The Promotion of Reconciliation and Peacebuilding Process

through Development Aid Programmes in Timor-Leste

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List of Abbreviations

ACTC	Ainaro Community Training Centre
AMCAP	Ainaro and Manatuto Community Activation Project
CAVR	Comissao de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliacao de Timor Leste (The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation)
DA	District Administrator
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DRC	District RESPECT Committee
DV	Domestic Violence
FASID	Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fishery and Forestry
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PCM	Project Cycle Management
PCU	Project Coordination Unit
PNTL	Police National de Timor-Leste
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PSC	Programme Steering Committee
PWC	Programme Working Committee
QIP	Quick Impact Project
RESPECT	Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste
TOT	Training of Trainers
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Service
UNV	United Nations Volunteer

East Timor

Legend:
- ·—·—· East Timor boundary
- ——— District boundary
- Road
- ⊙ Administrative centre
- ◉ District seat
- ○ Town, village
- ✈ Airport

Savu Sea

Strait of Wetar

Timor Sea

Kisar Island
Pulau Kisar
Tandjung Wakululoron
Cape Aimoco Meno
Cape Cutcha
Jako Island
Tutuala
Mehara
Com
Los Palos
Fuitoro
Mainal
Cape Lutra Vali
Lautem
Laivoi
Atelari
Luro
Uato Carabau
Iliomar
Cape De Lore
Baquia
Laga
Kelikai
Aba
Uatolari
Cape Ima
Cape Caisse Lui
Baukau
Ossu
Venilale
Vikeke
Beacu
Cape Deilubun
Cape Bondura
Bucoli
Vermasse
Cal Rui
Laleia
Lacluta
Manatuto
Laklo
Lacubar
Barique
Natarbora
Cape Metolana Rum
Metinaro
Dili
Aileu
Turiscai
Fatu
Alas
Berlio
Cape Metidot
Cape Cacetec
Comoro
Railako
Emera
Maubisse
Hato Builiko
Hotahudu
Ainaro
Zumalai
Cape Tafara
Cape Suai
Bazar
Tete
Punilala
Hatolina
Letetoho
Atsabe
Mape
Suai
Tilomar
Fohorem
Liquica
Lissapote
Maliana
Bobonaro
Lolotoe
Fatolulic
Kova-Lima
Maubara
Atabae
Cape Bauc
Balibo
Atambua
Fato Mean
Halilulik
Kotafun
Atapupu
Cape Fotocapo
Cape Corimbala

Districts:
LAUTEM, BAUKAU, VIKEKE, MANATUTO, DILI, AILEU, MANUFAHI, ERMERA, LIQUICA, AINARO, BOBONARO, KOVA-LIMA

NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

Wetar Island
Mahuan
Sesen
Ilmedo
Luna
Hahoho
Tuputi
Hiai
Dirkuun
Hatpaas
Pillipuang
Horan
Aimau
Kara
Mamau
Airpanas
Hatutau
Lirah Island
Atauro Island
Biquele
Atauro
Berau

Inset map (Ambino):
Savu Sea
Pante Makasar
Wini
Oe Silo
Kefamenanu
Passabe
Citrana
Nitibe
AMBINO
NUSA TENGGARA TIMUR

Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 30 km
0 10 20 mi

Basic Information of Timor-Leste

Area	14,600 sq km		JICA Timor-Leste
Population	924,642 (2004)		UNFPA/ Census Timor-Leste
Climate	tropical, hot and humid with distinct rainy season (Nov. - Apr.) and dry season (Jun.- Sep.)		CIA The World Factbook
Languages	Official Languages: Tetum, Portuguese Working Languages: Indonesian, English Indigenous Languages: Fataluku, Bekais, Bunuk, Dawan, Galoli, Habun, Idalaka, Kawaimina, Kemak, Lovaia, Makalero, Makasai, Mambai, tokodete and Wetarese	Source	Hull (2004)
Religion	Roman Catholic 90%, Muslim 5%, Protestant 3%, Hindu 0.5% and smaller number of Buddhist and Aminist		CIA The World Factbook
Natural Resources	gold, petroleum, natural gas, manganese, marble		CIA The World Factbook
Currency	US dollar		
Administrative Divisions	13 administrative districts: Aileu, Ainaro, Baucau, Bobonaro, Cova-Lima, Dili, Ermera, Lautem, Liquiza, Manatuto, Manufahi, Oecussi, Viqueque		
Chief of State	President Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao (Presidential election is expected in 2006)		
Head of Government	Prime Minister Mari Bin Amude Alkatiri		

UNDP Human Development Report 2004

Human Development Index (HDI) Rank	158th out of 177 countries
Life expectancy at birth	49.3 years (147th)
Adult literacy rate	58.6%
GDP per capita (2002)	497 US$
ODA received total (2002)	219.8 million US$
ODA received per capita (2002)	297.6 US$
ODA as % of GDP (2002)	56.6%

Executive Summary

1. English

Timor-Leste has enjoyed the full support from the international community. The massive international presence in the country contributes to the maintenance of security. The country also achieved substantial economic growth in 2000-2001, with a growth rate of over 15% per year (The Economist Intelligent Unit, 2004). On the other hand, Timor-Leste depends heavily upon foreign aid for every aspect of the country. The massive international presence has caused higher consumer prices and unsustainable economy in the country. The growing gap between the capital Dili and rural areas, and between employed and unemployed people creates feelings of frustration with the government, especially in rural areas. The international community now categorises Timor-Leste in the stage of sustainable development. Nevertheless, considering the fragility, sensitivity of the societies, potential threats and uncertainties for the future, it must be useful to study the relationship between development projects and the promotion of the peacebuilding and national reconciliation process in order to achieve sustainable development of the country. Thus, in this paper, the author discusses how the development aid projects could or should promote the process of reconciliation and peacebuilding in post-conflict societies through the experiences of Timor-Leste. The following objectives are developed to achieve this aim:

(1) To describe Ainaro district and explain the field research methodologies conducted in Ainaro
(2) To analyse the activities and challenges of reconciliation process in Ainaro
(3) To assess development aid projects implemented in Ainaro and examine their relation to the promotion of reconciliation and peacebuilding
(4) To suggest how the development aid projects should be designed, implemented and evaluated in post-conflict societies

Ainaro is one of the 13 governmental and administrative divisions of Timor-Leste. It is located to the south west of the country and about 116km away from the capital. According to the census conducted in 2004 (UNFPA), Ainaro district has a population of 53,629. One of the oldest kingdoms was in Ainaro. It seems that the traditions and customs succeeded from the past have been maintained relatively well among the people. During the Indonesian occupation, there were many people who had a "double standard life", generally people worked for the Indonesian army, however, at the same time, they secretly supported guerrillas, who worked for the independence in the mountains. Therefore, the division of the ex pro-independence side and the ex pro-autonomy side is quite confusing. This makes the reconciliation process quite complicated as well. The author applied three different approaches during the research period: observation through community empowerment work for a duration of six months, selected field research through home staying in two communities in Ainaro and interviews with the stakeholders in various organisations. In the

research, the author applied qualitative research methods, including one-to-one in-depth interviews, the life history method and semi-grouped discussion.

The government stance toward reconciliation could be described as "unity and forgiveness". The government worked hard on seeking justice and promoting reconciliation. The work can be evaluated positively. In community-based reconciliation, the government stressed the reintegration of militias into society by returning to their villages, asking forgiveness and making amends by supporting victims and their families. This concept was widely accepted by the international community. Even at the community level, it was getting accepted and achieved the certain level of success, although there was much confusion and anger towards the idea at the first stage. On the other hand, the government soon faced the reality that real justice cannot be met because of the internal politics of Indonesia. It can be said that this fact has weighted heavily on the government of Timor-Leste and led it to establish the principles of amnesty and reconciliation toward Indonesia externally. This politically motivated idea of reconciliation thus emphasises forgiveness internally even if this situation only limited justice could be met. The government motivation on reconciliation seems to be toned down now in front of so many challenges for the nation-building. However, this does not mean that reconciliation is not a big issue in the society of Timor-Leste.

How do the people at community level observe the process? Do they agree with the government stance? How do they perceive the development of reconciliation in their community? In the cases of Cassa and Manutasi, the people continue their every day life even under the situation of high sensitivities between the ex pro-autonomy side and ex pro-independence side. In both communities, substantial growing frustration is recognised among the people, although people evaluated positive on the government challenges on reconciliation. People, especially living in rural areas feel that they are ignored because most of the developmental profits are now only shared by a small number of people who have jobs in cities, especially in the capital Dili. It seems that this causes distance between the central government and people in rural areas. The concern for the future is that the growing frustration at the community level intensifies anti-government movements and it deepens the division inside the community at the same time. This could set back the gains that the reconciliation process achieved. In this sense, development projects have the high potentials to reduce the frustration among the people in communities and promote the process of reconciliation and peacebuilding. Therefore, in chapter 3 the author assessed particular three development aid projects implemented in Ainaro: AMCAP (Ainaro and Manatuto Community Activation Project), RESPECT (Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste) and Road Construction Project in order to examine the relation between development aid projects and the promotion of the peacebuilding and national reconciliation process.

