
Gender and power analysis: Timor-Leste

CARE International in
Timor-Leste

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Contents

1. Executive summary	3
2. Introduction	6
3. Findings	8
4. Discussion and implications	24
5. Annexes	30

1 Executive summary

In October 2012 CARE International in Timor-Leste (CITL) commenced its transition from a project-based way of working, to a program approach. This Gender and Power Analysis provides part of the evidence base for the new programs being developed by CITL as part of the move to a program approach.

This Gender and Power Analysis is based on the findings of publically available secondary research and CITL's own research (gender analyses, baseline surveys and evaluations). The CARE International Gender Network's *Good Practices Framework for Gender Analysis* (2012) was used to guide the report and the analysis is structured around the three domains of CARE's Women's Empowerment Framework – agency, structures and relations.

This report should complement, but not replace, program and project-specific gender and power analyses.

Good Practices Framework for Gender Analysis: Key areas of enquiry

The information in this report is structured around CARE's recommended eight key areas of enquiry for gender analysis. Key findings in relation to these key areas are outlined in brief below.

1. Sexual/gendered division of labour: Work is strongly gendered in Timor-Leste and the division of labour is legitimised by traditional patriarchal values, norms and practices. Men are responsible for work considered more labour intensive, such as work in the rice fields, raising livestock and opening new gardens. Women are responsible for field activities considered less heavy such as planting, weeding and selling produce, as well as reproductive/domestic work; household chores and caring work. Women generally earn less than men and are less likely to receive cash for their work.

2. Household decision-making: Evidence suggests that in Timor-Leste, wives and husbands make some household decisions together. Women contribute to decisions about how theirs and their husbands' earnings will be used, household purchases, visiting family, and their own healthcare. While women *participate* in decision-making it appears that decision-making power ultimately rests with men.

3. Control over productive assets: While some services exist, women in Timor-Leste have limited access to the knowledge and resources needed to effectively control productive assets, such as micro-credit, training, bank facilities, and productive resources such as land, marketing facilities and information. Women's access to and control over arguably the most valuable asset – land – is not equal to men's.

4. Access to public spaces and services: Women and men are not equally mobile in Timor-Leste and their service needs are not met equally. Women and girls' husbands and families influence their mobility. Girls' access to education is not equal to boys' (particularly post-primary school) and service gaps in the areas of sexual and reproductive and maternal health risk women's health and wellbeing.

5. Claiming rights and meaningful participation in public decision-making: Women's participation in public decision-making contrasts markedly between national and local levels. While women make up 38.5% of Timor-Leste's parliamentarians their participation in public decision-making at a local level remains low. Women appear to lack support in reaching leadership positions at this level. Men continue to hold disproportionate decision-making power within Timorese communities.

6. Control over one's body: Multiple factors challenge women's control over their bodies. A high fertility rate, lack of access to sexual and reproductive health services and a lack of knowledge about sex and reproduction create a situation in which women face a high risk of maternal death. Women experience pressure to have children and many are not empowered to control their sexual relationships.

7. Violence and restorative justice: Violence against women is common in Timor-Leste, with sexual and gender-based violence (GBV) being the largest category of crimes reported to police. Domestic violence

is the most common form of GBV and is often accepted by both women and men. Victim-blaming occurs regularly. Many women who experience violence choose not to seek justice as talking about domestic violence is taboo. Women's economic dependence on men makes them vulnerable to violence, but women who are more economically independent have been found to report higher levels of violence. This may suggest a backlash when women challenge traditional gender roles.

8. Aspirations and strategic interests: Timorese women want to contribute to their country's development. Many were active in the resistance movement during the Indonesian occupation but have been expected to return to their traditional gendered roles post-independence. While parents want their children to have better lives than they themselves have had and want both their female and male children to achieve high education and employment, an opinion that men make better household heads persists. Young men's traditional masculine roles are being challenged; in a context of high youth unemployment many young men are struggling to fulfil their traditional role as family provider.

The intersection of agency, structures and relations

By analysing how gender and power play out in the areas of agency, structures and relations in Timor-Leste it is clear that change is needed in all three areas to achieve Timorese women's empowerment. Regarding **agency**, women need knowledge, opportunities, leadership skills and confidence, and they need *time* to access these assets. This time requires a change in **relations** which sees men sharing women's burden of reproductive work. Men must not only 'help' women with traditionally female tasks, but these tasks must cease to be gendered and become the equal responsibility of both women and men. In terms of **structures**, women need access to adequate opportunities and services. Timor-Leste's services in health (particularly maternal and sexual and reproductive health), business and credit, violence prevention and protection, and education must be improved to equip women (and their families) with the requirements for empowerment; a woman cannot be empowered if she is illiterate, lives in a violent relationship, is unable to control her fertility, or faces a very real threat of death each time she has a baby. Finally, as women gain the confidence and time to become active beyond the household, traditionally masculine areas of Timorese society, particularly those relating to decision-making, must accept women. Women must be able to contribute meaningfully to decision-making within the home and at a local level and should be confident that they will be listened to when they are present in these forums.

Implications for programming

Considering the information provided in this report and the changes needed in the areas of agency, structures and relations to support the empowerment of Timorese women, adjustments should be made to the way CITL works with communities. The move to a program approach provides a valuable opportunity to make these changes.

A gender transformative approach

Internationally, CARE is committed to a *gender transformative* approach. Currently, CITL's projects are gender sensitive but not gender transformative. CITL should take deliberate steps to move from a gender sensitive way of working to a gender transformative approach. In the move to a Program Approach CITL should reconsider how gender is mainstreamed in our work and ensure that new programs address the three areas of the women's empowerment framework. Key changes to current project delivery should be working to influence gender dynamics not directly related to project activities, directly promoting gender equality, and engaging with men on women's empowerment.

Engaging men

Changes to gender relations cannot focus on women alone – men must also understand and value gender equality. Men can be powerful agents of change and can support women's empowerment. Currently, women in Timor-Leste experience the consequences of men's feelings of marginalisation in the form of violence against women, demonstrating the risks to women when men feel excluded from

opportunities. CITL must begin to engage directly with men on issues such as gender equality, women's empowerment, sexual and reproductive health and respectful intimate partner relationships.

Influencing reproductive work

Directly related to engaging men is a need to look beyond the direct reach of our projects and consider how CITL can influence changes in project participants' private sphere. It is unreasonable to expect women to participate fully in our projects given their triple burden. CITL must build initiatives into our projects which lead men to take on a greater share of tasks traditionally classified as 'women's work'. If we fail to do this project participation risks being just one more demand on women's time.

Projects must be aware that women's participation in CITL's projects can have unintended negative consequences on other female family members. CITL must ensure that we do no harm by inadvertently shifting adult women's work into girl children, which can in turn prevent them from full participation in education and other activities.

Addressing gender-based violence

A significant gap in CITL's current work with communities is GBV; CITL currently does minimal work to respond to the violence against women that is normalised and accepted in the communities we work in. Given the high levels of domestic violence throughout Timor-Leste, CITL must begin to address it either by developing new projects and activities that combat GBV directly, or by mainstreaming messages that violence against women is unacceptable through all of our work in a less direct way. CITL's future work with young people should directly address sensitive topics such as domestic violence, SRH and positive relationships.

CARE International in Timor-Leste staff capacity

To act on the findings and recommendations outlined in this report, CITL's staff need to have the necessary skills, experience and knowledge. CITL staff are adequately skilled to fulfil the technical aspects of their current roles, but may not be appropriately qualified to promote women's empowerment or address sensitive gender issues.

The gender make-up of staff must be addressed. Women remain under-represented in CITL, accounting for only a third of employees. Particularly when we begin directly addressing gender inequality, women's empowerment and more sensitive areas of work, female project implementation staff will be required to ensure maximum project effectiveness.

Working in partnership

Given CITL's limited internal capacity to address some crucial gender issues a greater focus should be placed on working in partnership with organisations which have these skills. An active women's network exists in Timor-Leste and many other civil society organisations, both national and international, are working to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. Opportunities exist to partner with these organisations. Working with national organisations has the potential to both provide CITL with the expertise needed for good gender programming and also support the capacity development of Timor-Leste's local non-government organisations.

2 Introduction

This Gender and Power Analysis provides a broad, high-level overview of key gender issues affecting women and men in Timor-Leste.

2.1 Background

In October 2012 CARE International in Timor-Leste (CITL) commenced its transition from a project-based way of working, to a program approach. CARE defines a program as,

'a coherent set of initiatives by CARE and our allies that involves a long term commitment to specific marginalised and vulnerable groups to achieve lasting impact at a broad scale on underlying causes of poverty and social injustice. This goes beyond the scope of projects to achieve positive changes in human conditions, in social positions and in the enabling environment'.

CITL's began the move to a program approach in October 2012 with a two-day workshop involving key staff. During this workshop next steps were identified; a) a situational analysis of Timor-Leste, and b) a gender and power analysis of Timor-Leste (this document). These two research projects provide the evidence base for the new programs being developed by CITL in 2013.

CARE's program approach structures programs around 'impact groups'. An impact group is, 'the specific population group whose lives should show a measurable, enduring improvement through the effects of the program.' In February 2013 CITL staff identified two potential impact groups for CITL's new programs. Recognising that women experience greater vulnerability and disadvantage in Timor-Leste, compared with men, the two impact groups include a focus on women and girls and are:

1. *Remote and isolated rural communities, especially women and girls.*
2. *Youth, especially young girls, with limited access to education and employment opportunities, and who are not empowered to make choices that affect their lives.*

These impact groups will be further defined during the program design phase in 2013. This report contains gender information relevant to both impact groups and should inform the development and implementation of CITL's two new long-term (10 – 15 years) programs.

