Women and Peace-building
in Aceh Barat District, Indonesia:

Women's Roles and Experiences and the Potential for a Gender Sensitive Approach Based on a Case Study of NGO Sunspirit

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List of Acronyms

BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistic Centre Bureau)
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DOM	Daerah Operasi Militer (Military Operations Zone)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (district parliament)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh Movement)
GoI	Government of Indonesia
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAD	Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PKK	Program Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Program)
POSYANDU	Pos Pelayanan Terpadu Ibu dan Anak (Integrated Service for Women and Children)
PMI	Palang Merah Indonesia (Indonesian Red Cross)
PPT	Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu (One Stop Service Centre)
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Armed Forces)
UN	United Nations
WH	Wilahayatul Hisbah (Syariah Police)

Abstract

The violence took many forms and men, women, boys and girls experienced it in distinct ways often within a culture of silence. But little is known about the condition of women. Acehnese women, seem to face paradoxical realities about their life: a memory about the glory of women in the past history, the challenging fact of today and the uncertainty of the future.

This study documents women's experiences and roles, the changes in the gender roles and relationships, gender needs in the peace-building and challenges for a gender sensitive approach in peace-building strategies in Aceh Barat from a case study of an NGO, Sunspirit. With emphasis on a qualitative rather than quantitative, multi-method approaches were used, including, but not limited to, a survey, questionnaire, case study and literature review.

The study finds out that women in the multifaceted roles in the post-conflict situation have their potential role in the peace-building in Aceh Barat. In each of the roles defined as women as victims, women as ex-combatants, women for peace in the non-governmental sector, women in formal peace politics, women as coping and surviving actors, women as household heads, and women and (in)formal employment, they gave their particular contribution to the peace-building of Aceh Barat and Aceh in general. These roles are mostly 'invisible' as women have generally been overlooked and marginalized in the context of formal peace-building. But the writer argues if the informal peace-building efforts are considered less important since women have been very innovative and successful in a variety of informal peace organizing activities, through processes such as campaigning, negotiation, mediation, joining political parties, grassroots activism, etc. However, they require recognition as active actors in the peace-building and their contribution should not be seen as extensions of women's existing gender roles.

The changes in the gender role and relationships shows to us that woman take a more active role during the conflict. This active role could lead to positive change towards women's empowerment and gender equality. But there are doubts if women will be able to take more active role in the post conflict as the chance has only been 'short-lived'.

The women's needs in the peace-building identified in this thesis ranging from livelihood and income recovery, security and justice, health, education, house, and participation in politics shows well supports are needed to function well in their active contribution to peace-building. The identified needs also serve as an entry point to develop activities to empower women in the peace-building.

A case study conducted to, Sunspirit, the sole NGO that implement peace-building project in Aceh Barat in order to gauge on the potential for gender sensitive approach in the peace-building strategies. As newly established organization, Sunspirit faces several challenges in realizing their potential gender sensitive approach in their work goes along with the project dilemma and challenges to answer the needs of their beneficiaries, men, women, boys and girls in the peace-building throughout their projects.

Finally, relying upon the findings on women's potential role, the needs and the case study undertaken, recommendations were made to provide possible solution to integrate gender perspective in the peace-building strategies of NGO.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1   Research Background

The Helsinki Peace Accord signed on the 15th of August in 2005 has become a starting point for peace in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (hereafter: Aceh or NAD). Previous attempts to forge peace were attempted but did not last. The Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding is the foundation for the formulation of peace in Aceh and to-date the Helsinky MoU has brought the people of Aceh away from violence and conflict while the recovery efforts on the tsunami, that hit Aceh on 26th December 2004, has been the catalyst for impressive development in the province.

Aceh is recovering from twin disasters: almost 30 years of conflict and the December 2004 tsunami. Aceh Barat district (West Aceh) has been affected by the armed conflict between GAM (Freedom Aceh Movement) and Indonesian military force (TNI). Most people were experiencing distress and tension. The massive presence of the Indonesian security forces on one hand meant security, but on the other hand it led to a militarization of everyday life. GAM (the rebels) was said to have their bases in the jungle of the mountains. Thus, rural areas away from the coast were more affected by the war. Aceh Barat in the highlands areas covering Bubon, Woyla, Pante Cermin, and Sungai Mas sub-district had high conflict intensity during times of conflict. The following map indicates areas in Aceh with different conflict intensity:
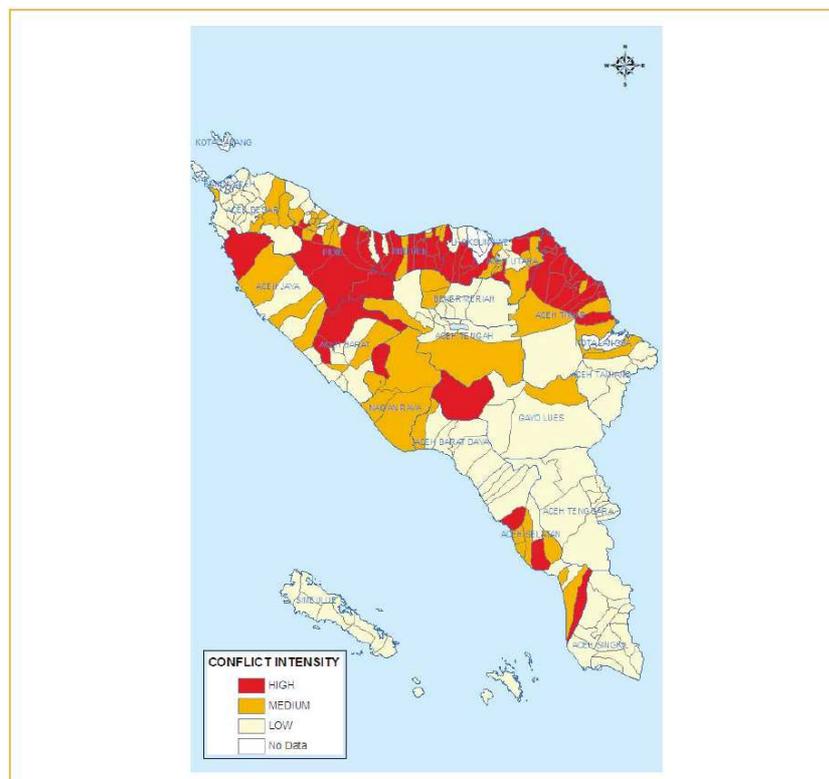
Figure 1 Aceh map with conflict intensity
Source: World Bank: 2008, 68

The outbreak of violent conflict in Aceh caused thousands of people to be killed and hundreds of thousands of women and men to be displaced. Many people lost their families as well as livelihoods and properties, and continue to suffer from a variety of problems as a result of these conflicts. In conflict situations, women are much more disadvantaged compared to men. Women tend to be the more vulnerable to various forms of violence, from domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, to sexual torture and other types of sexual violence. They also suffer disproportionately from displacement and deprivation. But focusing only on women as victims of conflicts ignores the fact that women play significant roles during and after the conflicts, and reinforces existing traditional gender values and practices that women are only "passive" and "subservient" in peace and politics. This has negative consequences in overlooking women's potential as key actors in peace-building processes and activities.

Women are powerful actors in conflict situations. During and after violent conflict, women play a variety of different roles to ensure their and their families survival. Women become community organizers, helping to distribute food, clothes, medical care and other basic needs to the disadvantaged people; and they are powerful advocates for peace. Some women become combatants to protect their family and community from the "enemy". However, women's experiences and roles in peace-building and their contributions are often unacknowledged, undervalued and ignored. They are underrepresented and barely included in the formal political peace processes. Much of the analysis tends to focus on women as victims of conflicts rather than as actors. Aware of the different impacts of conflict on women and men and of the importance of the roles and experiences of women as actors as well as victims, the writer intends to investigate the women's potential role in the peace-building in Aceh.

Researching gender in peace building in Aceh Barat is interesting since women and men experience conflict and are vulnerable to its impacts in different ways. This is mostly determined by the gender roles and identities based on masculinity and femininity in Acehnese society. Related to development, it is also interesting to find out that the inclusion of both men and women in every aspect of peace-building is of critical importance in order to enhance the effectiveness of development work in conflict-prone contexts. Political structures, economic institutions and security arrangements negotiated in peace talks will not facilitate greater equality between women and men if gender dimensions are not considered in these discussions (UN, 2002: 53). But since women's contributions tend to be undervalued and not readily incorporated or sought by many practitioners of peace-building, the writer assumes that the women are mostly engaged in the informal peace activities corresponding to their concern to maintain a peaceful situation in their community.

1.2   Problem Statement

Humanitarian organizations only possess a limited body of research and evaluations on the impact of crises on households and women in conflict and post-war situations and the roles of women in the peace building project. There is still very little known about a gender sensitive approach in the peace-building project. This is not a problem that can be quickly resolved, but it is essential that NGO's start to rethink their approach since building a lasting peace that sustains post-conflict economic, political, and social development requires the full participation of all citizens, both women, men, boys and girls. In addition, research in post-conflict areas is highly sensitive, particularly when

dealing with gender issues, where the fears of women and of the male dominated society and culture may be aroused, together with how the findings may be used.

The efforts of NGOs in creating sustainable peace are endangered since the NGOs may make efforts in the peace building of Aceh Barat community by involving women, but it seems that they have a problem creating a gender sensitive approach in their project. There have been oversimplifications of the gender sensitive approach integrated into peace building initiatives, or other development projects in Aceh, during the post conflict and post tsunami reconstruction and rehabilitation. The belief that if an NGO has a women's project, then they have been gender sensitive is a common misunderstanding of a gender sensitive approach. In the projects, when people talk about gender, what they really mean is women—this is inaccurate. Related to this myth is when there are equal numbers of men and women participating in the trainings/projects, there is equal participation. Another opinion uttered by some development workers is when they met with a group of women, they understand women's concerns while underestimating the fact that women (and men) do not form a homogenous group and it is important to engage women from different sides of the conflict, different ethnic, social and vulnerable groups. Common resistance on gender sensitive approaches, especially in the post tsunami and post conflict situation, comes from the opinion that since it is a crisis situation, they don't have time to think about gender issues.

Acehnese women's contribution in the peace building is not recognized since they are not involved in the formal peace-process and most peace building projects do not really mainstream gender. Conflict presents women with a variety of 'burdens'. They are frequently victims of multiple forms of violence, and often bear the responsibility of ensuring the survival of the family and the sustainability of the community pre-, during and post-conflict. As long as the experience and roles of women in peace-building go unnoticed, they are not yet fully recognized as a force for post-conflict reconstruction.

Society in Aceh Barat lives with *Syariah* Laws, meaning women are very rarely decision makers in the local peace process. On the other hand, women are usually engaged in grass-roots level organizations in which their agencies therefore often go unnoticed and often result on their limited participation in formal peace-building. Women's individual and collective contributions to peace-building processes are existent but they are frequently under-utilized and not recognized.

There are many examples of ways that women individually and collectively contribute to peace building, and how women's contributions are often overlooked because they take unconventional forms, occur outside formal peace processes, and are considered extensions of women's existing gender roles. Often women themselves do not recognize their activities as part of peace-building efforts, because these are in areas for which women are already responsible, such as ensuring the safety of themselves and their families and accessing and providing social services (International Alert, 1999).

1.3   Justification of the Study

Women's roles in peace-building in Aceh are not recognized because the mass media coverage of the conflict situation mainly reported about the formal peace process and often only portrayed women as vulnerable victims of violence. Consequently, they receive little recognition for their actual and potential roles in attaining peace and

promoting security. In fact, there is no study in Aceh Barat about the gendered experience of conflict and women's roles in peace-building context.

Many studies on women and peace-building for example in Rwanda (Lentin, 1997) or Sri Lanka (de Mal, 2003), as well as in promoting peace, such as in Afghanistan (Collett, 1998), Northern Ireland, Israel/Palestine, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Cockburn, 1998), the successor states of the former Yugoslavia (Giles et al., 2003) and also Sierra Leone and Burundi (Klot, 2007) recognize women's potential role in peace-building. Given the fact that women's participation and gender equality is a peace-building gap, it is striking how far this core issue is lacking in institutional capacity, policy and operational guidance, programme implementation, data, monitoring and evaluation, knowledge and resources.

This study intends to provide information about the women's roles in peace-building in West Aceh specifically, and Aceh province in general, and also to fill the gap on how information on the gendered experience in conflict and women's roles in peace-building are used to develop a more gender sensitive approach in peace-building strategies. Through a case study, a better understanding on how the gender sensitive approach can be applied in the peace-building projects implemented by a national NGO which aim to serve as lesson learnt to realize about the potential role of NGOs in the conflict-affected areas particularly in Aceh and Indonesia in general.

1.4   Objective

The objective of this study is to research women's role in the peace building and the potential for a gender sensitive approach in the peace-building project of the Non Governmental Organization (NGO), Sunspirit, in the conflict affected areas of Aceh Barat. In order to research on women's potential role in the peace-building, the writer aims to analyse the women's roles and experiences of conflict in the post conflict setting, the changes in the gender roles and relationships, their needs in the peace-building and to find out how women have been involved in such programmes, like Sunspirit's, and to what benefit. Challenges will also be considered and conclusions will be drawn about the potential for women's involvement in peace-building strategies. Recommendations will be made on the external mainstreaming of gender into peace-building strategies for NGOs in the district of West Aceh (Aceh Barat), Indonesia.

1.5   Research Questions

In order to address the above study objective, a set of research questions are formulated to guide the research process as follows:

Main question 1:
What gender roles do women play in peace-building process in Aceh Barat?

Sub-questions
- How do women experience conflict considering their different roles in society?
- How have gender roles and relationships changed as a result of the conflict and peace process?
- What are women's needs in the peace-building process?

Main question 2:
What are the challenges for a gender sensitive approach to the peace-building project of local NGO, Sunspirit?

Sub-questions:
- How do the projects aims, activities and intended results explicitly reflect gender equality and women's involvement in peace-building?
- How are current gender roles, including the gendered division of labour, in peace-building taken into account in the project strategies?
- How are women's needs in peace-building supported in the project aims and activities?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Understanding Gender

The term 'gender' began to be used in research in women's studies at the end of the 1970s as a result of the realization that concepts of female and male are largely social constructions and far from being solely biological phenomena. There are many theories about gender but the writer will use the theories of Moser since it defines clearly the gender roles and she also made a conceptual distinction on the gender roles and needs which will serve as the basis of the research on the changing of gender role and relationship during and post-conflict and also to identify the women's needs in the peace-building context.

Caroline Moser (1993) defines gender as the differences between women and men within the same household and within and between cultures that are socially and culturally constructed and change over time. These differences are reflected in: roles, responsibilities, access to resources, constraints, opportunities, needs, perceptions, views, etc. held by both women and men. Thus, gender is not a synonym for women, but considers both women and men in their interdependent relationships.

But why women are discussed more in gender studies is because women are more vulnerable in the gender relationship as compared to men. But why focus on gender in peace-building? Gender refers to the differential social roles that define women and men in a specific cultural context—and to the power relationships that go along with these roles. A focus on gender not only reveals information about women's experience in conflict and post-conflict situation, which otherwise can be hidden, it deals with stereotypes of men and women, the values and qualities associated with each and the ways power relationships can change. "If gender is about relations between men and women, then the male side of the equation must also be figured in. If women's gender identities are to be changed, then men's must change also." (White in Macdonald, 1993:20)

Gender roles: Gender roles are "socially determined", "context specific", "changeable" but also resist change (Moser: 1993). It is socially determined since it is influenced from the values and norms in the society which set rules that people are expected to abide. Given that gender roles and relationships can change over time and during conflicts and in post-conflict themselves, it is important to carry out context-specific analysis as it would be differ from place to place. It also stated that it resists change since there is a status quo in the society which would like to maintain the traditional gender roles. There are four gender roles and relationship as explained by Moser (1993) namely the productive, reproductive, community management, and community politics role.

 The productive role deals with the work undertaken by men and women in exchange for cash, in kind or sometimes for no pay at all. For example, women are involved in agriculture as farmers, peasant farmer's wives and wage earners.

The reproductive roles are often associated with a woman's role as it relates to issues of child bearing and rearing. It also involves all tasks undertaken to reproduce human capital such as cooking, cleaning, looking after the sick and aged.

The community management roles are associated with the activities undertaken by men and women to provide for and maintain resources of collective consumption. Examples include building communal markets, schools, and clinics on a voluntary, unpaid basis. For women, this is seen as an "extension of their reproductive role" since the nature of this roles are voluntarily or unpaid and conducted during free time.

The community politics roles are the political activities undertaken by men and women at community, local, national and sometimes international levels. These political activities are undertaken on behalf of customary structures, party politics, lobby and advocacy groups. Since the nature of this work is often deal with wage or increase in status or power, these roles are mostly undertaken by men.

Gender needs: Because the roles of men and women in societies are often different, their needs vary accordingly. Caroline Moser (1993) makes the conceptual distinction between practical and strategic gender needs.

Practical Gender Needs (PGNs) according to Moser (1993) are the immediate needs identified by women to assist their survival in their "socially accepted roles", within "existing power structures". Policies to meet PGNs tend to focus on ensuring that women and their families have adequate living conditions, such as health care and food provision, access to safe water and sanitation, but also seek to ensure access to income-earning opportunities. PGNs do not directly challenge gender inequalities, even though these needs may be a direct result of women's subordinate position in society.

Strategic Gender Needs (SGNs), are those needs identified by women that require strategies for challenging male dominance and privilege. These needs may relate to inequalities in the gender division of labour, in ownership and control of resources, in participation in decision-making, or to experiences of domestic and other sexual violence.

2.2 Understanding Peace-Building

The term "peace-building" came into widespread use after 1992 when Boutros Boutros-Ghali, then United Nations Secretary-General, announced his *Agenda for Peace* (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Two current terms used in defining of peace are "negative peace" and "positive peace" (Galtung, 1996). Negative peace refers to the mere absence of violence, while positive peace represents a stable social equilibrium in which new disputes are resolved without resort to violence and war. Peace-building is generally associated with the promotion of 'positive peace', though the precise definition remains unclear. Fundamentally, peace is a long-term and gutsy project that seeks to bring about lasting and constructive change in institutions that maintain society (Haavelsrud, 1996).

John Paul Lederach (1997) defines peace-building as long-term project of building peaceful, stable communities and societies. This requires building on a firm foundation of justice and reconciliation. How people build on that foundation is very important. The process needs to strengthen and restore 'relationships' and transform unjust institutions and systems. Rather than just looking at the specific ways to improve food production or build new houses, peace-building emphasizes building right relationships with partners and programme recipients as an integral part of establishing lasting peace in violence-prone areas. Understanding peace-building in this way allows us to take a new lens to development projects and programming.

2.3 Understanding Conflict from a Gender Perspective

The gender perspective means that questions are analysed from the perspective of both women and men, not just one of them. In times of conflict men and women tend to be forced to acquire new social roles. Studies of gender in conflict demonstrate that gender relations of power shape pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict situations, and shed new light onto the roles of women in waging war and building peace (Giles et al., 2003; Moser & Clark, 2001). The Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' developed a framework analysis which identifies seven major roles of women in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. The seven major roles as discussed by Bouta and Frerks (2002) are:

1. Women as victims
2. Women as combatants
3. Women as peace activists
4. Women in 'formal peace politics'
5. Women as coping and surviving actors
6. Women as household heads
7. Women and (in)formal employment opportunities

Thus, in the later discussion, the writer will analyse women's roles and experiences in the Acehnese post conflict situation according to the above categories. CRU summarizes the characteristics of women's multifaceted role based on the 7 major roles on each conflict phase (pre-conflict, actual conflict and post conflict as stated in the following table:

Table 1 Women's Multifaceted Roles in Conflict Situations

Women's Role	Characteristics of Women's Roles on the Phase of:		
	Pre-Conflict	**Actual Conflict**	**Post-Conflict**
Women as Victims of (Sexual Violence)		• Increasing number of civilian casualties • Increased exposure to violence • Sexual abuse as systematic to warfare	• Increasing domestic of violence • Continuing exposure to insecurity
Women as Combatants		• Direct involvement in fighting • Indirect support of conflict	• Reintegration of female ex-combatants
Women for Peace in the Non-Governmental Sector	• Small and even non-existing NGO sector	• Anti-conflict campaigns • Taking over public roles • Maintaining the 'normal situation' • Providing Relief and Humanitarian Assistance	• Active involvement in broad range of topics, ranging from charity work to political activism
Women in Formal Peace Politics	• Limited access to political life	• Increasing access to political positions at various levels of society • Limited access to formal peace process	• Hard to maintain political position • Participation in rewriting laws and constitution; post-conflict elections; and

			rehabilitation efforts
Women as Coping and Surviving Actors	• Minimum of survival mechanisms	• Use of coping mechanisms; adapting existing roles; migration • Sub-optimal results and forms of distress coping	• Change to more sustainable ways of living
Women as Household Heads	• Traditional division of tasks	• Decline in traditional labour relations • High number of female headed households and widows • Need for new skills • Lack of access to land and other properties	• Difficulties maintaining activities outside the home • Continuing struggle for access to land and property
Women and (In)formal Employment		• Increasing informal sector employment • Limited formal sector employment	• Continuing informal sector employment • Recurrence of traditional division of labour
Source: Bouta and Frerks (2002:41)			

In order to find out the women's potential role in the peace-building, it is also important to look at *Securing the Peace, a* document published by UNIFEM (2005). It lists the benefits of involving women in the peace process and how women's participation can improve the maintenance of peace:

- o Women's organizations persistently advocate for peace.
- o Women often build a foundation for peace negotiations.
- o Women can build ties among opposing factions.
- o Women can increase the inclusiveness, transparency and sustainability of the peace process.
- o Women often complement official peace-building efforts.
- o Women can foster reconciliation and provide an example for moving society forward.
- o Women often work to sustain the peace agreement at all levels.

2.4   Gender Equality Indicators in Post Conflict Settings

The post-conflict context provides an opportunity for the practice of gender equality; it is the time when new constitutions and legal frameworks are set up, when elections are held, when development and reconstruction activities lead to new employment opportunities, when the desire for transition can allow for discussion of equal rights for women and men. It is important to ensure that women as well as men are able to take advantage of these opportunities.

The box below outlines possible indicators to measure gender equality in post-conflict situations, based on the Timor Leste experience (Ospina: 2006, 45-8):

Table 2 Gender Equality Indicators in Post Conflict Contexts

Women's participation in political bodies
- Proportion of women/men in provisional/transitional governing bodies;
- Proportion of women in the Constituent Assembly, constitution drafting committees and

popular consultations;
- Proportion of women/men in political candidate lists (including winnable positions).

