



**VAN HALL
LARENSTEIN**

PART OF WAGENINGEN UR

**What factors contributed to the increased roles of women
in community management – The case of East Timorese refugees
in West Timor, Nusa Tenggara Timur province, Indonesia**



A research project submitted to Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Management of development
Specialization Social Inclusion, Gender and Rural Livelihood

By

YOHANIS PAKERENG
September 2009

Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Science, Wageningen, The Netherlands
©Copyright Yohanis Pakereng, 2009. All rights reserved.

**What factors contributed to the increased roles of women
in community management – The case of East Timorese refugees
in West Timor, Nusa Tenggara Timur province, Indonesia**

A research project submitted to Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Management of development

Specialization Social Inclusion, Gender and Rural Livelihood

By

YOHANIS PAKERENG

September 2009

Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Science, Wageningen, The Netherlands
©Copyright Yohanis Pakereng, 2009. All rights reserved.

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this research in partial fulfilment of the requirement for a graduate degree, I agree that the library of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this research in any manner, in whole or part for scholarly purposes may be granted by Larenstein Director of Research. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this research project or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition to me and to the University in any scholarly use which may be made any material in my research project.

Request for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this research project in whole or part should be addressed to:

Director of Research
Larenstein University of Applied Sciences
Part of Wageningen UR
Forum-Gebouw 102
Droevendaalsesteeg 2
6708 PB, Wageningen
Postbus 411
Tel: +31317486230
Fax: +31317484884

DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my beloved wife *DATHA* and my lovely daughters *ELENA* and *EVITA*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deepest thanks goes first to God for enabling me through strength, knowledge, courage and wisdom during my study in the Netherlands – an experience that I thought would be impossible before and a dream come true in my life.

I am grateful to Netherlands Education Support Office (NESO) Indonesia for giving me this golden opportunity to study in the Netherlands through StuNed scholarship.

I would like to thank Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Science for allowing me to pursue my study in Master of Management of Development in this university. My thanks also goes to all lecturers for all the knowledge and skills, and all staff who have provided adequate support during my study. Exclusively, I am very grateful to my course coordinator Mrs. Annemarie Westerndorp for her continuous support and encouragement during the entire period of my study at Social Inclusion, Gender and Rural Livelihood (SIGAL) course.

I wish to extend my sincere thanks to my supervisor Mrs. Lidewyde Grijpma for her critical and constructive comments, patience, guidance and encouragement which has enormously contributed to the completion of my thesis.

My heartfelt thanks goes to my family: to my beloved wife Datha for her continuous prayer, support and encouragement during my study and for taking the whole responsibility of the family during my study; to my lovely daughters Elena and Evita for their sincere love and prayers for me.

I am very grateful also to my parents, my mother in law, my brother and sisters including my priest for their continuous support and prayers during my study.

Lastly, I wish to thank CIS Timor staff for their support during the research and for former East Timorese refugees (interviewees) in Belu district for their patience, cooperation and kindness during the field work data collection.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE.....	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Background information.....	1
1.2. Research Context.....	4
1.3. Research Problem.....	5
1.4. Objective of the research.....	5
1.5. Research Questions	6
1.6. Significance of the research.....	6
1.7. Scope and limitation	6
1.8. Organization of research report	7
CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1. Gender concepts	8
2.2. Gender and Forced Migration	10
2.3. Gender Mainstreaming	12
2.4. Gender and Empowerment.....	13
2.5.Overview of Oxfam GB West Timor and CIS Timor in relation to the ATUP project	14
2.6. Overview of the ATUP (Aid To Uprooted People) project.....	15
2.7. Community Working Group Structures in the ATUP project	16
CHAPTER THREE – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	20
3.1. Selection of the study area	20
3.2. Research strategy.....	20
3.3. Sample selection	20
3.4. Source of data information and method of data collection.....	21
3.5. Data analysis.....	22
CHAPTER FOUR – FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS	23
4.1. Women in community management in East Timor before migrated to West Timor.....	23
4.2. Factors for women’s involvement in community management among refugees	24
4.3. Negotiation of gender roles (labour division of labour and gender identity) of men and women within household due to women taking up community management roles.....	27
4.4. Perception of different people towards women taking up community management roles.....	29
4.5. The impact of women for taking up community management roles.....	29
4.6. Women in community management recruited by CIS Timor during the project	30
4.7. Role of CIS Timor in the increased role of women in community management	31
CHAPTER FIVE – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	35
5.1. Conclusions.....	35
5.2. Recommendations.....	36
5.3. Suggestion for further studies	37

REFERENCES.....	38
ANNEXES.....	41
Annex 1: Discussion checklist for elder women	41
Annex 2: Discussion checklist for women in community management role.....	42
Annex 3: Discussion checklist for men including community leaders	43
Annex 4: Discussion checklist with CIS Timor staff.....	44
Annex 5: Discussion checklist for women not involved in community management	45

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. East Timorese refugees in NTT (as of June 2001).....	3
Table 2. List of sample of the research.....	21
Table 3. Tasks of women in community management in East Timor	23
Table 4. Reasons for low participation of women in community management	23
Table 5. Pushing factors for the involvement of women in community management	25
Table 6. Pulling factors for the involvement of women in community management .	26
Table 7. Adjustment of gender division of labour at individual level (women)	27
Table 8. Negotiation of gender division of labour between men and women at household level	27
Table 9. Negotiation of gender roles of men and women at the community level.....	28
Table 10. Perception of different people towards women taking up community management roles	29
Table 11. The impact of women for taking up community management roles in relation to their other responsibilities within the household and the community	30
Table 12. Number of women in community management recruited by CIS Timor during the implementation of the ATUP project	30

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of West Timor – Nusa Tenggara Timur province	2
Figure 2. Recruitment process for members of community working groups	31

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATUP	Aid To Uprooted People
CIS	Center for Internally Displaced People's Service
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office
FMR	Forced Migration Review
IDP	Internally Displaced People
NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
Oxfam GB	Oxfam Great Britain
UN	United Nations
USDS	United States Department of State
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

ABSTRACT

'Feto rona deit, mane poder barak liu' (Woman should only listen, man has more power). This is a common terms to show the dominance of men in a patriarchal society in East Timor. Yet, after forced migration to West Timor, women have gained more power to speak including increased role in community management. Thus, this study investigates the factors which provoked the increased roles of women in community management and how the strategies of Oxfam GB West Timor during the implementation of the ATUP project contributed to this change. This case study took place in Belu district, West Timor within the East Timorese refugees communities.

In this study, primary data were collected through semi-structure interview with individuals and focus group discussion with different groups of interviewees (elder women, husbands, men, community leaders, women who are now in community management and women who are not involved in community management). In addition, secondary data were collected through literature review, reports, journals, articles and other relevant documents.

The finding of the study shows that among several factors, level of education is the main factor contributing to the increased role of women in community management. Other important factors such as the support from the family and community and having special expertise and knowledge as well as leadership and having increased knowledge and skills after moving into community management roles were all attached to the level of education as the main factor. Meanwhile, lack of confidence was found to be the main pulling factor which inhibiting women from taking up community management roles. Furthermore, this changed participation of women has resulted in rearrangement and renegotiation of gender roles and gender identity both at individual, household and community level. But, the increased roles of women didn't affect their traditional primary roles at household level and the perception of different groups of people in the community has been positive towards this change.

In addition, the study revealed that Oxfam GB West Timor through CIS Timor has played a significant facilitating role which enabled women to take up and to move further into community management roles through empowerment activities such as training, visit, monitoring and encouragements for women.

From the finding of the study, it can be concluded that the strategy of Oxfam GB West Timor through establishing and working with community working groups, has greatly contributed not only to the increased roles of women in community management but also for ensuring the sustainability of the project benefit as it also contributes to gender equality by giving women greater access to and control of community decision-making and development process that affect their life. With this strategy, women and men sharing decision-making and household and community level leadership more equitably. This is in line with the gender mainstreaming strategy of Oxfam GB.

Some key recommendations of the study are that the project should focus on gender awareness activities such as information dissemination through newsletter distribution, focus group discussion, informal meetings, film showings, etc, to different groups of people at the community level in order to raise support and positive awareness of the community towards the increased roles of women in community management. Other important recommendation is that the project should focus on younger women for community working groups since they are more educated than men.

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background information

1.1.1. Overview of East Timor and integration into Indonesia

From the 16th century onwards, East Timor was a Portuguese colony known as Portuguese Timor. During the period of World War II, it was occupied by Australian, Dutch and Japanese forces before it was re-occupied by Portugal after the war. Portugal largely neglected the colony and therefore, very little investment was made in infrastructure, education and healthcare. Only a small minority of Timorese were educated, and even fewer went on to university in Portugal (East Timor Government, 2008).

The fall of the Portuguese fascist regime in 1974, has triggered the new era for East Timor as independence was encouraged by the new, democratic Portuguese government. New Governor was appointed and political parties were formed. But during 1975, Portugal became increasingly detached from political developments in its colony which led to become embroiled in civil unrest and political crises. With the concern over the stability of the archipelago towards left-wing regime led by Fretelin party and possibility for oil mining, United States and Australia supported Indonesian government to annex Portuguese Timor into Indonesia and in 1976 East Timor officially became the 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia (East Timor Government, 2008).

During 24 years of integration, the Indonesian government tried to quell the resistance of the East Timorese by implementing development programs through the use of economic development assistance and job creation while maintaining a strict policy of political repression, although serious human rights violations--such as the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre—continued (USDS, 2009). Many roads and other infrastructures were built. The Indonesian language became official and young people were indoctrinated with state ideology. Other strategy according to McCloskey 2000:5 cited in Molnar, 2005, is the resettlement program by the Indonesian government in 1980 which relocated a large number of Indonesian families to East Timor as a strategy of neutralizing the independence movement. This resettlement program was officially stated for relieving the overpopulation in islands such as Jawa and Bali but the people of East Timor saw that it was aimed at the eradication of Timorese culture. However, the pro-independence supporters continued to wage guerrilla war against Indonesian military in East Timor.

The impact of the Indonesian occupation on women can be seen on women's education. In the assessment of USAID (2004:7), it was revealed that the Indonesian occupation had a major impact on women's education. Many women never attended school or had their schooling interrupted. For all age categories, women were much more likely than men to have never enrolled in school. For those who attended school, there are very significant gender gaps in enrolment and completion of higher secondary and tertiary education. Girls have a much higher dropout rate, particularly from age 14 onwards.

In fact, the annexation of East Timor by Indonesian government has led to more than two decades of conflict between East Timorese pro-independence supporters and the government of Indonesia. Hundred thousands of East Timorese were killed during the conflict. On 27 January 1999, Indonesian President B. J. Habibie surprised

many when he announced that a referendum on independence would be held. On 5 May 1999, the government of Indonesia, the government of Portugal and the UN agreed in New York that the referendum would take place on 30 August 1999 and would be monitored by the United Nations. More than 78.5 percent of 432,287 registered East Timorese voters chose independence over integration with Indonesia. As a result of the vote, pro-integration militias, backed by members of the Indonesian security forces, rampaged across East Timor. An estimated 1,000 East Timorese were killed in the violence following the vote, according to UNTAET. The UNHCR estimates that more than 75 percent of the population was displaced and more than 70 percent of East Timor's private housing, public buildings and utilities were destroyed. Some 200,000 persons were deported to West Timor and other areas in Indonesia (Sunarto, K. *et al.*, 2004).

