave it for men in their wars,”⁶³ says Magallón, explaining that the physical force must be transcended by a different type of strength, able to subvert the established order.

⁵⁵ Salla in Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 70.

⁵⁶ Reardon, 1993, p. 190.

⁵⁷ Cunha, 2006, p. 63.

⁵⁸ Ruddick, 1995.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 221.

⁶⁰ Bartky, 1990, pp. 104-105.

⁶¹ Salla in Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 71.

⁶² Ruddick, 1995, p. 236.

⁶³ Magallón, 2006 (a), p. 51.

2.1.3 A feminists holistic perspective on power, security and peace

In light of the feminist Care ethics proposal and of the system of values that flow from women's socialisation, the notions of Power, Security and Peace acquire a different conceptualisation from the traditional realist one.

The realist concept of Power as "having power over someone" is interpreted, from a feminist perspective, as "having power with" and "power to do something."⁶⁴ While the realist concept indicates the capacity to exercise one's will and evokes a coercive relation between dominator and dominated, the feminist definition of power suggests a "productive sense" of the term, conveying "mutual empowerment which increases understanding and moves participants to join action."⁶⁵ The idea of power as a "responsible partnership" reveals the universal potential of the feminist conception: it can be applied to all systems that shape our (view of) the world – earth/human, North/South, government/citizens, women/men.⁶⁶

Feminist security perspectives aim at a view of Security that transcends military security and embraces democracy, development, social justice and environmental protection.⁶⁷ This standpoint calls for a necessary fundamental re-examination of the relationship between the state and society and raises questions as to whether the state should remain the sole provider of security to its people, in a world where common threats necessitate common solutions.

By mobilising against the arm race, military spending and nuclear testing, women's groups were among the first to denounce military security as a precondition for human security and to argue that real human security lies in the protection against harm of all kinds, in the meeting of basic needs, in the experience of human dignity and in the fulfilment of human rights.⁶⁸ This concept of security also urges women not to accept service in the military as a path to acquiring equality or first-class citizenship, encouraging them rather to join their brothers who have resisted military service on grounds of ethics and conscience.

A new concept of "militantism" is promoted instead, one deprived of the heroic allure and of its contradictions: the "micro-militantism."⁶⁹ This concept identifies the power of the simple, non-sensational yet critical actions of the everyday life of any political subject. The micro-oriented approach speaks with an adequate vocabulary which highlights "limitation": of armaments, of

⁶⁴ Kolb, Coolidge, Brock-Utne, in Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 72.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁶ Reardon, in Breines, 1999, p. 147.

⁶⁷ This concept of security focused on human dignity was embraced by the UNDP Human Security Report; Moura, 2005, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁸ Reardon, in Breines, 1999, p. 146.

⁶⁹ Magallón, 2006 (a), p. 16.

resources, of growth, of consumption.⁷⁰ The feminist concept of security is, in fact, also referred as “security of proximity,”⁷¹ for it originates from the practice of everyday life but also looks *at* everyday life.

The “new” concept of Peace emerging from the feminist conception of Power and Security goes beyond the mere absence of war and armed violence – the so-called “negative” peace – to actively demand the conditions of justice and equity necessary to achieve the absence of war. Peace is not a point of arrival, achieved when a peace agreement is signed or when weapons stop killing people. Rather, “real,” “positive” peace is a process, a progressive tension towards the elimination of structural violence, a positive transformation of conflicts through non-violent means.⁷²

Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s *Agenda for Peace* mostly reflects this holistic approach.⁷³ It conceives the realisation of peace conjointly with the eradication of the causes of conflicts like economic despair, social injustice and political oppression. In the *Agenda*, as well as in feminists’ views, peace is also defined as the full realisation of the right to a life free of violence and the achievement of positive social and cultural goals.⁷⁴ In this perspective, peace takes the shape of a long-term goal, almost of a never-ending process, which continuously accompanies the cycle of life itself.

2.2 Engendering peace processes: an operational framework

Despite being among the most active and affected groups during wars – as victims, leaders, and peacemakers at the grassroots level – women are largely absent from peace tables and, in the chaotic nature of the negotiations, the concerns of women and the inclusion of a gender perspective are often treated as an afterthought. Even in the post-agreement phase, against a backdrop of persistent violence, many see improving the status of women as an issue to be addressed at a later stage. These realities must be challenged.

In the light of the deep-rooted connections between violence and sexism and of the radical and holistic view of peace entrenched in the feminist approach, the post-conflict phase appears as a very sensitive moment for promoting democracy and advancing gender equality. It offers the unique

⁷⁰ *Ibidem.*

⁷¹ Moura, 2005, p. 42.

⁷² Galtung, 1969, p. 183.

⁷³ UNSG, *An Agenda for Peace*, 1992, A/47/277.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, Para VI.

opportunity to address the root causes of the gender inequality of the pre-war social order and to establish the conditions for a full participation of women in the post-war society.

These goals are achievable provided that women and an attention to gender are included in the post-war process from the start. Making gender a systematic and integral part of any peace process becomes, in this sense, a necessary step towards the attainment of both gender equality and durable peace.

2.2.1 Promoting women's participation at the peace table

(i) Peace negotiations must ensure the participation of a critical number of women

Women's participation in peace talks is, first of all, an official acknowledgment of the need to address the different roles and experiences of women in war as well as their different needs and concerns in the post-war period.

Women at peace tables are often the sole voices speaking out for women's rights and concerns; gender-specific issues like violence against women, trafficking and exploitation of women are rarely addressed in peace negotiations if no woman is seated at the table. It is the same regarding the needs of female former combatants, who not having bourn weapons, are frequently not regarded as fighters, and are therefore excluded from the programmes discussed and adopted during the peace talks for the combatants' demilitarisation and reintegration in society.⁷⁵ Women's participation in peace talks is, therefore, likely to lead to a gender-sensitive peace agreement, which addresses women-specific concerns in the post-war period. "Women come face to face with the realities that are created by decisions made at the peace table,"⁷⁶ says Hanan Ashrawi, Director of the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy.

Women are also more likely to inject peace negotiations with a practical understanding of the challenges faced by the civilian population at large and to put forward practical proposals to address the widespread needs experienced at the grassroots level. Women's rootedness in their local communities frequently makes them aware of the tangible effects of war on people's lives. If it is true that men can be well-connected to the grassroots level of society, women are more likely than men to arrive via civil activism.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ International Crisis Group (ICG), *Beyond Victimhood: Women's Peacebuilding in Sudan, Congo and Uganda*, Africa Report n. 112, 28 June 2006, at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4185> (16 March 2007).

⁷⁶ Quoted in Anderlini, 2000, p. 34.

⁷⁷ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 81.

Finally, women's participation at the peace table helps change perceptions and attitudes about women's leadership and decision-making capabilities, which is a critical step in the struggle for gender equality and in the building of more inclusive societies.

However, women who participate in peace negotiations may not be active proponents of women's rights and may not be more competent peace-makers than men. "Some women are highly politicized and do not serve the causes of gender equality just because they are women,"⁷⁸ comments Safaa Elagib Adam, Head of the Gender Expert Support Team (GEST) to the Darfur peace negotiations in 2005. For this reason, what matters is not the participation of women *per se*, rather the change that a critical mass of transformational women, who appreciate the ways that gender inequality hinders human development, can exert by making negotiations more constructive, inclusive and sustainable.⁷⁹

(ii) *Women negotiators must enter the process with confidence and skills*

Extensive consultations among women's groups, including in remote areas and Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps, can prove an effective method to identify women leaders from relevant constituencies in a country or a region. As the example of Darfur shows, the creation of women's platforms, gathering women with different ethnic, regional and political backgrounds who agree upon and unite around common priorities for peace and reconstruction, helps channel effectively the women's agenda to the negotiating table.⁸⁰ Their diversity added tremendously credibility, legitimacy and force to women negotiators' demands.⁸¹

As points out Inonge Mbikusita Lewanika, President of the African Women's Peace Network, women also need training and preparation to open the doors that are consistently shut in their faces.⁸² Providing women with adequate training in negotiations and leadership skills, as well as in conflict resolution, project and institutional management, fund-raising, public speaking, advocacy and media relations, bears a high potential of stepping up women's capacities for public participation in peace talks. UNIFEM is a pioneer in the approach aimed at bringing together groups of women to elaborate strategy and, at the same time, learn new leadership skills.⁸³

⁷⁸ Speech at the Conference *Roadmap to 1325*, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, 4-6 May 2007.

⁷⁹ UNIFEM, 2005, p. 1.

⁸⁰ Safaa Elagib Adam, see note 78.

⁸¹ UNIFEM, 2005, p. 5.

⁸² In Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 81.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, pp. 81-82.

Pragmatic and logistical concerns for facilitating women leaders' participation – financial support, transport facilities, security personnel and communication facilities – are also crucial.

(iii) *The mediator's team must be gender-sensitive*

The mediator's team make-up is a crucial element to the participation of women in the peace talks and the incorporation of a gender perspective in the negotiations and agreement. It is essential for the mediator's team to be gender balanced and for all team members to be cognisant of gender issues and of the gender dimensions of the war.⁸⁴ The appointment of a high-level Gender Adviser to the team usually ensures the inclusion of a gender analysis in all phases of the negotiations.

Women delegations' meetings with the team of the peace mediator can also be an important entry point for women's participation in peace negotiations, as shown by the example of the Kosovo Women's Network in the talks for the Kosovo final status.⁸⁵

2.2.2 Numbers are not enough: making gender matter in legislation and policies

The belief that the “add women and stir”⁸⁶ is enough to engender the peace process is generally erroneous. Negotiations are only the first part of the peace process: beyond ensuring gender numerical balance in the peace talks, what is crucial is the adoption of a transformative long-term gender agenda able to mainstream a gender perspective through all the legislative and institutional design.

(i) *A firm legislative framework shall be founded on gender equality*

Gender equality should be enshrined in the post-war country's new constitution. The constitution should contain gender-sensitive language and stipulate that the government will work toward equal gender representation in national, provincial and local institutions and will revise legislation and customary practices that undermine women's rights.

Subordinate legislation should be passed to implement the principles enshrined in the constitution. Specific laws should be drafted or reviewed, to ensure women are provided with equality in citizenship, marriage, divorce, property rights, inheritance, and business ownership.

⁸⁴ UNIFEM, *Securing the Peace*, 2005, p. 9.

⁸⁵ Kosovo Women Network, 2007, p. 13.

⁸⁶ Boxer, 1982, p. 240.

National legislation shall also ensure that violence against women, including sexual offences and domestic violence, is considered a crime and is appropriately punished. The country should also ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and develop a National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (hereby UNSCR 1325).⁸⁷

The electoral law should promote women in elections. Quota systems, at least as a temporary mechanism, may prove essential to allow a certain number women leaders to step forward. Proportional representation on ballots also can help elect women into office, provided that political parties ensure women are in winnable positions on their lists. The law should also ensure women's full participation as election administrators, poll workers, election observers and members of the national election body and consider creative means to qualify women as voters, as many may be internally displaced or not have access to legal identification documents.

(ii) A gender-sensitive agenda for policies and programmes needs to be developed

To guarantee that the formal gains for women enshrined in the peace agreements and through the legislative reforms are implemented, post-war governments should ensure the appointment of a substantial number of women in decision-making positions and establish a national "women's machinery" to support women's rights and monitor gender through governmental policies. The establishment of a gender equality Ministry or an inter-ministerial task force on gender may go together with the inclusion of the promotion of women's rights as an element in the description of each ministerial position and be budgeted for in all ministries. The women's machinery should, on a regular basis, monitor the compliance of government policies with gender equality requirements, identify gaps and offer concrete recommendations to government agencies on how to fill those gaps.

The government shall hold consultation with women and women's organisations to design, implement and monitor budgets, policies and programmes. This can lead to a framework for power and wealth-sharing and related reconstruction processes with a gender dimension. The government, in cooperation with women groups and CSOs, shall conduct gender-impact assessments before any programme or project is implemented. Sex-disaggregated data should be ensured as a component of all statistical collection for project design and implementation.

⁸⁷ UNSCR 1325, S/RES/1325/2000. See below, chapter 3.1.2 and 4.1.1.

2.2.3 Instilling gender awareness in security bodies and DDR programmes

Sustainable peace requires that women are able to enjoy safety and protection from physical and sexual violence – in camps, on the streets and in their homes – and that security forces be people-oriented and provide comprehensive protection.

Substantial gender training needs to be ensured to all military and police sector staff and shall include women as an effective way to promote trust between the security sector and the female population. Specially trained and equipped police units should be established to investigate GBV as a priority and gender disaggregated data on human rights violations should become a common practice in law enforcement agencies' reporting activities. A more important presence of women in security sector positions should also be ensured, including at police checkpoints where women's presence would help to build trust between the police and the female population.⁸⁸

Law enforcement authorities also have the responsibility to plan, finance and implement awareness-raising on GBV among the population, with a focus on women and girls. Particularly in refugee and IDP camps, where the exposure of women to violence is greater, and in rural and remote areas, where police services rarely exist, the establishment of "cooperative fora" for police and women peacemakers may help including women as primary sources of information in the conduct of security assessments and may train women and peace activists to record and report on crimes such as domestic violence, rape, illicit weapons and other security-related issues.⁸⁹

A security issue that arises in the immediate aftermath of conflicts regard the design and implementation of a DDR programme for ex-combatants. Because women and girls are often not registered among combatants for formal demobilisation, DDR programmes must ensure the inclusion of female ex-combatants and girl child soldiers and take into account their different needs and concerns.⁹⁰ Reintegration programmes, for example, should pay special attention to female former combatants who have been sexually abused and who are therefore more exposed to stigmatisation from their families and communities.

Women must be included in demobilisation design committees in order to assist in identifying women and girl combatants as well as to keep accurate figures and gender disaggregated data for female ex-combatants.

⁸⁸ Elagib Adam, see note 78.

⁸⁹ ICG, 2006, cit., p. iii.

⁹⁰ UN Integrated Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration Standards (IDDRS), Para 5.10, at http://www.unddr.org/iddrs/download/full_iddrs.pdf (25 May 2007).

2.2.4 No peace without justice: engendering justice reforms

(i) *Gender awareness must be instilled at all levels of the justice machinery*

Denial of justice and safety to women in post-conflict context is a common reality. Post-conflict judiciaries often prove discriminating against women, by not focusing on prosecution of crimes against women, by discounting the violence against them through amnesties or by indulging in sexual innuendo. Moreover, because lawyers, judges and other legal experts may have fled or been killed, the lack of technical capacities may hamper effective prosecution. An effective national justice system is vital to ensure the end of impunity for crimes against women committed in war, to prevent new abuses and to allow women to seek justice and compensation.

Country-wide trainings for lawyers, judges, prosecutors and investigators on humanitarian law, international human rights law and gender issues are crucial. Additional training should build capacity for investigating and prosecuting crimes against women. Investigation trainings should also include the Justice Rapid Response (JRR) functions, critical to identify, collect and preserve information regarding serious crimes in the immediate aftermath of the conflict; JRR includes: pattern of violence investigation, forensic mapping, documentary evidence investigation, and identification of massacre sites.⁹¹

The historical under-representation of women in judicial processes shall also be corrected. A larger appointment of women to official positions within national tribunals – as judges, investigators, and lawyers – may enhance a gender-specific protection mechanism, as the practice of some international tribunals shows.⁹²

(ii) *Women's access to justice and rehabilitation must be encouraged and facilitated*

Because many obstacles prevent women from seeking justice – lack of knowledge, resources, time, safety, and the social and political instability of post-war judicial systems – awareness-raising should be increased among women and girls regarding human rights, including women's rights, and gender equality. Training for women may also include legal literacy programmes and

⁹¹ No Peace Without Justice (NPWJ), *Talk on the Justice Rapid Response (JRR)*, at http://www.npwj.org/2007/03/30/justice_rapid_response/talk_justice_rapid_response_open_university_hague_28_march_2007 (24 June 2007).

⁹² In the design of the ICTY, women judges drafted rules of procedure requiring a higher level of sensitivity to gender issues than found previously in international processes. Anderlini, Pampell & Kays, *Transitional Justice and Reconciliation*, at http://www.huntalternatives.org/download/49_transitional_justice.pdf (15 May 2007).

documentation of human rights violations during conflicts, in order to help raising women's awareness about access to justice and the operation of the courts and legal system.⁹³

Female witness protection programmes and structures are also needed urgently in the aftermath of an armed conflict. These measures are of key importance to encourage women to report cases of violence against them from husbands, family members, officials, and military or police personnel; they are also likely to render women more aware of the threats they face and their right to access justice.

Because of the long-term impacts of GBV long after the war is over, the psycho-social dimension of peacebuilding must be given a higher priority. Rehabilitation centres for women and victim-friendly centres should be set up with urgency, also in refugee and IDP camps, to help reduce women's vulnerability and empower them for a physical and psychological rebirth in a new post-traumatic context.

(iii) *Rendering traditional justice human rights compliant*

Where traditional justice is a complementary or alternative system of justice in resolving domestic or communal conflicts, including rape and domestic violence, it is essential that its mechanisms and procedures are made consistent with international human rights standards. This is particularly needed as in most traditional fora women are not leaders and may, therefore, be reluctant to come forward as witnesses, particularly with regard to sexual violence.⁹⁴

Traditional justice shall not discriminate against women in their procedures and decisions, by allowing victims access to formal justice systems, if they so desire, and ensuring the protection of the rights of victims, witnesses and defendants. A consistent participation of women in community-based local judicial processes should also be promoted to facilitate reconciliation and complement the formal post-war justice processes.

(iv) *Engendering truth recovery and reconciliation processes*

Facilitating women's voices in official truth recovery systems is a precondition for a comprehensive account of the full scale of violations and for a cathartic public recounting of suffering that promotes national reconciliation.⁹⁵ Indeed, the failure of truth commissions to

⁹³ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 85.

⁹⁴ Bell & O'Rourke, 2007, p. 23.

⁹⁵ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 100.

integrate a gender perspective leads to a distorted historical record of “truth” and may well restrict women’s entitlement to additional forms of legal redress.⁹⁶

To serve women, truth commissions must be informed by a gendered dimension; they must have a gender-sensitive mandate, composition, procedures, interpretation approach, and jurisprudential framework. The appointment of a proportionate number of women commissioners and the establishment of gender training for all commissioners, including gender-sensitive development in international criminal law, are two examples of measures that increase the likelihood that gender-specific concerns are addressed in truth recovery. Additional mechanisms may encourage testimony from women and reinforce their feeling of ownership: submissions by women’s organisations to the Commission; special hearings for women in closed sessions; single-gender fora and group hearings; female statement takers; third party testimony; and psychosocial support services for women deponents.⁹⁷

The gender profile of the Commission’s final report is also of utmost importance. The inclusion of a separate chapter on women can be a useful tool, as long as it does not replace the mainstreaming of a gender perspective through the entire report. The report shall also include sex-disaggregated data on human rights violations; pay sufficient attention to the role of women as combatants within the armed forces as well as to women’s roles as activists, perpetrators and political leaders during the armed conflict; and address gender-specific recommendations which emphasise the need for female victims and witness protection measures as well as gender-sensitive reparation policies.

Any reparation policy developed by the Commission should be forward-looking in its approach and aim at building a human rights culture where all forms of discrimination and abuses against women are unacceptable. In practice it shall, e.g., avoid gender bias in any policy measure requiring the quantification of a monetary award and adopt a wide interpretation of the notion of “victim” to embrace relatives and dependants, to allow women’s access to reparations when disclosed victimisation is indirect.⁹⁸

2.2.5 Beyond the public arena: strengthening women’s organisations

Women’s effective participation in peace processes and post-war reconstruction requires support by an advanced, articulate and autonomous movement of women’s peace organisations.