Property rights
- Proportion of women/men among beneficiaries of post-conflict land (re)distribution, including land allocation to ex-combatants;
- Provisions for equal rights to ownership/inheritance of property ensured in new constitution and legislation.

Employment
- Proportion of women/men in emergency reconstruction and rehabilitation work;
- Proportion of women /men in employment/income generating schemes;
- Proportion of women /men employed in UN, NGOs, and civil service at all levels.

Violence against women
- Inclusion of gender sensitisation in training of army and police forces and judges;
- Cases of gender-based violence reported to the police or other bodies, cases investigated and conviction rates.

2.5 Gender Sensitivity of Peace Building Interventions

It took the international community almost fifty years before gender and gender differences became an integral element in peace and security work. The 4th World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995) reaffirmed that violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security adopted in October 2000 recognized that men and women experience wars differently and that to build sustainable peace women need to be fully involved.

The Beijing Platform for Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women, defined the need to "increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels" under Strategic Objective E.1, and urged Governments, as well as international and regional national institutions, to integrate gender perspectives in the resolution of armed or other conflicts and foreign occupation (DAC, 1998:28).

From the women and armed conflict plank in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) (UN 1996) through government commitments in the June 2000 five-year BPA review, to Security Council Resolution 1325 (SC1325) (UN, 2000), the world has increasingly acknowledged the impacts of conflict on women – and of women on conflict. SC1325 marked a milestone. It recognised that women world-wide are playing an active and positive role in conflict resolution and peace building. It acknowledged that peace can not be sustained unless women have an equal and active role in formulating political, economic and social policy and that without women's full participation in peace processes, there can be no justice or sustainable development in the reconstruction of societies. The resolution demands the involvement of more women in peace-building and conflict mediation work and promotes women as advocates of peace with indispensable knowledge.

The Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' developed a framework for institutional analysis in order to develop a

gender sensitive approach to deal with women in armed conflict. There are two basic questions that should be addressed in the analysis:

> "(1) In what way is the position of women in armed conflict incorporated into the mandates, structures, procedures, and policy formulation and implementation of the organizations under research? And (2) to what extent and in what form is adequate gender expertise present in the selected organizations?" (Bouta and Frerks, 2002)

This institutional analysis has been criticized as it mainly focused on organizational and policy characteristics (Platenga and Frerks, 2004).

Donna Pankhurst put her recommendations on the following strategies for peace-building strategies that can support women and encourage gender equity (Pankhurst, 2000: 22-25):

1. working with women's organisations for peace
2. increasing the presence of individual women in official peace processes
3. re-training of military and police forces in gender issues
4. mainstreaming gender into all relief, development and peace-building policies
5. support of human rights organisations and representation of women in democratic processes
6. support for women's livelihoods
7. working with men to change masculine stereotypes and negative attitudes towards women

2.6   Gender Sensitive Peace-building Integrated Framework

Lederach (1997) mentioned that given the nature of contemporary armed conflict, peace-building faces four main challenges. First, it must transform the international culture which accepts and promotes the global sale of weapons. Second, peace-building approaches must take a very long-term view in order to build enduring peace. Third, peace-building must take a broader, more comprehensive view of the people and contexts which produce conflict. Finally, we must focus on preventing minor conflicts from escalating into open warfare.

Lederach's Integrated Framework for Peace-building aims to develop comprehensive, integrative and strategic approach to the transformation of conflict through two sets of lenses. In order to do that, he created a matrix which combined a horizontal time axis with vertical axis of levels of conflict based on the work of Maire Dugan. Lederach adopts researcher Maire Dugan's 'nested foci paradigm' for relating the immediate issues within a conflict to the larger systemic aspects. There are four levels or depths of issues: (1) the issue that sparks the initial fire of conflict; (2) the relationships that surround the issue; (3) the subsystem and the local structural issues of injustice; or (4) the system and the larger structural issues of injustice. We can view these levels of response as a series of nested ovals (illustrated in Figure 2 below). The smallest oval represents the level of the issue, or the problem. The issue lies within a larger oval of relationships. Relationships create the fabric of our daily experiences; when an issue arises it is tied to people and relationships. Relationships, however, are embedded within local institutions or organisations, which we can call sub-system, and larger institutions like our political systems. The gender element is part of the relationship, local sub-system, as well as the larger system of which the conflict over gender inequality exist.
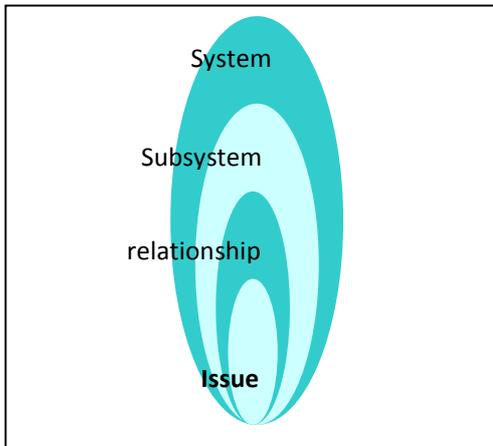
Figure 2 Maire Dugan's Nested Foci Diagram

Lederach later on explained the types of activities, as stated in the following figure in the horizontal axis of time frame of activity, required at each stage of the process (1997: 73-79). The first stage, crisis intervention, usually takes two to six months. The second stage, preparation and training, involves short-range planning that takes one to two years. The third stage, the design of social change will take five to ten years. The fourth stage, desired future, involves articulating and planning for social change over decades.
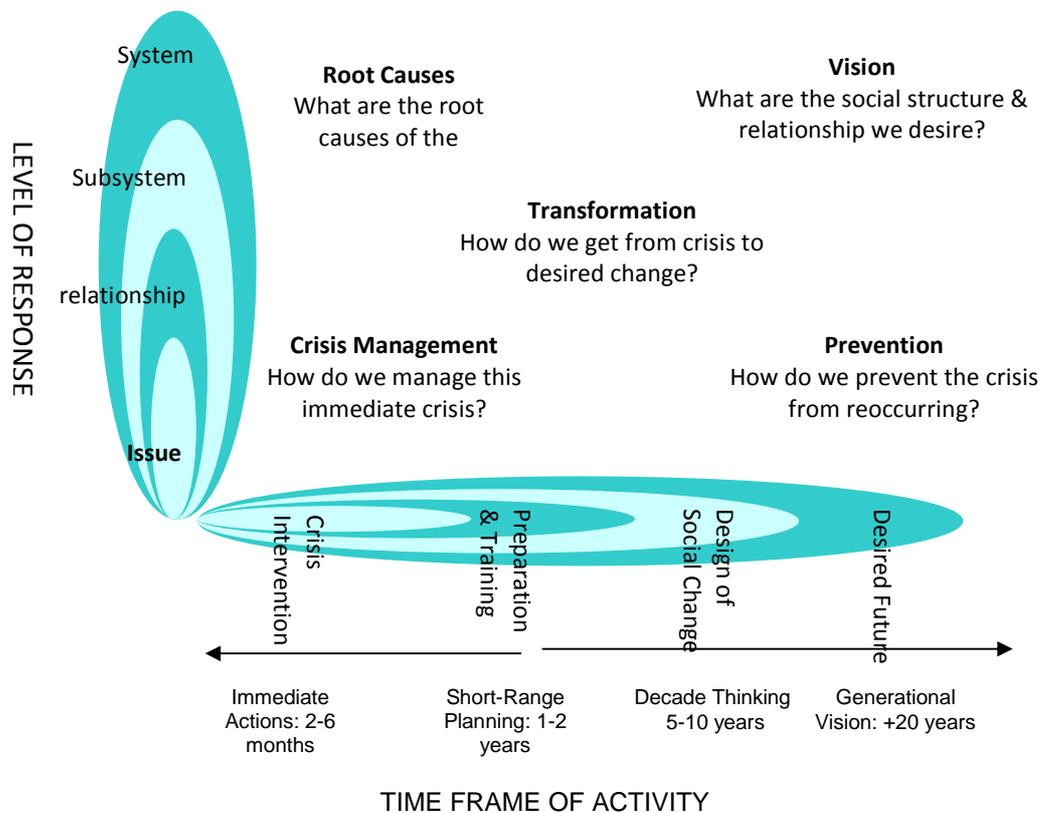
Figure 3 Lederach's Integrated Framework for Peace-building (Lederach, 1997: 80)

Thus, five points of action and thought are the root causes of conflict, crisis management, crisis prevention, vision of desired future, and transformation. These five points of action and thought are analyzed from an issue to system level of response, and within a time frame of crisis management to a desired future (Lederach, 1997: 80).

The Integrated Framework provides lenses to see how issues relate to relationships, subsystems and larger systems in a single, connected "nested" frame. Using the framework encourages peace-builders to design interventions that are level-specific, but also strategically impact the whole. But from a gender perspective, Lederach's framework has been criticised for ignoring gendered experiences and needs in the peace-building process (Pankhurst, 2000).

With the aim to develop a more gender sensitive version of Lederach's Integrated Framework for Peacebuilding, the writer tries to put more gender sensitive indicators in the Lederach's framework as it has some entry points for gender sensitive indicators. The gender sensitive indicators invite peace-builders to think strategically about how activities relate to achieving gender equality. They also both highlight the need for good analyses of the root causes and manifestations of various issues related to conflict. In the following figure, the writer tries to develop the gender-sensitive indicator based from 5 entry points of action on the root causes, crisis management, prevention, transformation, and vision for desired future as stated in the following figure:

Root Causes		
What are the roots causes of the crisis?		o What are the injustice and inequality existed in the community which recognized by the organisation? o Does the project acknowledge the gender inequality as part of the root causes?
Crisis Management		
How do we manage this immediate crisis?		o Does the project recognize the different roles of men and women in crisis management? o Does the project strategy consider how men and women can work together in crisis management?
Prevention		
How do we prevent the crisis from reoccurring?		o Does the project consider different roles between men and women to prevent conflict from reoccurring? o Does the project strategy consider how men and women can work together in conflict prevention?
Transformation		
How do we get from crisis to desired change?		o How does the project react on different roles, needs & opportunities between men and women to desired change? o Does the project aim at developing strategies for cooperation between men and women in conflict transformation?
Vision for Desired Future		
What are the social structure & relationship we desire?		o What are the social structure & relationship between men and women that the project desires? o Does the project aim at promoting gender equality to create 'positive peace'?

Figure 4 Gender Sensitive Indicators developed from Lederach's Integrated Framework for Peace-building

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Research Context

3.1.1 Area of Study

This study took place in West Aceh (Aceh Barat) district. This is one of 18 districts in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) Province, referred to in this study as Aceh. The areas in West Aceh focused on for this study are the 3 sub-districts Woyla, Bubon and Pante Cermin. Initially, research was to be done in 10 villages in Woyla and Bubon sub-district, but the writer found interest to Pante Cermin sub-district which had high intensity of conflict in the period of the Operational Military Zone –established from 1989 in Aceh until the Helsinki Peace Agreement was signed. It is also interesting to compare the difference between the women joined the Sunspirit project and those who did not since they are from Pante Cermin sub-district which has less NGOs and government intervention compared to other sub-districts in West Aceh.

The following figure shows the study area, including the villages visited during the field research. The map indicated Meulaboh as the capital of Aceh Barat.

3 sub-districts:
1. Woyla, in 2 villages:
   - Glee Siblah
   - Suak Trieng
2. Bubon, in 8 villages:
   - Peulanteu
   - Seunebok Trap
   - Kuala Pling
   - Alue Bakung
   - Cot Murong
   - Cot Lagan
3. Pante Cermin, in 4 villages:
   - Lhok Guci
   - Lhok Sari
   - Teladan
   - Berdikari
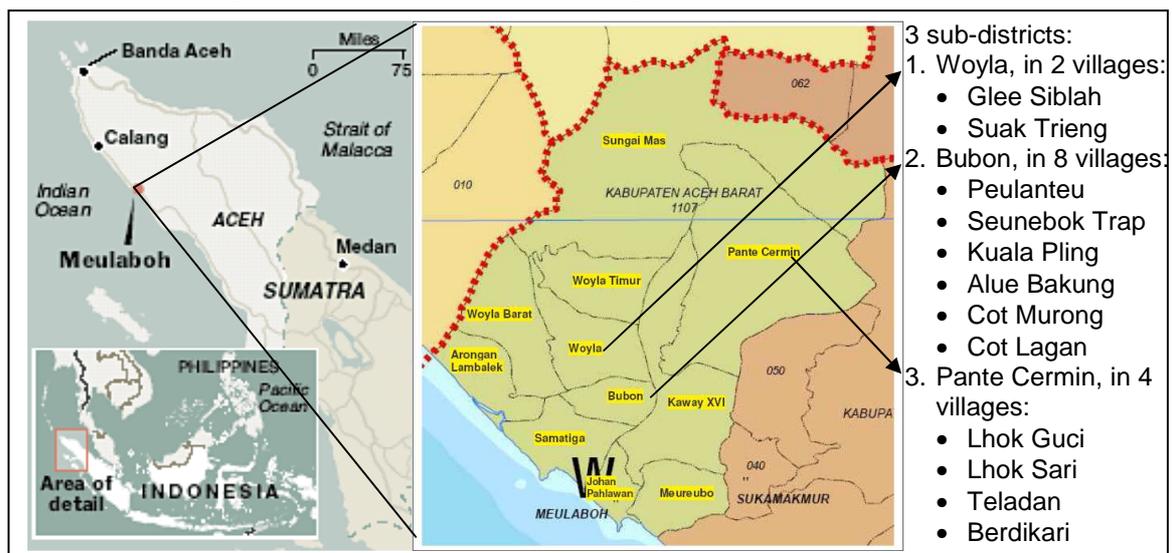
Figure 5 Aceh Barat Map - Area under Research

3.1.2 Organizational Context

The writer conducted research on a national NGO, Sunspirit, as this was the only NGO in West Aceh that focused on peace-building issues in their projects. They started their project in Aceh province since March 2005 and bring with them the vision 'justice and peace for all' on their programs on the post-tsunami and post-conflict setting. Their strategic working areas are: (1) Empowerment of Farmers through organic agriculture system; (2) women empowerment initiatives; (3) Capacity Building of Community Leaders and Promotion of Community Based Development Mechanism; and (4) Conflict Transformation and Peace Sustainability.

The number of Sunspirit staff in actively working in Aceh is 9 people consisted of 2 women and 7 men. They worked in 10 villages in Woyla and Bubon sub-districts. The exact figure of Sunspirit beneficiaries is unknown as they are lacking in administering their beneficiaries data. The data about *Sakinah* working group shows that Sunspirit has 113 women as their beneficiaries in women's groups. The details on the approach and strategy of their work will be given in the result finding as part of the data for the case study.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection

3.2.1 Strategy

Quantitative and qualitative, multi-method approaches were used, including, but not limited to, a survey, questionnaire, case study and literature review. The writer interviewed women and men from 14 villages about their conflict experience and women's roles during the conflict and also in the post-conflict setting. Interviews with key informants from local government were conducted to get more information or data from the government related to the conflict and post conflict situation.

Conflict experience involves a lot of sensitive issues that requires a certain level of intimacy and trust between the researcher and participants. The openness of qualitative inquiry facilitates the researcher and participants to develop trust and explore perceptions, feelings and experiences through dialogue. The use of open-ended questions and in-depth interviews with key informants facilitated the researcher and participants to be engaged in an informal, flexible and flowing conversation. The questionnaire provided the opportunity to collect information from a broad range of participants in a quick way.

The writer had the chance to observe Sunspirit work on a daily basis and joined their events. Sunspirit staffs were also interviewed as they know very well about the condition of the villages and their beneficiaries. In the women's groups meeting and peace education class organized by Sunspirit for their beneficiaries, the writer took the chance to distribute questionnaires and kindly asked them to be filled in.

The writer broadened the scope from 10 villages in Bubon and Woyla sub-district and added 4 villages of Pante Cermin sub-district since the areas experienced high conflict intensity during the conflict and these areas received less support from government and NGOs compared to other sub-districts in West Aceh. The idea behind this was the intention to compare the impact of peace-building projects by Sunspirit to the women beneficiaries in the villages where they work and the women condition in Pante Cermin where there is no intervention on peace-building.

Case Study. A case study was carried out through an investigation of Sunspirit, which works at the grassroots-level focusing on peace-building projects in the 10 villages in West Aceh. In-depth interviews with Sunspirit staff working on the peace-building project were conducted to gain deeper understanding of the benefits and challenges for integrating a gender perspective into NGO peace building strategies.

Desk Study. In the desk study, the writer explored the latest books, internet sites, and local reports found in and about Aceh Barat. The literature research verified the gender

role in the peace-building process and also some concepts, frameworks, or criticisms on gender and peace building.

3.2.2 Sample Selection and Size

In the survey a sample of 50 women and 18 men from 14 villages of conflict affected areas in West Aceh (Aceh Barat) were interviewed. Added as key informants outside the villagers category such as government officers, Sunspirit staffs, NGO workers, counsellor for women and child abuse, women and peace activists were also 5 women and 10 men. The list of key informants is in the annex 1.

Given the knowledge of the area and also advise from Sunspirit staff a purposive sample are made based on the 7 major categories of women: as victims, ex-combatants, peace-activist in the non governmental sector, women in formal peace politics, as coping and surviving actors, as household heads, and women and (in)formal employment opportunities. The researcher also used the information from the women or men interviewed to contact the other potential interviewee.

In order to know the impact of Sunspirit projects to the women beneficiaries, the researcher used questionnaire which was distributed at the Sunspirit women's groups meeting and received 54 respondents.

3.2.3 Data Collection

The main data collection methods for this study were carried out using a qualitative approach with a special emphasis on the utilization of in-depth interviews with key informants and questionnaire. Interviews were conducted either in groups or individually and were tape-recorded depending upon the willingness of the participants and the sensitivity of the topics being discussed. The excerpts of the interview were typed as part of the documentation of this research. The questionnaire received 54 respondents which all are women come from 10 villages in Bubon and Woyla sub-districts under the Sunpirit project. The questionnaire and the interview checklists can be found in the annexes 2 & 3.

The key informant interviews were mainly aimed at gaining participants' values, opinions and attitude towards women's peace-building programs and were designed to cover a set range of themes including the impact of conflict on women, women's roles and experiences of conflict, impact of existing program interventions by Sunspirit to the women beneficiaries and recommendations to increase women's participation in peace-building.

3.2.4 Sources of Data

The study is based on the experiences and opinions of a small number of the population of men and women in the conflict-affected villages near to the jungle, trans-migrants (Javanese population in Aceh), women activists, peace activists and local government officers.

The numbers of conflict victims of West Aceh from BRA (Aceh Reintegration Bureau) was provided by the Bubon sub-district secretary. Other data related to the general situation of West Aceh were accessed from BPS (Statistic Centre Bureau). The data from the government about the number of the victims of the conflict is collected but unfortunately it is not gender segregated.

Sunspirit provided data related to its logframe, program guidelines, and the progress reports that are used to analyze the organization.

The secondary data are accessed from reports from NGOs and government found in and about Aceh Barat while present there.

3.2.5 Accessing the Data

The researcher was accompanied by Sunspirit field staff in 10 villages where Sunspirit implement their project. In the other 4 villages, the researcher was accompanied by a voluntarily woman activist who lived in one of the villages in Pante Cermin sub-district which also made it easier to talk with respondents on sensitive issues of their conflict experience. The openness of qualitative inquiry facilitates the researcher and participants to develop trust and explore perceptions, feelings and experiences through dialogue. The visits to several NGOs are also conducted to gain some data or reports related to the women issues in Aceh Barat.

3.2.6 Data Analysis

Data from surveys and interviews were analysed to explore the significance of gender roles and relationship in the peace building process in the conflict affected areas in Aceh Barat district and the benefits and challenges for integrating a gender perspective into NGO peace building strategies.

3.3   Research Framework
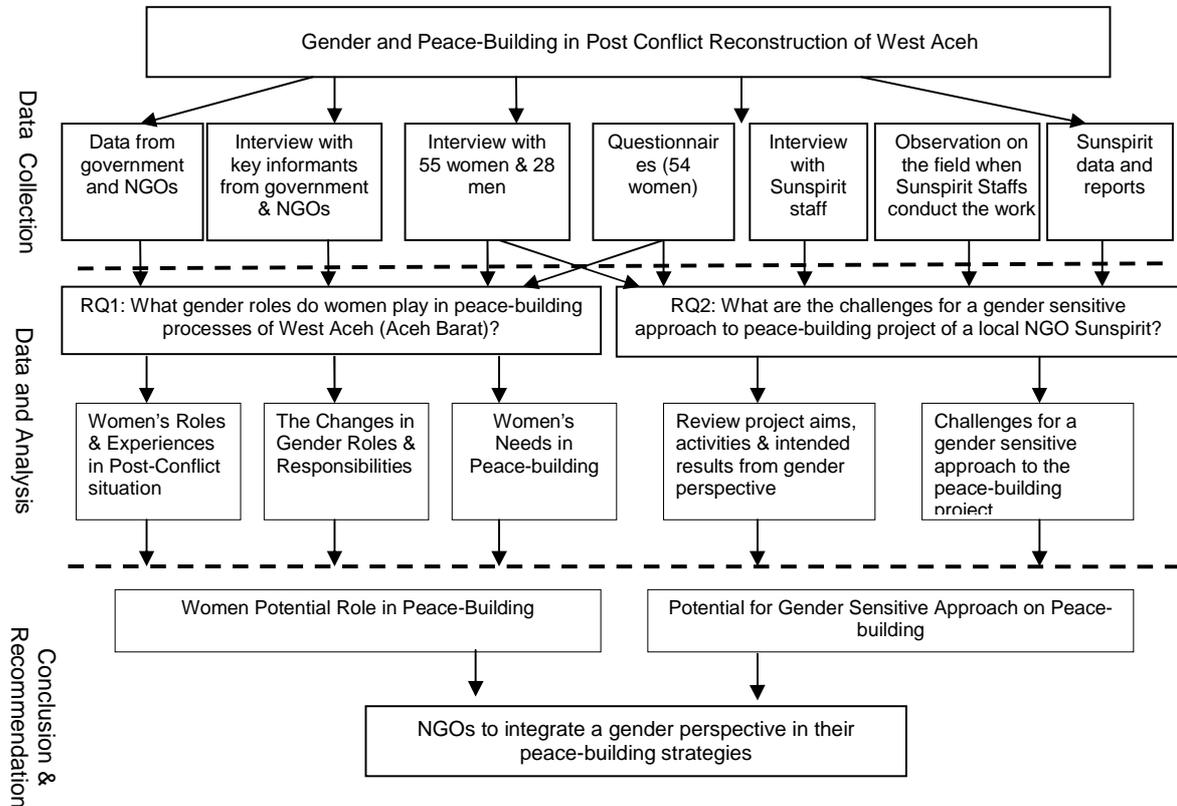
Figure 6 Research Framework

3.4   Limitations of the Study

This study was restricted the research to 4 weeks in the field. The tight schedule prevented further study that may have added more in-depth observation on women's roles and experience in the post conflict setting. In 2 interviews in Pante Cermin sub-district, the women could not talk in national language and thus a translation for the local language (Acehnese) was conducted by another local woman. Many Acehnese women are not used to talking in the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. In this case, I asked them to speak in their local language and my knowledge of Acehnese has been able to grasp what they talked about. I confirmed if my understanding was correct by retelling what the interviewee said in Bahasa Indonesia and was understood by them. This hindrance has somehow contributed to the interviewee's reluctance to talk about some sensitive issues in their conflict experience.

