CEPAD

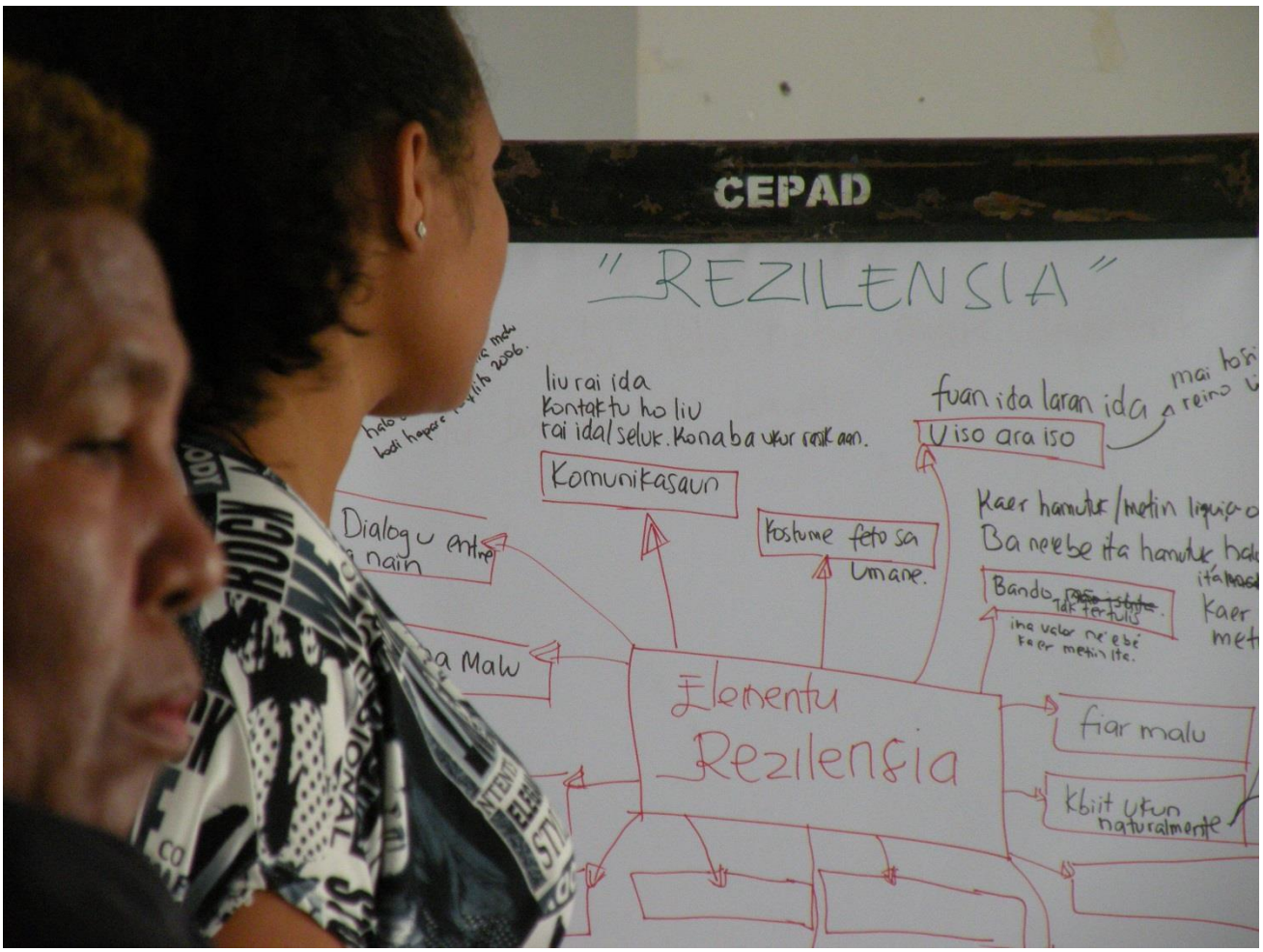
Husi Ita Ba Ita

Understanding Resilience from a Local Perspective

Frameworks for Assessing Resilience

Timor-Leste Country Note

Centre of Studies for Peace and Development (CEPAD)



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Acknowledgements

CEPAD would like to thank the Timorese people who gave their time to participate in the FAR consultation phase, sharing their ideas, opinions and knowledge in a spirit of open dialogue. Thanks goes also to those who agreed to take part in interviews for the project.

The consultation phase was carried out by CEPAD's research team, led by Joana Viegas and under the supervision of Executive Director, João Boavida. These activities would not have been possible without the assistance of CEPAD's 12 District Liaison Officers located across Timor-Leste.

This report was prepared by Joana Viegas and Caitlin Leahy on behalf of CEPAD, with advice and input provided by Anupah Makoond, Graeme Simpson and Maud Roure from Interpeace.

This research is generously funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

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Title: Understanding Resilience from a Local Perspective; FAR Timor-Leste Country Note.
Author: CEPAD (Centre of Studies for Peace and Development)
Publication Date: May 2015
Published by: CEPAD & Interpeace
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Produced and published in Dili, Timor-Leste.
Cover image: Liquica District Focus Group Discussion. Photo credit; CEPAD.

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About CEPAD

The Centre of Studies for Peace and Development (CEPAD) is an independent national non-government organisation constituted as an association under Timorese law. CEPAD's vision is for a Timor-Leste which is free from conflict and where there is transparency, integrity and accountability in the process of national development. Through permanent dialogue and other participatory research activities, CEPAD is increasing public knowledge and participation at all levels of society to find ways to achieve peace and sustainable development. CEPAD's work is based on the following basic principles: inclusiveness, political impartiality, broad-based participation, objectivity, local ownership and long-term engagement.

In partnership with international peacebuilding organisation, Interpeace, CEPAD's foundation Programme of Research and Dialogue for Peace (PRDP) has sought since 2007 to engage Timorese stakeholders countrywide to identify the most pressing obstacles to lasting peace, understand the origins and the dynamics of conflict, and to define the means to collectively address these in non-violent and sustainable ways. CEPAD has reached a broad cross-section of actors, ranging from citizens throughout the 13 districts of Timor-Leste to the country's key decision-makers, in the search for new ways to promote a culture of democratic dialogue for peace.

Direction and guidance is provided by the CEPAD board that is made up of respected individuals from different sectors of society, as well as representatives from each of the four sovereign bodies that make up the state of Timor-Leste namely, the Parliament, Government, Presidency and the Supreme Court. The ongoing participation of national leaders and key stakeholders in PRDP confirms the political support for this initiative.

About Interpeace

Interpeace is an independent, international peacebuilding organization. It was initially established in 1994 by the United Nations to develop innovative solutions to build peace. Interpeace has a proven and recognized approach to enable people to build lasting peace.

History shows us that peace is possible. From 20 years of experience in peacebuilding, we know that peace cannot be imported from the outside and must be built from within a society. This is why Interpeace tailors its approach to each society and ensures that the work is locally-driven. Together with local partners on the ground, Interpeace jointly develops peacebuilding programmes to help establish processes of change that connect local communities, civil society, government and the international community.

As a strategic partner of the United Nations, Interpeace is headquartered in Geneva (Switzerland) and has offices in Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire), Brussels (Belgium), Guatemala City (Guatemala), Nairobi (Kenya), New York (USA) and Stockholm (Sweden).

Interpeace supports locally-led peacebuilding initiatives in over 21 countries across Central America, Africa, Europe, the Middle East and Asia.

About Frameworks for Assessing Resilience

The Framework for Assessing Resilience (FAR) is a two year programme created by Interpeace and funded by SIDA, to develop tools that deepen the understanding of resilience in conflict affected societies as defined by the population. It focuses on the positive capacities that contribute to resilience rather than sources of fragility of a country. In its first phase it engages local populations in defining and assessing resilience for peacebuilding. Currently this new project is being implemented in Timor-Leste, Liberia and Guatemala.

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GLOSSARY

Acronyms

BOP	Public Order Battalion
CAVR	Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste
CEPAD	Centre of Studies for Peace and Development
CNRT	National Congress for Timorese Reconstruction (political party)
DLO	District Liaison Officer
DNPKK	National Directorate for the Prevention of Community Conflict
EWER	Early Warning, Early Response
Falintil	National Armed Forces for the Liberation of Timor-Leste
FAR	Frameworks for Assessing Resilience
F-FDTL	Falintil – National Defence Forces of Timor-Leste
FGD	Focus group discussion
FReTiLIn	Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor-Leste
GDP	Gross domestic product
g7+	Group of fragile and conflict affected countries
HHI	Harvard Humanitarian Initiative
IDP	Internally displaced person
IDPS	International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding
KKN	*Korupsaun, Kolusaun no Nepotism* / Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism
LADV	Law on Domestic Violence
MA	Martial Arts
MSS	Ministry of Social Solidarity
NGO	Non-government organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OMPT	Popular Organisation of Timorese Women
PAR	Participatory action research
PDHJ	Human Rights and Justice Ombudsman
PNTL	National Police of Timor-Leste
PRDP	Programme of Research and Dialogue for Peace (CEPAD)
PSG	Peacebuilding and statebuilding goal
RDTL	Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste
UN	United Nations
UNAMET	The United Nations Missions to Timor-Leste

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNOTIL	the United Nations Office in Timor-Leste
UNMISET	The United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNMIT	The United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
ZEESM	Special Economic and Social Market Zone

Tetum Terms

Aldeia	Sub-village
Fetosan Umane	Refers to a complex set of rules, rights, and responsibilities defining the relationship between a groom's and a bride's family, a relationship between clans which may extend over generations.
Hemu raan	'blood oath' which literally entails drinking blood to seal a peace agreement and/or an important deal
Kaben sai	Social system requiring a women to leave her family property to live with her husband after marriage
Kaben tama	Social system in which a woman remains on her family's property after marriage and her husband leaves his family to live with her family
Konselu de suku	Village council
Lei inan	Literally 'mother law' – term used to refer to the Constitution
Lia mate	traditions of death which include funerals and burials
Lia moris	traditions of life which include engagement and marriage
Lia nain	Literally 'owner of the story', traditional leader with authority to resolve conflicts
Lisan	Tetun and Indonesian (respectively) terms used to refer to the customary justice system or culture more broadly
Lulik	Sacred
Nahe biti bot	Roll out the big mat (a traditional dispute resolution or decision making practice)
Suku	Village
sentimentu solidaridade	collective or social sentiment
Tarabandu	Customary law
Uma lisan	Traditional or cultural house
Uma lulik	Sacred house

1 INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of six months of participatory consultations across Timor-Leste, in which CEPAD asked Timorese what, in their opinion, constitutes and contributes to their resilience as a people and nation, in the face of violent conflict. This consultation concludes the first phase of a two year research project entitled Frameworks for Assessing Resilience (FAR).

1.1 Frameworks for Assessing Resilience: resilience and peacebuilding concepts and practice

Based on over 20 years of peacebuilding initiatives in various countries and contexts, Interpeace and its partners believe that conflicts can be transformed by strengthening existing capacities to address these. Identifying a conflict's causes and triggers must be coupled with efforts to identify sources of resilience, which are specific and unique to each society. For this reason, Interpeace's FAR project aims to understand resilience, explore ways to assess resilience and then determine how these sources and capacities strengthen resilience and help to build peace.

The FAR project aims to complement policy discussions taking place at national and international levels and the subsequent strategies implemented in post-conflict states. FAR aims to contribute to a shift in thinking about what drives and supports resilience in conflict-affected societies in ways that promote peacebuilding. By looking differently at the idea of assessing progress in peacebuilding, FAR is promoting the use of frameworks for assessing resilience which are derived through inclusive and participatory processes and which are deeply rooted in the specific context to which they apply.

Through participatory research and dialogue in three countries – Liberia, Timor-Leste, and Guatemala – FAR aims to build analyses around what local actors understand to be their resilience and way to assess progress towards peace. These cases, alongside a "global methodology dialogue" involving specialists from around the world engaged in thinking and policy development on assessing resilience,[1] will, over the project's two year life-cycle, endeavour to generate new, context-sensitive frameworks and methodologies to bring to this task.[2]

Emerging peacebuilding perspectives focus on the ability for communities "to rebound, maintain or strengthen functioning during and after a disturbance; or to cope successfully in the face of extreme adversity or risk…"[3] Acknowledging that "resilience" is a term which is borrowed from other disciplines, it is important to recognise that its application in the peacebuilding field is necessarily nuanced, such that it oscillates between "the narrow engineering view of resilience, systems resilience, and finally the resilience of complex adaptive systems."[4] The fluidity of the term's definition does not however undermine its relevance, value and intersection with some of the key themes and debates in the peacebuilding field over

[1] These dialogues will draw specialists (at global and country levels) to critically debate the value and limitations of different frameworks and processes to measure resilience, and to support and learn from country research processes, towards the development of policy guidance.
[2] McCandless, E. & Simpson, G. (2014), 'Assessing Resilience for Peacebuilding', Discussion Document, Interpeace.
[3] Carpenter, A. (2008). Resilience to Violent Conflict: Adaptive Strategies in Fragile States. *Annual Convention of the International Studies Association*, 2014. http://www.humansecuritygateway.info/documents/ISA_resiliencetoviolentconflict.pdf, p. 3
[4] Jütersonke, Oliver and Moncef Kartas, "Resilience: Conceptual Reflections," Geneva Peacebuilding Platform, 2012, p.3

time. Furthermore, "resilience" has been of unique importance and relevance to current policy debates, particularly on the relationship between peacebuilding and statebuilding.

There are some complex challenges associated with the task or defining, assessing and strengthening resilience for peace, as outlined in much of the recent literature on the topic. Resilience as a lens is attractive in the field of peacebuilding because it focuses on the self-help mechanisms that exist in communities. However, for this very reason, processes driven by actors from outside a society are not helpful in describing, assessing and strengthening resilience for peace. As manifested at various levels within a society, resilience may take the form of complex networks, systems and dynamics that are much better understood by the actors from within than by those outside. "The qualities that make up resilience are deeply embedded, not virtues that can be quickly transferred in a workshop. They involve dense patterns of trust networks, hybrid coalitions forged across a wide range of actors, shared narratives, common interests, multiple lines of communication, good leadership, and a commitment by local leaders to take risks for peace."[5]

As resilience is increasingly used as an approach or lens through which to guide peacebuilding and statebuilding programmes, supporting and promoting context-specific analyses of the sources of and capacities for resilience in post-conflict environments, as identified by local actors becomes all the more important. The FAR program is therefore an attempt to encourage local actors to define resilience as applied in their context and provide recommendations to strengthen such capacities as well as providing a comparative perspective across different contexts by fostering knowledge sharing and exchanges between these local actors in different countries. This idea is reinforced by one commentator in the field; "Greater use of community-to-community contact and dialogue can help here. Allowing communities to process the positive experience of others into their own practices can be a more effective learning strategy while building solidarity and cross-communal ties."[6]

1.2 Implementing the FAR project in Timor-Leste

In Timor-Leste, CEPAD is leading the Frameworks for Assessing Resilience (FAR) project which, in its initial phase, has set out to understand what resilience looks like in Timor-Leste, from the perspective of the Timorese people themselves. This has resulted in engaging discussions facilitated throughout the country using a positive lens to understand the different forms, characteristics and diverse functions of various 'elements' of resilience as well as examining the conditions under which these can either strengthen or undermine peace. This report captures the results of CEPAD's qualitative research, consultations and dialogues from July 2014 to February 2015, across the 13 districts of the country, and serves as a summary of the first phase in an 18 month mixed-methods participatory research process.

The results as outlined here serve as the basis for the next phases of the project, which will see the PAR process complimented with a quantitative survey. A National Working Group will deepen the analysis of the results of the first phase in order to develop recommendations for strengthening resilience for peace and devise a framework for assessing resilience in Timor-Leste. For this reason, this report should not be taken as a final analysis of resilience for peace in Timor-Leste but rather an articulation of initial results.

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[5] Menkhaus, Ken; 'Making Sense of Resilience in Peacebuilding Contexts: Approaches, Applications, Implications', Geneva Peacebuilding Platform, Paper No. 6, 2013.

[6] Calder, J. (2014) 'Resilience', Summer 2014 Insights Newsletter; Resilience', United States Institute for Peace, accessed online at www.usip.org/insights-newsletter/resilience-jason-calder

Since 2007, CEPAD has undertaken nation-wide participatory research and dialogue in order to understand the key priorities, as defined by Timorese, to achieving sustainable peace in Timor-Leste. CEPAD's Programme of Research and Dialogue for Peace (PRDP) began in response to the violent political military crisis of 2006, which occurred four years after the achievement of Independence in 2002, and revealed the fragility of the young nation in its struggle to resolve past grievances whilst adopting new state structures. The four priorities identified and validated through this process, which form CEPAD's mandate and have directed its agenda for action since 2009 are:

1. Addressing the promotion of individual and party interests over the national interest.
2. Addressing the ineffective formal judicial system and the culture of impunity.
3. Conducting a thorough historical review of the resistance and the occupation.
4. Reducing Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN).

CEPAD has set out to create a climate in which Timorese are better able to identify the most pressing obstacles to lasting peace and collectively address these in a non-violent way. CEPAD's physical peace infrastructure, five Peace Houses situated across the country, has assisted in establishing and consolidating permanent dialogue platforms which bring Timorese together in neutral and positive spaces.

The FAR project gives CEPAD the opportunity to build on its previous work by opening up new conversations with communities and decision-makers to better understand local capacities for peace. FAR is finding ways to build on and facilitate positive change in this post-conflict context.

The FAR project places a slightly different analytic lens on an important dimension of CEPAD's peacebuilding work. At its core, CEPAD's mission is to promote strong state-society relations and social relations between people by increasing public knowledge and participation at all levels. Whilst the four priorities for peace identified by CEPAD highlight the sources of distrust within society and serve as broad indicators of the weakening of state-society relations – for example the proliferation of corruption or a culture of impunity – through FAR, CEPAD seeks to draw out those elements of resilience that promote trust and social cohesion in the face of these challenges.

In a policy space where building institutional capacity to respond to and prevent conflict is often seen as the most important focus for peacebuilding and statebuilding efforts, CEPAD's emphasis on building trust and positive cohesion within society and promoting active and informed participation of citizens can be bolstered through the use of this resilience lens.

In the Timor-Leste context, as a young, post-conflict state which experienced close to 500 years of foreign colonisation and then occupation before resistance efforts eventually succeeded in overcoming external forces and establishing a free and independent nation in 2002, **CEPAD understands resilience to be that which holds Timorese together in such a way that enables them to respond to conflict through non-violent means**. This may involve confronting, managing, distancing, adapting, resisting, and transforming in the face of conflicts. Without a local translation for the term, **'resilience' is described as the resources or glue that, until today, have held Timorese society tightly together to confront conflicts from the past and which allow Timorese to confront conflicts that might arise in the future, in an adaptive and transformative way.** Taken as a starting point, this definition has been built on throughout the consultations and as suggested by one participant**, resilience is that which gives Timorese the inspiration to organise themselves to bring about positive outcomes for society.**

Like all of CEPAD's peacebuilding initiatives, FAR has both a process and an output objective. The process objective is to create a space in which Timorese, many of whom participated in CEPAD's programmes in the past, are encouraged to think deeply about and critically analyse their strengths and capacities. In a post-conflict context such at Timor-Leste in which people are often asked about needs, challenges, obstacles and conflict drivers, asking citizens about resilience is part of a dialogue process which shifts the focus away from fragility.

The output objective of FAR in Timor-Leste is to develop a framework which describes the existing capacities in society which can be strengthened and transformed for peacebuilding and which forms a basis for developing tools and methods for assessing resilience. Furthermore, in the next phases of the project, FAR aims to present policy recommendations and programming goals which can make Timor-Leste more resilient into the future.

2 TIMOR-LESTE CONTEXT

In order to agree on a contextually-specific explanation of resilience, it is important to understand *what* Timorese have demonstrated resilience in the face of. It is therefore important to examine the key conflicts that have taken place in Timor-Leste as well as some relevant socio-economic issues which have provided a backdrop for the FAR consultations. The explanation of resilience that this research has used was informed by these unique experiences of occupation, resistance and internal crisis and the constant threat of divisions, grievances and unrest that have existed within the country in the past and which continue to undermine sustainable peace in the present day. CEPAD's explanation of resilience as that which holds Timorese together in such a way that enables them to respond to conflict through non-violent means makes sense when considering that it has been the divisions between groups and individuals that have most severely undermined the pursuit of peace.

2.1 Mapping violent conflicts in Timor-Leste since 1974

For the last quarter of the twentieth century Timor-Leste experienced regular wide-scale violent conflict. The end of Portuguese colonial rule in 1975 gave way to a brief period of civil war before Timor-Leste was invaded and occupied by neighbouring Indonesia in December 1975, resulting in grave human rights violations and crimes against humanity committed throughout a 24 years period. After voting for Independence from Indonesia in a UN-organised referendum in 1999, wide-scale violent conflict again killed thousands and caused mass displacement. It is estimated that between 102,800 and 183,000 Timorese from a population of just below 1 million died as a result of conflict-related deaths during the Indonesian Occupation,[7] and by 1999, over half the population had been displaced as a result of the conflict.

2.1.1 Indonesian Occupation and the period of The Resistance

The response of the Timorese to the experience of occupation over this period is widely referred to as 'The Resistance'. This was played out in a number of ways, which are categorised into three main 'fronts'. The Armed Front consisted of the Falintil forces, which was an armed liberation force founded in 1975 and led for most of the occupation by Xanana Gusmão. These guerrilla soldiers largely operated in the mountains of Timor-Leste and relied on the assistance of Timorese living in rural areas to provide food, shelter and to deliver messages between different groups. Although the Armed Front shared one objective of securing self-rule for Timor-Leste, internal differences plagued the forces. Several leaders were killed by other Falintil fighters and others were turned over to the Indonesian army. A complex picture of shifting alliances played out which continue to impact Timorese politics today.

The Clandestine Front comprised those Timorese who were employed under the Indonesian Administration who supported the movement for independence. It also comprised University students in Indonesia. The main contribution of this Front was to relay information pertaining to the Indonesian military and other sections of the Administration to the Armed Front and to act as a liaison point between the Armed Front and the Diplomatic Front. Many young Timorese were involved in the Clandestine Front, delivering information and medical supplies to the fighters. This work of this Front was also hampered by divisions and distrust

[7] See Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation Timor-Leste (CAVR) (2005), 'Chega!; Executive Summary', p. 44. According to CAVR, the minimum figure for the number of conflict-related deaths during the 1974-1999 period is 102,800 (+/- 12,000). CAVR speculates that the death toll as a result of the Occupation, when considering hunger and illness related deaths, could be as high as 183,000.

caused by competition for information and suspicions of those who were seen to be supporting a policy of integration with Indonesia.

The Diplomatic Front comprised Timorese Diaspora who utilised diplomatic channels to advocate for Timor-Leste's Independence and to draw international attention to human rights violations committed by the Indonesian state. Relying on information from the Clandestine Front, these Timorese based in Australia, Portugal, former Portuguese colonies and various other countries, used media and local support bases to carry out their work. Various factions, drawn mostly along geographic lines, also arose within this Front leading to disagreement and hampering concerted efforts.

