LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON PEACEBUILDING

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADN	National Development Agency
CEPAD	Centre of Studies for Peace and Development
DHF	Dag Hammarskjōld Foundation
FOKUPERS	Women's Communication Forum
FÓSCA	Catholic Youth
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IDPBSB	International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding
JSMP	Judicial System Monitoring Program
KAK	Anti-Corruption Commission
MSS	Ministry of Social Solidarity
MNEC	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PNTL	National Police of Timor-Leste
PDHJ	Human Rights and Justice Ombudsman
SETP	Secretary of State for Land and Property
SEJD	Secretary of State for Youth and Sport
SFCG	Search for Common Ground
SES	Secretary of State for Security
TAF	The Asia Foundation
TLMDC	Timor-Leste Media Development Centre
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	US Agency for International Development
UNW	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
VPU	Vulnerable Persons Unit (within national police force)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Timor-Leste is faced with considerable challenges as it seeks to transition from post-conflict reconstruction to stable peace as a springboard for the consolidation of liberal democracy. Its successive political crises and cycles of violence in the post-independence period (2002 – 2012) have highlighted deep divisions and unresolved issues dating back to the period before and during the struggle for independence. Several of these persisting challenges to lasting peace include: widespread poverty and high youth unemployment; deep mistrust between citizens, their authorities and elected representatives; political leadership division and competition over ownership of historical narratives and symbols; fragility of judicial institutions to address corruption, collusion and nepotism; alienated and disaffected youth; land disputes; and domestic violence. The serious disconnect between the centre and the periphery also negatively affects communication, decision-making and the setting of the country's priorities. These challenges were identified through CEPAD's participatory action research conducted from 2007-2009 whose results are found in the report: "Timor-Leste: voices and paths to peace"; as well as in the self-assessment of fragility conducted in Timor-Leste in 2012 as part of the New Deal[1] framework.

Since 1999, various peacebuilding efforts have been engaged in Timor-Leste, through different UN Missions. The United Nations Missions to Timor-Leste have included the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) (June - October 1999) which was a political mission; the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) (October 1999 - May 2002) which was a peacekeeping operation; The United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) (May 2002 - May 2005) which was also a peacekeeping mission; the United Nations Office in Timor-Leste (UNOTIL) (May 2005—August 2006) which was a political mission; established UNMIT (August 2006 - 31 December 2012) with a far-reaching mandate to assist the country in overcoming the consequences and underlying causes of the April/June 2006 crisis.

Other local and international organizations have also invested considerable efforts in peacebuilding in Timor-Leste, addressing some of the challenges cited above. In order to ensure local ownership and sustainability of those engaged efforts, it is important to collect the perspectives of local actors on their inclusion in the processes and on their priorities regarding building peace in Timor-Leste.

1. METHODOLOGY

The research project is a joint initiative between Dag Hammarskjōld Foundation (DHF) and the Centre of Studies for Peace and Development (CEPAD). The research project aimed to collect views on how to improve inclusivity of local actors in peacebuilding efforts by engaging them in a research and dialogue process in which they identified priorities and risks to consider for lasting peace in Timor-Leste.

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[1] International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, April 2013, newsletter accessed online at
http://www.newdeal4peace.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Handout-V5-10April.pdf

The project objectives include:

1) To generate a genuine sample of local perspectives on the extent to which inclusivity has been applied in peacebuilding efforts in Timor-Leste.

2) To understand how local actors prioritise and engage in peacebuilding.

3) To gather and synthesise views on modalities for engaging in peacebuilding and how the international community, notably the UN, can best support peacebuilding efforts.

CEPAD used qualitative research methods to collect data which began with desk research, conducted as a preliminary study to review literature on peacebuilding, inclusivity and the relevant context in Timor-Leste. This research was used to identify key areas of investigation and to prioritize research activities.

Key informant interviews were carried out with 17 respondents (8 female and 9 male) in the national capital, Dili. Informants were selected from relevant departments within the Government (4), development partners and international NGOs (4) and local NGOs (5). Following a semi-structured format, the interviewees were asked about their perspectives and activities in relation to peacebuilding and inclusivity as applied to Timor-Leste.

Three interactive dialogues were carried out in three districts of Timor-Leste which combined focus group discussions (FGDs) with open dialogue on the topic of peacebuilding in Timor-Leste. These three districts are situated within three different 'regions' of the country, as demarcated by CEPAD. The districts selected were Baucau (east), Aileu (central) and Ermera (west). CEPAD has constructed Peace Houses in each of these districts, which provided the location for the FGDs. Participants were selected according to inclusive and representative criteria and included local leaders (spiritual, administrative and political), Catholic Church, secondary school and university students, youth representatives, political parties, local women's groups and local martial arts groups. In Baucau, 5 female and 10 male participants attended the FGD; in Aileu, 11 female and 12 male participants attended the FGD; in Ermera, 6 female and 5 male participants attended the FGD.