⁹⁶ Turschen, 1998, p. 29.

⁹⁷ Millar, in Durham & Gurd (eds.), 2005, p. 186.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 194-195.

Often, if women's political participation in the formal sphere is not rooted in a broader social movement, with its own identity, agenda and resources, women leaders in the political sphere risk being subordinated – *sub poena* of exclusion from the process – to the (male) dominant political power which defines their goals and strategies.⁹⁹ By contrast, in expressing themselves as a strong social movement women are more likely to consolidate their role as political actors and agents in peacebuilding.

Women's associations and CSOs are themselves central actors in peacebuilding: they bring a perspective that is usually grassroots, inclusive and multi-voiced. They are also an important resource for local knowledge and expertise in a number of sectors related to post-conflict reconstruction, including the implementation of DDR strategies, support for reconciliation, and the provision of social services.

The 2002 *Independent Experts' Assessment on Women's Role in Peacebuilding* identified four basic needs expressed by women's organisations throughout the world for effectively participating in the peace process: safety, resources, political space and access to decision-makers.¹⁰⁰ Women activists face serious security threat; as women, they are often seen by conservative sectors of society as stepping outside their traditional role and therefore "deserving a lesson". Without adequate protection, women are frequently obliged to abandon activism.

Resources and technical support are also fundamental for women's organisations to capitalise on their work and remain independent from the government. Donors' financial support must be conceived as a long-term strategy that ensures the survival of the organisation. In fact, if organisations receive funding for specific projects by donors, it is much less likely that they also receive support for the ongoing cost of maintaining staff and institutions. Technical support may include training in management principles, budgeting, fundraising, grant applications, human resources, networking, advocacy and media outreach.

Political space helps women's organisations gather and channel women's varied voices, needs and concerns to decision-makers. Cross-party women-only gatherings prove a useful tool to create space for women to find common ground. Media space in local newspaper, television, radio and web-based communications can dramatically enhance the visibility of women's organisations and raise public awareness and support for women's enhanced participation in the peace process. Media are also useful for boosting networking and coalition-building, including with international women's networks.

⁹⁹ Osorio, 2003, p. 355.

¹⁰⁰ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, pp. 86-87.

The access of women's networks to decision-makers, whether at the national or the international level, constitutes an important mechanism for voicing women's needs, opinions and recommendations in the formal political arena. A strong link between the grassroots level and the formal political sphere, including the mediator's team, ensures that women's voices are not lost and that grass-root concerns are addressed. Women leaders, for example, must maintain contact with their primary support base and give regular debriefings with women in their political parties and constituencies.

2.2.6 Early-warning and men's involvement: two overlooked issues

(i) Having prevention in mind

All the efforts to engender peace processes can prove ineffective unless they have prevention in mind. The prevention of conflicts, rather than the simple reaction to their consequences, is in itself one of the main objectives for the construction of peace.¹⁰¹

Because the violation of human rights in general and women's rights in particular both presage and are the cause of many conflicts, the integration of a gender perspective in early-warning systems and situation analysis is essential in intercepting the cycle of violence. Gender-sensitive early-warning systems must include gender indicators. International Alert defines gender indicators as "those signs that reflect the changing circumstance of men and women in society [which] are often the earliest signs of impending conflicts."¹⁰² Gender indicators are usually more evident at the grassroots level in the routines of daily existence, where women may be first to sense or experience a lowering of security or build-up of pre-conflict tension in the community and address them before they turn into conflict situations.¹⁰³ Although they are usually conflict specific, gender indicators generally include: increase in GBV and abuse reported to police or human rights organisations; sex-specific refugee migration; sex-specific unemployment; increase in female-headed households; propaganda emphasising hyper-masculinity; media "scapegoating" of women, accusing them of political or cultural "betrayal"; increasing engagement of women in a shadow war economy; and

¹⁰¹ Ex-UNSG Kofi Annan said the international community needs to move "from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention", *SC Open Debate on the Prevention of Conflicts*, SC/6759, 29 November 1999.

¹⁰² International Alert, *Gender and Conflict Early-Warning*, 2002, at <http://www.international-alert.org/women/publications/EWGEN.PDF> (6 May 2007).

¹⁰³ Dress, 2005, p. 89.

resistance to women's participation in peace processes and negotiations.¹⁰⁴

A major problem in prevention is the large gap between early-warning and early action.¹⁰⁵ An effective early-warning system would require sufficient political will to heed the warning voices that a situation displays in early-warning signs.¹⁰⁶

(ii) *Involve the men*

“To help women become active citizens, we must engage the men in their lives,” affirms Zainab Salbi, President of Women for Women International.¹⁰⁷ The discursive shift occurred during the 1990s in the focus of development institutions from “women in development” to “gender and development” has sparked a marked interest in working with men to establish gender equitable societies.¹⁰⁸ Local development programmes have started to engage men in fields traditionally considered feminine, such as sexual and reproductive health, violence prevention, childcare and education.

The need to engage men in engendering political processes and social policies is especially pronounced in post-conflict environments, where efforts must be aimed at transforming the structures of male privilege and authority and at preventing the restoration of pre-war gender power relations. Post-conflict reconstruction requires men's involvement for addressing gender inequalities and institutionalising reforms. Some useful steps could be: the support for the creation of men's associations addressing men's violence and sexism in post-war contexts; the involvement of men in programmes focusing on management of violence; and the recruitment of a consistent number of men in the planning and implementation of public information campaigns and activities on issues like GBV.

The approach aimed at involving men is based on the belief that gender analyses should not be equated with “women's issues” or limited only to women's perspectives. Men's perspectives should be given equal attention because men, just as women, do not constitute a homogeneous group and because this would help identify potential allies in pursuing certain goals. It also insists on the need to talk to men about power, to engage them in understanding that gender justice is a necessary part of social justice and that men and women share many interests and common struggles.

¹⁰⁴ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 117.

¹⁰⁵ Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2006, p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁷ Salbi, 2007, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ UNDP, *Gender and Human Development*, 1995.

II

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN PRACTICE: A CASE STUDY OF TIMOR-LESTE

CHAPTER 3

Gender, UN & Timor-Leste

The UN has been involved in peace endeavours in conflict and post-conflict countries around the world since 1948.¹⁰⁹ However, the UN's earliest efforts to specifically address women and girls in armed conflicts only date back to 1970s-1980s. They include: the adoption of the General Assembly Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflicts in 1974; the UN Conference Women in Mexico in 1975; the International Decade of Women (1976-1985) in which peace was among the central themes; and the 1985 Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women. Since then, more advanced instruments, commitments and mechanisms have been developed which have been signed and ratified by UN member states around the world.

3.1 Gender and the UN: mapping practices, models and discourses

3.1.1 From the early 1990s to Beijing: acknowledging the relation between gender, conflict and peace

A more open political climate towards the issue of women and decision-making started slowly emerging within the UN during the 1990s. The 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights explicitly acknowledged the violations of women's rights as human rights violations and recognised

¹⁰⁹ UN Peacekeeping Missions Timeline, at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/timeline> (3 May 2007).

the human rights dimension of the political participation of women. In the following years, the UN Security Council established the ICTY and the ICTR, the jurisprudence of which are of unprecedented significance in the context of redress for women and girls through the international criminal process.¹¹⁰ In the area of peace operations, the visible role which women played in the UN Transition Assistance Group in Namibia (UNTAG) in 1989-90, where women constituted 60% of recruited professional staff, strengthened the argument that women could play a significant role in field operations, in particular if they achieved “a critical mass.”¹¹¹

These new approaches were reflected in the work of the UN Division for the Advancement of Women (UNDAW) in the preparatory process to the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, when gender analysis emerged as an important methodology applied to studies on decision-making and conflict resolution.

The Beijing Conference and the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action marked a turning point in the UN discourse on gender: a global commitment to incorporate gender perspectives in peace and security issues was being established. This new approach acknowledged women as a heterogeneous group with diversified experiences, interests and roles, and came to acknowledge the necessity of including women in decision-making processes as a condition for achieving equality and peace.¹¹² A qualitatively different rhetoric began to pave its way, emphasising the need for an “empowerment” of women and portraying women not only as war victims but also as agents of change.

3.1.2 Two turning points: gender mainstreaming and Security Council Res. 1325

In the follow-up to the Beijing process, “gender mainstreaming” emerged as a key concept in UN terminology on women. As indicated by ECOSOC in 1997, “mainstreaming a gender perspective is 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.”¹¹³ Gender mainstreaming requires also that gender-awareness is rooted in the internal culture of the UN. This implies that a gender-sensitive management culture and equality of opportunity be

¹¹⁰ Mazurana, 2005, p. 11.

¹¹¹ Gierycz, in Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 18.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, Objective E, para 134.

¹¹³ ECOSOC, *Agreed Conclusions*, E/1997/L.30, Para 4, p. 2.

ensured in staff-recruitment, training, and formal and informal office procedures; that programme budgets and resource allocation reflect commitment to gender-equality goals; and that personnel procedures and career development policies be gender-sensitive.¹¹⁴

Initially stemming from the field of development, the concept of mainstreaming slowly gained worldwide relevance in all UN policy areas, including peacekeeping. This happened while UN peacekeeping operations were evolving from a military presence mandated to ensure the observation of ceasefires, into more complex multidimensional models involving military and civilian staff working together to build peace in conflict affected countries.¹¹⁵

Only with the adoption of the groundbreaking UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000 did gender mainstreaming become integral to UN peacekeeping Missions. The UN Security Council (SC) recognised for the first time, not only that peace is inextricably linked to equality between women and men, but also that the full access and the total participation of women in the structures of power and their complete implication in the efforts for prevention and the resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and the promotion of peace and security.

The unified product of two distinct groups of women – peace activists working on the ground and those within the UN and other international organisations – UNSCR 1325 “puts responsibility on all sides,” says Agboola of the UK Foreign Office Peacekeeping and Conflict Issues Group.¹¹⁶

On one side, it requests that the UN incorporates gender perspectives in the negotiation and implementation of peace agreements, in peace support operations, and in refugee camps and DDR initiatives. It also specifically calls upon member states to “ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.”¹¹⁷ On the other, UNSCR 1325 urges the UN Secretary-General (SG) to “expand the role and contribution of women in UN field-based operations”¹¹⁸ also by appointing more women in decision-making positions in peace processes. The SG shall also include progress in gender mainstreaming in reporting on peacekeeping Missions and provide member states with gender training guidelines and material. Finally, specific requests are addressed to “all parties to armed conflict,”¹¹⁹ including: putting end to impunity and prosecuting those responsible for crimes related to sexual and other violence against

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ Ospina, *Review and Evaluation of Gender-Related Activities of UN Peacekeeping Operations and their Impact on Gender Relations in Timor-Leste*, prepared for DPKO HQ, July 2006, p. 11 at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons/> (13 May 2007).

¹¹⁶ Speech at the *Fourth Annual Day of the UN Peacekeepers*, Royal United Service Institute (RUSI), London, 23 May 2007.

¹¹⁷ S/RES/1325/2000, Para 1.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, Para 4.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, Para 9.

women and girls; increasing consultations with women; and requiring that special measures are taken to protect women and girls from GBV, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse.

3.2 Applying the operational framework to UN gender mainstreaming in Timor-Leste

On 20 May 2002 Timor-Leste¹²⁰ became the world's youngest independent country, after over four-hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule, twenty-four years of Indonesian occupation and three years of UN administration. After independence, the UN has maintained its presence in Timor-Leste through the present day.

UN achievements in East Timor are often described as a “success story” as far as nation-building is concerned and “path breaking” with regards to gender mainstreaming.¹²¹ This case study will illustrate that, whilst the UN certainly made an extremely helpful contribution in the domain of gender in Timor-Leste, it is necessary to introduce nuances and qualifications to dominant suppositions.

3.2.1 Timor-Leste from the Indonesian occupation to the United Nations Missions: a (gendered) historical overview

The invasion of East Timor by Indonesian troops in December 1975, carried out with the connivance and complicity of major Western governments,¹²² marked the start of twenty-four years of political and military oppression, characterised by widespread killings and large-scale human rights violations against the East Timorese population, said by many to have amounted to genocide.¹²³

During two decades of armed resistance, many women served as fighters alongside their male counterparts, including in women's armed brigades under the coordination of Revolutionary Front

¹²⁰ Timor-Leste basic facts and figures are in Annex 3.

¹²¹ UN Foundation, *UN Peacekeeping Success Story: East Timor Celebrates First Independence Day*, at http://www.unfoundation.org/media_center/press/2002/05/31/pr_26764.asp (4 May 2007); Questionnaire by Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, Timor-Leste (Ref: INT-06, 26 May 2007).

¹²² Australia, the USA and the UK are among the Western powers which showed support to the Indonesian regime at the time of the occupation and, although aware of the incumbent invasion, did not intervene to stop it.

¹²³ Former Portuguese President Mario Soares, interview in *The Timor Conspiracy*, documentary by John Pilger, UK, 1994, Carlton UK productions, 39'. See also Chomsky, in Jardine, 1999, pp. 7-15.

(Fretilin)’s Popular Women’s Organisation of East Timor (OPMT).¹²⁴ However, rarely women held positions of power in the revolutionary structure.¹²⁵ Many women also played an indispensable role in the clandestine networks which became the lifeline and courier service of the resistance fighters,¹²⁶ while many others played a crucial role in society as the bedrock of families and communities or were advocates for human rights both in Timor-Leste and the diaspora.¹²⁷

The widespread and systematic GBV perpetrated by Indonesian militaries against thousands of Timorese women, especially those perceived to have a connection to the pro-independence movement, is widely documented.¹²⁸ The message brought to the Beijing Conference by the East Timorese Women in September 1995 is blunt: “As women we have gone through anything a military invasion and a military occupation machine sets up: rape and death. [...] Many of us died of starvation and exhaustion in the mountains [...]; others died cremated by the napalm bombs; others shot in the battlefield; others languished in military controlled prisons until raped and executed.”¹²⁹ Aside from widespread rape,¹³⁰ violations against women and girls included forced reproduction, clandestine sterilisation and the mutilation of pregnant women, all part of the family planning policy developed by the Indonesian authorities aimed at changing the demographic composition of the population.¹³¹ Stigmatisation and rejection by family and community towards women victims of violence were frequent.¹³²

In May 1999 Portugal and Indonesia agreed to the UN organising a popular consultation on the future of the territory, with the East Timorese voting overwhelmingly in favour of independence.¹³³ The elections triggered fierce violence by the Indonesian army and pro-Indonesian militias, which resulted in over 200.000 refugees fleeing to West Timor and in a significant increase in the number of women who suffered rape and violence.¹³⁴

¹²⁴ Interview with Fátima Guterres, Former Ex-member of OPMT, Queluz-Belas, Portugal, 9 July 2007.

¹²⁵ Ospina, 2006, p. 15.

¹²⁶ Amal, 2006, p. 123.

¹²⁷ *Chega! Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East-Timor* (CAVR), 2006, p. 169, at <http://www.etan.org/news/2006/cavr.htm> (6 June 2007).

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹²⁹ Lighur, I.L., on behalf of East Timor Women, 6 September 1995, at <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/54b/053.html> (6 June 2007).

¹³⁰ Rape against women was the most commonly reported violation to the CAVR. Incidents of sexual against Timorese male prisoners and civilians were also reported, however far less frequently than sexual violence against women. CAVR, 2006, pp. 116, 121.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 117-120. See also *The Timor Conspiracy*, 1994, cit., 36’-38’.

¹³² CAVR, 2006, p. 40.

¹³³ The UN Mission in East Timor (UNAMET, June–October 1999) paved the way for the popular consultation on autonomy. Of the 98% registered voters for the vote, 78,5% opted for autonomy.

¹³⁴ CAVR, 2006, pp.41, 120; see also Alves, D., former GA to Timor-Leste Prime Minister, interview in *Timor-Leste: O Massacre Que O Mondo Não Viu*, documentary by Lucélia Santos, Brasil, 2001, NHOCK, 27’.

Four successive UN Missions, with different mandates, were deployed to Timor-Leste between the popular consultation in 1999 and today.¹³⁵ The UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), endowed with the overall responsibility for the administration of the territory from October 1999 until independence, was the first UN peacekeeping Mission ever to establish a Gender Affairs Unit (GAU). The following Missions had narrower mandates. The UN Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET) was mandated to provide assistance, from 2002 to 2005, to core administrative structures critical to the viability of the new independent nation. After UNMISSET's withdrawal in 2005, the UN maintained a smaller presence in the form of the UN Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL).

Following the eruption of a serious security crisis in Dili in the spring of 2006, which caused a massive displacement of people and increased women's vulnerability to sexual abuse in overcrowded camps,¹³⁶ the UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) was established in August 2006 to support the government in consolidating stability and facilitating political dialogue among East Timorese stakeholders. UNSCR 1704 mandates UNMIT Mission to "mainstream gender perspectives [...] throughout the Mission's policies [...] and, working together with UN agencies, funds and programmes, support the development of a national strategy to promote gender equality and empowerment of women."¹³⁷ A GAU was established under the UNMIT Office of the Deputy of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) for Governance Support, Development and Humanitarian Coordination, although the post of Gender Adviser (GA) remained vacant until late June 2007 and the Unit is reported to be under-resourced.¹³⁸

Five years after independence, Timor-Leste is today far from being at peace. My inquiry reveals that pervasive poverty and unemployment, widespread GBV, an isolated and self-protective political leadership and a badly-managed reconciliation process are perceived as the main reasons hindering the restoration of a lasting peace in the country. Timor-Leste population is increasingly dependent on the international community for food and safety, the political elite is bitterly divided and the economy is in tatters. The 2007 "failed states index," compiled by the independent Washington-based Fund for Peace ranked Timor-Leste 20th in the "alert" category, behind Sudan, Iraq, Somalia and Zimbabwe.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ The UNSCRs establishing the Missions are in Annex 4.

¹³⁶ UNSG, *Report on Timor-Leste*, 8 August 2006, S/2006/628, Para 99.

¹³⁷ S/RES/1704/2006, Para 4.

¹³⁸ Pereira & Sternberg, *Women's Involvement in Timor-Leste's Presidential Elections*, 2007, at http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Timor-Leste/Women_Pres_elections07.html (5 June 2007).

¹³⁹ The rankings are based on social, economic, political and military indicators measured in 177 countries. *International Herald Tribune*, 3 July 2007, E-mail from UNMIT PIO, Daily Media Review, 4 July 2007.

Timor-Leste is peaceful “neither from a material viewpoint, nor from an institutional or a symbolic one,” one interviewee observes.¹⁴⁰ “Gender-based and other forms of violence are commonplace,” says Lorraine Corner of UNIFEM, “communities are ethnically and geographically divided, and continue to follow tribal and patriarchal leaders without question or thought.”¹⁴¹ Timorese patriarchal society, shaped by centuries of indigenous cultures and influenced by the overlaying gendered impact of Portuguese colonialism and Catholic Christianity, remains widely damaging towards women.¹⁴²

3.2.2 Gender mainstreaming by the UN Missions and its impacts

➤ *Promoting women’s leadership and political participation*

(i) *Ensuring the participation of women at the peace table*

East Timorese civil society’s ownership over the UN organised “All Inclusive Intra East Timorese Dialogue” – a series of dialogues and peace negotiations which had, after the first initiative in the 1990s, been taken over by the UN – has been very limited. Although women activists had sought to bring women’s issues up in key East Timorese resistance meetings from the mid-1990s, only one forum was open to Timorese women representatives and from one female participant out of thirty men the number was raised it to four over a six-year period. Neither the UN nor East Timorese male political leaders demonstrated very much seriousness in addressing the issue.¹⁴³

(ii) *Promoting women in elections and in decision-making*

The UNTAET SRSG, Sergio Vieira de Mello, was from the start strongly committed to the equal participation of men and women in the 2001 elections for the Constituent Assembly, the body that became the National Parliament after independence in May 2002. After the quota campaign led

¹⁴⁰ Questionnaire by Tereza Cunha, Researcher, Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra University, Portugal (Ref: INT-01, 9 May 2007).