2.1.2 Post-Independence period marked by political crises

Although Timor-Leste has not experienced full-scale conflict in the post-Independence period, the country 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. Successive political crises and cycles of violence in the post-independence period (2002 – 2015) have highlighted deep divisions and unresolved issues dating back to the period before and during the struggle for independence.

Civil unrest involving students, veterans martial arts group members and the Catholic Church, was observed in the early years of Independence, signalling the manifestation of grievances and dissatisfaction with aspects of the new democratic regime. By April 2006, Timor-Leste faced a major political-military crisis which resulted in 38 homicides and displaced 150,000 Timorese, predominantly in Dili. A set of complex dynamics characterised the crisis and there were several key sectors, groups and actors involved in initiating and perpetuating the violence. The crisis was provoked through the actions of 600 soldiers within the F-FDTL (Falintil – Defence Forces of Timor-Leste) who abandoned their posts and presented a petition to the Prime Minster and President calling for transparency in the internal system of promotion with the force. The protest was based on the perception of discrimination against members of the force from the West of the country (generally thought of as having formerly taken a pro-integration stance). When a satisfactory response was not presented, the 'petitioners' staged an attack on the Government Palace and widespread violence, looting and burning ensued.

This violence, instigated by various actors down to the neighbourhood level, lasted until 2008 and included assassination attempts on President Jose Ramos Horta and Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão. The displacement of 150,000 people in Dili took two years to resolve. This was the most serious conflict seen in the post-Independence period.

2.1.3 Violent conflict in present-day Timor-Leste

Other reoccurring forms of violence continue to undermine peace in Timor-Leste and these are not always reflected in official crime statistics due to under-reporting.[8] These include domestic and gender-based violence, 'black magic' (involving sorcery, curses and other forms of spiritual and ritual revenge), security sector violence and youth, land and urban violence. It is worth outlining some of these to indicate their current severity and potential to escalate into the future.

Although statistics on domestic violence are not entirely reliable, the 2009 Timor-Leste demographic health survey indicated that one third of Timorese women who were or had been married had experienced some

[8] Overseas Development Institute (2015), 'After the Buffaloes Clash; moving from political violence to personal security in Timor-Leste', p.36

form of emotional, physical and/or sexual violence perpetrated by their partner. Although there have been considerable legislative and programmatic initiatives to reduce the rates of domestic and gender-based violence, the UNDP Human Development Report for 2014 suggests that 86.2% of Timorese women and 80.7% of men aged between 15 and 49 believe that wife beating is justified under certain circumstances.[9]

Security sector violence refers to ill-treatment, contravention of law and excessive use of force on the part of security and law enforcement actors. In Timor-Leste, the National Police Force (PNTL) and army (F-FDTL) have come under considerable criticism for such behaviour, particularly as a result of their joint operations following the 2006 crisis, but not limited to this. As reported by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), since 2009, the Human Rights and Justice Ombudsman (PDHJ) has received between 28 and 37 allegations of excessive force each year between 2009 and 2013.

Such incidents have also been reported in 2013-2015, particularly in the course of the Government-led response to civil unrest perpetrated predominantly by Paulino Gama, known also as 'Mauk Moruk', a former Falintil Commander who returned from the Netherlands in 2013 to agitate for an overhaul of the Government from his strong hold in Baucau District. Most recently, in March 2015, a new joint operation between the PNTL and F-FDTL has been established with a mission to "prevent and suppress criminal actions from illegal groups that are causing instability in the country."[10] This is a response to several violent attacks on PNTL personnel and property carried out between December 2014 and March 2015.

2.2 Peacebuilding and resilience programming in Timor-Leste

As a state transitioning out of violent conflict, local and international organisations have invested considerable efforts in peacebuilding in Timor-Leste. These interventions focus on a broad range of issues including but not limited to local conflict resolution, strengthening justice mechanisms, improving security, promoting inclusive development, providing social services for vulnerable groups, working with youth through sport, proliferating gender norms and promoting international human rights standards.

2.2.1 United Nations programming

One of the first and largest of these such interventions was the establishment of the Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste (CAVR), initiated by UNTAET Human Rights Unit, Timorese civil society, the Catholic Church and community leaders, which commenced its operations in 2000 and published its findings in a lengthy report entitled *Chega!* (a Portuguese term meaning 'Stop!') in 2005.[11] The mandate of CAVR was; "Inquiring into and establishing the truth regarding human rights violations which took place in the context of the political conflicts in Timor-Leste between 25 April 1974 and 25 October 1999" which was to be carried out predominantly through a community reconciliation process.[12]

Various peacebuilding efforts have been carried out 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

[9] Percentage of women and men ages 15–49 who consider a husband to be justified in hitting or beating his wife for at least one of the following reasons: if his wife burns the food, argues with him, goes out without telling him, neglects the children or refuses sexual relations. See UNDP (2014), 'Human Development Report 2014', p.206.
[10] Press Release 'Joint Operations Begin', Minister of State and of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 21 March 2015 available online at http://timor-leste.gov.tl/?p=11440&lang=en
[11] CAVR (2005), 'Chega! Executive Summary', p.18
[12] CAVR (2005), 'Chega! Executive Summary', pp.19-22.

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; and The United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) (August 2006 - 31 December 2012) with a far-reaching mandate to assist the country in overcoming the consequences and underlying causes of the 2006 political military crisis.

More recently, some approaches are being described as having the aim of strengthening or building resilience. This applies commonly in programmes addressing disaster preparedness and risk reduction, but can also be seen in programming from government, UN and other development partners. There is a tendency to link resilience closely with a transition out of fragility and to link resilience to social cohesion, and/or resilience to security (including personal security). For example, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) works closely with the Timor-Leste Ministry of Social Solidarity (MSS) through the 'Timor-Leste Resilience and Social Cohesion Project', with the purpose to "consolidate and further strengthen capacities within the government of Timor-Leste to maintain and deepen resilience and social cohesion across the nation."[13]

2.2.2 g7+ and the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States

Another national process that is important to consider is Timor-Leste's involvement in the g7+ group of fragile and conflict affected states and its initiatives in relation to resilience and peacebuilding. In its former role as Secretary of the g7+ (through the ex-Minister of Finance, Emilia Pires), the RDTL Government has been a central player in shaping the 'New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States' (referred to as the New Deal) and a key voice in the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (IDPS). The New Deal is based on five statebuilding and peacebuilding goals (PSGs) including; legitimate politics; security; justice; economic foundation and revenue and services. The New Deal is designed to be implemented through a number of steps referred to as 'FOCUS' in order to; "make sure we are in charge of our own pathways to resilience."[14] These steps are referred to as; fragility assessment; one vision, one plan; compact; use of PSGs to monitor; support political dialogue.

Timor-Leste's first fragility assessment was conducted between July and August 2012 and the report was released in February 2013. As described by the g7+ Secretariat; "The Fragility Assessment is a tool that the g7+ are testing - so we can review it and see if it adds value in getting our countries further towards resilience."[15] A list of fragility indicators was developed as one output of conducting the assessment and was approved by the RDTL Council of Ministers on 23 January 2013. Development of these indicators was one of 10 strategic priorities of the g7+ for 2013 with the objective of developing a set of indicators that can be applied across all fragile states. A fragility 'spectrum' is included which ranges from 'fragile' to 'resilient'. This suggests that 'resilience' is seen as the outcome of overcoming fragility.

[13] UNDP (2014) 'Timor-Leste Resilience and Social Cohesion Project', Project Document, March 2014.
[14] g7+ Secretariat (2012), 'Pathways Toward Resilience; The Journey Continues', Progress Report, g7+ Secretariat, Dili, p.12
[15] g7+ Secretariat (2012), 'Pathways Toward Resilience; The Journey Continues', Progress Report, g7+ Secretariat, Dili, p.18

2.3 Socio-Economic Profile of Timor-Leste

A brief examination of some key socio-economic issues facing Timor-Leste which contribute to creating divisions within society as well as posing threats to the maintenance of peace is necessary to understand how Timorese conceive of resilience.

The population of Timor-Leste is 1,066,409 million and the country is divided administratively into 13 districts, 65 sub-districts, 442 *suku* (village) and 2225 *aldea* (hamlet or sub-village). The population of the capital, Dili, is 198,614 which is close to 20% of the total population.

Timor-Leste is considered by UNDP to have a medium level of human development and is ranked 128 out of 187 countries in the Human Development Index.[16] When adjusted to take inequality into account, its rank of 128 drops to 131.[17] Timor-Leste's life expectancy at birth is 67.5 years and the average annual population growth from 2010-2015 was 1.7%.

According to the 2010 Census, more than 70% of Timorese live in rural areas of the country. The vast majority of these depend on subsistence cultivation for livelihoods. Stagnation of the rural economy in Timor-Leste is a major cause of poverty and food shortages occur regularly in any given year. One of the biggest threats to human development in Timor-Leste is malnutrition in children under 5 years old, which was estimated at 58.1% by UNDP in 2014.[18]

Timor-Leste has a very young population which leads to what may be referred to as a 'youth bulge', which exacerbates unemployment and places pressure on education systems. Youth unemployment is considered to be a key driver of youth-related conflict, especially in Dili. 86.5% of the population are aged 0-14 years.[19] The literacy rate for adults aged 15 years and over is 58.3% whereas the rate for youth aged between 15 and 24 years old is 79.5%. Timorese aged over 25 have an average of 4.4 years of schooling, children can expect to receive 11.7 years of schooling.

Population growth in Timor-Leste has been accompanied by unprecedented rural-urban migration, with estimates in 2011 that 42.6% of Dili's population was not born in Dili, but has rather migrated to the capital from rural areas.[20] It is estimated that 92.2% of those living in Dili occupy the highest wealth quintiles. 91% of Dili residents have access to safe drinking water as compared with 57% in rural areas. Children in urban areas are almost four times more likely to be enrolled at secondary school than their peers in rural areas.[21]

For Timor-Leste, the gender inequality index has not been calculated for 2013, due to the absence of data for secondary education rates. However there are some statistics which shed some light on the position of women in the country. The maternal mortality rate is 300 per 100,000 live birth; the adolescent birth rate is 52.2 births per 1000 women aged between 15 and 19 years; women hold 38.5% of seats in the National Parliament; the labour force participation rate is 24.7% of women aged 15 and over (as compared with 51.1%

[16] UNDP (2014), 'Human Development Report 2014', p.162
[17] UNDP (2014), 'Human Development Report 2014', p.170
[18] UNDP (2014), 'Human Development Report 2014', p.186
[19] UNDP (2014), 'Human Development Report 2014', p.162
[20] UNDP Timor-Leste National Human Development Report, 2011, p. 22.
[21] McWillian, A. (2014), 'Migration and Rural–Urban Inequalities in Timor-Leste', In Brief 2014/1, Australian National University, Canberra, p.1.

for men). There are significant inequalities between Timorese men and women in relation to the average years of schooling which, for women aged over 25 years is 3.6 and for men, 5.3.

Gross National Income for Timor-Leste is $9,674. Timor-Leste's economy is heavily dependent on oil and gas revenues. Income from oil and gas makes up three quarters of the economy and 93% of state revenues although, non-oil GDP has grown rapidly since 2008. This makes Timor-Leste one of the most oil-dependent countries in the world. Oil income peaked in 2012, dropping 15% in 2013 and 42% further in 2014.[22] The state has saved $16 billion in its Sovereign Wealth Fund (called the 'Petroleum Fund') however the Timor-Leste Institute for Development Monitoring and Analysis, La'o Hamutuk, estimates that this fund could dry up by 2025.[23]

Key development priorities are not reflected in the spending decisions of Timor-Leste's government. Agriculture receives only 2% of 2015 state spending, despite the dependence of almost two thirds of all households on subsistence farming. Health accounts for 4.6% of state spending for 2015 despite the acute levels of malnutrition among children under 5 years, and education accounts for 9.5% which is only slightly higher than the budget allocated to veterans payments for 2015 (8.7%).[24]

This overview presents a complex picture of a state and people facing many challenges in the process of consolidating a new democracy in the wake of experiences of occupation and violent conflict perpetrated from outside as well that arising from within the society as a result of internal divisions and fractures. 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.[25]

Despite various outbreaks of violence and persistent challenges to the consolidation of democracy and the pursuit of inclusive development as described here, Timor-Leste has not descended into full-scale conflict and is in no way considered to be a so-called 'failed state.' Therefore, in the midst of such challenges and conflicts, this research has made an attempt to understand the capacities for resilience and peacebuilding that exist in Timor-Leste, as described by those within the society itself.

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[22] Scheiner, C. (2015) 'Can the Petroleum Fund Exorcise the Resource Curse from Timor-Leste?' online article accessed at http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/exor/ScheinerFundExorciseCurseFeb2015.pdf, p. 1

[23] Scheiner, C. (2015) 'Can the Petroleum Fund Exorcise the Resource Curse from Timor-Leste?' online article accessed at http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/exor/ScheinerFundExorciseCurseFeb2015.pdf, p. 1

[24] La'o Hamutuk website, '2015 General State Budget', updated 16 March 2015, accessed online at http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/OGE15/14OGE15.htm. Veterans payments refer to cash transfers provided by the government to those who qualify as 'veterans' based on the contribution they made under the Indonesian Occupation.

[25] See CEPAD and Interpeace (2009), 'Timor-Leste: Voices and Paths to Peace', Dili.

Figure 1: District Map of Timor-Leste

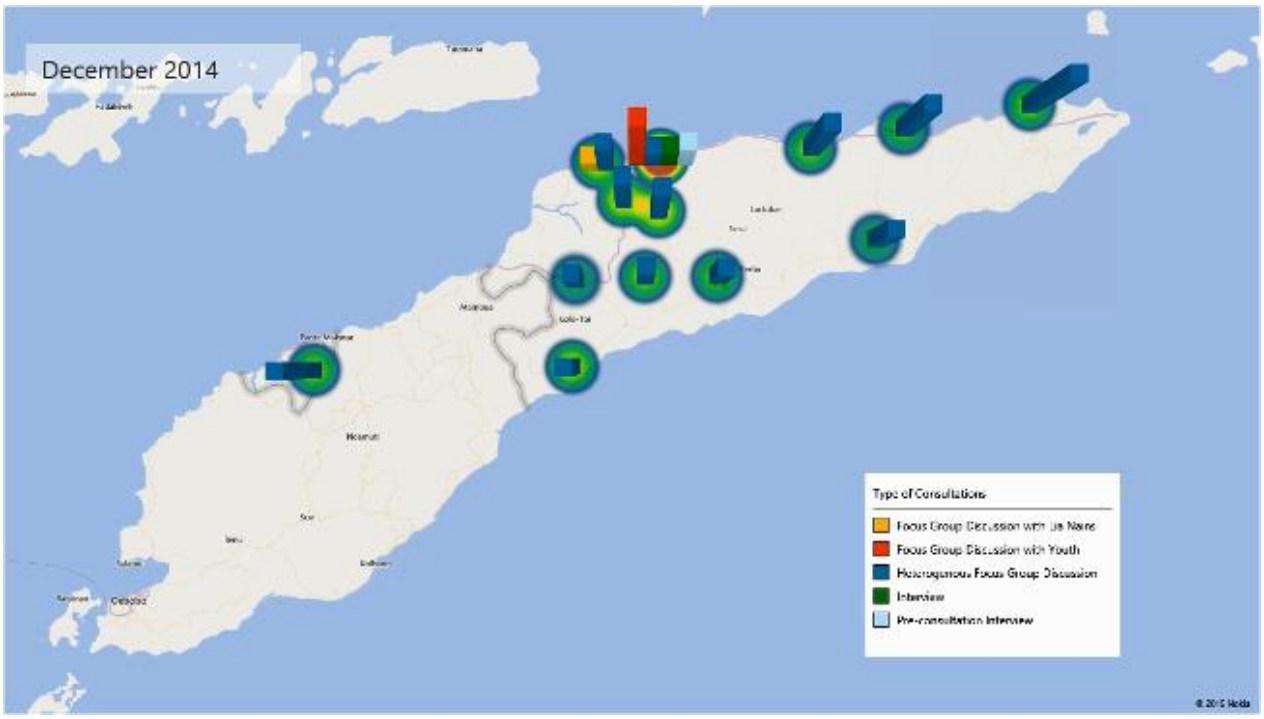

Figure 2: Geographic coverage of FAR Consultations May 2014 – December 2015

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Approach

The FAR project is based on the participatory action research (PAR) approach, which aims to promote the ownership of the research process by a broad cross section of stakeholders in Timorese society who are therefore placed at the centre of the actions which emerge. Taking a participatory and inclusive approach to researching conflict-related issues in Timor-Leste is central to CEPAD's peacebuilding approach which is based on a core belief that sustainable peace can only be achieved if the process of addressing key obstacles to, or strengthening capacities for peace are driven by those from within the society, according to a broad-based understanding of the dynamics and opportunities that exist in that particular context. For this reason, the research process is as important, if not more important than that research output.

Since 2007, CEPAD has applied the PAR method to carry out various research projects and has adapted this to suit the Timor-Leste context. For this reason, the use of a traditional Timorese dialogue and conflict resolution tool known as *nahe biti bot* or 'to roll out the big mat' has been adopted and modified by CEPAD in order to create an inclusive and neutral space which is familiar to Timorese and which is conducive to discussion, sharing ideas and thinking about actions and recommendations.

The methods for the FAR project have been shaped by the need to develop frameworks for assessing resilience through the voices of ordinary people in a country affected by past and present conflict. For this reason, the consultation phase of the project (May 2014 – February 2015) has taken a qualitative, participatory approach which has been adapted for this particular project.

In order to respond to the specific aims of the FAR project, which is to capture the positive voices and identify the assets in Timorese society which describe resilience for peace, CEPAD has devised innovative practices which carry a level of risk. CEPAD, with the support of Interpeace and the Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (HHI) is adopting a mixed method approach. The results of the initial qualitative consultation phase will be used to design a nation-wide survey with the aim of using quantitative methods to complement and broaden the initial findings with the involvement of a larger number of participants living in more rural areas of the country.

CEPAD has also paid particular attention to disaggregating the participants in the FAR consultations to ensure the fullest possible stakeholder participation. This has been done by devising criteria for participant selection to ensure that key relevant sectors and groups are included so that the ideas, experiences and opinions of a diverse cross-section of society might be elicited. Given the need to understand this complex concept – resilience - from the perspective of Timorese, it is important to capture dissenting voices and avoid consensus views for the initial district-based consultations.

Another key aim of FAR is to contribute to conversations at the international level on resilience and peacebuilding, based on the findings that emerge from three countries in which the FAR project is being implemented simultaneously; Guatemala, Liberia and Timor-Leste. For this reason, CEPAD is also participating in horizontal learning activities taking place between the three case studies in order to compare the experiences of local actors and better understand and articulate that which is unique to Timor-Leste and that which is common across contexts.

3.2 Research Process

Phase one of the FAR project comprised the following planning, data collection and analysis steps from May 2014 to February 2015 with the overall objective of consulting Timorese across the country and from various sectors to understand how resilience is understood and described in the Timor-Leste context.

Step one: Internal planning and conceptual discussions on the topic of resilience with CEPAD researchers and with Interpeace, to come to a starting point for understanding 'resilience' as a concept as applied in peacebuilding, how it has been used in various disciplines and practice areas, and how FAR might best be carried out in Timor-Leste (see annex 1, 'FAR Concept Note').

Step two: Preliminary interviews with select stakeholders at the national level to gather perspectives on the FAR process, as well as the concept and utility of resilience as applied in Timor-Leste (see annex 3).

Step three: Community consultations in the form of focus group discussions (FDGs) in each district (13 in total, see figures 1 and 2) to understand how Timorese conceive of resilience as applied in their local context. The consultation process aimed to identify the elements of resilience that exist in Timorese society and to understand the local capacities and resources that bind Timorese people together in the wake of past violent conflict as well in anticipation of potential conflict drivers. A total of 15 FGDs were conducted including one FGD with traditional leaders (*lia nain*) in Liquica District and one FGD with youth in Dili (see annex 3; 'Participant Lists').

Step four**:** further interviews and discussions with key stakeholders in Dili, based on gaps identified through these earlier community consultations at the district level (see annex 3).

Step five: review and analysis of data, in consultation with Interpeace and Harvard Humanitarian Initiative and drafting of the Timor-Leste Country Note.

Step six: National Validation Workshop held in Dili, bringing together close to 80 participants, representing government, civil society, youth, religious groups, academia, international organisations and security forces as well as participants from the 13 districts of Timor-Leste who had taken part in the district-level FGDs. Initial research findings were presented and discussed in depth in smaller working groups in order to validate results and provide a mandate for CEPAD to carry on with subsequent phases of the project.

3.2.1 Participatory Research and Dialogue

For the consultation phase of the FAR project, CEPAD utilised a participatory research and dialogue method which it has adapted and applied in Timor-Leste since 2007. This involved organising focus group discussions with between 9 and 25 participants in all 13 districts of Timor-Leste. FGDs were preceded and also followed by key-informant interviews using an open-ended format with a total of 16 individuals representing particular demographic groups and Timorese and internationals with knowledge in a specific area of relevance. In four districts, Ermera, Bobonaro, Baucau and Aileu, FGDs were held in CEPAD's Peace Houses.[26] In the remaining districts, FGDs were held in various government facilities or other community spaces. All FGDs were held at the district capital level.

[26] CEPAD has established five physical spaces or - "Peace Houses" - in Aileu, Baucau, Maliana, Manufahi and Ermera districts. Based on the local tradition of *nahe biti bot*, Peace Houses were constructed to provide communities with a meeting place for open dialogue and resolution of conflict at the local level.

CEPAD's focus group discussions use a dialogue approach to encourage all participants to contribute ideas and to take group dynamics into careful account. CEPAD adapts a widely-used Timorese practice called *nahe biti bot* (roll out the big mat) to signify that an open discussion is taking place. This method has traditionally been used in Timor-Leste when bringing people together to discuss issues or resolve problems and conflicts. CEPAD compliments this tradition in a way that ensures that a neutral space is created where all are able to contribute ideas and opinions on common ground. A list of 'house rules' is also agreed on with participants before the dialogue commences, including an agreement to listen to each other, refrain from personal comments or attacks, be mindful of the time and agree to respect confidentiality.

3.3 Data collection techniques

3.3.1 Participants

Of the 15 FGDs conducted, 13 were held in District capitals and were designed to be generally representative of the District but also relevant to the topic being examined. A list of relevant groups, sectors, stakeholders and parties was drawn up upon which to base recruitment. The list is as follows:

- Local and traditional authorities; including sub-village and village heads and council members, and traditional leaders.
- Youth & students
- Martial Arts Group members
- Women (particularly housewives, widows, activists, victims, leaders)
- Professionals; including teachers and health workers
- Catholic Church; including Nuns and Priests
- Other religious affiliations; Protestant, Islam.
- State authorities; including District Administration, Sub-District Administration, Ministry and State Secretary focal points.
- People with disabilities
- Political parties
- Former resistance actors and veterans; including ex-combatants and activists
- Private Sector; including business owners and collectives
- PNTL (police)
- F-FDTL (army)

Additionally, two FGDs were held with a targeted selection criteria to elicit the perspectives of particular groups. The first was a FGD with traditional leaders (*lia nain*)in Liquica District, held the day following the general Liquica FGD. The second was a FGD held in the capital Dili, with youth. The *lia nain* FGD was organised through CEPAD's DLO in Liquica. The youth FGD in Dili was organised with the assistance of local NGO, Ba Futuru, which engaged youth who had participated in their programmes, along with participants recruited by CEPAD from Universities in Dili.