Data was organized into key themes around peacebuilding and inclusivity and is presented in this report. CEPAD acknowledges that this is merely a snapshot of the situation in Timor-Leste and hopes that it may serve to stimulate further research and analysis.

2. PEACEBUILDING

2.1 Definitions and Concepts

Peacebuilding can be a broad term that is defined in many different ways in international policy circles. This research took as a starting point, the definition of peacebuilding as given by the UN Peacebuilding Support Office, namely that:

> "Peacebuilding is [rather] the continuum of strategy, processes and activities aimed at sustaining peace over the long-term with a clear focus on reducing chances for the relapse into

conflict.... [It] is useful to see peacebuilding as a broader policy framework that strengthens the synergy among the related efforts of conflict prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, recovery and development, as part of a collective and sustained effort to build lasting peace."[2]

This research found a variety of definitions of peacebuilding as applied in Timor-Leste. A report produced in 2010 by the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding regarding Timor-Leste defines peacebuilding as closely connected with development:

"Peacebuilding is the long term process focusing on political, economic and social development as a means of rebuilding societies and avoiding situations that jeopardize security, whether defined in terms of state security or human security more broadly."[3]

This is echoed in the definition expressed during the interview conducted within the Secretariat of State for Security in that;

"It is firstly the prevention of conflict and secondly the prevention of such conflict from escalating and thirdly means to prevent conflict again and again into the future."[4]

The Vice Minister of Social and Solidarity expressed another peacebuilding perspective, that peacebuilding relates to the provision in the Timor-Leste Constitution that social protection and assistance to the community must be provided, especially to those who are vulnerable.[5] In this sense, the Government is connecting peacebuilding more closely with broader social protection and welfare.

Local NGOs interviewed also offered a variety of different perspectives on peacebuilding. The Director of the Timor-Leste Media Development Centre (TLMDC) described peacebuilding as the provision of security in order to create conditions for citizens to communicate freely and create harmonious relations in communities:

"What kind of peace that we need is that people want to live in their places with security, in ways that allow them to carry out their activities, they want to feel free when they are sleeping at night, without intimidation. When people feel free they will communicate with each other, from one group to another, from one family to the other one, and then they will accept each other. So, they can do their activities in the community, living together in harmony that should be built in the community. It resembles a piece of gold that should be cared for in the community."[6]

Luta Hamutuk, a local NGO which monitors state spending and major infrastructure projects stated that;

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[2] UN Peacebuilding Office website; accessed at http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/
[3] OECD (2010), The International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding; Contribution from Timor-Leste, p.3
[4] Interview, Secretary of State for Security, March 2014
[5] Interview, Vice Minister of Social Solidarity, 17 March 2014
[6] Interview, TLMDC, 17 March 2014

> "Peacebuilding becomes sustainable when people participate in the process of development and people can take ownership of decisions."

FOKUPERS, a local women's NGO relates peacebuilding with the need to promote harmonious family relations and fair division of labour:

> "When a family is living in peace it means that the members of the family share tasks and responsibilities equally between men and woman in the family.[7]

Local NGO, Alola Foundation defines peacebuilding as those activities that link to health as implemented in rural areas designed to improve access to information and facilities in order to improve health in every *suku* (village).[8]

The diversity of perspectives was reflected at the community level through interactive dialogues and FGDs in the three districts consulted. Some described peacebuilding in terms of dialogue and mediation, as the process of sitting together with two or more people involved in a dispute and communicating with each other, and if necessary assisted by third party to contribute to a consensual solution. Others spoke of living in harmony in good conditions where all people have equal access to the country's wealth and people have the opportunity to own existing resources.

It is fair to say that, although a common definition of peacebuilding was not found among actors in Timor-Leste, there is a sense that peacebuilding is inextricably linked to national development, equal share of resources and ownership by the population which has led to this research defining key concepts broadly and with particular focus on development priorities.

2.2 Peacebuilding in Timor-Leste

As stated in DHF paper; 'Inclusivity and Local Perspectives in Peacebuilding: Issues, Lessons, Challenges';

> "Every context is unique and effective peacebuilding starts from a series of common elements that are adjusted to a specific setting. Contextualisation of a strategy is key – a one-size-fits-all strategy on inclusivity won't work."[9]

Two of the most pressing priorities for the Government of Timor-Leste continue to be security reform and economic development, but the government also recognises that more needs to be done in areas of social justice, welfare and service delivery, most particularly for rural populations;

> "There is a shared recognition that Timor-Leste must tailor its approach to peacebuilding and statebuilding, and the sequencing of related activities to meet these diverse priorities."[10]

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[7] Interview, FOKUPERS, March 17 2014
[8] Interview, Alola Foundation, March 2014
[9] Does, A. (2013), Inclusivity and Local Perspectives in Peacebuilding: Issues, Lessons, and Challenges, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala and Geneva Peacebuilding Platform, Geneva.