Promoting reconciliation is one of the objectives of AMCAP. Although there is not particular consideration for this issue in implementation of each activity, most of the local staff are from the local communities of Ainaro. It seems they have their own measures in choosing the activity sites. They tend to choose the place with less problems of reconciliation and communication among

residents. RESPECT itself planned to take a part in the peacebuilding process of the country, especially in DDR (Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration) of ex-combatants at the beginning. However, at the project planning stage the dissatisfaction and sensitivity towards the idea of DDR was recognised in society, furthermore the definition of ex-combatants was not set by the government of Timor-Leste and it was difficult for UNDP alone to establish the definition, therefore ex-combatants were counted as a part of vulnerable groups, which were identified by each community itself in RESPECT projects. As a result, projects focused on community development as QIP (Quick Impact Project), especially at the district level. Compared with these two projects, the road construction project does not have any relation with promoting reconciliation and the peacebuilding process. It is simply designed as a development project. What we saw in all development projects is the reality that project implementers do not have the time to consider the reconciliation and peacebuilding process of communities, because each project itself possesses the challenges and difficulties in its implementation at the ground. How can we fill the gap between the reality of each development project and the high potential of each project to promote the reconciliation and peacebuilding process on the ground? Although the difficulties of implementing daily activities in each project should be carefully addressed, the promotion of the reconciliation and peacebuilding process should be considered as a basic stance of projects implemented in war-affected communities. Considering the fragility of society and high sensitivity among people, the soft manner which aims co-existence of inhabitants should be applied in projects implementation rather than directly aiming to promote reconciliation in order not to cause negative impact through the activities. At each stage of a project several recommendations could be made. At the stage of project planning, detailed field research about society, people and culture should be conducted. This is because written data often does not show the reality on the ground and/or does not reflect the frequent changes of war-affected communities. Each project in a conflict affected communities should consider the peacebuilding process including the reconciliation process, for example taking into consideration the gender point of view. There is also a need in the planning a comprehensive project that involves or at least anticipates the future of a wider area to consider the national policy of the country. At the implementation stage, each project should consider the fragility of post-conflict communities and pay careful attention to small changes or divisions in each community. Sensitivity, openness and neutrality should be always kept in minds among development aid workers as the basic working stances in communities. It is also important to make good use of the opportunities of regular monitoring or ongoing evaluation, to identify each projects relation with the peacebuilding and reconciliation process. And especially in the communities of Timor-Leste, which consist of a small number of people in a small area, development aid projects should take the role of bridging communities through giving them opportunities to interact with each other. This could be the first step of mutual understanding. At the evaluation stage, each project should include the indicators to assess how the project has contributed to the process of reconciliation and peacebuilding process. Sustainability of each project should be carefully considered as well. There are several things we could learn from the reconciliation challenges in Timor-Leste; First of all reconciliation is such a difficult task at every level. At the national level it

is affected heavily by international relations, while at the community level, the reconciliation process is closely connected with the process of nation building. Therefore it is difficult to assess or evaluate the reconciliation process by itself. On the other hand, the reconciliation process can be evaluated through the relationship with the nation building process. Secondly, the situation of reconciliation is quite different between war-affected countries and even between communities within a country, because each country, each community and each person has different experiences from each conflict and has different culture, and traditions. Thus at the national level each war-affected country should establish its own purpose, strategy and process on reconciliation as well as for nation building. At the community level, a flexible system needs to be designed and established to promote reconciliation under different circumstances and to meet the needs of each community based on its own situation. Thirdly, reconciliation requires long term processes and it can only be established by the people in communities by their own desire.

Japan is one of the biggest donor in Timor-Leste. However, its assistance lacks comprehensive strategy as "Japan" among a huge number of projects. This leads the lack of consistency on Japanese assistance on the ground. For instance, the three projects described in chapter 3 are all funded by Japan. Although the degree of Japanese involvement differs one by one, local people as well as other international partners of assistance recognise that all the projects represent the government of Japan; its desire, aim and objectives. Under this circumstance, however, we cannot see any comprehensive strategy of Japan towards the reconstruction and peacebuilding of Timor-Leste among these three projects. This not only reduces the efficiency of assistance compared with the huge amount of money spent, but also confuses the recipient country, people on the ground and international partners of assistance what the government of Japan wants to do through these assistance. There is a high level of need for the government of Japan to organise various channels of assistance under the comprehensive assistant strategy.

2. Japanese

　東ティモールは 400 年以上に及ぶポルトガルの統治ののち 24 年に渡ってインドネシア軍による占領を経験した。そして 1999 年のインドネシアからの独立の是非を問う住民投票直後の騒乱ののち、国家建設のために国際社会からの援助を一身に受けることとなった。その結果、2000 年から 2001 年にかけての経済成長率は 15％に達した(The Economist Intelligent Unit, 2004)。一方で、東ティモールは国のありとあらゆる分野において国際社会に過度に依存している。現在の高い経済成長率も主に国際社会の支援によるところが大きく、また国際社会の過度な存在は東ティモールに周辺諸国と比べて異常に高い物価をもたらした。国内政治の不安定さ、都市と地方の経済格差の拡大などが国連の治安維持部隊の撤退後の国の安定に大きな不安を残している。

　国際社会にとって東ティモールはすでに開発期の段階にあり、戦後復興というカテゴリーから外れつつある。しかし国内の不安定要素を熟考すると、今後の国の安定した発展を図るために開発プロジェクトと平和構築・国民和解促進との関連性を研究することは有効であると考える。そこで本リサーチペーパーでは、紛争国における開発援助プロジェクトがどのように平和構築、特に国民和解の促進に関わっていくべきかを論じる。この上位目的を達成するために以下の目的を設定する。

１．アイナロ県の概要を描き、アイナロにおけるフィールドリサーチの方法論を論じる
２．アイナロ県における和解促進に関する活動と課題を分析する
３．アイナロ県における開発援助プロジェクトの概要を描き、開発援助プロジェクトと和解、平和構築促進との関係を論じる
４．紛争国における開発援助プロジェクトがどのように計画、実施、評価されるべきかについてアイナロ県の事例をもとに論じる

　アイナロ県は首都ディリの南西約 116km のところに位置しており、人口は約 54,000 人（2004 年）である。古くから栄えた王国の１つで、昔からの伝統、習慣を色濃く残している地域といえる。インドネシア統治時代には、表面的にはインドネシア軍の下で働き、密かに独立運動を支持してきた人々が数多くおり、そのため独立派と併合派の区別が困難な地域である。アイナロにおけるフィールドリサーチでは、著者の国連ボランティアとしての活動を通じた観察、特定の２つの村でのフィールドリサーチと各関係機関へのインタビューの３つのアプローチを用いた。調査は主に Qualitative の調査手法を活用した。

　東ティモール政府が進めてきた和解は、端的に言えば"団結と赦し"重視の和解と言うことができるだろう。国民和解の第一歩としてのこの和解の姿勢、旧独立派民兵の帰還促進などの活動は内外から高く評価されている。一方で、インドネシアの内政と同国との国家関係改善との兼ね合いから、インドネシア軍統治下、及び 1999 年の騒乱時における犯罪を法に基づいて裁くという"正義"を追求することが困難な状況下において、東ティモール政府は正義があいまいなまま和解を進めるというディレンマに直面した。現在、東ティモールにおける和解は矛盾を抱えたまま、多くの国づくりの困難の前でどこにも解決を見

出せない状態にあるように思われる。コミュニティーに住む人々はこの国家としての和解政策をどのように受け止めているのだろうか？また実際のコミュニティーレベルの和解はこれまでどのように進められ、現在どのような状況にあるのだろうか？カッサ、マヌタシの２つの村のケースでは、状況は異なるもののどちらも旧独立派と旧併合派住民の間に高いセンシティビティーを抱えながら人々の日常生活が続けられていた。人々は国家の和解政策に一定の理解を示しつつも、独立以後、日々厳しくなっていく生活状況の中で行き所の無い不満を増大させていた。今後懸念されるのは、この不満が地方における反政府活動を活発化させ、また同時にコミュニティーにおける住民間の溝を増大させてゆき、ひいてはこれまで築き上げてきた和解プロセスを後退させる危険性があることである。このような現状を考察すると、“不満の縮小”という点において開発援助プロジェクトが和解と平和構築の促進に貢献できる可能性はあるといえるのではないだろうか。そこで本リサーチの第３章では、アイナロ県で現在進行中の３つの開発援助プロジェクト‐AMCAP(Ainaro and Manatuto Community Activation Project)，RESPECT(Recovery, Employment and Stability Programme for Ex-combatants and Communities in Timor-Leste) と道路建設プロジェクト‐の分析を通じて、開発援助プロジェクトを通じたコミュニティー和解と平和構築の促進への可能性について論じた。