2.2 Methodology

This Gender and Power Analysis is based on the findings of publically available secondary research and CITL's own research (gender analyses, baseline surveys and evaluations). It also includes findings from stakeholder interviews with organisations undertaking gender-related work in Timor-Leste. A full bibliography and list of stakeholders interviewed are available in Section 5: Annexes.

The CARE International Gender Network's *Good Practices Framework for Gender Analysis* (2012) was used to guide the structure and content of this report. The *Good Practices Framework for Gender Analysis* outlines eight key areas of inquiry to consider when undergoing a gender analysis, further broken into each of the three critical areas for change described in CARE's Women's Empowerment Framework (further discussed below).

The eight key areas of inquiry are:

1. Sexual/gendered division of labour
2. Household decision-making
3. Control over productive assets
4. Access to public spaces and services
5. Claiming rights and meaningful participation in public decision-making

6. Control over one's body
7. Violence and restorative justice
8. Aspirations for oneself

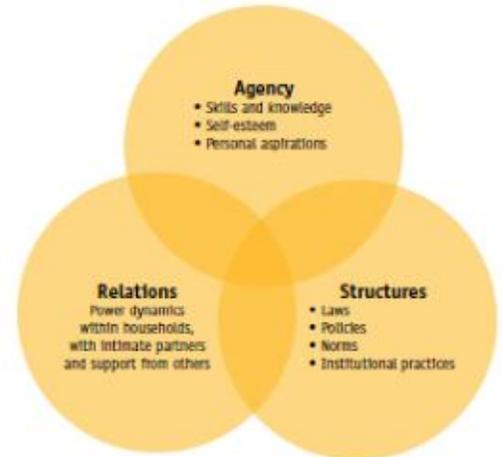
Women's Empowerment Framework¹

Evidence demonstrates that gender discrimination - or the denial of women's basic human rights - is one of the major causes of poverty. As such, CARE believes that gender inequality must be addressed if we are to seek a world of hope, tolerance and social justice, where poverty has been overcome.

CARE understands that it takes more than simply including women in projects to make progress towards women's empowerment and gender equality. CARE defines women's empowerment as the **combined effect of changes** in:

1. a woman's own knowledge, skills and abilities (**agency**);
2. the societal norms, customs, institutions and policies that shape her choices in life (**structures**); and
3. the power relationships through which she negotiates her path (**relations**).

CARE's Women's Empowerment Framework requires not only increased women's individual *agency* but also changes to structural barriers to shift social and cultural norms, policies and key relationships to allow women and men to take on new roles. Progress across all three dimensions of empowerment is needed to achieve sustainable results.



Limitations

A robust evidence base on certain aspects of gender and power relations in Timor-Leste is not yet available. While significant, up-to-date information exists on issues such as violence against women, health, education and household division of labour there is a lack of robust and recent research on other topics covered in this report. In particular there is limited secondary information available regarding gender and power dynamics among children and young people.

Much of the literature on gender issues in Timor-Leste focuses on adults of a reproductive age and presents Timorese women and men as homogenous; differences between ethnic, religious or age groups are generally not identified. It has therefore not been possible to identify a group of people more specific than 'women living in rural and remote communities' who experience a greater level of broad disadvantage than others.

Those reading this analysis should be mindful of the fact that some of the information provided is based on non-academic research, research limited by small sample sizes, and documents that are up to ten years old. Triangulation of much of the information provided has not been possible.

This report should complement, but not replace, program and project-specific gender and power analyses.

¹ CARE International Gender Network, July 2012.

3 Findings

Area of enquiry #1: Sexual/gendered division of labour

Work is strongly gendered in Timor-Leste and the division of labour is legitimised by traditional patriarchal values, norms and practices (UNDP, 2011).

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Inter-personal/HH	<p>A number of barriers prevent women from gaining employment beyond the spheres of household and subsistence agriculture work. Women lack education, professional skills and training in small business management; don't have the necessary experience to gain jobs in the formal sector; and have difficulty accessing information about opportunities (DHS ,2010, NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009).</p> <p>Women's ability to participate in productive work outside the home is also restricted by the time they have to spend on domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning and child care (Harvey, 2012, UNDP, 2011). On average women allocate 50% of time to housework, compared with 36% by men (UNDP, 2011).</p>	<p>The rate of unemployment amongst young workers in Dili is about 40%. Unemployment in Timor-Leste is influenced by three major factors: lack of job opportunities; lack of appropriate skills to fill jobs; and a lack of adequate and reliable information connecting employers with job seekers (UNDO, 2011). Unemployment is particularly difficult for men, whose tradition role it is to support their families (Myrtinnen, 2009).</p> <p>Women's traditional roles challenge their options for paid work. The experience of CARE staff shows that women have challenges travelling for work due to their primary caring roles and some families are reluctant to support wives or daughters to work. Roles requiring employers to ride motorbikes can also be difficult for women to access as they are often not comfortable riding motorbikes alone in rural areas (Cowan and Amaral, 2012).</p> <p>Some women experience bias and discrimination from employers. Some employers are not sensitive about women's reproductive rights as workers and prefer male employees who do not ask for family or parenting leave (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009).</p> <p>Working for cash increases women's vulnerability to sexual violence; women receiving cash for their work are twice as likely to face sexual violence. Women working in a cash economy may be more likely to encounter violence in their workplace compared with women employed in a non-cash economy who usually work for a family member at home or closer to home (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Cultural beliefs may risk women's health while working during pregnancy. Traditionally, there is a belief that women should avoid strenuous work in the first months of pregnancy, during which time husbands can help wives with traditionally female tasks (such as washing dishes and clothes, fetching firewood and water, and cooking). In contrast, from six months to delivery, women should work hard in the household and in the field. It is believed</p>	<p>Men are responsible for work considered more labour intensive such as work in the rice and maize fields, coffee growing, raising livestock, opening new gardens, burning gardens for new cultivation and ploughing. Men are also responsible for selling livestock (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>Women are responsible for field activities considered less heavy such as planting, weeding, harvesting and selling produce. Women and girls have primary responsibility for reproductive/domestic work; household chores, childrearing and caring for the elderly. In some areas, weaving and trading <i>tais</i> is a major activity for women and adolescent girls (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>Women and men share livestock responsibilities. Those that stay near the home (chicken, pigs and dogs) are women's responsibility, whereas those in the field (horses and buffaloes) are men's responsibility (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>While there are clear distinctions between women's and men's work, some flexibility exists. For example, women will plant seeds and men will 'help', or women will 'help' in the construction of a water pond (Wigglesworth, 2012). Men can also 'help' with domestic tasks if there is a family crisis (such as the main female in the house being ill) (Harvey, 2012). The use of the word 'help' by women and men in this context shows that while men can participate in them, these are women's tasks.</p> <p>Women's increased participation in public roles post-independence has increased tensions between women workers and their husbands (many of whom are unemployed or under-employed). Many husbands are jealous of the non-traditional role of a female breadwinner, or feel that their masculinity is threatened as they are unable to fulfil their traditional male</p>

		that hard work during this last period eases delivery (Ospina, 2009).	duties (Myrtinnen, 2009). Women working in roles that require them to live apart from their families can experience difficulties due to some husbands' jealousy about their wives spending time with colleagues (Cowan and Amaral, 2012). Women who work for cash are more likely to experience physical violence than women who are unemployed or don't receive cash for their work (DHS, 2010). This suggests that women who are more economically independent of their husbands experience violence because they challenge the traditional norm of women's dependence on men.
Community/National	<p>Most men (85%) are employed, compared with only 44% of currently married women. There is significant variation in rates of female employment, from 18% in Lautem to 85% in Oecussi (DHS 2010).</p> <p>Women without partners and those with three or more children are most likely to be employed. Wealthier women (32%) are less likely to work compared with poorer women (49%). Women in rural areas and those with no education were more likely to work compared with those in urban areas and those with secondary education (DHS 2010). This suggests that women are less likely to work if they can afford not to.</p>	<p>Most people in Timor-Leste work in agricultural jobs (61% women, 67% men). Few women work as manual workers (6%) or professional, technical, and managerial fields (7% women, 11% men). (DHS 2010).</p> <p>A significant proportion of women's work is in subsistence cultivation, informal small-scale trading and home-based industries. More than two-thirds of women are self-employed, most (80%) in agriculture (DHS, 2010). Women own around 43% of micro-enterprises, primarily in areas such as weaving <i>tais</i>, tailoring, salt-making, bakeries and handicrafts (UNDP, 2011).</p> <p>Women generally earn less than men (UNDP, 2011) and only 19% of women (compared with 33% of men) receive cash for their work. 96% of women engaged in agricultural work are unpaid, most likely because they are employed by family (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Micro-credit is available to women in Timor-Leste, supporting them to form micro-enterprises. <i>Moris Rasik</i> is a micro-credit organisation using a version of the Grameen Bank methodology focusing on poor, rural women. Women form small groups, get basic training and are integrated into village-based centres. In 2008 <i>Moris Rasik</i> had over 100,000 active clients and 12 branches in eight districts (UNDP, 2011). While some services exist additional support is needed to increase rural women's capacity in business management and trading (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009).</p>	

Children and adolescents:

The gendered division of labour in Timor-Leste begins at childhood. Parents assign chores to children according to their sex, preparing them for their gendered roles in future married life. Girls help their mothers with domestic chores (such as cooking and washing clothes) and boys help their fathers in caring for animals, working in the fields or fishing (Ospina, 2009).

If their mothers are occupied with alternative activities, such as paid work or activities run by non-government organisations it is usually girl children, not men, who take on their mothers' duties (Harvey, 2012). This can impact girls' school attendance and participation in other activities outside of the home.