In this sense, the RDTL Government sees peacebuilding and statebuilding as a combined process and activities falling under these headings have been pursued since the country gained independence in 2002. However, the 2010 report from the International Dialogue also states that;

> "The government and development partners are now recognising that resources originally required to build the foundations of the new state might have been overly concentrated in the capital. As regional divisions were sighted as a trigger of previous conflicts, there is now agreement that development spending outside Dili will need to be accelerated to avoid future risks of such conflicts."

This statement corresponds with the sentiments found among participants in the three districts in which interactive dialogues were conducted. Participants commonly raised issues related to development, welfare, social protection and social inclusion when discussing peacebuilding processes in their communities.

Baucau is a district in the eastern part of Timor-Leste with a population of 111,694 and is considered the second largest urban centre in Timor-Leste. The district comprises six sub districts and 59 villages. There are at least five dialects spoken within the district.[11] The population aged under 5 years or over 60 years is 59,159 (more than 50%).

Three key issues were raised by participants as affecting sustainable peace in their district; land, illiteracy and unemployment. Land disputes; with 64% of households involved in agricultural production, access to fertile land is a key priority for many. A considerable portion of land in Baucau (and in Timor-Leste generally) is contested, which cannot be resolved until national land-related legislation is passed by the National Parliament (a package of three bills are currently being debated in the National Parliament).

The 2010 census estimated that 34.4% of the population of Baucau is illiterate.[12] This leads to lack of access to information, training and employment which contributes to instability.[13] As stated by one participant:

> "...the problem is job opportunity. People say that there are a lot of jobs. So people should find the jobs and learn from them. But the problem is that even some people with skills still can't find jobs and then where do they go? Because they have no job, they will look for the means to create conflict."[14]

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[10] OECD, (2010), The International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding; Contribution from Timor-Leste.
[11] National Statistics Directorate & United National Population Fund, 'Population and Housing Census of Timor-Leste, 2010; Volume 3 'Social and Economic Characteristics'.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Focus Group Discussion Baucau, 1 April 2014.
[14] Ibid.

Aileu is a district in the central part of Timor-Leste with a population of 45,512 inhabitants living in four sub districts and 31 villages[15] and is considered as a relatively peaceful district of Timor-Leste. One participant in the interactive dialogue made the point that;

> "…the people do not like conflict, they love peace. This situation has existed here for a long time before all kinds of peacebuilding activities arrived."[16]

Even so, some other participants referred to general problems occurring in their district including martial arts activity, dispute over decisions regarding veterans, land issues, unemployment, school dropout rates and poor infrastructure (roads and bridges).[17]

Ermera is situated in the west of the country with a population of 114,635.[18] The district comprises five sub districts and 52 villages.[19] The main issues raised by participants include land disputes, martial arts activity, and disputes over *barlake* (bride price or dowry).

2.4 The most frequent peacebuilding activities

As identified by the participants engaged by this research, a wide variety of activities were described as part of a process of peacebuilding. These ranged from Government initiatives addressing national development and national and international security, efforts of international actors to promote inclusive development and social cohesion through partnerships with government and civil society, activities of local NGOs to monitor state institutions, laws and policies and implement activities directly in legal aid, public education campaigns, skills training, child protection, income generation, youth centres and women's empowerment.

Some examples cited by local NGOs include FOKUPERS' monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the 2010 Law on Domestic Violence by the courts and police; the Judicial Systems Monitoring Program's (JSMP) court monitoring and legal aid provision; Lao Hamutuk's research and public information campaign on oil dependency; Luta Hamutuk's sub-district level training on citizen monitoring of infrastructure contracts; TLMDC's local radio interviews and broadcasts and Alola Foundation's protection and income generation programs for victims of sexual and domestic violence.

As identified by participants in Baucau, Aileu and Ermera, peacebuilding at the community level from their perspective can take many forms, including traditional processes which have existed in some form for many generations. Some frequently cited examples including the following.

Dialogue and mediation was referred to as a common tools used to resolve conflicts. One participant in Baucau, a Catholic Priest, stated that:

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[15] National Statistics Directorate & United National Population Fund, 'Population and Housing Census of Timor-Leste, 2010; Volume 3 'Social and Economic Characteristics'.
[16] Focus Group Discussion, Aileu, 03 April 2014.
[17] Focus Group Discussion, Aileu, 03 April 2014
[18] National Statistics Directorate & United National Population Fund, 'Population and Housing Census of Timor-Leste, 2010; Volume 3 'Social and Economic Characteristics'.
[19] CEPAD (2008), Regional Conference Report, PRDP, Dili.