　1999 年からの緊急援助期には東ティモールのほかの地域と同様アイナロ県においても沢山の緊急支援プロジェクトが組まれた。そのほとんどがインフラ整備などの短期間のプロジェクトであった。緊急援助期から開発援助期への過渡期である現在、プロジェクト数は急激に減少した。2005 年３月現在、２つの国連プロジェクト、３つの国際 NGO、３つのローカル NGO と１つの ODA プロジェクトが進行中である。上に挙げた AMCAP と RESPECT は国連機関(UNDP)を通じた日本政府の支援によるプロジェクトで、道路建設は日本政府の無償資金協力によるものである。AMCAP では和解促進はプロジェクトの目的の１つとされているものの、実際の活動自体に和解に対する考察は行われていないようである。スタッフは和解など住民間のトラブルの少ない地域を選んで活動しているようにも見受けられる。RESPECT は当初平和構築の一環、特に DDR（武装解除、動員解除及び元兵士の社会復帰）を目的として企画されたようである。しかしながら、計画の段階で元兵士の社会復帰に対する社会的認知の低さや、若者の雇用率の低さ、「元兵士」という定義が東ティモール政府内で確立されておらず、UNDP 単独でその定義を確立することも困難だったことなど様々な問題から、元兵士は各コミュニティーの判断による「社会的弱者」という枠組みの１つとしてプロジェクトに組み込まれることとなった。その結果元兵士の社会復帰という側面は県レベルのプロジェクトではあまり見られず、地域の開発を促す QIP(Quick Impact Project)としての側面を強く持つこととなった。道路建設プロジェクトに関しては始めから一般の開発援助プロジェクトとして計画・実施されており、和解、平和構築促進への考慮というものは見受けられない。しかしながら、紛争後の復興支援に関わるプロジェクトの基本的スタンスとして、特に地域での問題解決などの場面で和解・平和構築への配慮や考察が必要であると考える。どのプロジェクトでも共通して言えることは、プロジェクトの実施現場では日々の業務が多忙であり、またプロジェクト自体が多くの困難を抱えている中で、和解・平和構築促進のためのイニシアティブをとることは現場で働く開発援助従事者に更なる負荷を課すことになり、実際問題として非常に困難であるとい

うことだ。では開発援助プロジェクトがもつ和解・平和構築促進への可能性と実際のプロジェクト現場の現実との狭間を一体どのように縮めることができるだろうか。現場の日常の困難さは充分理解されたうえで、それでも各開発援助プロジェクトが和解・平和構築促進へ貢献できるその高い可能性は重視されなければならないと考える。紛争社会の抱えるセンシティビティーや脆弱性を考慮すると、和解・平和構築促進をそのまま中心目標として掲げるよりも、開発援助プロジェクトによって負のインパクトを起こさないよう人々の共存・共栄をめざす柔軟な目標の設定が必要であると思われる。

　上記の3つのプロジェクトの考察を踏まえて紛争国における開発援助プロジェクトのあり方について以下のように提言する。プロジェクト計画時には、まずプロジェクトサイトの詳細な現地調査（地域、社会、人など）を行う。これは、往々にして書かれたデータは信頼性に欠け、紛争地域の突如としてかわる現状をつかみきれていないからである。ジェンダー視点と同様全てのプロジェクトが和解、平和構築促進への視点を基本スタンスとして持つ。そしてプロジェクトが仮にある特定の地域のものであっても、広く地域全体、その特定活動分野の政策までを見通した包括的なプロジェクトを計画する。プロジェクト実施時には、紛争地域の脆弱性を理解し、地域の小さな変化や住民間の溝に配慮する。プロジェクトの基本理念として、センシティビティー、開放性、中立性を常に念頭において活動を行う。日常業務の中でプロジェクトの個々の活動と和解、平和構築促進との関連性を問うことは困難なので、定期的な活動のモニタリングなどの機会を利用してその関連性を研究する。プロジェクト実施の過程でコミュニティー間/内の住民の交流を促し、住民間の相互理解を図ることも重要である。プロジェクトの評価時には、評価の視点のひとつとして和解・平和構築促進の項目を設ける。プロジェクト終了時には各活動の持続性への考察も重要であろう。東ティモールの和解・平和構築の過程からもいくつかのことを学ぶことができる。まず、和解のプロセスは国際関係との絡み等のためにそれ単独で評価することは困難である。しかしながら、国際関係や国家建設との関わりという視点から総合的に評価することは可能であろう。次に、それぞれの国、地域、家族、個人は紛争によってそれぞれ異なった経験をへているため、各紛争国は独自の和解の目的、方法論、プロセスを確立する必要がある。また、各コミュニティー間/内でも異なる状況を把握し、それぞれの状況に応じた柔軟性のある和解・平和構築を計画・実施する必要がある。

　日本は東ティモールの最大ドナーのひとつである。これまでに様々な団体やプロジェクトを通じて多額の援助が行われてきている。しかしながら、援助しているプロジェクトの間に日本としての包括的な援助への姿勢、戦略が見受けられない。例えば、第3章で挙げた3つの開発援助プロジェクトは日本政府としての援助の方法、関与度がまちまちであるけれども、どれも日本からの援助を受けて行われており、実際現場ではどれも日本の援助として住民に受け取られている一方で、この3つのプロジェクトの間に日本政府としての東ティモールにおける包括的な和解・平和構築へのビジョンは見られない。これは各プロジェクトの効率を下げるばかりではなく、日本が東ティモールへの多額の援助を通じて目指しているものをあいまいにしてしまい、現地政府、住民及びパートナーである国際援助機関の間に困惑を生み出している。日本はドナーとして様々にある援助のチャンネルを日本としての援助の包括的な概念の下に再構築する必要性にせまられているように思われる。

Introduction

   Timor-Leste has enjoyed the full support from the international community. The total ODA (Official Development Assistance) received reached 219.8 million US dollars in 2002, which provided each person with 297.60 US dollars of assistance (UNDP, 2004). The massive international presence in the country contributes to the maintenance of security. The country also achieved substantial economic growth in 2000-2001, with a growth rate of over 15% per year (The Economist Intelligent Unit, 2004). In time, oil and gas revenues will start to underwrite state expenditures, although there are some sensitivities and difficulties about the relationship with the government of Australia. Politically the government has been trying to establish good relationships with foreign countries. The government specifically puts considerable diplomatic effort into the improvement of its relationship with Indonesia. The international diplomacy of Timor-Leste is welcomed and supported by the international community.

   On the other hand, Timor-Leste depends heavily upon foreign aid for most aspects of the country. The substantial economic growth in 2000-2001 was created mainly by the international presence within the country. The massive international presence has also caused higher consumer prices in Timor-Leste. In addition, the country faces several potential threats and uncertainties about its security after the UN Military Component (UNSF – United Nations Security Force and MLG-Military Liaison Group) mission leaves in May 2005. Externally, pro-Indonesian militia still present an irritant to the border security of Timor-Leste. Internally, the combination of poverty and unemployment poses a continuing threat to law and order. The growing gap between the capital Dili and rural areas, and between employed and unemployed people creates feelings of frustration with the government, especially in rural areas.

Research Purpose

   The international community now categorises Timor-Leste in the stage of sustainable development. Nevertheless, considering the fragility, sensitivity of the societies, potential threats and uncertainties for the future, it must be useful to study the relationship between development projects and the promotion of the peacebuilding and national reconciliation process in order to achieve sustainable development of the country. Thus the paper discusses how the development aid projects could or should promote the process of reconciliation and peacebuilding in post-conflict societies through the experiences of Timor-Leste. The following objectives are developed to achieve this aim:

(1) To describe Ainaro district and explain the field research methodologies conducted in Ainaro
(2) To analyse the activities and challenges of reconciliation process in Ainaro
(3) To assess development aid projects implemented in Ainaro and examine their relation to the

promotion of reconciliation and peacebuilding

(4) To suggest how the development aid projects should be designed, implemented and evaluated in post-conflict societies

Structure of the Paper

Chapter 1 will describe the research area of Ainaro district; general data, history, economy, security, politics and people/communities. Then explain the field research methodology implemented in Ainaro; three field research approaches, questions asked and difficulties. Chapter 2 will draw the distance between national level and community level concerning the national reconciliation through two field case studies in Ainaro. Chapter 3 will list the development projects implemented in Ainaro, then examine three particular development projects in order to discuss how the development aid projects could or should promote the process of reconciliation and the peacebuilding at a community level. At the conclusion, suggestions will be made for the future development projects in post-conflict communities based on the lessons learned from the study.

Limitation of the Paper

There are many literatures about the process of independence, 1999 violence and the international assistance after the violence. However, very few reports are found about the situation since 2002. The paper concentrates on the observation of current circumstances of Timor-Leste. The paper is written based on the field research and investigation by the author in particular places in Ainaro district, Timor-Leste. Therefore the results could not be reflected into the other countries or other areas of Timor-Leste. The paper analyses the particular development aid projects currently implemented in Ainaro. Further research must be required in the projects which focus on national reconciliation and peacebuilding. In addition, the paper is prepared based on the personal research by the author, thus the analysis and observation in this paper do not represent the view of any organisations, such as UNDP, UNOPS nor JICA.

1. Description of Ainaro District and Field Research Methodology

The paper is prepared based on the field research in Ainaro district, Timor-Leste. Therefore, it is important to describe the Ainaro district; its features, history, culture, people, communities and challenges, as well as to explain the research methodologies applied in the field in order to discuss the reconciliation process in Ainaro in the following chapter.

In this chapter, the author will describe the features of Ainaro; general information of Ainaro, its history, current situation of its economy, security and politics and the character of people and communities, then will explain research methodologies applied in the field research.

1-1   Description of Ainaro District

1-1-1   General

Ainaro is one of the 13 governmental and administrative divisions of Timor-Leste. It is located to the south west of the country and about 116km away from the capital, Dili. From Dili it takes about five hours by vehicle to reach the district. The roads are winding and narrow, climbing up to the mountains with amazing scenery. Although currently road rehabilitation is being carried out with the assistance of the government of Japan, certain levels of energy and patience are required to get there.