It should also be noted that the general FGD held in the capital, Dili, used a slightly different recruitment approach. The research team recognised that there are considerable differences between Dili and the 12 districts of Timor-Leste in terms of urban/rural divide, allocation of resources, strong presence of the state and also the prevalence of multiple ethno-linguistic groups living in close proximity. Therefore, participants representing slightly different groups such as former internally displaced persons (IDPs) and also artists and musicians were invited to attend.

3.3.2 Analysis of participation

In total, 252 Timorese participated in the FGDs during the consultation phase of FAR.[27] 107 or 42% of participants in the FGDs were women. 73 (29%) of all participants were youth, influenced significantly by the youth FGD held in Dili. Even without the youth FGD, this is the largest group represented in the discussions, accounting for 46 participants(18%).

Other groups which were well represented include community organisations or NGOs, accounting for 44 participants or 17%; state authorities, accounting for 27 participants or 11%; local and traditional leaders accounting for 23 participants or 9%; media accounting for 21 participants or 8% and professionals accounting for 18 participants or 7%.

Groups which were less represented in the FGD consultations included people with disabilities (0 participants), members of martial arts groups (0 participants self-identified as belonging to a martial arts group), Church representatives (2 participants), the private sector (2 participants) and victims groups (1 participant).

FAR Sub-Working Group on 'Law & Security, 19 February 2015

The issue of how participants self-identified in registration lists has some bearing on the analysis of participation. Some participants in fact represented two or more groups or sectors. As determined from official registration lists, the number of male and female veterans was low, however in reality, this group was relatively well represented, with individuals choosing to identify as something different (e.g. teachers, NGOs, local authorities). When cross-checked against participant lists from CEPAD's previous activities and also based on common knowledge of people's roles during the resistance movement, CEPAD estimates that 7 participants (2 women and 5 men) or 3% can be considered veterans. The same can be said for private sector, as participants who in fact own a small business may have self-identified as 'community' or as from a particular geographical location. 5% or 13 participants were categorised as 'other' and predominantly represented the general community.

Despite an attempt to include participants from throughout the entire district, participants who attended were predominantly from the sub-district which serves as the capital in each district. For example, in Baucau, all the participants came from the sub-district of Baucau. In Lautem, all the participants came from the sub-

[27] This figure excludes 16 Timorese and non-Timorese who participated in interviews or discussions during this time. It also excludes participants who attended the National Validation Workshop which concluded the consultation phase.

district of Los Palos. However, in two districts, Viqueque and Liquica, participants came from other sub-districts outside the capital. Transport and financial barriers are the main reasons for the low participation beyond the district capital. Many participants came from various *suku* and *aldeia* within the sub-district which are quite far from the centre and can be considered very rural. For example, in Ermera District, participants came from rural villages far outside the capital *suku* of Gleno. Moreover, many participants who now live in the capitals of each district originally came from other areas within the district.

In the Dili general FGD, no former IDPs attended and only one artist attended, representing an established artists collective. These gaps were addressed to some extent through individual interviews and participation in the National Validation Workshop held on the 19th February 2015. For example, interviews were conducted with 3 leaders of the three largest martial arts groups in Timor-Leste in November 2014. Moreover, in the next PAR phases including the establishment of a National Working Group and the implementation of a nation-wide survey, such gaps can be better indentified and addressed.

3.3.3 Format and content

It was explained to participants that CEPAD's Programme of Research and Dialogue for Peace (PRDP) mapped the key obstacles to achieving sustainable peace in Timor-Leste, and FAR is a new opportunity to promote dialogue and consult with citizens and decision-makers about the strengths and opportunities Timorese have to strengthen peace.

The facilitator introduced the concept of 'resilience' by acknowledging to participants that this is something that is new for CEPAD and which can't be translated into the Tetun language.[28] She went on to explain the concept as follows; "CEPAD considers resilience as the resources or glue that, until today, have held Timorese society tightly together to confront conflicts from the past and which allow Timorese to confront conflicts that might arise in the future, in an adaptive and transformative way." This explanation of resilience was chosen because it reflected the essential components of the concept as applied to peacebuilding; confronting, adapting and transforming in the face of conflict. The emphasis on social cohesion speaks to the particular way in which conflicts and drivers of conflicts play out in present day Timor-Leste as it confronts the challenges of being a newly sovereign nation. Finally, in crafting the definition, the CEPAD research team ensured that it would resonate with and be comprehensible to the Timorese population. This definition was tested and deliberated with key stakeholders during the research design phase for its resonance and applicability to the Timorese context

3.3.4 Questions

A question guide was developed during the design phase of the project, which was then adapted at various points during the community consultation phase based on a continual process of assessment and reflection on the effectiveness of the process (see Annex 2 for the question guides which were used). The average length of time used for the FAR FGD was 4 hours which included a break for lunch and usually another break for tea and coffee.

3.3.5 Dynamic of discussion

In most of the districts and for all but two of a total of 15 FGDs conducted, the research team observed that the discussions were lively and the majority of participants demonstrated a high level of engagement. Based

[28]A direct translation of the term 'resilience' cannot be found in the Tetun language, which led CEPAD to use the Portuguese term 'reziliensia'. This word is not used or understood in the Timor-Leste context.

on her prior experience facilitating dialogues with CEPAD, the FAR Lead Researcher reported her observation that; "...when people have been asked about obstacles, it is heavy for them but asking about strengths is a lighter experience for people and they are very happy to discuss together the things that make them strong." Based on observations of the research team, the discussions also had considerable depth and it was clear that participants made strong attempts to think through points deeply and analytically.

Exceptions to this were found in the Bobonaro FGD and the Liquica FGD. Attendance at the Bobonaro FGD was low (9 participants, with an additional 2 media representatives attending for a short time). Four of the 9 participants were young people and did not contribute actively to the discussion, despite regular encouragement from the facilitator and from the older members of the group (particularly the women). Discussion among the remaining participants was active and resulted in good insights, particularly from the older women who attended and who represented the Ministry of Social Solidarity, a local women victims group, local village council and women's resistance group (OPMT). The FGD finished after 2.5 hours. The Liquica FGD was well attended, with 22 participants who actively contributed ideas and opinions, however, the facilitator observed that that engagement was superficial, with a lot of repetition and with little reflection as compared to other district FGDs.

While most participants attending FGDs actively contributed to discussions, it was found that younger participants were less active than older participants and that male participants were more active than female participants. This may reflect a lack of confidence based on few prior experiences of being asked to speak in front of a group or to contribute an opinion or thought on such a topic. This is not to say that women and youth did not contribute to discussions as in all districts, they contributed something to the dialogue. Some exceptions include Aileu and Liquica where the youth were quite active. In at least 6 districts (Ainaro, Manatuto, Lautem, Bobonaro and Cova Lima) active participation from between 1 and 4 women was observed. Generally, the more active participants represented local and traditional authorities, professionals, state authorities, PNTL, community based organisations or NGOs and media. The strong participation of such groups will be offset to a large degree through the use of a nation-wide survey to be implemented in the next phase of the research. The random sampling employed through this instrument will provide an opportunity to more expansively include the voices of ordinary Timorese than this initial phase.

3.4 Limitations

3.4.1 Breadth

CEPAD chose not to identify specific conflicts around which to orientate the FGDs. This was to allow participants to think about a range of resilience factors in relation to various local, district or national, external, internal, inter-communal and domestic conflicts/violence. The exception to this was in the Dili FGD, where the facilitator asked participants to think specifically about the crises that have taken place since 2002. This decision was based on the opinion expressed in several of the rural FGDs that such crises are 'Dili problems.'

Whilst allowing participants more control over the content of the discussions and to facilitate a process of allowing Timorese citizens to explain their resilience, it also led to a broad conceptualisation of conflict and subsequently, a broad range of 'elements of resilience' came out of discussions. It limited the research team's ability to encourage participants to think more deeply about particular elements of resilience they identified in order to understand the range of qualifying factors associated with these, particularly with reference to how elements change over time and at different levels in Timor-Leste society. Working with a

broad range of elements has also provided a broad starting point for the analysis of the consultation phase, which will be narrowed and more deeply investigated in the next phases of the research project.

3.4.2 Participation

In line with CEPAD's long-term and participatory approach to peacebuilding within which the FAR project is considered to be a continuation of previous work but using a different lens, it was considered appropriate for FAR to engage participants from CEPAD's previous research processes. Approximately 45% of participants had previously participated in CEPAD's research activities which indicates that a fair proportion of participants were already familiar with CEPAD's peacebuilding agenda. The benefit of this approach was that participants who were familiar with CEPAD and the dialogue format used, at times encouraged others to contribute, especially younger participants, and added important depth to the discussion.

3.4.3 Time

Time was also a limitation for the consultation phase, given the complexity of the topic and the key concepts involved. With a longer timeline, the researchers would have benefited from taking initial results back to each district to ask follow-up questions and delve more deeply into particular ideas, comparing with other districts and regions. A longer timeline would also have allowed a greater number of homogenous FGDs to take place both in rural districts and the capital, Dili, to ensure that a range of perspectives was thoroughly accounted for. Time limitation was also a challenge in the analysis of data, given the amount of qualitative data collected and the breadth of the responses provided by participants.

3.4.4 Bias

Acknowledging that all researchers bring a degree of subjectivity to the design of the research and collection and analysis of data, is important to examine some of these biases. The research design was based on many in-depth discussions both within CEPAD and between CEPAD and Interpeace.

Within CEPAD, discussions centred mostly around the concept of resilience and how this might be understood in Timor-Leste in a way that would achieve project objectives. These conversations occurred between staff both inside and outside of CEPAD's FAR research team, comprising mostly Timorese nationals and one Australian Programme Officer and were complimented by interviews and discussion held with key stakeholders during the pre-consultation phase. These discussions gave the researchers a more nuanced understanding of the concepts and led to the design of the research questions and the approach as described above.

Interpeace's input into these discussions provided considerable background information and analysis in the form of a Global Desk Review as well as a workshop in Dili to provide guidance through the development of a conceptual underpinning and strategy for the research. This was part of an explicit effort to ensure that the starting point for the project was the research team's own informed understanding of the key concepts and objectives of FAR which was arrived at through a consensual process. Although an international academic or scientific perspective formed part of discussions, the explanation of resilience that emerged was a product of the research team's own understanding of what made sense in the Timor-Leste context.

This process of discussion and debate within the research team and between the research team and Interpeace also took place at the time of data analysis. A second workshop was held in Dili with Interpeace and was also attended by Harvard Humanitarian Initiative which provided an opportunity to discuss and begin to organize the initial findings of the research.

In this sense, the research strategy and results are informed by both the researchers' own lived experiences of conflict, displacement, recovery and resilience in Timor-Leste and their roles as peacebuilders. This was balanced through the inclusion of an academic and international perspective offered by Interpeace.

3.5 Quality Control

3.5.1 Facilitation

CEPAD's FAR Lead Researcher facilitated all FGDs for the consultation phase with the exception of the Dili District FGD which was facilitated by a Lead Researcher from a different project and the Baucau and Manatuto FGDs which were co-facilitated by CEPAD's Executive Director. A simulation attended by all staff with the aim of testing the content, questions and approach was held in the CEPAD office prior to a pilot FGD held in Ermera District on 18 July 2014. The simulation was preceded by a training session on facilitation skills conducted by the CEPAD Executive Director.

3.5.2 Participant recruitment

CEPAD's relationship with citizens in the 12 rural districts of Timor-Leste is facilitated through a network of District Liaison Officers (DLOs). DLO's are engaged on a voluntary basis and are respected members of their communities, with strong networks and a commitment to CEPAD's vision and mission. They are engaged on a long-term basis.

DLOs were briefed on the selection criteria for FAR FGDs, which was designed to be inclusive and representative. DLOs were provided with a list of targeted groups or sectors from across the district which included individual names and phone numbers where applicable.

3.5.3 Language

The language used for community consultations and interviews with Timorese nationals was Tetun language. Design of the research and analysis of the data was carried out in both Tetun and English languages due to the respective backgrounds of the research team members and the cross-country nature of the project (with FAR being implemented simultaneously in Liberia and Guatemala).

Despite the ethno-linguistic diversity of Timor-Leste, it was deemed appropriate by the research team to use Tetun during community consultations and language did not exclude any participants or impact negatively on FGDs as observed by the researchers. One exception to the use of Tetun was in Oecussi District where, due to its location in Indonesia, there is widespread use of the Indonesian language. The discussion was conducted in a mix of Tetun and Bahasa Indonesia, which are both spoken and understood by the FAR Lead Researcher and Research Assistant. In most of the FGDs, certain words or phrases were spoken in local languages, however, this wasn't seen to impact negatively on the collection of data.

3.6 Data processing and analysis

3.6.1 Data processing

A report was compiled following each FGD and interview by the Lead Researcher. Full transcripts were also produced for each FGD based on audio recordings. Regular discussion took place between members of the research team to review data and discuss new ideas as they emerged.

Throughout the project, observations, changes in thinking, challenges and progress were captured by the research team in a 'reflection note' which assisted the team to continue learning from the process and better

understand the results, as well as assisting with initial analysis. This Reflection Note was also shared with the country teams in Guatemala and Liberia in order to promote cross-country learning.

3.6.2 Data analysis

Initial thematic analysis was conducted by the CEPAD FAR Team based on a 'list' of elements of resilience (for example, culture, language, religion) which came directly out of the community consultations and which formed the basis of the detection of themes. The decision to focus on particular elements or themes was also based on a prioritisation exercise conducted at the end of each FGD, in which participants were asked to rank the elements they felt to have the greatest contribution to or bearing on their resilience. Discussions then centred around compiling clear descriptions of these elements, detecting links between elements and conflict, separating the positive and negative impacts of elements, examining inclusion and exclusion, making links between elements themselves and the overall link to resilience for peace.

Involvement of representatives of Interpeace and HHI in discussions also provided valuable inputs based on international comparative experience, practitioner expertise, technical research skills and specialist knowledge. Examining the data from these different perspectives, and in both English and Tetun languages, was a challenging yet rewarding process that gave depth to the analysis.

Two tools were used to guide the analysis of the data including a schema (see annex 4), which described the key elements in relation to their potential to contribute to peace and detract from peace. A matrix was also created which laid out the key elements, the components within these, the negative or exclusionary aspects, the link with resilience and the areas for further investigation or questioning.

4 FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

What has held Timorese together until today to confront, manage and adapt in the face of conflict in the past and into the future? In response to this question, over 250 people were consulted over six months of participatory research throughout Timor-Leste identified a series of "elements of resilience" to explain the factors that facilitated their ability to cope with and overcome conflict or drivers of conflict.

On the whole, although resilience is best thought of as a system of interconnected and related processes, participants during the consultation phase often referred to resilience as elements which enable a commitment to survive or resist, therefore presenting a positive perspective. People also identified the real and potential negative impacts and outcomes of these elements although less time was allowed for deep discussion of such elements from a negative perspective

Based on analysis of consultations, these elements of resilience and their positive and negative impacts at various levels of society were organised by the research team into categories. Those which strengthen peace can therefore be thought of as 'enabling factors' which leverage resilience for peacebuilding and include solidarity, national unity, conscience, non-violent conflict resolution, dialogue and good communication.

Those that weaken or undermine peace and can therefore be thought of as 'undermining factors' and include corruption, abuse of power, exclusion, poor communication and the pursuit of private and group interests over the collective interest.

At the core of the analysis are four elements that can either strengthen or weaken peace, depending on a number of variables which this findings section outlines. These are culture, leadership, religion and law and security. The research team initially drew out seven elements from a larger list, based on prioritisation done with participants in each district-level FGD. These were culture, leadership, religion, law, security, language and history. On further analysis, history was incorporated into of culture and leadership and language were incorporated into of culture and law. Law and security were also combined into one element.

In order to best understand how these elements interact with each other to paint a picture of resilience in Timor-Leste, a schema was developed and used as the basis of the analysis of consultation (see Annex 4).

The interaction of the four elements of resilience with these enabling or undermining factors are outlined in detail in this findings section however, some brief explanations of each as applied in the context of Timor-Leste are helpful at this point.

4.1.1 Neutral elements which either strengthen or undermine peace

There were four elements which were most strongly and most frequently emphasised by participants as key elements of resilience. For each of these, there are conditions which allow these elements to be leveraged to enhance peace but that can also make them liable to undermine peace and contribute to tensions and in some cases violence. In order to enhance or strengthen peace, these four elements need to contribute to, promote or be used in conjunction with a set of enabling factors; solidarity, national unity, conscience, non-violent conflict resolution, dialogue and good communication. Similarly, these four elements can weaken or undermine peace when they are used to support or create a set of destructive or undermining factors including corruption, abuse of power, exclusion, poor communication and the pursuit of private and group interests over the collective interest. Thus, resilience emerges as a neutral concept that can be both positive

or negative in relation to peacebuilding outcomes. The four key elements of resilience which emerged from the consultation phase were:

- **Culture**
- **Leadership**
- **Religion**
- **Law and Security**

Culture was emphasised strongly throughout consultations and in-depth discussion took place in all FGDs. Leadership was emphasised in 11 out of 15 FGDs and in-depth discussion took place in most of these. Religion was emphasised in all FGDs however in most FGDs, it was not discussed in great depth by participants. Law and Security was emphasised in 12 out of 15 FGDs and discussed in varying depth.

4.1.2 Enabling factors of resilience which strengthen peace

The following interrelated capacities, systems, and values, which are specific to the context of Timor-Leste, culminate in strengthening trust, promoting inclusion and providing inspiration and motivation to build peace. These are the enabling factors of resilience for peacebuilding as determine through FAR consultations.

Solidarity

The capacity to show solidarity to prevent conflict, resolve conflict and work for positive peace was seen by participants as something which strengthens resilience. Examples of this solidarity or *sentimentu solidaridade* (which translates to English as 'collective sentiment') were commonly provided by participants and are illustrated in this thought from Ermera; "...sometimes something happens to our neighbours and even if we're not family, when there are hard times, we always help each other. This is how we are held together."[29] As outlined in the section below, there is a strong basis for this found in Timorese cultural rituals and systems, in religious belief and in law.

National unity

Linked to solidarity, unity on a national level was referred to many times by participants as something that contributes to resilience and helps to prevent conflict between different groups. This is reinforced by culture, religion, leadership, security and law. It is something that Timorese see as integral to the process of building positive peace. The strength of this element is also derived from the struggle for self-determination during the 24 year Indonesian Occupation of Timor-Leste which gave rise to the Resistance period which contributes strongly to defining a national identify and therefore contributes to unity.

Conscience

In many districts, participants spoke of good conscience as something that promotes and strengthens resilience. This reflects the idea that, whilst a newly formed state is establishing institutions and systems to protect people and allow society to function effectively after large-scale conflict such as that seen in Timor-Leste since 1975, the individual's motivation or will to act for the benefit of the greater good or according to a set of morals that is fostered within families and may be derived from religious teachings, ancestral narratives or other forms of education, is integral. As explained by one participant; "If we have culture and

[29] FGD Ermera District, 18 July 2014

law and all the other things, but we don't trust in these, we won't have stability in this district... all people have the ability to contribute and have the individual conscience to contribute and with this we can create stability."[30] As another participant in Dili explained, Timorese need conscience to become the authors of their own development.[31] Conscience is something that can be promoted through certain aspects of culture, religious teachings, law and leadership.

Non-violent conflict resolution

The long tradition of non-violent conflict resolution is something that participants pointed to as a key part of their resilience. 'Non-violent' refers to the absence of physical punishment for crimes or wrong-doing and a general commitment to resolving disputes peacefully. This is a cornerstone of Timorese traditional dispute resolution which involves specific rituals, processes and actors. It is supported to varying extents through culture, religion, security and law. This is also based firmly on dialogue processes.

Dialogue

The use of dialogue for different purposes, but particularly to resolve conflicts, disputes and to overcome challenges, was seen by participants as an important resilience capacity which strengthens peace. This tool is something that is familiar to Timorese and which is closely related to non-violent conflict resolution but, as explained by some participants, is also a tool used to facilitate discussions around complex issues that affect communities. When used according to principles of neutrality and inclusiveness, dialogue is a great strength that can be leveraged for peacebuilding in Timor-Leste.

Good communication

Good communication including the effective sharing of information (through media and other means) and the ability to share ideas in a way that promotes trust and good relations between people and entities was seen as an important component of resilience that can prevent conflict and strengthen peace. Participants referred to good communication as something strongly linked to inclusion and trust. This is particularly linked to leadership, law and security. As described by one participant in Manatuto; "...good communication exists at the individual level and within the family. This leads to good communication at the community level. If this can be applied at the district and national level, wherein key parts of society have good communication with each other, we can have resilience."

4.1.3 Undermining factors which weaken peace

Participants were encouraged to identify the negative impacts or outcomes of the elements of resilience they prioritised (culture, leadership, religion and law & security) with an emphasis on exclusionary aspects. What emerged were some important systems, behaviours and values which exist in Timorese society and which have been termed 'undermining factors'. These are also strongly interrelated and culminate in weakening trust, spreading apathy and ultimately undermining the peacebuilding process.

Exclusion & bias

[30] FGD Lautem District, 18 September 2014.
[31] FGD Dili District, 2 December 2014.

Where the four identified elements of culture, leadership, religion, law and security give rise to or permit exclusion of some individuals and groups over others or favour certain individuals or groups over others, resilience for peace was seen to be significantly undermined. This was discussed in relation to culture, in terms of the various ways that cultural practices and dispute resolution processes exclude or disadvantage women and young people. In terms of leadership, where some groups are favoured and other disadvantaged by particular policies and programmes. Other examples of exclusion were citied with regard to religion and law and security. Exclusion and bias are interrelated with each of the undermining factors listed below. If not addressed, these have the potential to give rise to violent conflict, as seen in the 2006 political/military crisis.

Corruption

Participants pointed to what is locally known as 'KKN' (corruption, collusion and nepotism) and discussed some conditions which allow it to manifest. Participants outlined the ways that culture, leadership, religion, law and security can give rise to such conditions. KKN is strongly linked with abuse of power and the pursuit of individual or group interests over the collective interest. KKN was seen as something which breeds mistrust and resentment and can lead to conflict. It was also seen as something which prevents establishment of good systems and strong institutions. Addressing KKN was also established as one of four 'priorities for peace' through CEPAD's Programme of Research and Dialogue for Peace.

Abuse of power

Abuse of power was described in relation to culture, leadership, religion and law and security. Power was seen as something which is derived from a position of authority, which might be held by way of traditional customs and practices, local and national governance structure, Church structure and security forces and institutions. A common example cited by participants was that those in positions of power often place themselves above the law. This was seen as weakening the ability of law to protect as well as weakening trust and leading to apathy among citizens. This is also strongly linked with corruption.

Pursuit of individual or group interests over the common or national interest

Closely linked with corruption and abuse of power and with exclusion and bias, participants described their perception that people in positions of power are pursuing their private individual or group interests over the collective or national interest. This is identified most commonly in relation to national leaders placing individual and party interests above the national interest which is also one of CEPAD's four 'priorities for peace' through CEPAD's Programme of Research and Dialogue for Peace. However, this was also described at the community level in regard to local leaders and security actors who are seen to use their positions to seek benefit for their own families rather than the community as a whole.