> *"Dialogue is one of the key mechanisms used to involve all actors (local leaders and local authorities and the youth) to prevent conflict in the district."[20]*

Some of the common problems mentioned as requiring such processes included martial arts activity, land disputes and violence within families. The Ministry of Social Solidarity works at the local level to build the local capacity of key actors involved in dialogue and mediation and also conducts monitoring and evaluation of these processes.[21]

A customary law known as tara bandu are used as a traditional problem solving mechanism (particularly in rural areas) and is considered an important part of peacebuilding. *Tara bandu* is publicly declared by local leaders (usually spiritual leaders) to prevent people from taking particular actions and sets sanctions for non-adherence. Recently, in Ermera District, the local leaders used *tara bandu* to prevent activities which were seen as causing harm including gambling and alcohol production. Participations point to this as an important local conflict prevention mechanism. As one participant explains; "this mechanism can be used for many activities depending on the culture of each place."[22]

Police in Aileu District are seen by participants as a key part of peacebuilding. Currently, there are PNTL Officers in each village of Aileu and they are encouraged to assist the local leaders to solve problems through mediation. This forms part of a local dispute resolution network as explained by the PNTL Vice-Commander in this District;

> *"The aim of putting these police officers in the villages is to help the heads of villages to solve the small problems that happen in the villages and hamlets. Thus, sometimes we know that related to some certain problems the head of villages communicate with the community police officers and the Village councils to mediate the problems."[23]*

Skills training are seen as a key aspect of peacebuilding when directed at young people, due to the reality in Timor-Leste that local level violence is most commonly initiated and perpetuated by young people. Youth Centres in Ermera and Baucau provide Life Skills Basic Education (LSBE) which also targets local education actors (Principals, Teachers and Religious Sisters). Other skills courses mentioned include language training, journalism, sport and arts, pastoral training, mediation training and parent education. Such training is implemented by a range of government and non-government actors.

Youth activities including sport (commonly taekwondo and football) and 'friendly competitions' between schools, villages and districts is seen to strengthen friendship and prevent conflict. These might be organized by churches, village councils or NGOs and supported by the Secretary of State for Youth and Sport. Public speaking, tree planting, art and music are other such activities cited. The Catholic Church also supports youth activities

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[20] Focus Group Discussion Baucau, 1 April 2014.
[21] Interview, Vice Minister of Social Solidarity, 17 March 2014
[22] FGD Ermera, 4 April 2014
[23] FGD Aileu, 03 April 2014

through the FOSCA programme (Catholic Youth) and includes conflict prevention among its aims.[24]

Economic opportunity including income generation initiatives (some targeted at women) such as raising chickens and strengthening agricultural business and training in communication, management and finance were seen as important aspects of local peacebuilding.

Community education regarding laws, particularly the Law on Domestic Violence, which has been disseminated by the Vulnerable Persons Unit (VPU) of the PNTL in Baucau for example or land registration processes by the Secretary of State for Land and Property in Baucau. The Diocese Justice and Peace Commission in Aileu district is setting up a new structure which comprises the parish priest, political party leaders, youth leaders and women leaders to distribute information to the families and communities with the objective of avoiding conflict.[25]

This broad array of activities somewhat reflects the findings of the 2010 report of the IDSBPB which listed peacebuilding and statebuilding priorities identified by key stakeholders (including government, civil society, development partners and universities). The priorities for improvement listed at that time, included political representation and political processes; security and justice; core government functions; service delivery functions; economic governance and private sector. These, in turn, largely reflect the five peacebuilding and statebuilding goals identified by the International Dialogue itself including; legitimate politics; security; justice; economic foundation and revenue and services.

Dealing with such a broad array of activities which fall under the banner of peacebuilding does raise the question of how best to approach and improve peacebuilding efforts in Timor-Leste.

3. INCLUSIVITY

3.1 Definitions and Concepts

CEPAD has used as a starting point, the definition of inclusivity from the United Nations Secretary General's report UN A767/499 namely that inclusivity refers to;

> "...the extent and manner, in which the views and needs of parties to conflict and other stakeholders are represented, heard and integrated into a peace process".

According to DHF;

> "Inclusivity can best be achieved by aligning engagements in multiple, overlapping processes at various levels by multiple actors at the same time."[26]

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[24] FGD Baucau and Ermera, 1-3 April 2014
[25] FGD Aileu, 03 April 2014
[26] Does, A. (2013), Inclusivity and Local Perspectives in Peacebuilding: Issues, Lessons, and Challenges, Geneva, Dag Hammarskjōld Foundation.

This suggests that a high level of coordination is required in order for the peacebuilding process in Timor-Leste to be inclusive and therefore effective. As this research will show, participants in the consultation process converged towards the definition of inclusivity as being about both coordination and participation.

3.2 Inclusivity in Timor-Leste Context

Since Timor-Leste began the process of peacebuilding and statebuilding in the post-Independence period, it is fair to say that the key processes have been largely top-down with the objective to improve welfare of citizens. Community priorities have been largely determined at the level of the national capital, Dili, on the basis of what needs to be done to improve socio-economic conditions of the people, independently of whether those priorities reflect district and regional needs. Such a process has influenced community's understanding of 'inclusivity' as participation of important individuals with relevant socio-political status in programme events, depending on the nature of the programme in question. Where there is the need to engage communities at the local level, it would be done so more in the context of 'socializing' programmes already defined at the top level than actually 'consulting' communities on the design and formulation of programmes. As CEPAD's research from 2007 to 2009 found, a broad cross-section of the population believe that two of the four key barriers to the achievement of sustainable peace in Timor-Leste[27] are the prioritization of individual and political party interests above the national interest and the prevalence of corruption, collusion and nepotism. This highlights a wide gap between citizens and their leaders, which in many ways is echoed in the findings of this research.