This study mainly uses a qualitative approach and it falls short with quantitative data as this reflects the lack of official data disaggregated by gender, and as a result, the study is based on the experiences and opinions of a small number of the population of men and women in the conflict-affected areas in West Aceh. Other people or organizations

might have different opinions, perspectives and experiences, so that the result of this study cannot be easily generalized to the whole of Aceh since it focused mainly on West Aceh. The questionnaire distributed had to be simplified as most of the respondents have a primary education level and often find it hard with writing their opinion in open question formatting.

Chapter Four: Results Finding

The following sections will look at the findings from the field research conducted in Aceh Barat on the role of women in peace-building and the potential for a gender sensitive approach in the peace-building project as a case study of a local NGO, Sunspirit. It is necessary to know how women experience conflict considering their different roles in the society as victims, combatants, peace activists, workers, heads of household, and the changing in the gender roles and experience as an impact of the conflict. Also, it is also vital to understand women's needs in the peace-building seen from the role women have in order to know their potential in the peace-building process. The findings on peace-building strategies by the NGO Sunspirit, from a gender perspective, will also be presented in the last section in order to gauge the potential for a gender sensitive approach in the peace-building project.

4.1   Women's Roles and Experiences in Post-Conflict Situation

In the shadow of their traumatic experiences such as rape, torture, and anguish over the conflict, women deal with the burden of life to continue their lives with domestic work and to earn income to support the family. Some women have also faced domestic violence and violations against their rights in the post conflict situation. But to see women as mere victims will overlook the fact that women have played important roles and made significant contributions during and after conflict in formal and informal peace processes. The following section will discuss more details specifically about the Acehnese women's experience as victims and as actors playing a variety of roles in the conflict and post conflict situation.

4.1.1 Women as Victims

The following figure provides information about the conflict victims in Aceh Barat identified by the Aceh Reintegration Bureau (BRA) to receive the funding from the BRA in grants to start their livelihood and also build houses for those whose houses were burnt:
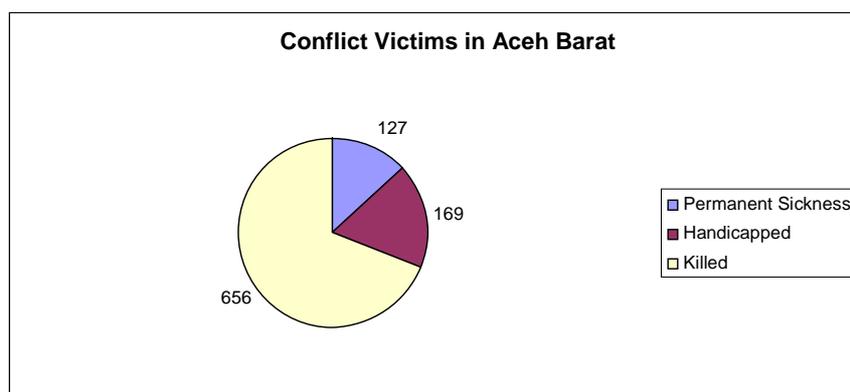
Figure 7 Conflict Victims in Aceh Barat
Source: BRA, 2008
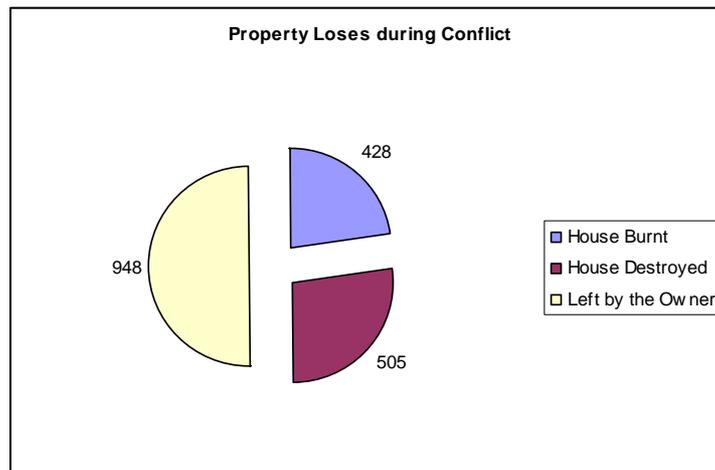
Figure 8 Property Loses during Conflict
Source: BRA, 2008

This data is not gender-segregated and it was difficult to find out how many men and women were killed, handicapped and or fallen sick as a result of the conflict.

According to Kontras (The Commission for People Disappeared and Victims of Violence), during Aceh Military Operational Zone from 1989 till the end of 2004, the violence conducted by the military in Aceh had specific purposes. Firstly the violence serves as a weapon of terror or forms of intimidation. Secondly violence functioned as a kind of subjection over the enemy. Kontras Aceh presents the data about violence against women occurring in 2004 as follows:
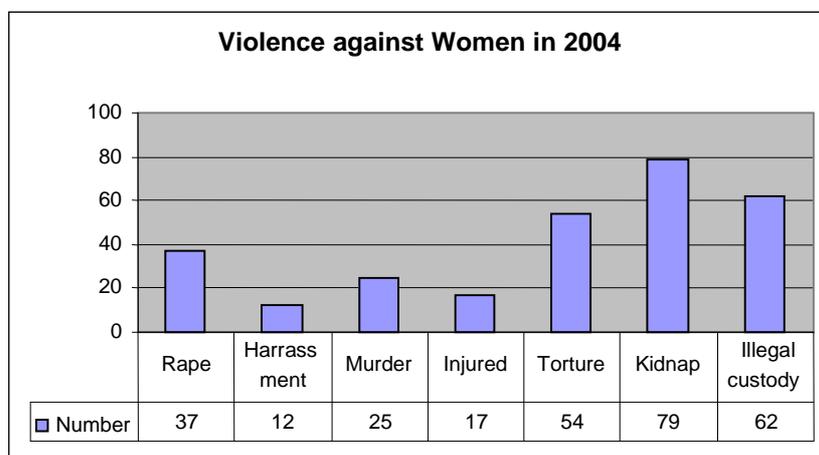
Figure 9 Violence against Women in 2004
Source: Kontras, 2004

In the qualitative interview, the writer tries to tabulate the incidence of violence experienced by the respondents which resulted in the following table:

Table 3 Traumatic Events Experienced by Respondents

Traumatic Events	Men (n=28)	Women (n=55)
Forced evacuation/ displacement experience	6	18
Beating to the body	15	3
Attacked by knife or gun	2	0
Tortured	3	0
Witnessed physical punishment	20	32
Humiliated or shamed in public	5	7
Rape	0	0
Sexual assault	0	1
Spouse killed	1	1
Spouse disappeared, kidnapped	0	1
Family member or friend killed	12	18
Family member or friend disappeared	2	5
Kidnapped	1	0
Captured, held by TNI/POLRI or GAM	4	0
Forced separation from family	2	1
Confiscation, destruction of property	6	18
Extortion, robbery	6	18
Forced to give food, shelter to TNI or GAM	18	44
Forced to fight against TNI or GAM	2	0
Punished for not fighting against TNI or GAM	1	0
Forced to search for corpses	0	1
Forced to search for GAM member in forest	0	1
Lack of shelter because of conflict	6	18
Lack of food, water because of conflict	19	49
Sick, lack of access to health care	13	24

Sexual Violence

Male interviewee no. 73 mentioned that the sexual violence against women is part of the strategy to weaken GAM's movement. Women in Aceh are considered to bring and maintain honour to the family and it is harmful for men to know women were raped or disgraced. This kind of action physically and psychologically destroyed the women and served as shock therapy for the men. It was meant to weaken the struggle as often the men were forced to betray their GAM group when the military took their wife and children hostage.

Abuse on the Name of Syariah[1]

Source: Binsar Bakkara (photographer) posted at www.lightstalkers.org/binsarbakkara

Canings have become public spectacles that turn to a public humiliation. Men are caned standing; women are seated, and pregnant women can only be caned two months after giving birth. A female interviewee mentioned: "the punishment has a wide impact, not only on the offender but also on other family members." UNFPA (2005) report on *Gender-Based Violence in Aceh, Indonesia* stated: "Strict interpretation and application of Syariah (Islamic Law) places restrictions on women's dress and behaviour. Women who break Syariah codes are stigmatized and some have been the objects of harassment and physical violence perpetrated by the police, local authorities and some religious groups."

Lily Zakiyah Munir (2003) in *Islam, Gender and Formal Syariah in Indonesia* mentioned that many people took the enforcement of Islamic law into their own hands. Sweepings and inspections to find women not wearing *jilbab* (Moslem veil) were carried out by Islamic student groups, university students, female police officers and unknown armed groups. Every male or 'person of power' felt that they had the right to judge women. During these inspections, women were subjected to various forms of violence. Some had their heads shaved, others were beaten or forced to march in public, pelted with tomatoes or eggs in the market, yelled at if women did not cover their heads or were considered breaking the *Syariah*.

In several informal talks, women complained that they are disproportionately the targets of WH raids, with far more operations against them for not wearing *jilbab* than against men for not attending Friday prayer.

Four women interviewed stressed that Syariah law is not necessarily bad but it allows many interpretations and judgments are not always fair. Women said that they feel people are not equal in front of the law and that they have experiences and examples that support this fear (CMI, 2006: 20).

Female interviewee no. 70 mentioned that in Aceh, religious leaders have a really important position but since many of the religious leaders are men, their view on the relationship of women and men are not sensitive to women. This leads to gender bias.

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[1] Islamic law (Syariah) is based from four fundamental principles: 1) The Quran, 2) Hadith (Muhammad's behaviour, practices, sayings and values), 3) Ijma' (consensus of the ulama or religious leaders), and 4) Qiyas (analogy, e.g. 'if we were to accept this, then...'). In implementation, it deals with punishment or caning to the Moslem commit on *maisir* (gambling), *khalwat* (adultery), *khamar* (the consumption of alcoholic beverages) and on personal dress (veiling).

The religious leaders often interpret scriptures from the Koran dealing with the relationship between men and women with such views and in such ways that bring more benefits to themselves as men. Thus, the reason of women being a target group for *Syariah* implementation is that women are seen as a symbol of power for which men feel a need to control in order to secure their own position of authority. It is a wrong interpretation of *Syariah* which often leads to violence against women.

Forced Marriages

Forced marriage due to the 'khalwat' (illicit relations) in *Syariah* Law is also happened. When a couple is found in a closed room they could be accused of committing illicit relations before marriage and thus the rule to be married on *Syariah* will apply. Samsidar, who heads a subcommittee of the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan), stated in the Jakarta Post newspaper (Bacalla, 11/24/2005) that young women were being pressured to marry males staying in the same tents or barracks. Such marriages have become an "informal rule" as it is to mitigate the illicit relations before marriage or 'prevent couples from committing sins' (UNFPA, 2005: 8). One male and three female interviewees added that forced marriage often conducted by the parents to their daughter due to the financial problem in the household.

Relationship with TNI (military)

Interview with two sources of key informants reveal the fact that there are women who are victimized because of their relationship with TNI. These women expect that by having a relationship with a TNI officer, they'll be secure and also will attain a better future as it will increase their social status and also solve their financial problem. But the relationships rarely end with marriages. One case revealed that the TNI officer sent a written message: "*Selamat tinggal Lonthe Aceh*" which means "goodbye, Acehnese whore" when they left Aceh after the duty.

Sex Worker

The interview with a counsellor on violence against women and child abuse reveals that many sex workers are victims of the conflict who turned to prostitution after their houses were burnt or their parents killed. Some of those who turn to prostitution are rape victims whereas others are girls who were abandoned by TNI officers after having finished their duties in Aceh.

The Indonesian Armed Forces Operational Commander, Major General Bambang Darmono, has stated that he will 'drive out sex workers from Aceh'. The sex worker has been ordered out, put into custody by the police, and many religious leaders have publicly stated that sex workers 'sow the seeds of filth'. This attitude blames the victims—the women—whom have turned to sex work to survive and are only doing it because there are men who purchase their trade.

Domestic Violence

Female interviewee no. 70 as the Head of Women Empowerment Bureau of Aceh Barat said that since actually the cases identified or reported as domestic violence is much less than the true numbers of cases for many are still undetected, it is a great difficulty to get an exact number of violence against women. She also adds that this problem is considered as a private issue many women of these undetected cases are exposed to the risk to become victimised over and over again. The fact that the culprit is usually a family member makes it difficult for women to not be traumatized since there is the

constant fear that domestic violence will reoccur. The data obtained from Biro PP (Women Empowerment Bureau) of Aceh Barat showed increasing numbers of reported domestic violence since 2005 to 2008 is presented in the following figure:
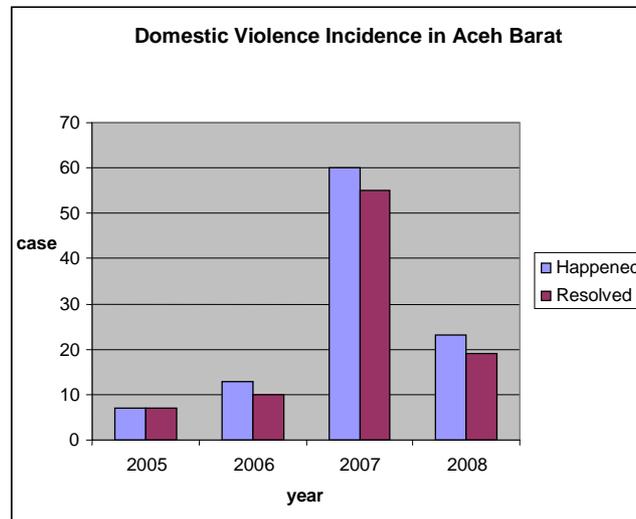
Figure 10 Domestic Violence Incidence in Aceh Barat 2005 – 2008
Source: Women Empowerment and Family Welfare Department, Aceh Barat

Based on the assumption given by the head of Women Empowerment Bureau, the numbers of reported domestic violence in 2007 is highest due to the intense campaigns done by the Women Empowerment and Family Welfare Department of Aceh Barat while the decreasing numbers of reported incidence in 2008 might be caused of budget constraints of this department to conduct seminars and campaigns on gender, and counselling supports for the domestic violence victims.

Female interviewee no. 77 speaking as the Head of Women Empowerment and Family Welfare Department presented her argument that the socialization of the law number 23 passed in 2004 regarding the Domestic Violence (PDKRT) is not maximal. Based on the experience in the field, there are many community members and even government officials who do not know that the law exists. Since 2006, Health Department, Police, and Biro PP (Women Empowerment Bureau), with the support from UNICEF and UNFPA, and other international organizations such as Save the Children and IRC has handled the problem of violence against women and children by building a public hospital-based One Stop Service Centre (PPT) in Banda Aceh. But this service is only available in Banda Aceh or at the provincial level. The victims from other districts in Aceh including Aceh Barat have to travel far away to the 'shelter house for women'.

4.1.2 Women as Ex-combatants

A lullaby song for daughter:
> "Buai - buai kekasih hati, biji sawi dalam kaca, lekaslah pulang remaja
> kemala putri, pengganti ayah melawan Belanda"

Translated:
> "Lullaby – lullaby sweet heart, a mustard seed in a glass, please come home soon
> young daughter, to substitute your father to fight against the Dutch"

The quotation above is a lyric of a poem, which is often sung by a mother while swinging the baby in the swing. The lyrics described how an Acehnese child is educated with the spirit of struggle. A key informant, who is a female ex-combatant, mentioned that the spirit of struggle toward enemies has been planted in the soul of the Acehnese since birth. In the history of Aceh, it is stated that in the struggle the role of men and women are the same. Therefore, the bravery of Acehnese women became a reality. Aceh has hosted some famous heroines such as Cut Nyak Dhien, Cut Meutia, Keumalahayati and others who had sacrificed their soul and body for defending their country from the Dutch colony.

Female interviewee no. 77 also shared the information that women should not be seen as weak actors in conflicts:

> "In some occasions the women also helped the movement by offering protection to their family or relatives who joined GAM by providing a place to shelter in their house, they sent food and medicines when they left for farming or work in the jungle, and acted as informants on TNI plans."

Four male interviewees and two female interviewees defined ex-combatant women as *Inong Balee*[2] only for women who held guns and who had fought for GAM, while other five female interviewees also defined that ex-combatant women were also the ones who provided logistical support and who had also followed their husband into the jungle. Female interviewee no. 44 admitted being a female ex-combatant woman as she followed her husband into the jungle for 5 years. She confirmed that she helped by supplying medicines, taking care of logistics and also by providing moral support through prayer.

Strangely, in the first-stage list of compensation receivers for former GAM combatants, there was not a single woman among the 3000 names listed, despite the fact that since 2000 photos and information about troops from GAM's women's wing (*Inong Balee*) have frequently been used in media campaigns to show women's role in GAM's struggle (Aguswandi & Large, 2008: 71). It is mentioned by World Bank (2006) that approximately 4% of armed GAM returnees are women of whom the majority under 25 years of age.

Three female interviewees, however, did express that in some families and communities, ex-combatant women face discrimination. Only one female interviewee signalled that reintegration into communities was harder for women than men. Another male interviewee said that both male and female ex-combatants were well received in their communities, often as heroes.

4.1.3 Women for Peace in the Non Governmental Sector

Female interviewee no.69 as the head of Interpeace Organization and the winner of the Aceh Peace Award in the promotion category and also part of the Presidium member of All Acehnese Women Congress (*Duek Pakat Inong Aceh I and II)* told that Acehnese women have been actively involved in the Aceh Peace process. The DPIA I (First All Acehnese Women Congress) was held in February 2000 where 468 women from all over Aceh and beyond participated in the congress, and spelled out a total of 22 recommendations covering issues on economy, politics, *Syariah* Law, and peace. The

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[2] The term used to call the female combatant. GAM trained *Inong Balee* how to use a gun and how to attack the Indonesian military. *Inong Balee* live in villages, mountain areas, and jungle.

DPIA II (2nd All Acehnese Women Congress) on June 16 -19 2005, was attended by also more than 400 women. Held in the wake of the tsunami, the Congress provided a platform from which Acehnese women emphasized on the importance of women's involvement in the decision-making in the recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction process of Aceh.

Suraiya Kamaruzzaman mentioned in her article in Accord (Aguswandi & Large, 2008: 70) the following:

> "Acehnese women played strategic roles, generated bright ideas and were able to find unique ways to survive. They were able to become agents for change, performing negotiations between the two parties involved in the conflict or engaging in efforts to save their husbands, sons or their community."

The fact that women played a role as negotiator for efforts to save their husbands and sons was also stated by female interviewee no. 77.

Male interviewee no.71 confirmed information given by six interviewed women that women played an important role in the reintegration process:

> "The moment after the tsunami before the peace agreement was signed, the government asked many housewives to pick up their husband and sons who became combatants from the jungle. The women themselves had their initiative to support this idea. It was agreed that TNI would not be with them and let the women find their family in the jungle. Around 50% of women succeeded to bring their family's back".

4.1.4 Women in Formal Peace Politics

Aceh Barat was the only district that had one female candidate for *Bupati* (head of district) and one female candidate for vice *Bupati* in the local election 2006. An interview with the candidate of vice *Bupati* revealed the external and internal challenges women face in politics (see section 4.3.6).

The following figure shows the representation of women in formal political institutions within the government:
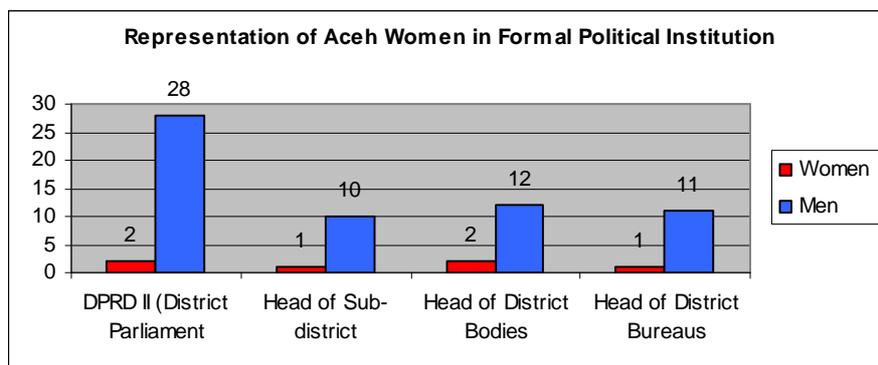
Figure 11 Representation of Aceh Women in Formal Political Institution
Source: BPS, 2008

Female interviewee no. 77 said:

> "Several women in Aceh Barat start to sit in the decision making position such as the head of marine department, the head of sub-district, district hospital director and the head of women empowerment department. The advantage of having women in the leadership position is that their decisions often touch and consider women and children's needs. Their approach to the community is also less bureaucratic, friendly and more sympathetic."

Two women interviewed described that in Aceh today most men and women think that it is not 'a woman's business' to participate in discussions and decision making on issues related to politics. Now that *Syariah* law is included in the draft version of the law, women and women's organisations are worried that it will seriously limit the freedom of women. Acehnese women don't want to criticise *Syariah* law in public as they are afraid that they would be seen as disrespectful to the Islam but they also feel that people are not equal in front of the *Syariah* law. Four women interviewed mentioned that *Syariah* law is not necessarily bad but it allows many interpretations stated about their fear that religious leaders can make unpredictable judgments on women and since many people follow what religious leaders said, it will create problems to women.