1.1.2. Nusa Tenggara Timur province and East Timorese refugees

The West Timor region in Nusa Tenggara Timur province, which is directly adjacent to East Timor, got the direct impact of the conflict in East Timor as the place where most refugees were displaced after the referendum.

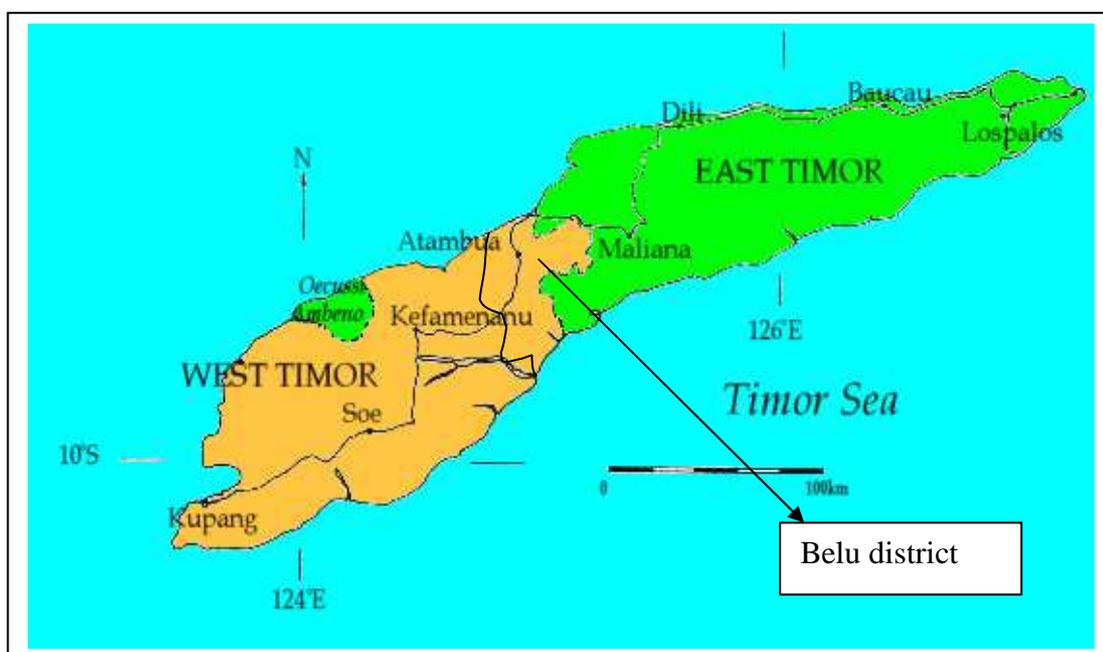


Figure 1. Map of West Timor – Nusa Tenggara Timur province

Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timor> (Accessed date: 7 September 2009)

According to NTT Government data, by 19 October 1999 an estimated of 55,388 East Timorese families had entered West Timor. On 6 June 2001 the Indonesian Government conducted a registration that shows that 96.72 percent of the estimated 284,148 displaced East Timorese were settled in West Timor and other parts of the NTT province (Sunarto, K. *et al.*, 2004).

Table 1. East Timorese refugees in NTT (as of June 2001)

Displaced East Timorese in NTT, 6 June 2001		
Islands	District/ Municipality	IDPs
West Timor	Belu district	174.528
	Kupang district	54.666
	North Central Timor district	23.124
	Kupang municipality	16.669
	South Central Timor	2.805
Alor	Alor district	3.012
Flores	Ende district	1.714
	Sikka district	1.371
	Manggarai district	876
	Ngada district	716
	East Flores district	706
Lembata	Lembata district	560
Sumba	East Sumba district	194
	West Sumba district	163
Total		284.148

Source: Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur 2001 cited in Sunarto, K. *et al.*, 2004.

Many East Timorese who have not been repatriated have taken part in organized relocation programs through which they are integrated with locals, or have left the camps voluntarily for integrated neighbourhoods to live with relatives or in rooms or houses leased by locals. Many East Timorese members of the Indonesian state apparatus (the military, police and civil service) who continue to receive their monthly salaries and accompanying fringe benefits have been reassigned and also live outside camps (Sunarto, K. *et al.*, 2004). The camps in West Timor vary in size and condition. Some settlements are large with up to 9,000 people; others are small with only a few families. Refugees are concentrated in three main areas: Kupang, Kefamenanu, and Belu district (Congressional Research Service, 2001).

In September 2000, three U.N. humanitarian workers were killed in West Timor by members of East Timorese militia groups, resulting in the suspension of U.N. humanitarian activities in West Timor. The East Timorese militia groups have controlled the camps, restricting the return of people to East Timor through threats and intimidation. According to report of CRS (2001), future returns of refugees likely would be influenced by several factors. One will be the extent of intimidation and violence orchestrated by the militia, and the level of safety for refugee aid workers. The composition of East Timorese population in West Timor includes East Timorese who want to return to East Timor, but it also includes East Timorese who are Indonesian civil servants and members of the Indonesian military. An Indonesian government survey in June 2001 found over 90 percent of the refugees wanted to remain in Indonesia. International observers said the survey was conducted free of intimidation. However, other observers believe that, under different circumstances, a larger percentage of refugees would opt to return to East Timor (CRS, 2001).

To date, there is no valid data available about the remaining refugees in West Timor as the data is always changing from time to time. According to the survey conducted by Oxfam and CIS Timor in 2003, the total was 11,584 families and in 2008, the remaining refugees are 4,318 families (CIS Timor, 2008).

1.1.3. Belu district and East Timorese refugees

In this section, a brief information on Belu district and its relation to the influx of refugees is presented because this case study was conducted in Belu district.

Belu is one among 20 districts within Nusa Tenggara Timur province, Indonesia. The capital is Atambua. Belu district has the size of 2,240.05 km². As of 2007, the population of Belu district is 418,004 persons of whom 210,998 are female and 207,006 are male (Badan Pusat Statistik NTT (*NTT Statistic*), 2008).

Since Belu district is bordered with East Timor on the east, this area has experienced the impact of the conflict in East Timor since 1975 where thousands of Portuguese Timorese displaced in Belu district. In particular for the influx of refugees due to the conflict in 1999, the table 01 shows that by June 2001, 174,000 refugees were displaced and living in camps in Belu district. In total there around 142 refugee camps in Belu district (La'o Hamutuk Bulletin, 2003). According to data from Oxfam GB and CIS Timor, in 2005 total refugees in Belu district was 5,710 families. In Belu district, refugee families were spread in 92 camps in 23 villages and 13 sub-districts (CIS Timor, 2005).

1.2. Research Context

East Timorese refugees have stayed in West Timor- Indonesia for ten years since their influx in 1999 due to the conflict in East Timor after referendum which resulted in the independence of East Timor (now become a new country called Timor Leste). Being uprooted from their previous places in East Timor and forcedly moved to West Timor has made refugees faced a difficult life condition. In West Timor, refugees lived in poorly managed camps for several years undergoing hardship of life even after moving to the resettlement locations where they continue struggling to live a decent life in the mid of limited access to farmland, livelihood, health and sanitation facilities, education and market.

Many displaced East Timorese peasants now make a living by labouring on community land owned by locals or land controlled by the Indonesian Government, which the East Timorese had previously appropriated and cleared illegally, or by renting land from local landlords (crop sharing). Others are employed in the informal sector, including selling of vegetables and animals (chicken, pigs, cows, etc) in local markets, working as *ojek* (motorcycle taxi) drivers or urban labourers, or selling goods to Timor Leste through cross-border trade (Sunarto, K. *et al.*, 2004). Even, in some camps and resettlement locations, they started new livelihood strategies which are totally different than what they used to do in their previous places such as fishing and selling '*bebak*' –stem of palm leaves used for walling in housing construction- and other income-generating activities such as selling cakes, etc.

In turn, the change of condition due to forced migration has affected gender relations between men and women. Previous practices between men and women in terms of gender roles, gender labour divisions, access to and control over resources, power relations and gender needs have changed because of the new environment and situation where they live in now.

A number of International NGOs have provided assistances to support the resettlement sites through various kinds of interventions such as housing, public health, water and sanitation facilities construction, education, information, etc, in

order to facilitate for a durable solution for East Timorese refugees. Oxfam GB West Timor is one of the International Non-Governmental Organisations which is providing assistance. Kinds of assistances provided are dissemination of information, transportation from camps to resettlement sites, infrastructures construction (housing, water and sanitation facilities), public health, livelihood and advocacy.

With the funding support from the European Union, Oxfam GB West Timor implemented the Aid to Uprooted People Project (ATUP) Phase I and II to provide assistance for East Timorese refugees in Kupang and Belu districts. In implementing its project, one of the strategies of Oxfam GB West Timor to ensure sustainability is through community working groups. With this strategy, the project supported the clients to establish community-based structures for the long-term sustainability of the project benefits. These community working groups include: Community information volunteers, Village Health cadres, Water and sanitation committees, and Food security cadres. These structures are linked to the local village government systems and to the appropriate government departments at a district level e.g. District Health structures, Department of Agriculture, Department of Animal Husbandry. The project ensures that women and other vulnerable people are able to actively participate in these structures.

In the context of East Timorese people, culturally women are not allowed to speak in public. Therefore, among the gender triple roles of women, East Timorese women play minor role in community management. In the assisted areas of Oxfam GB West Timor, this has gradually changed. Former East Timorese refugee women were given chance to actively participate in the community working groups structures. Women were encouraged to speak in public by taking more roles in community management. In some locations, women now play major role in community management by chairing community planning meetings, organising public health activities, water committee and taking roles as community information volunteers and mobilising the community for the construction works in the relocations sites.

1.3. Research Problem

So far, there hasn't been any research conducted to assess what has provoked the change on women's role in the community management. The concern in this case is that whether this is due to the forced migration which led to the re-negotiation of gender roles or is it due to the intervention of Oxfam GB through the formation of community working groups or whether it might be due to any other factors that contribute to this change.

For Oxfam GB West Timor, an understanding of the factors that has changed the role of women in the community management is essential not only to know better the changed context of the client population but also to assess the current strategy in community organising for future programme intervention to the same communities.

1.4. Objective of the research

The objective of the research is to contribute to the evaluation of the strategy of Oxfam GB West Timor in community organising by making an assessment on the factors that contributed to the increased role of women in community management.

1.5. Research Questions

Based on the problem description and theoretical concepts above, the two main research questions for this research are formulated as follows:

Main Questions:

1. What are the factors contributing to the increased roles of women refugees in community management in the assisted areas of Oxfam GB West Timor?

Sub-Questions:

- 1.1. How was the role of women in the community management in East Timor before?
 - 1.2. Why are women taking up the role in community management?
 - 1.3. What make it possible for women to take up community management roles in refugee situation?
 - 1.4. How many women are in community management roles?
 - 1.5. How was the involvement of women in community management roles negotiated among men and women refugees?
 - 1.6. What are the perception of men and women on the increased role of women in community management?
 - 1.7. What are the impacts of women taking roles in community management in relation to their other responsibilities within the household and community?
2. How do the strategies of Oxfam GB West Timor contribute to the increased role of women refugees in the community management?

Sub-Questions:

- 2.1. What are the strategies of Oxfam GB West Timor to ensure the involvement of women refugees in community management?
- 2.2. What are the problems faced by Oxfam GB West Timor in involving women in community management roles?