With regard to the New Deal processes currently being applied in Timor-Leste, although it may be too early to determine the extent to which genuine inclusivity is being applied, there is a risk that the catch cry of *'nothing about us without us'*[28] may in fact leave aside the majority of the population, especially vulnerable groups such as women, youth, people in rural areas, people with disabilities and minority groups.

3.3 Participation

Most stakeholders interviewed spoke of conducting consultations and involving communities in the design and implementation of initiatives. Local NGO Lao Hamutuk explained that:

> "The identification of issues, design and implementation of activities is based on an initial research report. During this process we involve key persons involved in local structures such as the head of villages, sub village heads, youth leaders, district administrators, sub district administrators and the Church."[29]

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[27] as derived from nation-wide, participatory dialogue process which was validated by decision-makers at the national level, including the President at the time, Jose Ramos-Horta.

[28] Emilia Pires; Timor-Leste Minister for Finance (2013), speech delivered to the 'Forum on Building Resilience to Fragility in Asia and the Pacific', Asian Development Bank, 6 June 2013.

[29] Interview, Lao Hamutuk, March 2014

Most responses suggested that selection criteria for participation depended on the nature of the activity being carried out. Some examples from local NGOs include:

Lao Hamutuk stated that;

> "Lao Hamutuk, on its monitoring on investment and land laws, collaborated with local initiatives by working together with other organizations such as Search for Common Ground, Fundasaun Mahein, Luta Hamutuk and CEPAD as well as 16 community radio stations in 13 districts and also with State institutions such as the National Development Agency, (ADN), the Human Rights and Justice Ombudsman (PDHJ), SEJD and the National Parliament." [30]

Other NGO's interviewed suggest similar approaches;

> "The plan to organize activities comes from different groups. It depends on the types of activities that will be done and proposed from 13 districts. People come from different types of organizations, from political parties, education and health professionals, agriculture, individuals (men and women), and religious people (priests and nuns)."[31]

On a joint initiative on gender-based violence, FOKUPERS and JSMP set up a network of referral involving key actors:

> "…the programme was assisting the victims by using a referral system to process cases in Court, and trainings involving key stakeholders were conducted, targeting village heads, traditional leaders, sub village heads, village councils, men and woman and youth leaders, with the intention of providing skills and knowledge to assist the community."[32]

The Ministry of Social Solidarity (MSS) explained that their peacebuilding programs relied on community partnerships with local and international organizations. Peacebuilding process arose from community initiatives which may include dialogue, mediation, and *tara bandu* with the aim that the community itself is involved and is able to solve their own problems. Supported by UNDP, local leaders are trained in conflict resolution in order that solutions to local problems are not being decided outside the community.

International actors described the process of implementing programmes through their partners, which may include government or local NGOs and that community consultations were determined by the context of the programme to be implemented.[33]

Responses from the three district FGDs suggest that planning of activities usually involves local government and community leaders and other key local institutions such as schools, Church and NGOs.[34] During specific conflict resolution processes, the persons involved in the conflict are

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[30] Interview, Lao Hamutuk, March 2014
[31] Interview, FOKUPERS, March 2014
[32] Interviews, FOKUPERS and JSMP, March 2014.
[33] Interviews, UN Women, USAID, UNDP and TRIANGLE, March 2014.
[34] FGD, Baucau, 01 April 2014

usually represented along with local authorities,[35] although such customary justice practices are often discriminatory towards women in favour of restoring relations between families, as stated by UN Women;

> "Why should we include women in dialogue? Mostly women are the one who are the victims of conflicts, but they are not involved in peacebuilding process."[36]

From the three interactive dialogues conducted in the three districts, a common sentiment arose from participants that suggested that consultation often takes place before activities are carried out, but a strong mechanism to ensure that particular groups are included has not yet been devised. This was expressed particularly in relation to government programmes focusing on development priorities such as roads and water. Moreover, the exclusion of particular groups was seen to sometimes lead to further conflict as in the case of marginalized youth.

The UN Women representative interviewed explained that:

> "Sustainable peace, long-lasting peace –so called durable peace – should be based on the inclusion of all social groups existing in Timor-Leste. Sometimes conflict itself appears merely because participation of marginalized social groups such as women, youth, people with disabilities, minority groups such as the Chinese and Muslim communities and smaller political party groups is not maximised."[37]

It was found that those involved in consultations and implementation of activities are those that are part of established government structures nationally and locally as well as traditional leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders, political party leaders, veterans and individuals – both men and women, teachers and civil society organizations. It seems that there may be a common check list of actors who are engaged by those looking to implement activities related to peacebuilding which, although goes some way towards achieving inclusivity, may repeatedly exclude other groups within communities.