There were only two women participated in the process of drafting the Law on Governance of Aceh which had mostly dealt with *Syariah* Law. The government bodies focusing conflict victims namely BRA (Aceh Reintegration Board) and KPA (Aceh Transition Committee) only have a few female representatives. Of the 43 members of the (BRA), only three are women. The (KPA), the organization for ex-GAM members, does not have a single woman in a strategic position in its decision-making and policy group.

4.1.5 Women as Coping and Surviving Actors

The data from the BPS (2008) shows a significant decrease of 61% on the amount of trans-migrants due to forced refuge during the conflict time. During the transmigration program between 1982 and 1993 there were 14,912 people whom transmigrated to Aceh Barat whereas only 5,871 (39%) people stayed after the conflict. Many of the trans-migrants chose to move or transmigrated to other places, leaving their property and starting a new life in a place which they considered to be safe and promising.

Female interviewee no.15 said about her experience in working voluntarily for the Indonesian Red Cross to assist the government and PMI (Indonesian Red Cross) to deliver material and health services to the IDPs and returnees where her family and relatives were also in need. It provided her with the opportunities to earn additional money received from the organisation. In addition, it also provided her with the opportunity to learn how to survive in extreme circumstances from the knowledge, practice and experience she gained from working directly with the community and PMI.

Fourteen interviewed women especially from Pante Cermin sub-district who were experiencing life in IDP camps since they were forced to evacuate from their houses during the conflict shared about how they had come to the decision to return to their places of origin. The hard life of living in the camps, the concern about their children's education and the cultivated land, farms, houses and other properties which were left behind encouraged them to return to their homes. They encouraged husbands, children, other family members, and neighbours to return to their original place to rebuild their

social and economic life, and to rebuild infrastructures that had deteriorated due to the conflicts and displacement. Although they found that their houses were burnt and that all their belongings were gone, they decided to resettle and build their lives while staying with relatives or others in the village whose houses still could be occupied.

Twenty one interviewed women told that during the conflict they had to be the breadwinner for the family since the men were unavailable. The men either left to the jungle to join the war or those who stayed in the villages had very limited mobility as they were the target of violence from both TNI and/or GAM. The women often had to take long walks to travel to the forested land and took risks in returning to their place of origin to start cultivating their land and farms. They often had to deal with the risks of being stuck in the middle of sporadic shootings between TNI and GAM that often occurred in forest areas.

In twelve different interviews, women mentioned that women in the village regularly organized prayer sessions and *"Wirit"*— Koran reading— every Friday afternoon as a means of coping with their traumatic experiences since through this gathering they could talk freely abut women's issues. They also stated that they want to maintain peace and they do it by educating their children about the values taught by Islam not to engage in any violence and build peace in the community.

4.1.6 Women as Household Heads

Conflict has led to many women being widowed or separated, and therefore becoming the sole head of household. It is estimated that around 23% of women took up the task as head of household during the conflict period (Kamis and Mahdi, 2006). Eight widows interviewed live in very poor conditions, economically and physically. They used to cultivate their land with their husbands and earned income from agricultural work, but their land has been left unattended for so long and they have no money to start the agriculture work in their land. Some of them earned money from petty trading, food production and selling vegetables in traditional markets near to their villages. One widow interviewed earned money as daily paid labourer in the palm-oil plantation. She earned around IDR 15,000 – 35,000/ day (around 2 – 3 €/ day), and asserts that this is not enough to cover all the daily basic needs since she has to enrol the children to school. Their busy activities do not really allow them to engage in more social activities compared to other women as they have to deal with income generation activities and taking care of families. Most of them live in very small houses, normally shared with more than two families in their extended family.

The women in Pante Cermin sub-districts, who received less governmental and NGOs support (especially in livelihood projects), expressed their need for income generating assistance such as micro-credits, materials and trainings to improve their skills that allows income generation. If female-headed households from Pante Cermin are compared with those in Bubon and Woyla sub-districts then a difference is seen. Eighteen female interviewees from Woyla and Bubon sub-districts said that Sunspirit conducted trainings, assisted to organize *Sakinah* women working groups and supplied some capital so that materials and tools for income generation could be purchased and be collectively used.

4.1.7 Women and (In)Formal Employment Opportunities

According to the Statistic Centre Bureau (BPS, 2008), the total working age[3] population of Aceh Barat is estimated at around 111.565 and about 63.48% are in the formal employment[4]. The situation of Acehnese men and women with regards to their position in and access to the labour market is very different. BPS statistics exposed a clear picture of women's difficulties in accessing the formal employment and more so, their difficulties in engaging in decent work[5]. BPS 2008 statistics showed a low participation rate for women in the formal employment. Overall, only around 44% of all women of working age participated in the labour force. In comparison, 83% of all men of working age participated in the labour force. For men, labour force participation increased much more than for women whose participation only increased with a few percentage points. The biggest difference between men's and women's participation rates exists in the age group 25-55 where the difference is almost 47% as presented in the following figure:
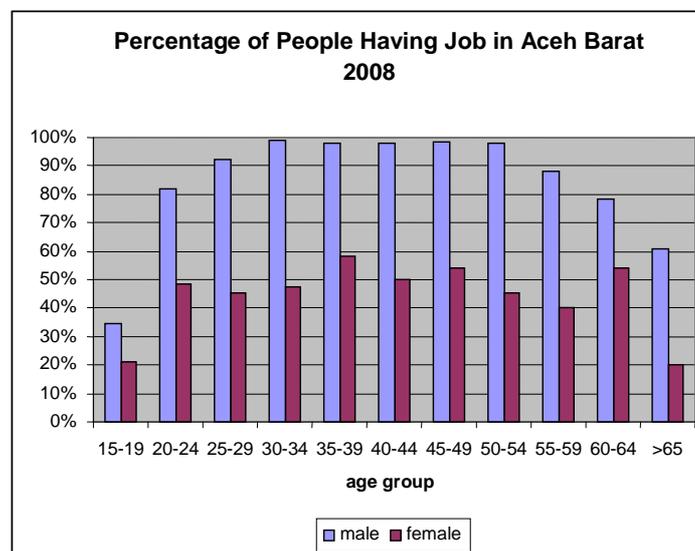
Figure 12 Percentage of People Having Job in Aceh Barat
Source: BPS, 2008

The following figure shows the difference in women's livelihood in the conflict and post-conflict time which shows that women engage in more livelihood activities compared to during the conflict:

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[3] Persons between 15 and 65 years old are considered of working age
[4] Formal employment here means employment sector where people work to receive a regular wage, while the informal employment means where people do not receive a regular wage
[5] Decent work is defined as productive work which generates an adequate income, with adequate social protection and in which rights are protected.
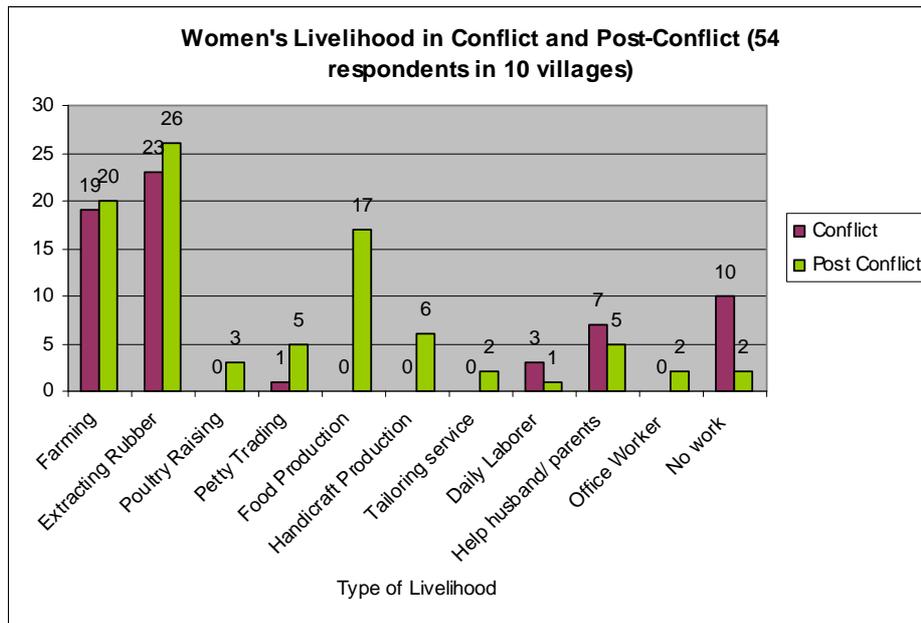
Figure 13 Women's Livelihood in Conflict & Post-Conflict Situation
Source: Questionnaire

The above figure also shows that women mostly deal with the informal employment.

4.2 The Changes in the Gender Roles and Relationships

Suraiya Kamaruzzaman stated in *Accord* (Aguswandi & Large, 2008: 70):
> "When insecurity forced men to flee their villages women became the main breadwinners and decision-makers and took over most of the social roles played by men in their community life. In addition they worked together to clean and repaint the *meunasah* (village mosque), they went to the fields or gathered firewood. They took care of the children and financed their education. They hid boys being hunted because of their fathers' and uncles' political choices and sometimes they had to carry them home and bury their dead bodies."

4.2.1 Changes in the Reproductive Role

With regards to the changing in the reproductive role, fifteen women interviewed mentioned that it is important for them to educate their children about the value of peace so that the peace will prevail in Aceh. Female interviewee no. 50 stated almost the same thing with many women interviewed of what they believe a mother should do in educating their children:
> "It is important to teach our children about peace. We don't want them to have the feeling of revenge towards the death of their father or relatives. To promote peace in our family, we teach our children to pray *sholat* 5 times a day, read the Qur'an, not to quarrel with the others, respect the older, etc. In

the community, we join the social activities in the community such as communal work in cleaning the village, *Yasin* (Qur'an reading), PKK (Family welfare Program) and Posyandu (Integrated Service for Women and Children). I also encourage my children to join social activities like what I do now."

4.2.2 Changes in the Productive Role

During the Conflict

Most of the villagers' livelihoods in the remote area are situated in the jungle. The settlement area is separated from their farming field. Villagers grow their crops in the jungle or fields bordering the jungle nearby their village. As GAM mostly resided inside the jungle, the TNI often conducted the sweeps around the jungle and often caught the people there and only freed them if they showed their red-and-white ID Card[6]. But often that during the interrogation, the TNI exercised violence and this had caused fear from men to conduct their role as breadwinner of the family. As a consequence, the family had to rely on women's ability to generate income. Twenty one interviewed women confirmed the fact that they were the ones who went out to find food and cultivate the land. Male interviewee no.71 stated like this:

"During the conflict, the women went out more compared to the men due to the security condition which often target men. The role of women was mostly to provide food for their family."

Twenty nine interviews revealed the fact that the women have to deal with the risks as the sporadic shootings happened in the jungle between GAM and TNI. TNI often asked the Keuchik of the village to inform the women of the village about the date of the military operation to mitigate the women going to the forested land during the risky situation but sometimes the fire-fights happened as TNI reacted immediately when they suspect of any movement in the jungle. Still, if the fire-fights happened near to the place where they worked, they could not do anything but hide in the safest place or lay down on the ground until the shooting finished. The women admitted of being very fearful whenever leaving out from the house. In fact, they also had to bring with them the red-and-white ID card so they can be released every time the military conducted checks.

In the Post Conflict

Male interviewee no. 71, a government officer at sub-district level, mentioned that women got more active in earning income since the conflict. They deal with multiple livelihoods. The problem is that one of the viable work options of most of the women, extracting rubber, now gives a lower income as the price has decreased 50% compared to the price during the conflict. He also added:

"In comparison, we find men still become dependent to funding supports and are considered lazy. Although I am also an Acehnese man, somehow I have to admit that Acehnese men are lazy to cultivate their land. They hang out in the traditional coffee shop[7] during working hours. They developed the

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[6] The red-and-white (Indonesian flag's colours) ID card is only applied in Aceh, not in other parts of Indonesia, indicating that the holder is pro-Indonesian government and not a member of GAM (Freedom Aceh Movement).

[7] Unlike the other part of Indonesia where warung kopi are common for men and women hang out place, In Aceh warung kopi (village coffee shops) become an exclusively male hang out just like *meunasah* (village small mosques).

dependent mentality as a result of abundant NGOs assistances to people. They prefer to remain at home, at the village coffee shop and wait for the NGO worker come to assess their needs and might come again to provide any assistance for them".

4.2.3   Changes in the Community Management Role

The social activities were not really developed due to the threats from TNI since they would suspect that people developed plans to support GAM in providing food, medicines, logistics, money, etc. In several villages, women still gathered for *Wirit* or Qu'rán reading but they also mentioned that they were afraid when the fire-fights between TNI and GAM happened during the gathering. They worried about their family at home especially their children. TNI also often came to ask them about the activity that they had at that moment, but then TNI left if they found out that it was a women's gathering which was considered not a dangerous agenda in the community.

In the post-conflict situation, many sources mentioned that the women's gatherings Qur'an reading (*Yasin*), Posyandu (Integrated Service for Women and Children), and PKK (Family welfare Program) are the most common social gatherings.

Referring to the post-conflict situation, female interviewee no. 46 mentioned the following:
> "We feel better now. I can join women gatherings in the community such as Qur'an reading (*Yasin*), Posyandu, and PKK. I also see now that our social and cultural activities or dances start to develop as it was vacuumed during the conflict. We start our community gatherings and communal work to clean the village".

4.2.4   Changes in the Community Politics Role

Eight women interviewed mentioned also that politics are not the issue for women to tackle but at the same time they also realized that women should be involved or have the chance in the decision making. They realized that in the past Acehnese women such as Cut Nyak Dien, Keumalahayati, and Cut Mutia are the heroines of Aceh who played very important role in Aceh history against the Dutch and attained honourable places in the decision making position.

Talking about the leadership between men and women, female interviewee no. 70 said:
> "They often interpret what is written in the Qur'an on men and women relationship based on the view that gives more benefit to them as men. They often steers the verse Q.S. al-Nisa'/ 4:34 mentioning 'men is the leader for women' and interprets that as 'men has power over the women'. We should see this as men's function as the head of the household who should be able to give protection, bring money to home, give comfort to the family and handle household's issues wisely. If the roles and responsibilities as the head of the household are not conducted well, this verse can be taken out from men."

Many men and women interviewed believed that men should be the leader as it was stated in their religion. There are very few women in leadership positions in Aceh government, political parties or civil society (see section 4.1.4).

4.3 Women's Needs in the Peace-building

Female interviewee no. 15 said:
"We have many dreams. The only question now is when will they all come true?...
We need support, but we cannot wait, we need to move on. If we do not move on, we
will only fall further behind and our families need us now".

Female interviewee no. 16 said:
"Yes, the peace agreement was established already in 2005. But we will only feel the
'real' peace when we can feel safe and free to go to our farm, to work, and to travel."

4.3.1 Livelihood and Income Recovery

The following figure indicates that Aceh Barat district (Aceh Barat) is among the poor
districts in Aceh Province which also makes it more difficult for men and women to
regain their livelihood in the post conflict and post tsunami situation compared to other
districts in Aceh Province:

Figure 14 Aceh Map and Districts Poverty Level
Source, BPS, 2004

Male interviewee no. 73 stated his opinion on the loss of livelihood during the conflict
time:

"In most cases, there was a deliberate and systematic attempt to destroy
local economies that were seen by military forces as a strategic material
base for continued rebellion. That's why the devastating losses for the
villagers in these communities and their recovery might be the first prioritized
need identified by the people. "

In addition to this, male interviewee no. 78 said:

"Transitional assistance for the rehabilitating destroyed fields, capital inputs
for restarting small business, and livelihood training can all be seen as
peace-building interventions on their own. When people already settled with

their life, it is easier to enforce the peace-building idea into their mind to create sustainable peace in Aceh."

Female interviewee no. 74 who works in the local parliament mentioned that one of the reasons that discourage women's work in non-female occupations is vested in the discourse wherein women are perceived as essential for keeping moral/ religious values and the honour of the family. This statement is supported by a book of advice for Moslem young girls stating that girls between 10 and 19 years of age living under Syariah law in NAD province are advised to "restrain from the impact of foreign culture and to maintain an obedient character in life" (Raihan Putry Ali Muhammad, 2004).

The second reason mentioned that discourages women from engaging in productive work outside the house, centred around women's role as care givers. It is about the stigma and perception that women who work outside the house, cannot take care of their husband and children. From a young age, women and girls are socialized with the idea that the family is their most important thing.

In the questionnaire distributed in Sunspirit women's groups meeting, 18 women out of 54 respondents mentioned that they want to learn about how to set up the businesses and they are lacking business management skills and are therefore not confident to run a business. Another business woman mentioned her difficulties that business support services are unknown amongst most women entrepreneurs and the regulatory environment is unclear. Also, most women entrepreneurs are engaged in trade (which can be easily combined with family care responsibilities) and not so much in services or production. She also mentioned that women lack the vocational skills to engage in these types of businesses.

Low access to information on job opportunities is yet another challenge that Acehnese women face in finding their way to paid productive work. Women make less part of the public domain and seem to have more restricted social networks in comparison to men (Save the Children, 2006).

4.3.2 Security and Justice

Gender Based Violence
The needs on security and justice are reflected from the previous discussion on women as victims where they face physical, sexual and emotional violence.

With regards to the discussion about police who often referred in case of violence happening in the community, one woman interviewed has a trust and an image problem towards police: "I don't know about the police special units on domestic violence…Police used to ask many questions and will ask for money."

Among the other dimensions, "Strict interpretation and application of *Syariah* places restrictions on women's dress and behaviour. Women who break *Syariah* codes are stigmatized and some have been the objects of harassment and physical violence perpetrated by the police, local authorities and some religious groups" (UNFPA, 2005). This results on women's reluctances to report the gender based violence to police.

With regards to domestic violence female interviewee no.70 and 77 mentioned that this type of violence does not only belong to the economically poor and low educated people

but also the middle and even the high class people. Woman/ girls should not go out or have to get the consent from the head of the household, should provide proper services not only the nuclear but also to their extended family, full time services in household work are acceptable social norms, which is strictly imposed by the head of the family.

Ex-combatant women
The fact that women are not included in the list of compensation or funding for their reintegration from BRA and their difficulties in the reintegration (see section 4.1.2) have contributed to the difficulties in stimulating or guiding the ex-combatant efforts to rebuild their livelihood after the conflict.

Official Documents
Many people lost their proof of land, and asset ownership, marriage, birth and education following the burned houses, forced refuge and also the tsunami. Two women interviewed worried that loss of their school diplomas would deny them further education or future jobs.

4.3.3 Health

Psychosocial Need
In regards to the psychosocial need in the post-conflict time, female interviewee no. 75 stated her opinion:

> "Many women here suffer psychological problems such as difficulty to concentrate, no vision for their future, and people get angry easily or having a high temperament. The long years of conflict has caused psychological disorder. It is difficult for them to concentrate during discussions and lessons since they used to live in fear for many long years…They don't have vision for the future as they used to work to respond to daily and immediate needs. The other impact of conflict is the low coping of stress which makes them to get angry easily. The high temperament is caused from the accumulation of injustice that they had during the years of conflict. The domestic violence and child abuse is also caused by this problem."

From the questionnaire distributed to 54 women respondents from Bubon and Woyla sub-district shows that many women have still not yet recovered from the trauma of their conflict experience:
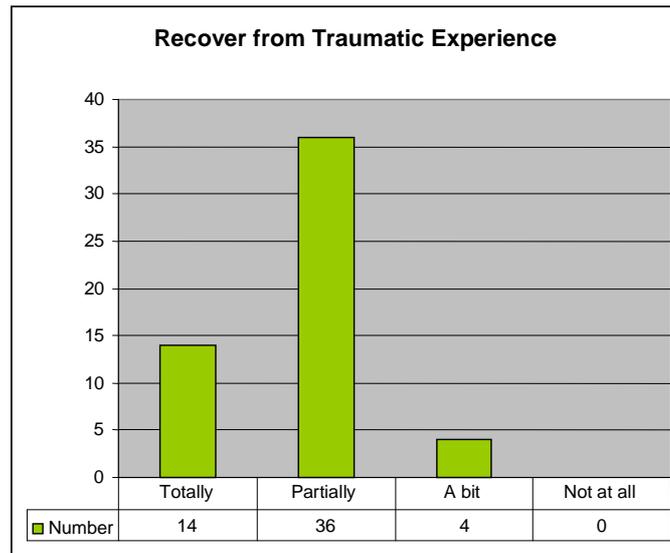
Figure 15 Recover from Traumatic Experience
Source: Questionnaire

Most of the women interviewed still feel traumatized due to conflict. The trauma is from various results such as finding your home to be destroyed, hearing of the death of a family member or friend, not knowing of what happened to family or friends, still seeing the perpetrators (GAM members) around, rejection by family or community which is experienced by some of the ex-combatants, experiencing assaults, experiencing robbery, violence toward women and children, changing of values within the community, etc. Interviewee no. 49 stated almost the same what many women interviewed:

> "The trauma that we have is the combination between trauma of conflict and tsunami disaster. The trauma from the tsunami can heal within two years but the trauma from the conflict we still feel it. This trauma still exists up to now as we still see the GAM members around us who committed violence or who asked food and money to us. I didn't really know how many people disappeared from this village but the incidences occurred. We still also fear when we see the TNI with their uniform. "

4.3.4 Education

The following figure is the percentage of male and female participation in formal education in Aceh Barat:
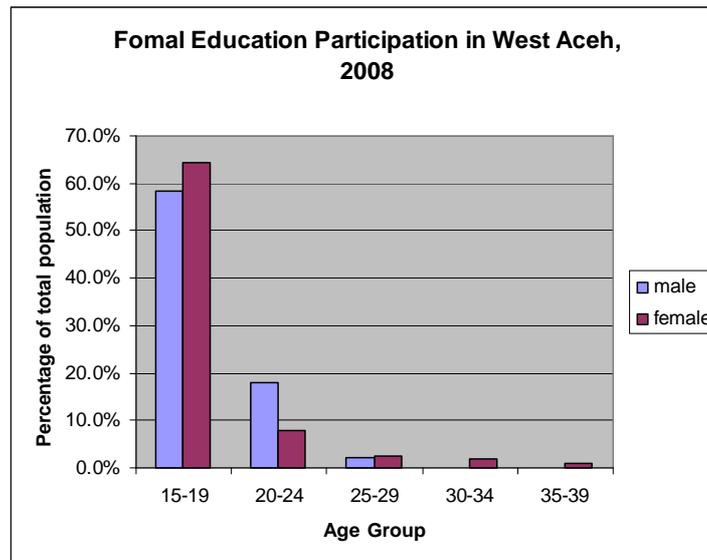
Figure 16 Formal Education Participation in Aceh Barat
Source: BPS, 2008

Female interviewee no. 54 talked about her sister which dropped out from school because of the danger involved when travelling to school due to sporadic shootings in which neither teacher nor student want to come to school. Also parents face difficulties to earn income during the conflict and cannot afford to send her sister to school. 3 male interviewees mentioned that they prefer boy's education to girls. The participants are of the opinion that providing higher education for girl's means of helping other. Because daughter is get married and serve their husband, while sons are the owner of family name.