1.6. Significance of the research

The result of this study will be useful for Oxfam GB West Timor in having a more comprehensive understanding of the community in West Timor. Oxfam GB West Timor has been supporting this community for seven years and is now planning for further assistance to the same communities. This information can be used in implementing the next interventions in the future. In addition, as Oxfam GB is responding to displaced people in other countries. Therefore, the case of refugees in West Timor can serves as a useful reference especially in relation to women's issue during forced migration.

1.7. Scope and limitation

Due to the limited time, the study is focussed only on Belu district. It would have been better if the study is also conducted in other district with different background and characteristic of the population in order to get more information to enrich the analysis of the factors contributing to the increased role of women in community management.

In addition, due to the limited time, the number of people interviewed is limited. It would have been better if the number in the sample is more in order to have various

information about the topic from more samples selected in order to strengthen the result of the study.

1.8. Organization of research report

This study report is organized into five chapters: Each chapter contains several themes.

Chapter one is an introductory part of the thesis. It provides brief background information of locations, refugees in West Timor and Belu district, the research context, problem statement, objective of this research, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study, organisation of research report.

Chapter two covers the literature review. This chapter presents several concepts about gender relation, gender roles, women's community management roles, gender and forced migration, gender mainstreaming, and how ATUP Phase II project was implemented in collaboration with local NGO- CIS Timor in involving women into community management roles.

Chapter three presents the methodology used in implementing this research. It covers the selection of the study area, research strategy, sample selection, source of data collection, methods of data collection and data analysis.

Chapter four shows findings of the study and the discussion of the findings with support from the literatures review.

Chapter five presents the conclusion and recommendations. This chapter sums up the study and provides recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, literature related to the study will be elaborated. This includes concepts on gender relations, gender roles, gender mainstreaming and forced migration in relation to the women's increased role in community management. At the end of this chapter, the ATUP projects where the case study occurred, was elaborated.

2.1. Gender concepts

2.1.1. Gender Relations

These are the social relationships between men as a sex and women as a sex. Gender relations are simultaneously relations of cooperation, connection and mutual support, and of conflict, separation, and competition, of difference and inequality. Gender relations are concerned with how power is distributed between sexes. They create and reproduce systemic differences in men's and women's positions in a given society. They define the way in which responsibilities and claims are allocated and the way in which each is given a value. Gender relations vary according to time and place, and between groups of people. They also vary according to other social relations such as class, race, ethnicity, disability, and so on (March C, *et al.*, 1999). In addition, Mohammed (1995) cited in Mulumba (2005) argued that the negotiation in gender relations are never static but are always ongoing.

In this research, gender relations of men and women were focussed on involvement of women into community management which has impact on gender division of labour and distribution of power of men and women. It was important to study some literature revealing the relation of men and women in East Timor.

In the context of East Timorese people, the position of men and women are not equal. Women are not allowed to speak in public. In the recent research conducted by Oxfam GB in cooperation with UNESCO, it was found that it is mainly due to the subordination of women to men. In East Timor, there is a saying to show this subordination: '*Feto rona deit, mane poder barak liu*' (*Woman should only listen, man has more power*). Besides the subordination, the stability of the family is also of utmost concern. Such stability is maintained where the wife is subordinate to the husband who is the "chief of the house." Therefore, women are supposed to listen to their husbands. When there is a problem, the man has to think of ways to resolve the problem and the woman has to follow (Oxfam GB, 2004). The culture defines the position of women at the household level which is found to be disadvantage for women where women do not have power in the decision making process at the household level as they are supposed to listen to men as the head of the households. Subordination and stability of the family are more concerned in this relation of men and women.

In addition, the limited space provided for women to speak out their ideas in the home and the threat of punishment from the husband because she talks too much, did not encourage the women's capacity to think and analyze problems for herself and the family and therefore, affected also her confidence to speak out on matters beyond that allowed for her (Oxfam GB, 2004). This is a consequence of women in East Timor having limited space to express their concerns which in turn also affect their capacity and confidence on how they look at the problems.

Further to the research of Oxfam GB, it reveals that the woman's demeanour of learning to control her tendency to talk a lot is also learned early on in life by the girls. This is one of the traits that the man's family looks for in a future wife. The question "does she talk too much or not" is considered along with "does she come from a good clan or not?" The hierarchy between husband and wife is also manifested early on during courtship or engagement period. In everyday Tetum (local language spoken by most people in East Timor), the girl/woman is called by her boyfriend as "hau nia labarik," translated literally as "my child." She on the other hand, refers to her boyfriend as "maun" or elder brother (Oxfam GB, 2004).

2.1.2. Gender Roles

This refers to roles men and women play within the household and in the society due to their different positions and needs. Moser (1993) identifies three different roles of women: reproductive, productive and community managing roles.

Reproductive role: it comprises the childbearing/rearing responsibilities and domestic tasks undertaken by women, required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force. It includes not only biological reproduction but also the care and maintenance of workforce (husband and working children) and the future workforce (infants and school-going children).

In East Timor, the traditional gender reproductive roles of women are childcare and housework such as food preparation, tending small animals, carrying water, weeding and collecting firewood (USAID, 2004).

Productive role: it comprises work done by both men and women for payment in cash or kind. It includes both market production with an exchange value, and subsistence/home production with an actual use-value, but also a potential exchange value. For women in agriculture production, this includes work as independent farmers, peasants' wives and wage workers.

In East Timor, women involve in planting of corn and rice, growing and selling of vegetables and chicken while men involve in land preparation, selling of rice and cattle. Women also engage in micro-economic, agricultural and handicraft activities (USAID, 2004). Further to the study, both men and women perceive that women have greater workload burden but men do not perceive it as unfair situation or a problem.

These two roles above are perceived as the traditional primary roles of women in East Timor. Women in East Timor spend most of their time for these two roles.

Community managing role: it comprises activities undertaken primarily by women at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role. Moser (1993) identifies the participation in the community managing work as part of the triple work of women along with the reproductive and productive roles. She added that the purpose of this role is to ensure the provision and maintenance of scarce resources of collective consumption such as water, health care and education. It is voluntary unpaid work, undertaken in 'free time'. She further argues that the words 'community managing' is defined as the work undertaken at the community level, around the allocation, provisioning and managing of items of collective consumption. So, the responsibility of women is not only for providing consumption needs within the household but also consumption needs at the neighbourhood or community level.

Furthermore, there is a different perception on the involvement of men and women into the community management roles. As Moser (1993) identified that for men, the

community is seen as the public world of politics where men are involved in community politics. While for women, community is seen as their private world and an extension of the domestic arena for their roles as wives and mothers in managing the community. Therefore, there is a trend of political organisations which are run by men with mainly male members.

However, some studies about the role of women in East Timor have shown that women played minor roles in community management. In an assessment conducted by Asian Development Bank (2005), there are some causes of why women having low participation in activities outside of their primary roles at home which are identified. They are:

- Women have limited mobility outside the home as it was considered that women's role is primarily in the home and leaving the house has to be carefully negotiated with the husband. Trust from husband to leave or do activities outside of the home is quite important for women. In the assessment conducted by USAID (2004:6), it was found that women are constrained by their husband from working outside the home because their husbands do not trust them.
- Lack of confidence: women are not encouraged to speak out and articulate their views because "a woman who talks too much is no good."
- The traditional notion is that women are less capable than men.
- Women's workload in the house means they have to carefully negotiate with their husbands the responsibilities for household chores: "If I don't cook, my husband will hit me."
- Language issues: due to restricted mobility, women are less likely to pick up a second language.

Women's low literacy and education level are also cited to be the reasons for why women are not included in decision-making process. Even, with this fact, women are unable to take on leadership positions because they do not have skills in Portuguese and English languages (USAID, 2004). While men have higher rates of literacy than women and are able to read and speak Tetum and Portuguese languages which are widely spoken in East Timor.

Meanwhile, the culture of patriarchy was seen as another reason for the unequal relation of men and women in East Timor especially in decision-making process. Micato (2001) argues that the culture of patriarchy in East Timor is the main problem which has made women dependent on men and in which women are passive and have lack of courage to take leadership. The culture of patriarchy gives the chance for men to dominate the decision-making process not only at the household level but also at the community management level.

Because of having inadequate skills required in the decision-making process in the community management and to take on leadership positions, women are concentrated to take the supporting roles in ensuring the availability of the consumption needs at the community management level.

2.2. Gender and Forced Migration

In this section, the impact of forced migration on gender will be elaborated by referring to the refugee cases in other part of the world. These selected refugee cases are considered applicable in the case study of East Timorese refugee in West Timor.

2.2.1. Definition of forced migration

According to Torres (n.d.), forced migration commonly “refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people” (IDPs). It is different from ‘voluntary’ migration because in the former there is no prior desire or motivation to leave. The situation where people are living has changed rapidly and forced people to leave without any desire, motivation or even preparation to migrate. The main causes of involuntary displacement are wars and armed conflicts, although natural disasters and development projects are also to blame.

The effect of forced migration is varying depending on the context and factors. This argument is endorsed by Torres (n.d.) that the effects of forced migration vary in different political, socio-economic, and cultural contexts, and according to factors such as gender, class, age, race, or ethnicity. In terms of gender, women and children are more vulnerable to men due to their reproductive health care needs such as personal hygiene, safe birthing condition and pre- and post-natal care. Women and girls are often subject to sexual and other types of gender-based violence in the camps. In terms of cultural and political context, for instance, in Somalia, rape and sexual abuse in IDP camps is common with women and children. In Guinea, after a speech against refugees by the president in September 2000, thousands of Sierra Leonean and Liberian women and girl refugees were physically and sexually attacked by police, soldiers and civilians. In Columbia, Black and Indian women are at even greater disadvantage, as they are discriminated against not only along gender but also along ethnic and identity lines.

2.2.2. Levels of gender roles negotiation due to forced migration

Forced migration has an impact on gender roles. It requires an adjustment and negotiation of gender roles. To justify this argument, Szczepanikova (2005:1) in her study, pointed out that forced migration necessitates an adjustment in relationships with kin members to rearrange previous conceptions of gender roles, positions in the family and wider social networks, and it often leads to new arrangements between the genders. Similar arguments stated by Meintjes *et.al.* 2001 cited in Koster (2008) that the conflict offers the opportunity for renegotiation of gender roles. In addition, gender roles negotiation of men and women take place at different levels. Mohammed (1995) cited in Mulumba (2005) suggested that there are different levels of gender roles negotiation due to forced migration. These different levels of negotiations are summarized into three level, they are: negotiation at individual level, negotiation between individuals within the household level and negotiation between individuals at the community level. However, as suggested by Mulumba (2005) that the negotiation in gender relations involves collusion, compromise and accommodation as part of the construction of gender identities retaining many of the features from a gender system with which people are familiar.

First, negotiation at individual level

Before migrating, women and men as an individual have certain gender roles. Yet, as an impact of forced migration, it necessitates adjustment of gender roles at individual level. This adjustment is due to the situation where they were forcedly migrated. Women and men as an individual, adjust themselves to the situation. For instance, in the study of Somalian refugees (Torres, n.d) women were cooking fewer meals because of the fear of being raped while collecting firewood.

Second, negotiation at household level

The situation of forced migration compels the rearrangement of previous gender roles at the household level where men and women have to make an adjustment and negotiation on their gender roles. In the study conducted by Szczepanikova (2005) to

the Chechnya refugees, she found that there was a rearrangement of gender roles of men and women where previously, women were not allowed to leave the house. Women used to just look after their children and stayed at home. But, due to the changed situation women are allowed to go out for work to earn money for the family since it was very dangerous for men to go outside their homes because they could be abducted by Russian soldiers or by other militants, tortured or killed and then sold back to their relatives. In this case, men took over the roles women used to do by looking after the children and stayed at home.