¹⁴¹ Questionnaire by Lorraine Corner, Regional Advisor, UNIFEM Asia-Pacific Programme, Thailand (Ref: INT-05, 25 May 2007).

¹⁴² Roynestad, *Peace Agreements as a Means for Promoting Gender Equality*, UNDAW Expert Group Meeting, 10-13 November 2003, Ottawa, Canada, EGM/PEACE/2003/EP.8, p. 2.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*.

by women's organisations failed, the SRSB adopted alternative mechanisms to get women on the ballot. On the one hand, he made available funds for UNIFEM and the GAU to run skill-development workshops for over two hundred women candidates; on the other, he refused airtime to political parties registering for the election unless they could demonstrate their commitment to gender equity in the positioning of candidates.¹⁴⁴ Although only a few of the women trained in the workshops got into office in 2001, good results were nonetheless achieved by women in the country: women made up 60% of the national independent candidates and 27,6% of the Constituent Assembly elected members, "one of the highest percentages to be achieved globally without quotas" as highlighted by former UNTAET GAU Head Sherrill Whittington.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, during the workshops the "Caucus" women's group was created, with the aim of raising electoral awareness among women at the grassroots, providing non-partisan support to female candidates and promoting independent female candidates.¹⁴⁶

Most interviewees argue that, despite the good numerical results, the 2001 elections did not achieve substantial achievements in terms of political culture. On one hand, most political parties did not position women in the lists in a way to ensure their election; on the other, the level of female representation in the Assembly was not necessarily reflected in the body's decisions. "The elected parliament has failed to take women's issues or inputs very seriously" comments Lorraine Corner.¹⁴⁷ "The quota system has helped in putting women in leadership positions, although these women were not necessarily fighting for women's rights" adds Catharina Maria of the Solidarity Observer Mission for East Timor (SOMET).¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, women's lack of experience combined with their lack of confidence challenged their cohesion in the post-electoral period and prevented their uniting across party lines in the common interests of women.¹⁴⁹ Because of this disunity, women parliamentarians ran a serious risk of being perceived by society at large as a "failed experiment", with the consequence of further marginalisation in subsequent elections.¹⁵⁰

Support from UNMIT and other UN agencies for the parliamentary and presidential elections, held respectively in May and June 2007, offered enhanced opportunities for inclusion of affirmative action and gender equality policies in the electoral law, in voter education for women and youth and gender sensitisation of political party leadership. The Electoral Assistance Section (EAS)

¹⁴⁴ Pires, *Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries: Experiences from East Timor*, OSAGI Expert Group Meeting, 19-22 January 2004, pp. 7-8, EGM/ELEC/2004/EP.6.

¹⁴⁵ Questionnaire by Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

¹⁴⁶ Questionnaire by Lorraine Corner, UNIFEM, cit.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴⁸ Questionnaire by Catharina Maria, SOMET, cit.

¹⁴⁹ Pires, 2004, cit., p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ Roynestad, 2003, cit., p. 8.

established in UNMIT included gender specialists and the Mission's Electoral GA has been active in assessing and reporting on the elections.¹⁵¹ An election working group with representatives from the UN agencies and UNMIT also took into account women's participation in the elections.

UNMIT gender perspective audits of both the presidential and legislative elections shows that women's participation turned out to be high in all aspects of both consultations, although not always in proportion to their numbers in the population.¹⁵² Lucia Lobato was Timor-Leste's first female presidential candidate.¹⁵³ She and a few other candidates addressed women and women's concerns during the campaign of the presidential election's first round, but women's issues were missing in the run-off election campaigning, dominated by accusations of vote buying, threats and intimidation against the opposing candidate.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, most of the presidential candidates only superficially address violence against women, and no candidate laid out a clear programme.

At the 30 June 2007 legislative elections 26,15% of those elected were women, a satisfying result, although a slight decrease from the previous elections in 2001.¹⁵⁵ This result has been facilitated by the introduction of the female quota system in the electoral law of 25% along with the rule that one out of every four candidates must be a woman, despite the fact that most parties listed women in the fourth position, lessening their chances.¹⁵⁶ While, at the time of writing, it remains to be seen what coalition will lead the future government¹⁵⁷ and how many women will be appointed in decision-making positions, the hope of Timorese women interviewees is that the new government will prove no less inclusive towards women than the last Fretilin government, under which women made up 20% of the ministers and administrators.

In both 2007 electoral consultations, women were well-represented at all levels of the National Electoral Commission (CNE) and in the Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration (STAE), although few women were in leadership positions.¹⁵⁸ A positive development was that the voter turnout has been disaggregated by gender for the first time in the second round of the presidential elections, due to the inclusion of a male/female box to tick on each polling station's list of voters.

¹⁵¹ E-mail from Dianne Arboleda, Programme Manager, UNIFEM, Timor-Leste, 19 June 2007.

¹⁵² UNMIT, *A Gender Perspective Audit of the 2007 Presidential Elections*, at http://www.etan.org/etanpdf/2007/Gender%20Audit%20Pres.%20Elections_2.pdf (5 June 2007).

¹⁵³ Ms. Lobato came in fifth out of eight Presidential candidates, but was elected in the June 2007 parliamentary elections for the Social Democratic Party. She is reported to continue to inspire women to enter politics. Pereira & Sternberg, 2007, cit.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁵ CNE/STAE results, at <http://etan.org/etanpdf/2007/Acta%2520Final%2520Nacional.pdf> (10 July 2007).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁷ Fretilin plans to form a minority government if attempts to link up with coalition partners fail. The plan comes after CNRT, a party founded by former President Gusmão, announced it had lined up partners to form a coalition government. CNRT came second in the June 30 polls with 24% of votes, behind Fretilin's 29%.

¹⁵⁸ Only 21% of the chairpersons in polling station were women. EU EOM, *Preliminary Statement on the Timor-Leste Parliamentary Elections*, 2 July 2007, at <http://www.eueomtimorleste.org/parl/PDF/EUEOM%20TL%20Parliamentary%20Elections%20FINAL.pdf> (2 July 2007).

(ii) *Promoting women's political participation at the village level*

The UNTAET/World Bank Community Empowerment and Local Governance Project (CEP), initiated in 2000 as an introduction to local democracy, represents a remarkable initiative to promote women's participation in decision-making at the village level.¹⁵⁹ Although CEP has been criticised by some for imposing foreign concepts and structures, the project finally set a precedent in terms of gender balance, reaching 50% women's participation in the decision-making bodies in most villages in Timor-Leste.¹⁶⁰ A constructive follow-up to the CEP is the current Initiative Supporting Women as Effective Leaders and Promotion of Women's Participation in Governance, a joint government-European Commission-UNDP-UNIFEM project (known as PERWL) designed to enhance rural women's leadership and participation in nation-building.¹⁶¹ PERWL encompasses a programme enhancing women's capacity as effective and accountable electoral candidates, elected officials, and informed voters.

The fact that 27,6% of the village councillors are women – each council containing two women's representatives and a female youth representative – confirms that some changes in attitudes towards women's leaders at the local level have started to appear.¹⁶² “On a village meeting level, women do speak out firmly,”¹⁶³ says the representative of the Free East Timor Foundation (FETF) in the Netherlands, explaining that the village appears to grow, in Timor-Leste, as a space of relevance for a more assertive women's decision-making.

(iii) *Promoting the appointment of women in the national civil service*

The UNTAET GAU helped the government to set up an Inter-Departmental Task Force charged with mainstreaming gender considerations in all stages of the recruitment process for the East Timor Transitional Administration (ETTA) and later Public Administration (ETPA). Among the measures adopted were: use of women-friendly channels to advertise posts; inclusion of women on interviewing panels and of gender-sensitive interview questions; provision of counselling and

¹⁵⁹ Ospina, 2006, p. 36.

¹⁶⁰ 1300 women sit on village councils throughout Timor-Leste and several others are village leaders. *Challenges and Possibilities: International Organisations and Women in East Timor*, Workshop Report, 9-11 September 2005, RMIT University, Melbourne, Australia, at http://www.sourcesofinsecurity.org/events/Challenges_and_Possibilities_report.pdf (2 June 2007), p. 23.

¹⁶¹ E-mail from Dianne Arboleda, UNIFEM, Timor-Leste, cit.

¹⁶² Pereira & Sternberg, 2007, cit.

¹⁶³ Questionnaire by Endie van Binsbergen, Free East Timor Foundation (FETF), The Netherlands (Ref: INT-04, 23 May 2007).

confidence-building in all districts to women identified as qualified.¹⁶⁴ Despite the good results brought by these positive measures, they were not maintained during UNMISSET mandate. This led to a gender-biased recruitment process which was not sufficiently monitored by the Missions' advisers to the core institutions in the independent government.¹⁶⁵

Today, with a gender imbalance existing across all grades and a higher proportion of men at all levels, women's relevance in decision-making is not yet a reality in Timor-Leste.¹⁶⁶ "Men remain the decision makers in most forums,"¹⁶⁷ comments a representative of the Alola Foundation, one of the major women's organisation in the country; "both informal and formal settings still see men as the leaders"¹⁶⁸ adds a representative of SOMET. Many interviewees identify the UN as partly responsible for this state of things; UN gender work on women's leadership is criticised for concentrating solely on the promotion of women's role in politics, while failing to focus on the conditions necessary to ensure women's leadership roles in the future, including economic empowerment and access to education.¹⁶⁹ As a result of this approach, only the status of a limited number of (educated) women appear to have improved, while the majority of the female population is left out from all benefits. "If some women have today a social, economic and political acknowledged status, the majority continues to be poor, illiterate, without health care and suffering of multiple forms of violence everyday," comments Tereza Cunha.¹⁷⁰

➤ *Numbers are not enough: making gender matter in legislation and public policies*

(i) *A firm legislative framework shall be founded on gender equality*

UNTAET GAU helped ensure that the process for drafting of the East Timor's Constitution in 2001 was engendered. Women came to constitute 40% of the constitutional commissioners and the Commission's consultative process with the population included some special public hearings for women.¹⁷¹ Further, the GAU provided support to the Women and the Constitution Working Group in organising meetings with women's groups in all districts. As a result of this consultation

¹⁶⁴ Ospina, 2006, p. 26.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶⁶ UNSG, 2006, cit., Para 101.

¹⁶⁷ Questionnaire by Anonymous, Alola Foundation, Timor-Leste (Ref: INT-03, 17 May 2007. The interviewee requested anonymity).

¹⁶⁸ Questionnaire by Catharina Maria, SOMET, Timor-Leste, cit.

¹⁶⁹ Ospina, 2006, p. 42.

¹⁷⁰ Questionnaire by Tereza Cunha, Coimbra University, cit.

¹⁷¹ Ospina, 2006, p. 9.

process, a Women's Charter of Rights in East Timor was drafted, which guaranteed social health, educational rights, equal access to traditional law, protection from domestic violence and citizenship protection for children born of rape.¹⁷² A large portion of the Charter was included in the East Timor Constitution.

A large legislative review and analysis was undertaken throughout UNTAET and UNMISSET mandates in order to uphold gender equality under the law and ensure that gender concerns were reflected in the legislation in keeping with international human rights standards and norms. As part of this effort, the Human Rights Unit (HRU) and the GAU collaborated to facilitate the accession of East Timor to the main human rights treaties, including CEDAW.¹⁷³

The establishment of a Gender and the Law Working Group – composed of local judges, prosecutors, public defenders, representatives of CSOs and agencies, as well as GFPs from UN Civilian Police (CivPol) and the UNTAET Office of Legal Affairs – greatly facilitated the GAU's effectiveness in mainstreaming gender equality into East Timor's legislation. Among the Group's relevant outcomes were the amendments and additions to the Transitional Rules of Criminal Procedure, which enhanced the justice system's ability to ensure equal protection for women and men under the law.¹⁷⁴ The GAU also promoted the development of legislation on domestic violence, in close cooperation with NGOs, CSOs and UNFPA.¹⁷⁵

(ii) *A national women's machinery should mainstream gender in the government*

As a result of the efforts and a successful lobby by UNTAET GAU during the process of "Timorisation" of UNTAET-run government institutions, a Timorese national women's machinery was finally established within the second Transitional Government: the Office for the Promotion of Equality (OPE).¹⁷⁶ With the support of GAU, the OPE was tasked with developing a Gender Action Plan and with providing a sustainable foundation for a future gender mainstreaming mechanism within ETPA.

¹⁷² Women's Charter of Rights in East Timor, at <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Bulletin/2001/Aug/bulletinv2n5.html> (23 May 2007).

¹⁷³ Timor-Leste Parliament ratified CEDAW and its Optional Protocol in December 2002.

¹⁷⁴ Ospina, 2006, p. 26.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷⁶ E-mail from Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, 26 May 2007.

Being the first machinery for women ever created by a UN peacekeeping operation, OPE is considered by many to be the major achievement of UNTAET gender work.¹⁷⁷ Nonetheless, the UNTAET GAU-managed transfer of competencies to OPE is criticised by experts for having overlooked the Office's longer-term needs and skills and for having been hindered by the lack of knowledge of any local language by UNTAET GAU international staff.¹⁷⁸ When UNTAET GAs left the office, OPE proved to lack the necessary capacity to ensure continuity of GAU mainstreaming work through government's policies.¹⁷⁹

Interviews further reveal that OPE has today only an *ad hoc* influence and lacks solid leverage at the highest level of the government, which mostly results in mere "lip service" paid by national policies to international instruments and conventions.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, the usual non-participation of GA to the Prime Minister – Aurora Ximenes – in the Council of Ministers has led to difficulties in passing key legislation, such as a thorough law on domestic violence.¹⁸¹ Timor-Leste's lack of a sustainable mechanism for gender mainstreaming is perceived by some interviewees as the sign of the general lack of capacity of UN peacekeeping to build the structures for long-term and sustainable good governance in post-conflict countries. "What we used to call 'conflict cowboys' are very experienced at dealing with post-conflict situations but have almost no experience of government or governance and give very low priority to these" argues Lorraine Corner.¹⁸²

➤ *Instilling gender awareness in security bodies*

In response to the gravity of the issue of GBV in Timor-Leste, including domestic violence against women, UNTAET CivPol established a Vulnerable Persons Unit (VPU) tasked to deal with victims of rape, domestic violence, and any other gender-related crimes.¹⁸³ The VPU, still part of today's Timor-Leste National Police (PNTL), included female officers and interpreters and built a close working relationship with Fokupers (Forum for the Communication of Timor-Leste Women), Timor-Leste largest women's organisation. Further efforts on GBV included GAU's GBV trainings to PNTL officers and the appointment of a focal point for gender-related crimes in all districts.

¹⁷⁷ Questionnaire by Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷⁹ Ospina, 2006, p. 34.

¹⁸⁰ Questionnaire by Sofi Ospina, Independent Consultant (Ref: INT-12, 10 June 2007); Questionnaire by Marcia Poole, Ex-UNMISSET Spokesperson (Ref: INT-10, 5 June 2007).

¹⁸¹ Pereira & Sternberg, 2007, cit.

¹⁸² Questionnaire by Lorraine Corner, UNIFEM, cit.

¹⁸³ Ospina, 2006, p. 24.

Despite these efforts, GBV remains the most frequently reported crime in the country.¹⁸⁴ A study by the Timor-Leste Justice System Monitoring Programme (JSMP) reveals that less than a quarter of cases reported to the police are sent for prosecution, the majority of them being sent back to the families or village chiefs (*lian nain*) for review under traditional justice procedures.¹⁸⁵ VPU's efficiency is reported to have been hindered by the limited attitude and understanding of gender issues and human rights by trained PNTL officers and by the non-extension of the position of Gender Focal Point (GFP) in the PNTL beyond UNMISSET.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, the constant turnover of VPU personnel led to the disruption of the Unit's work, with a subsequent loss of expertise and know-how.

Gender sensitivity in the security sector has scored poor results ever since 1999. East Timorese women's pivotal role during the Resistance has mostly gone unrecognised and unrewarded, as after the conflict not a single woman was listed among the nearly 37,500 people registered as former combatants of the Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor-Leste (FALINTIL).¹⁸⁷ The recruitment of women remains low in the Timor-Leste Defense Force (TLDF) and there have been allegations of discrimination in the treatment of women, including lactating mothers.¹⁸⁸ The situation does not appear to be more positive in the PNTL, where the initial target of 30% of female recruits achieved in 2001 decreased over the following years.¹⁸⁹

The large absence of women's participation in the security sector appears even more alarming in the light of the security crisis erupted in April-May 2006. In August 2006 the SG reported that "the lack of political power and absence from decision-making of East Timorese women [...] has placed them at the periphery of efforts to build peace and resolve the crisis."¹⁹⁰ Kirsty Sword-Gusmão, former First Lady of Timor-Leste,¹⁹¹ had made a similar commentary one month earlier: "It is sad and disturbing to note that, in a time of crisis and conflict such as Timor-Leste is presently

¹⁸⁴ UNSG, 2006, cit., Para 103.

¹⁸⁵ JSMP, *Women in the Formal Justice Sector*, 2004, at http://www.jsmp.minihub.org/Reports/jsmpreports/Women%20in%20Formal%20Justice%20Reports/women_in_formal_Justice_sector_eng.pdf (4 June 2007), p. 14.

¹⁸⁶ E-mail from Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸⁸ UNSG, 2006, cit., Para 102.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, Para 100.

¹⁹¹ Australian-born Kirsty Sword-Gusmão is the wife of Xanana Gusmão – the charismatic leader of the Timorese resistance and Timor-Leste first President in 2002-2007 – and the founder of the Alola Foundation, one of Timor-Leste's most influential women's organisations.

experiencing, the platforms that women have managed to acquire seem to come crashing down, their voices drowned out by the din of the political clamouring of male leaders.”¹⁹²

The request for women’s enhanced participation in peacebuilding is not a new one. Prior to the deployment of UNMIT in 2006, women’s organisations had been consulted by the Special Envoy of the SG for Timor-Leste, Ian Martin, to whom they recommended that the next UN Mission shall pay attention to women’s involvement in disarmament and full implementation of UNSCR 1325.¹⁹³ Despite these recommendations, UNMIT and Timor-Leste have so far failed to involve civil society – including women’s groups – more actively in peacebuilding mechanisms and in the security sector’s reform. This undervalues not only the potential role of women’s groups in peacebuilding and conflict mediation, but also the overall potential political action of the population at the grassroots level.¹⁹⁴

➤ *Engendering justice reforms*

(i) *Gender-awareness must be instilled at all levels of the justice machinery*

Gender mainstreaming into the justice system is reported by the former Head of GAU to have been “a major priority of UNTAET”.¹⁹⁵ Among the initiatives undertaken, two are reported to have led to improved practices: a GAU policy report, produced with the support of Fokupers and other human rights organisations, informing the justice system on a variety of gender issues related to the criminal justice system and women’s experiences in prisons; and a GAU advisory and expertise work, done in cooperation with other UN agencies like UNFPA, on women’s experiences in the criminal system.¹⁹⁶ On the issue of domestic violence, UNTAET GAU developed a curriculum in conjunction with the Judicial Affairs Department and held trainings to sensitise the judiciary to this issue.