Most of the questionnaire's respondents stated some of the reasons joining the women working groups is "to acquire skills and knowledge" and "to be able to educate their children better" as an evidence on the need of education for women.

4.3.5 Housing

BRA mostly builds houses especially for the conflict victims, while NGOs and BRR mostly build for the tsunami victims. The mission's small field sample evidenced two BRR houses in joint title and one in a widow's name. NGO and BRA houses were only under male title. When asked, two respondents, one male and one female in different locations they responded that the title is for men, evidencing a limited knowledge of marital property rights.

During the fieldwork in Aceh Barat, I witnessed that many big NGOs working on the reconstruction of houses for tsunami victims didn't consider the matrilocal system in which the men come to the house of the women and belong to the women's community. The women are disadvantaged since the NGOs and BRA facilitate to proceed the title deed under the men's title so the land and house property reconstructed which is previously belong to the women is changed to their husband's ownership.

4.3.6 Participation in Politics

Female interviewee no.69 who was the candidate of vice *Bupati* (vice head of district) in 2006 Aceh Barat local election mentioned the external and internal challenges women face in politics which need to be tackled together by men and women if women are to be given chance to develop themselves in politics:

1. The external factors are:
   o Most men think that it is not 'a woman's business' to participate in discussions and decision making on issues related to society or politics
   o The strong patriarchal system in the Aceh society which consider women as a lower sex and in relation with men as being in a subservient position
   o The stereotype given to women which discriminate women and put them to only capable to talk about women's issues
   o The discussion about 'gender' which receives many challenges since it is associated to *western culture* which is not appropriate for the *eastern culture*.
   o The law that is not in favour to women such as The *Qanun*[8] on the Aceh election clearly shows a lack of commitment to give opportunities to women in politics. The *Qanun* only asks political parties to pay attention to having women constitute 30% of the candidates of the legislative body. The words "paying attention" only refers to a request - not an obligation, and does not lead to any sanctions to those political parties who ignore the provision.

2. The internal factors are:
   o The women themselves feel not ready and not so motivated to be involved in political issues.
   o There is a lack of support and of encouragement on women to be involved in politics
   o The social stereotype that associates women's main responsibilities to be domestic works

4.4 The Challenges for a Gender Sensitive Approach in the Peace-Building Project: a case study on Sunspirit

4.4.1 Review on the Projects Aims, Activities and Intended Results from Gender Perspective

Sunspirit's basic mission "justice and peace for all" is driven from the effort to create justice, peace and ecological integrity in Indonesia. They mainly focus on the issues of injustice, conflict and ecological crisis in the society. Their basic goals[9] are:

1. Strengthen the practice of justice and peace especially to the marginalized, oppress, or discriminated groups of society
2. Actively participate in efforts to respect and protect the basic human rights
3. Work with the poor and marginalized for equality and prosperity
4. Develop a constructive discourse and spread the spirit of justice and peace.

Sunspirit recognizes that injustice in society have many forms including the gender inequality as stated in their program guidelines (2007):

> "Since justice is a way to peace, we also have to pay attention to excluded communities who are left behind in the development progress and

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[8] Aceh Local Ordinance which is based on Syariah Law
[9] Taken from Sunspirit's website, http://forjusticeandpeace.wordpress.com/

marginalized groups within the communities. These communities and groups within the communities are excluded and oppressed groups in conflict both directly or indirectly in socio, political, economical structure of Acehnese society. Among them are women, unskilled and poor farmers in rural areas, and victims of conflict."

Sunspirit's project goal in their guidelines for Peace-building and Community Empowerment program from Conflict Affected Communities in Aceh mentioned in their goal: "Supporting peace and justice process in conflict affected communities in Aceh" and in one of their specific objective they mentioned: "Ensure the social inclusion of women groups in conflict affected communities by self-help activities". From this specific objective, the involvement of women becomes a target in their peace-building project.

Sunspirit programme activities in Aceh are covering Bubon, Woyla, Meulaboh and Beutong Ateuh. However due to the limitations of the study only projects in Bubon and Woyla sub-district which involve women in their projects are under research such as:
1. Social Inclusion of Women/ Women Empowerment Activities which include:
   a. Home Industry Activities: Group Organization and Building Access to Market
   b. Transformative Education through Community and intercommunity regular meetings/discussion series
2. Farmer Empowerment/ Organic Farming
3. Conflict Transformation and Peace Sustainability project where they have intercommunity network and regular meeting of cadres which include women part of the broader network
4. Publications in which Sunspirit publish "Komunitas Kita" which aimed to encourage the local people (including staff) to contribute more in providing articles, stories, traditional poems. Web blog and conflict transformation hand-book is also part of this project
5. Institutional Building in which Sunspirit focuses on the capacity development of their staff.

Sunspirit has clear target beneficiaries and also mentioned specifically that the projects designated to men, women, boys, and girls. For example, the farmers' empowerment and conflict transformation and peace project involve men and women, the women empowerment activities specifically target women in the project and the peace education target the boys and girls who are in the high-school education level.

According to the one source from Sunspirit who is one of the founders, they cannot make gender element explicitly stated due to the donor requirement which do not focus on gender issues. Most of the donors would like to have projects related to the tsunami and with the mission to help people rebuild their lives. While Sunspirit have in their mission "for justice and peace" which included different focuses such as social inclusion, justice, peace-building, gender, ecology, and rural livelihood. In order to get the donor for the projects that they intend to implement in Aceh, Sunspirit covers up their mission and put it inexplicitly in the project proposal to the donor. They bring with them the community empowerment and peace-building program in Aceh.

One source of Sunspirit mentioned:
"The women involvement in the Conflict Transformation and Peace-building project is strongly considered in the concept, approach, and also budget allocated for it. This is seen from the budget allocated for women are

considered high as it received 20% of the total program cost is allocated only for women's projects in Women Empowerment Activities and Social Inclusion of Women."

Sunspirit categorizes women into three roles. First, Sunspirit classifies women as the members of the community who should be treated equally and have equal access with men to the development project. Thus, in their community based approach and also in the community participation, Sunspirit mission is the social inclusion for women and men, boys and girls in the community. Second, Acehnese women as victims of violence and part of the marginalized part in the community as they are lacking access in politics, education, health, social, etc. Third, they see women as the potential peace agent, the pioneer of conflict transformation in their own community, the important actor in peace-building.

Through *Sakinah* women network in 10 villages, Sunspirit enforces the idea to develop network of women for peace, facilitate good discussion among them and also stimulate inter-community sharing and visits. Sunspirit believes that it is important to consider women in peace-building, conflict transformation, and development of Aceh in general. According to them, Acehnese women are an important actor in the peace-building and development process for Aceh due to the fact that Aceh is actually a matrilocal society. The men come to the women's place and stay there. They are the 'guests' in the women's community. So in this case, women have the strong kinship in their community. Women stay and raise their children in their village of origin. Thus, the bond in the community lies in women.

Sunspirit initiates 13 women's groups in 10 villages in Woyla and Bubon sub-district. The Aceh Barat head office said that Sunspirit started to consider the gender as part of their project since 2006.They also stated about the reason of involving women in their project:

> "Our general objective of women activities is empowering women as the excluded members of community, to be self-helped and actively participate in community life. Two types of activities were designed to achieve the aim: community/intercommunity meetings/discussions and practical home industry activities[10]."

Male interviewee no. 79 acting as the head office of Sunspirit in Aceh Barat also added:
> "By considering that women are in the marginalized position compared to men based on culture and religion, we emphasize on the importance to involve both men and women in the community discussion. We teach that the root causes of the conflict are based on the inequalities which appear in the community since some parties (women) are not included in the discussion. This conflict which raise from the small issue in the community turn to be bigger conflict in the relationship and this have influence to the community and often the conflict appear in the wider context in the society."

There are many activities of Sunspirit to empower women. They give women transformative awareness education through community and intercommunity meeting, practical trainings in home industry, support for women in home industries, radio programs which discuss also gender, women involvement in art and media, etc.

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[10] Sunspirit website, http://forjusticeandpeace.wordpress.com/2007/11/10/women-empowerment-activities/

Sunspirit also recognized that "the women's voice is the peace voice"[11] and encourage women to take an active role in politics.

The intended results which explicitly mentioned about gender and women involvement are the intended results in the social inclusion of women in which they target that the women groups supported since 2007 should be able to get income and organize their own groups, ongoing awareness transformation of women and Active Participation of Women in Community, and self-help activities of approximately 50 women in Beutong Ateuh in small scale home-industry. Other intended results didn't really mention the gender aspect in it considering that the projects target both men and women.

4.4.2 Review on Project Strategies from Gender Perspective

The following section aims to find out whether the current gender roles, including the gendered division of labour, in peace-building are taken into account in the project strategies. When asked about this question, the director of Sunsprit said:

> "Not only considering the gendered division of labour…To build peace in the village, we strengthen the women network considering their role in the traditional matrilocal society. We facilitate discussions; provide meetings for them to share stories, arguments and opinions. We also involve them in the decision making. We use as many ways as possible, such as the Qur'an readings groups and working groups with small cooperative."

Sunspirit's program guidelines (2008) mentioned about the Sustainability Strategy the following:

- Ensure the participation of local communities and activists in all stages of the program implementation
- Encourage the participation of local government both at Sub-district and District Level; support the initiatives of local government for partnership activities.
- Local volunteer and local teachers for peace education; ensure support for local networks
- Ensure the self-management of farmers and women groups
- Develop "sense of belonging" of the local activist and the communities to all activities.
- Support local network and try to exchange ideas and concerns in every opportunity

The following are the strategies that Sunspirit implements in their peace-building initiatives in Aceh Barat:

Peace-building through Art, Sport and Media
Sunspirit staff (interviewee no.78) stated:

> "Art is an interest but also a need for the people who is seeking for peace and also entertainment. Here we consider that art performance can be an effective tool to teach about peace in the community. And this is also driven by the fact that it is easier to mobilize community to participate in the project when it deals about their interest or hobby on art."

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[11] Sunspirit website, http://forjusticeandpeace.wordpress.com/suara-perempuan-suara-perdamaian/

Later on he mentioned that women have an important role to fulfil in bringing a peace message through singing lullaby songs to their children:

> "The song *Do Daidi* is a lullaby song in many different lyrics in Acehnese language which is sung by the mother for their children. The songs contain patriotic message to their children. Sunspirit consider that this kind of songs surely bring impact to the 'patriotic' spirit of Acehnese. Thus, it is important to transform the lullaby songs which containing 'war message' into songs teach about peace" (Male interviewee no.78).

The project also intends to bring a message of peace in the wider context, as stated in Sunspirit progress report June-April 2009:

> "the peace campaign through radio involved big numbers of listeners was effective in offering changes especially regarding concepts of peace and justice. At the beginning the *do daidi* show only received little response, but when it was broadcasted regularly, the listeners started to share their own lyric and discussed the lyric with the speakers at the radio".

She Lagee, a widely-known art performance which was held in Aceh Barat and Jakarta as part of this peace-building project brings the message aimed to greet the leaders:

> "Here we are who once victimized in conflict and now struggle to rebuild our lives and maintain the peace. Change, transform your style in leading this country to prevent conflicts. Here we are the communities who sustain our *adat* tradition and culture. Let us build the peace culture in this country."

In their progress report it is mentioned that the enthusiasm of the people/youth from 10 villages regarding the volleyball tournament, enthusiasm of people regarding the *do daidi* show at the radio, and the space for creativity through Peace Saturday Nights indicated that the peace promotion is effective when using creative media. The challenge in the conflict transformation program is to find creative media to promote sustainable peace and to find other media that could be well accepted by all elements of the communities.

Sunspirit also publishes monthly bulletin which was called "Gampong Geutanyo" (in Acehnese) and later afterward change it to "Komunitas Kita" which means "our community" as part of their strategy to invite people to read about development knowledge, peace, and also used as a means of inter-community communication and materials for discussions. In addition they also use web-blog which serves as an online publication of their activities.

Peace-building through Women
As stated earlier Sunspirit considers women as important actors in the peace-building process for they clearly target women as a peace cadre in their community and also in the inter-community network without leaving out the fact that "transitional assistance for the rehabilitating destroyed fields, capital inputs for restarting small business, and livelihood training can all be seen as peace-building interventions on their own" since people need also to settle their life financially and mentally (male interviewee no.78).

Male interviewee no. 78 as Sunspirit staff also added:

> "We often ask people about importance of discussion by teaching about the symbol of a plaited mat. A plaited mat is a place where people often sit together and gather to talk on discussion."

This simple symbolism is believed to have encouraged all elements in the community, boys, girls, men, and women about the importance to engage in discussion to settle issues around them.

Women in Woyla and Bubon received different kinds of trainings and support. They are involved in the practical trainings in home industry and the support to start the small business, conflict transformation trainings, and also organic farming trainings.

One of the peace cadres of Sunspirit in the interview talked about the benefits of being able to join inter-community meetings. It has allowed her to know more about people in other villages, to be able to express her ideas and opinions in discussion, to know how to identify even a simple conflict in her community and to try to mediate it. In conclusion, she found herself more confident compared to before. Sunspirit found also that women are more interested about peace-building issues as seen in their participation in the conflict transformation trainings compared to the men.

In the questionnaire distributed to the women's groups under Sunspirit project, 80% felt easy to put into practice the skill and knowledge on conflict transformation. This skills include how to identify the conflict, settle conflict in a non-violent ways, and use the win-win solution idea, how to negotiate and act in conflict mediation, build mutual cooperation and trust in the community.

To Put into Practice the Skill & Knowledge on Conflict Tranformation

	Very easy	Easy	A bit difficult	Difficult
■ Number	15	29	10	0
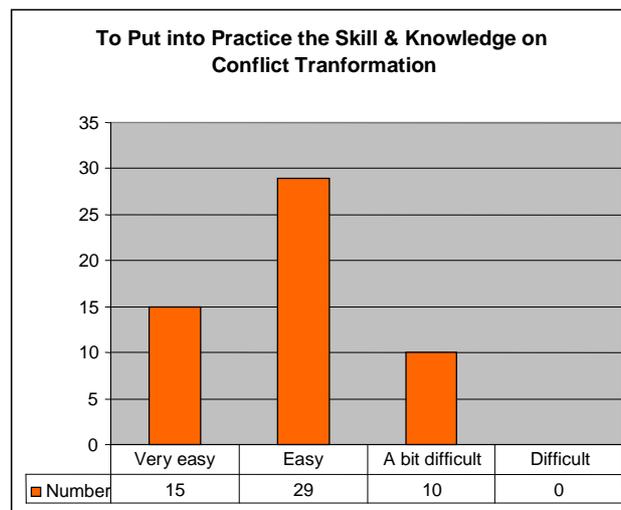
Figure 17 To Put into Practice Skill & Knowledge on Conflict Transformation
Source: Questionnaire

Sunspirit works with women in *Sakinah* women's network which comprised 13 women groups with different interests in food production, tailor, embroidery and handicraft. Sunspirit mentioned one of the challenges that since many NGOs provide 'compensation money' for people joining their trainings and meetings, people in Aceh become materialistic and only want to come to meeting and training if 'money' is provided for them. This has affected Sunspirit on significant decrease in the amount of participant since they don't give any 'compensation money' for people joining Sunspirit meetings and trainings in their project:

    "Unfortunately, the number of women participated in the meetings in some
    villages have decreased significantly. In the evaluation session the women

explained that in the first round of the meeting, some of the women thought that there will be "meeting money" as other NGOs did. Since they know that Sunspirit did not provide money as incentives, some of the women do not want to join the meetings. Fortunately the core group is still committed to continue with the activities[12]."

In their peace-building project, Sunspirit also encouraged women to be actively involved in the politics in the recent general election through public discussion or workshop, peace march, and campaign for peaceful election. A HIVOS officer praised on Sunspirit's effort in her email sent to headquarter and put Sunspirit in the cc:

"Besides, Sunspirit had a very brave and good idea on how to stimulate women's participation in the campaigning period before the local elections of April 2009 (when the party of the ex-combattants fighting under GAM became the big winner under the name of Partai Aceh). One success was that the women of different political parties made a campaign to promote peaceful elections on behalf of their own name, without using the parties' name. This showed their unity in the importance of peaceful elections. The challenge in this campaign was that many male leaders of political parties did not want their female colleagues to participate in the campaign because according to them the women would harm the image of the party!"

Peace-Building through Organic Farming

Interviewee no.79 talked about the reason why Sunspirit uses also organic farming as part of the peace-building strategy: "to eliminate the dependence toward chemical fertilizer which is considered expensive and also to build 'peace' with the nature".

In the organic farming, people are trained about the natural farming method. Here, Sunspirit intends also to build networks of organic farmers and also are targeting the formulation of recommendations for organic farming development; addressed to the farmers themselves, NGOs working in farmer empowerment, and to local government. The challenge of this aim is that the government seems to give little attention in the formulation of policy or ordinance in organic farming.

In regards to men and women involvement, Sunspirit provides single sex trainings in the organic farming. There are trainings for the male and female farmers separately considering the culture and religious barriers that it is difficult to organize such a mixed group between male and female in the trainings.

Peace Building through Peace Education in School

In this project, Sunspirit trains the teachers and volunteers to be the trainers for the high-school students in the peace education curriculum. Sunspirit provides extracurricular activities called "Peace Education" in 3 schools in Aceh Barat. They also offer the curriculum to other NGOs or schools to be implemented independently. Here, they emphasize on the involvement of boys and girls in the peace-building.

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[12] Sunspirit website, http://forjusticeandpeace.wordpress.com/2007/11/10/women-empowerment-activities/

4.4.3 Review on Project Aims and Activities to the Women's Needs in Peace-building

Sunspirit 2007 program guidelines mentioned clearly about the gender needs in the peace-building as stated in the following:

> "Empowerment is urgent need of specific groups such as women, farmers in rural area and ex-GAM members at grass root level. Women in Aceh, as shown in some research, are not only the victims of conflict, but also victims of social, political, cultural and religious structure…The women in the communities we are working with are repeatedly asking the support for women activities in their communities. It indicates a strong need and enthusiasm for empowerment program."

In Sunspirit PRA for 10 communities in 2007, they stated clearly in the PRA design that Sunspirit invited:

> "All community members, including women, the poorest of the poor, youth, disabled, etc. to participate in the focus group discussion and one whole day community meeting in which they identify needs and problems, analyze their strength and opportunity, and formulate the plan for their own future" (Sunpirit: 2007).

The Sunspirit director stated like this:

> "We recognize that women have many needs. In the post conflict situation, the women have the needs for income recovery, so Sunspirit responded to it by giving a capital and by facilitating them for developing small businesses through their groups. There is also needs not to be discriminated, not to be marginalized, not to be subordinated. We respond to it by giving them capacity development, provide discussion forum, form women's network, and encourage them to participate in discussions and decision making. There is also needs and potential to be the agent of peace. Thus, we motivate them to be the agent of peace in their community and also in the inter-communities level."

Sunspirit builds on their project activities by responding to the current situation. In responding to the women's needs, Sunspirit responds the needs by giving assistance in livelihood and income recovery and politics. They realize that "to build peace in Aceh, women should have voice or role" (male interviewee no. 79).

Two sources from Sunspirit mentioned that the barriers the women have is to talk openly of what they feel and to engage in discussion. Sunspirit recognizes that the long history of troubled conflict in Aceh have kept people in silence and distrust among others. The community who used to live in the conflict situation face difficulties to talk about their opinion, to present their ideas among others and also to ask others since they are used to the lack of trust with others. Here, the role of Sunspirit is to educate the people that all of their opinions are respected and they encourage their beneficiaries to put their ideas into discussion. Sunspirit believes by encouraging the women to engage in discussion would help them also to exercise in speaking up about their opinion.

Sunspirit staff explained that *Sakinah* women's network is not only for economic empowerment but also to develop the feeling of *women solidarity,* women friendly image and to educate the women to be able to communicate. It is obvious that it is difficult for

women in the beginning to speak about their opinion into open discussion since many of them feel shy and not confident. In respond to this fact, Sunspirit held discussion about gender or women's issues for once a month in the women's groups. They try to encourage the women to be more active in their participation in village level and to eliminate prejudice among them.

In the recent general election 2009, Sunspirit took the move on promoting women participation as legislative candidate in the recent general election. They mobilized and gave training on conflict transformation with the aim that a good understanding of conflict should be achieved by the legislative candidate as their negotiation and mediation skills will be necessary to tackle the issues arising in the parliament.