Social changes in Timor-Leste may be influencing children's socialisation into their traditional gender roles. An older male says, "In the past, girls prepared themselves so that when they

married and were brought to the man's family they could do the household's work... nowadays, when girls come back from the school they walk around, shouting along the road, and at night they don't come back to the house early because they say that today we have democracy or rights for everyone, for kids and adults" (Ospina, 2009).

Sex disaggregated employment trends (UNDP, 2011)

Total monthly wages in main job, and mean monthly wages received by male and female paid employees in different age groups						
	Age group					Timor-Leste
	15-24	25-34	35-54	55-64	65+	
Number of paid employees reporting wages						
Male	4,000	16,000	31,000	3,000	1,000	55,000
Female	3,000	5,000	6,000	1,000	*	15,000
Both sexes	7,000	21,000	37,000	4,000	1,000	70,000
Total monthly wages received in main job (US dollars)						
Male	467,000	2,682,000	5,738,000	576,000	71,000	9,534,000
Female	320,000	1,028,000	1,065,000	278,000	12,000	2,703,000
Both sexes	786,000	3,710,000	6,802,000	855,000	83,000	12,237,000
Mean monthly wages reported (US dollars)						
Male	104	167	187	176	128	173
Female	111	192	166	437	121	176
Both sexes	107	173	183	218	127	174

Employed Persons, by Sex, Industry and Locality									
	Urban			Rural			Timor-Leste		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	9,000	4,000	13,000	79,000	36,000	115,000	88,000	40,000	128,000
Mining & quarrying	*	*	*	1,000	*	1,000	1,000	*	1,000
Manufacturing	2,000	1,000	3,000	2,000	4,000	5,000	3,000	5,000	8,000
Electricity etc.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Water supply	*	-	*	*	-	*	*	-	*
Construction	6,000	*	7,000	7,000	*	7,000	13,000	1,000	13,000
Wholesale & retail trade	9,000	8,000	17,000	15,000	12,000	27,000	24,000	20,000	44,000
Transportation & storage	6,000	*	6,000	2,000	*	3,000	8,000	*	8,000
Accommodation & food	1,000	1,000	2,000	*	*	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000
Information & communication	1,000	*	2,000	1,000	*	1,000	2,000	*	2,000
Financial & insurance	*	*	*	-	-	-	*	*	*
Professional & scientific	1,000	1,000	1,000	*	*	2*	1,000	1,000	2,000
Administrative & support	5,000	*	5,000	1,000	-	1,000	6,000	*	6,000
Public administration	2,000	*	2,000	4,000	*	5,000	6,000	1,000	7,000
Education	3,000	2,000	5,000	8,000	3,000	11,000	11,000	5,000	16,000
Health & social work	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	2,000	3,000
Arts & entertainment	3,000	1,000	4,000	1,000	*	2,000	4,000	2,000	6,000
Other service activities	1,000	1,000	1,000	*	*	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000
Households as employers	1,000	1,000	2,000	*	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	2,000
International organizations	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*
Total	48,000	22,000	70,000	123,000	58,000	181,000	171,000	80,000	251,000

Source: Timor-Leste Labour Force Survey 2010, p. 38.

Area of enquiry #2: Household decision-making

Evidence suggests that in Timor-Leste, wives and husbands make household decisions together and women contribute to decisions about how theirs and their husbands' earnings will be used, household purchases, visiting family, and their own healthcare. While women participate in decision-making it appears that decision-making power ultimately rests with men.

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Inter-personal/HH	Women's participation in decision-making in the household does not necessarily mean that women and men have equal decision-making power (see Relations). Women's	In Timorese culture married women are responsible for managing solely or jointly their husbands' cash earnings and family finances; 95% of women who don't earn cash participate in deciding how to use their husband's cash	Most currently married men age 15-49 think that husbands and wives should have equal say in making decisions, especially regarding the number of children to have (94%) and major household purchases (88%) (Ministry of Finance and ICF Macro, 2010).

<p>contribution to household decision-making is hindered by their lower educational attainment, literacy, and exposure to mass media compared with men. These assets can strengthen women's position within the household (DHS, 2010, Rede Feto, 2008).</p>	<p>earnings. In terms of their own earnings, 36% of currently married women who earn cash report that they alone decide how their earnings are used, 58% decide jointly with their husband and 6% report that their husband decides how their earnings will be used (DHS, 2010).</p>	<p>Among women who use contraceptives, 97% of their husbands are aware of the use. Only 9% of women mention that their husband/partner is opposed to the use of contraception (DHS, 2010). While this may support the finding that decisions about family size are made jointly by women and men, it should be noted that this finding refers to women who are <i>using</i> contraceptives and whose husbands are therefore more likely to be supportive of family planning.</p>
<p>Not all women are equally able to make decisions. Younger women and those with five or more children are less likely to be involved in deciding how their cash earnings are spent. Interestingly, as education increases, women are less likely to make independent decisions about spending their cash earnings. Women employed for cash, those in urban areas, those with higher education, and those in wealthier households are <i>less likely</i> to participate in decision-making (DHS, 2010).</p>	<p>Evidence from Liquica district shows that women and men's areas of control of expenditure differ. Women can control household expenditure within the domestic sphere and relating to children's education, community activities and transport. In contrast, men also have control over expenditure related to economic activities, lending, money for land and small shops. This suggests that men have more control over investment decisions (Harvey, 2012).</p>	<p>63% of currently married women reported that they make final decisions about daily household purchases (such as food), 87% say that they make decisions about their own health care by themselves or with their husbands and 86% say they participate in decisions about major household purchases (DHS, 2010).</p>
	<p>Women are often excluded from important family decisions. In the case of marriage, women (mothers and brides) do not participate in negotiating the bride gifts in neither patrilineal nor matrilineal clans. The older females have no decision-making role; they simply prepare food for the visitors (Khan and Hyati 2012).</p>	<p>While women report a high level of participation in household decision-making it appears that often men make the final decisions. One young man explains, "Mother and father are sharing ideas but it is father who has the power to make decisions" (Ospina, 2009). Similarly, when decisions are not shared it is more likely to be men, not women, who make decisions (except in traditional female spheres of food, clothes and toiletries purchase) (Harvey, 2012).</p>
		<p>Not all women have equal status within the household. Young newly-wed women experience subordination by older women as well as by men. Traditionally, when women's sons marry and daughters-in-law move into the family home older women's status increases and they then dominate the younger women. This can result in women's compliance with the patriarchal system (older women comply because they have power and young women comply because they know that one day they will have power (Hanne Hovde Bye, 2005 in Myrntinen, 2010).</p>

Children and adolescents:
Educating girls and supporting them to participate in extracurricular activities which build their confidence and capacity can increase girls' ability and willingness to contribute to family decision-making. The parent of a girl participating in a CARE education project talks about changes in the participating girls, "We've seen lot of changes in them, they are confident and sometimes they even give good suggestions at home also when we as a family sit together to discuss certain issues (CARE, June 2012).

Area of enquiry #3: Control over productive assets

While some services exist, women in Timor-Leste have limited access to the knowledge and resources needed to enable them to effectively control productive assets, such as micro-credit, training, bank facilities, and productive resources such as land, marketing facilities and information (Rede Feto Timor-Leste, 2008). Women's access to and control over arguably the most valuable asset – land – is not equal to men's.

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Inter-personal/ HH	Evidence from Liquica district suggests that female headed-households (FHH) have less access to productive assets compared with other households. In Liquica the average FHH size is 4.6 members, compared with an	As noted above, many Timorese women manage their husbands' income and household expenditure. Husbands pass their cash income to their wives to manage and wives can make decisions about how to use this income, particularly in relation to buying food and items for the family's daily needs (Ospina, 2009).	In general, husbands and wives report shared decision-making in terms of asset purchase and sale and other areas of household, agriculture and income management. A notable exception is land, with men having access to and control over land (Myrntinen, 2010).

	<p>overall average of 6.7, suggesting that FHH have less available labour (van Dujin, December 2012). This research also found that FHH own fewer valuable assets such as radios, televisions and motorbikes – assets that can be used productively or as valuable sources of information.</p> <p>Women have trouble accessing information due to a lack of communication mechanisms such as radio, television and print media (Rede Feto Timor-Leste, 2008).</p> <p>One study found that access to financial credit was easier for women compared with men as women are specifically targeted by micro-credit schemes (Ospina, 2009).</p>	<p>Most parts of Timor-Leste follow a patrilineal line of marriage, with the wife leaving her family's home to go and live with her husband's family. As women leave their families land at marriage, they have no rights over this land (Ita Ni Rai, 2011, Khan and Hyati, 2012). Men make decision about land use, tenure and inheritance and women generally accept and follow these decisions. Women only make decisions about land use when their husband has died (Ospina, 2009), but even then they don't necessarily own the land (see below).</p> <p>Even when women do not leave their family's land at marriage, they are not able to control land. Khan and Hyati (2012) found that in a matrilineal clan in Manututo district the wife has no right to her family's property even if her husband comes to live with her family. Similarly, while the wife retains the family property in a matrilineal clan in Suai she cannot control the land; her husband takes care of the property and her uncles make the decisions.</p>	
<p>Community/ National</p>		<p>While Timor-Leste's Land Law gives equal property rights to women and men implementation of this law is questionable. While decisions about land ownership are often made outside of the formal legal framework, when land is legally registered it is generally done so in the husband's name. Gendered trends in claims to land in the Ita Nia Rai land settlement program suggest that it is usually men, not women, who own land. By 2011 17,491 individual men had claimed land, compared to 9,293 women. There were very few (5,567) shared claims between married couples, suggesting that shared ownership of land between husbands and wives is unusual (Ita Nia Rai, 2011).</p> <p>In terms of inheritance, legislation states that if one spouse dies their successor receives the 'benefits'. However, in Timor-Leste's traditional system the husband owns the house and it is transferred to the oldest male child (not his wife) when he dies (Ita Nia Rai, 2011).</p>	<p>CARE aims to increase women's control over productive assets in its health and rural development projects. The Healthy Villages project establishes women-only kitchen-garden groups. Excess produce grown in kitchen gardens is sold by the women, providing them with a small amount of additional income.</p> <p>CARE's Hadia Agrikultura no Nutrisaun (HAN) project works via farmers' groups and requires that at least 50% of members are women. HAN activities increase women's access to productive assets via activities such as savings and credit cooperatives, livestock banks and the provision of productive materials (such as tools and seed storage drums).</p> <p>As noted above, some Timorese women are involved with credit organisations.</p>

Area of enquiry #4: Access to public spaces and services

Women and men are not equally mobile in Timor-Leste and their service needs are not met equally. Women and girls' husbands and families influence their mobility (UNDP, 2011). Girls' access to education is not equal to boys' (particularly at more senior levels) and major service gaps in the areas of sexual and reproductive and maternal health risk women's health and wellbeing.