Lack of communication

Ineffective or a lack of communication was seen by participants as a key undermining factor which leads to exclusion, distrust and conflict. This was discussed predominantly in relation to leadership, law and security. One participant in Viqueque describe one example as follows; "The contribution of the media in Viqueque is very important because information from mouth to mouth often spreads the wrong information and can create conflict."[32] Media was seen as a key player in the provision of accurate information however, poor communication was also related to lack of effective liaison and cooperation between leaders from different

[32] FGD Viqueque District, 16 September 2014.

sectors, within government, between government and citizens and in the law and policy-making process. Ineffective communication also leads to ineffective dialogue.

This findings section describes each of the four central elements of resilience, culture, leadership, religion and law and security, in depth as they were discussed during the consultations and the ways these interact with the key enabling and undermining factors described above. If this first phase of the research has sought to identify elements of resilience, the subsequent, action research phase should explore these elements in greater depth to define the specific conditions and ways in which these elements that exist within Timorese society can be leveraged to build peace at different levels.

4.2 Culture

Participants in consultations widely reported that culture, being comprised of traditional practices, symbols, beliefs, rituals and stories, is a great strength and a key element of resilience in Timor-Leste. Timorese feel proud of their long-standing and deeply-rooted traditions and derive a strong sense of identity from these. Culture plays an integral role in facilitating people's connections with each other and the role of culture in strengthening relations within and between families, villages and districts was described as the strongest element of resilience for Timorese throughout the consultations.

Although particular traditional practices, symbols and beliefs vary widely throughout Timor-Leste, culture is also seen as an important part of national identity. Whether or not culture can facilitate and promote trust between people is a key component of understanding how culture contributes to resilience. Through the process of dialogue, participants were also able to articulate the negative aspects of traditional practices which exclude and disadvantage certain groups, or allow some to abuse power, thereby weakening the potential of these systems and processes to promote resilience for peace. It is clear that traditional practices and processes in Timor-Leste are contested and debated as the examples cited in the analysis below demonstrate. In general, it can be said that culture promotes and strengthens peace when it brings people together without excluding or discriminating.

4.2.1 Traditional customs and rituals as a source of collective sentiment

Social relations are based on a strong collective sentiment. This acts as a form of social support for members of families who are in need and resources are commonly pooled for the benefit of all. It also applies beyond family, as described by one participant in Ermera District; "…when something happens to our neighbours, although we don't know each other we always help and this is how we hold each other and have unity."[33] Another participant in Ermera explained that; "From east and west Timor we may have many branches but we are from just one root."[34] This collective sentiment is reinforced through stories and symbols which promote national unity and help people feel like they are part of one group as Timorese. Mountains serve as important symbols of national unity for Timorese. In Ermera, one participant said that Timorese come from four mountains (Mount Ramelau in Ainaro District, Mount Matebian in Baucau District, Mount Kablaki in Manufahi District and Ainaro Districts and Mount Mondu Perdidu in Viqueque District) and therefore cannot be divided.[35]

[33] FGD Ermera, 18 July 2014.
[34] FGD Ermera, 18 July 2014.
[35] FGD Ermera District, 18 July 2014.

More specifically, traditional systems, ceremonies and rituals create conditions for solidarity amongst family members and communities. One of the most important and widely cited examples of such a traditional system is *fetosan umane*.

Fetosan umane

Fetosan umane is the traditional system which ties family groups together through marriage and governs social relations, and participants in consultations pointed to this system first and foremost when describing the way that culture enables peace. *Fetosan umane* is a system of inter-familial exchanges and relationships established through the marriage of individuals from two family groups, the *fetosan* being the husband's family as wife receiver and the *umane* being the wife's family as the wife giver.[36] *Fetosan umane* regulates the exchanges between families when required for various ceremonies referred to as *lia moris* or traditions of life which include engagement and marriage; and *lia mate* or traditions of death which include funerals and burials.

Fetosan umane also brings people together for the construction of sacred, spiritual and community infrastructure and agricultural activities. Large family groups or clans support each other through *fetosan umane* and the solidarity that results from this is perceived by Timorese as a conflict deterrent. As explained by one participant in Aileu District; "…some people that don't know each other can create conflict with each other but eventually come to meet each other in a cultural ceremony such as the inauguration of a sacred house and then they know that they have a family relation. From this, unity is strengthened."[37]

The *fetosan umane* system is reinforced through physical infrastructure called *uma lulik* (sacred house) or *uma lisan* (traditional house). Timorese believe that these houses offer the spiritual protection of their ancestors to those belonging to it. An example provided by participants in Manatuto demonstrates this;

> *"...our ancestors created something called a sacred house and we have these in Manatuto, many of these. When problems arise in the East or the West...our sacred houses close the doors so that these problems cannot enter our land." [38]*

As explained by many participants, the houses play an important role in reminding people that they know each other and share an identity. This strengthens familial and community relations. These houses are built collectively by families and communities to serve as a symbol of the group that is represented but also as a site of decision-making and conflict resolution.

The high cost of ceremonies as an exclusionary factor impeding upon the ability of culture to unite

The system of *fetosan umane* was criticized by some participants due to the high amounts of money and resources that families are often expected to contribute for cultural ceremonies, including money, animals, food, beverages and other gifts. This is something that has been documented in various studies on Timor-

[36] This conceptualisation of marriage is derived from the strong patriarchal culture which exists in Timor-Leste and which is also increasingly contested as is discussed in further on in this report. For a comprehensive explanation of the *fetosan umane* system, refer to; Belun (2011) 'Culture and its impact on social and community life', Policy Brief #5, Dili.
[37] FGD Aileu District, 19 August 2014
[38] FGD Manatuto District, 14 August 2014

Leste, for example, the Belun Early Warning Early Response (EWER) system commonly reports incidents relating to 'cultural or kinship obligations' although these do not always involve physical violence.[39]

The demands that are made under this exchange system can lead to families being asked to contribute beyond their capacity or in such a way as to exhaust their resources, which is seen by some participants as abuse of power on the part of the *umane* family to the *fetosan* family. In Viqueque, one participant described the impact of this cultural obligation as follows;

> *"The negative impact is that it creates injustice. When there is lia mate and lia moris ceremony, the fetosan must bring everything and the impact is felt on their children's generation, on education because they don't have one dollar to buy a notebook...but they have one thousand or five thousand dollars for ceremonies."*[40]

This problem was also described by a teacher in Baucau;

> *"I'm a teacher and I give knowledge to students to make arrangements that help them to become intelligent but the parents say they don't have money. But for lia mate, lia moris, they meet the price for death and the price for life."*[41]

These aspects of Timorese culture particularly disadvantage groups with less economic power such as the poorest, widows, female headed households and youth. In the Dili FGD, one young man explained that; "Our parents give more attention to cultural events and practices than to our future."[42] Often, the method of gathering resources for cultural ceremonies means that families are asked to present their contribution in front of the other families involved. In Bobonaro, one woman participant explained that some people can meet the demands but others can't and this makes some people feel proud and others feel ashamed. It undermines everybody's equal rights to take part because some are big and some are small. Where some families are unable to contribute, they may be excluded in some way, for example, they are made to feel that they no longer have the protection of ancestors. The cycles of debt that are created are also seen as an incentive for people to commit acts of corruption if such opportunities arise in their places of work.[43]

The undue burden placed on vulnerable families reduces economic inclusion and opportunity. These power dynamics and the shame and exclusion which they produce subsequently undermine the bonds of trust which cultural practices, beliefs, mechanisms and systems reinforce between families and communities, thereby undermining people's ability to cope with and prevent conflict.

4.2.2 Traditional non-violent conflict resolution mechanisms

Timorese culture has strong and widely-used non-violent conflict resolution processes which have existed for a long time. These processes involve specific actors, infrastructure, symbols, sanctions and regulations which are important to outline here.

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[39] The Belun EWER Situation Reviews are available online in Tetun and English at http://belun.tl/en/publications/
[40] FGD Viqueque District, 16 September 2014.
[41] FGD Baucau District, 15 September 2014.
[42] FGD Dili District, 2 December 2014.
[43] This view is explored in more depth in CEPAD's 2012 report; 'The people's voice against corruption in Timor-Leste; Transforming locally-owned ideas into action,' CEPAD and Interpeace, Dili.

Lia nain

The *lia nain* is the central figure in dispute resolution at the local level as a trusted representative of extended family groups. *Lia nain* are traditional leaders who derive their position from their knowledge of traditional practices, mechanisms and narratives. They are trusted to resolve disputes due to their understanding of appropriate sanctions and courses of action. The *lia nain* may also call on the power of the ancestral spirits or God (in the Catholic sense) to enact punishments depending on the seriousness of the offense and the effectiveness of solutions previously offered. People believe that the *lia nain* are accompanied by ancestors.

FGD with Traditional Leaders, Liquica District, 9 October 2014

One position is also reserved on each *suku* (village) council for one *lia nain* which reinforces the position of authority which accompanies this role in communities. The role of the *lia nain* as a figure of authority within an extended family group (which is represented by the *uma lisan* or traditional house) was described by one participant in Liquica, "People believe in the *lia nain* because has the role and the power to promote harmony within the families belonging to one traditional house."[44] In this sense, the *lia nain* plays in important role in promoting peace, which plays out at the family and community level.

Nahe biti bot

Dispute or conflict resolution commonly takes place in the *uma lulik* and follows a practice of *nahe biti bot* which means rolling out the big mat. This mat (which in more recent time may be symbolic rather than physical) is used as a tool for communication and dialogue and provides a space to bring parties together to discuss problems or conflicts. The *lia nain* presides over the discussion to find a solution that reflects the particular *lisan* or traditions of the family groups represented and that ensures that harmony will be maintained into the future. Where sanctions are part of the solution, both parties will often be required to contribute something so that both sides view the decision as a just one. This approach also reduces the potential for shame to be felt by either party. This restorative system of justice is seen as an element of resilience for its ability to resolve and prevent conflict whilst maintaining harmony. Where the *lia nain* is able to find a solution which addresses the causes of the conflict, this process has the capacity to transform the situation in a way that promotes peace. However, as is discussed below, there are some instances where power relations, particularly those associated with patriarchy, prevent adequate solutions from being found.

Hemu Raan

[44] FGD Liquica, 8 October 2014

Another cultural practice which aims to prevent or resolve conflicts in a non-violent manner is *hemu raan*, *or* (blood oath) which literally means drinking blood to seal a peace agreement[45] or other important deal between the concerned parties. The practice of *hemu raan* was discussed in-depth in Manatuto, Ainaro, Cova Lima and Liquica districts. According to participants in Ainaro, this is something that is taken very seriously by Timorese. One participant explained;

> *"...when there is conflict with each other, hemu raan is used to stop this and those who disobey will die before long. Before, we had a war with Kasa [neighbouring village] but through hemu raan we calmed the situation until now. This happened one hundred or two hundred years ago."*[46]

In Manatuto, one participant explained that;

> *"The practice of hemu raan...has held Manatuto together to be able to return from or overcome conflict. If you talk to the villages of Ma-abat and Sau, when they have a problem, police don't enter into this, or the local council because they resolve this on their own...because their ancestors used hemu raan in the past."*[47]

The contribution of this practice to strengthening resilience and building peace is that the memory or the knowledge that this was done in the past helps to prevent or resolve conflict in the present day. Various peace agreements have been created over the centuries this way between villages and districts across Timor-Leste and are still recognised today, although on the whole, this is something that is reinforced more strongly by *lia nain* and other elders in communities than younger generations. In more recent times, blood oaths may be taken within groups to solidify bonds between them. This was mentioned in the youth FGD in Dili as well as in Bobonaro.[48]

Tara Bandu

Tara bandu, a traditional process of law making aiming to regulate relations between people and with their environment, is another tool that is used by Timorese to support and reinforce conflict prevention and resolution processes. *Tara bandu* has more recently been intersected with formal or state justice processes, and local and international organisations have supported the use of *tara bandu* throughout Timor-Leste to promote good natural resource management and to address certain conflict drivers. [49] In Ermera, a district-wide *tara bandu* has been in place since 2012 to regulate the number of cultural ceremonies people are permitted to hold, which is a response to the large amounts of money families were spending on such ceremonies following the coffee harvests, which was resulting in conflict. This was implemented by district and sub-district administrators, Church and traditional leaders.

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[45] This involves the two parties mixing a small amount of blood (taken by making a small incision on their hands) with palm wine and drinking this together. It is not used in this same way in present-day Timor-Leste.
[46] FGD Ainaro, 24 September 2014.
[47] FGD Manatuto, 14 August 2014.
[48] FGD Bobonaro, 28 August 2014 and FGD Dili, 2 December 2014.
[49] For a detailed discussion of the use of *tara bandu* in Timor-Leste, see Belun & The Asia Foundation (2013), '*Tara Bandu:* Its Role And Use In Community Conflict Prevention In Timor-Leste', Dili.

A participant in the Dili youth discussion also referred to *tara bandu* used in his neighbourhood in Dili, which was developed by the Secretary of State for Youth and Sport, Ministry of Justice and Catholic Church Justice and Peace Commission. He reported that;

> *"in the past, our village had a problem between neighbourhoods, and after, a program came and they used simple symbols and until today, we live with unity. They made a small law [tara bandu] that required those who create problems to pay compensation which was decided through a cultural process where people didn't fear but they respected because it reflected their identity."*[50]

Where *tara bandu* and *nahe biti bot* are used, especially by state actors and international organisations, in connection with enabling factors such as good communication and dialogue and where the processes of creating such laws and regulations follow an inclusive process, it has the potential to help Timorese adapt and transform in the face of conflict.

Recalling the past through stories inspires faith in the ability of Timorese to overcome conflict peacefully

Storytelling, of both historical facts and ancestral narratives was identified as an element of resilience by participants in several districts. Traditional stories from the past resonate strongly with people and form the basis of their trust in traditional leaders. *Lia nain* are trusted figures because they know the stories of the past and can draw on this knowledge to find appropriate solutions to problems faced in the present day. The stories from the past are seen to reinforce unity in the present day. In Ermera, a participant described one such story;

> *"...linked to culture, it tells us that Timorese alone come from four mountains. Grasping this concept or story, people can't make serious problems between Easterners and Westerners. Sitting for nahe biti bot we can find a solution and show to others that we can. We look to our history and our story of struggle, we confronted [the invasion] in Batu Gede*[51] *not as Easterners or Westerners but as Timorese. So it's this idea that we need to improve."*[52]

In Aileu, Baucau and Ermera, storytelling of the past was seen as something that can strengthen national unity and the feeling of solidarity by reminding Timorese of what they have experienced together. Looking back on past experiences keeps alive the faith of the Timorese people in their ability to find a solution. In Baucau, one participant explains as follows;

> *"There were problems but there were always solutions because these [problems] are small compared to what keeps us together. Timorese come from a long story with 24 years of confronting war. We look back to the thousands that died for a good nation."*[53]

In Aileu, participants explained the importance of the stories of that district in relation to the significance of Aileu as the refuge place for Timorese who fled the Indonesian invasion in 1975. It is said that Aileu was the

[50] FGD Dili (Youth), 14 November 2014.
[51] Location in Bobonaro District which was the point at which the Indonesia first invaded Timor-Leste in 1975.
[52] FGD Ermera, 18 July 2014.
[53] FGD Baucau, 15 September 2014.

site of the first discussions and plans for Resistance, and is therefore the 'door' to Independence. Again in 1999, plans were made for the solidifying of Independence when Falintil forces gathered in Aileu and eventually formed the F-FDTL. This story gives people in Aileu a sense of pride in their own contribution to the resistance movement. As this participant explains;

> *"another strength we have in Aileu is our story. Aileu people can help all Timorese to know their history and we all know the history of our land, Timor. If we look back to the story of Aileu we know we can't be separated because people say that Aileu is the big door, there are four corners in our land but we have one door which is in Aileu."*[54]

In this sense, historical narratives, can promote enabling factors such as national unity and solidarity and stories from the past provide motivation to look for solutions that can ensure that conflict is overcome in the present day.

Power relations undermine the effectiveness of conflict resolution processes

The strong patriarchal system that exists in Timor-Leste manifests in many traditional customs and practices which often disadvantage women. Although *nahe biti bot* is seen by participants as an effective process for dispute resolution and decision-making, such processes commonly promote the participation and rights of men over women. Several key aspects of the traditional justice system don't adequately protect women's rights[55] and personal security. As described by one woman in Liquica, in the case of a crime of gender-based violence such as a sexual violation, the typical resolution produced through the traditional process is that the perpetrator (and his family) is asked to pay compensation to the victim's family. The victim herself does not receive compensation. "This is the negative aspect of culture...women continue to receive nothing,"[56]she explains. In response, a male participant within the group explained that if a women were to receive the compensation herself in such a case, she would lose her dignity. This demonstrates the tension in the values that underpin this traditional practice as compared with a more recent rights-based view.

There is a widespread view that disputes and conflict can only be resolved if the resolution process is 'based on culture' (meaning, the solution is found through a traditional process or mechanism rather than a formal or state mechanism or law). One example given by participants in Liquica District related to an ongoing martial arts conflict which occurred between Liquica and Tibar villages and which the PNTL attempted to resolve many times without success. The conflict was eventually resolved through the use of *nahe biti bot* and a *lia nain* negotiated a successful peace agreement. In Baucau, one participant explained; "…*nahe biti bot* has existed since ancestor time…and if we bring problems to it, we can always find a solution."[57] In Ainaro, another participant said that;

> *"all conflict that happens, like martial arts and land disputes if not based on culture, are hard to resolve. Culture strengthens people, makes people trust and fear enough to follow culture and tradition to sit together and resolve problems."*[58]

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[54] FGD Aileu, 19 August 2014.
[55] See CEPAD (2014) 'Women's Access to Land and Property Rights in the Plural Justice System of Timor-Leste', Dili for a more detailed overview of the position of women in the customary justice system of Timor-Leste.
[56] FGD Liquica, 8 October 2014.
[57] FGD Baucau, 15 September 2014.
[58] FGD Ainaro, 24 September 2014.

However, other views on the role of *nahe biti bot* and traditional dispute resolution mechanisms were offered by participants. In Viqueque, participants recognised the challenge of intersecting formal and law with traditional conflict resolution processes because formal law results in one party 'losing' but traditional mechanism tries to ensure a result that both parties are happy with. One participant adds; "Making decisions according to culture means using conscience which is different to following formal law."[59] Nevertheless, many participants agreed that conflict resolution through *nahe biti bot* needs to be transformed and developed in the future to include the presence of formal justice actors who can advise on decisions that comply with formal law. This is seen as one way to better protect rights.

4.2.3 Reconciling tradition with modernisation

Participants in most FGDs debated whether particular traditions and cultural practices have the same strength today and in all areas of the country as in the past and it was explained that communities may not believe or follow these as much as in that past. The fear of spiritual sanctions or punishment from the ancestors which underpins enforcement of many resolutions and agreements (such as *hemu raan*, *tara bandu* and sanctions given by the *lia nain*) may not have the same strength among younger generations or more urban communities.

In relation to this, one issue discussed, particularly with *lia nain* in Liquica, was the threat of losing sacred practices over time because new generations don't understand the associated processes or content.[60] In Manatuto, the sacred words that are used by *lia nain* to 'close the doors' of the *uma lulik* to ward off conflict from East and West are known only by *lia nain* and participants worried that these would be lost.[61] In Liquica, *lia nain* proposed that assistance be provided by government or other actors to help document some of the traditional practices and beliefs to make it easier for young people to be engaged.

Where a traditional law or process isn't seen as having a benefit to the community, it may not be followed. From the discussion in Oecussi, an example was given of a traditional ban on the eating of fish, which was developed in the past when people lived only in the mountains and were afraid to live near the sea. Now, people live near the sea, but continue to observe this ban because of people's traditional belief that it is sacred. One participant explained that this ban doesn't fit the situation now and therefore must be changed. He says; "I need to speak with the ancestors and say no, before, your generation had something different but now people say we need to end that ban. We need to have a ceremony to sever that thing."[62] This example highlights both the strength of traditional beliefs and the desire, based on assessment of new contexts, to mitigate the negative impacts of such beliefs.

Where aspects or impacts of culture create distrust and inequality, the role that culture plays as an element of resilience for peace is undermined. Where culture no longer brings Timorese together and promotes solidarity, or promotes the use of communication and dialogue to resolve conflicts in a sustainable and inclusive way, it no longer helps Timorese to strengthen peace and even becomes a driver of conflict. However, participants give several key examples of the creative and considered approaches that individuals and communities have used and are using to adapt culture. The ability to adapt to evolving contexts and transform cultural practices so that culture remains a factor of unity and trust within communities demonstrates that Timorese have transformative capacity. If culture is indeed something that can provide

[59] FGD Viqueque, 16 September 2014.
[60] FGD Liquica (Traditional Leaders), 9 October 2014
[61] FGD Manatuto, 14 August 2014.
[62] FGD Oecussi, 11 November 2014.

the tools and capacities for peacebuilding, then it is important to understand the ways that Timorese have been able to confront and change those aspects which breed exclusion, division and bias or which contribute to poverty.

Adapting tradition to better protect people

Observing how Timorese have sought to adapt traditions and rituals to changing gender norms provides a powerful illustration of the dynamic nature of culture. In relation to women, participants reported that discriminatory attitudes and practices are changing, as expressed by one young woman in the Dili youth discussion;

> *"In the past, women were just put in the kitchen, couldn't go to school and couldn't participate in activities. Only men had rights. When a man paid a price for his wife, women just became a slave. But today, it's not the same, women and men have the same rights."*[63]

Lia nain in Liquica reported that for some cases, particularly those relating to sexual violence or incest, traditional dispute resolution is not adequate to ensure a just result and protection for the victim. They stated that these cases need to be brought to the formal justice system, despite the barriers faced in doing so (high cost, lack of knowledge, lack of evidence, time, distance) which they reported means that victims are often forced to bring cases back to be resolved in the family or community.[64] Despite the ongoing challenges associated with such cases, the acknowledgement of these traditional leaders that a new way needs to be found provides a strong basis for positive transformation.

In fact, participants recognised that the process of adapting culture to better protect people in the face of conflict has been happening for some time. Participants in Ainaro gave a specific example from during the Indonesian Occupation in which the Indonesian soldiers forced young people who were suspected to be assisting the Falintil forces to undergo a *hemu raan* ceremony which would prevent them from continuing to work for the Resistance. "When the Indonesians discovered that we worked together with Falintil (the underground) they used our culture – *hemu raan* – and called the nurse to take our blood. They took the Indonesian flag and forced us to take a vow not to work with Falintil."[65] To find a way around this vow, which was strongly believed in by the youth, they worshipped Mount Ramelau and asked for forgiveness for breaking the vow in order that they could continue to work for the underground movement.