The women as the member of *Sakinah* women's network wrote in the questionnaire about their reasons joining the women's groups under Sunspirit as follows:

Table 4 Reasons joining *Sakinah* women's groups

No.	Reasons joining *Sakinah* women's groups	(%)
1.	To acquire skill and knowledge	63
2.	Add income	44
3.	To get some experience	33
4.	Knowledge sharing with members	20
5.	Building network of women in 10 villages	15
6.	Feel comfortable to talk about household issues	13
7.	Develop team work	13
8.	Provide option to change livelihood, not dealing with heavy workload such as extracting rubber anymore	11
9.	Provide options for income generation	7
10.	Exercise discussion	5
11.	Borrow money from the working group	5
12.	Develop self-confidence	4
13.	To be able to educate children with good value and about peace	2

Source: Questionnaire

In some of the interviews with women as the beneficiaries of Sunspirit, the women felt that they have gained more confidence compared to before Sunspirit came to their village. The reasons behind their confidence are due to the fact that they have acquired new skills related to their domestic work such as cooking, embroidery, and tailoring skill but also able to gain income from it. One male interviewee indicated his happiness as the wife can cook better and also able to bring money home. In fact, the women are proud that they can actualize their skill and earn income from it. The questionnaire reveals the level of confidence of the women in the working groups:

Level of Confidence on Skill Gained from Home Industry Trainings by Sunspirit

	Very	Enough	Not enough	Not
Number	15	29	10	0
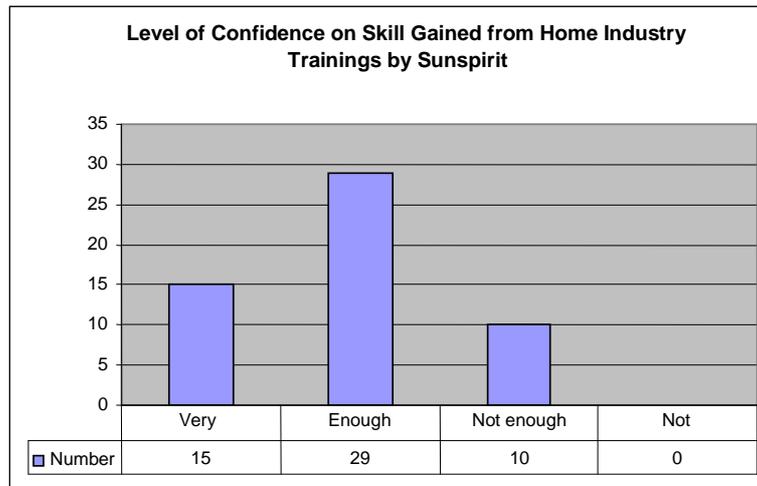
Figure 18 Level of Confidence on Skill Gained
Source: Questionnaire

Still, the women feel the needs to acquire more skill. Many interviewees expressed their motivation to gain more knowledge and skill so that they are able to fulfil the family's needs, educate their children, and share their knowledge with other women in their community. The writer tabulated the data from questionnaire distributed in Sunspirit's *Sakinah* working group meeting about the skills that they gained from joining *Sakinah* working group under the Sunspirit program and also the skills that they would like to have despite of what they have learned in the group:

Table 5 The skills gained and skills needed by respondents

The skills gained from Sunspirit trainings:	(%)	The skills still needed:	(%)
1. Cooking & Making Snacks: traditional cake, crisps, *dodol*, etc	80	1. Cooking	35
		2. Management skill to start the business	33
2. Tailoring & Embroidery skill	24	3. Tailoring & Embroidery	28
3. Conflict transformation	15	4. Develop Women Cooperative	9
4. Making instant ginger	9	5. Develop art & traditional dance	9
5. Farming	7	6. Food packaging	7
6. Basic administration skill	5	7. Maternal and Child Health training	7
		8. Accounting skill	4
		9. House care	4
		10. Health and Hygiene	4
		11. Handicraft	4
		12. Farming	2

Source: Questionnaire

In regards to the needs of the women in dealing with their traumatic experience, Sunspirit offers the conflict transformation trainings, facilitate discussions and try to educate women as peace-cadres in their community to spread and bring the message of peace and facilitate discussion to the women in their community to handle conflict in the family and the community. Sunspirit also believes that supporting women in their livelihood is also part of peace-building in itself. When asked about whether the trainings

provided by Sunspirit helps to heal the trauma, almost 90% respondents respond it with agreement as stated in the following figure:

Sunspirit Trainings Help to Heal Conflict Trauma

	Agree	Partially Agree	Partially Disagree	Disagree
■ Number	25	24	5	0
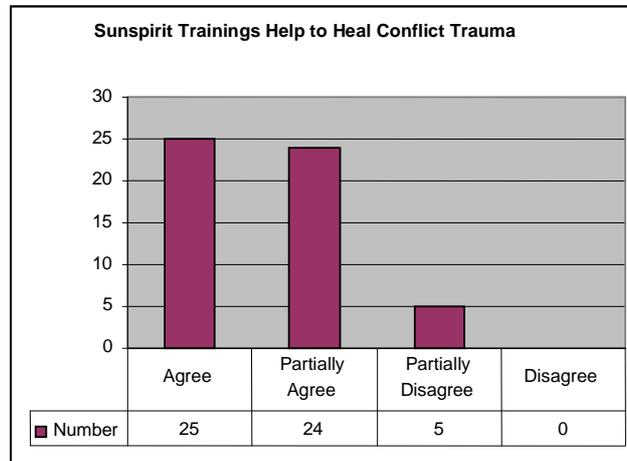
Figure 19 Sunspirit Trainings Help to Heal Trauma
Source: Questionnaire

In regards to the women's needs in politics, Sunspirit supports the women through the workshop "Capacity Improvement for Women in Politics" in December 2008 and January 2009 in order to prepare women for general election in June 2009. Sunspirit collaborated with women activists and the female legislative candidates to organize the women for peace march in 8th of March 2009, radio interactive discussions, and inter-party discussions between women.

Chapter Five: Discussions

The following sections will look at the role of women in the peace-building of West Aceh, the change in the gender role and relationship, the women's needs in the peace-building and the potential for gender sensitive approach in the peace-building project as a case study of a national NGO, Sunspirit.

5.1 Women's Roles and Experiences in Post-Conflict Situation

5.1.1 Women as Victims

As victims, women face various types of violence from physical, emotional to sexual violence in their home or in public as shown in the figure 9. The reintegration is still only understood in terms of providing compensation fund, while funding provision in livelihood and housing support given by BRA to the victims indicated in figure 7 & 8 is not enough to recover the trauma of violence victims. Some reports show that there is an abandonment of violence-affected women.

Sexual Violence

The fact that rape was not conducted only by TNI to the Acehnese women but also GAM to the Javanese women and also the Acehnese was seen as not only to satisfy the lust as but also to humiliate and subdue the society as Bouta and Frerks put that during the conflict "women, as symbolic bearers of caste, ethnic, or national identity – are systematically violated" (2002: 31). This has effectively built a very deep fear to women. When violence is sexualized, women cannot just go out and decry what had happened to them.

Actually only very few cases of violence against women in the conflict time such as rape and sexual assault were reported to the police. There are some reasons behind this fact:
1) Most victims of rape are shy to tell their problems, because the case is considered embarrassing. Therefore they always keep them as secrets. A gender-based double standard on virginity and sexuality also plays a role in their reluctance to report on any case of violence against women[13]. As seen in the table 3 that none of the respondents admitted to have been raped although many sources indicated the high incidence of rape during the conflict. In Aceh or in most places in Indonesia, violence associated with sexuality is considered shameful and a taboo to be publicly discussed.
2) The victims are intimidated by the culprit – which are often army officers - for not telling the cases to other people
3) The traumatic experience of violence seems too hard to inform to other people.
4) NGOs who guide the victims get threatened by certain people or institutions.
5) Improper gender sensitive manners through which the victimized women is supposed to report sexual assaults to authorities. Women feel ashamed to report because they often have to report to men or the method of interrogation is conducted inappropriate.

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[13] In Aceh, as in most other part of Indonesia, virginity is considered important for women but not for men. It is socially and culturally not accepted to have pre-marital sex. Thus, if pregnancy results the woman is usually blamed.

Abuse on the Name of *Syariah*

While many consider caning by definition a human rights violation, it tends to be viewed in Aceh as a punishment that is quickly over with, avoids detention and is designed to cause more shame than pain. Interesting questions towards this type of punishment are: how did it become adopted as a punishment in Aceh and what does it imply for the implementation of punishments for more serious crimes as *Syariah* expands. The result findings (section 4.1.1) shows that concern on the method of implementation was raised by some and others raised questions on the content of interpretation.

Forced Marriages

Forced marriages happening in Aceh are mostly due to the *Syariah* or cultural factor and economic situation where many parents regard marriages as promising way for the life of their daughter. Here forced marriage especially in the early age has serious implications on the women's education, livelihoods and reproductive health. This has consequences for their ability to earn an independent income.

Relationship with TNI

There are women who are victimized because of their relationship with TNI as their expectation to be married failed due to several reasons: (1) the TNI officer is already married, (2) they perceived that the girls were voluntarily willing to engage in sexual relationship and thus only treat them as sexual objects to overcome their frustration during the war. (3) The TNI is not allowed to marry a girl without having at least graduated high school.

Sex Worker

As stated in the result finding that the sex worker has been ordered out of the region, have been put into custody by the police, and slandered by many religious leaders have shown that this approach fails to recognize that women do not become sex workers by choice. In social, moral and economic terms, commercial sex workers are victims. By rounding up, arresting and punishing these women in the name of religion and morality, the authorities are neglecting to address the root causes of prostitution: poverty and low levels of education.

Domestic Violence

The case of domestic violence is an iceberg phenomenon as the cases identified is much less then the undetected. Increasing domestic violence is one of the characteristics of women's issues in the post-conflict situation and the lack of an affective security system adds to women continues exposure to violence (Bouta & Large, 2002: 30). The domestic violence cases in Aceh can possibly be rooted from: (1) the low self esteem and frustration due to the men's fear of appearing weak as men found it difficult to regain their function as the breadwinner of the family compared to the women who have used to this function during the conflict, (2) the beliefs that men have the rights to control the women and women are not equal to men, (3) the high temperament due to the psychological impact of conflict, (4) the lack of understanding on the gender roles and responsibility, and (5) the lack of knowledge on women's rights which part of the human rights.

Upon reviewing that women face various kind of violence, it serves us well to think that women do not give up on the oppression and violence that happening to them. They keep on living in their community, they deal with the conflict experience and violence, they have learned to forgive and cope with gender-based violence which happened to

them. They learned how to recover from it and tried to move forward to build peace in the household and the community they live in.

5.1.2 Women as Ex-combatants

Bouta and Frerks (2002) referred female-combatant as the ones having direct and indirect involvement in the support of conflict which are the same with definition given by the interviewees as stated in the result findings (section 4.1.2) when they referred to *Inong Balee*: (1) the women known as *Inong Balee* who held a gun and fought for GAM, (2) the women who followed their combatant husband and supported the struggle through logistics, medicines, moral supports through prayer sessions, etc. These two roles show that woman played significant roles in supporting and protecting male combatants during the escalation of conflict in both violent and non-violent ways.

Bouta and Frerks mentioned that after the conflict female ex-combatant face difficulties in their reintegration into society (2002: 32). This might not always be true in the case of Aceh since the ex-combatants are also considered the hero(ine)s in their community. This is also due to the fact that the Aceh Party which is basically the transformation of GAM into political movement has won over Aceh in the local election in 2006[14]. Despite of their traumatic experiences during their struggle and their difficulties in the reintegration, the ex-combatant prefers others to see themselves as having strong character to have chosen one side instead of being in the middle of GAM and TNI. They are often pride on their active involvement for Aceh's independence.

But the benefits seems to go to male ex-combatants instead of the female ex-combatants as indicated in the result finding (section 4.1.2) about the failure of the newly established Aceh government to recognize female ex-combatant in the reintegration funding. The Helsinki MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) also did not feature an inclusive definition of female ex-combatant. This resulted in initial financial compensation being paid to male ex-combatants and widows of ex-combatants but not to the female ex-combatants. There are signs that compensation will remain gender biased. Female ex-combatants are expected to benefit from livelihood support through the compensation given to men but do not receive cash compensation themselves. This approach has failed to see the specific problems and needs of the ex-combatant women.

5.1.3 Women for Peace in the Non Governmental Sector

Active involvement in broad range of topics, ranging from charity work to political activism is the characteristic of women's role for peace in the non-governmental sector (Bouta & Frerks, 2002). All Acehnese Women Congress I and II should be seen as remarkable women's initiatives for women in the non governmental sector where in each congress the women spelled out recommendations considering women's practical and strategic needs during conflict and in the post-conflict situation. Unfortunately, the newly-established Aceh government have not being able to accommodate most of the demands.

Women peace activists and community leaders also actively encourage people - women, men boys and girls — to create a culture of peace through community and inter-

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[14] The local election held on December 11, 2006 have brought the GAM activists as the governor and vice governor of Aceh and thus many GAM activists started to sit as government officials of Aceh province. In fact, the head of Aceh Barat district is an ex-combatant who is on duty for 2007-2012.

community discussions, organizing prayer sessions, "*pengajian*" (Kor'an reading), etc. They actively participate in the promotion of peace education and other peace related activities. However, women's participation in such organizations is taken for granted in the sense that activities such as caring for other, healing the wounded, providing shelter, being a negotiator for their husband and sons who are taken into hostage and consolation are considered to be their natural role. Many peace-building activities conducted and initiated by women activists have been carried out outside of the official and formal peace-building mechanism.

5.1.4 Women in Formal Peace Politics

Even though women peace activists and community leaders play important roles in promoting peace-building processes and activities, many obstacles have hindered women peace activists to fully participate in the peace-building processes and activities as the same obstacles faced by the women in politics (see section 4.3.6).

Having women in a leadership position and in politics in Aceh Barat have proven that their decisions greatly considers and represents the needs of women and children being a big part of the society. But they received many challenges as the representation of women in politics is still relatively small to enforce the women's and children's needs and to accommodate those in the process of policy making. As a result budget allocated for the women and child welfare is often less than expected and relatively even insignificant if compared to budget funds allocated for physical reconstruction.

Bouta and Frerks (2002) stated that women in a formal peace process in the post conflict situation deal with the problem of hardly being able to maintain a political position. As seen in the result finding (section 4.1.4) that women hesitate to enter the political arena. The hesitancies might be influenced by: (1) the women's reluctance to choose politics as their profession/career since it is considered 'unsuitable' for women, (2) the lack of awareness on the importance of women's involvement in politics, (3) the lack of social & financial supports that encourages women to enter politics, (4) the political system which is not obligatory enforced 30% women's participation in politics, and (5) the stream of discourse from religious leaders and wrong interpretation of *Syariah* that woman leadership is against the religious teachings which creates interpretation that are disadvantageous to women.

5.1.5 Women as Coping and Surviving Actors

Bouta and Frerks (2002: 35-36) mentioned that during the conflict they use coping mechanisms, adapting to the existing roles, deal with migration and some have to deal with the forms of 'distress coping'. The distress coping here is recognized in the way women involved themselves as sexual workers as the only source of income for them. The author categorized these women as victims (see section 5.1.1).

As stated in the result finding (section 4.1.5), we can see that women exercise various types of strategies and coping mechanisms not only for maintaining their own lives but also maintaining their family's and other people's lives. Some women had to take additional risks, for example, by walking long distances, either individually or collectively with other women, to go and cultivate their land, to find something to eat or to find a source of income for the family. Other women chose to move or are transmigrated to other places, leaving their property and starting a new life in a place they considered safe and promising. Other women decided to live in the IDPs camps as they feel safer

living collectively with their own community until the situation is really safe for them to go back. The others decided to return to their village soon and live collectively, sharing the same house with relatives and ethnicity[15] from their own communities, encourage family and neighbours to rebuild their lives and their community. Some take initiative in the voluntarily humanitarian work to help herself, family and others as they could benefit from the support or funding given, compensation money from their work, skill and knowledge.

Shared trauma has also brought women together. Women undertook various religious programmes such as rotating Koran recitation gatherings from one house to another to build continuous communication, and accompany and console those who lost family members to the conflict. They believe that what needs to be done is to equip women as peace builders and to stop their children harbouring feelings of violence and also revenge about things happening to the family during conflict. Women have the opportunity to do this as they interact more with their children.

5.1.6 Women as Household Heads

Most of the women-headed households and widows live in a very poor condition economically and also physically because of the lack of income and also the heavy workload. They used to cultivate their land with their husbands and earned income from agricultural work, but their land is no longer a source of income because it has been left unattended for so long. Thus, it is not about the case where women face "difficulties in maintaining access to land and property" (Frerks and Bouta, 2002: 36-37) as Aceh follows matrilocal system where the women stayed in her place of origin and have access to land and property from their parents. Still, they need support to start the livelihood and also new skills to acquire income. They work in whatever jobs they can in order to make money, from petty traders, selling food, vegetables, snacks and etc, to housekeepers, cleaning, washing clothes, daily labourers of plantation and etc.

The difficulties for widows to acquire income is due to the fact that many of the women who have been widowed have little experience in managing tree crops such as rubber, coconut, clove and nutmeg which used to be cultivated by men as they used to grow 'short aged crops' e.g. tomatoes, chillies and peanuts. In some cases they find it traumatic to work as the fields for hard tree crops were the 'killing fields' during the conflict. The widows find the situation is very difficult for them since the income from the short aged crop is less reliable, and is not sufficient to finance the rebuilding of homes or meet their children's educational and other needs. They also face a problem that they don't have time to engage in social activities since they have to earn income and also taking care of the families.

5.1.7 Women and (In)Formal Employment Opportunities

Acehnese women do not lay behind the veil, they also do all the buying and selling of goods in the market. Women dominate the markets in rural and urban areas. But women find difficulties to engage in the formal employment as Bouta and Frerks (2002: 37-39) stated that during the conflict there is an increasing in the informal sector and limited formal sector of employment and this situation continues until the post-conflict situation. The figure 12 shows that women in the post conflict time even engage in multiple

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[15] Javanese people prefer to stays with Javanese due to the ethnic tension between Javanese and Acehnese

livelihoods compared to the conflict situation but in the informal employment sector which also confirmed by data that only 44% of all women of working age participated in the labour force which is administered by the government from the formal employment sector. The figure 13 which shows difference between men's and women's participation rates exists in the age group 25-55 where the difference is almost 47% can be taken from the fact that women are restrained by the culture to engage into formal employment when they are already married.

The lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector, the low education level and lack of support for women to acquire new skills and knowledge have forced women to find jobs and other sources of income in the informal sector. Since the money they earn from informal employment is inadequate, women have to find other sources of income or other alternative ways to meet their basic daily family needs. They utilize their backyard to grow vegetables and raise animals such as chicken, goats and pigs both for family consumption and earning additional income.

5.2   The Changes in the Gender Roles and Relationships

The conflict has brought a significant change in the gender role between men and women. As explained by Moser (1993) that there are four gender roles and relationship namely productive, reproductive, community management, and community politics role, the following section looks at the changing in the gender role in the Aceh community in the post-conflict situation based on the impacts of the conflict. However, it is important to notice that the notion that women 'gain' from conflict has been criticized because changes in gender relations are often short-lived (Jacobs et all: 2000).

5.2.1 Changes in the Reproductive Role

Basically no significant change in the reproductive role of women has occurred from the period of conflict nor from the post-conflict period. The emphasis of their role as a mother is on taking good care of the children. Through religious teaching the mothers try to educate their children to maintain peace within the community. They teach about the good values of Islam such as praying *sholat*[16] 5 times in a day, not to engage in violence, to develop solidarity and tolerance, and to encourage their children for social activities within the community.

They also mitigate their children of harbouring feelings of violence and revenge caused by personal experiences in the conflict. A persistent view of femininity is its link with motherhood, nurture, and non-violence which has been referred to as the 'maternalist position' (Ruddick cited in Jacobs et all: 2000, 13). This position argues that those engaged in 'mothering work' have distinct motives of rejecting war, which increases their ability to resolve conflicts in a non-violent way. In Aceh, this mothering nature to reject the war might not be true if we refer to the fact that women very often sing the *Do Daidi*[17] songs for their children which part of the lyric can be seen in section 4.1.2[18] which potentially grows the spirit of war and revenge since early childhood. With regards to this

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[16] Obliged Moslem prayer

[17] Aceh lullaby songs in many different lyrics which emphasize the patriotic message for the children (boys and girls) to fight for Aceh and to help their father in the struggle against the Dutch colonization.

[18] "Lullaby – lullaby sweet heart, a mustard seed in a glass, please come home soon young daughter, to substitute your father to fight against the Dutch"

fact, an effective peace education through mother needs to consider transforming the songs from patriotic into 'positive peace' message[19].

5.2.2 Changes in the Productive Role

At the household level, the scarcity of livelihood resources and a lack of income have caused all family members - husbands, wives and children - to take part in activities for generating income from outside the home for buying food and to meet other basic needs of the family. The economic productive role is no longer perceived exclusively as the role of men. For example, due to the absence of men during the Ugandan conflict, women have become responsible for the household livelihood (El-Bushra, 2000: 69).

There was strong evidence that men's economic productive roles outside the house had been reduced due to the conflicts, partly because men's mobility and access to 'public space' had been severely affected. As a consequence, the family had to rely on the women's ability to generate income. Women had to take the risks to go to the forested land in order to cultivate the land and to scavenge to come up with enough food. Oftentimes they could not work for 2 to 3 days and sometimes even for a period of 1 to 2 weeks due to the shootings of the army and armed groups. Damaged or stolen crops also occurred.

The post conflict situation with the economic inflation caused by the massive reconstruction and rehabilitation works from the government / BRR and NGOs has again put women in the situation to work harder to cope with the recent economic condition. A source mentioned in the result finding (section 4.2.2) that some Acehnese men developed conscious dependent mentality as they used not to work during the conflict time and preferred to only received funding in the post conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction projects from the NGOs and government. This has also contributed to a greater burden and longer working hours for women. This has made it difficult for women to manage their time between domestic, productive and community roles and they have little time to rest and difficulties to get involved in activities that aim to fulfil their own personal needs. This can put women at a greater risk of physical and emotional exhaustion and could affect their health condition in the long term.

5.2.3 Changes in the Community Management Role

Women took over all social function in the village when many men disappeared because of refuge or joining GAM to the jungle. Women were working hand in hand to clean the *meunasah* (small mosque) and painted them. In some cases, during the conflict the women were asked to bring the dead bodies from the jungle notorious 'killing fields' and carry it into the village and conduct the funeral. Result finding (section 4.2.3) also shows that although social activities were limited during the conflict due to the "suspicion" from TNI, gatherings and other community arrangements such as weddings, funerals and cleaning jobs were still allowed to be carried out by women. This was because women's activities were regarded as less dangerous.

In the post conflict situation, there were lots of evidence indicating that the first revival of social and community management activities was done through women. The women did not wait for the community leader *Keuchik* decisions to gather themselves to organize

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[19] This is also the reason why Sunspirit has in their project to transform the lyrics of the *Do Daidi* songs which is presented in the section 4.4.2

better condition in their community. They started the revival of an active *Yasin* (Koran reading), of Posyandu (Integrated Service for Women and Children), of PKK (Family welfare Program), and of cultural activities such as traditional dances in the community.

5.2.4 Changes in the Community Politics Role

The roles of community politics in Aceh are dominated by the community and the religious leaders. During the conflict many men disappeared from the village and women took upon themselves the role of and responsibility in decision making. In the post conflict situation, women are still active in the role of community politics although there is an indication that in the post conflict situation people start to return to the male-dominated values that they believe would be the proper arrangement in the community politics as many men and women believe that men should be the leader. Thus, Acehnese women face the same case with women who found relative freedom during conflicts in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Eritrea and Mozambique who have been forced back "to the kitchen and fields" (Pankhurst, 2000: 6). An interview noted in the result finding (4.2.4) revealed this attempt as women in the decision making role have to deal with the stream of discourse especially from the sermon of religious leaders which discourage them to have the leadership position as it is considered 'unsuitable' for women.