Ainaro consists of 4 sub-districts, 21 suco (villages)[1] and 132 aldeia (hamlets)[2] [3]. Maubisse and Hato-Builico sub-districts, which are located in the central and northern regions, are dominated by a series of spectacular high mountain ranges. Ainaro and Hato-Udo sub-districts, which are in

Picture 1-1   Map of Ainaro

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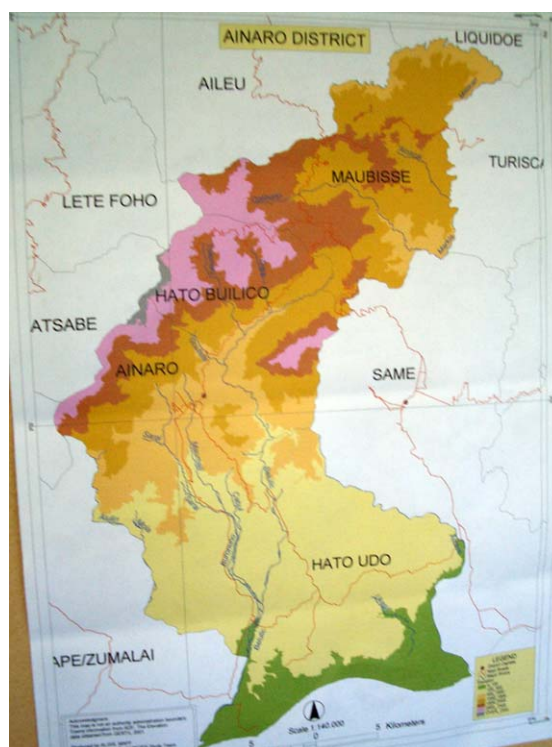
[1]   Suco is an administrative division introduced by Portuguese colonial government. It was renamed as "desa" under Indonesian occupation. In the current government system it is again called "suco". The number of suco, which the Timorese government admits is 443. Suco chiefs are not government officers and have been working voluntarily.

[2]   Under the division of suco, aldeia is the smallest administrative division in Timor-Leste, although it is not counted as the governmental administration. Therefore aldeia chiefs have been working for the community voluntarily as well.

[3]   See appendix 1: List of suco and aldeia in Ainaro district.

the south and on the coast, have terrain which descends into lowlands. During the rainy season, which is November up to June, there are heavy rainfalls and strong winds in mountainous areas in the north and central, with rainfall levels decreasing towards the south (UNDP, 2002a:1-2).

According to the census conducted in 2004 (UNFPA), Ainaro district (824 sq. km) has a population of 53,629 (see table 1-1). Two remarkable observations could be made regarding the population. Firstly, compared with 2001 data, the result of 2004 census shows substantial increases of population in this short amount of time. Implementing the idea of family planning should be required in the near future. Second, although it does not appear in the census data, a large number of the population, especially younger generation move to Dili or relatively bigger towns in the district in order to obtain better education and/or look for employment. This movement causes depopulation of remote areas. A primary school teacher in Cassa told me that the number of the children enrolled in the school at the village has been decreasing, because many parents now prefer to send their children to schools in Ainaro town[4]. It seems that people have been taking advantage of their new independence by being able to choose freely where they would like to live, work and study. On the other hand, it causes enormous changes in each family on their way of living and family structures, especially in remote areas. The policy to empower rural areas should be instituted immediately.

Table 1-1   Population in Ainaro District

Sub-district	No. of Households	Population		Total	2001 Suco Survey	Percent Difference
		Male	Female			
Ainaro	2,902	6,871	6,796	13,667	10,562	+29.4%
Hato Builico	2,333	5,453	5,343	10,796	9,770	+10.5%
Maubisse	4,816	10,097	10,075	20,172	17,623	+14.5%
Hato Udo	2,077	4,543	4,451	8,994	7,137	+26.0%
Total	**12,128**	**26,964**	**26,665**	**53,629**	**45,092**	**+18.9%**

(Source: UNFPA, 2004)

Four indigenous languages are in use in Ainaro district: Tetun, Mumbai, Bunak and Kemak. Mumbai is the main indigenous language, however there is no strong identity based on its language among the people[5]. This is because there are several dialects within Mumbai. In addition, there are many similarities between national language of Tetun and Mumbai. Indonesian is widely used among the people, although its use has become less popular since independence.

1-1-2   History

One of the oldest kingdoms was in Ainaro. It seems that the traditions and customs succeeded

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[4]   Interviewed by the author on Sep. 18th 2004.
[5]   For example, in Lospalos one of the indigenous language, Fataluko is strongly connected with people's identity.

from the past have been maintained relatively well among the people compared with other districts. According to a Liulai (king) in Ainaro[6], originally there were two Liulais - Liulai Tais Metan and Liulai Tais Mutin at the time Ainaro was not named as Ainaro but called Sul. They had four sons and four daughters. Each of them established an "Uma Lisan"(totem house) to govern the area. They are the root of Liulais (rulers) of Ainaro, although there are many Liulais nowadays. The Liulai used to be very powerful, having a strong influence on the population. However, nowadays opinion on the Liulai is varying (Ospina and Hohe, 2001:48). In Ainaro the role of traditional leaders[7] such as Liulai and Lia Nain (guardian of rules and customs, traditional conflict mediator) is vague. A Lia Nain interviewed[8] told me that the primary responsibility to solve problem is on the government and police, although they still assist them in some areas. For minor problems in communities, traditional leaders are called to mediate the problem by organising meetings and letting the people who cause problems drink the local wine together in front of the community people as a symbol of the restoration of relationships. It seems that the role of Lia Nain is to make the community united beyond the problems, rather than to seek the justice and punish the criminals.

Ainaro, because of its inaccessible mountain terrain, was the last area in Timor to be penetrated by the Portuguese. The first Portuguese arrived in Ainaro in 1886. In 1888 their command station was built beside a tall tree – "Ai Naro". The name is in the local tongue Mumbae. The name of the town originated from here (UNDP, 2002a:4). During the Indonesian occupation, Ainaro had one of the largest Indonesian military presences. On the other hand, Ainaro was the ideal base for armed opposition against Indonesian occupation, because of its mountainous surroundings. There were many people who had a "double standard life", generally people worked for the Indonesian army, however, at the same time, they secretly supported guerrillas, who worked for the independence in the mountains. Therefore, the division of pro-independence and pro-autonomy is quite complicated. This makes the reconciliation process quite complicated as well.

Following the announcement of the result for the Popular Consultation in August 1999, the sub-districts of Ainaro, Hato-Udo and Hato Builico suffered over 90% destruction. Maubisse sub-district sustained less damage (UNDP, 2002a:5). Most of the people in Ainaro, like other places in Timor-Leste, fled to the mountains for 1-3 months. Some people were taken to Atambua, West Timor by force. They were forced to spend 1-3 years under the severe conditions in the refugee camps.

In 2000 the "Go and Visit" programme started to promote the repatriation of the people, especially for ex pro-autonomy people and ex-militia members. The programme was implemented

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[6] Interviewed by the author in Feb. 2005.
[7] Ospina and Hohe (2001:43) described traditional power holders as follows; Liulai/dato – political power holder, Lia Nain – guardian of rules and customs and conflict mediator, Kuku Nain – ritual power holder, Deputy/ Helper – assistant of Liulai and Kuku Nain and Chefe Uma Kain – Chief of extended family.
[8] Interviewed by the author on 16 Feb. 2005.

several times in Ainaro. As a result of the programme, during the last four months of 2001, over 4,000 returnees returned to the district, the majority to suco Cassa and Beikala. The first four months of 2002 saw a slowing down in numbers returning – only 200 people returned during this period (UNDP, 2002a:3). According to the Ainaro District Administrator (DA)[9], so far about 8,000 – 10,000 ex-militia family members have not come back despite the repatriation programme. The DA explained the reason why remaining people have not come back: Firstly, most of the houses were destroyed and financially it is difficult for them to come back to restore the house. Secondly, children have been educated in Indonesian in schools. They do not want to have the confusion of language issues in education interfering in further study[10]. Thirdly, there are few opportunities of employment even when they come back. Fourthly, they are scared of the people's attitude toward them when they return. Based on these constrains, the further repatriation programmes are not planned for Ainaro.

1-1-3   Economy

In Ainaro, like many other places in Timor-Leste, people depend on agriculture for their livelihood. In the lowlands of Ainaro and Hato-Udo sub-districts, people grow rice and maize. In the mountainous areas of Maubisse and Hato-Builico sub-districts, there are many coffee plantations and vegetable fields. In Hato-Udo sub-district there are several women's groups to make traditional tais (see the picture).

Picture 1-2   Tais Making in Cassa

(Source: the author)

Economically Maubisse town is much more active than Ainaro town, although Ainaro town is the administrative centre of Ainaro district. Actually, Maubisse has the highest population in the Ainaro district. The reason for this is that Maubisse is the junction between Dili and Same or Suai.

1-1-4   Security

The situation in Ainaro is quite calm like most other places in Timor-Leste. The crime rate remains low and has been decreasing since independence (see figure1-1). In terms of security issues, the government of Timor-Leste with the assistance of the UN has achieved a high level of success in the nation building. Most of the crimes are assaults among young generations and Domestic Violence (DV) (see figure 1-2). According to a women's organisation, Fokupers which assists the victims of DV, there are still many hidden victims behind the cases appearing in statistics.

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[9]   Interviewed by the author on 17 Feb. 2005.
[10]   In Timor-Leste, Portuguese is now officially used in schools to teach.