3.5 Challenges for inclusive peacebuilding

A range of challenges and barriers to inclusive peacebuilding, that is, peacebuilding which is coordinated and participatory, were cited by research participants across the target group. They are presented thematically as follows:

Social and economic exclusion of youth, was raised on a number of levels by participants and is a key challenge for inclusive peacebuilding. Participants raised the issue of youth becoming involved in conflict and violent activity as a result of high unemployment and lack of skills training or vocational education opportunities. For this reason, many of the activities participants related closely with peacebuilding were activities aimed at youth, as described above.

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[35] FGD, Baucau, 01 April 2014.
[36] Interview, UN Women, 28 March 2014
[37] Interview, UN Women, 28 March 2014

Corruption, collusion and nepotism were considered as important barriers to inclusion. In Baucau FGD, participants raised this as having an important effect on peacebuilding efforts as it widens the gap and leads to distrust between citizens, authorities and elected representatives. The formation of political society in the post-independence period is characterised by an increasingly institutionalised system of patron-client networks favouring a small and well-connected political elite, taking advantage of opportunities through cronyism and nepotism thus reinforcing both perceived and real inequality within society. Misuse of power, misuse of government assets, discrimination during recruitment based on affiliation relationships were seen as common practice.[38]

Lack of rural participation was repeatedly mentioned by participants in the three districts as it was seen that key stakeholders who are often involved are from urban areas only (for example, district capitals rather than more isolated sub-districts). Some reasons for this were offered by participants in the three districts which include poor infrastructure in rural areas especially road conditions as well as lack of financial capacity to reach more remote areas, lack of transportation and limitations in human resources.[39]

Culture of dependency was raised by several NGOs in the sense that the Government has often provided payments to individuals in the form of compensation to victims, veterans and even instigators of conflict (as in the case of the 2006 crisis in Timor-Leste).[40] This idea was echoed in the International Dialogue's 2010 Paper;

> "Some in civil society and elsewhere see the 'buying peace' approach as undermining long-term development and stability, as it encourages people to create problems in order to receive benefits from the state…The government, however, defends its actions as securing stability in the short term in order to build long term peace and has consistently defended social welfare of the most vulnerable as an inalienable right."

Moreover, citizens have come to expect financial compensation for participation in activities (a practice that is said to have started during the UN Transitional Administration in Timor-Leste) which may provide a barrier for grass roots organizations to engage a broad base of citizens in consultations.

Culture and tradition, whilst in some ways can provide tools for peacebuilding, is often an obstacle to inclusive peacebuilding. Lack of participation of women due to the strong patriarchal culture in Timor-Leste means that targeted efforts are required to maximise their inclusion in dialogue processes.[41]

Duplication of initiatives was raised by participants in the three districts in that some common key stakeholders, for example the village chief or other community leaders are stretched between several activities at any one time. Often these activities clash. This idea is

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[38] FGD Baucau, 01 April 2014
[39] FGD Baucau, Aileu and Ermera, 1-4 April 2014
[40] Interviews, Lao Hamutuk and JSMP, March 2014.
[41] Interview, UN Women, 28 March 2014.

also expressed by NGOs interviewed in that there is a lack of synchronization in peacebuilding activities due to several factors, including limited funding periods, conflicting timeframes, a lack of good management skills (to ensure good coordination) and a lack of coordination between key donors.

Bureaucracy may also play a role in obstructing local level initiatives due to time lags and inconsistent processes, particularly in relation to Government funding for grass roots initiatives. Participants in Baucau described this challenge as the long process of applying for funds for local level initiatives discourages community members from implementing activities.[42]

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[42] FGD Baucau, 1 April 2014.

CONCLUSION

This report does not replace the need for an in-depth study and assessment of past and current peacebuilding programmes, which is required in order to allow a genuine understanding of how inclusive peacebuilding efforts have been in Timor-Leste. The research scope of 'peacebuilding' and 'inclusivity' as defined in this report is very broad to investigate in depth in a short timeframe. However, it is hoped that this can provide a starting point for a more in-depth assessment of 'peacebuilding' and 'inclusivity' in the local context in Timor-Leste. As this report has highlighted, peacebuilding and inclusivity are locally understood as top-down initiatives to address national development and national security, to promote economic development and social cohesion with the participation of selected key stakeholders depending on the nature of the activity being carried out. Local-level peacebuilding processes such as mediation and dialogue continue to be practiced by communities; however, the extent to which these are inclusive is in question, particularly in relation to women. Understanding peacebuilding and inclusivity in this way is indicative of need for the Government, in coordination with development partners and civil society organizations, to design and implement peacebuilding programmes with close consideration of the context and in a way that allows alignment of engagements and understanding of peacebuilding and inclusivity at various levels by multiple actors at the same time.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Some actions proposed by key informants and participants in district level interactive dialogues can be summed up as follows:

For Timor-Leste Government

- During and following the UN Transitional Administration (UNTAET) the State was captured by a small elite (politicians and elite NGOs) at the capital level who, in the absence of a strong civil society, ended up prioritizing personal and party interests and failed to address key issues that are of concern to the majority of the population. In order to discourage the top-down approach to peacebuilding initiatives the government should promote better coordination between district and Dili-based peacebuilding programmes, so as to engage local communities, in particular those marginalized, in the design and implementation processes of major peacebuilding initiatives. This would also allow the government the opportunity to develop and incorporate specific peacebuilding programmes addressing research-based peace priorities in its overall National Development Programme.