Third, negotiation at community level

At this level, women and men negotiate existing gender roles at the community level. In cultural context, each community have a set of accepted cultural framework to rearrange previous conception on gender identity and gender roles. The impact of forced migration has compelled the renegotiation of components in gender roles and what is being negotiated are new components in the existing system of gender relations. This argument is further endorsed by Torres (n.d) who gave an example of refugee women in Mexico became directly involved in repatriation negotiation and made sure that their equal rights to private and communal property were enshrined.

New components in the rearrangement of gender relations at the community level can be found in the selection of camp leaders where previously age status does matter for the selection of leaders. But, as argued by Turner (2000) in his research conducted in Lukole camp in Burundi (camps which was supported by UNHCR) where he identified that young man become leaders in the camps which are conflicted with the assumption where age gives status and one is not considered a real man worth listening to until much older. In his findings, the explanation for this phenomenon is that one has to be very mobile to be a leader: constantly moving from the UNHCR office to the food distribution center, to the police post and back to the village. Furthermore, a leader in the camp preferably has to know languages, with English and Swahili being more useful than French and Kirundi (official languages in Burundi). Finally one has to be adaptable and not 'be shy'. In other words, one must be able to learn the jargons of relief agencies and dare to approach them in the right way. These are all virtues where the youth have an advantage over the older men. In this case, the community changed their view of previously accepted gender roles framework in the selection of leader and adjusted them with the new situation with new criteria.

2.3. Gender Mainstreaming

As described in the earlier section of this chapter that the impact of forced migration is different on men and women. Both men and women have different needs, concerns and priorities. Thus, the development efforts taken by development organisations need to take into account to these differences. As argued by Moser and Moser cited in Sweetman and Porter (2005), gender mainstreaming refers to the recognition that women and men have different needs and priorities, and that women and men should 'experience equal conditions for realising their full human rights, and have the opportunity to contribute to and benefit from national, political, economic, social and cultural development'.

For Oxfam, gender mainstreaming is used as its main strategy to promote the equal rights of both women and men. In case of Oxfam GB West Timor, the mainstreaming of gender is based on the guidelines from the regional office of Oxfam GB East Asia where it is stated that '*gender mainstreaming is a process of ensuring that all its work, and the way its done, contributes to gender equality by transforming the*

balance of power (or gender relations) between women and men' (Oxfam GB East Asia Gender Equality Induction, 2003).

The process itself involves:

- recognising the links between gender inequality and poverty
- assessing the different implications for women and men Oxfam's humanitarian and advocacy work
- devising strategies and systems to ensure that the different concerns, experiences and capacities of women and men fundamentally shape the way we plan, implement and evaluate all programme and advocacy work
- ensuring that Oxfam's internal practices are consistent with the above

For Oxfam East Asia region in particular, Oxfam has a regional Gender Mainstreaming strategy as well as strategies for each country programme (Oxfam GB East Asia Gender Equality Induction, 2003). The strategy is supposed to contribute to:

- women and men experiencing less gender discrimination
- women having greater access to and control of policy and community decision-making and developmental processes that affect their lives
- women and men sharing decision-making and household and community level leadership more equitably
- greater awareness of and respect for rights of men and women by programme beneficiaries (women and men).

In relation to the strategy, gender mainstreaming is conducted both at the internal and at the external level. At the internal level, it involves the institutionalisation of gender concern within the organisation itself. Moser and Moser (*ibid*) argues that the mainstreaming of gender at the organisation level includes gender equality in administrative, financial, staffing, and other organisational procedures, thus contributing to a long-term transformative process for the organisation in terms of attitudes, 'culture', goals, and procedures. At the external level, it involves the program which is undertaken by the organisation and the society or the community served by the organisation (Schalkwyk, *et al* (1996) cited in Murison, 2004). The program is seen as the main component of the gender mainstreaming because it the place where the commitment to gender equality takes concrete form in the community served by the organisation.

Furthermore, Murison (2004) argues that an effective gender mainstreaming at the program level requires systematic ongoing consultation, project management, effective monitoring and reporting mechanism and gender analysis. The consultation here includes consultation with women, as well as men, to identify their own priorities, success stories, lessons learned, tools and mechanisms. The concern is that the ultimate impact of the project will be achieved if it is based on the community concerns.

2.4. Gender and Empowerment

From some definitions of empowerment, the core of empowerment is increasing the capacity of the individuals, the groups, the community and the institutions towards self reliance. As defined by World Bank (2009) empowerment is the process of enhancing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Similar to this is the definition from Cardno Acil (2007) that looks at empowerment as more on increasing the capacity of individuals, community or institutions to become more self-reliant.

In gender approaches, empowerment is seen as another gender approach as indicated by Moser (1993:74). The purpose of this approach is to empower women through greater self-reliance. This approach recognises the triple roles of women and seeks to meet strategic gender needs indirectly through bottom-up mobilisation around practical gender needs.

As described in the previous section of this chapter, forced migration has put women in more disadvantaged situations than men. Yet, studies have shown that women seem to have greater resilience and are more adaptable, assume new roles, become leaders and hold families and communities together. Therefore, the impacts of forced migration are not always negative for women. Torres (n.d) argues that for some women, forced migration allows for greater mobility and the opportunity to learn new skills and assume new roles, which may be an empowering experience. Similar to this argument, Meintjes *et.al* 2001 cited in Koster (2008) have found that conflict offer the opportunity to empower women by involving them in community development efforts and in decision-making structures and processes.

Supporting the activities and leadership of women in conflict and post-conflict situation is an important component for increasing the capacity of women. As observed by Torres (n.d), that some organizations working with forced migrants have laid emphasis on the empowerment of women through their active participation in conflict and post-conflict contexts. By supporting women's activities and leadership in displacement situations, the organizations hope that women's roles will be enhanced in the post-conflict settings and gender inequalities balanced.

In addition, the process for empowerment should be a bottom-up rather than a top-down strategy. As stated by Oxaal & Baden (1997) that empowerment is essentially a bottom-up process rather than something that can be formulated as a top-down strategy. Understanding empowerment in this way means that development agencies cannot claim to empower women. Women must empower themselves. Therefore, the role of external support and intervention is important in supporting the process of empowerment by playing the enabling or facilitating roles.

2.5.Overview of Oxfam GB West Timor and CIS Timor in relation to the ATUP project

Oxfam GB West Timor

Oxfam GB West Timor is one of among four programme area offices within Oxfam GB Country office Indonesia. This office was opened in 1999 following the influx of refugees from East Timor to West Timor but it was temporarily closed in 2000 due to security reason. The office resumed its operation in 2002 when the situation already secures. During 2002 up to 2006, the activities were mainly focussed on the programs related to the relocation of East Timorese refugees in West Timor but starting 2006, new projects were developed to target local communities in livelihood, emergency responses and advocacy.

CIS Timor

CIS Timor stands for Center for Internally Displaced People's Services Timor. It is a local NGO in Kupang, West Timor. Initially, it was established mainly for responding to the influx of refugees in 1999 but later, the services are expanded to work on other community development sectors such as public health, sanitation, food security survey, advocacy, etc (CIS Timor, 2008).

The partnership of Oxfam and CIS Timor was built since 2003 in the implementation of projects for the relocation of refugees. In the Aid To Uprooted People (ATUP)

project, Oxfam GB West Timor serves as donor and CIS Timor as partner organisation. This 18 months project was implemented first from 2005 – 2006 and then it was continued in the second phase from 2007 – 2008. In this project, Oxfam is responsible not only for providing funds for the project but also guidelines, project management, monitoring and capacity building for partner organisations. While CIS Timor as partner organisation, is responsible for implementing the project at the community level following all guidelines and regulations jointly agreed in this project.

2.6. Overview of the ATUP (Aid To Uprooted People) project

The ATUP project is funded by the European Commission to address the needs and concerns of East Timorese refugees for relocation in West Timor. The project was built on the completion of the previous refugees related projects starting with ECHO I and ECHO II from 2002 - 2005. When these two projects finished, ATUP I and ATUP II projects took place from 2005 - 2008.

This project has two dimensions of the implementation. First, it provides assistance for refugees in order to own secure locations to live. Refugees were supported during land negotiation process, purchasing of lands, legalization of lands and certification of the purchased lands. Second, it ensured to support refugees in order to have viable locations to live. Refugees were supported to have access to potable water, sanitation facilities, basic health services, livelihood and their other needs and concerns were advocated to other related stakeholders such as government and other NGOs.

In relation to gender mainstreaming, the project ensured that women and other vulnerable people have a voice in the processes of the project implementation and benefit equally from the project inputs. The full participation of people, especially vulnerable people, in the project is a prerequisite to ensuring that the project is relevant to people's needs, and to ensure the accountability and quality of the intervention. At a community level, the project methodologies ensured that women and other vulnerable people, who traditionally have a weaker position in community decision-making processes, are able to participate. In addition, gender empowerment is done not only through the involvement in the decision-making process but also by improving the knowledge and skills of the final beneficiaries which also serves as a key to the sustainability of the work (Oxfam GB West Timor, 2007).

One of the strategies used by Oxfam in this project is by establishing and working with community working group structures for the long-term sustainability of the project benefits. The working groups include: Community Information Volunteers, Village Health Cadres, Water and Sanitation Committee and Food Security cadres. The implementation, monitoring and maintenance of the project at the community level were well supported by these working groups. These structures were linked to the local village government systems and to the appropriate government departments at a district level e.g. District Health structures, Department of Agriculture, Department of Animal Husbandry. Women are encouraged to actively participate in these structures and it was made sure that the structures were not dominated by social or political elites. The people recruited in the structures are those selected by the community. In order to meet the technical sustainability of these structures, the project activities were built on already existing technologies, practices and skills of the communities which then backed up by a comprehensive training/capacity building strategy conducted by partner organisations.

2.7. Community Working Group Structures in the ATUP project

In this section, community working group structures established in the ATUP project are briefly elaborated. Elements presented below cover the selection criteria, basic competences required for the job, and the role and responsibilities of each job in the community working group structure. In the guidelines for the establishment of community working group structures (Oxfam and CIS Timor, 2005) information related to each structure is as follows:

2.7.1. Community Information Volunteers.

Basically, this job is established in order to empower the community as information agent in their own community. As information agents, they are responsible for providing information needed by the community dealing with their status as refugees. Information includes: housing allocation, funds support, *raskin* (cheap rice distribution), life insurance, refugee status, etc. At the same time, they are supposed to provide information on the needs and concerns of refugees to stakeholders for follow up. In addition, this job support the work of Oxfam GB and partner organisations in information dissemination activities particularly in the secondary locations (camps where people have not decided to move out to relocation sites) so that the information needs in those locations are still covered. The access to information would help refugees to make decision for options offered by Indonesian government. In fact, Indonesian government offered three options for refugees. They are: repatriation to East Timor, transmigration outside of West Timor and transmigration inside West Timor.