5.3   Women's Needs in the Peace-building

Women feel that with peace in Aceh they wish to have freedom again: freedom to farm, to do business, to work and to travel. The women's needs in livelihood and income recovery, security and justice, health, education, house and politics contain should not be seen only as practical gender needs but also strategic gender needs.

5.3.1 Livelihood and Income Recovery

The figure 13 shows that work forces of women in rural areas are in the unorganized and informal sector, in self-employment sector, in micro enterprises, and cultivating as agricultural labourers in rural areas. This can also be seen from the difference in wage levels. The challenges that women face in the livelihood and income recovery can be rooted from several different factors:
1. Traditional and religious values resulted from local interpretation of *Syariah* which discourage women to engage in non-female occupations as women should devote to household chores and domestic works.
2. The present vocational training opportunities for women are narrowly constrained to low paid gender stereotyped occupations and mostly not adapted to the markets' needs.
3. Women lack business management skills and are therefore unable to successfully run a business.
4. Low access to information on job opportunities as women's social networks mainly exist out of other women and only a few men. To obtain information, women are often dependent on husbands or village leaders who were mentioned by Acehnese women as often being 'too busy' to channel information through to women.

The above mentioned factors show the exclusion of women from more productive sectors in the economy by reinforcing stereotypes, discrimination in the workforce, and limited access to information.

5.3.2 Security and Justice

Gender Based Violence

In the post-conflict setting, there are still many incidences of gender based violence in Aceh. The domestic violence is often not reported to the police or to the community leaders because it is considered as family affairs. Two interviews have revealed that wife beating and insulting is common not only in the rural areas but also among the educated middle class. And how can women report about the gender based violence because of the strict implementation of *Syariah* if the perpetrators as the police (police & *Syariah* police) themselves? Thus, Pankhurst suggests re-training of military and police forces in gender issues as part of the peace-building strategy which can support women and encourage gender equity (2000: 23). In addition, a more strategic approach to building community and meeting psycho-social needs could also help reduce gender based violence in and out of the home.

Ex-combatant women

The equal access to reintegration funding from BRA is one of the specific needs of ex-combatant woman. Trust-building is also understandably needed by both non-combatant and the ex-combatant women. By enforcing the idea that peace unites women, strategic approach should be developed in peace-building to integrate, not separate, ex-combatant women.

Official Documents

Getting documents re-issued should be a peace-building priority as it is difficult for all and more so for women because they often have a heavier daily workload and less mobility. There is a need to put to rest fears that people will not have sufficient proof of land and asset ownership, marriage, birth and education.

5.3.3 Health

Psychosocial Need

Many respondents suffer the effects of complex trauma – many years of repeated experiences of violence and insecurity which results in difficulty to concentrate, no vision for their future, and easily get angry or having a high temperament nature, etc. Thus, a careful consideration should be given to specific efforts to work through the traumatic memories as a part of the on-going peace process. These efforts should focuses on trauma healing for individuals and communities. The urgent need for mental health services have to be provided as a part of the peace-building and post-conflict recovery process.

5.3.4 Education

The unequal preference given by parents on education for girls and boys as stated in the finding has failed to see that the education for women is a key to making women self-reliance and giving them the confidence to pursue their goals and aspirations. In addition, women's needs in education are not only for themselves but also "to be able to educate their children better"[20].

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[20] quoted from an interview stated in the result finding section 4.3.4

5.3.5 House

In the process of reconstruction of houses prior to tsunami and conflict, house ownership is also a sector that is not beneficial to women. Sometimes the house is not given with a woman's name in the certificate, including for the women who are the heads of the household. This happened because of: (1) the decision of housing beneficiaries is conducted by community leaders who are not gender sensitive, (2) the usage of *Kartu Keluarga* (household card) as identification tool where often times woman is not registered as the head of the household in that card, and (3) NGOs and government supports in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of houses who seems do not consider the matrilocal system in Aceh as they proceed the land certification on the name of the men. As we can see from the result finding (section 4.3.5), women need to be educated on their property rights especially the marital property rights.

5.3.6 Participation in Politics

The lack number of women in the decision making and politics shows the notion of 'women vote for/ support women' in politics has not been acknowledged well among women and question whether they can really gain more equitable gender roles. The challenges on women in politics as presented by a source in section 4.3.6 and also the reasons why women hesitate to enter the political area as discussed in section 5.1.4 shows well that women in politics needs access and supports from both men and women to work together towards gender equity. Consider the fact that women constitute the half population, the women representation in the democratic process should be encouraged (Pankhurst, 2000: 24) as they know better the decision areas which affect their own lives as women.

5.4 The Challenges for a Gender Sensitive Approach in the Peace-Building Project: Case study, Sunspirit

The following sections aimed to apply the analytical framework developed from Lederach's Integrated Framework for Peace-building in which in the section 2.6 the author has developed the gender sensitive indicators in it. Donna Pankhurst's recommendations on the peace-building strategies that can support women and encourage gender equity will also be considered as part of the analysis. The analysis is divided into three sub-sections which will serve as the answers of the following questions:

- How do the projects aims, activities and intended results explicitly reflect gender equality and women's involvement in peace-building?
- How are the gendered division of labour, in peace-building taken into account in the project strategies?
- How are women's needs in peace-building supported in the project aims and activities?

5.4.1 Review on the Projects Aims, Activities and Intended Results from Gender Perspective

Sunspirit explained honestly that the project aims are not explicitly reflect the gender equality and women's involvement in peace-building due to the donor requirement. Sunspirit has one main donor which has different goals with their organisation and thus, in order to get the funding for the development works that they are going to implement in

Aceh, Sunspirit take a careful step to adjust their goals to the donor requirement without leaving the vision and mission of the organisation. The vision and mission of the organisation is actualized in the activities and intended results. Ledearch recognizes this problem which he called it 'project dilemma' as peace-building activities do not always correspond smoothly with the categories of thinking established for relief, development, or other special projects (Lederach, 1997: 130-131).

Pfeffer (1997) mentioned that not only do the donor organisations determine the parameters of activity because the control of resources legitimises their power, but they also define the category of 'resource' itself. Power in this context is therefore self-perpetuating, because it is used both to obtain resources (Pfeffer, 1997), and to shape the organisations' need for such resources. The donor requirements have often put limitation to national NGO to only build up the project proposal with the perspective of a short-range planning for 1-2 years or even less with the aim that within such a short time the project has given benefit to their beneficiaries. This has limited the NGO to actually develop a "design of social change" which requires at least 5 years to really being able to give contribution to social change towards a peaceful society. The dependency towards one main donor such as Sunpirit for Aceh project has often put an NGO in a risky condition as the control over the resources and the decision on the project extension or termination determines the future of the whole project implemented. Another project dilemma faced by Sunspirit as it is difficult for them to develop "design of social change" and to move towards "a vision of desired future" (Ledearch, 1997: 77).

Their basic mission "justice and peace for all" are driven from the effort to create justice, peace and ecological integrity in Indonesia where injustice, conflict and ecological crisis which can be identified as the 'root causes' of conflict in Indonesia. In addition, the peace-building field, according to Nick Lewer, is an explicit commitment to the improvement of relationships and social conditions that has a fundamental link with issues of justice and freedom in society (Lewer, 1999: 13).

Lederach suggests NGOs investigate the root causes of conflict to analyse and address the broader systematic factors contributing to crises. Sunspirit attempts this as when implementing their programme in Aceh, Sunspirit recognized that there is a gap between tsunami affected areas and conflict affected areas and also there is an urgent need of specific groups such as women, farmers in rural area and ex-GAM members at grass rood level. Gaps in education, health, water, housing and livelihood assistances from government and NGOs are so evident from the amount of NGOs working on the coastal tsunami affected areas compared to the highland conflict-affected areas. For Sunspirit, rebuilding community and buttressing the peace should be integral to all such reconstruction. The gap should be minimized in order to mitigate further conflict.

In the root causes of conflict, the project has identified the gendered experience of conflict and the different impact to men and women, but the research on this issue has not yet been conducted. Women's experiences of conflict are hard to document at an individual level due to the sensitive subject matter. According to one of Sunspirit staff, approaching women to discuss conflict may reveal the traumatic experience and they refrain to do that since their aim are to help the women to forget about the traumatic experience they had during the conflict.

Sunspirit peace-building project activities emphasized on the "building of relationship and trust" (Lederach: 1997: 130) as they invite people to actively involved in discussions,

inter-community meetings to mitigate the distrust inside and between communities, invite people to see the vision of desired future instead of being pessimist on it, creating space for peace through art, sport and media, and flexible to respond to emerging opportunities such as recent general election.

The gender elements in the project activities are quite strong as they consider the different role between men and women in peace-building. There are six different activities in the scope of peace-building such as conflict transformation and peace sustainability project, formal peace and justice education in senior high-school, farmers empowerment, women empowerment, publication and institutional building. Each of project activities have different target which intend to respond to the needs of men, women, boys and girls in the peace-building.

The gender equality and women's involvement in peace-building are explicitly stated in the project design of women empowerment, farmers empowerment, the conflict transformation and peace sustainability, and also the peace education project. In the women empowerment, Sunspirit recognized that women are part of the marginalized group in the society and need to be given special attention to empower them. In the farmers empowerment and conflict transformation and peace sustainability project Sunspirit invites both men and women to equally participate in the project activities.

In the intended results, only the conflict transformation and peace sustainability project and women empowerment project explicitly mentioned women involvement as part of the target output but not about gender equality. Other projects do not explicitly mentioned gender and gender equality in the intended results. This is also due to the fact that gender equality and women involvement has not really corresponded to the donor requirement which have different vision for relief and development initiatives in Aceh.

5.4.2 Review on Project Strategies from Gender Perspective

Peace-building strategies cannot avoid making an impact on society and actually trend to transform it which can, according to Lewer, result to open up questions about social injustice, economic exploitation, political oppression, race, and gender discrimination, and the role of NGOs in mitigating them (Lewer, 1999: 14). Sunspirit acknowledges the gender inequality existing in the community and they give equal access between men and women to join their programme. They allow men and women to have equal access in the trainings on organic farming by forming single-sex groups: one group for women farmers and one for men. But the writer then sees that two dilemmas are unfolding. There is a challenge to ensure the same training, extension and other resources flow to both groups. More problematic is that unless the single-sex groups have scheduled joint activities, there is no cross-learning and sharing among male and female farmers: the essential communication that leads to the equal valuing fundamental to gender equality. Further carefully developed activities are needed to ensure both equity and effective communication.

The potential for positive changes in gender relations should be supported by a gender perspective in the peace-building field, and as a result contribute to sustainable post-conflict reconstruction (Pankhurst, 2000). Sunspirit trained their beneficiaries, men and women, boys and girls, in conflict resolution skills and able to promote the prevention, management and eventual transformation of conflict in their community. The trainings provided covering how to identify the conflict, settle conflict in a non-violent ways, and

use the win-win solution idea, how to negotiate and act in conflict mediation, build mutual cooperation and trust in the community. Members become cadres of peace in their communities and can be called upon for advice, mediation, and negotiation for the resolution of local conflicts. Still, they are reluctant to touch the issue of domestic violence. The writer see that the project strategies of Sunspirit in Aceh Barat office are the unique combination between responding to the needs of the people in livelihood, ecology, education, art, sport and media.

Peace-building through Art, Sport and Media
The art has been powerful tool used by Sunspirit as means of demonstrating to the public how they can achieve a peaceful society through tolerance and mutual respect in accordance with human rights. *She Lagee* play performance, *do daidi* songs, art performance, dance which brings peace message can reveal a means of resolving conflicts and achieving peaceful coexistence in the community, while also presenting a desired future the people can realistically strive for. Kees Epskamp mentioned that using the arts can contribute to conflict resolution, empower ethnic groups, address cognitive, affective and social needs, teach mutual respect and understanding, and support therapeutic treatment of post-war traumatised adults and children (ECCP, 1999: 286-92)

Sunspirit also uses sport as part of the peace-building strategies. Currently Sunspirit held a sport agenda called "Volley for Peace" in which they invite the youth groups of each village to join the sport event which is held inter-community in Woyla and Bubon sub-district. The positive influence of sport on all aspects of human life – including its benefits for health, socialisation, self-confidence, leadership skills, and mutual understanding across divisions of race, culture and gender –mean that its importance should never be ignored in any peace-building and reconciliation initiatives (Iruh & Broere in ECCP, 1999).

The usage of media by Sunspirit through radio, bulletin, and web-blog is seen as a means to have influence to the wider society outside the community in which Sunspirit has their projects. Hand van de Veen mentioned that many advocates of conflict prevention are convinced that the media can play a critical role in defusing tensions and forging peace (ECCP, 1999).

Peace-building through Women
Despite clear evidence of women's suffering in conflict, only few NGOs recognize or address it. Sunspirit involves women in their project not due to the fact that women have more interest in the peace-building and their potential role as agent of peace since they are actually the bound in their community due to the matrilocal system in the Aceh society. They also recognize that the women have a social gathering in their Koran reading groups in *Wirit*, and they see this as potential resource for peace-building in the community.

Sunspirit facilitates discussions and conflict transformation trainings for women and appointed them to be the cadres of peace in their community. The *Sakinah* women;s network, inter-community meetings and regular visits among women in 10 villages have proven to be a good approach in building trust among women which also enable them to build trust in their community. Women know other women in 10 villages and they develop good communication skill. The women who become the cadre of peace after the conflict transformation trainings with Sunspirit have been proven effective in facilitating the discussion, in building trust in the community and in reducing prejudice. In Aceh,

people still have the prejudice and distrust between them since some people are pro-GAM and others are pro-TNI-Indonesia.

Many NGOs come to Aceh and give trainings to the women related to their domestic works such as tailor, making cake or snacks, etc. But the trainings just end without any follow up for the women beneficiaries. The impact of this action is the beneficiaries see the trainings provided by the NGOs as the way to seek financial compensation from their participation in the training as most of the NGO give them money to join the trainings with justification that they have used the working time of the women during the training session. The further impact from this action is strengthening the short term way of thinking in income generation and the stereotype of the traditional gender role in which women obliged to fulfil the domestic needs.

Sunspirit uses a different approach. They didn't give any 'compensation money' to the women participated in the meeting and this has resulting in decreasing amount of participant in the later trainings and meetings they have in the women groups. But many women still keep on joining the groups. Responding to the needs of starting their small business following the trainings, Sunspirit would not give the women groups or individual money or facility as pure grant. Sunspirit asked the women groups or individuals to make a business plan (what kind of business they want to develop, what facilities is needed, how much capital do they need, how much capital they already have, etc) before they give the facility and capital to the women.

The training to women-only groups in an attempt to empower them may instead feed the culture of gender exclusion and create more conflict if it's not treated sensitively. As some women already mentioned that the resignation of some members of the *Sakinah* working groups due to the disagreement from the husband to engage in the women activities.

The peace-building projects implemented also look at the chance for intervention responding to the current needs and situation. In the current general election, Sunspirit promote peaceful election and also encourage women's participation in politics in the campaigning period. Sunspirit and the women activists involved received challenges from the male leaders of political parties who did not want their female colleagues to participate in the campaign as it is considered 'unsuitable' for women and even "harm the image of the party"[21].

Peace-Building through Organic Farming
In the organic farming, Sunspirit teach people to have peace with nature and also to eliminate their dependence to the chemical fertilizer. In the farmers' empowerment project, Sunspirit involves both men and women through separate single-sex trainings considering the gendered division of labour. Sunspirit recognizes that in men and women have their own role in farming and thus, consultation and trainings based on their role are given.

Peace Building through Peace Education in School
The peace education in school targets boys and girls and also the educators in the project. The gender element is considered here as Sunspirit does not only target men

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[21] Quoted from HIVOS officer's opinion (section 4.4.2)

and women in their peace-building but also targeting boys and girls as the future generation which should be prepared to be actively involved in peace-building activities.

5.4.3 Review on Project Aims and Activities to the Women's Needs in Peace-building

There are five different needs that the writer identifies (see section 5.3) as women's needs in livelihood and income recovery, security and justice, health, education, housing and participation in politics. Sunspirit identifies the women's needs in livelihood and income recovery, participation in politics and education needs.

Livelihood and Income Recovery
A Sunspirit PRA carried out in 2007 in 10 communities clearly addressed their invitation to all community members, including women, the poorest of the poor, youth, disabled, etc to participate in the focus group discussion and one whole day community meeting in to identify their own needs and problems, analyze their strength and opportunity, and formulate the plan for their own community. This chance has allowed women to speak on their needs in peace-building. However, most of them mentioned the need for livelihood and income recovery as the most urgent need. Donna Pankhurst (2000: 22-25) mentioned that one of the peace-building strategies that can support women and encourage gender equity is to support women's livelihood.

Sunspirit stressed the point that local women are more concerned with survival and income generating opportunities compared to peace-building programmes. This is seen in table 4 in which women stated their reasons to join the *Sakinah* women's groups are mainly because they want to acquire skill and knowledge, add income, and to get some experience which contributed largely to their productive role. And while in table 5 they also indicated cooking, the management skill to start the business and tailoring & embroidery as the skills that are needed despite of the fact that Sunspirit has given them the trainings on cooking, tailor and embroidery. This is also confirmed the fact that women would prefer to have their productive role associated with their household chores.

Acehnese women are still very much oppressed and just beginning to acquire new skills and learn about their rights. Sunspirit tries to involve women without resulting in more gender conflict. The biggest challenge facing women's working group is men's attitude in the community. The women in the women working group mentioned that the resignation of some members from the group because their husband didn't allow them to be active. The husband was disturbed with the wife taking up too many businesses and coming home late as women should be at home before the sunsets. With regards to the fact, it seems that Sunspirit has not yet realized the fact that their activities supporting women's groups are in some cases have stirred gender relations in the household level.

Community stereotypes and cultural status quo assume women dominate household and farming roles. Women actually took an active role in conflict; to ensure their families survival women took on new responsibilities including income generating and decision making roles. Some women may define themselves by their household and farming roles rather than their peacemaking capabilities. They are more interested in development programmes in support of these roles. But it is also seen in the field that women are generally more interested in peace than men so their involvement was highly necessary. If the Sunspirit put as also the focus to encourage gender equity through their

programmes it has potential to reduce conflict and balance gender relations in the area. It should be considered that the most successful empowerment of women occurs when men are also championing women's rights, and men and women are working side by side in partnership to address concerns within their communities. Pankhurst (2000) mentioned in one of the peace-building strategies which encourage gender equity that a development organisation should consider working with men to change masculine stereotypes and negative attitudes towards women.

Participation in Politics
In the result finding, Sunspirit recognizes that the women need not to be discriminated, not to be marginalized, not to be subordinated. In addition to this, the women need to be involved as agent of peace to create the better environment for them, their family and community. Sunspirit has involved women to be the peace agents in their conflict transformation and peace sustainability project. Women interviewed admitted that they have been helped to understand the causes of conflict and men's and women's equal roles in peace-building. Women have been empowered to seek help in managing and preventing conflicts. It may change attitude towards women's participation in community initiatives and encourage other women to realise their capabilities.

Sunspirit is aware on the problems that the women face and hope also to target gender conflict, particularly through trainings and public awareness campaign they made for the inclusion of women in politics in the current general elections. Sunspirit works with women activists, women candidates for the election, and women organization to support women participation in politics and promote a peaceful and democratic general election. Encourage representation of women in the democratic processes and also working with women organization for peace has been part of the strategies to support women and encourage gender equity in peace-building (Pankhurst: 2000). Sunspirit also works with other women organization in organic farming project.

The challenge preventing women to be actively involved in the politics is the cultural attitudes of their male family member who consider such a role unsuitable for women. If the cultural attitudes towards women's position in the community prevail, the method of recruitment may prevent women's equal role in the prevention and management of conflict. In fact, women's groups are generally less powerful institutions than other community structures due to their gender specific nature. They lack resources and financial backing to be very influential in the community.

Education
The potential for women to be integrated in the peace-building strategies is also limited by their standard of education. Expecting women to be involved in politics may be ambitious without a foundation of training and confidence building.

The discussion series and facilitation gives confidence to women to speak aloud, confirms the abilities of individual women and acts as good example for the equality of men's and women's roles in community structures. Men are encouraged to listen and respect women's opinions and it may eventually change attitudes towards gender relations. As a vision of desired future, it could present human rights and equality between men and women. However, several women mentioned that they would like to have female facilitator in the discussion since they feel more comfortable to talk about women issues with woman. Sunspirit has 9 staff in Aceh which consisted of 2 women in the administrative matter and 7 men who work on the field and management. In this

case, all field-staff of Sunspirit are men. There are women volunteers but they are only included in the peace-education project. Sunspirit had previously a female field-staff who worked closely with women and with whom the women interviewed felt comfortable to talk about gender issues. The lack of female field-staff might be the reasons why Sunspirit seems reluctant to deal with domestic violence issue or any kind of gender based violence which could be possibly happened to their women beneficiaries.

Chapter VI: Conclusion & Recommendations

6.1 Conclusions

This section aims to answer the main research questions about the potential roles of women in the peace-building process in Aceh Barat and also the challenges of a gender sensitive approach in the peace-building from the case study of a national NGO, Sunspirit.

The roles of women in peace-building process in Aceh Barat

The roles of women in peace-building in Aceh Barat are summarized from the way they experience the conflict and how they deal with the post-conflict situation, changes in gender roles and relationship and women's needs in the peace-building. The women roles will be seen from the women's multifaceted roles in post-conflict situations:

1. Women as Victims
   Women face various kinds of violence, but women do not give up in the face of oppression and violence that is happening to them. They keep on living in their community, they deal with the conflict experience and violence, they have learned to forgive and cope with gender-based violence which happened to them. They learned how to recover from it and tried to move forward to build peace in the household and the community they live in.

2. Women as Ex-combatants
   The roles of women as combatants shows us that woman played significant roles in the struggle like male combatants who held guns and fought for GAM and also supported and protected male combatants during the escalation of conflict in non-violent ways. Despite their traumatic experience during the struggle and their difficulties in the reintegration, the ex-combatants prefer others to see them as having strong character to have chosen one side instead of being in the middle of GAM and TNI and have the pride of their active involvement for Aceh independence. Because of the failure of the newly established Aceh government to recognize female ex-combatant in the reintegration funding, they are excluded from the rights to get equal access to funding as male ex-combatants and their reintegration needs go unnoticed.