Transforming tradition to re-allocate resources for collective benefit

In Cova Lima, the majority of villages follow a system referred to as *kaben-tama* in which a woman remains on her family's property after marriage and her husband leaves his family to live with her. A symbolic exchange of gifts takes place at the time of marriage and thereafter, the contributions made to cultural ceremonies are provided by the two families on a voluntary basis and on largely equal terms. This system also exists in certain villages in Manatuto, Viqueque, Bobonaro and Ainaro. For this reason, the *fetosan umane* system doesn't allow excessive burden to be placed on families. Participants in this district reported that, because they have more freedom to decide how to allocate their resources, they have adapted their traditions to include a new cultural ceremony with the aim of supporting young people who demonstrate potential to attend University in the national capital or abroad. Families come together, much in the same

[63] FGD Dili (Youth), 14 November 2014.
[64] FGD Liquica (Traditional Leaders), 9 October 2014.
[65] FGD Ainaro, 24 September 2014.

way as they do for other cultural ceremonies, but money is pooled together for these 'scholarships' for selected students, who then promise to complete their education before marrying or having children and also promise to return to their nation and district. This is a creative approach to re-allocating resources for long-term benefit of the community, in so far as improving human resources, social capital and opportunity.

In other FGDs taking place in districts in which the *kaben-sai* system is followed (requiring a women to leave her family property to live with her husband after marriage) and where the requirements of *fetosan umane* often create financial burden, participants shared their ideas for transformation. In Baucau, one participant said that;

> *"culture is dynamic and our system of fetosan umane needs a new idea. Why do we spend so much money just for this? Why can't we put our money together and invest it in our children's future so that they can come back and contribute their wisdom to develop our family and nation?"*[66]

Similarly, *lia nain* in Liquica also reported that some families in their district are starting to re-distribute resources away from traditional ceremonies to supporting their children's education. This is something they said they support as traditional leaders in the community, whilst acknowledging that this initiative will take time commitment from all families before it can lead to positive change.[67]

Redefining culture in the face of rural-urban migration

In Dili, where rural-urban migration has meant that nowadays, less that 50% of the residents of Dili originated from Dili[68], many ethno-linguistic groups are living side by side. This creates a complex milieu of traditional actors, practices, beliefs and processes that are often specific to a particular district or even village, but which people still rely on to prevent and resolve conflict. As explained by participants in the Dili FGD; "...about culture, in Dili here we can create a new culture, a 'Dili Culture'. Because we ourselves don't know exactly what our culture is."[69] Subsequent discussion with participants in Dili revealed the idea that it is important that culture is not ignored, but that it is adapted. Participants placed emphasis on the power of dialogue and good communication to ensure that appropriate solutions are found in situations where parties come from many different 'cultures'. In this sense, key enabling factors of dialogue, good communication and national unity can be utilised to promote resilience for peacebuilding.

4.2.4 Prioritising aspects of culture for further investigation

During the sub-working group session held at the FAR National Validation Workshop in February 2015, participants representing 8 districts, the Church, the Islamic faith, traditional leaders and youth discussed and validated CEPAD's key findings and analysis of culture as an element of resilience for peace in Timor-Leste. Discussions were based on the following graphic which represents the key findings of the consultation and arranges them into three aspects each with positive outcomes which enable resilience for peace and negative outcomes which undermine resilience for peace:

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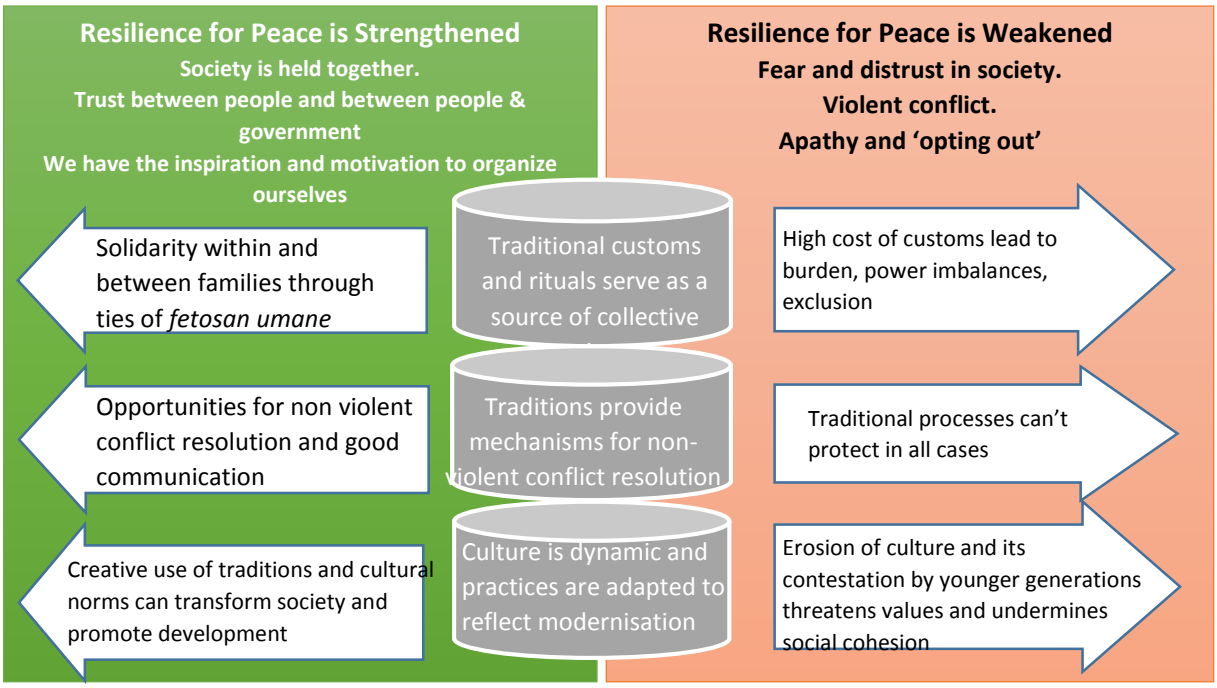
[66] FGD Baucau, 15 September 2014.
[67] FGD Liquica (Traditional Leaders), 9 October 2014.
[68] James Scambary (2012) 'Conflict and Resilience in an Urban Squatter Settlement in Dili', East Timor, Urban Studies, originally published online 20 December 2012.
[69] FGD Dili, 2 December 2014.



The group expressed its appreciation of the research results and acknowledged the process used to consult communities throughout the country and bring the results together. The group members put forward their view that the project was an innovative initiative that modifies assessment from focussing on negative to focussing on positive. The group used a process of consensus to recommend to CEPAD that the aspect of **traditions providing mechanisms for non-violent conflict resolution** should be a priority for investigation in the forthcoming phases of the FAR project.

This sub-working group also recommended some specific areas of focus for CEPAD for the next phases of the project. Firstly, it was recommended that these traditional mechanisms be viewed as tools, not just for resolution of conflict, but to promote good communication, dialogue and to help build good relations between people and communities. Secondly, it was recommended that CEPAD's further research maintain a strong focus on the traditional values which underpin traditional non-violent conflict resolution processes in Timor-Leste. Thirdly, it was recommended that an investigation of the particular traditional processes which vary throughout the different districts of Timor-Leste take place.

The group put forward several reasons for their prioritisation and recommendations. On examination of the context of Timor-Leste in which there are considerable human resource constraints hampering the functioning of the formal justice system, many cases cannot be resolved through the Court system. Therefore, traditional processes should be promoted as a mechanism to resolve conflict in non-violent ways and as one way to strengthen the formal justice system. Moreover, the two systems need to be able to compliment each other rather than clash with each other in order that lasting solutions which suit the Timor-Leste context and which can ensure peace are found. As summed up by one of the participants representing the District of Baucau;

> *"Culture can be used as one way to resolve problems and can assist the government and the Courts. Through the formal system, people can win a case but culture and tradition is what keeps our family together to continue to bring peace within the family."*[70]

[70] FGD Baucau, 15 September 2014.

4.2.5 Conclusion

The formation of an independent state has sparked a period of change within Timor-Leste society, including through the proliferation of international human rights norms, rural-urban migration, an increase in access to education and a range of other factors. This has created a need to re-assess the impacts of culture and the ways that cultural values can be upheld whilst specific practices may need to be adapted. This is summed up by one participant in Oecussi;

> *"The attitude of people in the past isn't the same as now, now it's different with different factors. But we can't blame culture and say it's wrong. Culture isn't wrong. The culture we have is based on the situation from the past."*[71]

The creative approaches to ensuring protection, coping with conflict and bringing about positive impacts for a whole community which are outlined above demonstrate the adaption and transformation of culture to promote solidarity and good social relations. The commitment of Timorese to preserve the identity and values that culture has promoted over a long period of time is clear, but equally clear is the ability to recognise changing contexts and respond accordingly. In this sense, culture provides a crucial underpinning of resilience for peacebuilding, if it can be leveraged to promote trust and inclusion.

4.3 Leadership

Participants pointed to leadership as a strong element of resilience and were able to clearly articulate the reasons for this in regard to local leadership. However, it was generally more difficult for participants to relate this to the national level, and a variety of perspectives were provided which are outlined here. Discussions of leadership throughout the consultations in 13 districts revealed a complex picture of resilience with many intersecting components which have changed over time and in varying conditions. The key idea to emerge was that resilience is strengthened where there is trust between people and their leaders. Trust exists where leaders demonstrate, through their actions, that they understand and are responding to the needs of the people. Leadership can be leveraged to strengthen resilience for peace when it based on enabling factors such as good communication and dialogue and where it promotes national unity, solidarity and good conscience. It is important to look at leadership at different levels and through changing contexts in order to truly understand how leadership can be a source of resilience, and further when it can be leveraged to serve the interests of the nation as a whole thus contributing to peace.

4.3.1 Resistance leaders and the legacy of the Independence struggle as a symbol of national unity

Participants tended to refer frequently back to the role that resistance leaders, particularly those within Falintil (National Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor) played during the Indonesian Occupation.[72] This resistance legacy resonates strongly with Timorese and many of the former resistance leaders continue to hold positions in government or other positions of power. Looking back on this time, participants commonly asserted that it was the unity of the leaders in pursuing a single objective of achieving self-rule which enabled and motivated Timorese to confront and ultimately overcome the violent 24 year occupation. This motivation and solidarity was seen in the way that communities, through the clandestine front, assisted the armed front by carrying supplies and messages. In the youth FGD, participants said that in the Indonesian

[71] FGD Oecussi, 11 November 2014.

[72] For a more detailed overview of the Timor-Leste resistance movement including the clandestine, diplomatic and armed fronts, see CEPAD & Interpeace (2009), 'Timor-Leste: Voices and Paths to Peace', Dili.

occupation, young people gave strength to Failintil through the clandestine front; "we youth provided equipment and other things that could help them fight the war."[73]

It is important to note that whilst this common narrative of the resistance as described by many participants strongly emphasises the unity of leaders, a more critical reading of history reveals that there were important cleavages and fractions in the resistance leadership. To a large extent, it was the determination of the population and the in-kind support that people provided at the everyday level that encouraged the leaders to pursue the fight for independence. Nonetheless this collective imagination of the united resistance leadership reveals the deference of the population to leaders which remains strong today. This deference may actually come at the expense of people valorising their own role in the resistance and identifying the resilience demonstrated that was demonstrated by the people, rather than the leaders.

In Ermera, one participant explained that; "Leaders in the past in Portuguese and Indonesian time were one and believed in one thing to die or live in our own rule."[74] Their leadership strengthened national unity and solidarity between Timorese, despite the reality that not all Timorese supported Independence. People had confidence in the leaders who were seen to truly represent the people as everyone was working towards the same thing. In Ainaro, another participant explained that; "Although Timor is small, if we weren't working together during our war, we couldn't have done anything because this unity meant that although we had little, and a small land, we managed to get Independence."[75] The experience of occupation and resistance has influenced the understanding of what effective leadership looks like and who effective leaders are.

Enduring legacy in the post-Independence context

The choices people make when electing and supporting their leaders are influenced by this resistance legacy which continues to be viewed as a symbol of national unity and solidarity. The east of the country, including the districts of Manatuto, Viqueque, Baucau and Lautem, was a stronghold for the Falintil forces during the Occupation and still provides the largest support base for the Fretilin Party. As one participant in Viqueque explained, "In Viqueque District, there is just one party, the Fretilin Party. People have confidence in this party because it's the historic party and it defended us."[76] He also explains that the Fretilin Party members are active in his district and are involved in organising people, sharing information and calming and resolving situations of conflict.

These resistance figures continue to hold considerable power in Timor-Leste today. As a participant in Cova Lima explained; "Leaders, especially our historical leaders they have a lot of power now, no joke."[77] These leaders are often referred to as '*figura istoriku'* (historical figures) which makes clear the central role they are given in the resistance narrative which is closely linked to their role today and has significant bearing on the relationship between the citizens and their government.

4.3.2 The proximity of local leaders to communities as a factor that builds trust and social cohesion

Participants in many districts asserted the reasons that local leadership is an important element of resilience for them. Timor-Leste has a system of local government which is based loosely on a traditional system of *liu rai* (small kings). Each village has an elected council (*konselho de suku*) and an elected village head (*Chefe Suku*). Many participants named their *Chefe Suku* as someone they trust to be able to bring people together

[73] FGD Dili (Youth), 14 November 2014.
[74] FGD Ermera, 18 July 2014.
[75] FGD Ainaro, 24 September 2014.
[76] FGD Viqueque, 16 September 2014.
[77] FGD Cova Lima, 25 September 2014.

and resolve conflicts or problems occurring in their community. Discussions of local leaders weren't confined to *Chefe Suku* exclusively as also referred to neighbourhood leaders, youth leaders and other local authorities such as the *lia nain* as discussed in the previous section on culture.

In Cova Lima, one participant explained that local leaders are an important element of resilience due to their knowledge of the local culture;

> *"when problems arise in the village, we always call on the village chief to resolve and therefore it follows culture so it stops there and we don't need to involve the police…it just stops in the village in the Chief's house."*[78]

This local knowledge places village heads in a good position to resolve conflict. In Viqueque, participants discussed various criteria for selecting a leader and the many qualities necessary for leadership. Due to conflict which sometimes arises between the different ethno-linguistic groups throughout Viqueque District, as one participant explained; "when striving to become a leader, they especially need to know the culture here, the character and the structure of our culture in order to bring our five sub-districts together...they need to listen to everybody."[79]

In Liquica, participants said that people trust local leaders because they themselves elect their leaders and they are known to them. "Because they are close to the community and they know the community's actions and behaviour and when the community confronts a problem, this person is close…and can resolve."[80] In Bobonaro, participants described the ability to bring people together and consult them as equals as an important aspect of leadership. One woman participant who is a local staff member of MSS (Ministry of Social Solidarity) explained;

> *"looking at our leaders in general in Maliana, leaders like the village heads...in order to resolve a problem or make a decision, they call the community together to listen...and consult us men and women to see how we all can contribute to the decision."*[81]

She goes on to explain that people in her role can rely on the village heads who have good knowledge of the various communities and can liaise with the community on their behalf. In Bobonaro, Cova Lima, Ainaro, Liquica and Manatuto, participants described the ability of local leaders to work together with other local authorities as an important element of resilience. From Manatuto, one participant describes this; "with the leaders that we have in our district, they have good management and listen to each other. They socialise information from our PNTL, they trust each other and listen to each other and don't have conflict."[82]

However, some participants also criticised their local leaders for various reasons. Some alleged that their local leaders engage in corrupt activities and abuse their power. In one district, participants said that some local leaders practice corruption in the administration of important services; "the government gives houses to the poor and vulnerable people through local leaders but some leaders give these to their families that have power."

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[78] FGD Cova Lima, 25 September 2014.
[79] FGD Viqueque, 16 September 2014.
[80] FGD Liquica, 8 October 2014.
[81] FGD Bobonaro, 28 August 2014.
[82] FGD Manatuto, 14 August 2014.

In summary, at the local level, people have trust in leaders because they are close to people, they listen to needs, they understand the situation and they have good communication networks with other authorities and citizens. Where people have trust in these local leaders, the ability to confront and resolve conflict is greater. The role local leaders play in leverage enabling factors for peace such as good communication, dialogue and solidarity is a source of resilience in Timor-Leste. This applies very much at the local level, and understanding how leadership contributes to resilience on a nation-wide scale is considerably less clear as is outlined below.

4.3.3 Ambiguous perceptions of the national leadership as symptomatic of weak state-society relations

Whereas people were readily able to articulate views as to how local leaders contribute to the resilience of their respective communities, discussions on the role of national leaders in the Dili-based government were more fragmented and indicative of the disconnect between the capital politics and the population.

Rapprochement between Fretilin and CNRT: Collaboration for the National Interest or Co-option for individual gains?

Whether or not leaders are united in the present to pursue the national interest and whether alignment between leaders of opposing parties is always of benefit in a democratic nation was something that elicited a range of views. It is important to keep in mind that consultations for this research were conducted before President Taur Matan Ruak accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão in February 2015 and before the appointment of Fretilin Party member, Dr. Rui Maria de Araújo as the new Prime Minister of Timor-Leste on February 16, 2015. This is the clearest example of the rapprochement between CNRT and Fretilin seen in Timor-Leste's post-Independence political trajectory.

Manatuto, being the district with the largest number of registered veterans and as the home district of (former) Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão offers somewhat of a distinct perspective when compared with other districts. Here, participants during the focus group discussions put forth the view that cooperation between leaders from different political parties contributes to preventing the escalation of violence. Reference was made to the incidents of 2012, when statements from then Prime Minister Xanana Gusmão on national television following the 2012 parliamentary elections, which were seen as inflammatory and 'anti-Fretilin', caused an outbreak of violence. Despite the division this created, Gusmão and Fretilin Party Secretary Mari Alkatiri calmed the situation through subsequent statements of cooperation to the public.

> *"In 2012, after the CNRT conference, if the leaders didn't make an appeal to the people, I think people would have killed the police and police would have killed the people. It's because there was loyalty from the parts of the military when Xanana made his appeal and Alkatiri made his, so nothing happened."*[83]

One woman participant (who is a teacher and veteran) in Manatuto described what is seen by many as the recent rapprochement of relations between former political rivals. She said that;

> *"[before], the political party leaders always fought each other, but actually now, we have observed that they have changed their political roles and positions and they now work*

[83] FGD Manatuto, 14 August 2014.

> *together…they are united and want to improve our country. Because of this, I see resilience in the leaders who are going very well, they have unity in their direction although their political ideology isn't the same."*[84]

The discussion which gave rise to this comment referred to the appointment in January 2013 of the Secretary of the Fretilin Party, Mari Alkatiri to lead discussions on the establishment of a Special Social Market Economy Zone (ZEESM) under the Authority of the Special Administrative Region of Oe-Cusse Ambeno, which will give rise to major commercial development projects in this often-neglected Timorese enclave situated in Indonesia.[85] Alkatiri is now the President of this Special Administrative Region.

The significance of this alliance is contested: on the one hand, it is perceived as leaders putting aside their ideological differences to collaborate for the well-being of the nation. On the other hand however, it is seen a 'marriage of convenience' enabling both leaders to reap personal political and financial gains. In Manatuto itself, some participants acknowledged the skepticism around this apparent collaboration between former rivals. The *Pacto de Regime*, an agreement signed in April 2014 between the Prime Minister and the Secretary of the Fretilin Party which outlines a strategy for the two rival parties to collaborate on the basic structures of the Government is an important sign of closer relations between the government and opposition in recent times. This move resulted in considerable outcry from the grassroots members of the Fretilin party who perceive that the Pact threatens their role as an opposition party.[86] The exact details of the pact were never made public. A member of Fretilin Party in Manatuto explained;

> *"Many people ask me, is Fretilin still the opposition or is it the party that contributes [to CNRT]? But it is still the opposition and still has different ideas to the government, if they don't have different ideas they're not the opposition. In the parliament, we observe the opposition always criticizing."*[87]

Such agreements being made at the highest level are seen by some as serving the interests of individuals rather than the nation as a whole. In several districts including Ermera, Ainaro, Bobonaro, Baucau, Cova Lima, Dili (youth), Dili (general), participants cast a more critical eye on the alliances between government and opposition. In the eyes of many, national leaders are pursuing their individual interests or political party interests rather than the national interest. According to one participant in Ermera;

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[84] FGD Manatuto, 14 August 2014.

[85] This is locally referred to as 'ZEESM' (Zona Especial de Economia Social de Mercado). According to Timor-Leste Institute for Development Monitoring and Analysis, Lao Hamutuk, concrete information on the exact plans for the zone which was announced early in 2013, but which was not included in 2011-2030 Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan or the 2013 State Budget has been difficult to obtain. See La'o Hamutuk website at http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/Oecussi/ZEESMIndex.htm
In an Extraordinary Meeting of the Council of Ministers held in Oecusse on 23 January 2015, the Government approved the breakdown of the budget allocation (close to US$100.5 million), the transfer of functions, means and resources and the members of the Authority.

[86] dnoticias, 'Fretilin explica a militantes "pacto de regime" com Governo de Xanana Gusmão', 7 April 2014, online newspaper accessed at www.dnoticias.pt/actualidade/mundo/440531-fretilin-explica-a-militantes-pacto-de-regime-com-governo-de-xanana-gusmao

[87] FGD Manatuto, 14 August 2014.

> *"Leaders from before [during the resistance] were as one, but now some leaders have begun to take care of their individual interests. They think 'before, I fought and now I want to enjoy the rewards of my sacrifice in Independence time."*[88]

From the youth discussion in Dili, one participant explains the injustice of this kind of behaviour from leaders; "our leaders think only about themselves and their wealth rather than thinking about the people who still live in poverty at the bottom. Many people fought before for our land and some now live a difficult and destitute life."[89]

In Baucau, one participant explained his frustration with political party members who gather support from people during the election campaign but once they secure a position for themselves, they place themselves apart from those who supported them. He says; "for *lia mate* or *lia moris* and *fetosan umane* ceremonies, I don't see the party members there because after the elections, the party members just put on sunglasses and don't care anymore. The political people are not close to the people because they lie to us."[90] Such behaviour reduces the confidence and trust that people have in leaders. National leaders who pursue individual or party interests ensure dysfunction of public institutions which in turn, undermines the process of state-building. If institutions cannot effectively play their role in building a sense of solidarity, fostering national unity and addressing sources of conflict, this weakens resilience for peace.