For International Community

- Broad-based dialogue initiatives that bring together ordinary citizens and the leadership into constructive debates as a way to compress vertical space require ongoing external support. There is recognition of the need to engage local communities, in particular those marginalized, so that their needs and priorities are fed into the design and implementation processes of major government peacebuilding initiatives. Within this context donors are best positioned to support specific research-based peace priorities to be incorporated as part of major national peacebuilding programmes in close collaboration with civil society organizations. The influx of international agencies during the UN transitional Administration (UNTAET) and throughout the successive crises, while beneficial on the one hand, have weakened relations between local and international NGOs resulting in local groups feeling marginalized and underfunded by organisations with international connections who are better able to access funding.

For Civil Society Organizations

- Despite funding limitations, civil society organizations need to find ways to promote the aspirations of communities to bring forward local priorities. A bottom-up approach can strengthen local ownership over initiatives and actions and encourage communities to take the lead in a solution-driven process that builds on local knowledge and contexts.

- On a practical level, it is important for civil society organisations in Timor-Leste to make every effort to include groups and individuals that are not always part of the common checklist of local leaders and representatives, thereby ensuring that inclusion is maximised.

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4. ANNEXES

ANNEX 1. BAUCAU DISTRICT

No.	Name	Gender	Institution/Position
1.	Norberta X. Belo	F	PNTL (National Police of Timor-Leste)
2.	Domingos Savio C.R.	M	UNITAL (University)
3.	Santina X. Freitas	F	CCP
4.	Me. Natalia	F	CIJ (Catholic Nun)
5.	Me. Terezinha	F	CIJ (Catholic Nun)
6.	Saturnina Freitas Belo	F	Youth representative
7.	Carlos de Assis B.	M	Traditional Leader
8.	Jose do Carmo Pinto	M	GCMF (Local NGO)
9.	Paulino L. Fraga	M	UNITAL (University)
10.	Olivio Freitas	M	District Administrator Representative
11.	Ernesto J. Ximenes	M	UNITAL (University student)
12.	Agostinho da Costa G.	M	Journalist
13.	Nazario Bento	M	Journalist
14.	Virgilio Sarmento Freitas	M	FESTIL (Timor-Leste Martial Art Federation)
15.	Januario J. Xavier	M	Teacher
16.	Adilson F. Freitas	M	PNTL (National Police of Timor Leste)

ANNEX 2. ERMERA DISTRICT

No.	Name	Gender	Institution/Position
1.	Francisca Soares Martins	F	Student
2.	Mario M. Exposto	M	SAS Ermera Civil Social Association
3.	Ana da Costa Amaral	F	DLO Ermera (District Liason Officer)
4.	Maria Duarte do Ceu	F	SEJD (Secretary State of Youth and Sport)
5.	Lourdes Soares	F	CIPLE (Information Centre Pedro Lemos, Ermera)
6.	Aquelina Maria Guterres	F	Women Network
7.	Maria Exposto	F	Women Network
8.	Marcelino Maia de deus	M	President of Steering Committee Ermera Peace House)
9.	Pascoal M. Martins	M	PD (Democratic Party)
10.	Hermenegildo dos Santos	M	Student
11.	Moises Tilman	M	Taek-Wondo Federation

ANNEX 3: AILEU DISTRICT

No.	Name	Gender	Institution/Position
1.	Julia da Conceiçaõ do Maujinho	F	Student
2.	MariaJinha A. da C. Martins	F	FOSCA (Catholic Youth)
3.	Maria Diamantina Martins	F	Business Women
4.	Joana Maria Babo	F	Women Representative in Council of Village
5.	Mafalda Gonçalves Borges	F	Teacher
6.	Dulce de Jesus dos Santos	F	HCR (Empower Rural Community)
7.	Lece Aparicio Ramos	F	FBD (Women for Development
8.	Ir. Aljira dos Santos	F	IS-MAIK (Catholic religious group)
9.	Merita de Jesus	F	FBD ((Women For Development)
10.	Moises da Silva	M	Teacher
11.	Eliza Mendonça de Jesus	F	FBD (Women for Development)
12.	Alexandre Hendrique Pereira	M	LBF (Local NGO)
13.	Julia F. Salsinha	F	TALATA (Local NGO)
14.	Bendito Xavier do Rĉgo	M	Foscaca (Catholic Youth)
15.	Sergio Alves	M	Student
26.	Saturnino Mendonça	M	Youth Representative
17.	Marcelino A. Sarmento	M	CEPAD DLO (District Liaison Officer)
18.	Leonito Mendonĉa	M	FBD (Women for Development)
19.	Sebastião Alves Quintão	M	PNTL (National Police of Timor-Leste)
20.	Pedro Soares	M	FBD (Women for Development)
21.	Orlando de Jesus	M	HCR (Empower Rural Community)
22.	Felizmeno Soares	M	FOSCA (Aileu Catholic Youth)
23.	Geronimo da Costa	M	PLAN International