Besides GAU’s work, the UNTAET-led special drive to promote women’s appointment to high-level posts resulted in a higher number of women serving on the high court, as prosecutors and public defenders; the DPKO HQ-funded Gender Legal Literacy and Civil Education for Women’s Rights Project, implemented in collaboration with the Ministry of Justice, aimed at enhancing women’s access to justice.

¹⁹² Sword-Gusmão, *Women Suffering in Silence*, The Australian, 7 July 2006, at <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/view.asp?article=4549> (5 June 2007).

¹⁹³ Rede, *Letter to Ian Martin*, 22 July 2006, at <http://www.etan.org/et2006/july/22/21letter.htm> (7 June 2007).

¹⁹⁴ Questionnaire by Sofi Ospina, Independent Consultant, cit.

¹⁹⁵ E-mail from Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

Despite UN efforts, the quality of the justice system in Timor-Leste remains concerning. Decisions and sentences by judges are often marred by deficiencies such as a non-application of international standards and a lack of gender sensitivity and awareness of women's rights, with sentences often not reflecting the seriousness of the crimes committed against women.¹⁹⁷ The access of women and girls to justice remains generally limited; while some young unmarried female victims of GBV are starting to seek justice, this is rarely done by older or married women.

Regarding domestic violence, national courts are reported to be largely unable to deal properly with the low percentage of cases – less than a quarter – that are sent for prosecution.¹⁹⁸ A rooted mentality considers violence against women as an inevitable and natural aspect of family relationships (“*bikan ho kanuru baku malu*” / “a dish and a spoon will hit each other”) or part of the husband's educational task towards his wife (“*mane bele baku nia fe'en atu hanorin nia fe'en*” / “a man can beat his wife to educate her”).¹⁹⁹ Moreover, the custom of “barlaque”, consisting of the payment of a dowry by the husband to the wife's family, often results in the belief that the husband acquires an ownership “right” towards his wife, which allows him to beat her.²⁰⁰ “A disappointed or angry husband sees no wrong in ‘punishing’ his wife”²⁰¹ explains one interviewee.

Because it is still largely considered a “private issue” more than a societal problem or a crime, domestic violence is largely dealt with by the Timorese traditional justice system, which operates alongside the formal one. Traditional procedures allow minimal and often superficial participation to women, who find that the rulings passed are often based on the justice administrators' own biases and beliefs regarding women's status.²⁰² Moreover, traditional justice has little power to enforce its rulings: men are not forced to take responsibility for their violence, while women are assigned blame for causing it.

(ii) *The end to impunity shall be ensured*

UNTAET supported investigations and actions aimed at ending impunity for crimes committed in Timor-Leste in 1999 by the Indonesian army and pro-Indonesia militias.

The HRU dealt with the cases of forced deportation to West Timor in 1999 of civilians, many of whom were women who were gang raped, and helped women's CSOs to track cases of violence

¹⁹⁷ UNSG, 2006, cit., Para 103.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹⁹ *Challenges and Possibilities...*, 2005, cit., p. 22.

²⁰⁰ Amal, 2006, p. 46.

²⁰¹ Questionnaire by Endie van Binsbergen, FETF, cit.

²⁰² Roynestad, 2003, cit. p. 14; *Challenges and Possibilities...*, 2005, cit. p. 22.

against women and cases of women whose partners were killed, detained or tortured in 1999, as many official statistics did not exist.

Investigations of gender related crimes committed in 1999 were undertaken by the Gender Related Crime Team of the Serious Crimes Unit (SCU) within the Office of the General Prosecutor. Although sixty cases and two hundred alleged incidents of sexual crimes, including rape, were investigated by two experienced sex crimes investigators supported by an expert witness, the SCU investigations brought scarce results because many persecutors who had fled to Indonesia could not be prosecuted.²⁰³ Only two convictions for rape were finally recorded in the file of the trials conducted by the Special Panels for Serious Crimes.

For the period preceding 1999, notably the period of Indonesian occupation between 1975 and 1999, a picture of overwhelming impunity persists in Timor-Leste for crimes and human rights abuses, including sexual abuse.²⁰⁴ To date, the efforts put forward by the UN towards ending impunity for crimes perpetrated during that period have almost uniquely consisted of the establishment of a Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor (CAVR) in July 2001, which released its final report in October 2006.²⁰⁵ The failure to establish an international tribunal for Timor-Leste to investigate the crimes against humanity committed between 1974 and 1999 – which has been strongly called for by human rights groups and women’s organisations²⁰⁶ – leaves its victims and their families without justice and the whole country with weak basis for a real reconciliation.

(iii) *Engendering truth recovery and reconciliation processes*

A UNTAET regulation in July 2001 established the CAVR to investigate human rights violations committed in Timor-Leste between April 1974 and October 1999.²⁰⁷ The gender perspective entrenched in the regulation establishing the CAVR has been referred to as “unparalleled”.²⁰⁸ It expressly mandated the Commission to pay particular attention to sexual offences; it allowed it to protect and support women victims and witnesses; it enabled the Commission to make gender-aware policies; and it incorporated a gender parity quota for female

²⁰³ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 99.

²⁰⁴ CAVR, 2006, p. 116.

²⁰⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁶ During the visit of the then-UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson, women’s groups voiced their request for the establishment of an international tribunal for East Timor. Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 99.

²⁰⁷ Ospina, 2006, p. 60.

²⁰⁸ Miller, in Durham & Gurd (eds.), p. 214.

national commissioners and community reconciliation panels. The enactment of the regulation also can be considered satisfactory.

Two of the seven commissioners were women and the Commission, in consultation with women's groups and the GAU, held public hearings with women including a two-day public hearing on "women and conflict" aimed at exposing the human rights violations experienced by women.

Despite the reluctance of many victims to report sexual violations, the Commission recorded hundreds of direct testimonies by many women and girls, who spoke openly of their experiences of rape, sexual slavery and other forms of sexual abuse.²⁰⁹ In May 2003, the Commission established a Working Group for Victim Support to devise and oversee policies around victim support, including reparations, and contracted also women's organisations to provide support to victims. The Commission's final report, *Chega!* ("Enough!"), released in October 2006, contains gender disaggregated data, chapters on women's violations, gender-sensitive recommendations, including a specific section on women's rights.²¹⁰ Some interviewees have expressed doubt as to whether the reconciliation process in the country is being well-managed by the UN and by national institutions and whether society is ready to deal with the rather controversial content of the Report, which reveals for the first time the severe violations committed by pro-Indonesian East Timorese nationals during the occupation.²¹¹

➤ *Strengthening local women's organisations*

Since the beginning of UNTAET's mandate, SRSG Sergio Vieira de Mello showed a firm commitment to build a strong partnership with Timorese women and women's groups. The first sign was the travel assistance UNTAET provided to many of the five hundred women attending the First Women's Congress of Timor Loro'sae in Dili in June 2000. This first post-conflict gathering of women's organisations was a key event for the national women's network. The Congress led to the creation of the women's network Rede, an umbrella organisation joining over fifteen NGOs, and marked a key development in the participatory process that guided the GAU in its future strategic planning and implementation.

The SRSG endorsed the recommendations developed by the Congress's first Platform of Action, which requested, *inter alia*, a more substantial presence of women in decision-making and

²⁰⁹ The CAVR recorded 853 cases of rape and sexual slavery and estimates that the total number of sexual violations is likely to be several times higher than the number of cases reported. CAVR, 2006, p. 123.

²¹⁰ CAVR, 2006.

²¹¹ Questionnaire by Tereza Cunha, Coimbra University, cit.

resources for enhancing female empowerment and developing a public information campaign on discrimination against women.²¹² The Platform was eventually incorporated into the work plan of the GAU and a consultative mechanism was established with Rede to monitor its implementation. “From that time forward,” says the then-GAU Head, “the SRSG has had an ‘open door’ policy for women’s organisations, meeting with them and following up on their recommendations.”²¹³

CSOs and women’s groups were regularly invited to join specific working groups established with the support of UNTAET, such as the already-mentioned Gender and the Law Working Group, and to participate in gender-awareness trainings organised by the Mission’s GAU and HRU. UNTAET district GFPs were tasked also to support initiatives by local women’s and youth groups.²¹⁴ In the field of public information, the UNTAET Office of Public Communication and Information (OCPI) and UNMISSET Public Information Office (PIO) actively collaborated with women’s networks and regularly involved them in events like International Women’s Day (8 March) and the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (25 November).

Interviews draw attention to the fact that, in spite of UNTAET’s commitment, the UN approach towards local women’s networks has shown imbalances and defaults. The UN is criticised for having shown, since 1999, a tendency to build partnerships mainly with a group of women and advocacy groups – such as Maria Domingas Alves, founder of Fokupers, and Kirsty Sword Gusmão, President of the Alola Foundation – whose gender approach mirrors UN discourses and embodies a western “cosmopolitan feminism” based primarily on women’s political participation and formal rights. Actively involved in international women’s networks, these groups are imbued with a western-inspired and English-speaking gender culture and are characterised by a mainstream discourse on women’s empowerment flowing from international conventions and resolutions. Their rhetoric often shows a tendency to portray East Timorese women predominantly as victims – Kirsty Gusmão’s speeches and appeals are an illustrative example²¹⁵ – and to represent local traditions as hindering forces standing in the way of women’s liberation and empowerment.²¹⁶ This is particularly evident in discourses and campaigns which make use of concepts like “gender” and

²¹² Statement from the First Congress of Women of Timor Loro-Sae, 2000, in Roynestad, 2003, cit., p. 4.

²¹³ E-mail from Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

²¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

²¹⁵ “Improving the lives of vulnerable East Timorese women and children is my priority,” “Timor woman, victim of the excesses and ambitions of men [...] my heart bleeds for you,” Sword-Gusmão, 2006, cit.

²¹⁶ One poster of the 2002 campaign against GBV portrayed a woman shouting for her rights, with a foot bound by a ball and chain carrying the word “budaya” (“culture” in Bhasa). Simião, in Seixas & Engelenhoven (eds.), 2006, p. 175.

“gender equality” – often in their Anglophone form – in ways that highlight the extraneous nature of these concepts with regard to East Timorese traditional culture.²¹⁷

If the partnership with these main women’s groups appears solid, an equal effort has apparently not always been made by the UN to build a dialogue with those women’s organisations, often small and from rural areas, whose narratives and claims tend not to mirror mainstream feminist discourses and whose political participation is not necessarily within political parties but rather rooted in communities, villages and clans.²¹⁸ “This it is an ‘easy’ strategy for the UN but it finally leaves it with few new elements,”²¹⁹ comments Tereza Cunha. At an international workshop in 2005 on the impact of international organisations on East Timorese women and culture, some East Timorese women argued that the UN western-centric “centralized model of partnership” often leads rural and small CSOs to seek to link themselves with the main women’s groups, which contributes to disempowering the grassroots impetus and overlooking necessities and ideas formulated by women at the local level.²²⁰

Most of the interviewees support this view and indicate that the “too mainstream” approach of the UN is not sufficiently attentive to the “more local and genuine inspiration”²²¹ of women and women’s groups in rural and remote areas. The statement of one Timorese interviewee from a rural village is revealing in this sense: “In my home village, we have never see anyone from UN to come down and talk to us about women issues.”²²² A Timorese gender activist has argued that the UN’s “neglect” of the grassroots perspective is likely to reinforce the organisation’s cultural distance from local reality, evident – *inter alia* – in the UN staff’s lack of knowledge of the local languages and traditions of Timor-Leste and in their frequent and easy dismissal of local mentalities as “obscurantist” and “patriarchal.”²²³

This attitude is revealed also in the organisation’s relations with small local CSOs, criticised by some interviewees for being patronising and insufficiently consultative with local partners and beneficiaries. While the director of a local NGO explains that local organisations are often treated by the UN as mere “information providers” and systematically kept out of the implementation of

²¹⁷ The use of the word “gender” in the slogan of the 2002 campaign – “Violensia baseia ba gender la’os parte Kultura Timor-Leste niam” (“Gender violence is not part of Timor-Leste’s culture”) – highlights the extraneous nature of this concept and the values it embodies.

²¹⁸ Cunha, 2006, p. 281.

²¹⁹ Questionnaire by Tereza Cunha, Coimbra University, cit.

²²⁰ *Challenges and Possibilities...*, 2005, cit., p. 57.

²²¹ Questionnaire by Tereza Cunha, Coimbra University, cit.

²²² Questionnaire by Pascoela Borges, Cleaner, local NGO, Timor-Leste (Ref: ET-06, 15 May 2007).

²²³ *Challenges and Possibilities...*, 2005, cit., p. 57.

UN-led projects;²²⁴ a member of the Alola Foundation stresses that “too often [the UN] forces groups to provide activities which may not be their priority. This can affect a sense of community ownership.”²²⁵

This top-down approach of the UN towards Timorese reality and interlocutors has to be considered also in its likeliness to impact negatively on how the organisation and its gender work are perceived by local inhabitants. Some Timorese defenders of traditional structures, including some women, see the UN gender work as having a detrimental impact on traditional customs and mentality. While women’s empowerment is sometimes seen to cause men to be more violent and angry as women defy them, gender is frequently perceived as a “malae”²²⁶ concept imposed by foreigners on Timorese people and institutions as a trade-off of support in terms of funding and technical assistance.²²⁷

➤ *Prevention and men’s involvement*

(i) *Having prevention in mind*

UNTAET GAU incorporated a Gender Situational Analysis and Data Collection on the gender situation in East Timor, which gathered gender-sensitive data/indicators to assist in the development of effective gender mainstreaming strategies.²²⁸ The data collection, aimed at understanding the overarching patterns of inequality and developing ideas and strategies to overcome entrenched barriers to equality, can be considered as having the function of an early-warning system with gender-sensitive criteria.

UN-supported campaigns and actions against domestic violence in Timor-Leste often put an emphasis on prevention, as shown by a recent initiative by OPE and UNIFEM which focuses on strengthening the role of village chiefs in the prevention of domestic violence.²²⁹

However, if we think of prevention in terms of providing the premises for continuity and sustainability of UN Missions’ gender work, the UN Missions in Timor-Leste have often failed to

²²⁴ Questionnaire by P.P., Director, local NGO, Timor-Leste (Ref: ET-07, 15 May 2007. The interviewee requested anonymity).

²²⁵ Questionnaire by Anonymous, Alola Foundation, Timor-Leste (Ref: INT-03, 17 May 2007. The interviewee requested anonymity).

²²⁶ “Foreign” in Tetum.

²²⁷ Interview with Manuel Soares Abrantes, Ambassador of Timor-Leste to Portugal, Coimbra, Portugal, 2 June 2007.

²²⁸ E-mail from Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

²²⁹ UNSG, *Report on UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste*, 1 February 2007, S/2007/50, Para 47.

act with prevention in mind. Because peacekeeping missions are short-lived, “sustainability can only be achieved when the work of the Gender Advisers/Units is undertaken in collaboration with local and international partners who must continue that work when the Mission liquidates,” as Sherrill Whittington points out.²³⁰ The mechanisms the UN Missions have so far established in Timor-Leste to coordinate gender policies and programmes with other UN agencies – such as the UN Consultative Group on Gender (UNCGG) composed of GFPs from UNMISSET and UN agencies – have failed to provide substantial fora of exchange and coordination and have mainly consisted of exchanges of information and a short-term timeline for events (i.e. Women’s International Day).²³¹

Moreover, due to the short-term nature of UN peacekeeping mandates, the UN Missions in Timor-Leste have given frenetic attention at the end of each period to the Mission’s renewal or transformation to its next incarnation; this has wasted valuable political and human energy and removed many of the best international personnel from Timor-Leste.

(ii) *Involving men*

The gender work of the UN Missions in Timor-Leste has rarely contemplated strategies to include men in their advocacy and programmes for gender equality. The UN-led efforts to fight domestic violence and GBV have focused mostly on protecting women, usually without establishing services to address men’s violence or concentrating on the transformation of certain constructions of masculinity in conflict and post-conflict contexts.

Although the 2005 joint UNDP/UNFPA/OPE project on GBV for training inmates in anger management represents one positive development,²³² attention to men has been paid since 2002 only by a number of local and international NGOs acting at the grassroots level, including the local Men’s Association Against Violence (AMKV), the first male-headed organisation active in the Rede network.²³³

The lack of a serious policy to involve men may be indicative of a tendency of UN peacekeeping, criticised by some observers, to focus on the consequences of violence and armed conflicts, without explicitly addressing the causes and functions of the types of violence that created these effects. This tendency is visible also in those UN reports which have drawn attention to the gendered impact of armed conflicts – such as the SG periodical reports to the SC on Timor-Leste or

²³⁰ Questionnaire by Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

²³¹ Ospina, 2006, p. 30.

²³² UNDP, *Timor-Leste Country Program Review*, 2005, at http://www.tl.undp.org/undp/pdf_files/reports_documents/CPR_matrix_eng.pdf (7 June 2007), p. 5.

²³³ See Oxfam’s Gender Equality and Men (GEM) projects, at http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/gender/gem/index.htm (3 June 2007).

the Brahimi Report²³⁴ – but have tended to be less complex, in their analysis, regarding the system of unequal gender power relations which underlie this impact and which are among the very causes of the conflict itself.²³⁵

Former UNTAET SRSG Sergio Vieira de Mello surely well represents the critical changes men, even at their individual level, can achieve when they opt for giving women and gender relevance in post-conflict contexts. “I was against the creation of a GAU for the UN’s Transitional Authority in Timor-Leste” – he himself admitted – “I did not think a Gender Unit would help rebuild institutions from the ashes of what the militia left. I was wrong.”²³⁶ “He gave hope to the women’s movement at a critical moment in the nation’s history,” says Lorraine Corner, “women were the first to organize a small memorial to Sergio on 20 August 2003, the day after his death. It was a spontaneous expression of the loss that all felt at the news of his death.”²³⁷ If the former SRSG’s support for East Timorese women’s “silent revolution” for rights and political participation was his “greatest achievements in East Timor,”²³⁸ – as he himself said – it is very likely that his personal commitment sent a strong message also to indigenous men and the UN system as a whole.

3.2.3 Gender mainstreaming within the UN Missions and its impacts

➤ *Gender balance in the staffing of UN Missions*

“Resolution 1325 has not really been implemented in Timor, even by the UN,”²³⁹ states Lorraine Corner, bluntly. Women were under-represented in UNTAET/UNMISSET staff, with the lowest record of 8% in UNMISSET.²⁴⁰ As of April 2007, the gender balance in UNMIT does not contradict past trends: women constitute only 22% of the total Mission’s civilian personnel, both local and international.²⁴¹ The few uniformed personnel staff records which could be located for all the UN Missions in Timor show a lowest percentage of 3,8% women under UNMISSET and of 6% women serving as DPKO military observers under UNMIT.²⁴²

²³⁴ Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, 17 August 2001, A/55/305-S/2000/809.

²³⁵ Raven-Roberts, in Mazurana (ed.), p. 45.

²³⁶ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 61.

²³⁷ Ospina, 2006, p. 33.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*.

²³⁹ Questionnaire by Lorraine Corner, UNIFEM, cit.

²⁴⁰ Ospina, 2006, p. 25.

²⁴¹ E-mail from Katja Hemmerich, Gender Adviser, Peacekeeping Best Practices Section (PBPS), UN HQ, 2 July 2007.

²⁴² See Ospina, 2006, pp. 27-28 and DPKO gender statistics at <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/gender/may07.pdf> (4 June 2007).