Selection criteria:

- Selected directly by the community
- Male or female.
- Literate
- Willing to work voluntarily
- Willing to carry out the role and responsibilities required
- Have social relation with the community
- Have initial relation with the staff

Basic competences required:

- Able to speak Bahasa Indonesia and local language
- Able to identify the situation mapping of the community
- Able to motivate and encourage the community
- Able to take a lead in the discussion of community matters

Role and responsibilities:

- To support in the distribution of information from CIS Timor and Oxfam GB including monthly newsletter.
- To monitor and gather information at the community level.
- To inform CIS Timor and related stakeholders about the problems and challenges faced by the community.
- To try to solve the problem faced by the community independently.
- To support the community as motivator, mediator or facilitator especially for specific cases.
- To serve as information agent for their own needs for the community.

2.7.2. Village Health Cadres

This job is established in order to facilitate for the implementation of the health activities at the community level. Activities in public health activities includes: hygiene promotions, construction of garbage spot and children activities.

Selection criteria:

In selecting Village Health cadres, the criteria for selection were discussed with the community during community planning. Basically, the criteria are:

- Selected directly by the community
- Male or female. If possible, equal representation of men and women.
- Must be newly recruited village health cadres
- Selected either from refugees or local communities
- Literate
- Willing to work voluntarily
- Willing to carry out the role and responsibilities required

Basic competences required:

- Able to communicate with the community using local language
- Able to communicate with all level of the communities
- Able to collaborate with others
- Able to identify the current hygiene practice of the community
- Be responsive for the current situation in the community
- Be modest and indiscriminate in providing services
- Able to set a good example both for the family and for the community
- Know and appreciate the taboo practices within the community
- Able to generate positive influence to the community in order to support behaviour change at the community level

Role and responsibilities:

- By providing information related to the project, to ensure that the beneficiaries get to know well that the project being implemented is funded in collaboration of Oxfam and European Union.
- To motivate and encourage the community to have understanding in order to create a hygienic practices.
- To observe and provide information related to the public health activities.
- To collaborate with the community, water and sanitation committee, skilled labours, warehousemen, head of sub-villages and all different level of the community.
- To provide health extension services through home visit, group discussion or community meetings.
- To prepare and submit biweekly reports on health extension services conducted.
- To keep informed to NGO and Oxfam for any problems faced in the implementation of the health activities.

2.7.3. Water and Sanitation Committee

This job is established in order to facilitate for the construction and maintenance of the water and sanitation facilities for improving the health of the community for a longer period of time. Types of water and sanitation facilities constructed are wells, water tanks, gravity pipe installation, latrines, bathing units and spring protection.

Selection criteria:

- Selected directly by the community

- Male or female. If possible, equal representation of men and women.
- Selected either from refugees or local communities
- Literate
- Willing to work voluntarily
- Willing to carry out the role and responsibilities required

Basic competences required:

To be member of water and sanitation committee, one at least is supposed to be able to communicate with all community using local language at all levels and able to mobilise the community to participate in the construction and maintenance of the facilities.

Role and responsibilities:

- By providing information related to the project, to ensure that the beneficiaries get to know well that the project being implemented is funded in collaboration of Oxfam and European Union.
- To motivate and encourage the community to work together in constructing the facilities.
- To observe and provide information related to the progress and maintenance of the construction of water and sanitation facilities
- To collaborate with the community, water and sanitation committee, skilled labours, warehousemen, head of sub-villages and all different level of the community.
- To prepare and submit biweekly reports on the progress of the construction.
- Along with the community, to build the sense of ownership to the constructed facilities so as it can be used for a long period of time.
- To keep a good inventory of all tools used during construction before being approved to be handed over by Oxfam and European Union.
- To keep informed to NGO and Oxfam for any problems faced in the construction of the water and sanitation facilities.

2.7.4. Food Security Cadres

This job is established in order to support the implementation of food security activities in the project which covers agriculture, fishing and animal husbandry activities. For agriculture, it focuses on vegetable cultivation while goat rearing is selected for animal husbandry activity. For fishing, farmers are supported with fishing nets, boats and motors.

Selection criteria:

- Selected directly by the community
- Male or female. If possible, equal representation of men and women.
- Selected either from refugees or local communities
- Literate
- Willing to work voluntarily
- Willing to carry out the role and responsibilities required

Basic competences required:

- Able to communicate with the community using local language
- Able to communicate with all level of the communities
- Able to collaborate with others
- Able to identify the current hygiene practice of the community
- Be responsive for the current situation in the community
- Be modest and indiscriminate in providing services

- Able to set a good example both for the family and for the community
- Know and appreciate the taboo practices within the community
- Able to generate positive influence to the community in order to support behaviour change at the community level

Role and responsibilities:

- By providing information related to the project, to ensure that the beneficiaries get to know well that the project being implemented is funded in collaboration of Oxfam and European Union.
- To motivate and encourage the community to work together with farmer groups in the field of fishing, agriculture and animal husbandry.
- To transfer the knowledge acquired from the training facilitated by Oxfam, government extension officer to the assisted community.
- To observe and provide information related to the progress of activities in the areas of agriculture, fishing and animal husbandry.
- To collaborate with the community, heads of farmer groups, community coordinators, village staff, head of sub-villages and all different level of the community.
- To prepare and submit weekly reports on the progress of the food security activities.
- To keep informed to NGO and Oxfam for any problems faced in the implementation of the food security activities.

CHAPTER THREE – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides information about the methodology used in this research which covers the selection of the study area, research strategy, method of data collection and sample selection.

3.1. Selection of the study area

The field work of this research was conducted in assisted areas of CIS Timor in Belu district, West Timor, East Nusa Tenggara province. It focuses on locations where women's participation in community management is high. For comparison, other sample was selected where women's participation in community management is low.

The reasons for the selection of study area are as follows:

- Most of the beneficiaries of the ATUP project are in Belu district. Therefore, the changed participation in community management by women in the relocation sites will be more visible in this district.
- CIS Timor is selected because of the long history of their involvement in dealing with East Timorese refugees since 1999 from the camps until relocation sites. In addition, working areas of CIS Timor are mostly situated in Belu district.
- The researcher close relationship with CIS Timor staff and community leaders makes it easier to get the data needed for the study purpose.
- The researcher is personally interested to interview those women with outstanding role in community management in Belu district.

3.2. Research strategy

The research has mainly a qualitative approach and is based on the empirical data, literature review and desk study. For this purpose, interview was conducted. The interview was based on the interview checklist (annex 1 – 5).

3.3. Sample selection

Since this research is focussing on the increased role of women in the community management roles, the sample is taken from the locations where women are in the community management roles either as Community Information volunteers, Village Health Cadres, Water and Sanitation committee or Food Security Cadres.

After mapping the locations where women have increased roles in community management, samples were taken. For this, 45 respondents were selected and interviewed. This includes: women in community management, husband of those women, elder women, men and community leaders, women who are not in community management. The selection of these categories is based on the following justifications. Women in community management are selected in order to find out how women take up community management roles. Husbands of those women are selected in order to find out their perception and how gender roles are negotiated within households. Elder women are selected as other category in order to find out the situation of women in East Timor before migrating to West Timor and the perception of elder women towards the change roles of women. Men and community leaders are other categories in order to find out from men and community leaders the factors allowing women to take up roles in community management and their perception to this change. In addition, women who are not in community management were selected in order to find out the reasons for not involving in community management.

At CIS Timor level, 6 CIS Timor staff were selected and interviewed as respondents. These are the staff who are directly involved in the recruitment process of community working groups and provided assistance for them during the project implementation.

Table 2. List of sample of the research

Category of sample	Number of Respondents (n)	Remarks
Community Information Volunteers	3	Due to limited time, it was purposely decided to select 3 respondents from this category
Village Health Cadres	3	Due to limited time, it was purposely decided to select 3 respondents from this category
Water & Sanitation committee	1	Out of 2 women in this category, there was only one respondent available for the interview
Food Security Cadres	3	Due to limited time, it was purposely decided to select 3 respondents from this category
Elder women	10	Random selection of elder women in the selected sites. Age 50 years and above.
Husbands	5	Husbands of 5 out of 10 women in community management who already got married
Men	12	Random selection of men in the selected sites. Age 30 years and above.
Community leaders	5	Community leaders of locations selected as sample. All are male
Women not involved	3	Due to limited time, it was purposely decided to select 3 respondents from this category
CIS Timor	6	These are field staff who directly deal with women in community management
Total	51	

3.4. Source of data information and method of data collection

3.4.1. Primary data

Primary was gathered by using semi-structure individual interview and focus group discussion and it was arranged for different target groups. First group is elder women refugees. It focussed on getting information about the previous situation of women regarding community management role before migrated to West Timor and their opinion on the current changed role of women in the community management. Second group is young women who are now participating in community management. It focused on how women renegotiate their gender roles with men and its consequences due to their increasing involvement in community management role. Third group is men including husbands and informal community leaders. It

focuses on the negotiation of division of labours between men and women and the perception of men on the increased role of women in community management.

In addition, staff of CIS Timor were interviewed in order to get information on how CIS Timor organise the community in order to increase the participation of women in community management and whether there was contribution of CIS Timor on the increased role of women in the community management.

3.4.2. Secondary data

Secondary data was gathered through literature review, reports, journals, articles, internets, books and other relevant documents.

3.5. Data analysis

The data collected during interview with the respondent was grouped by looking at the similarities of the responses from the different groups. Further, it was analyzed by referring to the literature review.

CHAPTER FOUR – FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the findings as well as the discussion of the findings.

4.1. Women in community management in East Timor before migrated to West Timor

In order to compare with the previous situation in East Timor on the role or task of women in community management before migrating to West Timor, as well as the reasons for low participation in community management, 10 elder women were interviewed. The findings are presented in the following tables below:

Table 3. Tasks of women in community management in East Timor

Category of respondents	Responses from respondents		
	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3
	Women was responsible for supporting the meeting by preparing food	Women was responsible for preparing not only food but also betel nut and red wine	Only young women who take care of the food while old women may sit in the meeting but silent
Elder women (N=10)	6	4	4

Table 4. Reasons for low participation of women in community management

Category of respondents	Responses from respondents		
	Reason 1	Reason 2	Reason 3
	Women are busy dealing with many works at home such as taking care of coffee, farmland, goat, pig and chicken, cooking.	Certain communal cultural rituals are men's business. That's not for women	Such meeting is men's business because it has been set by culture that it was men who speak and women must be silent
Elder women (N=10)	7	4	2

In the table 03 above, it shows that 10 elder women indicated that the task of women in community management before in East Timor is to serve food, betel nut and red wine, was the extension of their productive role in the household. This is conform what Moser (1993) stated that the participation of women in the community managing is part of their reproductive work which was around the provision of items for collective consumption at the community level.

As described in table 04, despite of the overload work burden, the reason for low participation of women in the community management is the cultural norm as indicated in Oxfam GB (2004) in which women should be silent - '*Feto rona deit, mane poder barak liu*' (*Woman should only listen, man has more power*)- and the limited space given for women in community management, inhibited women to take up a role in community politics which was the area of men. This cultural norm was an important pillar for the patriarchal society.

4.2. Factors for women's involvement in community management among refugees

In this section, factors that are either pushing or pulling women's involvement in community management are elaborated. In fact, there are respondents in each category who gave more than one responses on a given topic.

4.2.1. Pushing factors

Pushing factors that allowing women to take up community management roles are presented below. Some factors emerge after women have decided to take community management roles.