Lack of political participation and contestation as symptomatic of a feeling of powerlessness before National leaders and policies

The impact of this behaviour of leaders was expressed by participants in several districts who explained that people don't have a choice but to follow whatever policies the leaders create, although they know it is neither right nor just and doesn't benefit the nation. A participant in the discussions in the district of Ainaro articulated how the absence of proper mechanisms to contest unfavourable decisions of the political leadership manifests as a form of apathy wherein the population has little incentive to critique policies objectively. Rather than focusing on the legality and justness of decisions, people only care about who makes the decision and whether it aligns with their own allegiances and interests:

> *"Since 1999, people follow a leader if it is in their interest and they can benefit in same way. There is no one leader that can stand up and gather all people when leading this country. The impact is that many times, people don't like something… the policy of reconciliation…but follow the leaders and accept the reconciliation policy…Right now, the Timorese character is to adapt to this."*[91]

In Cova Lima, participants expressed a similar resignation in relation to former resistance leaders: because of the power and status that they have been given, people feel powerless to contest their actions, even when they feel that they are unjust. The example given referred to Maternus Bere, former leaders of a pro-Indonesia militia group called 'Laksaur' which committed grave crimes against humanity during the Indonesian Occupation. Bere returned to Timor-Leste in 2009 where he was arrested and detained by police

[88] FGD Ermera, 18 July 2014.
[89] FGD Dili (Youth), 14 November 2014.
[90] FGD Baucua District, 15 September 2014.
[91] FGD Ainaro, 24 September 2014.

in Suai.[92] He was released from pre-trail detention in Dili after pressure was placed on then President Jose Ramos Horta by the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The release caused outrage within Timorese society;

> *"Now, people might protest in many places but the leaders will say stop, and we will stop because they are charismatic leaders and have strong influence. This strength is related to the resistance and they are the heroes."*[93]

A similar sense of powerlessness was also described in relation to political conflict at the top. In Ermera, one participant explained in relation to the 2006 political-military crisis that;

> *"In the past [2006], we saw that they [the leaders] were the authors of the action but then they reflected to themselves that when they are together we can overcome a situation. They created it but in the end they came with good conscience and sat together to return the situation to peace. If they at the top are together, we at the bottom just follow them."*[94]

Reinforcing the observation that people opt out, a civil society actor interviewed in Dili stated that;

> *"People don't really have a choice in the face of political conflict from the top. Most of the time, the 'small' people just follow because they don't have power to back them up."*[95]

This example, together with the example from Manatuto provided above in relation to the 2012 political tension, demonstrates a certain ambiguity of people's attitudes towards their leaders. Although recognising that the nation's leaders actually create conflict which escalates or has potential to escalate, they are still commended for their ability to return the situation to calm or peace. The example of the 2006 crisis demonstrates the dual powerful role national leadership can have both on triggering conflict and on solving it. If the country is to reinforce its capacities for resilience, it is important to understand the conditions that will leverage leadership towards enhancing peace.

The rotting foundations of the bridge between leadership and the population

Many participants described their government and national leaders as being disconnected from them, arguing that this prevents the right solutions from being implemented and weakens their trust in national leaders and the central government. This is a major obstacle to peacebuilding as it undermines political participation and undermines the potential of laws, policies and programmes to contribute effectively to conflict resolution. Participants cited numerous examples of policies, plans and programmes that have been created and implemented without adequate consultation and without due recognition of the needs of the people. Consultation activities are carried out by various government actors but are largely ineffective, taking a top down approach and often excluding marginalised groups. Several government policies and decisions

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[92] In February 2003, the UN Serious Crimes Unit, which was established in Timor-Leste in 2001, issued an indictment in Case No.09/2003 naming Maternus Bere as the main perpetrator together with a large group of defendant who were suspected on being involved directly in an attack on civilians/refugees who were seeking protection in the Suai Church. See JSMP report at http://www.laohamutuk.org/Justice/99/bere/JSMPBereImpactSep09En.htm

[93] FGD Cova Lima District, 25 September 2014.

[94] FGD Ermera District, 18 July 2014.

[95] Interview with Transparency International Timor-Leste Chapter, 4 June, 2014.

were discussed during the consultations including the government resolutions regulating martial arts activity[96], the establishment of the ZEESM in Oecussi District and the Presidential pardon of former health minister Lucia Lobato after she served 18 months of a 3.5 year prison sentence for corruption-related crimes.[97]

The establishment of the ZEESM and its reception by inhabitants of Oecussi is illustrative of how the opaque manner in which the government is seen to operate erodes trust. Many participants in the Oecussi focus group discussion expressed concern and fear over the lack of information, lack of transparency and a perceived bias in the preparation for ZEESM. In relation to leadership, one participant explains;

> *"ZEESM in Oecussi is good...but our leaders are just serving themselves and this impacts on their decisions. Sometimes the decision has a different face at the ground level and this has a negative impact for implementation. That is the character of the leaders, they want the people to work but they don't want to work for the people, or listen to ideas from the people."*[98]

This perception of disconnection was summed up by one woman participant in Bobonaro who stated that;

> *"The leaders are good but sometimes the people's concerns and needs are heard but then put in a drawer... they should be a bridge but sometimes the bridge has rotting foundations so what can it do? It's rotting inside and we try to pass...but we can't. So the bridge is broken. Leadership is only good if it's a bridge."*[99]

Whereas the actions and attitudes of leaders as described above contribute to a disconnect between the state and population, this is to some extent institutionalised in the Timorese electoral system. The elections for the National Parliament are based on a single constituency for the entire country, with voters electing political parties, based on a closed list. In local elections, citizens vote for an individual to assume the position of *Chefe Suku* village head, to which is assigned a pre-determined council of 11 members (meaning, the candidates for *Chefe Suku* also hand-pick a council), who represent the *aldea* (hamlets) within that village, with two seats reserved for women and two for youth.[100] Although this 'package' (*pakote*) system was criticised by some participants (in Viqueque) who asserted that it would be better to elect each council member, it does allow people to directly elect their preferred representative.

Whilst participants have commonly asserted that they trust leaders who are known to them, who can listen to their needs and respond appropriately, they are prevented by the electoral system to select individuals to represent them at the national level which further exacerbates the disconnect between people and their government.

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[96]Official regulation of MAOs is provided through Government Decree Law No.10/2008, Resolution No. 24/2012 and Resolution No. 16/2013.

[97] This is described in greater detail in the following section on Law and Security (pg. no.)

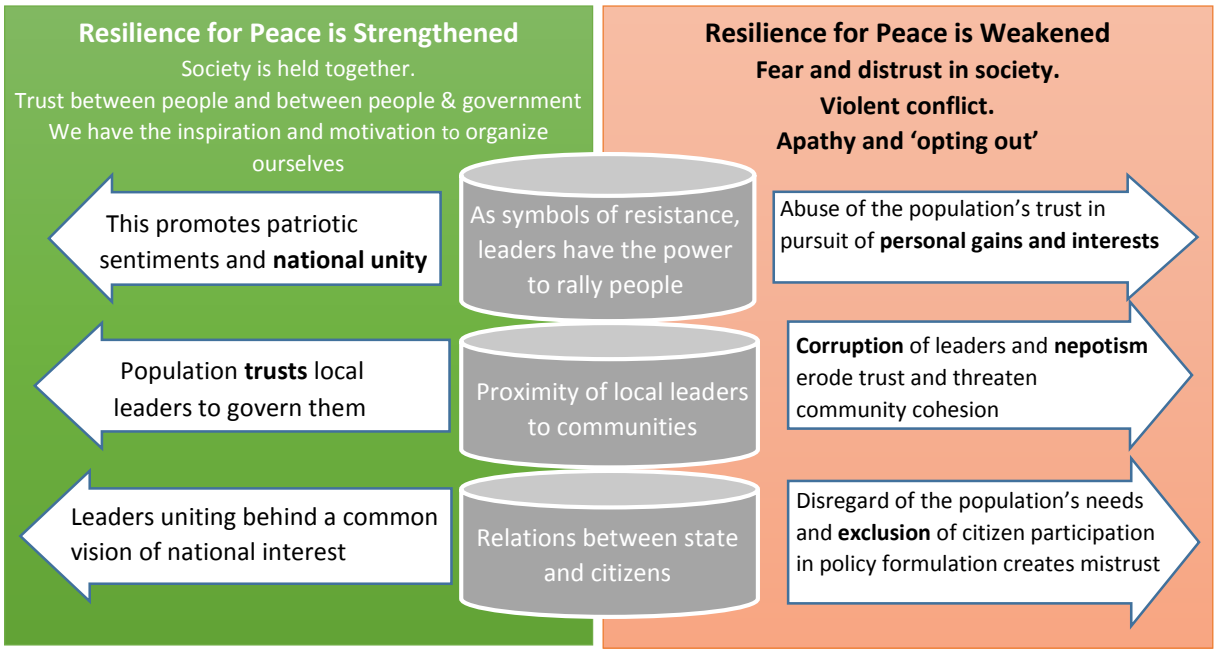
[98] FGD Oecussi District, 11 November 2014.

[99] FGD Bobonaro, 28 August 2014.

[100] Under the proposed decentralization of the state administration in Timor-Leste which a process which is still very much in progress, the system of local elections will change.

4.3.4 Prioritising aspects of leadership for further investigation and action

During the sub-working group session held at the FAR National Validation Workshop in February 2015, participants representing 9 different districts, local civil society groups, international organisations and government discussed and validated CEPAD's key findings and analysis of leadership as an element of resilience for peace in Timor-Leste. Discussions were based on the following graphic which represents the key findings of the consultation and arranges them into three aspects each with positive outcomes which enable resilience for peace and negative outcomes which undermine resilience for peace:



The group supported the findings around leadership as presented at the National Validation Workshop asserting that validity was derived from the research process which was based on consultation throughout Timor-Leste and accurately reflected the local context and reality. The group used a process of consensus to recommend to CEPAD that the aspect of **relations between state and citizens** should be a priority for investigation in the forthcoming phases of the FAR project.

Two main reasons were put forward for the selection of this aspect. The first was that this aspect was seen to encompass the other two aspects presented which were the rallying power of the resistance figures and the proximity of local leaders to communities. In this sense, the group conceived that by investigating relations between the state and citizens, CEPAD would be able to consider issues relating to the role of resistance figures and the role of local leaders in relation to strengthening resilience for peace. The second was the long-term benefits and that could be brought about of further examination and analysis of relations between the state and citizens which was seen as an aspect of great relevance in Timor-Leste at the present time.

A further recommendation put to CEPAD as a result of discussions in this sub-working group was that the next steps of the FAR project pay special attention to models of leadership rather than leaders themselves.

4.3.5 Conclusion

The struggle for Independence from 1975 until 2002 is the most recent and clearest demonstration of nation-wide resilience shown in the face of conflict and resulted in a globally celebrated achievement. It is unsurprising that the Timorese Resistance legacy is referred to with such force in Timor-Leste today. The model of leadership of this period, which is perceived in retrospect as being unified and focussed on a

singular objective, is something that many citizens in the post-Independence period continue to strive for through their voting choices and in their allegiance and support of particular 'historical' leaders. However, the appropriateness of such a model and of these personalities in the newly formed democracy becomes questionable. This is in fact suggested by one participant in Viqueque who states that; "Many people don't understand democracy and that people are free to choose whichever party."[101] On the other hand, according to one academic interviewed in Dili; "If resistance leaders continue to hold a sacred role that they held previously in order to bring about the freedom of the people, with idealism, conscience and integrity, that is a big strength that can reinforce Timorese unity."[102]

The status such figures are afforded prevents citizens from openly challenging decisions and actions, which gives rise to the tendency of Timorese to opt-out. Where the resistance narrative promotes the role of the leaders above the role of ordinary people, the power of the elite is reinforced and ordinary people are made to feel that their contribution was not important, which leads to a general sense of powerlessness, disenfranchisement and apathy towards political and development processes, thereby undermining resilience.

This consultation, in encouraging clear articulations of elements of resilience in Timorese society, has detected a much stronger articulation of resilience at the local level, than at the national level, when it comes to leadership. Without an active citizenship and responsive government, reinforced through good communication, dialogue, solidarity and a positive sense of national unity, the process of strengthening resilience to prevent future conflict and to build peace is severely undermined. Therefore, examining the relationship between the state and citizens and the ways that this relationship might be leveraged to promote inclusion and build trust is a crucial basis for strengthening resilience for peace.

4.4 Religion

In all focus group discussions, participants identified religion and more specifically, the Catholic Church, as an important element of resilience for the Timorese people. According to the 2010 Census, 96.9% of Timorese are Roman Catholic thus explaining the emphasis participants placed on the Church's contribution to national unity. Participants spoke about religion in relation to God, the institution of the Church and religious doctrine and teachings as key components of their belief. Other religions were also discussed and the benefits and drawbacks of an increasing religious diversity in Timor-Leste were articulated.

Overall, religion is seen to contribute to resilience for peace because of the Catholic Church's role in promoting solidarity and providing protection during the Indonesian Occupation and because of the messages of peace which are central to all religions and which inspire people to act with good conscience and refrain from engaging in injustice and conflict.

4.4.1 The historic role of the Catholic Church in the resistance as a rallying factor

As was seen in relation to leadership, the contribution of the Church during the Indonesian Occupation has a strong legacy and participants referred frequently to the Church's role in holding Timorese together and

[101] FGD Viqueque District, 16 September 2014.
[102] Interview, DIT, 26 January 2015

strengthening solidarity to be able to achieve Independence. The Church was seen as being able to protect and motivate people, especially youth. As described by one participant in Manatuto;

> *"In the Indonesian time, there were many religious activities, but especially activities against Indonesia. Many young people found protection in the Church. This is significant, that religion in the Indonesian time was like a factor that gave support to Independence."*[103]

This historical reference in the collective memory of Timorese drives their enduring faith and loyalty to the Church. In Ermera, participants said that; "Sometimes during the Indonesian occupation, time was not allowed for youth and others to plan activities and meet each other so the strength of the Church was that it became a meeting place to plan strategies to confront them [the Indonesians]."[104] In Aileu, participants discussed the role of the wider Catholic Church in the Resistance. One participant explained; "The Pope came to visit Timor-Leste at a time when the nation was confronting a problem, and because of this it gave power and spirit to protect young people's hearts to confront the Indonesian invasion. The Pope left behind a message that was important to transform young people's thoughts from negative to positive to be able to continue on."[105] This is an important example of the Church's role in inspiring people to fight for justice and in building solidarity.

The positive role played by the Catholic Church in the post-Independence period

Participants in some districts maintained that the Church continues to play an important role in strengthening resilience in the post-independence period. The Church leadership is seen by some to hold an important position in the community to create peace, as leaders are listened to and believed in. In Ainaro, one participant said that the Church has great influence in their district; "…when youth fight each other, they listen to the Church."[106] In many districts, the Church is involved in local mediation processes and non-violent dispute resolution. In Suai, participants said that; "Church and culture work together to help resolve martial arts conflict that arises." When Church leaders can work effectively with other local entities, especially traditional leaders, its role in preventing and resolving conflict is greatly strengthened.

In Liquica, the Church was described as an important gathering place for Timorese because; "it's a meeting place for the baptized. The youth, women and many organisations seek spiritual protection there."[107] In this sense, the Church is also seen as being able to promote inclusion of various groups. In other districts, people maintained that the church is still a meeting place for youth and various training, sport and capacity development activities are held by youth who have various roles within the Church and 'Fosca' (Catholic Youth). Some young people in the Dili youth FGD maintained that the Church was important to them; "It's still strong because we see the Church continuing their programs like socialisation and group activities always come to our neighbourhoods and this is a good way to strengthen unity in the community and build peace in the nation."[108]

The Catholic Church's diminishing role as protector and advocate

Despite the reverence people feel towards the Church and particularly Church leaders, some participants reflected on the diminishing role of the Church in the post-Independence period due partly to a reduction of

[103] FGD Manatuto District, 14 August 2014
[104] FGD Ermera District, 18 July 2014
[105] FGD Aileu District, 19 August 2014
[106] FGD Ainaro District, 24 September 2014
[107] FGD Liquica District, 8 October 2014
[108] FGD Dili (Youth), 14 November 2014

trust in the institution of the Church and partly to a disconnect between Church leaders or personnel and their congregations. It is important to understand the ways that shared values and morals promoted by the Church are contested or undermined by actions of personnel or through the systems and institution of the Church as it has evolved in the post-Independence period.

In two districts, participants said that they continue to believe in God but some actions within the institution of the Church breed discontent. Some participants complained about the hypocrisy and bias they see in the execution of some Church services such as inconsistent and increasing fees charged for obtaining birth and marriage certificates [109] or the payment required for the service of ringing the Church bells when a member of the congregation dies. One stakeholder interviewed was of the view that the Church may no longer provide the protection and inspiration that it once did because Church personnel are often distant from their congregations and don't make enough efforts to truly understand the needs of their congregations.[110] This denotes an unequal power relationship between the Church and parishioners which has negative impact on inclusion and trust.

Catholic students participate in a Church event in Dili

Some participants also asserted that youth don't demonstrate as much interest in these activities as in the past. In Manatuto, one participant explained that; "…now in the time of Independence, the youth are different. Youth don't have interest in Church activities because they no longer feel threatened or politically persecuted as was the case during the Indonesian occupation." According to one participant in the youth FGD; "I'm not against religion but I am against some people who work inside [the church]. Jesus teaches something different to their actions."[111] This suggests that there are a number of factors which have led to disengagement of youth from participation in the Catholic Church.

In a similar sense to people's views on leadership, Church actors are respected and trusted where they demonstrate an ability to listen and respond to the needs of the people. Whereas the Church once acted bravely in a fight for the protection of rights and in the pursuit of justice, it is now seen by some as inactive, choosing not to criticize the state for wrong doings or act to protect the rights of the people.

[109] It is important to note that the Catholic Church is the primary provider in Timor-Leste of important identification certificates such as birth and marriage certificates. Civil processes for obtaining these types of documents are not yet fully established. The Church therefore holds considerable power to enable or prevent citizens' rights to legal identity.
[110] Interview, Dili.
[111] FGD Dili (Youth), 14 November 2014

4.4.2 Peace messages of religious teachings confer values that promote solidarity amongst Timorese

Despite the factors described above which have the potential to undermine resilience for peace, the Church continues to play a role in facilitating the belief that Timorese have in God and in providing inspiration through religious teachings. By promoting a shared set of values and morals, which promote good conscience and solidarity, the Church has an enduring role in building peace. In Baucau, one participant said that; "religion is part of combating conflict, and the doctrine is to educate and orient us not to create divisions."[112]

Since Independence, the presence of other religions has been felt more strongly and some see this as a threat to the unity proffered by the religious quasi-homogeneity of catholic teaching that has long defined Timor-Leste. Participants discussed the proliferation of new religions since Timor-Leste gained independence and there were mixed views about whether this has potential to undermine resilience and cause conflict. There have been several protests and violent incidents in Baucau and Ainaro (stone throwing, damage caused to religious buildings) occurring as a result of the emergence of new Christian religions in recent times. In Manufahi, participants claimed that the existence of other religions can cause conflict in their district because some people have abandoned their catholic belief and chosen another which undermines the link Timorese share through religion.[113]

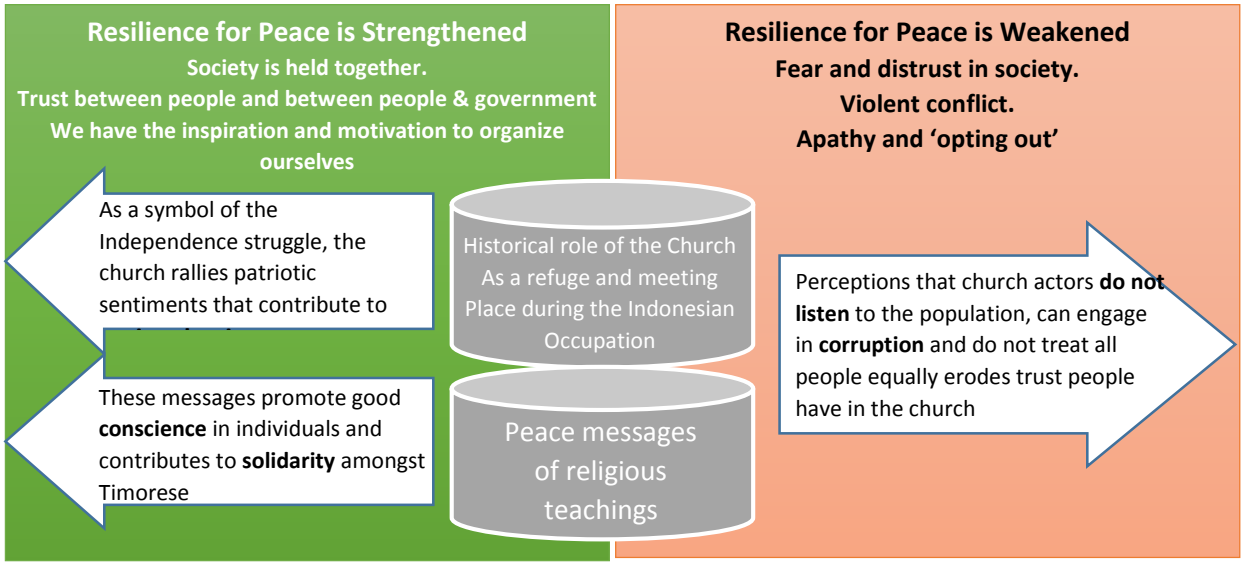
However, other participants in the same discussion disagreed and said; "Although we have many religions, we refer to national unity to see that this [differences in religion] is just a small thing."[114] In this sense, the identity as Timorese is stronger than the identity provided by membership of a particular religion. A view emerged that the peace messages at the core of all religions contribute to resilience for peace. These messages are seen to promote good family relations and tolerance. In Oecussi, participants said that although now there are now Protestants, Muslims, Hindu, Buddhists, conflict doesn't arise because we have solidarity and fraternity.[115]

4.4.3 Prioritising aspects of religion for further investigation and action

During the sub-working group session held at the FAR National Validation Workshop in February 2015, participants representing 7 different districts, local civil society groups, international organisations, the security sector and government discussed and validated CEPAD's key findings and analysis of religion as an element of resilience for peace in Timor-Leste. Discussions were based on the following graphic which represents the key findings of the consultation and arranges them into two aspects, each with positive outcomes which enable resilience for peace and negative outcomes which undermine resilience for peace:

The group supported the findings around religion as presented at the National Validation Workshop and used a process of consensus to recommend to CEPAD that the aspect of **peace messages of religious teachings** should be a priority for investigation in the forthcoming phases of the FAR project. Some group members questioned the inclusion of religions other than that Catholic religion in CEPAD's process which resulted in assurances being provided by participants who had been included in the district-level consultations that the process was indeed inclusive of other religions. This prompted lively discussion of the role of all religions in contributing to resilience for peace in Timor-Leste.

[112] FGD Baucau District, 15 September 2014
[113] FGD Manufahi District, 21 August 2014
[114] FGD Manufahi District, 21 August 2014
[115] FGD Oecussi District, 1 November 2014



The reason provided for the decision to prioritise the aspect of peace messages of religious teachings was that this aspect was seen to better reflect the current context in Timor-Leste and has the greatest potential to be leveraged to strengthen resilience for peace. Group members agreed that the historical role of the Catholic Church was important to serve as a reference but that for the future, it was more important to look at the role of religion generally in motivating families, youth and communities through peace teachings. As described by one group member; "All religion becomes like a centre for peace, a centre for education and a centre for information for the whole community."[116] In this sense, religion has a key role to play in leverage enabling factors for peace such as promoting good conscience, good communication, non-violent conflict resolution and solidarity between people.

This sub-working group also placed particular emphasis on the interrelation between religion and other elements of resilience. For example, it was asserted that the objectives of both religion and culture to promote peace means that they share a similar role in strengthening resilience for peace. Religious leaders also have a clear role to work together with police and local leaders to calm situations of conflict and use their platform and influence to encourage communities not to panic when more serious conflict arises.

It was further recommended by the group that, because the element of religion can be sensitive in the context of Timor-Leste, CEPAD should devise a good strategy for including relevant stakeholders in the next phase of the research.

4.4.4 Conclusion

Although religion (which referred predominantly to the Catholic Church) was cited in all FGDs as a strong element of resilience, on closer questioning, it was revealed that the legacy of the Church's role in the struggle for Independence and a strong belief in God and the teachings of the Church were the main links people made between religion and resilience. Overall, where people follow the teachings and values of all religions, to respect each other and act on good conscience, resilience for peace in Timor-Leste is strengthened.