The poor gender balance in the UN Missions in Timor-Leste well reflects the staff situation in DPKO, in other UN peace Missions and in the UN system as a whole. While the Security Council is among the most masculinised of the body's agencies, in UN peacekeeping the upper reaches of the UN civil service are still thoroughly male-dominated. Out of eighteen peace operations (peacekeeping and political and peacebuilding missions), there are currently no women appointed as Heads of Mission or SRSGs and only one woman in the position of Deputy SRSG (DSRSG).²⁴³ Historically, only four women have ever served as SRSG.²⁴⁴ There is "no excuse" for this, comments one of them, former SRSG to Angola and former UN Under-Secretary General Margaret Joan Anstee.²⁴⁵

The poor record of the UN Missions in Timor-Leste in terms of gender balance not only raises questions about the UN commitment towards gender mainstreaming and UNSCR 1325, but also undermines the potency of UN agreements on gender equity and damages their credibility before Timorese local society and indigenous men. This is even more disturbing considering that the women who have served for the UN in the country since 1999 – albeit in small numbers – are reported to have been role models for Timorese women. The few women serving in UNTAET CivPol are reported to have "galvanized" local women's own aspirations to join the East Timor Police Service the UN was building, while the presence of a female Police Commissioner, from Australia, during the first phase of UNMISSET is reported by local women to have been even "enlightening" and "inspirational."²⁴⁶

➤ *UN Missions' women's machinery*

Initial resistance within UNTAET towards the creation of a GAU at first hampered the establishment of a gender mainstreaming mechanism in the Mission.²⁴⁷ The GAU was only established in mid-2000 in the Office of the DSRSG for Governance and Public Administration, but despite its high-level it was not provided with a budget for gender activities.²⁴⁸ The planning of the

²⁴³ Afghanistan (UNAMA): DSRSG Ameerah Haq (Bangladesh), since June 2004. She was preceded by Eva Margareta Wahlstrom (Sweden).

²⁴⁴ Angola (UNAVEM II), 1992-93: Margaret Joan Anstee; Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), 1995-2001: Elisabeth Rehn; Burundi (ONUB), 2004-2006: Carolyn McAskie; Cyprus (UNFICYP), 1998-99: Ann Hercus; South Africa (UNOMSA), 1992-94: Angela King.

²⁴⁵ Margaret Joan Anstee chaired the session *The evolving role of women in the post-conflict process, Fourth Annual Day of the UN Peacekeepers*, 2007, cit.

²⁴⁶ Comfort Lamprey, quoted in Shoetzau, 2007, cit.

²⁴⁷ E-mail from Sherrill Whittington, Ex-UNTAET GAU Head, cit.

²⁴⁸ Scott, *Are Women Included or Excluded in Post-Conflict Reconstruction? A Case Study from East Timor*, 2003, at www.peacewomen.org/resources/Timor-Leste/CIIRWomensPart03.html (3 May 2007).

transition UNTAET to UNMISSET foresaw a future GAU extremely reduced in terms of personnel and without an operational budget or terms of reference. The strategy also did not include the position of GA to the OPE – critical for the effective functioning of the Office – which was finally funded by Ireland Aid.²⁴⁹ The transitions of gender work from UNMISSET to UNOTIL and from UNOTIL to UNMIT proved no less precarious: the absence of an UNMISSET exit strategy for gender, along with the lack of a long-term GA and budget for UNOTIL and an under-resourced UNMIT GAU, led to the losing of momentum, especially with the government and other non-UN stakeholders.

Gender trainings were the main UNTAET GAU's mechanism to raise gender awareness among UN staff. A compulsory two-day induction course for all new staff joining UNTAET was held on a fortnightly basis, while Quarterly Gender Mainstreaming/Sensitisation Workshops for participants from all departments, district GFPs, the UN Agencies and CSOs were held to share ideas and strategies for the upcoming year and develop a work plan and timetable for capacity building.²⁵⁰ This model was mostly maintained during UNMISSET and UNMIT mandates. As for Peacekeeping Forces (PKF), although pre-deployment gender training is the responsibility of individual Troop Contributing Countries (TCC), with the establishment of the Training Cell within the PKF pillar under UNTAET, gender awareness has been incorporated into all induction sessions.²⁵¹ Special briefing sessions on Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) were organised by UNMISSET in 2005 with PKF and international civilian staff.

Despite the compulsory status of gender trainings, “in many cases when gender training was available, [UN] staff, especially senior staff, were too busy to attend,” comments Lorraine Corner, who considers the low attendance of in-theatre gender trainings fairly typical of UN post-conflict efforts: “there are so many priorities that gender inevitably falls to the bottom.”²⁵²

➤ *Sexual abuse and “UN babies”*

The increase in the number of sex workers and of the number of babies fathered by international staff and left abandoned, often referred to as “UN babies”,²⁵³ are among the negative effects that the

²⁴⁹ Ospina, 2006, p. 43.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*.

²⁵¹ Mackay, in Mazurana (ed.), 2005, pp. 265-279.

²⁵² Questionnaire by Lorraine Corner, UNIFEM, cit.

²⁵³ Ospina, 2006, p. 43.

local population attributes to the international presence in Timor-Leste.²⁵⁴ In its two latest Resolutions on Timor-Leste, the UNSC has reaffirmed the urgency to “achieve actual compliance in UNMIT with the UN Zero-Tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse,” recommending troop-contributing countries “take appropriate preventive and disciplinary action to ensure full accountability in cases of sexual abuse involving their personnel.”²⁵⁵

Nonetheless, the actual practice in Timor-Leste lags far behind. Cases of sexual abuse, misbehaviour and non-compliance with UN codes of conduct by peacekeepers, Civpol and UN international civilian staff have been reported since the start of UN operations in East Timor in 1999.²⁵⁶ “The unofficial numbers are shockingly higher,” comments one interviewee, who reports having witnessed in 2002 a high-ranking UN military official asking a high-ranking UN police officer, after three of his men were repatriated for sexual abuse in Timor-Leste, “What is the accepted number of rapes before a battalion risks dismissal?”²⁵⁷ Such attitudes are indicative of the fact that the issue of sexual misconduct by UN personnel in peace operations is widely and tacitly tolerated as “inevitable”, even by high-level management. The comment of former US ambassador to the UN Richard Holbrooke is revealing in this regard: “Human nature is human nature. Where peacekeepers go they attract prostitutes.”²⁵⁸

By indulging in the sexual misbehaviour of their personnel and by feeding the mechanisms of the sexual exploitation of women, central to predatory war economies, UN personnel ends up supporting mechanisms of exploitation that perpetuate abuses of human rights of women and girls and hinder the return of real peace and security to the country. A poster photographed in the UNTAET HQ compound in November 2000 advertising a T-shirt with the writing “Feel Safe Tonight, Sleep with a Peacekeeper” reinforces this perception and is also indicative of the widespread feeling among UN staff of not being bound by international law, including UNSCR 1325.²⁵⁹

This must be added to the overwhelming picture of impunity towards UN personnel’s sexual misconduct. Although UN procedures are in place to investigate and prosecute alleged crimes by its personnel, many allegations of sexual abuse are reported to be not fully investigated and the

²⁵⁴ Questionnaire by Anonymous, local staff, UNIFEM, Timor-Leste (Ref: ET-09, 31 May 2007. The interviewee requested anonymity). See also Alola Foundation, *Report on Human Trafficking in East Timor*, 2004, at <http://www.tipinasia.info/files/case/6/3/36/Alola%20Report%202004.pdf> (1 June 2007).

²⁵⁵ UNSCR 1704, S/RES/1704/2006; UNSCR 1745, S/RES/1745/2007.

²⁵⁶ Ospina, 2006, p. 39.

²⁵⁷ Questionnaire by Endie van Binsbergen, FETF, cit.

²⁵⁸ Raven-Roberts, in Mazurana (ed.), 2005, p. 34.

²⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

procedures to be inconsistent, difficult to understand and not open for public review.²⁶⁰

Positive signs were launched by former UNTAET SRSG Sergio Vieira de Mello, who in 2001 took the unprecedented steps of requesting investigations into the allegations of rape of local women and girls by peacekeepers and of asking the SG for permission to try, under East Timor operating judicial procedures, the case of rape of a woman by a Jordanian CivPol.²⁶¹

Only since 2005, however, has the UN started to institutionalise mechanisms and procedures for addressing the cases of sexual abuse by UN peacekeepers. Victims assistance services have been developed within UN agencies and two dedicated telephone lines as well as electronic and physical suggestion boxes have been established within UNMIT to encourage and facilitate women's report of sexual abuse by UN personnel directly to the SRSG.²⁶² "We are here to help a country heal from a trauma and not to perpetuate a trauma," said UNMIT SRSG Atul Khare in June 2007 addressing the accusations of sexual abuse and the use of brothels by UN peacekeepers raised in one article appeared in the *Australian Age* in May 2007.²⁶³ Mr. Khare showed support also on the issue of the "UN babies", affirming that, even where paternity by UN staff is accepted, he insists on the father providing the child support payments.²⁶⁴ To date, however, no precise record exists of the number of these children and neither the OPE nor UNMIT have a clear picture of the situation.

* * *

The overall picture emerging from the UN's eight-year peace endeavours in Timor-Leste is one where gender mainstreaming occupies a rather ambiguous place. This assessment shows that if, on one side, the UN Missions helped lay the basis of the young country's framework for gender equality – establishing a well-designed women's machinery and achieving considerable results in terms of women's formal representation in Parliamentary and local democracy – on the other, the practices and behaviours within the UN Missions' lag far behind formal gender commitments. The pervasive lack of gender awareness among UN staff or of a serious political commitment to

²⁶⁰ La'o Hamutuk, *Bulletin*, n.5, August 2001, at www.laohamutuk.org/Bulletin/2001/Aug/bulletinv2n5.html (2 June 2007).

²⁶¹ Vijaya Joshi, La'o Hamutuk, in *Challenges and Possibilities...*, p. 34.

²⁶² E-mail from UNMIT PIO, Daily Media Review, 5 June 2007.

²⁶³ E-mail from UNMIT PIO, Daily Media Review, 4 June 2007.

²⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

implement the Zero-Tolerance policy on sexual abuse are two of the many revealing signs of the low-priority status of gender within the UN peace operations in Timor-Leste.

The findings of this assessment show also that UN peacekeeping's commitment towards gender tends to be driven mainly by quantitative and formal criteria, while lacking solid commitment and qualitative internal coherence. What is worse is the feeling conveyed by this general picture that the concept of gender mainstreaming and its significance remain largely misunderstood among UN Missions' staff, including key decision-makers. The point is not that "and women" is inserted at appropriate points of UN documents and resolutions, but rather that UN policy-makers understand that ignoring the gender dimension of peace efforts makes it impossible to address conflict resolution seriously.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 2.

CHAPTER 4

Lessons Learned & Recommendations

The overall picture of the gender mainstreaming practices of UN Missions in Timor-Leste highlights many encouraging outcomes as well as many other inappropriate approaches. A systematised view of all the different lessons that can be learned from both the positive and the negative UN gender practices may help to identify specific ways in which the UN can capitalise on the former and elaborate proper responses to the latter.

A first set of lessons can be learned from the UN “internal” mainstreaming of gender, i.e. from the gender mechanisms and policies enacted within the UN Missions’ structures. A second series of lessons needs to be learned from the UN practices and approaches aimed at supporting the establishment of gender mainstreaming mechanisms in Timor-Leste.

For each learned lesson, I suggest a series of concrete actions or recommended approaches that may help improve, in practice, UN gender work in Timor-Leste and render it more forward-looking and sustainable.

4.1 Gender mainstreaming within the UN Missions: a need for internal coherence

4.1.1 Lesson no. 1 – High-level commitment to gender is a precondition for peace

The high-level organisational location of the GAU in UNTAET and the personal commitment of the UNTAET SRSG towards gender equality proved to be critical to GAU’s ability to influence other functional areas of the Mission. “Unfortunately the successive UN Missions did not perform as well,” comments gender consultant Sofi Ospina, adding that “opportunities to advance the gender agenda were lost because of the organisational lack of commitment towards gender.”²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ Questionnaire by Sofi Ospina, Independent Consultant, cit.

➤ ***Recommendation:*** *A solid commitment to gender has to be ensured at the highest management level of UNMIT and DPKO*

➤ UNMIT GAU should be provided with adequate seniority, staffing and budget resources and be automatically renewed in any post-UNMIT Mission in Timor-Leste. Recruitment criteria for GAUs and GFPs shall combine gender expertise with knowledge in peacekeeping/political affairs, to make gender concerns and expertise more likely to be fully incorporated and integrated into all Mission's departmental policies.²⁶⁷ Consideration shall be also given to staff with knowledge of Timorese local society, languages and history and, where possible, to anthropologists and sociologists with the aim of improving local cultural sensitivity to gender policies and programmes. Applications by international and local male gender experts may also be encouraged.

➤ The SG should lead a higher commitment to gender and conflict in Timor-Leste. His reports to the SC on the country should contain more substantive gender analysis which not only looks at the impact of conflict on women but also addresses the gendered causes of its violence. The SG should address specific recommendations to the Timor-Leste government calling for an enhanced participation of women in the security sector. Further, he may consider the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Gender and Conflicts to analyse gender implications of the current crisis in Timor-Leste and make concrete recommendations for a more consistent inclusion of women in peacebuilding and security reform.

➤ The SG should urge Timor-Leste and all UN member states to develop a NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. As affirms International Alert Programme Officer for Gender, Karen Barnes, "the NAP generates a process of consultation between different actors at the national level and constitutes an effective way to link UNSCR 1325 with national priorities and strategies."²⁶⁸ As of today, only five UN member states have developed a NAP: the United Kingdom (UK), Norway, Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark; Colombia, Canada, and Fiji have developed or are in the process of adopting similar national mechanisms.²⁶⁹ In urging all remaining member states to follow the example of these countries, the SG may emphasise that the development of a NAP is particularly crucial to

²⁶⁷ The GA in DPKO HQ is currently housed in the PBPS.

²⁶⁸ Speech at the Conference *Roadmap to 1325*, 2007, cit.

²⁶⁹ The NAPs 1325 can be found at <http://www.peacewomen.org/national/> (25 May 2007).

the credibility of those countries providing help and assistance to conflict and post-conflict areas. As Safaa Elagib Adam, GEST Leader to the Darfur peace negotiations in 2005, explained to an international audience about peace assistance to Sudan: “without engendering your processes, you cannot help us.”²⁷⁰

➤ In parallel, the SG may charge the Task Force on Women, Peace and Security of the Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) with the task of developing a UN system-wide Implementation Action Plan of UNSCR 1325 and enhance reporting and monitoring efforts within the UN system by requiring member states to present annual reports on national implementation of the Resolution.

4.1.2 Lesson no. 2 – Women’s presence in peace operations is beneficial to local women

The presence of women in UN Missions in Timor-Leste produced positive effects on local women, building trust between the UN and the local female population and enhancing local women’s participation and leadership. Experiences from UN peace Missions in other countries support this reality: a critical mass of women in UN peacekeeping Missions has led women in host countries to be mobilised through a positive demonstration effect.²⁷¹ The deployment of an all-female Indian police contingent to Liberia in early 2007 – the first all-women contingent ever deployed by the UN – is a revealing example.²⁷²

Previous research also shows that those UN Missions which had a more gender-balanced composition – like Guatemala, Namibia and South Africa – appeared to have been more effective than Missions where few women were involved.²⁷³ “The presence of more women can actually help dilute a macho approach to peacekeeping,”²⁷⁴ argues DPKO/GA Comfort Lamprey.

²⁷⁰ Elagib Adam, see note 78.

²⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

²⁷² Brown, *Presence of Indian Policewomen Encouraged Liberian Women to Report Assaults*, ABC News, 16 May 2007, at <http://www.topix.net/world/liberia/2007/05/presence-of-indian-policewomen-has-encouraged-liberian-women-to-report-assault-rapes> (2 June 2007).

²⁷³ Gierycz, in Skjelsbæk & Smith (eds.), 2001, p. 27.

²⁷⁴ Quoted in Shoetzau, 2007, cit.

- ***Recommendation:*** *The UN shall appoint a critical mass of women in peace operations in Timor-Leste*
- UN TCC to Timor-Leste should favour the appointment of a consistent number of female personnel, including in leadership positions, in their contingents currently deployed in the country. UN member states, together with DPKO and UN Volunteers (UNV), shall encourage the recruitment of a more consistent number of women in UNMIT civilian components, including in high-level managerial positions.
- The SG may consider appointing a woman SRSG in UNMIT after Athul Khare's current mandate expires, and take appropriate steps to ensure a consistent appointment of women in other high-level management positions.

4.1.3 Lesson no. 3 – Sexual abuse by peacekeepers hinders the return to peace

Sexual abuse and misconduct by UN peacekeepers are criminal acts whose devastating cultural and political effects must be considered. They often cause the rejection of women by their families after they are abused or left alone with a baby fathered by a UN peacekeeper; further, they serve to reinforce the view of some sectors of society that the UN presence is conducive to the moral decline of local people. Moreover, feeding the economy of exploitation of women and girls that legitimises their subordination in society, this sexual abuse hinders Timor-Leste's return to real peace and security.

- ***Recommendation:*** *UNMIT and TCC shall ensure a full implementation of the Zero-Tolerance policy on sexual abuse in Timor-Leste*
- UNMIT GA should work with local and UNMIT media to ensure the local population is well-informed about how UN staff is expected to behave and how to report misconduct. Additionally, in cooperation with the SRSG, the GA shall send strong messages to PKF and TCC emphasising the importance of in-mission compliance with codes of conduct and

stressing that all international forces and staff serving in Timor-Leste are bound by international human rights law.

➤ UNMIT shall take steps to ensure proper investigation of past allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse by UN personnel in Timor-Leste and to bring perpetrators to justice. The status of the procedures must be transparent and open for review by the population. Where necessary, TCC shall lift their troops' immunity against prosecution for their crimes and ensure a complete process of justice to the accused. It is the responsibility of DPKO and/or the SG to verify whether the countries in question do not fulfil this responsibility, in which case DPKO shall reject their participation in future peacekeeping Missions.

➤ UNMIT shall clarify the situation regarding the "UN babies" in Timor-Leste who have been left without support by UN peacekeepers and maintain, in partnership with local CSOs, an official record of their number. UNMIT, in cooperation with TCCs, should also make efforts to identify the fathers and ensure they fulfil their obligations towards their child and the mother. Should this identification not be possible, UNMIT may consider offering special financial assistance, from its emergency fund, to these abandoned Timorese mothers.

4.1.4 Lesson no. 4 – No gender equality without gender awareness

The low priority status of gender training in UN Mission is reported to have led to a lack of gender awareness among the majority of UNTAET and UNMISSET staff, which restricted the attempt to establish more gender-sensitive policies and programmes across functional areas.²⁷⁵

➤ ***Recommendation:*** *UNMIT should upgrade the status and the quality of gender awareness trainings*

➤ DPKO should ensure that no military or civilian personnel is deployed to Timor-Leste unless they are able to prove the successful completion of a pre-deployment gender training of a duration not less than a minimum of three days.²⁷⁶ To ensure staff compliance with this

²⁷⁵ Ospina, 2006, p. 27.

²⁷⁶ Lesley Abdela, Senior Partner, Shevolution, speech at the *Fourth Annual Day of the UN Peacekeepers*, 2007, cit.

condition, the training should be included as a term in DPKO contracts and in the criteria of UN staff career appraisal system. To ensure the high-quality of the trainings, DPKO may undertake regular visits to national peacekeeping training centres to review the application of DPKO gender training standards. The establishment of an independent monitoring mechanism for gender training at the national level, to be monitored in cooperation with women's organisations, may further increase quality standards.