Table 05 below shows that all categories of respondents confirmed that high level of education is the main factor that pushed women into community management roles. Further study that was conducted on level of education of these 10 women interviewed shows that 7 out 10 women in community management graduated from high school and the other 2 graduated from elementary school and 1 graduated from university. The study revealed that level of education is the most important factor contributing to the increased participation of women in community management. Since most of refugees have low level of education (illiterate or not graduated from elementary school), women have the chance to take up roles in community management. In fact, the community related the level of education with the skill to speak Bahasa Indonesia in which the persons should be able communicate, read and write in Bahasa Indonesia when dealing with outsiders for the purpose of their community interest. As indicated by Turner (2000) that in refugee camps, other characteristics have become important to be a leader than in the traditional setting. In this case, level of education is the most important criteria. This is conforms what Mohammed cited in Mulumba (2005) stated that the negotiation in gender relations are never static but are always on going. Yet, the fact that women have higher level of education is contradictory to the fact indicated in USAID (2004) that women have low literacy and educational level.

In addition, 9 women indicated that support from the family and community an important factor to enable them to take community management roles. Here, lack of confidence is an issue for women. This is to conform to the study from the Asian Development Bank (2005) which indicated that women have lack of confidence due to the cultural norms which didn't encourage them to speak. Therefore, women need support in order to raise their self-confidence in taking up community management roles.

Meanwhile, 10 men indicated that prioritizing public interest or public benefit is another important factor to allow women to take community management roles. This is contradictory to the patriarchal norms before where women were not given space in community management which was considered the area of men. But, as indicated by Meintjes et al. 2001 cited in Koster 2008 that the situation of forced migration offer the opportunity for transformative process in which gender roles of men and women can be renegotiated.

Furthermore, from the table 05, it shows that the traditional notion that women are less capable then men is still obvious in refugee community. In table 06, only half of respondents of each categories who indicated that women have capacity in terms of specific expertise and knowledge (factor 2), leadership (factor 3) and relationship with stakeholders (factor 4). This is to conform to what Asian Development Bank (2004) found on the traditional notion in East Timor that women are less capable than men.

Table 5. Pushing factors for the involvement of women in community management

Categories of respondents	Responses from respondents								
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8	Factor 9
	Women have Higher level of education	Support from the family and community	Awareness for prioritizing public interest/ public benefit	Women have specific expertise/ knowledge	Increased knowledge	Women have leadership (ability to speak in public, to organise and to mobilise)	Women have relation with stakeholders	Availability of women at relocation site	Women have economic power
Women in community management (N= 10)	9	7	5	3	8	2	2	3	2
Husbands (N= 5)	5	5	5	2	3	1	0	2	0
Men (N= 12)	10	10	10	6	0	5	4	2	3
Community leaders (N= 5)	5	4	5	3	0	2	3	1	2
Total (N= 32)	29	26	25	14	11	10	9	8	7

Similarly, in table 05, it shows that only 3 husbands indicated that women have increased knowledge (factor 5) after learning new skills and assuming new roles when taking up community management roles while the rest of men didn't indicate this. I think, this is still related to the existing traditional notion as described previously.

4.2.2. Pulling factors

Pulling factors that hampering women for taking community management roles are presented in table 06. In fact, some pulling factors emerged after women have decided to take community management roles.

Table 6. Pulling factors for the involvement of women in community management

Categories of respondents	Responses from respondents					
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
	Lack of self confidence	Low level of education	Women can not speak Bahasa Indonesia	Age (Some women are still young)	Position as women. Why women? (patriarchy)	Depending on the success and failure of their work
Women in community management (N=10)	4	3	0	3	5	1
Women not involved in community management (N= 3)	3	3	3	0	0	0
Husbands (N= 5)	3	4	4	1	0	0
Men (N= 12)	10	3	5	5	0	1
Community leaders (N= 5)	4	4	4	2	0	1
Total (N= 35)	31	17	16	11	5	3

The table 06 shows that there is a correlation among factors that pulling women from taking community management roles. This is indicated by the top three factors in the table. Low level of education has relation to the skill to speak Bahasa Indonesia which women have lack of confidence. This finding shows the connection among these three factors. This is conform to the study of Asian Development Bank (2005) which stated that women have lack of confidence and problem in picking up second language which was widely spoken. Similarly to this, USAID (2004) indicated that the problem of low level of education and second language acquisition, was the problems that hampering women in taking up leadership positions.

In addition, the issue about patriarchy, where sometimes men challenged those women in the community management, it was differently perceived by men and women. In table 06 above, only women who perceived patriarchy as a pulling factor for their involvement in community management. I think, this is still influenced by the

culture of patriarchy as indicated in Oxfam GB (2004) in which women were found to be in disadvantage position while men perceive it as part of the cultural norms.

4.3. Negotiation of gender roles (labour division of labour and gender identity) of men and women within household due to women taking up community management roles

4.3.1. Adjustment of gender division of labour at individual level (women)

Table 7. Adjustment of gender division of labour at individual level (women)

Categories of respondents	Responses from respondents		
	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3
	I wake up earlier than I used to so that I can prepare food and do other things	I make sure that everything is ready (food, prepare children to school, feeding animals, watering vegetables) before doing my jobs	I cook more at the relocation site so that I can share food with my children
Women in community management (N=10)	5	4	1

From the findings in table 07, it shows that 10 women who involved in community management indicated a number of ways to adjust on their primary work in order to ensure that their additional tasks in community management could be conducted properly. As indicated by Mohammed cited in Mulumba (2005) that the situation of forced migration necessitates adjustment of gender division of labour at the individual level. Furthermore, it also proves the notion that the negotiation of gender relations itself, not necessarily in forced migration situation, is never static but is always on going.

4.3.2. Negotiation of gender division of labour between men and women at household level

Table 8. Negotiation of gender division of labour between men and women at household level

Categories of respondents	Responses from respondents			
	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3	Response 4
	We discuss first with my husband before deciding to take the roles and we agree to support each other	We take turn in doing the housework (cooking, taking care of children)	Other family members (younger brothers, sisters, elders, friend) help me	We take turn in watering vegetable gardens
Women in community management (N=10)	5	5	5	3
Husbands (N= 5)	5	5	3	3
Total (N= 15)	10	10	8	6

From the findings in table 08, it shows that 10 out of 15 respondents indicated that there was a previous rearrangement and negotiation process between men and women within the household and kin members dealing with the gender division of labour. This is to conform what Szczepanikova (2005) stated that forced migration compels migrants to rearrange their previous conceptions of gender roles which leads to new arrangements between men and women within the household. Similar to the analyses for table 07 that the negotiation of gender relations including at the household level is never static but is always ongoing as it requires adjustments between men and women.

4.3.3. Negotiation of gender roles of men and women at community level

Table 9. Negotiation of gender roles of men and women at the community level

Categories of respondents	Responses from respondents			
	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3	Response 4
	This is for public interest. No problem if women leads	In fact now they have the capacity, so why not giving them the chance to lead	Situation has change. We must adjust with the change that women can take lead now	Most men are shy, nervous but women are brave. Give them the chance
Women in community management (N=10)	10	6	3	4
Elder women (N= 10)	6	4	2	1
Husbands (N= 5)	5	2	2	3
Men (N= 12)	10	8	6	4
Community leaders (N= 5)	5	4	3	3
Total (N= 42)	36	24	16	15

Table 09 shows that, all categories of respondents indicated that what was agreed in the rearrangement of gender roles at the community level constitutes new components in the existing gender relations of refugee community which was different in their conception about gender roles in the traditional setting. For instance, as indicated by Oxfam GB (2004) that good women are those who didn't talk much. This is conform what Mohammed cited in Mulumba (2005) stated the situation of forced migration has compelled the renegotiation of gender roles which resulted in new components in the existing gender relations. However, all categories of respondents indicated low recognition and acceptance of the capacity of women and changed situation as new components of gender relations into the community since only few respondents from each category who indicated this. Even, elder women seem to maintain the previous gender relations with which they were familiar (Mohammed cited in Mulumba, 2005). I think, even though the negotiation of gender relations is always ongoing but in this case, it is indicated that it is also a process that takes time before it is widely accepted by the community as a new component of gender relations within their community.

4.4. Perception of different people towards women taking up community management roles

Table 10. Perception of different people towards women taking up community management roles

Categories of respondents	Responses from respondents			
	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3	Response 4
	Household level		Community level	
	It does not disturb the traditional roles as wives and mothers	Women are still 'good women' with good relation with husbands	This is our choice. We have selected them. We must support them	Women have capacity to do their job (brave, fluent in Bahasa Indonesia)
Husbands (N= 5)	5	5	1	2
Men (N= 12)	10	9	5	4
Community leaders (N= 5)	5	5	3	3
Elder women (N= 10)	10	10	4	3
Total (N= 42)	30	29	13	12

Table 10 shows that the majority of respondents indicated a good perception about women in community management, at the household level while the capacity of women was not much valued at the community level since only half of the respondents indicated a good perception. Although it needs further analysis but I think, this is still related to what ADB (2005) indicated that the traditional notion perceived that women are less capable than men. Moreover, as indicated by Mohammed cited in Mulumba (2005) during the negotiation in gender relations that the community tends to retain gender identity with which people are familiar.

4.5. The impact of women for taking up community management roles

This section presents the impact and consequences encountered by women for taking up community management roles.

Table 11. The impact of women for taking up community management roles in relation to their other responsibilities within the household and the community

Categories of respondents	Responses from respondents			
	Response 1	Response 2	Response 3	Response 4
	Household level		Community level	
	No negative impact on Women's workload	Women get benefits (improved knowledge, self confidence)	Women face problem with the community	Women get respect
Women in community management (N=10)	10	8	6	5
Husbands (N= 5)	5	5	2	2
Men (N= 12)	12	10	5	10
Community leaders (N= 5)	5	4	2	4
Total (N= 32)	32	27	15	21

Table 11, shows that almost all of the 32 respondents indicated a good rearrangement of gender roles at different levels in refugee communities which has resulted a positive impact on women's other responsibilities at household level. This is conform what was indicated by Mohammed cited in Mulumba (2005) that the construction of gender roles during forced migration requires a compromise between men and women at different levels. Yet, similar to the perception as described in table 10 that the recognition of women's role at the community level was still low due to the traditional notion that women are less capable than men.

In addition, a contradiction was found when comparing what respondents indicated as the impact of women's increased roles at household level in table 11 and the adjustment of gender division of labour done by women as indicated in table 07. Two explanations can be made for this. First, as indicated by USAID (2004) that although women having greater workload burden, men do not perceive it as a problem. Second, adjustment on housework made by women occurs within women's domain for gender division of labour in which women have their own authority to make necessary adjustments when needed without the interference of men.