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Inter-personal/HH	<p>Young women are not allowed to walk alone, particularly at night, and cannot walk with non-related men. If younger women are invited to a party at night they should be accompanied by a parent or older male sibling (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>Young women's participation in social activities, such as clubs or NGOs is often viewed negatively as they are expected to stay at home and help with domestic activities. There are far fewer young women than men migrating to Dili or into district capitals, let alone going abroad to study (Wigglesworth, 2007).</p> <p>Timor-Leste's security situation may also impact on women's mobility. Myrntinnen (2009) suggests that social space for women decreased after 2006 crisis due to security concerns.</p> <p>While women are mainly relegated to the domestic sphere, the public sphere tends to be a male domain (Myrntinnen, 2010) and boys' mobility is restricted only when there is social unrest or antisocial behaviour among young males (Ospina, 2009). However, public spaces are not necessarily safe</p>	<p>The practice of <i>barlake</i> (bride price) impacts girls' and young women's mobility. Walking alone at night can risk a young woman's reputation and that of her family, reducing the amount of <i>barlake</i> she can draw. Male siblings act as 'moral guardians' of their sisters to ensure that the value of their <i>barlake</i> is maintained for the family (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>Logistical barriers to women's mobility, such as a lack of transport and bad roads, impact women's capacity to earn an income as transporting products to market is difficult (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009).</p> <p>Women's access to some services is not equal to men's. One out of three women are illiterate, compared to 1 out of 5 men (SEPI, 2011). Gendered differences are also apparent in years of schooling – women have completed a median of 6 years of schooling compared with 7 years for men. 29% of women age 15-49 have never been to school and only 19% have completed secondary school or higher (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Not surprisingly, the proportion of women with no education is almost twice as high in rural (42%) as in urban areas (22%). Encouragingly, younger women are much more likely to be literate; 86% of women age 15-19 are literate compared with 29% of women age 45-49 (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Maternal health is a major service gap. Timorese women's poor health and high maternal mortality can be attributed to 'Four Toos' - too many births; too short an interval between births; too late to be taken to a clinic; too long to be taken to a clinic (UNDP, 2011). In rural areas only 12% of mothers gave birth in a health facility and only 21% had their babies delivered by a health professional, compared with 53% and 59% of urban women, respectively. Positively, rates of antenatal care are increasing. The number of women who received antenatal care at least once increased from 61% in 2003 to 86% in 2009-10 (SEPI, 2011).</p> <p>Women lack access to family planning. Only 42% of family planning needs of currently married women are met (DHS, 2010). Perhaps reflecting this unmet demand, there is evidence of unsafe abortion techniques, particularly in rural areas (UNDP, 2011).</p>	<p>Young women's lives tend to be controlled by other family members, including brothers (Wigglesworth, 2007). Restrictions on girls' mobility at night are related to parents' fears that their daughters might lose their virginity. One woman explains this restriction, "For girls, we look at [the development of] their breasts ... and at that time we will restrict them from moving as usual..." (Ospina, 2009). This attitude demonstrates how gender roles and expectations can change throughout the course of one's life.</p> <p>Women's mobility can be restricted by their husbands. 31% of ever-married women report that their husbands insist on knowing where they are at all times and nearly one in 10 women report that their husbands do not allow them to meet with female friends (DHS, 2010). Women in urban areas (25%) are more likely to say that their husbands exhibit controlling behaviours compared to those in rural areas (10%) (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>In regards to health, women can miss out on care due to cultural practices which dictate that women must put their husbands' and families needs before their own (UNDP, 2011). Women's access to critical maternal health services is influenced by family members; women do not have sufficient say in deciding where to give</p>

	for young men - their involvement in martial arts and ritual arts gangs increases their vulnerability to violence in public spaces (see Area of Enquiry #7).		birth, who should assist with delivery, and how to regulate their births (UNDP, 2011).
Community/ National		The Government of Timor-Leste has developed strategies related to women's access to education, including a National Education Strategic Plan 2011 – 2030 which aims for gender equality at all levels of education by 2015, and includes scholarships, school grants, a feeding programme and public concessions such as transport and uniforms. Currently a disproportionate number of male students receive scholarships (SEPI, 2011). National initiatives regarding women's health include a National Family Planning Policy, a Health Promotion Programme for pregnant women, and community volunteers making home visits to mothers. The Catholic Church is supportive of maternal health programs (SEPI, 2011).	

Children and adolescents:

Challenges accessing education that are specific to girls are early pregnancy and marriage, security concerns (families don't want their daughters walking long distances alone) and a lack of support from community leaders and school administrators (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009, UNDP, 2011). As a result, the girl-to-boy ratio in public schools is 91%, with the gender gap increasing in secondary and higher education (SEPI, 2011). Girls' attendance at senior high schools is lower than boys' because schools are more distant and families are reluctant for their daughters to leave the village if they do not have clan members to live with for fear of girls becoming sexually active or being sexually assaulted (Ospina, 2009). If families need to choose whether to send a girl or boy child to school they are more likely to invest in sons who are viewed as more economically beneficial (UNDP, 2011).

While Ospina (2009) found that there are no differences in the treatment of baby boys and girls immediately after birth, girls aged 12-23 months are less likely to have full immunization than boys of the same age (23% for girls and 30% for boys) and girls under-five with malaria are less likely than boys to receive medicine before being taken to a health facility (32% for boys and 18% for girls) (UNDP, 2011).

Area of enquiry #5: Claiming rights and meaningful participation in public decision-making

Women's participation in public decision-making in Timor-Leste is sharply divided between national and local levels. While women make up 38.5% of Timor-Leste's parliamentarians, ranking 16th in the world for women's representation in national parliaments (Inter-Parliamentary Union, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>), their participation in public decision-making at a local level remains low and women appear to lack support in reaching leadership positions at this level. This demonstrates that men continue to hold disproportionate power within Timorese communities.

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Individual/ HH	Women lack confidence to participate fully in public meetings. Research in Liquica found that across five <i>sucos</i> between 24 – 45% of women who participated in public planning processes felt confident to put forward their opinions. Just 10 – 29% of those women felt that they had been listened to (Myrntinen, 2010). Women's lower levels of education prevent them from participating equally in public decision-making.	In Timor-Leste senior males are traditionally the primary actors in decision-making processes and women are expected not to speak in public meetings (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009, Ospina and Hohe, 2002). As a result, women's interests are often not raised or considered during public meetings (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW, 2009). Women usually attend public meetings organised by the village chief, the church and traditional life and death	Many women who pursue public decision-making roles may lack support from their families, other women and men, and political parties (Rede Feto, 2008). Some husbands don't support their wives participation in decision-making forums because they have to do household chores while their wives are at meetings. A female subdistrict council member explains that some women's husbands argue, "Who will stay at home and pay attention to the children and who will cook for