➤ In-mission compulsory gender trainings of a minimum duration of three days shall be provided by UNMIT GAU to all international staff, both civilian and military, of all grades upon arrival; follow-up sessions shall be ensured every month and include a compulsory final test. The content of gender trainings should go beyond a general introduction to gender and instil in participants an in-depth understanding of the relevance of gender in all programmes of the Mission. Trainings must put a special emphasis on the strict prohibition of sexual misconduct by UN staff by stressing the devastating consequences on the local social and political system.

➤ Sessions have to explain the intricacies of local cultural realities and the need to abandon simplistic stereotypes often associated with women in post-conflict areas, such as “women-are-vulnerable”. The appointment of local women as trainers may improve the quality of trainings and the inclusion of 30% of women in every session would ensure a better exchange among the participants. The GA should also ensure that a gender perspective is integrated into all other skills-development trainings – such as first aid courses, crisis management, HIV/AIDS awareness etc. – regularly provided by UNMIT Training Unit to local and international staff.

4.1.5 Lesson no. 5 – UN dominant approach disempowers grassroots initiatives

The UN mainstream feminist approach in the culturally-complex context of Timor-Leste has resulted in an over-emphasis of women's formal rights and in a reduced attention to grassroots needs and suggestions. It has also led the UN to adopt a top-down approach to Timorese reality, which is likely to negatively impact the locals' perception of the organisation and, ultimately, the sustainability of its gender work in the country.

The locals have to be able to appreciate how concepts such as “women’s empowerment” and “gender equality” concretely relate to their daily lives and can improve the lives of both women and men in their communities. The fact that a large majority of UN international staff, including interviewees, does not speak any of the most common languages of Timor-Leste further hinders this understanding, as well as the appreciation of the local culture and the establishment of a good-quality communication with the local counterparts.

➤ ***Recommendation:*** *The UN should reverse its top-down approach and ensure local ownership*

➤ UNMIT GAU should acknowledge and value the variety of women’s voices, necessities and approaches existing in Timor-Leste. This implies strengthening partnership not only with the women’s groups echoing western methods of emancipation, but also with smaller groups at the grassroots level, including in rural areas, defined by a less-dominating understanding on gender. Only those UN-sponsored gender programmes which can demonstrate that they have been agreed to or developed with a wide range of organisations at the grassroots level should proceed to the implementation phase.

➤ In its interaction with this diversified group of women’s groups, UNMIT GA should prove able to “localise” its gender policies and programmes, e.g. not assume human rights culture and gender equality as “self-evident” concepts but rather ensure a more receptive attitude towards grassroots inputs and provide a permanent cultural “translation” of international human rights language concepts into local experiences. The integration, in the design, management and monitoring of UN-led or sponsored policies of a higher number of local experts may prove useful in introducing “cultural equivalents” and enhancing local ownership.

➤ UN personnel must be aware that the above-described process of “localisation” is a slow and gradual one. This implies an understanding attitude from UN staff, who shall “listen and be patient.”²⁷⁷ As a young Timorese living in Portugal says, “when you move into the sphere of custom, you move into a different world, one which changes very slowly.

²⁷⁷ Questionnaire by R. J., Legal Consultant, Ministry of Justice, Timor-Leste (Ref: INT-09, 4 June 2007. The interviewee requested anonymity).

We simply cannot overthrow customary society all at once. It has to be changed very sensitively and very gradually.”²⁷⁸

➤ UNMIT may provide free language courses in Tetum, Portuguese and Bahasa Indonesia²⁷⁹ to Timor-Leste-based international staff and set a basic compulsory exam for all Mission staff after their first six months of service. Basic knowledge of local languages would improve communication with the Timorese population and promote a mutually reinforcing work relationship between the UN and their local colleagues.

4.2 Gender mainstreaming in Timor-Leste: tackling the root-causes of inequality

4.2.1 Lesson no. 6 – UNSC Res. 1325 is a crucial advocacy tool for women

UNSCR 1325 is unknown to most local interviewees, including government officials and representatives of women groups. Most of them, however, are supportive of the idea that a greater awareness of UNSCR 1325 among Timorese society may help people and organisations to strongly advocate its implementation.²⁸⁰

“The NAP is not a tool for rich countries only,”²⁸¹ emphasises Any Barrow from WILPF, Women Peace and Security Working Group. Nor is it a tool for peaceful countries only, as shown the example of Colombia, a country in conflict and particularly dedicated to implementation of Resolution 1325. The NAP would be a crucial tool for laying the basis of a peace-oriented and gender-sensitive culture in Timor-Leste.

²⁷⁸ Quoted in Carey, in Rodrigues & Wharton (eds.), 2002, pp. 264-265.

²⁷⁹ Bahasa is the most spoken language beside the official languages, Tetum and Portuguese.

²⁸⁰ Questionnaire by Anonymous, women’s NGO Feto Kiik Servisu Hamutuk (Ref: ET-12, 26 June 2007. The interviewee requested anonymity).

²⁸¹ Speech at the Conference *Roadmap to 1325*, 2007, cit.

➤ **Recommendation:** *UNMIT should assist Timor-Leste in developing a 1325 NAP*

➤ UNMIT GA, in cooperation with local and international NGOs and “Friends of 1325”,²⁸² should support the OPE in the development of a Timor-Leste NAP on UNSCR 1325 setting monitoring, evaluation and accountability mechanisms for the implementation of the Resolution, as well as public education strategies. The NAP must focus on a few realistic priorities, clear concrete policy actions and key outcomes. A clear institutional mechanism is needed to underpin its implementation, such as an inter-governmental working group bringing together the OPE and the Timor-Leste Ministries of Education, Social Affairs and the future Ministry of Defence. The NAP should also be a living document, to be regularly updated to include changes and inputs emerging from national consultations, including Parliamentary debates and civil society fora.

➤ UNMIT GAU, in cooperation with OPE, the SRSG, UNMIT PIO and local CSOs, should develop a country-wide strategy for public education on UNSCR 1325 and the (future) Timor-Leste NAP. Versions of UNSCR 1325 in Tetum, Portuguese and Bahasa Indonesia²⁸³ shall be distributed to CSOs, government bodies, PNTL, FDTL and civil society at large, and consistent training on UNSCR 1325 shall be provided to national and international policymakers and local leaders at the grassroots level.

➤ UN Member States should make national development aid assistance conditional to the implementation, by Timor-Leste, of UNSCR 1325 along with the respect of the country’s obligation under international human rights law. They may also make receiving aid agencies dependant on their demonstrable gender sensitivity and expertise.

4.2.2 Lesson no. 7 – Numbers are important: women’s political participation is an avenue for equality

“The peace we all look for is the conquest of decision-making for all. It is necessary that the decision taken, both in the family and in the government are shared and participated by all. When

²⁸² A voluntary group of 27 UN member states identifying as advocates for implementation of UNSCR 1325, at www.peacewomen.org/un/UN1325/whoswho_un.html#Friends1325 (27 May 2007).

²⁸³ Tetum and Bahasa versions of UNSCR 1325 are available at www.peacewomen.org/1325inTranslation/ (29 May 2007).

this happens, we will see a signal of peace” says the former GA to the Prime Minister, Maria Domingas Alves.²⁸⁴ 2001 UN-led skills and confidence-building trainings for women candidates proved constructive, often even beyond the goal of getting women participants elected. As ex-UNTAET GAU Head Sherrill Whittington explains, female participants in the workshops “turned back to their towns and ran voters education workshops for women. They were preparing a new generation of women to vote and to run for office.”²⁸⁵

Women’s participation in local democracy appeared to be particularly effective in amplifying women’s voices at the grassroots level.

- ***Recommendation:*** UNMIT should further encourage women’s presence in decision-making
 - UNMIT should ensure that the quota system of a 25% target for women’s inclusion in winnable positions on political parties’ lists, introduced prior to the 2007 legislative elections, is maintained in future electoral consultations. A higher numerical target may be also considered, through the adoption, e.g., of a 40/40 rule for parliamentary elections, according to which no sex should have more than 60 percent representation, whether in Parliament or on party lists.²⁸⁶
 - UNMIT should continue the organisation of public campaigns promoting increased women’s participation in political parties as well as leadership and confidence-building trainings in all districts for women candidates and polling staff training. Women’s voter education too shall be continued, to empower women to vote according to their conscience, and not to their husband’s wishes or traditional party allegiance. Campaigns and trainings should also encourage women to support those parties with a large percentage of women on the party slate. The experience of the women’s Caucus, engaging women at the village (*aldeia*) level, may be continued as an effective way to enhance grassroots perspectives and it could serve as a model for other UN Missions charged with running elections.
 - Following the numerical results of June 2007 elections, UNMIT should support the new Parliament in being more receptive than its predecessor to a real integration of a gender-perspective. Mechanisms need to be explored on how to keep the

²⁸⁴ Amal, 2006, p. 143.

²⁸⁵ Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002, p. 85.

²⁸⁶ Lesley Abdela, see note 276.

representative/voter relationship after the elections, in order to hold women candidates accountable. All-women discussion fora, including women's groups and Parliamentarians, may strengthen the link between elected women and their electorate and also favour women's unity beyond political party lines, generational incomprehension and interpersonal/inter-family rivalries.

➤ UNMIT should support initiatives aimed at promoting an increased number women in decision-making positions within the ETPA, PNTL and TLDF through targeted promotion programmes. The Mission may also consider promoting fast-track educational programmes for women in the attempt to bridge the educational gap that sometimes excludes women, statistically less likely to be educated than men in Timor-Leste,²⁸⁷ from being appointed to a wide range of positions in the country.

4.2.3 Lesson no. 8 – Numbers are not enough if the root-causes of inequality are not defied

The case of Timor-Leste shows that UN gender mainstreaming is not effective unless it includes a strong political commitment to challenge local patriarchal, centralised, and hierarchical societal patterns. UN Missions' efforts to combat GBV in Timor-Leste have rarely involved men directly or addressed the construction of masculinity models in the local society. Moreover, the UN's attempts to deal with the security crisis which erupted in April-May 2006 have so far failed to take into account the gender aspects of the crisis and have included only limited efforts to involve women in peacebuilding and security reform.

➤ ***Recommendation:*** *UN must tackle the gender constructs underlying GBV and involve women in the security sector reform*

➤ Fighting against GBV, particularly domestic violence, must be a priority of UNMIT gender work. Gender trainings for police on GBV investigation and report should be continued. A well-functioning VPU with proper staffing and capacity should be the starting

²⁸⁷ On 28 June 2007, the national alphabetisation day, former Timor-Leste Prime Minister Estanislau da Silva affirmed illiteracy for women is higher than for men, reaching 60%. MERCOSUL-CPLP, *Analfabetismo è Herança Que Temos de Ultrapassar* at <http://mercosulcplp.blogspot.com/2007/06/timor-lesteanalfabetismo-herana-que.html> (1 July 2007).

point for an upgrading of the quality of investigations of GBV. More generally, UNMIT GAU, in cooperation with HRU and CSOs, should renew its efforts to promote a community-oriented culture of policing opposed to the everyday nature of violence. The creation of discussion fora for women's groups and police officers would help fostering this paradigm shift.

➤ UNMIT and UN agencies should strengthen their cooperation with local men's associations like AMKV and promote strategies to engage wider sectors of the male population in a public debate on GBV and domestic violence in Timor-Leste. UNMIT GAU should also increase its support for projects on men's violence management and facilitate meetings at the village level with village chiefs, women, CSOs and men's associations, in order to reach a common understanding on how to preserve Timorese traditional culture and customs in a way which is compatible with the end of violence in the home.

➤ Interviews with local women and men reveal that the education and counselling of children and youth in a way that "promotes the values of equality" should deserve increased attention by the UN in Timor-Leste.²⁸⁸ UNMIT and the UN agencies may, e.g., consider initiating pilot projects involving families and teachers aimed at developing alternative educational models for children, shaped on non violent disciplinary behaviour,²⁸⁹ as well as non-dominant models of masculinity and non-submissive models of femininity.

➤ UNMIT should help the Timor-Leste government to implement gender-responsive support programmes for former-combatants, according to the recent advances in UN policy on gender and DDR, and address the specific needs of female former combatants who have not been beneficiaries of previous DDR programmes. A programme to promote the recruitment, promotion and retention of female officers in PNTL and TLDF through gender-sensitive conditions of service should also be considered as a matter of urgency.

➤ UNMIT shall endorse local women's call for a higher involvement of women in the current security sector reform.²⁹⁰ This may be done through "civic fora" bringing together

²⁸⁸ Questionnaire by Felix de Jesus, President of the Timorese Academics Association, Coimbra, Portugal (Ref: ET-08, 26 May 2007).

²⁸⁹ UNICEF Timor-Leste, *Peacebuilding: What Women and Young People Can Do*, 2007, p. 46, at http://www.unicef.org/eapro/TLS_magazine_jan07.pdf (3 July 2007).

²⁹⁰ Dias, *El Papel de las Mujeres en la Consolidación de la Paz*, 26 October 2006, at www.iccnw.org/documents/WomenPeaceSecurity_26Oct06_sp.pdf (13 June 2007).

national stakeholders, women's organisations and the local population in all districts, as part of an inclusive consultative process. Further, UNMIT should exert influence on the government to endorse Timorese women's proposals for a major involvement of women in the disarmament of civilians,²⁹¹ to initiate a programme of civic education on civil-military-police relations and to institute mechanisms instituting a civilian monitoring of the army. UNMIT may also urge the Timor-Leste government to increase funds for civilian crisis prevention and management at the expense of the armament and defence budget.

➤ UNMIT should ensure that the participation of women in the security sector receive specific and adequate attention in the International Compact, a cooperation mechanism being established, at the time of writing, by the international community and the Timor-Leste government with the purpose of ensuring shared coordinated efforts to address the array of problems contributing to last year's crisis.²⁹² Timor-Leste's government may also require the UN Peace Building Commission (PBC)²⁹³ to deal with the case of Timor-Leste, parallel to its current engagement in Sierra Leone and Burundi.²⁹⁴ As an inter-governmental advisory body mandated to propose strategies for the transition from the military to the long-term peacebuilding phase in post-conflict countries, the BPC could enhance the involvement of women and women's organisations in the security sector and in conflict mediation strategies at the national level.

➤ The UN must also regard the need to address women's pressing basic needs – lack of shelter, drinking water, adequate food, quality education – as a precondition for their actual participation in the country's institutions and peace process. This approach pays attention to the principle of the interdependence of human rights: a minimum level of economic, social and cultural rights that can truly enable women to enjoy that participation. It also recognises that women's choices and opportunities in Timor-Leste's post-conflict situation are not determined solely by their gender, but also by factors of poverty, ethnicity, geography and political culture.

²⁹¹ Rede, 2006, cit. This measure was also proposed by a number of local women interviewees.

²⁹² For an overview of the project see <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/db900SID/EKOI-73B2HD?OpenDocument> (1 July 2007).

²⁹³ The PBC was established by UNSCR 1645, S/RES/1645/2005.

²⁹⁴ In 2006 Timor-Leste was said to be high on the list of countries the PBC would consider to deal with in the near future. See Gaspar Martins, PBC Standing Committee Chair, *New UN Peacebuilding Commission Likely to Cast Eye on East Timor*, at http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0XPQ/is_2006_June_26/ai_n16499960 (3 June 2006).

4.2.4 Lesson no. 9 – There is no peace without justice

It is widespread opinion in the country that neither the UN, nor Indonesia, nor Timor-Leste have mustered the political will needed to achieve accountability for the crimes committed in Timor-Leste during the Indonesian occupation, including crimes against women. The SG is claimed by local CSOs to have offered “only modest proposals” for dealing with crimes committed in 1999 and to ignore pre-1999 crimes entirely.²⁹⁵ A more substantial commitment by the UN on justice and reconciliation is perceived by local CSOs as a premise to its efforts to heal the present social unrest in Timor-Leste. “This de facto impunity has an impact on Timor-Leste today, contributing to the current security crisis,”²⁹⁶ says J. M. Miller, East Timor and Indonesia Action Network (ETAN) National Co-ordinator.

➤ ***Recommendation:*** *UN shall support Timor-Leste in addressing impunity and in fostering reconciliation*

➤ The UN shall remain seized of the matter of justice for crimes against humanity in Timor-Leste for as long as necessary. The UN shall be prepared to institute an International Tribunal for Timor-Leste, pursuant to Chapter VII of the UN Charter, to end impunity for the crimes against humanity committed between 1975 and 1999, should other measures fail to deliver a sufficient measure of justice and should Indonesia persists in the obstruction of justice.

➤ Following the recommendations outlined in its report, UN TCC (including Permanent Members of the SC) who gave military and political backing to the Indonesian government between 1974 and 1999 shall assist Timor-Leste in the provision of reparations to victims of human rights violations suffered during the Indonesian occupation.²⁹⁷ To this end, a UN solidarity fund should be established to finance a community restoration programme for victims of serious crimes, including women.

²⁹⁵ ETAN, *Rights Groups Call UN Proposals on Justice for Timor-Leste “Inadequate,”* at <http://www.etan.org/news/2006/08unjust.htm> (3 June 2007).

²⁹⁶ *Ibidem.*

²⁹⁷ CAVR, 2006, p. 159.

- UNMIT should ensure a wide circulation of the CAVR *Chega!* Report and assist Timor-Leste society in initiating a national dialogue on reconciliation, so far not appropriately addressed either by the UN or the government. UNMIT should also ensure a proper monitoring of the Truth and Friendships Commission (CTF), established by Indonesian and Timor-Leste Presidents in 2005 to investigate the violence occurred in 1999 and to help repair the relations between the two nations. UNMIT should ensure that the CTF integrates a gender perspective and is permitted to act independently and objectively.

- UNMIT should give the psycho-social dimension of peacebuilding and post-conflict rehabilitation a higher priority, especially with regards to women.²⁹⁸ This would mean, for example, that UNMIT strengthens its financial and organisational assistance to the Working Group for Victim Support as well as to those other organisations, including women's groups, mandated by the CAVR to devise and oversee policies regarding the psychological support of victims.²⁹⁹

- UNMIT should support Timor-Leste Ministry of Education in developing educational resources that enhance the recognition of the role of women in Timor-Leste history. The Mission could assist a review of school curricula in a way that promotes a culture of non-violence and acknowledges the diverse contributions of women involved in the Resistance, both internally and in the diaspora. Additional ways of documenting women's past contributions, present challenges and potential role in the country's future may also be developed.³⁰⁰ "I hope women will be recognized as historical subjects and full part of the past, the present and the future," says Tereza Cunha.³⁰¹

- UNMIT should upgrade its efforts to improve the quality of the justice system in Timor-Leste so to make it more accessible by victims, including women, and more imbued with a human rights culture. UNMIT GA and HRU should continue to coordinate consistent training of judges and prosecutors on GBV, domestic violence and women's rights, and increase the involvement of women's groups and local gender experts. They should also make efforts to ensure expedition of hearings and prevent delayed justice and further hardship to victims, especially women. The establishment of a small advisory Justice Team

²⁹⁸ Dias, 2006, cit.

²⁹⁹ CAVR, 2006, p. 36.

³⁰⁰ CAVR, 2006, p. 169.

³⁰¹ Questionnaire by Tereza Cunha, Coimbra University, cit.

may prove useful to advise on assistance needed for the overall development of the judicial system, particularly on gender justice.³⁰²

➤ UNMIT should explore ways to initiate a justice reform process that builds on the positive elements of the formal and the traditional systems. If it remains imperative for the UN to combat those traditional practices in Timor-Leste that are harmful to women, it is equally important that it evaluates how this can be done in a way that is acceptable and meaningful for the society at large. In this context, UNMIT Human Rights and Transitional Justice Office should continue to work with traditional justice experts, local authorities and women's organisations in looking at ways to make the traditional system compliant with international human rights standards.