4.6. Women in community management recruited by CIS Timor during the project

Table 12. Number of women in community management recruited by CIS Timor during the implementation of the ATUP project

No	Category	Male	Female	Total
1	Community Information Volunteer	24	17	41
2	Village Health Cadre	30	87	117
3	Water and Sanitation Committee	53	2	55
4	Food Security Cadre	93	40	133
	Total	199	146	345

Source: CIS Timor (2008). *Aid To Uprooted People project final report*

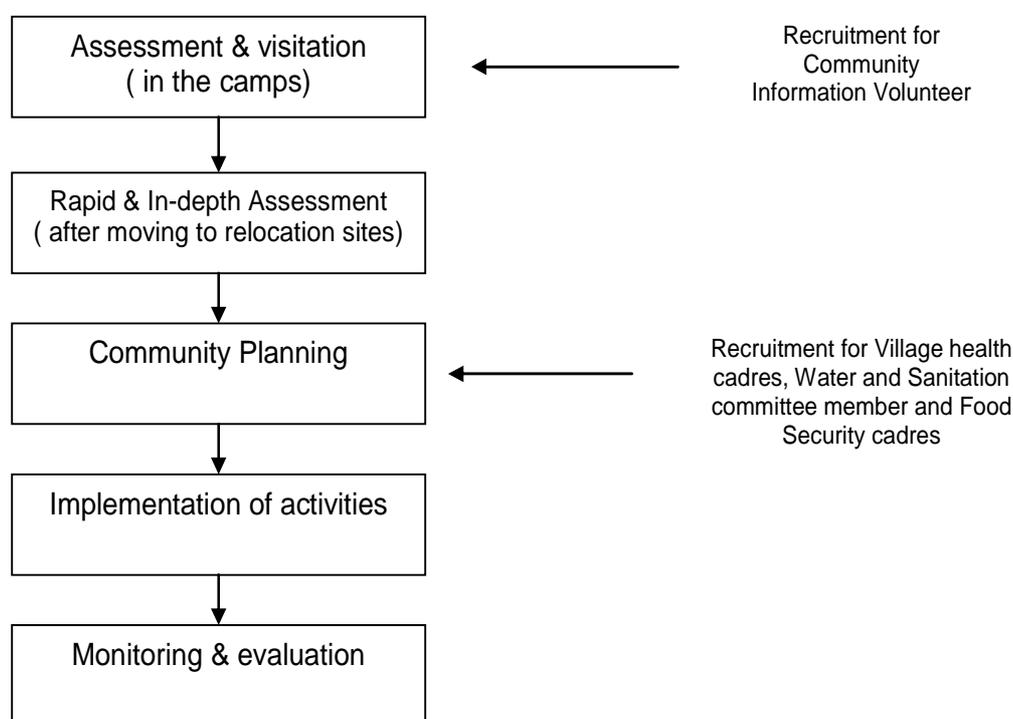
Table 12, shows an extension of gender division of labour of women in the household where the responsibility for taking care of the family members is part of the reproductive role and responsibility of women which was similarly perceived by the community as the task of women at the community level. Similarly for men, where the involvement of men in community working groups was the extension of their works at the household level which deal mainly with the decision making and construction – an area where women are considered less capable than men.

4.7. Role of CIS Timor in the increased role of women in community management

4.7.1. Recruitment process and empowerment for community working groups.

In this project, CIS Timor implemented an approach towards the process of recruiting community working groups as follows:

Figure 2. Recruitment process for members of community working groups



At the assessment level, refugee communities who live in camps were visited regularly. Newsletter containing information related to refugees was distributed. This was the time for the recruitment of Community Information volunteers. Basic criteria were informed and discussed with the refugees and let them decide among themselves who would fit with the required criteria. Women were encouraged to participate in this position. After the Community Information volunteers have been recruited, they were trained by CIS Timor. During the project two training were conducted for the Community information volunteers. One training was held at CIS Timor office in Atambua while the other training was conducted in CIS Timor office in Betun. Topics in the training include dissemination of information mechanism, humanitarian protection, refugee status, and roles and responsibilities of Community

Information Volunteers. Each training was conducted for one day and facilitated by CIS Timor staff who works in the Action Planning department (CIS Timor ATUP final report, 2008).

For the refugees who have moved to relocations sites, Public Health team and Food security teams conducted another assessment to see the possibility for implementing public health and food security intervention.

All findings during assessment were discussed in the community planning. This was the time for the recruitment of Village health cadres, Water and sanitation committee members and Food security cadres. Basic criteria for the recruitment of these three community working groups were informed and discussed with the community and let them decide among themselves who would fit with the required criteria. Both women and men were encouraged to be member of community working groups. After they were all recruited, they were trained by CIS Timor.

In each relocation site, trainings for village health cadres and water and sanitation committee were conducted together on site and it took two days. This training was facilitated by CIS Timor staff from Public Health promotion and Public Health engineering department. For Village Health cadres, the topics in the training include public health practices and promotion activities, prevention and cure of common diseases and roles and responsibilities of Village Health Cadres. All of those topics were also given to Water and Sanitation committee members. Some topics which are specific to Water and Sanitation committee members are the construction of water and sanitation facilities, protection aspect during construction and their role and responsibilities.

While the training for food security cadres, it was conducted along with food security cadres from other sites on one selected site. It took two days for each training event. This training was facilitated by CIS Timor staff from Food Security department. For Food Security cadres, the topics of the training include: agriculture related topics: farmlands cultivation, pest management, fertilisers; goat management topics: fence construction, diseases handling and fodder; fishery related topics: fishing net assembling, boat construction and management, group management. Roles and responsibilities of food security cadre are also part of the training.

Further assistance was consistently provided by CIS Timor staff during their regular monitoring to the relocations sites. Some community working groups have mobile phones so exchange of information or updates of the project progress could be checked by CIS Timor staff at anytime or the community could easily contacted CIS Timor staff whenever there were any urgent matters at the community level.

4.7.2. Analysis on the strategy and role of CIS Timor for the increased role of women in community management

From the findings of the research, CIS Timor played a significant role in the increased role of women in community management. From the figure 04, it was clear on the steps that CIS was taking during the recruitment process and assistance provided for the community working groups. As described earlier that at first CIS Timor socialized to the community the need for establishing community working groups to support for the implementation of the ATUP project and gave the decision to the community themselves to select the persons who were suitable to be members of community working groups. This approach has been effective since people who are members of community working groups are working on voluntary basis so that it would be good for the community themselves to recruit people who want to work

voluntarily for the project. To ensure the involvement of women, CIS Timor encouraged equal proportional of men and women to be considered in the selection of community working groups. But finally, by referring to the basic criteria and description on the job of the community working groups member, it was the community themselves who select women to be involved in the community management.

The study revealed that although women have been selected by the community but in some cases, they were still in doubt whether to take the roles or not. At this point, it was CIS Timor who encouraged, supported and motivated them to feel confident with their choices because CIS Timor ensured to train them and keep assisting them during the project.

This way of approaching women was one of the pushing factor which enable women to move forward into the community management roles. As indicated by Oxaal and Baden (1997) that appropriate external support and intervention, however, can be important to foster and support the process of empowerment. Here, CIS Timor played an enabling and facilitating role so that refugee women can take roles in community management. The facilitating role was done by CIS Timor in ensuring empowerment of women. This was done by encouraging women's participation through their visit, discussion and socialisation of the project to the communities. In addition, women's empowerment was done by increasing the capacity of women who involve in community management. CIS Timor conducted a number of training to community working groups so that they could learn new knowledge and experience. As stated in the finding of the study that women confirmed to have gained new knowledge and experience which have made them feel more confident in doing their jobs. In addition, their involvement in community management has increased their capacity in decision-making process and development activities at the community level. This is conform what Torres (n.d.) stated on the positive impact of the forced migration where it allows for greater mobility and the opportunity to learn new skills and assume new roles, which may be an empowering experience for women.

The study revealed that, as indicated by Murison (2004) about the effective gender mainstreaming requirements, the training provided, the regular monitoring and visit conducted by CIS Timor staff has helped increasing their knowledge and confidence in doing their jobs in community management.

In this study, CIS Timor staff confirmed that with the help of the community working groups, not only that the project output were achieved in line with the project plan but also there was a good relationship among the community working groups and CIS Timor staff until to date. The community in particular was grateful to CIS Timor for assistance provided for them during the project.

In addition, CIS Timor staff have seen that there was a recognition and an appreciation of women's capacity in taking roles in community management. Here is a story from a CIS Timor staff:

“One day we went for a field visit to Wekakeuk site to see and facilitate how village health cadres conducted public health extension to the community. We sat together with women and men including husband of one village health cadre. While one village health cadre was speaking, her husband commented to us with a surprise saying: Hey, you CIS Timor, what have you been doing to my wife, she is changing now? How come she is able to speak in front of many people? I can't believe it. It never happened before? Please tell me, what happen to my wife? ”

4.7.3. Problems faced by CIS Timor dealing with female Community Working Groups

In the interview with CIS Timor staff, there are some problems faced during working with community groups. In case that the women was still single at the time of recruitment, after they got married they moved to other locations or they become busy taking care of their family. In other case, women migrated as overseas workers or they continued their study at the university level. With this condition, the community need to recruit new community working groups. The study revealed that during the project, there were 12 out of 146 women who dropped out because of those reasons mentioned above.

From women's point of view, other problems faced by community information volunteers as they reported to CIS Timor were underestimation of the community because they were still young and because they were women. The community seems to underestimate their capacity because of their age and experience. While for Village health cadres, water and sanitation committee and food security cadres, the difficulties they reported to CIS Timor was mostly on how to change behaviour of the community which deal with for instance hygiene promotion activities, sanitation, goat proper management, etc.

4.7.4. Analysis of the problems faced by CIS Timor when dealing with female community working groups

The study revealed that the main problem faced by CIS Timor in dealing with the involvement of women in community is mostly on the turn over of women from their role in community management. This problem is closely related to their age, level of education and opportunity to earn a better life. In terms of age, some women were still young or less than 25 years old when recruited. When got married, there was woman who followed her husband to move other village. Other reason is related to their level of education. When they got the chance to continue their study to the university they left the relocation site and lived in the city. Working abroad as overseas labour is another reason of women to quit from their role in community management. CIS Timor noticed that during the project, there were 12 out of 146 women who dropped out from their roles in community management because of those reasons.

As described by CIS Timor, from the perspective of women who involved in community management, the problem is mostly on the challenges they faced when dealing with the community such as behaviour change in promoting public health activities, underestimation, etc. I think, the challenges they faced is somehow influenced by some reasons such as the traditional notion which perceived women having less capacity than men as indicated in Asian Development bank assessment report (2005). Other reasons could be the culture of patriarchy (Micato, 2001) where before, women were in the position of being dependent to men and women were passive and lack of courage to take leadership. Therefore, when women decided to take roles in community management, they were challenged by the community.

CHAPTER FIVE – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the conclusions of this study which is based on the reflection of the literature review, findings and analysis of the situation before and after forced migration of East Timorese refugee in order to answer the factors contributes to the increased roles of women in community management as well as the contribution of the strategy of Oxfam GB West Timor towards this change.

5.1. Conclusions

From the study, a number of conclusions can be drawn as follows:

- Women played minor roles in community management in East Timor before. The involvement of women in community management was basically the extension of their traditional and primary productive role at the household level. The cultural norms in the patriarchal society in East Timor has shaped the gender division of labours and contributed to the low participation of women into the community management – an area which was perceived as the dominance of men.
- After forcibly migrated to West Timor, the situation of forced migration has resulted a number of factors that pushing women in community management. The study revealed that level of education is the most important factor that pushed women into community management roles. This was perceived as new criteria in the selection of community leader which was different in the traditional setting previously in East Timor where decision making process and community management was dominated by men.
- 146 out of 345 total members of the members of community working groups (42 %) are female volunteers recruited by CIS Timor during the ATUP project. In the community management structures, the recruitment was still influenced by the conception on gender roles in which the concentration of men and women are perceived as the extension of their gender roles at the household level.
- The study revealed that there was a rearrangement and renegotiation of gender division of labour and gender identity at different level within the society as the consequences of women for taking up community management roles. The rearrangement and renegotiation of gender division of labour and gender identity occur at individual level, household level and at the community level.
- The study revealed that the increased roles of women in community management were perceived positively by both men and women within the community. Yet, at the community level, to some extent, it was not highly valued since it was still influenced by the traditional notion that women are less capable than men.
- Although women involved in community management, the study revealed that it doesn't affect other responsibilities of women at the household and community level. Even, with the increased roles in community management, women gained benefits in terms of the increased knowledge and skill and it has raised their status within the community.