	<p>During village meetings, mostly educated people and members of the village council speak (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>Women who do gain public decision-making roles lack access to training and information (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009, Rede Feto, 2008). These women require training on leadership, management and confidence building. At a <i>suco</i> level, female council members require greater clarity of their functions (Rede Feto, 2008).</p>	<p>ceremonies (Ospina, 2009). However, their participation is generally limited to domestic tasks and women are not involved in decision-making (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009, Ospina, 2009). One man explains, "All men and women can attend... but in politics women don't take part, they just listen" (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>While public decision-making forums are dominated by men, not all men's voices are heard equally. Many young men turn to martial arts gangs (MAGs) and ritual arts gangs (RAGs) to try to make sense of their lives and find their place (Myrtinnen, 2010).</p>	<p>them?'... Some men do not want their wives to go anywhere" (Ospina and Hohe, 2002).</p> <p>Even if husbands are not openly resistant, the gendered division of labour within the household can prevent women from contributing to public decision-making (Ospina, 2009). One woman explains, "Men don't stop us coming to meetings, we just have too much to do. We have to wait for husband to come and take the kids, we couldn't come until he does that" (quoted in Kilsby, 2012).</p>
<p>Community/ National</p>	<p>There are a number of national women's groups working to promote women and girls' rights in Timor-Leste. In the later years of the Indonesian occupation and following independence, national and international NGOs have been working with women to educate them about women's and children's human rights and supporting them to reject sexual and gender-based violence (Alves, et al., 2009).</p> <p>Rede Feto is the umbrella organisation for national women's organisations, established in 2001. Its main role is coordination of member organisations and strengthening members' capacity to improve women's status.</p> <p>Part of Rede Feto's mandate is to conduct a Women's Congress every 4 years. During the Women's Congress, women from throughout Timor-Leste have the opportunity to express their concerns which are formulated into Platforms of Action with the purpose of forming a basis for lobbying and advocacy purposes by the women's movement.</p> <p>The FRETILIN party established a women's network during the resistance period – <i>Organização Popular de Mulheres Timorenses</i> (OPMT) (FRETILIN). Through OPMT women gained awareness of the principles of emancipation and developed courage</p>	<p>The high representation of women in parliament reflects the success of Timor-Leste's quota system. The Law on the Election of the National Parliament requires political parties to include one woman in each group of three candidates. The quota was developed after a successful campaign by national women's groups.</p> <p>Similarly, the law for village elections reserves three seats on each village council for women. In the 2004 – 2005 local elections women comprised 1,342 of the 2,994 members of the <i>suco</i> councils. Despite this reasonable representation, very few women occupy <i>xefe suco</i> or <i>xefe aldeia</i> positions. After the 2009 <i>suco</i> elections there were only 10 female <i>suco</i> heads (out of 442 <i>sucos</i>) and 37 female <i>aldeia</i> heads (out of 2,228 <i>aldeias</i>) (UNDP, 2011).</p> <p>The lack of meaningful participation by women in decision-making at local levels is concerning as decisions at these levels have most direct influence on people's day-to-day lives. Women's Parliamentary Caucuses in Timor-Leste feel that women continue to be excluded from the development process because their views are not adequately included in policies and programmes (UNDP, 2011).</p> <p>Some women have successfully become active contributors to public decision-making processes. That women have begun to occupy these traditionally male roles reflects, at least to some extent, a positive change in attitudes to women's involvement in decision-making (UNDP, 2011).</p>	<p>Women's right to participate in public decision-making lacks support. Many people, including women, think that women are not yet ready to be community leaders and many people continue to believe strongly that women should remain in the domestic sphere (NGOs Working Group On CEDAW Alternative Report, 2009).</p>

	<p>to reject practices such as polygamy, prostitution, illiteracy, violence against women, and the silencing of women's voices (Alves, et. al., 2009). While OPMT still operates its presence and effectiveness varies between districts.</p>	<p>Matrilineal societies in western Timor-Leste have occasionally had female rulers, however this tended to occur only when there was no male heir (Cristalis and Scott, 2005 in Myrntinnen, 2010b).</p> <p>Women's exclusion from contributing to decision-making in local formal forums is reflected in traditional forms of decision-making. CARE's own experience has found that women are not included in decisions made to establish <i>tara band</i>, (a traditional form of local law) even when they are most affected (for example <i>tara bandu</i> relating to domestic violence or water management). <i>Tara bandu</i> ceremonies are highly masculine events, often involving cock-fighting and animal sacrifices .</p>	
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Children and adolescents:
 While girls in Timor-Leste have an increasing number of female role models who are active in public decision-making, they may not be receiving the developmental support needed to increase their chances of accessing leadership roles in the near future. Lack of access to training, scholarships, discussions, study visits, and other capacity building activities means that women will continue to face greater challenges than men in participating meaningfully in decision-making processes (Rede Feto, 2008).

Area of enquiry #6: Control over one's body

Multiple factors challenge women's control over their bodies. A high fertility rate, lack of access to sexual and reproductive health (SRH) services and a lack of knowledge about sex and reproduction create a situation in which women face a high risk of maternal death. Women experience pressure to have children and many are not empowered to control their sexual relationships.

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Individual/HH	<p>Timor-Leste has the highest fertility rate in South-East Asia, at 5.7 children per woman. Rural women tend to have 6 children compared with 5 for urban women. More educated women have fewer children; those with no education have 6.1 births compared with 2.9 for those with secondary education and up. Poverty is connected to high fertility; women in the lowest wealth quintile have an average of 7.3 births, compared with 4.2 among women in the highest (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>More than two-thirds of women are mothers by age 25 and 14% have given birth before 18. The average age at first birth is higher in urban areas compared with rural and among women with secondary education compared with no education (DHS, 2010).</p>	<p>Women's ability to control their fertility is limited by a lack of information and access to services. In the future, already scarce reproductive health services will be under increased demand due to high fertility (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Factors contributing to the high maternal mortality rate include only 30% of births being delivered by a doctor, nurse or midwife; the high fertility rate; and underweight and anaemia among mothers (SEPI, 2011). Unsafe abortion has been found to account for 13% of maternal deaths (Belton, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>A lack of sex education makes it difficult for men and women to make informed decisions about sex and family planning. Discussing sex openly is taboo and young people do not receive sex education through school, their parents or the Church. Pornography is one of the only sources of information about sex (Alves, et. al., 2009). Many women believe that babies are made by men and women mixing their 'blood' together during sex and that women have two wombs, one for boys and one for girls (Belton, et. al., 2009).</p>	<p>Women's main role in society and source of personal honour tends to be as child-bearers.</p> <p>While wives and husbands can decide on family size together, women are pressured to have children. This pressure can come from her parents-in-law due to their desire for the continuation of the lineage. Some women fear that their mother-in-laws will be angry if they don't have children. A married woman explains, "If the woman does not give birth, [the parents-in-law] will send her back to her parents...The man will find another woman to marry." Failure to have</p>

<p>36% of currently married women do not want more children and 35% want to wait 2 or more years before their next birth. Despite the fact that over 70% of women want to delay or cease fertility, only 22% of currently married women use a modern contraceptive. Only 15% of married women in lowest wealth quintile use a modern contraceptive compared to 32% in the highest (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Knowledge of any contraceptive and the interest to use it is low (SEPI, 2011, Rede Feto, 2008). 46% of women state that they are opposed to contraceptive use (DHS, 2010). During the Indonesian occupation family planning and contraception methods were enforced, making some Timorese people reluctant to accept family planning now (Myrtinnen, 2009). Despite this, many women are curious to learn more about family planning and consider their options (Belton, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>Only 9% of currently married men age 15-49 have ever used a contraceptive and only 6% have used a modern method. Sexually active unmarried men are most likely to have ever used a method (nearly 1 in 2) (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Timor-Leste has an extremely high maternal mortality rate, estimated to be 370 deaths per 100,000 live births (WHO, et. al., 2008 in UNDP, 2011). Maternal death accounts for 42% deaths to women age 15-49 (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>While there is no specific data on abortion in Timor-Leste, there is evidence that it occurs. Some women seek assistance from traditional midwives or women with special knowledge who can help with unwanted fertility. Because of the stigma associated with abortion, women feel ashamed and conflicted about ending pregnancies except in early stages when it is considered 'just blood' (Belton, et. al., 2009).</p>	<p>Timor-Leste has a history of sexual exploitation. In Portuguese times the practice of <i>sumasu mamar</i> ('soft pillow') provided young women to official district visitors as 'gifts' to be used for sex. <i>Sumasu mamar</i> continues in Covalima and there have been reports of visiting NGO workers engaging with it. While <i>sumasu mamar</i> is seen by some as acceptable it has had lasting impacts on women who were coerced into it and labelled 'bad women' (Alves, et. al., 2009). During the Japanese occupation Japanese military forces enslaved up to 700 Timorese women as "comfort women" or sexual slaves (Caron, 2004). During the Indonesian occupation rape and sexual violence were used as weapons of war (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>Women and men undertake sex work in Timor-Leste. In 2004 it was estimated that there were around 250 female sex workers in Dili, mostly Timorese but others from Indonesia, China, Thailand, the Philippines, and Australia. Dili was also found to have 100 Timorese and 10 Indonesian male sex workers. All sex workers in the districts were found to be Timorese women. Minors engage in sex work, some starting as young as 14 years-old. Prices charged by Timorese sex workers range from US\$5-\$200 for one sexual act (Caron, 2004).</p> <p>Many Timorese sex workers have lived through trauma, abuse (sexual, physical and psychological) and have lost their self-esteem. Factors pushing women to enter the sex industry are economic necessity, a lack of other employment options, the need to support children and other family members, rape and incest, abandonment by male partners, and rejection by families (Alves, et. al., 2009, Caron, 2004). This image of female sex workers as victims may not be applicable to all sex workers and some may have made informed decisions to enter into or remain in this type of work (Interview with Kerry Brogan, The Asia Foundation, 2013).</p> <p>It appears that male sex workers have more freedom and less economic pressures to enter or remain in the profession and often have another source of income (Caron, 2004).</p> <p>While there is very little information about its incidence Timor-Leste, sex trafficking has been reported in Covalima (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p>	<p>children is usually considered the woman's fault and infertility can be grounds for separation (Ospina, 2009).</p> <p>Within married couples, it appears that women's freedom to choose when to have sex is restricted. A large minority of women (20%) think that a woman should not refuse sexual intercourse with her husband under any circumstances and 29% of women believed that marital rape is allowable. Just 67% of women feel that they can refuse sex with their husbands if they know he has a sexually transmitted infection (STI) and only 65% think that refusing sex is acceptable if their husband has had sex with other women. Surprisingly, urban, educated and richer women are <i>least</i> likely to think refusing sex is acceptable (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>It appears that men are more accepting of women's right to refuse sex, compared with women. 72% of men think a wife is justified in refusing sex if she knows her husband has a STI and 71% of men compared with 65% of women think a wife is justified in refusing sex if she knows her husband has had sex with other women. In contrast to women, highly educated men are <i>more</i> likely to feel that there are cases in which a woman can refuse sex (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Women and girls can be coerced into sex work by family members. Abandoned or separated women or widows with dependents have been found to encourage their daughters or</p>
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			other female relatives to engage in prostitution to support the family (Alves, et. al., 2009).
Community /National	<p>Women are collectively organising to address some of the barriers to women's control of their own bodies. The 2008 Women's Congress Platforms for Action made the following recommendations: strengthen maternal health programmes in rural areas, increase the number of midwives and nurses in sub-districts, train and provide facilities to traditional midwives in rural areas, and increase husbands' and wives' knowledge and use of family planning and contraceptives (Rede Feto, 2008).</p> <p>In 2010 civil society and the Group of Women Parliamentarians of Timor-Leste, supported by government, UN and Catholic Church representatives organized regional Reproductive Health Consultations leading to a National Reproductive Health Conference. During the Conference a <i>Declaration for Affirmative Action to Reduce Maternal and Child Death, Birth Rate and Teenage Pregnancy</i> was adopted which affirmed the right to maternal and SRH information and services (SEPI, 2011).</p>	<p>Action is being taken at a national level on sexual and reproductive health. Family planning is a priority of the National Reproductive Health Strategy (NHRS) 2004–2015 and the National Family Planning Program aims to reduce population growth by promoting small families, increase the availability of and demand for family planning services, provide quality services, and reduce unmet need (DHS, 2010). Young people's sexual and reproductive health is a component of the NRHS which encourages young females to refuse early sexual intercourse and increase the age of first pregnancy (SEPI, 2011).</p> <p>A curriculum on adolescent sexual and reproductive health education is being developed for integration in the pre-secondary and secondary school curriculum. Teachers will undergo training to ensure adequate knowledge, attitudes and skills (SEPI, 2011).</p> <p>Abortion is criminalised in Timor-Leste, including in cases of rape and incest, and carries a prison sentence. Abortion is only permitted to prevent the woman's death, but must be authorized by a medical certificate signed by 3 doctors, and performed by a health professional in a public health institution.</p> <p>Legislation relating to sex work criminalises facilitating prostitution and trafficking. Self prostitution (adult sex work) is legal. Anecdotal evidence suggests that despite self-prostitution being legal, there have been allegedly been instances of female sex workers being arbitrarily arrested by police (Interview with Kerry Brogan, The Asia Foundation, 2013).</p> <p>Religion influences women's control over their bodies. The Catholic Church is socially and politically very influential, often guiding government policy on matters affecting women, including birth control (which the Church does not support) (Myrtinnen, 2010). However, the Church does support spacing between pregnancies through self-control, abstinence and natural family planning methods (Belton et. Al., 2009). Short-term contraceptives are available at faith-based health clinics (Interview with Marie Stopes International, 2012).</p>	
Children and adolescents:			
As noted above, young women and girls are at risk of being coerced into sex work due to economic problems within their families. This pressure can come from mothers and other older female relatives who may also be engaged in sex work (Alves, et. al., 2009).			
Timorese girls are expected to retain their virginity until marriage. In contrast, young men are sometimes encouraged by older men to practice sexual relations to prove their masculinity. Boys as young as 12 have been found to have experienced sexual relations with young girls or women in illegal brothels (Alves, et. al., 2009).			