Figure 1-1   Crimes in Ainaro
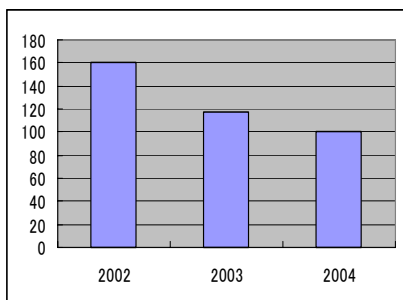
(Source: obtained from the UN Police and PNTL Ainaro)

Table 1-2   Reported Violence on Women and Children

Issue	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Rape	0	5	5	17	7	2
Attempt to Rape	9	0	4	1	2	2
Sexual Harassment	13	4	3	4	2	1
Child Abuse	5	1	1	10	12	1
Torture	0	10	10	1	3	0
Compulsory Marriage	0	0	0	0	1	0
Domestic Violence	10	36	35	38	16	10

(Source: obtained from Fokupers, 2004)

Figure 1-2   Crime Statistics in Ainaro (2002-2004)
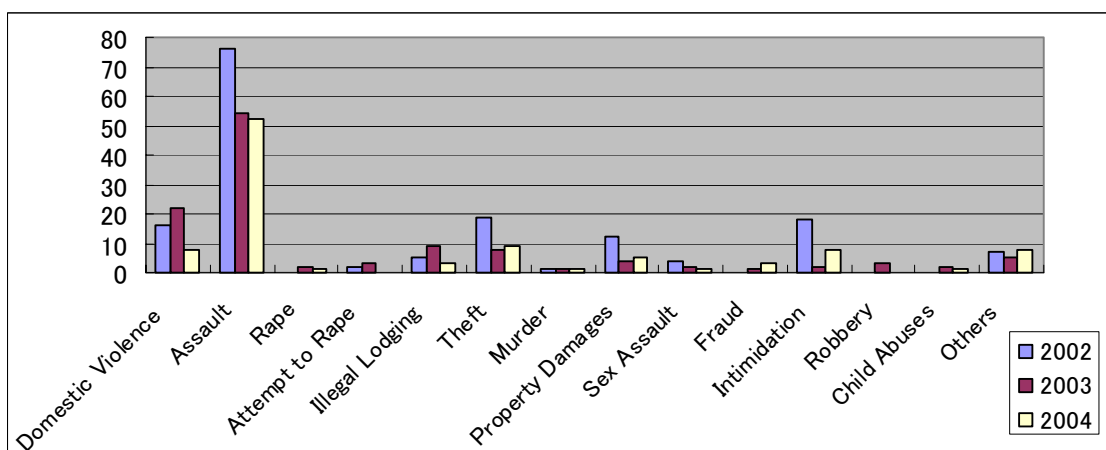

(Source: obtained from the UN Police and PNTL Ainaro)

Despite the high level of security so far, there are several concerning issues for the future. First, there is the certain level of frustration felt toward the local police. It is not because of their way of work, but the choice of police officers. People complain that most of the police officers who worked under the Indonesian regime are again employed by the government of Timor-Leste. It is said that there are many ex pro-autonomy side people amongst the police officers. Given the ongoing and/or growing difficulties related to employment, this is taken as an unfair situation, especially for the people who struggled for independence for a long time. Another concerning issue is the violence between Martial Arts Groups. In Ainaro there are 14 Martial Arts Groups. According to both the UN Police and the local police in Ainaro, there are 3,190 Martial Arts Group members (see table 1-3). It is about 6% of the total population in Ainaro. The area with most of Martial Arts Groups is Ainaro sub-district[11]. Most of the members are young men. Each group has its own

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[11] In August 2004, KORK members attacked TORK members' houses in aldeia No-ulu, suco Soro Craic. They burnt over 50 houses there. About 60 suspects were arrested and sent to Dili. At the time of writing this report in February 2005, three main criminals were jailed in Dili, while the others were released. Since this incident, there is no particular conflict among Martial Arts Groups in Ainaro.

uniform. There is a rumour that some of them are supported by political parties, although the reality is unknown. Due to many issues and information which are hidden underground, it is difficult to accurately assess and measure this security threat. This is the fragility the society encounters.

Table 1-3   Martial Art Groups in Ainaro District

No	Name of Group	No. of Each Group Members in Each Sub-district in Ainaro				Total No.
		Ainaro	Hato-Udo	Hato Builico	Maubisse	
1	5-5	500	180	0	0	680
2	KORK	490	180	125	400	1,195
3	COLIMAU 2000	150	45	0	0	195
4	12-12	80	0	0	0	80
5	SORS	80	25	0	0	105
6	7-7	75	0	0	0	75
7	PSHT	70	175	100	150	495
8	KERA SATI	50	25	0	0	75
9	RAJAUNALI	45	80	0	0	125
10	TORK	40	0	0	0	40
11	ABU-ABU	40	0	0	0	40
12	SKMJ	35	0	0	0	35
13	KARATE	30	0	0	0	30
14	KUNGFU MASTER	0	20	0	0	20
	Total	1,685	730	225	550	3,190

(Source: obtained from the UN Police/ PNTL in Ainaro, Sep. 2004)

1-1-5   Politics

There are 16 political parties in the country as the result of the election in 2001 (See Table1-4 and Appendix 7). 4 parties are the major parties; FRETILIN (Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente) is the leading party. PD (Partido Democrático) was founded by leaders of the student union and ran against FRETILIN, because its supporters believed their opposition to Indonesian rule had been undervalued by the returning leaders of the generation of 1975. PSD (Partido Social Democrata) is against FRETILIN from the right. And ASDT (Associação Social'Democrata Timorense) supports FRETILIN and gives them the two-thirds majority in the parliament (Shoesmith, 2003:242).

In Ainaro, FRETILIN is the ruling party as well. However, as we see from the result of the election in 2001(see table 1-4), its influence among the people is relatively weak. Instead, ASDT and PPT (Partido do Povo de Timor) have strong influence, especially in Maubisse sub-district.

Table 1-4   Result of the August 2001 Constituent Assembly Elections in Ainaro

Political Party	Ainaro		Whole Country[12]
	Votes Obtained	% of total votes cast	% of total votes cast
FRETILIN	5,436	25.89	57.37
ASDT	2,969	14.14	7.84
PPT	2,826	13.46	2.01
PD	1,650	7.86	8.72
PSD	1,230	5.86	8.18
KOTA	1,211	5.77	2.13
UDT	1,005	4.79	2.36
PDC	743	3.53	1.98
PNT	561	2.67	2.21
PST	385	1.83	1.78
PTT	278	1.32	-
PDM	180	0.86	-
UDC/PDC	188	0.89	-
PARENTIL	155	0.73	-
APODETI	118	0.56	-
INDEPENDENTS	721	3.43	-

(Source: UNDP, 2002 and UNTAET Independent Electoral Commission, 2001)

It seems that frustration with the government (FRETILIN as the ruling party) is growing among the populations, because of the difficulties of their living situation. People informed me that the government promised them a lot of things, but most of them have not yet been implemented. Visible development for the people at the community level could be the key issue for the next election planned in 2006.

1-1-6   People/ Communities

Timor-Leste is comprised by communities of great variety. It is said that people and communities in each district of Timor-Leste have their own features. I feel indeed it is true. People establish very small and strong ties based on kinship. These tiny relationships consist of a small community. Therefore community size is quite small and differs one from another even in the same suco or aldeia. This makes it difficult for the people to have a sense of unity as either a suco or an aldeia. There is often no particular community leader who could bring the people together beyond the kinship ties. According to the road rehabilitation project in Ainaro, the company has to employ different workers for every one kilometre, because each community does not allow "outsiders" to work in their community. People think that the company should employ the community members

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[12] See more details in Appendix 7: Political Parties in Timor-Leste

when it has some work in their community[13].

In Ainaro at the sub-district level, each has its own features[14]. The most remarkable thing is the clear division between Maubisse sub-district and Ainaro sub-district. There are only about 40km between Maubisse and Ainaro. However, it takes about two hours by vehicle due to poor road conditions. Another reason is that Maubisse town is bigger than Ainaro town in the sense of population, economy and trade, although Ainaro is the administrative centre of Ainaro district. Therefore Maubisse people feel that Maubisse is the centre of Ainaro, which many Ainaro people disagree with[15].

The churches influence on the people also differs between communities in Ainaro. This is because of the church attitude towards the independence movement under the Indonesian regime. In Maubisse the church played a key role supporting the independence movement, therefore, its influence among people is substantially strong. On the other hand in Ainaro, the priest during Indonesian regime supported the Indonesian authority[16], therefore its influence among people is weak, although almost all the people are Roman Catholic.

People in every community are heavily traumatised by 24 years of Indonesian occupation and the 1999 violence. According to a national NGO Yayasan HAK, in Ainaro there is no community which can apply development project without the consideration for the healing from the past, except community of Bonuk, Hato-Udo sub-district and the whole communities in Hato-Builico sub-district[17]. There are many families that were divided into two groups of pro-independence and pro-autonomy. They continue their family ties beyond the past divisions. However, it cannot be denied that there is a high level of sensitivity among them, within a family.

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[13] Interviewed by the author in Jan. 2005.
[14] See table 1-5: Features of Each Sub-district.
[15] There are people who suggest that Maubisse should consist one district itself apart from Ainaro district in Maubisse. DA of Ainaro told me that he could welcome this idea, because it could ease the difficult financial situation of Ainaro, although he recognises there are people who are not happy to this idea.
[16] The former priest escaped to West Timor at the time of 1999 violence, together with all brothers. They have not come back to Ainaro.
[17] Interviewed by the author on 29 Sep. 2004.