4.2.5 Lesson no. 10 – The lack of prevention undermines sustainability

The lack of carefully-planned exit strategies has led to badly-managed transfers of responsibility from UN Missions to international partners, affecting local ownership and, ultimately, sustainability. Coordination mechanisms previously established among UN agencies, like the UNCGG, did not prove effective and did not include other major donors and CSOs.

➤ ***Recommendation:*** *UN should create conditions for sustainability and invest in prevention*

➤ UNMIT – the very name of which indicates that the Mission is supposed to “integrate” the work of all UN agencies in Timor-Leste – should ensure that a long-term perspective is developed with UN agencies according to their specific competences and based on OPE's strategic planning.³⁰³ A well-working coordination mechanism among UN agencies, as well as with Timor-Leste government, bilateral and multilateral donors and NGOs, should be able to enhance synergy among all the actors while avoiding overlap and political infighting.

³⁰² UNSG, 2006, cit., Para 90.

³⁰³ Questionnaire by Sofi Ospina, Independent Consultant, cit.

➤ UNMIT GA shall ensure that a carefully planned exit/transfer strategy for gender is developed in advance of UNMIT's future withdrawal from Timor-Lest and in coherence with the Mission's overall exit strategy. The gender exit strategy must make sure that all institutional memory, including monitoring, evaluation and accountability mechanisms, reporting, and records, are passed over to the main successor body or bodies to ensure continuity and consistency. The strategy may also include priority areas requiring special attention and shall identify partners – local or international – suitable to take-over UNMIT's unachieved programmes and policies.

CONCLUSIONS

Mission accomplished?

The main teaching I have drawn from the adoption of a gendered approach to war and peace is that the only way to start resolving conflicts and building sustainable peace is to take gender seriously. Doing this means realising that the threats to peace are often generated in gender relations and that gender relations shape the dynamics of every place of human interaction, from the household to the international arena. It also means understanding that unless women and men are equal agents in these relations – peace cannot exist.

I believe that UN peace Missions are uniquely placed to undertake a primary role for transforming post-war societies. To effectively do so, they too have to take women and gender seriously. My method of investigation while analysing the case of UN peace endeavours in Timor-Leste has been to continually pose the question: “Where are the women?” In the complex gender context of this post-colonial and post-conflict region, UN tools and approaches have often revealed their limits in giving women due relevance, visibility and worth.

In Chapter 4 “Lesson Learned and Recommendations”, I have tried to put forward some concrete suggestions for making the UN gender approach in Timor-Leste more comprehensive and forward-looking. Although based on the case study of Timor-Leste, some of these recommendations are applicable to the UN peacekeeping establishment as a whole and refer to what appears to be a pervasive “UN peacekeeping mentality”, visible in official documents and declarations as well as in attitudes and behaviours on the field.³⁰⁴ Consequently, a large part of these recommendations could be applied to most UN peacekeeping and peace-building Missions around the world.

However, I believe that no solution put forward by the UN and its Missions will prove far-reaching unless a few profound and crucial paradigmatic shifts happen *within* the organisation itself.

- A first conceptual shift regards the need for the UN to render its peacekeeping western-oriented approaches and models more receptive and permeable to influences from other actors, practices and discourses – both local and international. Often moulded on democratic political models and liberal

³⁰⁴ My eighteen-months experience as Coordination/Standards Monitoring Officer in the UN Interim Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in 2006-2007 gave me the opportunity to observe many of the inconsistencies and behaviours criticised in this thesis.

economic priorities, DPKO's approach in third countries shows the prevalence of "sedimented canons of western democracies."³⁰⁵ "DPKO is the new IMF,"³⁰⁶ comments bluntly Professor Paul Collier, explaining that in a large number of developing countries UN peace Missions are perceived as imposing western-centric policy changes and, for this reason, as powerful threats to national sovereignty. Also in the field of gender, UN mainstream western-oriented models are often threatening to local less-dominant discourses and practices. In Timor-Leste, it is for the local people, and not the UN Missions, to mobilise their own culture for laying the basis for gender equal relations. Therefore, the UN Mission should transform the mainstream cosmopolitanism of its gender policies into a cosmopolitanism "of proximity", more receptive to local needs, skills and solutions.

A diversification of discourses and approaches may also come from the integration, by UN DPKO, of practices of other international organisations involved in peace efforts in post-conflict contexts. One example is the Organisation for the Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Its early-warning system and its *Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality*, both showing that conflict prevention and non-military Missions can succeed only if the gender dimension of the local population and of the Missions themselves are sufficiently taken into account, may prove inspirational to the development of UN prevention-oriented operating procedures. A continuous consultation also with other international and regional partners, like the European Union, the African Union and the Organisation of American States, may build synergy and coherence in gender-responsive peacekeeping policy around the globe, and spark innovative and cross-organisational developments.

- The second paradigm shift involves the transformation of peacekeeping from a military to a non-violent nature. "We tell peacekeepers to be sensitive to other cultural norms, customs, and behaviours when they themselves are saturated in one of the most pervasive and powerful, masculinised professional cultures in the world. This contradiction remains a stumbling block,"³⁰⁷ says Mackay. I agree with her view: the more militarised the peace operation, the greater the likelihood of weakening the chance of incorporating a gender perspective in the peace process. On one hand, peacekeeping itself is ever more used to justify increased military spending by militaries and defence departments, including by some of the leading TCC.³⁰⁸ On the other, weapons-dependent peacekeeping is likely to reinforce a weapons-dependent mentality in the post-war

³⁰⁵ Moura, 2004, p. 88.

³⁰⁶ Prof. Collier, Folke Bernadotte Memorial Lecture, *Fourth Annual Day of the UN Peacekeepers*, 2007, cit.

³⁰⁷ Mackay, in Mazurana (ed.), 2005, p. 278.

³⁰⁸ Raven-Roberts, *ibidem*, p. 38.

society (as well as in the TCC), which is likely to promote a “vicious cycle” of violence and hence lose the chance to build a decisive momentum for peace.

Timor-Leste shows warning signs in this sense. As youth gangs’ armed violence on the streets does not diminish and last year’s security crisis keeps causing social unrest, Australia and other TTC increase their military contingents on the island and the Timorese authorities announce their plan to give free rein to military heads to spend national revenues from oil and gas fields on armaments.³⁰⁹ While it remains to be seen how directly these events are related, what is evident is that they do not announce an incumbent impetus for peace in the country. Where are the women? Not in the security sector nor taking decisions on the future of the national security forces. On the contrary, Timor’s spending of its scarce resources on arms is likely to water down good governance standards³¹⁰ and encourage a self-legitimising system of violence where women will probably be among the oppressed.

Therefore, while militaries do play necessary and important roles in peacekeeping operations, the militarisation of peace both in peace-making and in peacebuilding should be viewed as neither natural nor inevitable. Rather, such developments should be closely monitored and continuously scrutinised by the UN, with the aim of increasingly promoting a model of a peacekeeping commitment to non-violence and a weapons-free security. Accordingly, DPKO should give the psycho-social dimension of peacebuilding and post-conflict rehabilitation higher relevance than that of the military and security.

- The third shift regards the replacement of the current gender rhetorics in the UN by a strong “institutional courage” towards gender, in particular in UN bodies and departments directly involved in the design of peace Missions. This consists of the capacity to “raise gender issues when a sense of urgency pervades the room.”³¹¹ UN analytical explorations of conflict and post-conflict situations still tend to give prevalence to those issues regarded as “burning” and crucial, those being oil, weapons technology or security reforms. The gender dimension of these issues is largely disregarded and other issues such as women’s rights and gender concerns in post-conflict zones are still too often considered of accessory importance and treated as an afterthought. These assumptions are not to be taken lightly as they act as effective “silencers” of women’s perspectives, needs and potential.³¹² They must rather be analysed as conscious political choices, focusing on the effects of conflicts while failing to tackle the tap roots of oppression.

³⁰⁹ The Australian, 14 June 2007, E-mail from UNMIT PIO, Daily Media Review, 14 June 2007.

³¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹¹ Enloe, in Mazurana (ed.), 2005, p. 283.

³¹² *Ibidem*, p. 281.

Says the former Head of UNTAET GAU: “The primary challenge in a UN peace Mission is to overcome the view that gender and human rights are ‘soft’ issues that take resources away from the ‘core’ functions of the Mission’s mandate, such as establishing a judiciary or a power authority.”³¹³ The case of Timor-Leste shows that when gender is not a priority in peacekeeping efforts, these very efforts risk maintaining and reproducing at least a part of the dynamics which are at the very origin of the conflicts the UN aims to overcome. The questions we have to raise are therefore: does the UN gender approach contain paradoxes and stereotypes which may legitimate a return to the pre-war subordination of women? Without a serious effort to empower women and to mainstream a gender perspective in all spheres of state and society, “will post-war be patriarchal?”³¹⁴ The answer to these questions risks remaining positive until the gap is filled between UN’s rhetoric and formal commitments towards gender mainstreaming and their serious implementation.

In my mind, these paradigmatic shifts would lead the UN to perform peacekeeping in a way that embodies the feminist concepts of power, security and peace discussed in the first part of this thesis. In the definition given by a group of Mozambican women, “power is doing things to help people, is collective work, is asking for opinions before taking action.”³¹⁵ If it exerted power in this participatory way, UN peacekeeping would transcend the logic of military security and begin the process towards the construction of a “positive”, holistic peace capable of “expelling war from history.”³¹⁶

To conclude, I believe that the UN can do good things for gender equality and peace in Timor-Leste and elsewhere, but it can also do damage if it fails to acknowledge the first as a prerequisite for the second. With this work, I have attempted to document some of these inconsistencies and suggest that we all need to be willing to disturb the indifference surrounding gender in those rooms where silence gives consent to unequal human conditions.

³¹³ At www.womenwarpeace.org/toolbox/untaet.doc (28 May 2007).

³¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 283.

³¹⁵ Osório, 2003, p. 361.

³¹⁶ “Let’s expel war from history” is the motto of the Women in Black, Magallón, 2006 (a), p. 84.

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EVENTS ATTENDED

Roadmap to 1325. Gender in the European Union's Peace and Security Policy, organised by the Feminist Institute in the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, Germany, 4-6 May 2007.

Fourth Annual International Day of United Nations Peacekeepers, organised by the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), London, UK, 23 May 2007.

* * *

All translations from Spanish, Portuguese and French into English of quotations from books, articles and reports are by Laura Pasquero.

Annexes

Annex 1: Questionnaires

Questionário sobre Género, Guerra, Paz em Timor-Leste* *Questionnaire on Gender, War, Peace*

(Versão portuguesa, *English version below*)

Caro amigo/a,

Agradeço a sua disponibilidade para responder ao presente questionário sobre Género e Paz em Timor-Leste. Este questionário é um dos principais instrumentos de pesquisa para a minha tese de mestrado intitulada “Género, Guerra, Paz. O *Mainstreaming* das Perspectivas sobre Género em Processos de Paz”. Estou a trabalhar na pesquisa para a minha tese em Portugal, como estudante da Universidade de Coimbra, integrada no Programa de Mestrado Europeu (E.MA) em Direitos Humanos e Democratização.

O trabalho da minha tese constitui uma tentativa pessoal de adoptar uma abordagem das problemáticas relacionadas com o género no contexto de guerra, conflitos armados e esforços de paz. Um dos meus principais objectivos consiste em olhar para as perspectivas sobre género e a sua uniformização como instrumentos essenciais para a construção de uma paz sustentável e prevenir futuras eclosões de violência e de guerras. No decurso da minha tese procuro provar que as operações de paz e os processos de paz que não tomam em consideração as questões de género e as estruturas de poder que as condicionam, comprometem o retorno a uma paz verdadeira, não apenas para as mulheres mas para a sociedade em geral.

Com este objectivo em mente, com a sua ajuda e suas sugestões, proponho-me a desenvolver um quadro conceptual que estimule o processo de paz em Timor-Leste. As suas respostas ao presente questionário são de grande importância para a realização da minha tese pois permitem-me ter uma melhor compreensão dos problemas reais em Timor-Leste e incorporar as actuais opiniões, desejos e necessidades dos Timorenses e pessoal internacional trabalhando em Timor-Leste. As suas respostas não precisam de ser longas ou elaboradas, sendo as respostas simples e directas igualmente úteis.

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e, por favor, não hesite em contactar-me para algum esclarecimento adicional ou troca de impressões sobre estes tópicos.

Com os meus melhores cumprimentos,

Laura Pasquero

E-mail: laurapasquero@hotmail.com

Tel. (Portugal): +351 962213019

(Italia): +39 349 2177839

European Master's Degree

in Human Rights and Democratisation (www.emahumanrights.com)

Orientador de tesa: Prof. José Manuel Pureza, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal

* The translations from Portuguese into English of quotations from the questionnaires and the interviews were made by Laura Pasquero. The translations from Tetum into Portuguese or English were made by Tetum-speakers based in Timor-Leste.

(English version)

Dear friend,

Thank you for taking the time to answer this questionnaire on gender and peace in Timor-Leste. This questionnaire is one of the main tools I am using to conduct research for my thesis on “Gender, War, Peace. Mainstreaming gender in peace processes”. I am writing this thesis in Portugal as a host student at the University of Coimbra, in the framework of the European Master’s (E.MA) Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation.

My thesis represents a personal attempt to apply a gender approach to war, violent conflicts and peacebuilding efforts. One of my main goals is to view gender perspective and gender mainstreaming as essential tools to produce sustainable peace and prevent further outbreaks of violence and war. Throughout my thesis, I attempt to prove that peace operations and peace processes that fail to take into due account gender and gendered power structures throughout the process undermine a return to real peace, not only for women but for society as a whole.

With this aim in mind, and with your help and suggestions, I will attempt to develop a conceptual framework for engendering peacebuilding efforts in Timor-Leste. Your answers to the questionnaire are of great importance to my thesis as they will allow me to have a better understanding of the real issues at stake in Timor-Leste and to take onboard today’s opinions, wishes and necessities of Timorese people and international personnel working on and in Timor-Leste. Your answers do not need to be too elaborate or long, simple but clear answers will prove just as useful.

Thank you for your time and please feel free to make contact with me at any time for further information or exchange on this topic.

Best regards,

Laura Pasquero

e-mail: laurapasquero@hotmail.com

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(Italy): +39 349 2177839

European Master’s Degree

in Human Rights and Democratisation (www.emahumanrights.com)

Thesis supervisor: Prof. José Manuel Pureza, University of Coimbra, Portugal

(Questionnaire no. 1, addressed to East Timorese) [Ref: ET-]

Por favor devolva este questionário para laurapasquero@hotmail.com antes do 30 junho 2007
Please return this questionnaire to laurapasquero@hotmail.com by 30 June 2007

Nome e apelido:
Name and surname:

Nacionalidade:
Nationality:

Sexo:
Sex:

Autorização para ser identificado: Sim Não
(Se sim, especificar por favor se você prefere permanecer anônimo)

Authorisation to be quoted: Yes No
(If yes, please specify whether you prefer to remain anonymous)

1. Gostaria que me dissesse algo de si: onde nasceu, onde nasceram os seus pais, onde vive agora, quantos anos tem, se é casado/a, se tem filhos, se estudou, se trabalha, etc

Please tell me something about yourself: where were you born, where your parents were born, where you live now, how old you are, whether you are married or have children, whether you have studied, whether you work, etc.

2. Gostaria que me dissesse que memórias tem do período da resistência Timorense. (Participou na resistência Timorense durante esse período? De que maneira o “período da resistência” teve impacto nas mulheres e como é que esse impacto diferiu do impacto sentido pelos homens?)

Can you tell me any memories you have of the period of the Timorese resistance against Indonesia? (Did you take part in any particular activity during the resistance? Did the resistance have a different impact for women than for men? If so, in what way?)

3. O que é significa para si a paz? Como é que imagina uma vida vivida em paz?

What does “peace” mean to you? How do you imagine a life “lived in peace”?

4. Na sua opinião Timor-Leste está em paz neste momento? De que maneira é que a vida das pessoas em Timor-Leste é diferente da imagem que você tem sobre a paz, segundo o que descreveu na resposta anterior?

Do you think Timor-Leste is at peace now? In what way (if any) do people's lives in Timor-Leste today differ from the image of peace that you described in your previous answer?

5. Caso seja mulher, e apenas nessa qualidade, o que pensa que as mulheres podem fazer para contribuir para uma situação de paz em Timor-Leste?

If you are a woman, what do you as a woman think that women can do for peace in Timor-Leste?

6. Pensa que a Missão das Nações Unidas está a fazer ou já fez algo que beneficia a vida quotidiana das mulheres em Timor-Leste? Caso tenha algum comentário, crítica ou sugestão a fazer em relação ao trabalho desenvolvido pelas Nações Unidas em Timor-Leste (aspectos positivos e aspectos negativos do trabalho que desenvolvem em Timor-Leste), por favor queira mencionar.

Do you think the United Nations Mission(s) is doing or has done something to specifically benefit women in Timor-Leste in their daily lives? If you have any specific thoughts, comments, criticisms and/or suggestions about the achievements and/or flaws of the UN Mission(s) work, please write them down.

7. Se é membro de alguma ONG de mulheres, a sua organização foi ou é consultada com regularidade pelo governo de Timor-Leste e/ou pela Missão das Nações Unidas em Timor-Leste? A missão das Nações Unidas facilita a sua participação, como mulher e membro da sua organização, em reuniões, decisões e projectos?

If you are part of a women's NGO, was (or is) your organisation consulted regularly by the Timor-Leste Government and/or by the UN Mission(s) in Timor-Leste? Does the UN mission facilitate your participation, as a woman and a member of your association, in its meetings, decisions, projects?

8. Alguma vez ouviu falar da Resolução 1325 do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas para as Mulheres, a Paz e a Segurança? Sabe qual é o conteúdo desta resolução e a quem se destina?

Have you ever heard of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, on Women, Peace and Security? Would you be able to describe its content and to whom it is addressed?

9. Se fosse consultada pelas organizações internacionais (como as Nações Unidas ou outras) bem como doadores que trabalham em Timor-Leste sobre o modo como os seus financiamentos devem ser empregues e como os seus recursos humanos deveriam operar em Timor-Leste de modo a contribuir para a paz e estabilidade em Timor-Leste, o que aconselharia?

If you were asked by the international organisations and donors (like the UN or others) that work in Timor-Leste how they should use their money and staff in order to better contribute to peace in Timor-Leste, what advice would you give them?

10. No seu ponto de vista, qual será o papel que as mulheres Timorenses terão no futuro de Timor?

What role(s) do you think women will play in the future of Timor-Leste?

* * *

Sugere alguém para responder a este questionário? Se assim for, por favor dirija este questionário directamente a essa(s) pessoa(s) ou escreva o seu email em baixo.

Is there anyone else that you would suggest sending this questionnaire to? If so, please forward it directly to the person(s) or write his/her email address here.

Muito obrigada.

Thank you very much.

(Questionnaire no. 2, addressed to internationals) [Ref: INT-]

Por favor devolva este questionário para laurapasquero@hotmail.com antes do 30 junho 2007

Please return this questionnaire to laurapasquero@hotmail.com by 30 June 2007

Nome e apelido:

Name and surname:

Nacionalidade:

Nationality:

Sexo:

Sex:

Organização:

Organisation:

Autorização para ser identificado: Sim Não

(Se sim, especificar por favor se você prefere permanecer anónimo)

Authorisation to be quoted: Yes No

(If yes, please specify whether you prefer to remain anonymous)

1. Há quanto tempo trabalha ou trabalhou em Timor-Leste? Poderia dizer-me resumidamente quais as funções que desempenha na organização em que trabalha/trabalhou?