- Oxfam GB West Timor in the collaboration with CIS Timor through the ATUP project played a significant facilitating role to the fact of the increased role of women in community management. The strategy used by CIS Timor in ensuring the involvement of women into the community management structures was appropriate and effective not only to increase women's roles, knowledge, skills and experience but also to empower women and made them feel confident in taking up community management roles.
- Meanwhile, the problem faced by CIS Timor in organising female volunteers are mostly on the productive roles of women in terms of child bearing and rearing, marriage and leaving to the city for pursuing a higher education level. Other problem encountered by women in their community management roles was the traditional notion within the community which perceived that women are less capable than men.
- Overall, from the finding of the study, it can be concluded that the strategy of Oxfam GB West Timor through establishing and working with community working groups, has greatly contributed not only to the increased roles of women in community management but also for ensuring the sustainability of the project benefit as it also contributes to gender equality by giving women greater access to and control of community decision-making and development process that affect their life. With this strategy, women and men sharing decision-making and household and community level leadership more equitably. This conclusion is in line with the gender mainstreaming strategy of Oxfam GB.

5.2. Recommendations

By referring to the study and the conclusions above, a number of recommendations are necessary for the future implementation of the project, as follows:

- Since the perception, acceptance and recognition of the community towards the increased roles of women in community management is still relatively low, the project should consider gender awareness activities for different groups (community leaders, elders, men, women and children) in the community. These activities are quite important for the community where the patriarchy norms are still exist. Gender awareness activities can be done through focus group discussions, informal meetings, film showing, role plays and during on the job trainings with community working groups.
- In addition, the project should consider more dissemination of information about women participation, concern and needs in community management through the existing newsletter distribution in order to raise awareness of the community.
- The project should consider more kinds of empowerment for women in community management such as exposure visit, on the job training and through competition among cadres from other sites.
- In order to improve the participation of women in community management, then in the recruitment for the member of community working groups or project activities, the project should focus on younger women within the community since they are more educated than men.

- The involvement of women and men in community working groups were still influenced by their conception on gender roles in that there are more women become village health cadres and very few women recruited as water and sanitation committee members. For this, the project should conduct more encouragement and awareness to the community for a more equal involvement of men and women in community working groups. This can be done through empowerment and gender awareness activities as mentioned above.

5.3. Suggestion for further studies

By realizing the limitation of the research, the possibilities of further study on the research topic could be suggested, as follows:

- Since this study is focussed only in Belu district, it would be better to conduct further study to the situation Kupang district with the consideration that the two districts have different characteristics such as culture and religion.
- Due to the limited time, number of sample taken is limited. It would be better if more samples area taken in order to have a broader view of the research topic.
- It would be useful to study the sustainability of these community working groups after the project has finished. How Oxfam GB West Timor and its partners organisations linked this community working groups to the local village government systems and to the appropriate government departments.
- It would be better to study the current local government policy on gender mainstreaming in order to find out how this policy affects not only the increased role of women but also for its sustainability.

REFERENCES

- ADB, 2005. *Country gender assessment Timor Leste*. Available at: <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Country-Gender-Assessments/cga-timor-leste.pdf> (Accessed date: 2 July 2009)
- BPS Nusa Tenggara Timur, 2008. *Nusa Tenggara Timur dalam angka 2008*. Kupang, Percetakan Indah Sakti Kupang.
- CRS, 2001. *East Timor situation report*. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/asmp/resources/govern/crs-RL30975.pdf> (Accessed date: 4 July 2009)
- Cardno Acil, 2007. *Empowerment*. [online] Available at: www.acil.com.au/glossary.htm (Accessed date: 18 July 2009)
- CIS Timor, 2005. baseline data Action Planning East Timorese refugees as of 2005.
- CIS Timor, 2008. *CIS Timor profile*. Available at: <http://www.cistimor.org/> (Accessed date: 17 July 2009)
- CIS Timor, 2008. Baseline data Action Planning East Timorese refugees as of 2008.
- CIS Timor, 2008. Aid To Uprooted People project final report 2008.
- East Timor government, 2008. *History of East Timor*. Available at: <http://www.easttimorgovernment.com/history.htm> (Accessed date: 1 September 2009)
- Turner, S., 2000. *Vindicating Masculinity: the fate of promoting gender equality*. Forced Migration Review 9, [online] December 2000, p. 8-9. Available at: <http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR09/fmr9full.pdf>. (Accessed date: 12 July 2009).
- Koster, M., 2008. *Fragmented Lives: Reconstructing rural livelihoods in post-genocide Rwanda*. Wageningen University
- March, C., Smyth, I., Mukhopadhyay, M. 1999. *A Guide to Gender- Analysis Framework*, Oxfam Publication, Oxford, UK
- Micato, M., 2001. The La'o Hamutuk Bulletin Vol. 2, No. 5: August 2001, *Women's Participation in East Timor's Development at the Rural Community Level*. Available at: <http://www.etan.org/lh/bulletins/bulletinv2n5.html>. (Accessed date: 3 July 2009)
- Molnar, A., K., 2005: *East Timor: an introduction to the history, politics and culture of southeast Asia's youngest nation*. Available at: <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/EastTimor/default.htm#TOC> (Accessed date: 1 September 2009)

Moser, C. 1993. *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*, Routledge, London, UK

Mulumba, D., 2005. *Gender relations, livelihood security and reproductive health among women refugees in Uganda: the case of Sudanese women in Rhino Camp and Kiryandongo refugee settlements*. Wageningen University

Murison, S, 2004. 'Elements of a gender mainstreaming strategy: A 14-point framework', *Development Bulletin*, no. 64, pp. 95-99. Available at: http://devnet.anu.edu.au/GenderPacific/pdfs/22_gen_mainstream_murison.pdf (Accessed date: 30 August 2009)

Oxfam GB East Asia, 2003. *Oxfam GB East Asia Gender Equality Induction*.

Oxfam GB West Timor, 2004. *Assessment report on East Timorese refugees in West Timor*.

Oxfam GB, 2004. *Obstacles to the effective participation of women in adult education program*. Available at: [Http://Www.Oxfam.Org.Au/World/Asia/Timor-Leste/Docs/Obsteffpartwomen_Aug_2004_English.Pdf](http://www.Oxfam.Org.Au/World/Asia/Timor-Leste/Docs/Obsteffpartwomen_Aug_2004_English.Pdf) (Accessed date: 4 July 2009)

Oxfam and CIS Timor internal document, 2005. Modul Perekrutan dan Pelatihan kader (Guidelines for community working groups' recruitment and training)

Oxfam GB West Timor, 2007. *Aid To Uprooted People Project Phase II proposal* (Internal document)

Oxfam GB West Timor, 2008. *Database on East Timorese refugees in West Timor*

Oxaal, Z., Baden, S., 1997. *Gender and empowerment: definitions, approaches and implications for policy*. Available at: <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re40c.pdf> (Accessed date: 19 July 2009)

Sweetman, C., 2002. *Gender and Migration*, Oxfam publication, Oxford, UK

Sweetman, C., Porter F., 2005. *Mainstreaming gender in development*. Oxfam publication, Oxford, UK

Szczepanikova, A., 2005. *Gender relation in a Refugee Camp: A Case of Chechens Seeking Asylum in the Czech Republic*. *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 18, No. 3. 2005. Available at: <http://jrs.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/18/3/281.pdf> (Accessed date: 26 June 2009)

Sunarto, K. et al., 2004. *Overcoming Violent Conflict: Volume 2*. Peace and development analysis in Nusa Tenggara Timur, Available at: http://www.undp.org/cpr/documents/prevention/integrate/country_app/indonesia/NTT-final%5B1%5D.pdf (Accessed date: 25 August 2009)

Torres, A, B., (n.d.). *Gender and forced migration*. Available at: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo007/fmo007.pdf> (Accessed date: 7 August 2009)

USAID, 2004. *Gender Assessment for USAID/Timor-Leste Country Strategy Plan FY 2004-2009*. Available at: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACG112.pdf (Accessed date: 28 August 2009)

US Department of state, 2009 [online]. Background note: Timor Leste. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35878.htm> (Accessed date: 1 September 2009)

World Bank. 2009. *Empowerment*. [online] Available at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTEMPOWERMENT/0,,contentMDK:20245753~pagePK:210058~piPK:210062~theSitePK:486411,00.html> (Accessed date: 18 July 2009)

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Discussion checklist for elder women

1. Participation in community management role (Way backward in East Timor)
 - how they participate
 - the problems faced
 - cultural barriers
 - their opinion
 - role of women in a meeting

2. Women are now taking roles in community management
 - Opinion ?
 - 'good women'?
 - Relation with husbands
 - People's opinion
 - Against culture ?
 - Disturb traditional responsibilities?
 - Problems faced

Annex 2: Discussion checklist for women in community management role

1. Negotiation of men and women (couple) on taking up community management roles by women:
 - workload
 - time spent
 - what other people think (his/ her mother)
 - culture
 - what they agree

2. Consequences on taking up community management roles:
 - Workload - other tasks ? - who help ?
 - problems?
 - Benefits ?
 - Status ?

3. CIS Timor ways of working
 - how contacted by CIS
 - what motivation by CIS
 - how trained?
 - Tasks ?
 - Other support ?
 - Opinion ?

4. Perception on women taking up community management roles
 - Of women
 - Of men
 - Of community
 - Of people to you
 - Of people to your husband

5. Personal interest why taking up community management roles:
 - what motivation/ why interested
 - pushing factors
 - pulling factors (culture ? perception ?)

Annex 3: Discussion checklist for men including community leaders

1. Negotiation of men and women (couple) on taking up community management roles by women:
 - workload
 - time spent
 - what other people think (his/ her mother)
 - culture
 - what they agree

2. Consequences on taking up community management roles:
 - Workload - other tasks ? - who help ?
 - problems?
 - Benefits ?
 - Status ?

3. CIS Timor ways of working (*to cross check with the answer from women*)
 - how contacted by CIS
 - what motivation by CIS
 - how trained?
 - Tasks ?
 - Other support ?
 - Opinion ?

4. Perception on women taking up community management roles
 - Of other women
 - Of community to your wife
 - Of people to you as husband
 - of community leaders

5. Personal interest why allowing women to take up community management roles:
 - what motivation/ why interested
 - pushing factors
 - pulling factors (culture ?, perception ?)

Annex 4: Discussion checklist with CIS Timor staff

1. Process

- how to contact (why)
- how to recruit (why)
- how to mobilise (why)
- how to train/ what topic
- which women went in community management roles
- their motivation
- how this strategy used
- pushing factors
- pulling factors
- role of community leaders

2. Problems faced

- difficulties when organising, mobilising, recruiting
- difficulties they reported
- how many drop out
- reasons for drop out
- locations with low involvement

3. Impact (to CIS Timor)

- perception of husbands
- perception of men, community leaders, community
- against culture ?
- achievement of project output
- how they see CIS Timor

Annex 5: Discussion checklist for women not involved in community management

1. Reasons for not involving in community management:
 - Why not involved ?
 - Pulling factors ?
 - Workload ?
 - Culture ?
 - Others ?