[116] Sub-national working group on 'religion', FAR National Validation Workshop, 19 February 2015

4.5 Law and Security

Security and law were seen in most districts as elements of resilience. Law was discussed mostly in relation to the RDTL Constitution and the processes of developing and implementing formal law and regulations. It is unsurprising in an embryonic democracy and at this early stage of Timor's socio-political development, to uncover a belief in law as a source of social cohesion and resilience for peace. Security was defined in these discussions in terms of security forces such as the national police force (PNTL), the army (F-FDTL) and also local conflict prevention and security networks. Security wasn't discussed in the broader sense of human security.

4.5.1 Laws can support positive change and act as a guarantor of social justice

Participants in most district FGDs pointed to law as something which has a role in preventing and addressing conflict. For this reason, it is considered to be an element of resilience and can be a tool for peacebuilding. As stated by one participant in Liquica; "Law is in the interests of the public and the interests of justice and if we don't have law, justice can't be found, but if we have law we have true justice."[117] Law was seen as something that contributes to resilience where it is implemented consistently, communicated clearly and made accessible to all and where it is developed with due consideration of the local context.

The RDTL Constitution is seen as a tool to protect the equal rights of people before the law, and to outlines the responsibilities of all people to obey the law. Constitution making can be a foundational moment in the processes of state formation and has a defining role in regulating the relations between state and society. The formation of the RDTL Constitution is linked to the achievement of Independence which results in considerable respect from citizens who refer to this as their *lei inan* (mother law).[118] Other specific laws were discussed by participants to explain the conditions under which law can leverage enabling factors of resilience for peace as well as contributing to factors which undermine peace.

In Cova Lima, one participant referred to the Law on Domestic Violence (LADV) which was passed in 2010 and which renders domestic violence a public crime, to be prosecuted in the formal court system. She states;

> *"Before, domestic violence was considered normal inside the family but now, through the work of the courts, people's minds have started to change. This is because communities, especially women, can access information about gender inequality through government institutions and civil society and therefore have started placing importance on the formal justice system like the court."*[119]

This is an example of law supporting positive change through dialogue, good communication and coordination between different entities which is key for the peacebuilding process. The LADV has also raised the issue of the intersection between two justice systems; traditional and state/formal. The complexity of this intersection was discussed in several districts. In Ainaro, one participant explained this as follows; "there's a difference in the formal law, in that husband and wife can divorce, but culture and the Church prevent this and the woman is cast out of her traditional house. So when there's a problem, the husband

[117] FGD Liquica District, 8 October 2014
[118] FGDs in Manufahi, Aileu, Ermera, Oecussi, Lautem and Cova Lima Districts.
[119] FGD in Cova Lima District, 25 September 2014

and wife should sit together in the traditional house to resolve the problem they face."[120] Similarly in Liquica, one participant explained a common perception that;

> *"we must use culture as the bridge to avoid destroying family relations. If we use something other than culture we create a problem for the future in that if we bring it to the law [formal], this leads to even more problems."*[121]

Reconciling cultural norms with newer human rights concepts is a key challenge for state building in Timor-Leste, with both the potential to contribute to resilience for peace, or to undermine peace and create conflict.

Law is also seen to be effective when it is accessible, meaning, when laws are made available to people through efforts to socialise and when people are able to access justice. According to a PNTL Officer in the Dili FGD;

> *"I think that myself and the Community Police, we also explain little by little to our young people and our parents so that they can start to understand that we have this law. It's not just ourselves that do this work but I see NGOs also doing it and actors in the justice system. We socialise*[122] *it to the population so our communities start to understand. They don't understand completely but little by little, we understand what our laws are."*[123]

Accessibility refers both to the accessibility that results from socialisation of laws and also access to the court system. As described by *lia nain* in Liquica, there are certain problems that can't be resolved through traditional or customary processes and must be referred to the Courts.[124] However, for such crimes (the example discussed was crimes of sexual violence and incest), the Courts are not able to respond adequately due to a range of barriers that exist. Namely, the costs involved, the requirements around evidence, the physical distance citizens must travel, a lack of understanding of the processes and the time is takes for cases to be resolved, in comparison to customary processes. It is important to note that accessibility to information and formal justice services in Dili is much higher than in the 12 districts.

FGD Ermera District. 18 July 2015

[120] FGD Ainaro District, 24 September 2014
[121] FGD Liquica District, 8 October 2014
[122] 'Socialise' or 'socialising' is a common term used in Timor-Leste which mostly refers to the process of providing information from the centre to the rural areas or from the state to citizens. This may involve community education activities, training, workshops and public seminars.
[123] FGD Dili, 2 December 2014
[124] FGD Liquica District, 9 October 2014

Abuse of power and the elaboration of laws without effective consultation undermines the potential for modern law to bring positive transformation and social justice to Timor-Leste

Some key factors which undermine the ability of law to contribute to building resilience for peace include exclusion, bias, poor communication and corruption, and participants gave several key examples of how these factors have played out in Timor-Leste.

A clear example of bias that many participants pointed to was the Presidential pardon of former health minister Lucia Lobato which was granted in August 2014. In Cova Lima, Lautem, Viqueque and Baucau Districts, participants expressed their anger at the decision of President Taur Matan Ruak to grant a pardon to Lucia Lobato, after she served only 18 months of a 3.5 year prison sentence for corruption-related crimes.[125] This was seen as an action which undermined trust in the leadership and which undermined the legitimacy of anti-corruption legislation. As stated by a participant in Cova Lima; "this is significant because there is always this difference between the leaders and the people, even though the law says that all people are equal in the eyes of the law."[126]

The lack of effective consultation preceding the development of laws was discussed by participants and is something that exacerbates the cleavage between citizens and their government as explained in the preceding section on leadership. The criminalization of martial arts groups constitutes an example of a law that was passed without sufficient attention to the views of those at the centre of the issue. Although a survey conducted by Belun and The Asia Foundation reveals that the majority of Timorese support the Government's Resolution[127] to outlaw martial arts groups as it enables a reduction of martial-arts related conflict,[128] leaders of these martial arts groups argue that the law is counterproductive and has increased violence.

According to one martial arts group leader, when the Prime Minister met with martial arts leaders before passing the resolution, they had made a proposal to reduce conflict involving martial arts and ritual art groups through a task force of MA leaders who would work with the PNTL to solve the issues together, through both police action, but also action within the group that the offenders belonged to. The Prime Minister did not accept the proposal and instead, issued a ban to outlaw the groups in 2013. These leaders have always believed that the amount of violence that is attributed to martial arts activity is unjustified and that the teaching of the groups aim to help people control their emotional reactions to situations. The three leaders interviewed all agreed that since the outlawing of their groups, their former members are more likely to initiate conflict in the community and in the words of one;

> *"We can no longer control the situation because they are free and it's wild. We are scared for the future and the growth of organised crime in Timor because when our youth are not organised, it's easier for crime to arise."*[129]

The ongoing involvement of former MA members in conflicts is an interesting example of negative resilience.

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[125] The pardon was granted on 30 August 2014, therefore taking place after CEPAD conducted focus group discussions in Ermera, Bobonaro, Aileu, Manatuto and Manufahi districts.
[126] FGD Cova Lima, 25 September 2014
[127] Resolution No. 16/2013
[128] 78.1% Out of a sample size of 831 participants. Belun & The Asia Foundation 2013, 'Dynamics of martial arts related conflict and violence in Timor-Leste, NGO Belun Research Report, May 2014, Dili.
[129] Interview, martial arts group leaders, 6 November 2014

The ineffective dissemination or socialisation of laws was also raised by participants as something which undermines the ability of law to promote justice. A key factor in this is the use of Portuguese language for the development of legislation and a lack of priority placed by the Ministry of Justice and the National Parliament to have laws translated into Tetun language. This has a major impact on the ability of citizens to understand modern laws and also on the ability of law enforcers to implement law. The difficultly of law enforcement and access to justice when most of the population do not understand Portuguese is described by one member of the PNTL in Dili; "if we understand it, we can [follow], if we don't understand it, we can't."[130] This also points to the exclusionary impact of language as it creates divisions between groups in the community, allowing some to access opportunities but excluding others.

If law is to be leveraged to contribute to resilience for peace, some complex issues need to be navigated through the use of good communication and dialogue. Firstly, productive strategies need to be found for formal law to intersect with traditional practices, beliefs and conflict-resolution mechanisms. Secondly, law needs to be based on effective and inclusive consultation with citizens and representative stakeholders. Thirdly, leaders and those with the authority to implement law need to ensure that laws are used consistently and assessable to all and that no one is placed above the law.

4.5.2 Cooperation between state security, local entities and the community contributes to effective conflict prevention and resolution

Security forces, namely the PNTL and F-FDTL, are responsible for the local level enforcement of law and order and in this regard constitute an important link between the state and communities.

Throughout the consultation process, participants in discussion groups widely acknowledged that security forces have a role to play in the maintenance of peace despite the strong reliance on cultural and traditional dispute resolution processes. It was specified that conflicts are more likely to be prevented and resolved when the PNTL are able to work with other local entities.[131] In many districts, participants said that their local security forces had good relations and communication with the community and with local authorities in implementing daily work. In Manufahi District, participants said that their PNTL officers were also part of the DNPKK[132] group composed of government institutions, traditional leaders and NGOs and which implements various activities such as conflict prevention training/socialisation and facilitates local conflict resolution.[133] In Cova Lima, participants explained that when the government placed a ban on martial arts groups through resolutions, the security forces worked together with traditional leaders and the Church as part of a taskforce which succeeded in reducing martial arts related conflict in Cova Lima. As one participant described it; "There was a lot of martial arts activity here and culture couldn't resolve it but eventually, security, law and military came down and now it's started to be reduced. The three worked together in order to resolve it."[134]

In some discussions, community-led initiatives were described which are seen to be effective without the involvement of the PNTL or state security. In Baucau, one participant stated that; "In all of the neighbourhoods in Baucau, there are organized groups that we already have because we don't have police

[130] FGD Dili District, 2 December 2014
[131] FGDs in Manufahi, Bobonaro, Manatuto, Liquica, Cova Lima, Dili.
[132] *Diresaun Nasional Prevensaun Konflitu Komunitariu*. This is the National Directorate for the Prevention of Community Conflict which sits under the Secretary of State for Security.
[133] FGD Manufahi District, 21 August 2014
[134] FGD Cova Lima District, 25 September 2014

who can come to the neighbourhoods 24 hours a day."[135] This example highlights the ways that communities in more remote areas can take responsibility for security in the absence of adequate PNTL personnel but it also indicates that communities aren't reliant on state institutions to ensure security.

Another example in relation to inter-village gang conflict in Liquica describes an instance where state security forces were unable to resolve the problem and traditional leaders stepped in to find the solution. As explained by one participant; "Sometimes the district police who come are not effective and must ask for reinforcements from the national level. BOP[136] then must come. But we saw that dialogue, using culture and making an agreement reduced the conflict."[137] In Lautem district, participants reported that communication between PNTL and the community isn't effective and therefore people trust more strongly in community and traditional leaders to solve disputes and address problems.[138]

Inconsistent law enforcement undermines the credibility of the state security apparatus

There were various reasons provided for the uneven views about the effectiveness of state security in Timor-Leste. The main factor contributing to a lack of trust in security personnel related to a perceived lack of consistency in implementation of law. Participants in some discussions asserted that those who have a family or other link to security personnel have immunity from the law. In Lautem, one participant said that "If my brother is a policeman, I cause a problem and I am not afraid because I have a relation to them."[139] These actions lead to bias in the implementation of law and contribute to a sense of apathy in regard to law enforcement which undermines resilience for peace.

Participants reported that the use of violence by security personnel when responding to incidents this destroys the confidence of community in security actors. This behaviour erodes trust and contributes to weakening resilience for peace because it discourages people from relying on the security forces to maintain order. The excessive use of force that people see security personnel using is referred to as something that is contrary to law. People are afraid of these violent actions and also ashamed, as one participant in Lautem explains, in relation to the struggle Timorese endured to get Independence and the pride they feel as a result;

> *"The PNTL is an important institution and always do this (use violence) and always appear in the media and sometimes when we see this we feel shame...people in the rest of the world sees this...they [PNTL] need to improve themselves."*[140]

It is important to note here the role that state security forces played in the 2006 political-military crisis and the many challenges plaguing the forces, particularly the PNTL since Independence. Although the starting point for the 2006 crisis was the actions of 600 soldiers within the F-FDTL who abandoned their posts and presented a petition calling for transparency in the internal system of promotion with the force, ultimately staging an attach on the Government Palace, the crisis was exacerbated by disputes and distrust between the F-FDTL and PNTL. The inability of the PNTL to control the situation due to internal divisions and the scattering of police officers resulting from the lack of central command led to a loss of trust and credibility in the eyes of the people. Since this time, despite some progress made within the PNTL to improve human

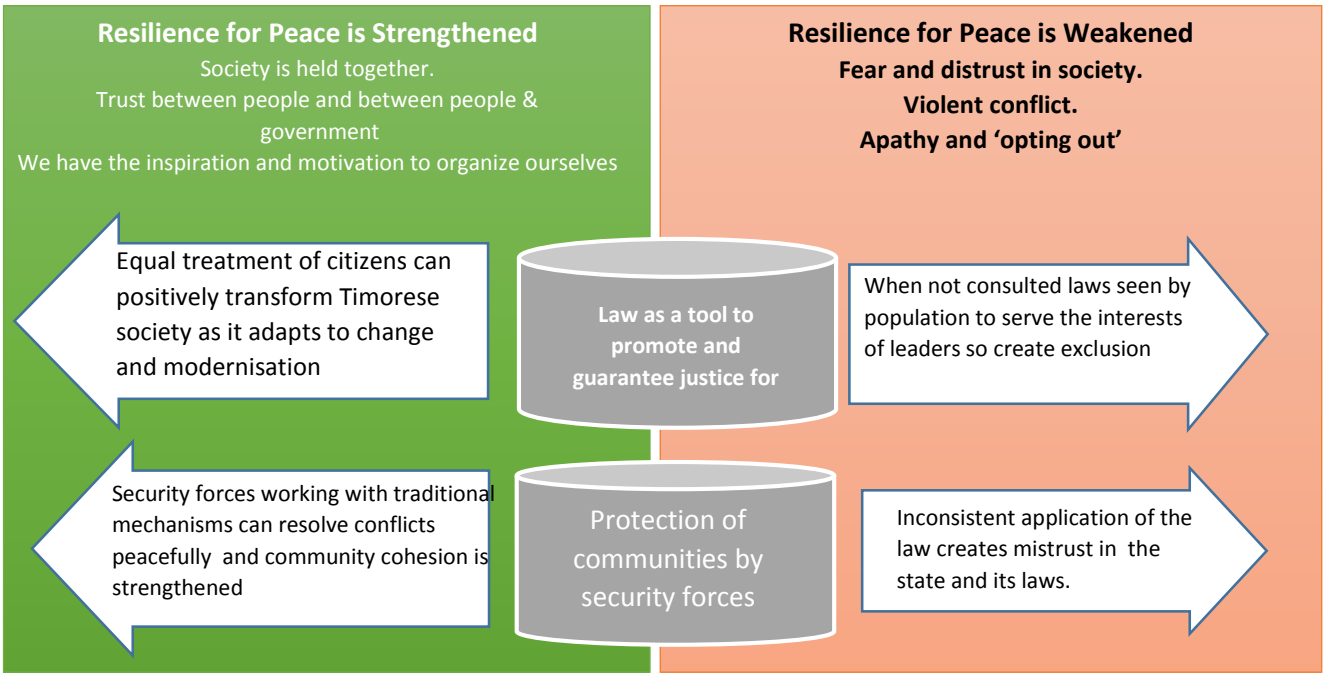
[135] FGD Baucau District, 15 September 2014
[136] *Batalhão de Ordem Pública*. The Public Order Battalion is the riot police arm of the PNTL.
[137] FGD Liquica District, 8 October 2014
[138] FGD Lautem District, 18 September 2014
[139] FGD Lautem District, 18 September 2014
[140] FGD Lautem District, 18 September 2014

resources and adopt community policing principals to work more effectively at the community level, the process of consolidating this important institution is far from complete. The fractured relationship between the F-FDTL and the PNTL has been cited as one of the most significant threats to national stability by many observers since 2006.[141]

Participants commonly asserted that where security institutions and all security personnel implement their role according to law, with impartiality, honesty and can work together effectively with other entities toward peace and calm in communities, resilience for peace in the nation will be strengthened. On the other hand, it was also asserted that individuals and communities need to have good conscience to follow law and support institutions to implement their roles effectively so that people can work with security actors to ensure security and peace.

4.5.3 Prioritising aspects of law and security for further investigation and action

During the sub-working group session held at the FAR National Validation Workshop in February 2015, participants representing 8 different districts, youth, the security sector and government discussed and validated CEPAD's key findings and analysis of law and security as an element of resilience for peace in Timor-Leste. Discussions were based on the following graphic which represents the key findings of the consultation and arranges them into two aspects, each with positive outcomes which enable resilience for peace and negative outcomes which undermine resilience for peace.



The group supported the findings around law and security as presented at the National Validation Workshop based on their understanding of the consultation process which covered every district and commented that the presentation of findings had the effect of waking people up to new ideas about how to self-organise.

[141] See CIGI (2010) 'Security Sector Reform Monitor; Timor-Leste', no.2, May 2010. Available online at https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/ssrm_timor_leste_v2.pdf. Also see International Crisis Group (2013), 'Timor-Leste; Stability at What Cost?', Asia Report N°246, 8 May 2013.

The group used a process of consensus to recommend to CEPAD that the aspect of **law as a tool to promote and guarantee justice for all** should be a priority for investigation in the forthcoming phases of the FAR project. Group members wanted to emphasise the strong interconnectedness between the two aspects and that law and the provision of security by security forces must be considered together if stability is to be ensured. The group put forward some additional key points including that there are persistent problems related to the implementation of law and order, that there is a lack of professionalism among security personnel but that security forces also have a heavy burden. Another point raised was that effective implementation of law also relies on the willingness of citizens to adhere to laws and to actively take part in civic education activities. Additionally, the connection between economic development and security was raised, particularly the link between rising unemployment and an increase in conflict.

This sub-working group recommended that CEPAD focus specifically on the interrelation between traditional and formal law and the need to harmonise the two in order to ensure justice for Timorese people. Reform of the justice sector to promote better consultation and socialisation to ensure that laws reflect the context, culture and daily reality of Timorese rather than reflecting examples and templates from other countries.

4.5.4 **Conclusion**

Law and security and the interconnection between these constitute an element of resilience for peace in Timor-Leste where enabling factors of good communication, dialogue, solidarity, conscience, national unity and non-violent conflict resolution are leveraged. Where laws are developed through the use of dialogue with communities, are clearly communicated in appropriate languages, promote non-violent conflict resolution and protect the rights of Timorese without exclusion, law has the potential to bring about positive transformation for peace. Where law is implemented by security forces without exclusion and bias, in good communication and collaboration with local authorities and communities and where solidarity and national unity are promoted through the actions of security personnel, resilience for peace is strengthened in Timor-Leste.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS

5.1 Bringing elements together

Although participants described a range of separate 'elements' in order to explain what resilience looks like in Timor-Leste, it was also clear from the consultations that participants see these as being interrelated and interdependent. In order to understand resilience as applied in the context of Timor-Leste, these four elements, culture, religion, leadership and law and security need to be viewed as a set of interrelated capacities, values, systems and resources. This was emphasised strongly by participants in the four sub-working group discussions held during the National Validation Workshop for the FAR project. Whilst prioritising particular aspects within each of the four elements, participants made it very clear that aspects were related strongly with each other and with the three other key elements.

The results presented in the preceding section illustrate some of the ways that elements overlap and intersect as was conceived of by Timorese during consultations. It is clear from the analysis that where Timorese are able to leverage two or more elements interconnectedly and in conjunction with a set of enabling factors, the opportunities for leveraging resilience for peace is greater. Similarly, where two or more elements intersect in conjunction with a set of undermining factors, the risk of destroying peace is greater,

Religious and cultural values and mechanisms can be combined to resolve and prevent conflict, thereby strengthening resilience for peace. This may take the form of cooperation and good communication between Church and traditional leaders which allows them to intervene during crises and conflict, or the mutually reinforcing values espoused by religion and cultural beliefs which can promote solidarity, facilitate dialogue and reinforce a commitment to pursue peace.

Where cultural values which promote solidarity, good relations between people and traditional conflict-resolution mechanisms such as *nahe biti bot* and *tara bandu* can be productively intersected with formal law, and where law enforcement actors can take part in these traditional mechanisms through the use of dialogue and good communication, this can result in the protection of important cultural values which hold Timorese together but to also the protection of the human rights of vulnerable groups.

Where the nation's leaders effectively consult citizens and take account of local realities in order to develop effective laws and policies at the national level, which are then well communicated, accessible and implementing consistently, relations between the state and its citizens can be strengthened, thereby strengthening trust and leveraging resilience for peace.

Similarly, where two or more of the four key elements intersect under another set of conditions, the potential to create or reinforce various factors which undermine resilience for peace is greater and it is more likely that conflict will result. For example, traditional dispute resolution processes can reinforce harmonious social relations at the community level but can also contradict formal law which is problematic for the rule of law in a democratic state. When the state encroaches on these traditional mechanisms and values without consultation, people lose trust in the formal law-making and implementation processes, which weakens relations between citizens and the state. Where former resistance leaders who have assumed positions of power in the post-Independence period place themselves above the law, thereby abusing the trust people have in them, this both undermines the rule of law and weakens relations between the state and citizens. These manifestations have potential to promote exclusion, apathy and conflict.

5.2 Resilience at the local level

Participants predominantly described resilience as something that is collective and localised and the elements of resilience that were most strongly emphasised by participants in the consultations are predominantly those which promote trust, harmony and cohesion at a local level. Participants found it difficult to grapple with the ways that key elements they put forward might apply at the national level or to the general population beyond their district. This very localised understanding of resilience is not surprising given the relatively small size and population of Timor-Leste.

For example, culture is seen as an element of resilience where it holds people together and encourages solidarity. Leadership is seen as an element of resilience where leaders are close to the community and understand and empathise with their particular needs. Religion, where the Church promotes good conscience and gives inspiration to people to fight for justice (as during the Occupation). Law (formal law), where it reflects people's actual situation and intersects appropriately with traditional justice mechanisms. Security, where institutions and personnel pursue cooperation and communication with local entities and where they enforce law without discrimination.

The next phase of the research will more closely examine the intersection between the local and the national level and the implications of this for understanding and assessing resilience in Timor-Leste. Some initial indications of how this might look were elicited from the initial research phase. For example, as explained during the Dili FGD, customs and practices which keep people together and help resolve conflicts and problems in their respective villages and districts can actually undermine cohesion in Dili where people from many different districts live side by side. Traditional leaders do not have the same legitimacy, and dispute resolution practices may not apply to all parties involved. Similarly for leadership, leaders who are close to the people and known well by citizens may be effective at the local level but at the national level, such close networks can allow corruption and clientelism to spread easily. Another interesting example is law, which was seen to contribute to resilience when it reflects local realities however the task of accounting for diverse local contexts in the development of nationally-applicable laws is incredibly complex and potentially counter-productive.