Table 1-5 Features of Each Sub-district in Ainaro

Issue	Ainaro	Hato-Udo	Maubisse	Hato-Builico
General	Administrative centre	Rural area Lowest population	Highest population	Remote area, and difficult to reach
Climate	Medium	Hot, tropical atmosphere along the ocean	Mountainous area and cold	Mountainous area and very cold
Destruction from 1999 Violence	Seriously big	Seriously big	Relatively small	Seriously big
Economy	Active in rice and maize field	Active in ties making, rice and maize field	Active in coffee plantation and vegetable field	Active in coffee plantation and vegetable field
			Developed as the junction between Dili and Same, Suai/Ainaro	
Transportation	Relatively better condition, compared with other sub-districts, although there are several places which do not have any pubic means.	Difficulties to reach, especially in rainy season because there is no bridge over the river	There are many public transportation to Dili. However, there is no transportation at all to the villages located away from main roads.	There is no transportation at all to the villages located away from main roads.
Politics			Many supporters of ASDT	
Church Influence	Relatively weak	Relatively weak	Very strong	?
Martial Arts Group	Very active	Active	Less active	Least active

(Source: the author)

1-2　Research Methodologies

The author applied three different approaches during the research period: observation through community empowerment work for a duration of six months, selected field research through home staying in two communities in Ainaro and interviews with the stakeholders in various organisations.

In the research, the author applied qualitative research methods, including one-to-one in-depth interviews, the life history method[18] and semi-grouped discussion[19].

I collected the primary contacts and information for the field research through my daily activities in Ainaro, Timor-Leste and interviews with various organisations. Once the research started, the chain of person to person leaded to collect the information. It was essential to find an appropriate person to talk with. The site selection of field research was prepared in the same way. The suggestions and information given from the colleagues and friends in Ainaro were indispensable.

1-2-1 Observation through Community Empowerment Work

The author has been working as a UNV (the United Nations Volunteer) entitled community empowerment advisor in the project called AMCAP (Ainaro and Manatuto Community Activation Project) in Ainaro, Timor-Leste since July 2004. It is a project implemented by UNOPS (the United Nations Office for Project Services). It is an agricultural project aiming to increase food security and incomes of poor households in Ainaro and Manatuto districts on an environmentally sustainable basis, using community focused participatory methodologies.

There were many opportunities to communicate with local communities and residents. Through the work, the author obtain a large amount of useful information about; the daily life of the people, the difficulties people are facing, traditions and customs of local communities and people in Ainaro. The best thing is that being to observe the situation from the view of local community residents. The colleagues are the key persons of the research. In addition, the position in the UN makes it easy to develop contacts with various organisations, especially in UN agencies in Timor-Leste.

1-2-2 Selected Field Research

Considered the closed communities of Timor-Leste and the characteristics of communities and people in Ainaro, as well as my research purpose, which concentrates on the view of the people at community level, the author selected two communities, Cassa and Manutasi, and stayed several days at a local residence in each community in order to conduct field research there.

It is said that Ainaro sub-district is the most critical area for reconciliation in Ainaro district. Conducting a research in Cassa was in mind from the beginning. Cassa is famous because it is where most of the militia members returned from West Timor. Many meetings to promote the national reconciliation were organised there. Luckily enough, one of the colleagues is from Cassa and her husband is the suco (village) chief of Cassa. The author found the perfect place to stay to conduct research in Cassa, and interviewed the suco chief, 2 aldeia (hamlet) chiefs, a Police Officer and community residents in 4 out of 5 aldeia in Cassa[20].

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[18] In life history method, researchers interview and gather documentary material about a particular individual's life. Researchers ask open-ended questions to capture how the person understand his or her past (Newman, 1997:373).

[19] Semi-group discussion is a form of unstructured interview. It brings to the surface the differences among the participants and the contradictions within and between their replies (Bryman, 1988).

[20] See appendix 2: List of People Interviewed in Selected Field Research.

In the case of Manutasi, the situation was different from the one of Cassa. Through collecting information about the critical communities for reconciliation in Ainaro sub-district, Manutasi came up into the mind. Looking for a family in Manutasi who could host took more time than was expected. In the end, one of the colleagues introduced his relatives family. In Manutasi the author interviewed 2 aldeia chief and community residents in 3 out of 4 aldeia[21].

1-2-3   Interviewing to the Stakeholders

The author visited 2 projects implemented by UN agencies, 5 international NGOs, 5 local NGOs, another 5 organisations and 4 individuals, which were thought to be essential for the research[22]. The author developed contacts with these organizations easily, for they were quite helpful. Nevertheless, most of the organisations have their offices located in the capital Dili, which at times made it difficult for me to visit due to logistical and transportation reasons. Added, there were some difficulties in coordinating schedules with the proper information providers which mainly worked these out at main offices in Dili and not in the sub-offices.

Another thing to mention here visiting these organisations is not only for the research itself, but also for community empowerment work in the field. Although a large number of data was collected from each organisation, the information which specifically pertained to the research was limited.

1-2-4   Questions Asked [23]

In interviews with organisations, three main things were asked: basic information about the organisation, the achievement and difficulties of their projects in the field and their view of the reconciliation and peacebuilding process of the country. In the communities, the author prepared two different types of questions: one for the community leaders and another one for community residents. With the community residents, the interview concentrated on their personal life: living conditions, difficulties in sustaining their livelihoods, their family history, especially their experiences since 1999. Then questions concerning reconciliation were asked based on their daily life: communication between the ex pro-autonomy side and the ex pro-independence side and their degree of acceptance towards the reconciliation principle of the central government. To the community leaders, more about their community as well as their work as a community leader were asked: the problems the community are facing, if there were/are any projects implemented by NGOs, people's attitude toward the work of community leaders. The author asked questions about security threats, especially about the issue of martial arts groups to both community leaders and community residents because the issue of martial arts groups seemed to be one of the serious threats for the many communities in Timor-Leste, especially in Ainaro district.

1-2-5   Difficulties

There were several difficulties faced in conducting the field research: First of all, it was difficult

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[21] See appendix 2: List of People Interviewed in Selected Field Research.
[22] See appendix 3: List of Organisations or Projects Visited.
[23] See appendix 4: The List of Questions Asked.

to conduct research while working for community empowerment in the field, although the research was very useful for work. The language barrier was also a big issue. There was a high level of communication difficulty in interviewing people and listening to people. In Timor-Leste, most people speak Tetun. The author learned some Tetun to communicate with the people directly, but not enough to understand if people were talking too quickly. The biggest barrier for the research was a characteristic of communities and people in Timor-Leste. It seemed that people tend not to speak out about things, especially negative things. Every time the author had to read between the lines. The real meanings seemed to be always hidden behind the sentences. It was really confusing and complicating for an outsider. The same sentence could be taken in a totally different way by different recipients. In addition, as mentioned above, people in Timor-Leste maintain the identity of the very small community. Therefore people come from outside of the area are taken as outsiders, though as East Timorese they share the same culture and larger problems. This fact made it clear the need to find a person from inside the community to assist in interviews as people would not speak freely with an 'outsider'.

2. National Reconciliation in Timor-Leste
– Distance between National Level and Community Level –

Takeuchi (2002) indicates that "National Reconciliation" is the challenge of how to promote reintegration when a conflict or political oppression causes a serious chasm between the same nationals. It aims people to overcome the tragedies in the past. It focuses on how to expose human rights violations in the past and how to judge the perpetuators.

When the governments which were based on dictatorship or authoritarian rule in many Latin American countries were replaced by democratic ones in the 1970s, human rights abuses which had taken place under military governments emerged and were criticised. However, the ethical judgements often could not be delivered. In these kinds of circumstances "reconciliation" between victims and perpetuators were critically cited as a "compromise" without establishing justice. In 1995 the notion of reconciliation was spotlighted by Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa, although it was not a complete new philosophy[24]. TRC of South Africa achieved great fame all over the world, because of its principle, which gives perpetuators amnesty through truth telling and seeks national reconciliation, not accusing the perpetuators in order to overcome the past tragedy of apartheid (Takeuchi, 2002). Generally TRC South Africa is taken as a successful case. However, the situation at the ground seems to be further complicated. According to a research conducted by Vora (2004), people perceived that the TRC was effective in bringing out the truth. On the other hand, it was perceived to have been much less successful in bringing about reconciliation.

Reconciliation is an ambiguous word. When people are reconciled, it happens based on their own thoughts. It is very much a personal process. Thus, there are many ways and many standards to be reconciled at a personal level. In some cases there may not even be a need for reconciliation. Furthermore, reconciliation is often restricted by political matters (Takeuchi, 2002). Under the name of national reconciliation, it could simply be used as a political tool.

In this chapter, the author will draw the distance between national level and community level concerning about the national reconciliation in Timor-Leste through two field case studies in Ainaro. Firstly the chapter will draw a picture of reconciliation at the national level – what the government of Timor-Leste aims to achieve through reconciliation, then describe reconciliation at a community level through examining the reconciliation process and challenges in the two communities in Ainaro.

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[24] Between 1974 and 1994, at least 15 truth commissions were established in various countries, such as Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Chad, Zimbabwe, Germany, the Philippines (Hayner 1994, 1996).

2-1 Reconciliation at National Level: The Aims of the Government of Timor-Leste

The government stance toward reconciliation could be described as "unity and forgiveness", although the government has tried to establish a certain level of justice. In this section, I would like to describe what the government of Timor-Leste aims on reconciliation through the work of CAVR (Comissao de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliacao de Timor Leste - The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation).