3. Women for Peace in the Non Governmental Sector
   Women peace activists and community leaders actively encourage people - women, men, boys and girls — to create a culture of peace such as through community and intercommunity discussions, organizing prayer sessions, e.g. "*pengajian*" (Kor'an reading). They also actively participate in the promotion of peace education and other peace related activities. Women realized their roles can maintain the peace process in Aceh, through their initiative in family and community. Women have the role to help their children affected by conflict to reintegrate into civilian life.

4. Women in 'Formal Peace Politics'
   Having women in leadership positions and in politics in Aceh Barat have proven that they bring the messages to be considered specifically for women and children needs in the society. Their approach to the community is also less bureaucratic, friendly and more sympathetic. But they received many challenges as the representation of

women in politics is too few to enforce the women's and children's needs in policy making.

5. Women as Coping and Surviving Actors
Women exercise various types of strategies and coping mechanisms not only for maintaining their own lives but also maintaining their family's and other people's lives and believe that what needs to be done is to equip women as peace builders and to stop their children harbouring feelings of violence and also revenge about things happening to the family during conflict. Women have the opportunity to do this as they interact more with their children.

6. Women as Household Heads
Women as Household Heads mostly live in poor condition as they have to start from scratch with both the impacts of the conflict as well as the loss of their spouse. The women as household head need new skills and also capital to acquire income. They lack the time to join the social activities due to the burden of their reproductive and productive roles which is carried by herself.

7. Women and (In)formal Employment
Acehnese women do not live behind a veil: they do all the buying and selling of goods in the market. Women dominate the markets in rural and urban areas. The formal employment has not yet really opened to women due to the cultural stereotypes which consider that women are more 'suitable' for jobs associated with their domestic works and also because of their low education level.

The women are mostly engaged in the informal peace activities corresponding to their concern to maintain a peaceful situation in their community. The informal peace-building efforts should not be considered less important since women have been very innovative and successful in a variety of informal peace activities. However, they require recognition as active actors in the peace-building; recognition that should be given equally for the contribution on both formal and informal peace activities which aim to build 'positive peace'.

The changes in gender roles and relationships
There is no significant change on the women's reproductive role but women realized the importance of their role as mother to educate their children about peace and mitigate harbouring feelings of violence and revenge. The changes in the productive role are seen in women's role as breadwinner during the conflict and their continuous active involvement in the income generating activities in the post-conflict time. They even engage in multiple livelihood activities because of the current economic inflation which contributed to a greater burden and longer working hours. In the community management roles, women took over all social function in the village when many men disappeared during the conflict time. In the post conflict situation, there was lots of evidence indicating that the first revival of social and community management activities was done through women. The changes in the community politics role seen from the fact that during conflict women have more role and responsibility in the decision making but this does not continues in the post conflict time. The women find it difficult to maintain their political position as certain mechanism seems to force them to their traditional roles associated with household chores.

The changes in the reproductive, productive, community management and community politics role have proven that women take a more active role during the conflict but this active role which could lead to positive change towards women's empowerment and gender equality has been only 'short-lived' as there are efforts to return the traditional values and norms on what the male-dominated society believed to be the ideal concept. The efforts can be seen from the fact that the gender based violence happening to women on the name of *Syariah* justified by both men and women, the notion 'women vote for women' has not worked in the previous election, both men and women believe that men should be the leaders, etc.

Women's needs in peace-building
There are many needs of women in peace-building with regard to livelihoods and income recovery, security and justice, health, education, housing and participation in politics. In livelihood and income recovery; women's needs are in business management skills, vocational skills, access to credits and information on job. In security and justice, there are needs for psychosocial supports for domestic violence, trust-building and reintegration support for ex-combatant, and getting official documents re-issued. In health, there are needs to consider problems in culture, women's mobility, childcare assistance, or leisure to travel to health centres for medicines or treatments and also the psychosocial needs to heal from the conflict trauma. Women need to be given equal access to education. In housing, women need to be advocated on their marital property rights and also to have the houses built by NGOs belong to them, in line with the matrilocal system in the community. In the women's participation in politics, women need to be encouraged and the chance to be involved in politics and in decision making position.

The challenges of a national NGO, Sunspirit, for a gender sensitive approach to the peace-building project
Sunspirit faces many challenges in their peace-building project. Women are generally more concerned with survival than peace-building or they lack time to get involved in it. The women have also been prevented from participating in the activities due to their husband's objection. In addition, women have to deal with gender based violence such as domestic violence and abuse on the name of *Syariah*. Sunspirit has not yet recognized that this related to the fact that the women lack knowledge on laws protecting women and human rights which prevent their ability to participate or promote their equal status.

The hindering factors also come from the community such as attitudes which conform to cultural stereotypes of men's and women's roles. For example, women are often associated only with domestic works and their involvement in politics is 'unsuitable' for them. The community forums and decision making structures are dominated by men and if women's empowerment is not handled sensitively this could cause further conflict not less as it would be considered as challenging the traditional value in the society. In fact, the word 'gender' itself is rejected in Aceh as it is often associated with 'western culture' which is not appropriate for Acehnese culture.

Sunspirit is committed to involving more women in their programme. However, the NGO has no gender policy or plan and not specifically studied women's experiences of conflict or needs in peacetime. Lack of research on gendered experiences in conflict and peace and its programme structure can occasionally prevent women's involvement. Currently, the fact that Sunspirit has no women in the field staff results in the hesitancy of women

to talk about gender sensitive issues that affect their participation in the project. The lack of female field-staff might be the reasons why Sunspirit seems reluctant to deal with domestic violence issue or any kind of gender based violence which could be possibly happened to their women beneficiaries. The lack of support and advice from the international donor on gender policy can also be one of the challenges as the donor has no gender vision in their vision and mission. The dependency on one donor for the Aceh project has also limited Sunspirit to really develop long-term projects in Aceh to achieve 'the design of social change' in the targeted communities in Aceh (Lederach, 1998: 77).

Almost all the strategies to support women and encourage gender equity suggested by Donna Pankhurst in peace-building such as support for women's livelihoods, working with women's organisations for peace, encouraging representation of women in democratic processes, working with men to change masculine stereotypes and negative attitudes towards women have been adopted by Sunspirit in their peace-building strategies. NGOs may be reluctant to challenge societal traditions but this can reinforce structural inequalities. What is lacking from the strategies is the gender mainstreaming of the organisation. Another suggested strategy by Pankhurst (2000) are beyond Sunspirit's organizational context such as increasing the presence of individual women in official peace processes, support of human rights organisations, and re-training of military and police forces in gender issues. A network of peace-builders should be built among the actors in peace-building in Aceh to find solution on how to tackle these gaps.

6.2 Recommendations

There is an enormous and lasting reservoir of memories of torture, violence, and displacement enacted against communities and individuals in Aceh. Profound loss and a potent sense of injustice are remainders of the violence. Careful consideration should be given to specific efforts to work through these memories as a part of the ongoing peace process in the context of rebuilding Aceh.

All programmes undertaken in rural Aceh should take account of the ubiquity and complexity of violence and its psychological and social reminders in the affected communities. National and international agencies should recognize the continued need for livelihood interventions in high conflict areas, which should be linked specifically with mental health and psychosocial programmes.

Finally several recommendations are made here, particularly for Sunspirit, and *if applicable* to other NGOs, to integrate gender perspectives in the peace-building projects:
- Since women beneficiaries of the project are more comfortable to speak on gender issues with women field staff, Sunspirit should seek to provide this needs. If recruiting of women's staff is not visible due to the budget constraints, Sunspirit could recruit female volunteer for the Women Empowerment project as they did for the Peace Education project.
- Sunspirit need to ensure staff is representative of the goal trying to be achieved, i.e make sure there are women on staff who are trained and treated equally and equitably to their male counterparts—and are given the same unbiased, roles in the work context.
- Sunspirit has also to be aware with the issues that there is a challenge to ensure the same training, extension and other resources flow to both groups when they form a single sex trainings such as organic farming. Further carefully developed activities

have to take into account to ensure both equity and effective communication, cross-learning and sharing among male and female beneficiaries, and also the essential communication that leads to the equal valuing fundamental to gender equality.

- Particular attention is needed to assist the women that Sunspirit has trained in the vocational trainings to also give them management skills to start the business along with guidance and motivation in the process to run their own business.

- Sunspirit should also consider to establish networks with other organisations to promote institutional learning and GAD (Gender & Development) learning with other women's organisations and peace groups to partner or assist in the project, where they have relevant expertise such as programs related to health, psychosocial, social work, democracy and human rights and advocacy for gender based violence and child abuse.

- As gender-based violence is one of the most prominent features of women's experiences during and after conflict, and specialised programs and training are required to address it. There is also a need to equip women with women's human rights through trainings and seminars as the women lack knowledge on laws protecting women and human rights which prevent their ability to participate or promote their equal status. The trainings on how to deal with domestic violence and about women's human rights is necessary. If the programs and trainings on gender based violence are not visible due to donor's restriction and budget constraints, Sunspirit can propose to work together with Women Empowerment Bureau of Aceh Barat who has this special project in dealing with domestic violence. When this cooperation can be established, Sunspirit can mobilise the women to join the seminars or trainings on issues related to gender based violence.

- Transitional assistance for rehabilitating destroyed fields, capital inputs for restarting small business, livelihood training and the development of small business can all be seen as peace-building interventions on their own, but those who suffer severe trauma will need psychosocial assistance to accompany their livelihood support. The psychosocial support is also needed by the female ex-combatant as part of their reintegration needs. Sunspirit should consider these needs by cooperating with NGOs who deals with psychosocial issues in their project in Aceh Barat such as CMH (Centre Mulia Hati) NGO.

- Most of the staff in Sunspirit does not know about gender concepts but they have a women's project and unconsciously develop a gender approach in their project. And when staffs are asked about gender what they really mean is women. Thus, trainings for the project personnel on the introduction to gender and gender analysis tools which would be useful for them to assess and monitor the projects such as analysis of a rural household and its dynamics and skills in the application of the gender analysis tools in Mapping, Daily Calendar, Crop Calendar, Harvard Framework for Gender Analysis, Gender Analysis Matrix, etc.

- Sunspirit is lacking on data management such as beneficiaries data, proper filing of the project documents, no proper back up on the data on hard or soft copy which could put them into difficulties when they need to put the track on the project progress for monitoring and auditing. Thus, trainings and follow up actions to tackle this issue is highly necessary. It is highly recommended to engender the data by collecting data in a sex-disaggregated manner, use gender-sensitive indicators and obtain gender disaggregated information and data to keep record on the existing situation on gender (baseline) as an entry point for gender equality for peace-building. It is also important to consider the usage of sex-specific language where appropriate such as mother' or 'father' rather than 'parent', and 'girl' or 'boy' rather

than 'child' in the reporting documents to understand the progress and specific impact that the projects brought in a gender sensitive way.

- Sunspirit should also incorporate gender into existing M&E (internal) formats in a gender disaggregated manner and assess the impact of the programme from a gender point of view
- Office management trainings are recommended due to the fact that Sunspirit is also lacking office management such as lacking of standard internal office regulations, no clear decision making procedure, and no clear job descriptions. The formulation of staff job-descriptions can be an entry point to develop gender based tasks and responsibilities.
- When a gender policy cannot be incorporated into section goals and yearly action plans due to donor restrictions, Sunspirit can try to reorganize the organizational structures for integrating gender at the operational level which aimed to develop the gender sensitive approach in their project. For example by ensuring that both women and men beneficiaries have equal access to training and capacity building, consider the involvement and interest shown by staff on gender based activities when evaluating their job performance and also ensure that men and women play equal roles in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the project. As female staffs are less compared to the men, they should be encouraged to talk and present their ideas in the office meetings.
- When the gender mainstreaming is started in the organisation, it is also important to obtain documentation of gender process within the organisation

Recommendation for further research:
- Special attention needs to be given to the mental health problems of older persons in the high conflict areas. While young people were submitted to particular violence during the conflict and rightly deserve specialized attention, the writer also found out that older men and women may continue to experience the highest rates of mental health problems which influence their physical problems in these communities. Little attention has been directed to the effects of the conflict on the elderly. Thus, further research and the development projects to address the mental health and psychosocial needs of older men and women in these communities are recommended.
- The writer also found out that there are still inter-ethnic jealousy and prejudice between the Javanese and Acehnese which are rooted from the conflict. Further research and necessary developed activities for inter-ethnic discussions, conflict transformation, and peace-building intervention to integrate both ethnic groups are necessary to mitigate further conflict arising in the community.

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Appendices

Annex 1: List of Key informants

No	Name	F	M	Village
1	Sarbiah	X		Cot Murong
2	Nurnaini	X		Cot Murong
3	Murni	X		Cot Murong
4	Cut Enan	X		Gunong Panah
5	Diana	X		Gunong Panah
6	Rohani	X		Gunong Panah
7	Cut Linggam	X		Gunong Panah
8	Rohana	X		Gunong Panah
9	Mariani	X		Seunebok Trap
10	M. Nazir Hs		X	Seunebok Trap
11	Herawati	X		Seunebok Trap
12	Rusni	X		Kuala Pling
13	Mawarni	X		Kuala Pling
14	Umran	X		Kuala Pling
15	Suryani	X		Lhok Guci
16	Saridah	X		Lhok Sari
17	Nenek Nurlela	X		Lhok Sari
18	Ibu Dalimun	X		Lhok Guci
19	Bpk Dalimun		X	Lhok Guci
20	Sumirati	X		Lhok Guci
21	Susi	X		Lhok Sari
22	Said		X	Lhok Guci
23	Abubakri		X	Lhok Sari
24	Ibu Abubakri	X		Lhok Sari
25	Ida	X		Lhok Sari
26	Mizwar		X	Glee Siblah
27	Rustami		X	Glee Siblah
28	Lailan	X		Glee Siblah
29	Kurataini	X		Alue Bakung
30	Rabiah	X		Alue Bakung
31	Mutiani	X		Alue Bakung
32	Efriani	X		Alue Bakung
33	Safani	X		Alue Bakung
34	Yusnidar	X		Alue Bakung
35	Nisa	X		BB- ex-transmigrant
36	Hanifah	X		BB- ex-transmigrant
37	Supiyani	X		BB- ex-transmigrant
38	Fatimah	X		Lhok Guci
39	Tarmizi Hamzah		X	Lhok Guci
40	Gusni KD		X	Lhok Sari
41	Samiah	X		Lhok Guci
42	Nyak Adami		X	Lhok Guci

43	Nursaidah	X		Berdikari
44	Somi	X		Teladan
45	Cut Midah	X		Lhok Guci
46	Nurlela	X		Manjeng
47	T. Syaiful		X	Lhok Guci
48	Zuriah	X		Suak Tring
49	Murni	X		Suak Tring
50	Nuraidah	X		Suak Tring
51	Zaulbaidah	X		Suak Tring
52	Idawati	X		Suak Tring
53	Faridah	X		Suak Tring
54	Dewi	X		SMU 1 Bubon
55	Susandi		X	SMU 1 Bubon
56	Jauhari		X	Glee Siblah
57	Anshari Budin		X	Glee Siblah
58	Jumini	X		Lhok Guci
59	T. Nyak Ali		X	Lhok Guci
60	Poniyem	X		Lhok Guci
61	Mahdi		X	Lhok Guci
62	Abbas		X	Teladan
63	Nurhayati	X		Teladan
64	Sudarti	X		Lhok Sari
65	Painah	X		Lhok Pasi Sirah
66	Zaitun	X		Glee Siblah
67	Sati	X		BB – ex-tranmigrant
68	Suyitno		X	BB – ex-tranmigrant
	TOTAL	50	18	

Key informants

No	Name	F	M	Remarks
69	Rosni Idham	X		Peace Activist
70	Asmawati	X		Head of Women Empowerment & Family Welfare
71	Tarmizi		X	Sub-district Secretary
72	H. Tjut Agam		X	Vice Head of Local Parliament
73	Taufiq Rizwan		X	Counselor for Violence against women & children
74	Diah Pratiwi	X		Local Parliament member
75	Amelia		X	Research officer- CMH
76	Dasni Husein	X		Head of Annissa (Women organization)
77	Maimanah	X		Head of Women Empowerment Division
78	Krispianus Bheda		X	Sunspirit
79	Ismail		X	Sunspirit
80	Agam		X	Sunspirit
81	Rulli		X	Sunspirit
82	Ijal		X	Sunspirit
83	Cypri JPD		X	Sunspirit
	TOTAL	5	10	

Total Key Informants	F	M
83	55	28

Annex 2: Semi-structured Interview Questions

List of Questions for in-depth interviews

1. How do you experience conflict?
2. What kind of traumatic events that you have experienced, heard, or witnessed during the conflict?
3. What did you work during the conflict?
4. What do you work now? Are there any changes in your work and also the role that you and your partner take compared to the situation during the conflict? Can you mention the changes?
5. What do you think are the problems that women face during conflict?
6. What do you think are the problems that women face now after the conflict?
7. In your opinion, what are needed by the women to tackle the problems that they face?
8. How do you think about peace process in Aceh?
9. What kind of peace do you want in Aceh?
10. Do you think women have the role to promote peace during the conflict or in the post-conflict? Can you mention their efforts and activities?
11. In what ways women promote peace in family, community, society?

To Sunspirit beneficiaries regarding Sunspirit projects (separated from questionnaire):
1. What do you think about Sunspirit projects?
2. How you benefit from Sunspirit projects?
3. What are the impacts of Sunspirit projects to you and your community?
4. What are the hindering factors in the development of *Sakinah* women's groups?

To Sunspirit staff:
1. What are the project aims, activities and intended results?
2. What are the approaches that Sunspirit used in peace-building?
3. Why Sunspirit involve women in the projects?
4. What are the challenges in dealing with women beneficiaries?

Annex 3: Questionnaire

Name   :
Village   :
Latest education level:

1. What did you work during the conflict?

2. What do you work now in the post-conflict time?

3. What are your reasons to join this women working group?

4. What have you gained (skills, experience, etc) from Sunspirit?

5. Do you feel confidence as you gained the above mentioned skills & experience?
6. How confident are you?
   a. Very confident
   b. Enough confident
   c. Not enough confident
   d. Not confident at all

7. Do you think that Sunspirit (conflict transformation) trainings can be implemented to create peace in your family and community?
   a. Very easy
   b. Easy
   c. A bit difficult
   d. Difficult

8. Have you recover from the trauma because of the conflict experience?
   a. Totally
   b. Partially
   c. A bit
   d. Not at all

9. Do you agree to the statement that Sunpirit trainings help to heal the trauma because of the conflict?
   a. Agree
   b. Partially agree
   c. Partially disagree
   d. Disagree

This questioner is used for the purpose of the research for Master study in Management of Development specialized in Social Inclusion, Gender, and Rural Livelihood. Any information given in this questionnaire will be treated as part of the research data. Thank you very much for your willingness and time for filling up this questionnaire.

Annex 4: Map of Aceh Indonesia

Annex 5: Brief History of Aceh Separatism

Suharto considered threats of regional separatism—attempts to break the territorial integrity of the state—just as dangerous and just as subversive as communism or extremist Islam. The case of Aceh illustrates this point well.

Aceh is a strongly Islamic region, arguably the most Islamic in the country. This has always given the Acehnese a strong sense of their own identity, manifested sometimes in demands for substantial local autonomy, and sometimes for full independence.

Islam remained the dominant force in Acehnese political life. But under the Suharto government, there was some evidence, albeit slight, that its significance was starting to decline. In elections from 1971 to 1982, Aceh voted for Islamic parties. In 1977, of all the provinces in Indonesia, only Jakarta and Aceh gave a majority of their votes to the PPP (Islamic based party). In 1982, Jakarta fell to Golkar, leaving only Aceh.

In 1987 Aceh itself fell to the Golkar (Suharto's political party) juggernaut. Certainly we have to treat election results with a modicum of caution given the extent to which vote-rigging took place, but even the fact that the Jakarta government was prepared to release results which show PPP gaining fewer votes than Golkar says something about its increasing confidence that it was winning the struggle against Islam.

But at another, less immediately obvious, level developments were taking place in Aceh which showed clearly that the battle against separatism was far from won. In 1976 a small group of Acehnese separatists calling themselves the Aceh Sumatera National Liberation Front proclaimed the independence of Aceh. They were led by Hasan di Tiro, a descendant of the remnants of the Acehnese aristocracy who was (in his terms) the forty-first ruler of Aceh since 1500. He had been in exile from Indonesia since the 1950s, living first in New York where he worked as a stockbroker and then in Stockholm in Sweden.

Jakarta reacted to the challenge to its authority by bringing Daud Beureueh out of Aceh and setting him up in a house in the capital, clearly with the objective of preventing his being used as a focal point for this new group. This initial revolt seems to have been crushed fairly quickly and easily; there is little reliable evidence of its having any active existence after 1977, except for a few hit-and-run raids on local economic infrastructure, and especially at foreign-owned—often American—oil and gas industry installations. In 1983, in the most daring of these raids, two American oilmen were killed in an attack on an oil pipeline. By the late 1980s the organisation was beginning to make its presence felt in more concrete ways. Renamed the Free Aceh Movement, or Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM), it stepped up its military activities, carrying out an increasing variety of raids on government and commercial installations. Conflicts between government forces and rebels gradually escalated until in 1989 Jakarta proclaimed the province a Military Operations Area, or Daerah Operasi Militer (DOM), giving it a virtually free hand in dealing with the problem. Once again, Jakarta was resorting to military means to tackle the problem of regional discontent, an approach that clearly had the opposite result of the one hoped for: it stirred resentment of the central government, and encouraged support for the rebels, rather than eliminating that resentment, and those rebels.

The reasons for this are painfully obvious. The methods the military used in attempting to defeat the GAM were those of violence and of terror. Aceh was a distant province, safe from the gaze of the international community and news media; in also fearing nothing from the heavily controlled domestic media, the military clearly felt it could act in Aceh in whatever way it thought fit. Its actions were probably no different from what it was doing in East Timor at this time. Although press censorship allowed little informed public discussion of developments in Aceh over the next several years, there is little doubt that by 1998 Jakarta was facing a full-scale armed revolt. The GAM getting bigger after 1998 and its forces spread all over Aceh.

The conflict in Aceh escalates with attack based on Ethnicity between Acehnese and Javanese as the trans-migration program of government Indonesia was believed to be part of Indonesia government colonization along with inequity of development distribution between Java island and another part of the country particularly Aceh which able to provide rich natural resources in mining for the development of Indonesia in which government of Indonesia allocate mostly to Java. In transmigration program, government sent many Javanese to Aceh and equipped them with the land, house, and farming equipments which increase jealousy to Acehnese and confirm its injustice towards Acehnese who had problems with unemployment.