Participants also tended to emphasise those processes, customs, networks and beliefs that had existed for a long time as being more closely linked to their resilience which highlights the fact that there are some capacities, values and systems that have allowed Timorese to remain resilient in the face of conflict for centuries, and which cannot be ignored in peacebuilding and statebuilding processes. A good example is a strong tradition of non-violent conflict resolution through *nahe biti bot* (rolling out the big mat) which participants said comes from their ancestors and which people still believe in strongly as being an effective means of finding solutions to problems. On the other hand, the ways in which these long-standing practices interact with more recent realities such as the proliferation of human rights norms, accelerated rural-urban migration and the consolidation of a democratic state is something that need to be taken into careful consideration in attempts to assess and strengthen resilience.

5.3 Next steps for assessing and strengthening resilience in Timor-Leste

It is clear from analysis of the findings of this initial phase of the FAR project that Timorese have the capacity for resilience and that there are important values, systems and resources related to culture, leadership, religion and law and security which can be used to leverage this resilience to contribute to building peace.

The results of the Consultation Phase of the FAR project in Timor-Leste reveal some interesting and important implications for the task of assessing resilience. Overall, the analysis presented here constitutes a basic road map to be developed further through the broadening of findings with the use of a nation-wide survey and through deepening of findings through analysis provided by a National Working Group on Resilience.

The main objectives of the National Working Group on Resilience will be; to develop recommendations for strengthening resilience for peace in Timor-Leste based on further analysis of the findings of the FAR consultations and the FAR national validation workshop; and to develop a guide or framework for understanding and assessing resilience in Timor-Leste which can be used by government, development partners and civil society.

In order to meet these objectives, the National Working Group on Resilience will investigate some key questions that the findings of the first phase of the FAR project have raised including but not limited to the following:

Capacities for transformation

If resilience is the ability to transform a situation which has led to violence so that such conflict will be prevented in the future, it is important to highlight the instances of this that can be seen in Timor-Leste. One question to be considered in the next phase of the research is, when broken down into smaller components, and in line with the priorities defined through the National Validation Workshop, what are the capacities for transforming that exist in Timor-Leste society as distinct from those that allow Timorese to opt-out, cope, resist and adapt.

Sub Group Discussion during the FAR National Validation Forum in Dili, February 2015

Specific tools for peacebuilding

The National Working Group on Resilience will also be encouraged to use the findings presented here to identify specific tools for peacebuilding that already exist in Timorese society and which can be strengthened in an effort to promote resilience for peace. An assessment of these tools can be assisted through the development of various scenarios at different levels of society and over different time periods, within which such tools can be tested.

Undermining factors and exclusion

Drawing on the factors described in this report which undermine positive resilience and therefore detract from peace, it will be important in the next phase of the project to examine the full range of conditions which promote or allow such factors to exist and take hold. Within this, the National Working Group will also be

encouraged to think carefully and the exclusionary aspects associated with the elements of resilience that have been prioritised in a way that avoids labelling certain groups as 'vulnerable', but rather explores the ways that the participation of certain groups are integral for the process of strengthening resilience and building peace.

In light of the findings outlined in this report, it is fair to say that the resilience lens is an important and innovative tool in the peacebuilding field. As applied in Timor-Leste, FAR has opened up spaces within communities across the country, and at the national level, for Timorese to examine their own strengths and capacities for conflict prevention and peacebuilding. This initial phase has helped to identify and analyse the ways in which key elements of resilience can be leveraged to contribute to peace or can be used to undermine peace. The next phase of the project will continue to emphasise the importance of facilitating a process which is led by Timorese and which can shed further light on the unique characteristics of resilience as applied in Timor-Leste. The necessity of this approach is summed up by one participant in Lautem district who says;

"We can't compare Timor-Leste with other countries because our situation is unique...In other countries, people had help with martials for war and various other things to get their Independence. Timor is unique because people didn't give us guns, they didn't give us bullets, they didn't give us food. So Timorese themselves helped each other inside our villages, inside the jungles, helped each other make Timor independent."[142]

[142] FGD Lautem, 18 September 2014.

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6 ANNEXES

Annex 1: FAR Concept Note (June 2013)

Frameworks for Assessing Resilience
Timor-Leste

CEPAD

Established in 2007, the Centre of Studies for Peace and Development (CEPAD) is an independent national non-government organisation constituted as an association under Timorese law. With over 7 years' experience in undertaking countrywide Participatory Action Research (PAR) on the structural mechanisms and violent and nonviolent behaviours that contribute to ongoing resentment, instability and perpetual crises within Timorese society, CEPAD remains a local pioneer in championing critical analysis in the field of peace and conflict studies in Timor-Leste.

CEPAD's approach to peacebuilding

Since 2007, CEPAD's Programme of Research and Dialogue for Peace (PRDP) has sought to consolidate the democratisation process in Timor-Leste through identification of the most pressing obstacles to lasting peace, greater understanding of the origins and the dynamics of conflict, and the ongoing definition of the means to collectively address these in non-violent and sustainable ways. Country-wide consultations resulted in the agreement in 2009 from close to 1000 citizens and decision-makers on four key obstacles to peace which CEPAD has continued to address through participatory processes since that time. The four priorities are:

1. The promotion of individual and party interests over the national interest.
2. The ineffective formal judicial system and the culture of impunity.
3. Conduct a thorough historical review of the resistance and the occupation.
4. Corruption, Collusion and Nepotism (KKN).

From these four priorities, CEPAD has advanced work on #1 and #4 to the point of implementing recommendations which has resulted in a permanent anti-corruption civic education campaign which is being carried out with key stakeholders comprising a Group Promoting Change (GPC) to provide guidance on raising public awareness of corruption issues, contributing to good governance and strengthening public sector responsibility.

A new initiative has arisen which allows CEPAD to add a dimension to its peacebuilding work to explore the concept of resilience as applied in Timor-Leste. The Frameworks for Assessing Resilience (FAR) project gives CEPAD the opportunity to build on its previous work by opening up new conversations with communities and decision-makers about the characteristics and sources of resilience which have allowed Timorese people to confront and manage conflict.

Resilience

Rather than asking what are the obstacles to peace, CEPAD would like to focus attention on the opportunities Timorese have to strengthen peace. CEPAD sees resilience as the assets (or the 'glue') that hold our society together and that make it able to deal with past conflict and confront future conflict in an adaptive and transformative way.

Frameworks for Assessing Resilience (FAR)

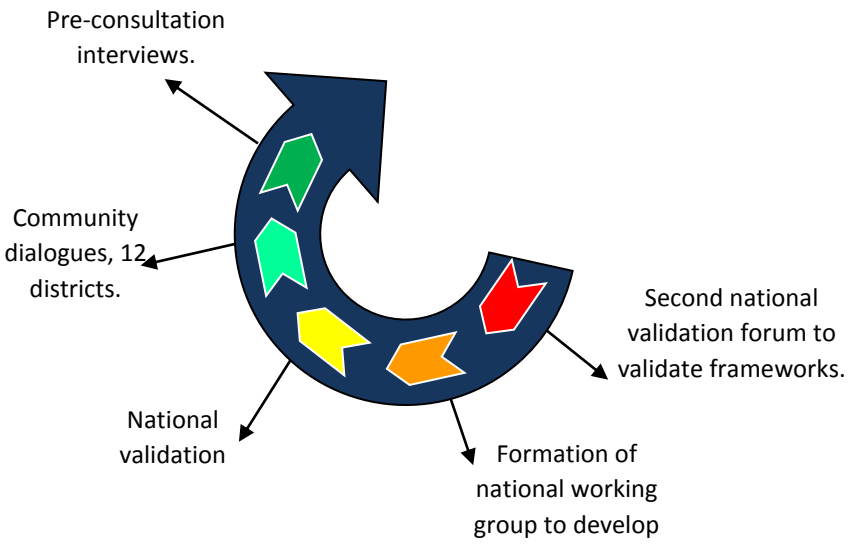
Through the FAR project, CEPAD will pursue the following objectives:

1. To engage a broad cross-section of Timorese in a dialogue about the meaning of resilience in the local context.
2. To work with national stakeholders to find ways to monitor and measure resilience within Timor-Leste society.
3. To develop tools and methods which can be shared with, and inform the development of indicators in other countries and contexts.
4. To bring the voice of local actors from conflict-affected societies to international policy dialogue.

CEPAD's ultimate purpose is to strengthen the assets that are detected within Timorese society and therefore to strengthen sustainable peace in Timor-Leste.

> "It is time to stop asking us what makes us *weak* and what makes us *fragile* and it is time to let us talk about what makes us *strong*."

CEPAD will continue to use participatory action research which is inclusive to ensure local ownership of processes, actions and results. CEPAD seeks to find out what people across Timor-Leste and at all levels of society have to say about resilience and will pay particular attention to marginalised groups within society. The project will be carried out in the following steps from May 2014 to October 2015:



Interpeace

CEPAD is implementing the FAR initiative in partnership with Interpeace, one of the world's leading organisations supporting peacebuilding efforts at global, regional and country levels. At the global level, Interpeace is well placed to facilitate and contribute to dialogue, deepened understanding and consensus shaping within the policy community. Interpeace is part of the senior leadership of the Civil Society Platform on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (CSPPS), building consensus within global civil society on key policy positions and advocating for a strong place for *societies* within the peacebuilding and statebuilding policy discourse.

The FAR initiative is being implemented in three pilot countries; **Guatemala, Liberia** and **Timor-Leste.**

CEPAD looks forward to sharing progress and results across these countries to create a platform for local voices at the international level.

Annex 2: FGD Question Guides

Original FGD questions guide

No.	Question	Approach
1.	What holds Timorese tightly together to allow us to succeed in overcoming past conflict and conflict that we might face in the future? Why? What are concrete examples?	Facilitator encourages brainstorm of 'elements' using prompts where needed.
2.	Of these elements, what are the most important or the strongest?	Facilitator guides participants through some prioritisation of components to agree on 3-5 and write these clearly on a separate flip chart.
3.	Looking at these elements, can you think about whether they existed/how strong they have been over time and will be in the future?	Facilitator presents a simple timeline which marks key points in Timor-Leste history (Portuguese colonisation, 1974 proclamation, Indonesian Occupation, 1999 referendum, Independence, 2006 crisis, now and future) and asks participations to describe which assets have existed at different points and how they have changed.
4.	At which level do these elements exist or are strongest? Individual, family, community, district, national level? Does resilience at one level impact another level?	Facilitator presents a simple ladder of levels from individual to national and ask participants to indicate where the assets exist and where they are strongest.
5.	Looking at these elements that you have identified, are all groups in the community able to access/be involved in such components? Or are some groups excluded?	Facilitator uses a diagram placing the example in the centre and placing different groups around the outside. Different symbols can be used to indicate whether the group has access to the asset or not leaving space to write some reasons.
6.	Can you identify the positive and negative behaviours or consequences associated with these elements?	Facilitator lists positive and negative points in two columns for each element.
7.	What is resilience in your context and how can we grow positive resilience to strengthen sustainable peace in our society?	Facilitator encourages participants to assist each other to come up with definitions and ideas for strengthening resilience.

Revised question guide

No.	Question	Approach
1.	What holds Timorese tightly together to allow us to succeed in overcoming past conflict and conflict that we might face in the future? Why? What are concrete examples?	Facilitator encourages brainstorm of 'elements' using prompts where needed.
2.	Do these elements give a good life to all people/groups or just to some people/groups?	Responses written under or next to each element already identified
3.	Of these elements, what are the most important or the strongest?	Facilitator guides participants through some prioritisation of components to agree on 3-5 and write these clearly on a separate flip chart.
4.	What is resilience in your context and how can we grow positive resilience to strengthen sustainable peace in our society?	Facilitator encourages participants to assist each other to come up with definitions and ideas for strengthening resilience.

Annex 3: Participant lists

Pre-consultation interviews and discussions

Organisation	Interviewee/s	Date
FONGTIL (NGO Forum)	Director, Arsenio Pereira	29/05/2014
Rede Feto (National Women's Network)	Acting Director, Filomena Fuca	15/06/2014
Transparency International Timor-Leste Chapter	Luta Hamutuk - Mericio Akara Fundasaun Mahein – Nelson Belo Haburas – Deometrio Carvalho TLMDC - Franscisco Gari	4/06/2014
UNDP	Resident Coordinator, Knut Ostby and Peace & Development Advisor, Gregory Connor	28/05/2014
World Bank	Country Representative - Luis Constantino	20/06/2014
Office of the g7+ (Timor-Leste)	Helder Da Costa & Nelson Martins	03/07/2014

Post-consultation interviews and discussions

Organisation	Interviewee/s	Date
World Bank	Country Officer - Eric Vitale	23/10/2014
Ba Futuru (Local NGO)	Director - Sierra James	24/10/2014
Belun (local NGO)	EWER Programme Manager - Marilia Da Costa	05/11/2014
Ministry of Social Solidarity	Director General Department of Assistance and Social Cohesion - Amandio Amaral Freitas	06/11/2014
PSHT Martial Arts Groups	Leader	06/11/2014
Kera Sakti Martial Arts Group	Leader	07/11/2014
Korka Martial Arts Group	Leader	17/11/2014
The Asia Foundation	Head of Safety & Security Programmes – Todd Wassel	20/11/2014
UNDP	Social Cohesion and Protection Advisor for MSS - Sarah Wood	15/12/2014
Dili Institute of Technology (DIT)	Former Rector of DIT – Estanislau Saldanha	26/01/2015

Focus Group Discussions in 13 Districts:

Location	Type of FGD	Participants		Date (2014)
		Male	Female	
Ermera District	General	17	5	18 July
Manatuto	General	9	9	14 August
Aileu	General	13	10	19 August
Manufahi (Same)	General	11	6	21 August
Bobonaro (Maliana)	General	6	6	28 August
Baucau	General	10	6	15 September
Viqueque	General	7	6	16 September
Lautem (Los Palos)	General	11	7	18 September
Ainaro	General	9	9	24 September

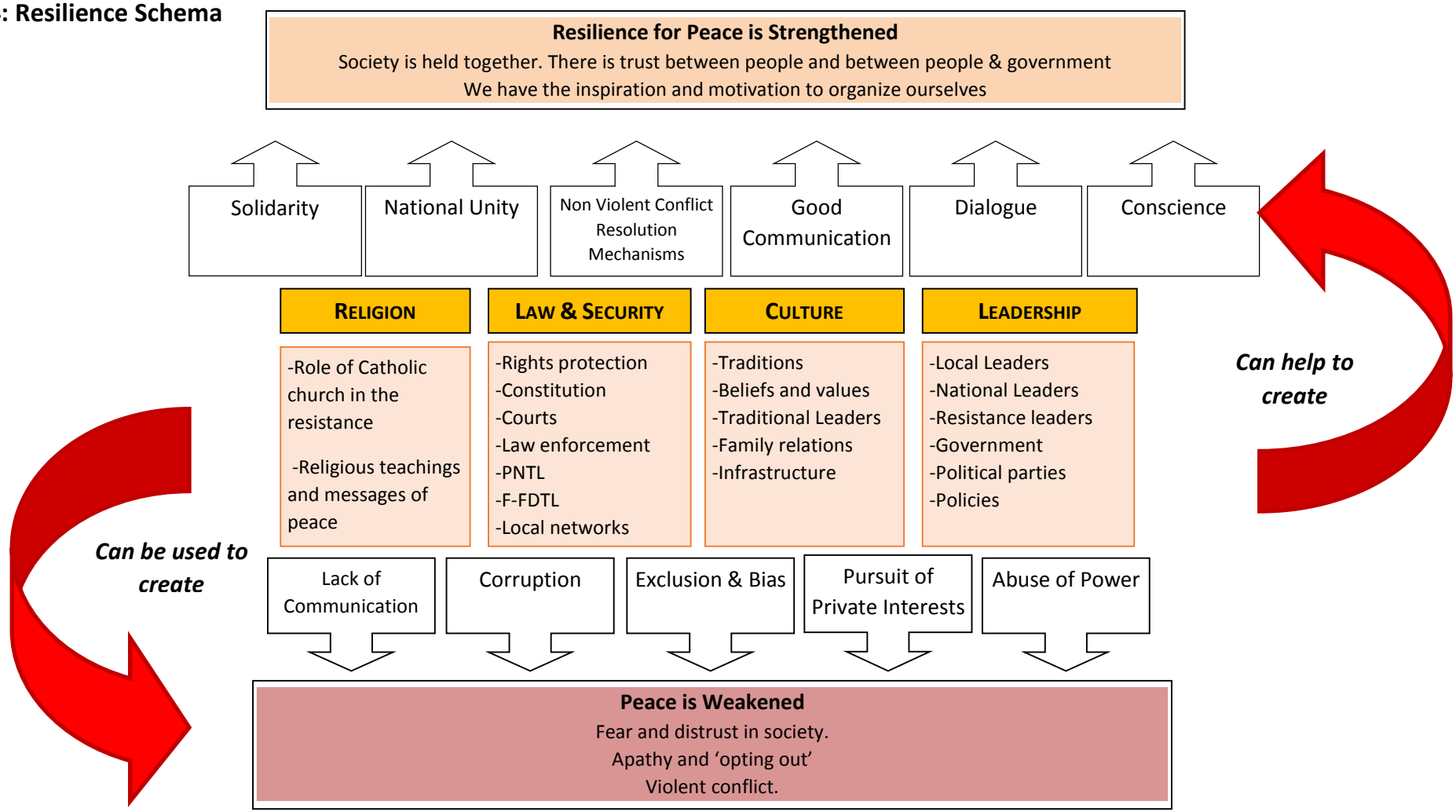
Covalima (Suai)	General	8	12	25 September
Liquica	General	6	9	8 October
Liquica	Traditional leaders	5	1	9 October
Oecussi	General	15	3	11 November
Dili	Youth	13	14	14 November
Dili	General	5	4	2 December
TOTAL male/female		145	107	TOTAL: 252

FAR National Validation Workshop 19 February 2015, Dili.

No	Name	Institution	District	Sector
1	Jose Fernandes Correia	Universidade UNITAL	Dili	Academia
2	Zefrino M.Cabral	UNITAL	Dili	Academia
3	Amanda	VSA/ HAFOTI	Dili	Civil society
4	Francisca da silva	JSMP	Dili	Civil society
5	Arsenio Perreira	FONTIL	Dili	Civil society
6	Elio P. Guimaraes	Luta Hamutuk	Dili	Civil society
7	Maria Bibel	TLMDC-MANEGER	Dili	Civil society
8	Celestino Ximenes	Belun ONG	Dili	Civil society
9	Umbelin A.Soares	ACBIT	Dili	Civil society
10	Tome Alves Guterres	Gembel Art Collective	Dili	Civil society
11	Filomena Fuca	Rede Feto TL	Dili	Civil society
12	Silverio Da Silva	ACBIT	Dili	Civil society
13	Angelo Q Martins	AS. HAK	Dili	Civil society
14	Marcelino Araujo Sarmento	DLO Uma Dame Aileu	Aileu	Civil society
15	Domingas Tilman	C.A UMA Dame Buacau	Baucau	Civil society
16	Terezinha Da Costa Perreira	DLO Uma Dame Baucau	Baucau	Civil society
17	Terezinha Gusmao	Grupu Feto Suai	Covalima	Civil society
18	Rita K.A Fernandes	Sub Comisaun Justisa e paz	Lautem	Civil society
19	Ana Maria de J dos S.	DLO	Liquica	Civil society
20	Merita G. Lopes	DLO	Maliana	Civil society
21	Carlito Pinto	DLO	Manatuto	Civil society
22	Quintao de Massa	DLO UMA DAME SAME	Manufahi	Civil society
23	Camilio Elo	Oe-Cusse	Oe-Cusse	Civil society
24	Florindo de Jesus	Dlo	Viqueque	Civil society
25	Domingas de Jesus	UMA DAME ERMERA	Ermera	Civil society
26	Maria Anabel Savio	Professora/OPMT	Lautem	Civil society
27	Maria Elidia S. Sequeira	Professor	Manatuto	Civil society
28	Alda Baptispa Barros	OPMT	Ainaro	Civil society
29	Santina Soares	UNW-MOF	Dili	Development Partner
30	Sunita Camilo	UNWomen	Dili	Development Partner
31	Nilva M.Mesquita	SEPI/Aileu	Aileu	Government
32	Clara pedro Fernandes	Educasaun Ainaro	Ainaro	Government
33	Francisco T.G. de Araujo	SEPI/ SUAI	Suai	Government
34	Alberto Soares	MSS/DNRS/DPK VIQ	Viqueque	Government

35	Veronica Belo	MSS/DNRS	Viquque	Government
36	Domingas Verdial	MSS/ CRSS Bobonaro	Bobonaro	Government
37	Belarmino Da Cruz	SEFOPE	Dili	Government
38	Gil Boavida	DPNU, Ministeriu Finance	Dili	Government
39	Helder Da Costa	$G7_{+}$	Dili	Government
40	Jose Caetano Guterres	MSS/UNDP	Dili	Government
41	Camilio Da Costa	Adm. Estatal	Dili	Government
42	Inge Ruth Lemmp	MISEREOR	Dili	International NGO
43	Ariene Inkesha	Interpeace	Dili	International NGO
44	Anupah Makoond	Interpeace	Dili	International NGO
45	Maud Roupe	Interpeace	Dili	International NGO
46	Higia X. Araujo dos santos	Rep feto(2)	Ermera	Local government
47	Victor Da Silva	Mau-Meta Liquica	Liquica	Local government
48	Alberto Amaral Fernandes	Lider komunitaria	Bobonaro	Local government
49	Luis Freitas	Media Mata dalan	Dili	Media
50	Marta Da Costa	Radio Liberdade	Dili	Media
51	Nazario de Jesus	Radio Klibur	Dili	Media
52	Alvaro Do Rego	Bussines Timor	Dili	Media
53	Carlito Pelu	Media Bussines Timor	Dili	Media
54	Eleterio Sousa	RTTL-EP	Dili	Media
55	Isaias DC Martins	J.Independente	Dili	Media
56	Viviana . da Silva	J.Timor Post	Dili	Media
57	Lenita	Timoroman	Dili	Media
58	Calistro Da Costa	Jornalista	Dili	Media
59	Ilda de J.Canossa da	Empresario	Liquica	Private sector
60	Sr. Isaias	Rep. Agraria	Manufahi	Private sector
61	Me.Santina L. Pereira H.C	Irmaos Carmelitas	Dili	Religion
62	Dulcio Dos Santos Matins	Rep.Igreja	Dili	Religion
63	Ibrahim	Rep. MUSLIM BCU	Baucau	Religion
64	Carmerico Ribeiro	PNTL	Dili	Security
65	Pedro G. Madeira	PNTL	Dili	Security
66	Falur Rate Laek	F-FDTL	Dili	Security
67	Jose A.N. Da Costa	F.FDTL	Dili	Security
68	Jose Correia	Lian Nain	Liquica	Traditional leader
69	Ana Cristina De C. Soares	Joventude/ Liquica	Liquica	Youth
70	Arnaldo Suni	Joventude/ Oe-Cusse	Oe-Cusse	Youth
71	Francisco P. S. Soares	Joventude	Dili	Youth
72	Gibsal Rulby O.S	JOVENTUDE	Dili	Youth
73	Paulo Natalino Dotel	Joventude	Dili	Youth

Annex 4: Resilience Schema



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Centre of Studies for Peace and Development
Sentru Estudus ba Dame no Dezenvolvimentu

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