The CAVR is an independent statutory authority that inquired into human rights violations committed on all sides, between April 1974 and October 1999, and facilitated community reconciliation with justice for those who committed less serious offences. The commission will not give amnesty (the CAVR homepage, 2005). The mandate of the CAVR covers three board areas, which are truth seeking, community reconciliation and report writing;

(a) Truth Seeking: To inquire into the truth about human rights violations committed on all sides in the context of the political conflict between April 1974 and October 1999 through establishing a truth telling mechanism for victims and perpetuators to describe, acknowledge and record the incidents

(b) Community Reconciliation: To facilitate community reconciliation for the lesser crimes, such as looting, burning and minor assault

(c) Report Writing: To report on its findings and make recommendations to the government for further action on reconciliation and the promotion of human rights

First, CAVR collected statements from the victims and perpetuators in order to collect the real data about violations. CAVR employed statement takers[25] and spent 3 months in each sub-district. As the result, 7972 statements from victims were collected and the statements were gathered as victim's reports. From perpetuators 1500 statements were collected. Out of 1500 statements, 1300 cases were proved as crimes[26]. Then the crime cases were sent to the general prosecutor's office to divide the crime cases into two: serious crimes and lesser crimes. Only lesser crimes were sent back to CAVR to process. The CAVR pursued each lesser crime to reconciliation stage. At the reconciliation stage a perpetuator's hearing meeting was organised for each case. NGO staff, church and community leaders were invited for the meeting as panels. After the offender confessed his/her crime, the permission to stay in the community as a member was given from the community residents. Once the permission was given, a document was prepared how the offender was to deal with the community in the future. 2-3 months after the meeting, the following up visits were conducted.

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[25] There were two state takers for victims and one for perpetuators in each district.
[26] Interviewed by the author to CAVR officer on 8 Sep. 2004.

It seems that CAVR was systematically organised and its works, especially collecting data and organising reconciliation meeting, were successfully performed. Actually all the stakeholders I interviewed in communities and in organisations evaluated CAVR positively. There is no doubt that CAVR achieved a great success and built up the first step of national reconciliation. On the other hand, it left a huge amount of challenges for the future. Firstly, there is no particular institution which succeeds the work of CAVR, despite there being the needs for further follow up in many cases in order to promote further reconciliation. Secondly, CAVR did not have the right to decide or recommend on the classification of serious crimes and lesser crimes, neither on the judgement of each serious crime. The judgements process of serious crimes is not clear and open for the public and this situation generates frustration among the population who seek justice. This causes negative effects on the community reconciliation process that the organisations like CAVR and a national NGO Yayasan HAK began.

The work, challenges and dilemmas of CAVR represent well the government circumstances and dilemmas on reconciliation. Firstly, the government's sincere effort on seeking justice and promoting reconciliation can be evaluated positively. In community-based reconciliation, the government stressed the reintegration of militias into society by returning to their villages, asking forgiveness and making amends by supporting victims and their families. The president Gusmao himself travelled widely in the country to ask people to understand this policy and promote the reintegration process. At the same time, he has stressed the need for healing through truth-telling. It is perceived that truth-telling gives perpetuators an opportunity to ask for forgiveness, and it gives victims an opportunity to overcome the tragedy in the past as well. This concept was widely accepted by the international community. Even at the community level, it was getting accepted and achieved the certain level of success, although there was much confusion and anger towards the idea at the early stage. Secondly, the government soon faced the reality that real justice cannot be met because of the internal politics of Indonesia. The government can press the establishment of justice inside Indonesia only in a soft manner, because it is clear that the relationship with other countries, especially strong neighbours like Indonesia is critical for a tiny, weak and fragile country like Timor-Leste. It can be said that this fact has weighted heavily on the government of Timor-Leste and led it to establish the principles of amnesty and reconciliation toward Indonesia externally. This politically motivated idea of reconciliation thus emphasises forgiveness internally even only limited justice could be met. In order to maintain the relationship with the government of Indonesia, Timor Leste's leaders claimed that they would not support the independence movement in Ache and Papua. The government also tried hard to reassure them that Timor-Leste will not put pressure on Jakarta for human rights trials (Smith, 2004:289). At the time of report writing, there are no more activities planned to encourage the repatriation of ex-militia families who live in West Timor. The government motivation on reconciliation seems to be toned down now in front of so many challenges for the nation-building. However, this does not mean that reconciliation is not a big issue in the society of Timor-Leste.

2-2   Reconciliation at Community Level

The previous section explained the politically sensitive circumstance of the central government on justice. However, how do the people at community level observe the process? Do they agree with the government stance? How do they perceive the development of reconciliation in their community? This section will describe the community reconciliation process through the case of Cassa and Manutasi Villages, Ainaro District and examine how successfully the central government principles have been accepted at the community level.

Both Cassa and Manutasi belong to Ainaro sub-district, where people were most seriously affected by Indonesian occupation and 1999 violence. Both villages had a huge number of militia members in the community during Indonesian occupation. Especially Cassa which was the base of a militia group called "Mahidi", which actively engaged in violence through the whole Ainaro district. After independence, these two communities have had different experiences of the reconciliation process – In Cassa, many militia members have come back to the community from West Timor based on the government initiative for reconciliation. On the other hand, in Manutasi militia members have not come back yet, although many ex pro-autonomy side people, who were not militia, but supported consolidation to Indonesia, have come back. Cassa became famous as a symbol of community reconciliation. Many organisations, including CAVR and Yayasan HAK visited the community to organise various meetings aiming the reconciliation between ex pro-autonomy side and ex pro-independence side. On the contrary, in Manutasi people have never seen any organisations to promote reconciliation in the community.

2-2-1   Case Study 1: Reconciliation Process and Challenges in Cassa

Cassa is located about 40km away from Ainaro town. It is located close to a river and there are huge rice fields along the river. Most of the people work in the field as farmers. Many houses are built in traditional style with thatched roof. Many women weave traditional clothes under their traditional houses. In the tropical circumstances they look quite beautiful.

As mentioned above, Cassa was the base of the pro-Indonesia militia called Mahidi. It became famous as a symbol of community reconciliation, because most of militias have come back. According to the community leaders, there was heightened tension when militia members returned. Several cases of violence broke out between ex pro-autonomy side and ex pro-independence side. However, through several meetings organised by various organisations to promote reconciliation, the situation became considerably calmer. There is no violence reported anymore. Suco chief told that people could work together now, although there were some considerations required. The author thought the reconciliation process here could be written as a success story at first. However, after two days of field research, complex reality was recognised. There was high level of sensitivity among the people in the community.

There are five aldeia in Cassa village, which are Boltama, Mau-suca, Lai-lima, Sivil and Quesemane. The centre of the village is Mau-suca. At the centre of Mau-suca, there is an invisible border. It divides the community into two – residents for ex pro-independent side and residents for ex pro-autonomy side. People try not to communicate each other beyond the invisible border and in this way they keep the stability as a community (See figure 2-1).

Figure 2-1 Cassa Village Overview
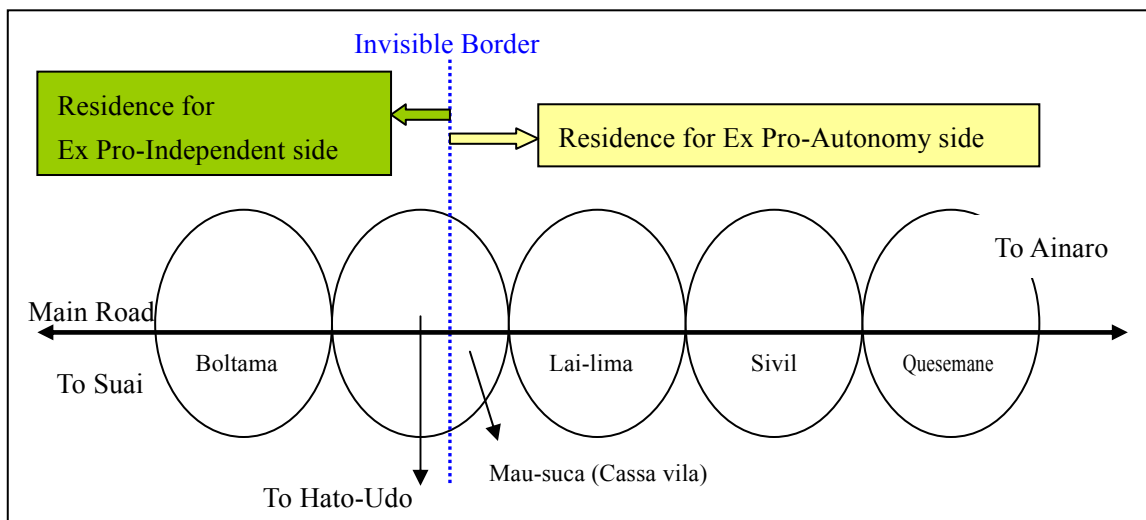
(Source: Made by the author)

Nobody mentioned about this border. The border was realised when coming back to the resident house in Mau-suca from the field research in Lai-lima and Sivil. Everybody asked "Weren't you scared?" The author could not understand what they meant at first. Then it was gradually realised there might be something behind the sentence. The author stayed at the suco chief's house for the field research in Cassa. He supported the independence. Almost everybody talked for the first two days seemed to be ex pro-independence side. Everybody told me that there were no problems for the relationship among people. All these factors noticed the border.