How long have you worked/have you been working in Timor-Leste? Can you give a brief description of your functions as part of your organisation?

2. Fala alguma das línguas oficiais de Timor-Leste? Trabalha diariamente com mulheres Timorenses?

Do you speak any official languages of Timor-Leste? Do you work with local female staff on a daily basis?

3. O que é significa para si a paz? Como é que imagina uma vida vivida em paz?

What does "peace" mean to you? How do you imagine a life "lived in peace"?

4. Na sua opinião Timor-Leste está em paz neste momento? De que maneira é que a vida das pessoas em Timor-Leste é diferente da imagem que você tem sobre a paz, segundo o que descreveu na resposta anterior?

Do you think Timor-Leste is at peace now? In what way (if any) do people's lives in Timor-Leste today differ from the image of peace that you described in your previous answer?

5. Como é que descreveria o actual estatuto da mulher em Timor-Leste? Se já trabalhou em Timor-Leste desde 1999-2000, o que é que pensa que se alterou relativamente ao estatuto da mulher, a nível formal e informal?

How would you describe the status of women in Timor-Leste today? If you were working in Timor-Leste already between 1999 and 2000, have you noticed a change in women's status – either at a formal or informal level between 1999-2000 and today?

6. Sabe qual é o conteúdo da Resolução 1325 do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas para as Mulheres, a Paz e a Segurança? O que é que pensa que é necessário para que a Resolução seja plenamente implementada em Timor Leste?

Would you be able to describe UN Security Council Resolution 1325, on Women, Peace and Security? What do you think is needed for this Resolution 1325 to be fully implemented in Timor-Leste?

7. Alguma vez recebeu alguma formação (facultada pela sua organização, governo, Nações Unidas ou outras organizações e instituições) sobre questões do género – nomeadamente no que respeita à Resolução 1325 do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas? Essa formação ocorreu no seu país de origem antes de ir para Timor-Leste ou ocorreu quando já se encontrava em Timor-Leste?

Have you ever received any training on gender issues (provided by your organisation, your government, the UN, other organisations or institutions) – including UN Security Council Res. 1325? Were you provided this training in your home country before coming to Timor-Leste or during your stay in Timor-Leste?

8. Caso nunca tenha recebido qualquer formação sobre este assunto, estaria interessado em recebê-la? Porquê?

In case you have never received any training of this kind, and if there were an opportunity to undergo such training, would you do it? Why?

9. No âmbito do seu trabalho, costuma consultar ONG's de mulheres Timorenses? Considera que a ONU em Timor-Leste e o governo Timorense tomam em consideração os contributos dados pelas organizações de mulheres aquando da tomada de decisões?

In the framework of your work, do you hold or have you held regular consultations with Timorese women's organisations? Do you think the UN Mission in Timor-Leste and the Timor-Leste government take women organisations' inputs/points of view in consideration in their decisions?

10. Pensa que a Missão das Nações Unidas está a fazer ou já fez algo que beneficia a vida quotidiana das mulheres em Timor-Leste? Caso tenha algum comentário, crítica ou sugestão a fazer em relação ao trabalho desenvolvido pelas Nações Unidas em Timor-Leste (aspectos positivos e aspectos negativos do trabalho que desenvolvem em Timor Leste), por favor queira mencionar.

Do you think the United Nations Mission is doing or has done something to specifically benefit women in Timor-Leste in their daily lives? If you have any specific thoughts, comments, criticisms and/or suggestions about the achievements and/or flaws of the UN Mission work, please write them down.

11. Considera que a Missão das Nações Unidas em Timor-Leste deveria aproveitar o contributo de outras organizações sobre o trabalho desenvolvido no que respeita à questão do género (ex.UNIFEM, União Europeia, outras organizações internacionais, ONG)? Deve haver colaboração? De que forma?

Do you think the UN Mission should take inspiration from other organisations as far as gender work/approach is concerned? (e.g. UNIFEM, the European Union, other international organisations, NGOs?). Should the UN cooperate with them? How?

12. No seu ponto de vista, qual será o papel que as mulheres Timorenses terão no futuro de Timor?

What role(s) do you think women will play in the future of Timor-Leste?

* * *

Sugere alguém para responder a este questionário? Se assim for, por favor dirija este questionário directamente a essa(s) pessoa(s) ou escreva o seu email em baixo.

Is there anyone else that you would suggest sending this questionnaire to? If so, please forward it directly to the person(s) or write his/her email address here.

Muito obrigada.
Thank you very much.

Annex 2: List of People Consulted and Interviewed

NAME	ORGANISATION
Ms Sherrill Whittington	UNTAET , Timor-Leste Former Head of Gender Affair Unit (GAU) (2000-2002)
Ms Lorraine Corner	UNIFEM Asia-Pacific Programme , Bangkok, Thailand Regional Adviser
Ms Dianne Arboleda	UNIFEM , Timor-Leste Programme Manager
Ms Sofi Ospina	UN agencies & Government , Timor-Leste Independent Gender Consultant
Ms Osnat Lubrani	UNIFEM Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) , CEE Regional Office, Bratislava, Slovak Republic Regional Programme Director
Ms Marcia Poole	UNMIK , Kosovo Spokesperson UNMISSET , Timor-Leste Former Spokesperson (2003-2004)
Ms Donna Cusumano	UNMIT , Timor-Leste Spokesperson
Ms Katja Hemmerich	Peacekeeping Best Practices Section, UN HQ , New York, USA Acting Gender Adviser
Mr Candido Cunha	UNMISSET , Timor-Leste Former Senior Legal Adviser

Ltn. Col. Felix Blanco de la Torre	UN DPKO , New York, USA Lieutenant Colonel, Spanish Army
Ms Lita Henrique	UNDP , Timor-Leste Electoral Trainer National Parliament , Timor-Leste Former Legal Adviser (2005-2006)
Ms Nicola Popovic	UN-INSTRAW , Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic Specialist on Gender, Peace and Security
Ms Flora Macula	UNIFEM, Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) , Project Office, Pristina, Kosovo Gender and Peace Adviser
Ms Ana Gomes	European Parliament MEP Former Ambassador of Portugal to Indonesia (1999-2003)
Mr Manuel Soares Abrantes	Ambassador of Timor-Leste to Portugal , Lisbon, Portugal
Ms Endie van Binsbergen	Stichting Vrij Oost Timor (VOT) (Free East Timor Foundation) Utrecht, The Netherlands Solidarity Observer Mission for East Timor (SOMET) , Utrecht, The Netherlands Co-ordinator
Ms Catharina Maria	Solidarity Observer Mission for East Timor (SOMET) , Timor-Leste Co-ordinator
Ms Fátima Guterres	Organização Popular da Mulher Timorense (OPMT) (Popular Women's Organisation of East Timor) Former member of the Timorese resistance, Queluz-Belas, Portugal

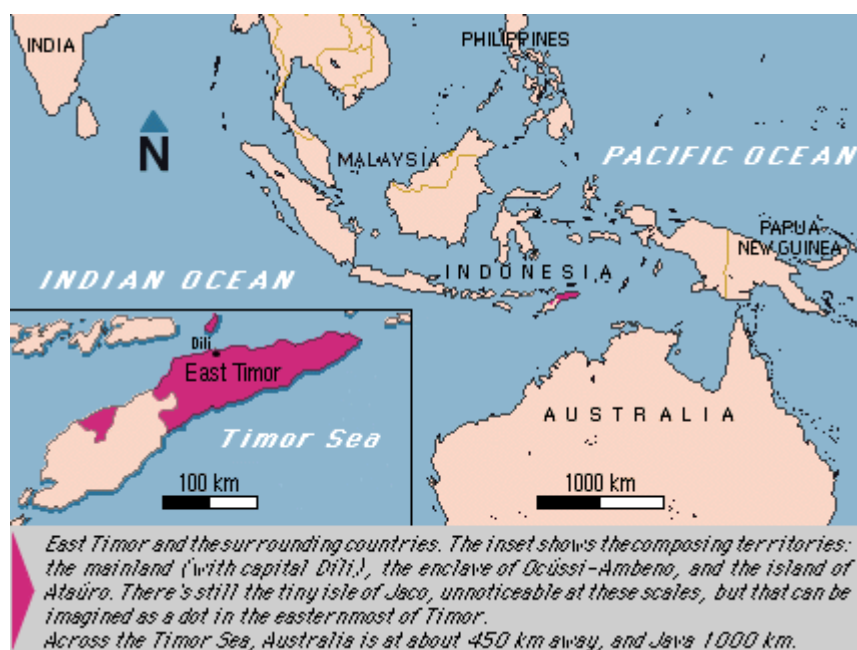
Ms Tereza Cunha	Centro de Estudos Sociais (CES) (Centre for Social Studies) , Coimbra University, Portugal Researcher
Ms Tatiana Moura	Núcleo de Estudos para a Paz (NEP) (Centre for Peace Studies) , Coimbra University, Portugal Researcher
Ms Monica Rafael Simões	Núcleo de Estudos para a Paz (NEP) (Centre for Peace Studies) , Coimbra University, Portugal Researcher
Ms Carla de Marcelino Gomes	Lawyers without Frontiers , Timor-Leste, Ministry of Justice Ex-Legal Consultant (2001-2002)
Ms Teresa Encarnação	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) (German Technical Cooperation Agency) Former Assistant to the Team Leader (2007)
Ms R. J.	Ministry of Justice , Timor-Leste Legal Consultant
Mr Felix de Jesus	Timorese Academics Association , Coimbra, Portugal President UNAMET/UNTAET Former local staff (1999-2001)
Mr Olivio de Deus	Postgraduate Programme in Human Rights , University of Coimbra, Portugal Student UNTAET , Human Rights Unit (HRU) Former local staff (2000-2002)

Anonymous*	Feto Kiik Servisu Hamutuk (FKSH) (Young Women Working Together) Member
Anonymous	UNIFEM, Timor-Leste Local staff
Ms M.D.	Development NGO, Timor-Leste Administrative assistant
Ms Pascoela Borges	Local NGO, Dili, Timor-Leste Cleaner
Anonymous	East Timor Development Agency, Dili, Timor-Leste Position: N/A
Ms P.P.	Local NGO, Timor-Leste Director
Ms M.P.	Women NGO, Dili, Timor-Leste Position: N/A
Ms A.T.	Relief NGO, Dili, Timor-Leste Position: N/A
Anonymous	Alola Foundation, Dili, Timor-Leste International staff
Ms Florência Freitas	Ministry of Justice, Timor-Leste Legal Adviser
Ms Olin Monteiro	1000 Women for Peace, Jakarta, Indonesia Co-ordinator for Indonesia and East-Timor

* Anonymous indicates that the name has been omitted by request of the interviewee.

Ms Deb Salvagno	East Timor Women Australia (ETWA) , Melbourne, Australia Treasurer and founding member
Ms Safaa Elgib Adam	Community Development Association (CDA) , Khartoum, Sudan Secretary General and Gender Adviser
Ms Karen Barnes	International Alert , London, UK Programme Officer for Gender
Ms Elizabeth Reuse Decrey	Geneva Call , Geneva, Switzerland President
Ms Igballe Rogova	Kosovo Women's Network , Pristina, Kosovo Executive Director
Ms Alice Lynne	Deakin University, Victoria, Australia Researcher and Independent Gender Consultant to Kosovo
Mr Romit Jain	International Crisis Group (ICG) , London, UK European Advocacy Officer
Mr U Kyaw Swa Thein	BBC , London, UK Broadcaster/Analyst, Asia and Pacific Affairs
Ms Isabel Romão	Commission for Equality and Women's Rights , Lisbon, Portugal Head of the Education Division
Mr Ryan Gawn	Save the Children , London, UK External Relations Co-ordinator

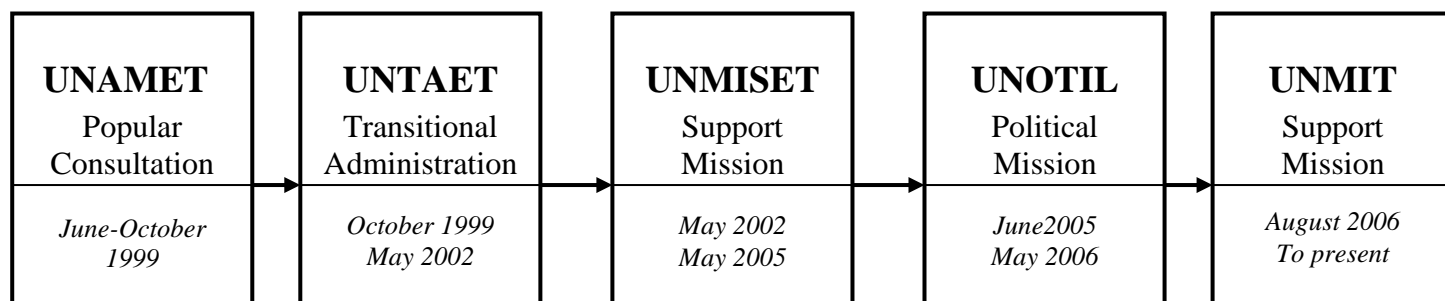
Annex 3: Timor-Leste basic facts and figures



Official name:	Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (Timor Lorosae, in Tetum)
Area:	14,609 sq Km
Population:	1,032,000 (2006)
Independence Day:	20 May 2002
Capital:	Dili
President:	José Ramos-Horta (2007)
Official languages:	Tetum and Portuguese
Other spoken languages:	Bahasa Indonesia, English and at least 15 indigenous dialects (Bekais, Bunak, Dawan, Fataluku, Galoli, Habun, Idalaka, Kawaimina, Kemak, Lovaia, Makalero, Makasai, Mambai, Tokodede, Wetarese)
Religion:	Roman Catholic 90%, Islam 4%, Protestant 3%, Hindu 0.5%, Buddhist, Animist
Life expectancy:	56 years (women), 54 years (men) (2006)
Mortality rate, infant:	87 (per 1,000 live births) (2005)
Population growth:	4,9 % (2003-2005)
Population living in urban areas:	8 % (2005)
Literacy rate:	40 % (female), 55% (male) (2006)
Human Development Index:	0,512 – Rank 142 out of 177 (2004)
GDP per capita:	USD 400 (2007)
Currency:	USD

Sources: UNIFEM, UNICEF, UNFPA, UNDP, ADB, WB World Development Indicator Database

Annex 4: UN Missions in Timor Leste from 1999-2007



UN Mission	Established by UN SC Res.	Gender language in the Res.
United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET)	UNSCR 1246, 11 June 1999 S/RES/1246 (1999)	No language on women and gender issues
United Nations Transitional Administration Mission in East Timor (UNTAET)	UNSCR 1272, 25 October 1999, S/RES/1272 (1999)	<p><i>“Deeply concerned by the grave humanitarian situation resulting from violence in East Timor and the large-scale displacement and relocation of East Timorese civilians, including large numbers of women and children,[...]</i></p> <p><i>15. Underlines the importance of including in UNTAET personnel with appropriate training in international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law, including child and gender-related provisions, negotiation and communication skills, cultural awareness and civilian-military coordination.”</i></p>
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET)	UNSCR 1410, 17 May 2002 S/RES/1410 (2002)	<p><i>“Recognizing the importance of a gender perspective in peacekeeping operations, [...]</i></p> <p><i>3. Decides that UNMISET will be headed by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General and will consist of:</i></p> <p><i>(a) A civilian component comprising an office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General with focal points for gender and HIV/AIDS”</i></p>

United Nations Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL)	UNSCR 1599, 28 April 2005 S/RES/1599 (2005)	No language on women and gender issues
United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT)	UNSCR 1704, 25 August 2006, S/RES/1704 (2006)	<p>“Reaffirming its resolutions 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security [...]</p> <p>4. Decides further that UNMIT will have the following mandate:</p> <p>(g) To assist in further strengthening the national institutional and societal capacity and mechanisms for the monitoring, promoting and protecting of human rights and for promoting justice and reconciliation, including for women and children, and to observe and report on the human rights situation;</p> <p>(h) To facilitate the provision of relief and recovery assistance and access to the Timorese people in need, with a particular focus on the segment of society in the most vulnerable situation, including internally displaced and women and children;</p> <p>(k) To mainstream gender perspectives and those of children and youth throughout the Mission’s policies, programmes and activities, and, working together with United Nations agencies, funds and programmes, support the development of a national strategy to promote gender equality and empowerment of women;</p> <p>13. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary measures to achieve actual compliance in UNMIT with the United Nations zero-tolerance policy on sexual exploitation and abuse, including the development of strategies and appropriate mechanisms to prevent, identify and respond to all forms of misconduct, including sexual exploitation and abuse, and the enhancement of training for personnel to prevent misconduct and ensure full compliance with the United Nations code of conduct, requests the Secretary-General to take all necessary action in accordance with the Secretary-General’s Bulletin on special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse (ST/SGB/2003/13) and to keep the Council informed, and urges troop-contributing countries to take appropriate preventive action including the conduct of predeployment awareness training, and to take disciplinary action and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel.”</p>

Annex 5: Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AMKV	Timor-Leste Men's Association Against Violence
AU	African Union
CAVR	Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEP	Community Empowerment Project
CivPol	Civilian Police (UN)
CNE	National Electoral Commission
CNRT	National Council of Timorese Resistance
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CTF	Truth and Friendships Commission
DDR	Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration
DPI	Department of Public Information
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DSRSG	Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General
EAS	Electoral Assistance Section
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EOM	Election Observation Mission
ETAN	East Timor and Indonesia Action Network
ETPA	East Timor Public Administration
ETTA	East Timor Transitional Administration
EU	European Union
EU EOM	European Union Election Observation Mission
FALINTIL	Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor-Leste
FETF	Free East Timor Foundation
FRETILIN	Revolutionary Front of an Independent Timor-Leste
GA	Gender Adviser
GAU	Gender Affairs Unit
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEM	Gender Equality and Men
GEST	Sudan Gender Expert Support Team
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GPA	Governance and Public Administration
HRU	Human Rights Unit
HQ	Headquarters
IANWGE	Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia
IDDR	Integrated Disarmament Demobilization Reintegration Standards
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JRR	Justice Rapid Response
JSMP	Timor-Leste Justice System Monitoring Programme
NAP	National Action Plan (for the implementation of UNSCR 1325)
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NPWJ	No Peace Without Justice
OAS	Organisation of American States

OCPI	Office of Public Communication and Information
ONUB	United Nations Operation in Burundi
OPE	Office for the Promotion of Equality
OPMT	Fretilin's Popular Women's Organisation of East Timor
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
OSCE	Organisation for the Security and Cooperation in Europe
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
PBPS	Peacekeeping Best Practices Section
PERWL	Initiative Supporting Women as Effective Leaders and Promotion of Women's Participation in Governance
PIO	Public Information Office
PKF	Peacekeeping Forces
PNTL	Timor-Leste National Police
RUSI	UK Royal United Service Institute
SC	Security Council
SCU	Serious Crime Unit
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SG	Secretary-General
SOMET	Solidarity Observer Mission for East Timor
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
STAE	Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration
TCC	Troop Contributing Countries
TLDF	Timor-Leste Defence Force
UN	United Nations
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
UNAMET	United Nations Assistance Mission in East Timor
UNAVEM	United Nations Angola Verification Mission
UNCGG	United Nations Consultative Group on Gender
UNDAW	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFICYP	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UN-INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNOMSA	United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa
UNOTIL	United Nations Office in Timor Leste
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group in Namibia
UNTV	United Nations Television
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
VPU	Vulnerable Persons Unit
WIB	Women in Black
WILFP	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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