Early marriage of girls occurs in Timor-Leste. 24% of women are married by age 18, compared to 5% of men (Ministry of Finance and ICF Macro, 2010). Some poor families may choose to withdraw their daughters from school for marriage, in order to receive *barlake* (CARE, June 2012). Women who marry young are at greater risk of domestic violence (UNDP, 2011).

While rates of teenage pregnancy in Timor-Leste have decreased, they remain some of the highest in South-East Asia. Mothers aged 15-19 account for 51 per 1,000 births (SEPI, 2011).

Area of enquiry #7: Violence and restorative justice

Violence against women is common in Timor-Leste, with sexual and gender-based violence (GBV) being the largest category of crimes reported to police (Alves, et. al., 2009). Domestic violence is the most common form of GBV and Timor-Leste has a history of culturally accepted forms of domestic violence (DHS, 2010).

Marriage can increase women's vulnerability to GBV. While some areas of Timor-Leste follow a matrilineal form of marriage (with the husband moving to his wife's family home) most marriage practices are patrilineal (with the wife moving to live with her husband's family). Patrilineal marriage norms can remove women from their support networks and isolate them from their families, increasing their vulnerability to violence or exploitation by her husband's family (Ospina and Hohe, 2002).

Barlake (bride-price) is commonly exchanged at marriage, with the most valuable goods being passed from the husband's family (wife-taker) to the wife's (wife-giver). In some cases *barlake* is interpreted as a transaction between families which makes women the property of men (Alves, et. al. 2009, Myrtinnen, 2009).

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Individual/HH	<p>Ideals of masculinity in Timor-Leste are closely linked to violence (Myrtinnen, 2009). Myrtinnen (2010) suggests that the militarisation of Timorese society during Indonesian occupation created generations of men who feel that violence is their only problem solving option, in public and private spheres.</p> <p>Given the link between masculinity and violence, it is not surprising that 38% of women have experienced physical violence since age 15. Urban women are more likely than rural women to have experienced physical violence (49% compared with 35%). However, this difference could reflect a higher level of reporting from urban women, rather than higher actual levels of violence. Urban women may be more likely to report domestic violence for a number of reasons; they may have a greater awareness of the fact that domestic violence is a crime and have a lower tolerance for violence due to their better access to information, and they may be better able to report violence as they are geographically closer to formal authorities. The proportion of women who have</p>	<p>As elsewhere in the world, Timor-Leste's patriarchal culture underpins the high incidence of violence against women. Other causes of domestic violence stem from this – money problems and women's economic dependence on men, family demands, jealousy, the wife's failure to fulfil household tasks, and husbands' alcohol consumption. Timorese women are vulnerable to violence due to their lack of education and opportunities for income generation; lack of knowledge of rights; social norms which keep women in the home and prevent them from learning new skills; limited freedom of choice; and polygamy (Alves, et. al., 2009, Khan and Hyati, 2012).</p> <p><i>Barlake</i> may increase women's vulnerability to violence, particularly in patrilineal clans where the most valuable gifts at marriage are transferred from the husband's family to the wife's. Once the payment is made, the wife is often considered the husband's property, losing her independence (DHS, 2010). Khan and Hyati (2012) found that some husbands felt that they could treat their wives as they liked because they had paid for them. One interviewee explains, "Men often say 'I provided so much for you. I can beat you like I beat my buffalo.'" A focus group discussion participant agrees, "When men pay <i>barlake</i>... they think of their wives as things. Not only the husband thinks that, but all the family of the husband thinks the same as they all contribute to the <i>barlake</i>. When the husband beats the wife she cannot expect the family of the husband to help. Women are alone in their houses". A number of patrilineal clans have changed their traditions and now refuse <i>barlake</i> so as not to increase a woman's vulnerability to mistreatment or reduce her family's power to protect her (Khan and Hyati, 2012)..</p>	<p>The most common perpetrators of violence against women are her family members. 74% of women who have experienced violence since age 15 experienced it from a current husband or partner. Other perpetrators of violence are mothers/stepmothers (34%), fathers/stepfathers (26%), and sisters/brothers (11%). The main perpetrators of sexual violence are current husbands/partners (71%) and former husbands/partners (9%) (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Women's dependence on men makes them vulnerable to violence. Given their dependency, women don't have any choice but to accept and obey the men of their households, even if they are abusive or exploitative (Alves, et. al., 2009). Many women choose</p>

	<p>ever experienced physical violence is highest between the ages of 25-29. 3% of Timorese women have experienced sexual violence (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Many women accept violence as part of their lives and feel that suffering is normal (Alves, et. al., 2009). One woman demonstrates this, "Occasionally he kicks or hit me but I don't consider it violence..." (Khan and Hyati, 2012).</p> <p>Discussing domestic violence is taboo. As such, just 24% of women experiencing violence seek help. Only 4% women seek help from police. Educated, wealthier, and urban women are more likely to report violence as they are more likely to recognise it as unacceptable (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Women may be more likely to seek help when serious injury has resulted from domestic violence. Khan and Hyati's (2012) interviewees made a distinction between 'serious' cases when a woman could seek help, and when she couldn't. However, even when an incident is 'serious', women do not necessarily feel that action should be taken. For example "If your husband beats you until you are pouring blood, you should go first to parents, because they raised us. If our parents want us to stay together, we should listen to them... if my husband beats me but his intention is good, I should stay with him" (Khan and Hyati, 2012).</p> <p>Women can be perpetrators of violence; 6% of married women report they have initiated physical violence against their current or most recent husband (DHS, 2010). Women in household positions of power, such as single mothers or family breadwinners are more likely to commit violence (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p>	<p>Tolerance of domestic violence in Timor-Leste is high (Alves, et. al., 2009). Domestic violence is considered a private matter and many people prefer not to talk about it, making it difficult for women to report violence (DHS, 2010). A woman explains, "We don't want to shout or call for help because the neighbours will gossip" (Khan and Hyati, 2012).</p> <p>Victim-blaming (blaming the victim of violence for the act of violence) is common. 86% of women believe that there are situations in which a husband is justified in beating his wife. The reasons for wife-beating most widely accepted by women are neglecting the children (76%), going out without informing her husband (72%), arguing with her husband (64%), burning the food (43%) and denying sex (30%). Men also feel that domestic violence is justifiable in some circumstances, the most widely accepted reasons being neglecting the children (71%), arguing with husband (44%), burning the food (38%) and refusing sex (27%) (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Timorese women who are victims of sexual violence experience shame and stigma. Having been sexually assaulted is seen as disgraceful and something that should be kept secret. Victim-blaming also occurs in cases of sexual violence; women can be blamed as they are seen as tempting men or behaving incorrectly and putting themselves at risk (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>Women who have been victims of sexual and physical violence are marginalized and lack support. They can be isolated in the home or sent away from the family because of the shame. This stigma, shame and social isolation makes women vulnerable to further sexual exploitation (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>Men are at greater risk of public violence, compared with women. Gang violence is largely a male phenomenon of which men are the perpetrators and victims. Alcohol is often involved in gang violence and dividing lines between camps are determined by the networks of loyalty (through kinship, party political allegiances or membership in a gang). Triggers of violence between gangs may be existing tensions or payback for a previous incident (Myrtinnen, 2010).</p>	<p>not to report violence due to fear of abandonment (Khan and Hyati, 2012).</p> <p>Given the stigma attached to sexual and gender-based violence and the fact that domestic violence is seen as a private matter, many women's families discourage them from seeking assistance. Sexual assault brings shame to the whole family of the victim, meaning that many people prefer to hide it to protect family dignity and reputation (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>A desire to maintain peace between a husband and wife's families influences responses to domestic violence. Survivors of violence often try to prevent problems between the families because of the commitment made through <i>barlake</i> (Alves, et. al., 2009). Families and communities often put pressure on women to let the traditional system deal with domestic violence, emphasizing the importance of maintaining community cohesion. This leads to underreporting of domestic violence (UNDP, 2011).</p>
Community/National	<p>Women in Timor-Leste have limited information about GBV, services that support victims of violence, and the formal justice system. The lack of</p>	<p>Domestic violence was criminalised in Timor-Leste in 2010, with the Law on Domestic Violence. However, not all people are aware of the legislation and some authorities fail to respond to violence against women as a serious crime (Alves, et.</p>	<p>In patrilineal communities a woman generally moves to her husband's home at marriage</p>