Several uneasy factors were recognised in the community during field research. Firstly, it seemed that aldeia Sivil, which belongs to ex pro-autonomy side, was the poorest area in Cassa. However, fear stops the poverty measure being applied here in order to choose a development aid project site. Secondly, there is not clear leadership in the community. There are of course community leaders, such as suco chief, aldeia chiefs. However, they work only on administrative matters. It seems that they do not have much social power in the community. The church here also does not have much respect from the people. Only a small number of the people attend Mass. This is unlikely when you consider the strong faith in Christianity in the country. Thirdly, people tend not to speak out on negative matters or about their anxiety, especially to outsiders. People have strong insider – outsider bias. People apply this measure to the Timorese people, who come from another community. Outsiders never become insiders. Building trust takes a lot of time. These

factors considered, however, the biggest concern is that there is no measurement of how serious each uneasy factor is growing underground.

2-2-2   Case Study 2: Reconciliation Process and Challenges in Manutasi

Manutasi is located next to Ainaro villa. It takes only 10 minutes from the town by a car. There are four aldeia in Manutasi – Hatumetaudu (Aldeia 1), Kanudu (Aldeia 2), Bahatelau (Aldeia 3) and Rebuitudu (Aldeia 4)[27]. It is a hilly place and each hill consists of one aldeia. Aldeia 1 and 4 are at high altitude, having a relatively wide area for upland farming. On the contrary, Aldeia 2 is located at relatively low altitude, having paddy field in low land. The symbol of Manutasi is the statue of Maria along the main road, looking at us from the top of the hill, where we can view whole Ainaro town.

The author conducted the field research in Manutasi on 20th-22nd October 2004 and stayed in a residents house in Aldeia 3, who was a relative of the colleague. Because of the distance between Aldeia 1,2,3 and 4, the field research was not able to be conducted in Aldeia 1.

There is a rough division of house placements for ex pro-autonomy side and ex pro-independence side (See figure 2-2). Ex pro-independent side people live in relatively lower land and ex pro-autonomy side live in upper areas. However, people have to communicate every day in the community in order to lead their daily life. In Manutasi people gain their livelihood from agricultural activities in the farm or/and paddy field, as most of Timorese do. As you can see the figure below, people have to pass through other aldeia to go to the farming area or paddy field. In

Figure 2-2   Manutasi Village Overview

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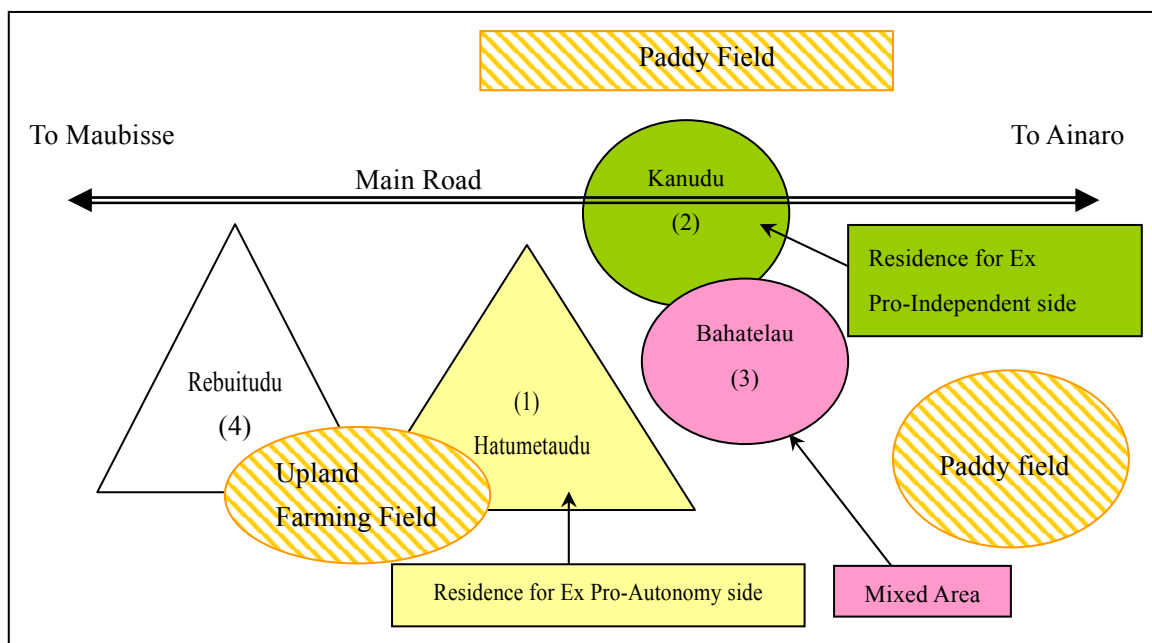
[27] People call each aldeia as number 1,2,3 and 4 instead of using each name of aldeia.

addition, people who stay in the upper areas have to cross other aldeia to reach the main road. There are many people who had two houses – One is in upper area next to their farm and another one is near to the main road.

Another factor that makes the relationship between the ex pro-autonomy side and the ex pro-independence side here deeply sensitive is that most of the residents in Manutasi were taken to Atambua in West Timor by force as militia hostages. People had to spend about 1-4 years in refugee camps in Atambua. Everybody interviewed expressed how hard their lives in the refugee camp were and how much they wanted to come back. People were totally under the control of militia in refugee camps. Many people finally came back home after independence in 2002. People who supported the autonomy side were also treated in the same way. Therefore people who supported autonomy feel that they are the victims of militia the same as people who supported independence. On the other hand, the ex pro-independence side never agree with this view. They expressed a high level of frustration and sensitivity between them. What makes their view totally different like this?

There were at least two reasons behind it. One might be financial frustration or current living situation. There were about 72 militia members living in Manutasi during Indonesian occupation. They used to live in Aldeia 1. As mentioned above, they have not yet come back from Atambua, West Timor. Therefore, people currently living in Aldeia 1 have relatively bigger farm land. Actually, it seemed ex pro-autonomy side people are slightly well off compared with the people of ex pro-independence side. There is no data to prove this and it is only based on personal observation. However, it is clear that this is what the ex pro-independence side people feel about their every day life. Another reason is relating to a psychological matter. Although people were taken to Atambua by force exactly the same way, it is clear that much more pressure and stress were experienced by the pro-independent side to survive in refugee camps controlled by militia that supported autonomy. Therefore it is reasonable for the people who supported independence to feel that they are different from the people who supported the consolidation of Indonesia.

People of ex pro-autonomy and ex pro-independence also have different views about the repatriation of militia families. While most ex pro-autonomy people accept their repatriation, ex pro-independence people do not want them to come back to the community. There are many families divided into two sides. They keep the family tie, but with having a certain level of sensitivity.

2-2-3   Lessons Learned from Case Studies
What are we able to learn from the two case studies? Cassa and Manutasi cases have many similarities: Both are sucos in Ainaro sub-district in Ainaro district. Both were heavily affected by militia presence. And people in both communities are deeply traumatised and suffered from high sensitivities between the ex pro-independent side and the ex pro-autonomy side. On the other hand,

Cassa and Manutasi experienced in totally different ways, the reconciliation process after 1999. In Cassa people had a positive experience of the reconciliation process introduced by various organisations, although there are certain levels of sensitivity and division remaining. In Manutasi the reconciliation process has not yet started, despite the fact that there is high demand to seek reconciliation.

Table 2-1   Comparative Study of Reconciliation Process in Cassa and Manutasi

	Cassa	Manutasi
Sub-district	Ainaro	Ainaro
Aldeia in the suco	5 aldeia Mau-suca (villa), Boltama, Lai-lima, Sivil and Quesamau	4 aldeia Hatumetaulu, Kanudu, Bauhatulau and Rebuitudu
Presence of militia members in the community during Indonesian occupation	It was the base of a militia group called Mahidi.	There were about 72 militia members in the community.
At the time of 1999 violence	People escaped to Aldeia Bonuk in Hato-Udo sub-district, where there was no destruction by militias for 1-3 months.	Many people were taken to Atambua in West Timor by force as militia's hostages. People had to spend 1-4 years in refugee camps in Atambua.
Repatriation of militia member	Most of militia members have come back from West Timor.	-Most of militia members have NOT come back from West Timor. -Ex pro-independence people don't want them to come back.
Relationship between ex pro-autonomy side and ex pro-independence side	-No violence anymore -There is the invisible border, which divide the resident places for ex pro-autonomy side and ex pro-independence side completely.	-No active violence -Situation is much more sensitive and complicated than Cassa -There is a rough division of resident places for the ex pro-autonomy side and the ex pro-independence side. However, people have to communicate often in the community.
Promotion of Reconciliation organized by external organisations	Many meetings were organized by many organizations, such as CAVR and Yayasan HAK.	Meetings were never organised by anybody.

(Source: the author)

In both communities of Cassa and Manutasi, the people's every day life continues even under the situation of high sensitivities. In both communities, substantial growing frustration is recognised among the people. The frustration does not necessarily come from the difficulties of establishing justice, but from the difficulty of sustaining everyday life. People, especially living in rural areas feel that they are ignored because most of the developmental profits are now only shared by a small number of people who have jobs in cities, especially in the capital Dili. It is clear that there was too much expectation on independence. People could not measure how difficult job of the nation building is. It seems that this causes distance between the central government and people in rural areas.

The concern for the future is that the growing frustration at the community level intensifies anti-government movements and it deepens the division inside the community at the same time. It could set back the gains that the reconciliation process achieved. In this sense, development projects have the high potentials to reduce the frustration among the people in communities and promote the process of reconciliation and peacebuilding. In the following chapter, I would like to examine the potential of development aid programmes in the relation to the process of reconciliation and peacebuilding.