ANNEX 4: Questionnaire for Local NGOs

1. How do you define Peacebuilding? Do you see your activities fitting in this definition? If so how?
2. How did you identify the issues you are trying to address? What was the process of deciding to engage the kind of efforts you are currently carrying out?
3. What is/are your target group/s?
4. Do you work at the national level, district level, sub-district level?
5. Would you define your activities as inclusive? In what sense?
6. Do you involve or collaborate with other local initiatives in your activities? How about State institutions or their representatives (local/national authorities)? How about International Organizations?
7. What would you consider the biggest priorities for building lasting peace in Timor-Leste?
8. How would you assess the achievements of peacebuilding efforts to this day in Timor-Leste: By local actors? By International Organizations? By the UN?
9. What are the persisting challenges and obstacles for peacebuilding initiatives?
10. Do you think there is room for improvement? If yes in what ways?

Questionnaire for Government and International NGOs

1. What key issues should one consider when talking about peacebuilding in Timor-Leste?
2. In your opinion how are those issues being addressed to this day?
3. Do you feel that the population has been engaged in the design and implementation of solutions that are being proposed to them? If yes, through which processes? If no, what are/were the impediments?
4. What kind of local peacebuilding efforts have you supported until now? What kind would you say are most relevant given the socio-political context?
5. What model of peacebuilding would local actors like to see being implemented in their community?
6. What have you found to be a useful approach to engaging communities in peacebuilding activities in Timor-Leste?
7. How best can international community, including UN support local initiatives engaged in peacebuilding activities?

Questionnaire for Focus Group discussions

1. What kind of activities have you seen implemented in your communities that have contributed to addressing conflict and supporting peace? By whom? Local NGOs, International community or government?
2. Who was involved in the design and planning of these activities? How?
3. Who was involved in the implementation of the activities? How?
4. How did these efforts contribute to reducing chances for relapse into conflict? If no, why not?
5. Are there groups or local actors in your community that have not engaged in peacebuilding activities? What do you think is the reason for that?
6. What would you define as the main challenges to peace in your community? In Timor-Leste?
7. What should be the role of local actors to overcome these challenges? Of the government? Of the International Community?

ANNEX 5. List of organizations/key persons interviewed

No	Institutions / Organizations		Participants Name	Position	Gender
1	FOKUPERS,	Local NGO	Mrs. Maria Jose Guterres	Director Interline	F
2	Luta Hamutuk	Local NGO	Mrs. Yuliana Yahyu	Administration and Finances Officer	F
3	TLDMDC	Local NGO	Mr. Fransisco Gary	Executive Director	M
4	Alola	Local NGO	Mrs. Angelina Fernandes	MCH-Programme Manager	F
5	JSMP	Local NGO	Mr. Luis Oliveira	Executive Director	M
6	La'O Hamutuk,	Local NGO	Mrs. Ines Martins	Researcher	F
7	La'O Hamutuk,	Local NGO	Mr. Adilson	Programme Coordinator	M
8	Triangle	INGO	Mrs. Cicilia Fonseca	Deputy Project manager Capacity Building	F
9	UN-Women	INGO	Mrs. Vicenta Correia	Programme Manager (Gesture peace for women and Security)	F
10	AUSAID	INGO	Mrs. Ana L. da. C. G. Guteres.	Project Management Specialist	F
11	UNDP	INGO	Mr. Jose C. Guteres	Project Manager UNDP/MSS Department of Peacebuilding & Social Cohesion Support Project	M
12	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Government	Mr. Constãncio da C. Pinto	Deputy Ministry	M
13	Ministry of Solidarity Social	Government	Mr. Jacinto Rigoberto	Deputy Ministry	M
14	Ssecretariat of Estate for Youth and Sport	Government	Mr. Jeferino S. dos Santos	Chief of Cabinet	M
15	Ssecretariat of Defense and Security	Government	Mr. Lidia Lopes d. Carvalho	National Director for Community Conflict Prevention	F
16	Ssecretariat of Defense and Security	Government	Mr. Anacleto da Costa Ribeiro	Accessory of Security Politic	M
17	Deficient MSS-Koizaun Social	Government	Mr. Agostinho Cosme Belo	Chief of Department for Koizaun Sosial	M
Total					**17**