<p>support services and protection for victims of violence contribute to the high incidence of violence against women (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>Women's options for seeking justice are inadequate. Many women choose to seek justice through the traditional system rather than the formal system due to the bureaucracy and slow speed of the formal justice system. However, women are concerned of unfair treatment through the traditional system (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>Recommendations relating to violence and justice from the 2008 Women's Congress included a suggestion that the Government create a law to reform the traditional justice system to be gender balanced and non-discriminatory; the capacity of security and defence authorities should be strengthened through training on gender, CEDAW, Human Rights and laws; and the number of women in Policia Nasional Timor-Leste (PNTL) and F-FDTL should be increased and their participation in decision-making positions should be promoted (Rede Feto, 2008).</p>	<p>al., 2009).</p> <p>Victims of sexual and gender based violence can theoretically access traditional law (<i>adat</i>) or the formal legal system. There are weaknesses in the formal system; most cases that have proceeded to court are pending, cancelled or dismissed due to lack of evidence; DNA testing facilities are lacking; and it is difficult for most women to access court. There are only four district courts (Dili, Covalima, Baucau and Oecussi), meaning that most people must travel significant distances to access court (Alves, et. al., 2009). Given these barriers many women seek justice through the traditional system.</p> <p>There are several approaches to traditional law. In 'less serious' incidences of assault (for example, sexual harassment), immediate family members resolve it. However, if the assault is more serious (for example, physical abuse) the family may appeal to the <i>katuas lia-nain</i> (traditional justice or customary leader) and the family members of the victim and perpetrator will try to obtain a solution through mediation and sanctions. Traditional justice uses customary law interpreted by (usually male) community leaders and can be influenced by these leaders' attitudes and biases (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>The female victim is generally excluded from traditional mediation processes. While the male perpetrator is present to answer questions the victim is represented by family members. She is not consulted, her needs are not considered, she has no rights in the decision-making process and cannot question the final decision (Alves, et. al., 2009). Often reconciliation concludes with a ceremony, indicating no hard feelings between families, and the perpetrator can once again move around freely (DHS, 2010). If the case is not solved locally it can then proceed to the formal justice system (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>PNTL has a Vulnerable Persons Unit which deals specifically with violence against women, children and older people in all districts (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p> <p>Despite challenges with the justice system and a lack of awareness of the criminalisation of domestic violence, the Law Against Domestic Violence has had positive impacts. One Violence Prevention Unit Officer explains, "The law has made a change. Previously people didn't want to report because the case would not be forwarded to a prosecutor. Now people report because they know there will be justice. Some cases... have gone to the tribunal, and the men are feeling that violence is not good. It is changing their attitudes. The law has supported women by increasing their confidence to report cases, and educated them" (Khan and Hyati, 2012).</p>	<p>where she can experience violence from her parents-in-law. In some cases this violence is punishment for failing to produce children or perform her duties. A <i>lia nain</i> explains, "If she doesn't work it will irritate the man's parents. [They will say]: 'we bought you to work here'; they may hit her till she goes back and tells her parents, or comes to us [elders] to solve the problem...we will send her back to the man's family because she has been bought" (Ospina, 2009). This shows how <i>barlake</i> impacts women's ability to seek justice. Families may discourage women from leaving abusive husbands because if the couple separates the <i>barlake</i> must be returned (Khan and Hyati, 2012).</p> <p>Services exist to support women who have experienced violence. A network of coordinated services to support victims of sexual and gender-based violence includes ALFeLa, (which provides specialised legal aid services for women and children victims of domestic and sexual violence), Caritas Australia, Fokupers, Oxfam, Pradet and religious institutions, however this support is inadequate. During the court process, NGOs such as ALFeLa, Fokupers and Pradet support victims, witnesses and family members (Alves, et. al., 2009).</p>
<p>Children and adolescents:</p>		

Children in Timor-Leste are at risk of physical and sexual assault. 30% of girls have experienced physical violence (SEPI, 2011), mostly from their parents (mothers/step-mothers – 65% and fathers/step-fathers – 59%). 27% of never married women also reported physical violence committed by siblings (DHS, 2010). In 2004 49% of sexual and gender-based violence cases reported to the Pradet safe house at the Dili National Hospital involved child sexual assault (Alves, et. al., 2009). 79% of girls who suffer sexual violence are forced to abandon their studies (Rede Feto, 2013).

Children are vulnerable to violence on the way to and in schools. Violence between students is one of the things that girls don't like about school (CARE, June 2012) and they don't feel safe travelling the long distances (Rede Feto, 2008). Between 2010 and 2011, 46 cases of violence in schools were reported to the Inspector General (36 were corporal violence, 10 were sexual violence) (SEPI, 2011). 13% of women age 15-49 who were never married and had experienced violence experienced it from their teachers (DHS, 2010).

Incest appears to be a widespread problem. The most common victims of incest are girls aged 11 to 14 who are sexually abused by a male family member, usually a father or uncle (JSMP, 2012). Children's dependency makes them particularly vulnerable to incest (Alves, et. al., 2009). While reliable data on incest is unavailable, 49 independent cases came to the attention of JSMP between January 2010 and June 2012 but it is likely that rates are much higher. Victims of incest are often pressured by the perpetrator, their family or their community to stay silent about the incest, or may choose to remain silent to avoid stigma and shame (Alves, et. al., 2009, JSMP, 2012). Most cases of incest that have proceeded to court have not received a final hearing. Incest is not specifically criminalized in Timor-Leste, and while there are other provisions in the Penal Code which can be used to prosecute incest, they are inadequate. Acts of incest are punishable by law only in circumstances where the victim is less than 14 years of age or where it can be proven that force was used (JSMP, 2012).

Area of enquiry #8: Aspirations and strategic interests

Minimal information is publically available outlining women and men's aspirations and strategic interests for themselves and their children.

Level	Agency	Structures	Relations
Individual/HH	<p>Timorese women are not necessarily accepting of their gendered disadvantage. In regards to literacy, older women in Venilale who had been denied education as children felt bitter about their lost opportunities and said that they had really wanted to go to school (Trembath, et. al., 2010).</p> <p>Many Timorese women are keen to contribute to their country's development. Following independence some of the spaces which had opened up for women and girls during the resistance have again diminished (Myrtinnen, 2010). Some women feel upset that during the clandestine time they helped in the fight but are now expected to go back to the kitchen and look after their families (Ospina and Hohe, 2002). These women have felt that while there was rhetorical support for gender equity within the resistance movements this did not translate into concrete steps to improve women's position (Cristalis and Scott, 2005 in Myrtinnen, 2010b).</p> <p>Women and men express a desire for five children, less than the average family size. The average ideal number of children (the number of children people say they would like) is higher in rural than in urban areas. The average ideal family size</p>	<p>Parents' ambitions for their daughters in terms of education and work are changing. However, the opinion that men should be household heads remains prevalent. Trembath, et. al. (2010) found that people in Ermera and Venilale agreed that 'It is better that a man is head of a family than a woman'. Men were most likely to feel this way; in Ermera 76% of men compared with 67% of women agreed with this statement. Interestingly, in Artauro only 48% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that men are best family heads.</p> <p>There is a tension between women's aspirations of contributing to their county's development and traditional roles that exclude them. One man explains, "Our traditions tell them [the women] to stay in the kitchen, as it is at the moment... If we stay with the conservative values we cannot develop. The same the other way round, if we suspend the traditional values we will lose our identity" (Ospina and Hohe, 2002).</p> <p>Masculinity in Timor-Leste is in transition. Timorese men are caught between two role expectations; they are</p>	<p>It appears that many mothers and fathers in Timor-Leste want their children to have better lives than they have had. Parents of girls participating in a CARE education project told evaluators that they wanted their daughters to study, be successful, earn money and lead a good life, unlike the lives they themselves had. While some parents wanted their daughters to stay at home to help in the household, most felt that girls should go to university, get good jobs and support their families (CARE, June 2012).</p> <p>This appreciation of higher education for girls is reflected elsewhere. Trembath, et. al. (2010) found that most respondents in Ermera, Artauro and Venilale wanted both boys and girls to go to university. In some cases, parents valued higher education more for girls than for boys. In Venilale, 77% of respondents wanted their female children to go to university compared with 68% for male children.</p> <p>This study also found evidence of a desire among</p>

<p>increases with the number of living children, from 4 children among childless people to over 7 among respondents with six or more children. The link between actual and ideal number of children could be due to two factors; first, women who want large families and are able to make and implement decisions about their family size will have larger families. Second, some women with larger families may find it difficult to admit that they would have preferred fewer children and may say that they wanted the number of children they have (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>Women are more likely than men to want to limit their family size. 36% of women do not want more children or are sterilized compared to 23% of men. Men are also less likely to want to space births. 15% of men, compared with only 9% of women, want another child soon. Urban women more likely than rural women to want to limit childbearing (DHS, 2010).</p> <p>As the primary household breadwinners, men can experience pressure to support their families. Bradley (2006) found that men in Ermera district reported being worried that they could not feed or school their children (in Belton, et. al., 2009).</p>	<p>expected to fulfil certain traditional obligations but are not able to reap the benefits of the old system (respect, sense of belonging, identity), as traditional social structures either no longer exist or are no longer accessible due to rural to urban migration. For example, young men are increasingly unable to pay <i>barlake</i>, adding to their sense of frustration (Myrtinnen, 2010b).</p> <p>Young men strive to fulfil the expectations of an imported modernity in which men are the breadwinners and gain prestige through wage labour in the formal economy. However this is challenging given Timor-Leste's high levels on unemployment (Myrtinnen, 2009).</p> <p>These tensions around Timorese masculinity encompassing frustration with the post-independence years and social jealousy can lead young men to enter MAGs and RAGs. Young men's agency is affirmed when joining and they are often proud of their gang membership. Unfortunately, violence (in both the public and domestic spheres) appears to be implicit in young Timorese men's processes of reaffirming gender hierarchies, creating a problematic relationship between violence and masculinity (Myrtinnen, 2010b).</p>	<p>adults (particularly mothers) for changed gender roles. For example, on Artauro Island, no female respondents wanted their female children to primarily fulfill household duties when they became adults (Trembath, et. al., 2010).</p> <p>Some women are uncomfortable with their dependence on men. A woman in Baucau district explains, "Our main principle is to be independent from our husbands; we want to be dependent on what we earned with our own sweat" (Ospina and Hohe, 2002). Unmarried female participants in an economic empowerment project also valued their independence and wanted husbands who felt that women working outside of the home are positive, and who respected them as equals (Trembath, et. al., 2010).</p> <p>Marriage can influence girls' ambitions. Younger unmarried female participants in an economic empowerment project in Ermera had plans and ambitions for their productive work but were concerned by how this would continue after marriage (Trembath, et. al., 2010).</p>
<p>Children and adolescents:</p> <p>Girls' in Timor-Leste have ambitions to gain higher education and professional employment. An evaluation of a CARE education project targeting girls found that over 70% of girls participating in the project think that girls should study up to university level. These girls also felt that higher education is important for boys. Around a third of surveyed girls said that they want to continue education to have a better future, and about half said their motivation to continue schooling was to get a decent job to earn good money. Most respondents wanted to become teachers or police officers (CARE, June 2012).</p> <p>The evaluation also found that most surveyed girls who had dropped out of school feel that they would like to be attending school (CARE, June 2012).</p>		

4 Discussion and implications

4.1 Discussion

This report has provided an overview of gender and power relations in Timor-Leste, and has highlighted some of the key issues affecting Timorese women and men differently. Drawing on the information provided above, this section identifies key themes emerging in the three areas of CARE's Women's Empowerment Framework – agency, structures and relations.

Agency

Timorese women want to contribute to their country's development. They were active participants in the resistance movement during Indonesian occupation, but do not participate equally in an independent Timor-Leste. For women to participate meaningfully in Timor-Leste's development they need access to information, knowledge, opportunities, leadership skills, confidence and time, all assets which women currently lack. Women must be able to move freely to access these things.

Timorese women are bound by the 'triple-burden' of productive, reproductive and caring work. Women work in paid roles or subsistence or unpaid agricultural work (productive), are responsible for domestic work (reproductive) and have primary responsibility for caring for children and other dependent family members (caring). Given these competing demands, women lack the time to take on additional activities beyond the household, such as participation in cooperatives, economic activities, NGO initiatives, or local decision-making bodies. When women do move beyond the home to participate in such initiatives, it is usually female children, not men, who fill the gap in household work. This has the flow-on effect of impacting girls' full participation in educational or other learning opportunities.

Many Timorese women are *moer* (shy) and don't have the confidence to speak out and demand their rights. This is accepted as a normal feminine characteristic by both men and women. Local leaders don't expect women to speak during community meetings and women traditionally don't have a role in decision-making forums. Women accept their supporting role in these forums – preparing food and serving men who discuss issues and make decisions that affect women. Consequently, women's concerns and opinions are often not considered.

Information presented above suggests that Timorese women have internalised their disadvantaged position and contribute to the continuation of unequal gender and power relations. This internalisation is demonstrated by the fact that a large minority of women accept marital rape, many women feel that in some circumstances violence against women is acceptable, women who are victims of physical and sexual violence often choose not to seek justice, and older women contribute to the oppression of younger women.

Timorese men's roles are being challenged. In the context of high unemployment and a lack of economic opportunities men are struggling meet their traditional gendered responsibility of providing for their families. Simultaneously, women are entering the workforce and are often family breadwinners, further challenging traditional Timorese masculinity. In response, men are asserting masculinity through violence – whether it be public violence perpetrated through gangs or violence perpetrated within the household against women, which in turn directly inhibits women's empowerment.

Structures

In many ways, Timorese institutions and legal frameworks are quite liberal. Women and men are afforded equal rights in Timor-Leste's constitution, the Government of Timor-Leste has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), domestic violence is criminalised and there are successful quotas in place to ensure women's representation in national and local elections. Timorese women work, have reached critical mass in Parliament, and participate in decision-making at a household level.

While these factors are positive indicators of gender equality there are signs which illustrate that Timor-Leste's culture and society remain strongly patriarchal. Women's increased vulnerability to domestic violence if they earn a cash income and are therefore less economically dependent on men suggests that women experience a backlash when they challenge traditional gender norms. Similarly, while parents want both their female and male children to go to university, most still hold the view that men should be household heads. Finally, the broad acceptance by women and men of violence against women is the clearest sign of men's power over women in Timor-Leste.

It appears that Timorese society finds girls' and women's sexuality threatening. Women are expected to be virgins until marriage and girls' failure to maintain their chastity risks the family's reputation, including in instances of sexual assault. Families' efforts to protect their daughters' virginity restrict girls' mobility and opportunities. Once girls reach puberty they are not allowed to move about alone and can be prevented from continuing their education if this involves moving away from home. Families' concerns about their daughters' sexuality negatively impacts girls' access to opportunities, meaning that girls suffer the consequences of assault (real or imagined) perpetrated by men.

The consequences for girls and young women who fail to remain chaste (through choice or abuse) are grim. Survivors of sexual violence and incest experience stigma and shame. Rather than seeking justice for abuse against their daughters, families remain silent or send the female victims away from home in an effort to protect family honour. Considering the shame and trauma suffered by these girls, combined with the lack of opportunities available to them, it is easy to see how this removal from the family can lead a young woman to enter sex work where she is exposed to more violence, trauma and health risks.

Relations

Relations between women and men in Timor-Leste are deeply influenced by traditional power dynamics which position men as the household head. While we can participate in household decision-making, final decisions generally rest with men. Participation in decision-making does not necessarily signify equal power.

Women's husbands present a great risk to their physical safety. Almost one in two Timorese women will experience physical violence, and most experience it from their current husband or partner. Women's dependence on their husbands makes them vulnerable to violence; limited support services and alternative livelihood options for women mean that leaving an abusive partner is extremely difficult. A fear of abandonment leads many women to 'choose' to stay with their husbands.

While women's dependence on men makes them vulnerable to domestic violence, women who have their own cash incomes and are therefore *less* dependent on their husbands are *more* likely to experience domestic violence. As noted above, husbands of women with their own cash incomes may be asserting their masculinity by acting violently towards their wives. Timorese women therefore find themselves in a 'no-win' situation; vulnerable to violence when dependent on men, and at greater risk of violence when more independent.

Relations between women, their own families and their in-laws should also be addressed when considering Timorese women's empowerment. After current partners, women and girls are most likely to experience physical violence from other women – their mothers or mothers-in-law. Women's families and in-laws often fail to support women who experience domestic violence and can persuade their daughters/daughters-in-law not to seek justice and mothers-in-law can contribute to the oppression of younger women in patrilineal households. Parents are also active participants in socialising their male and female children into their traditional unequal gender roles.

Encouragingly, it seems that there is space for movement in women and men's gendered work in Timor-Leste. Women's participation in productive work beyond the home demonstrates that income-generation is a domain that women and men share. Similarly, men 'help' with traditionally female household chores when there is a family crisis, showing that these tasks, too, can be shared. Women and men's ability to move in and out of each others' gendered spheres of work suggests that cultural change towards a more equal sharing of home and work responsibilities is possible.

The intersection of agency, structures and relations

By analysing how gender and power play out in the areas of agency, structures and relations in Timor-Leste it is clear that change is needed in all three areas to achieve Timorese gender equality, CARE's overall goal.

Regarding **agency**, women need knowledge, opportunities, leadership skills and confidence, and they need *time* to access these assets. This time requires a change in **relations** which sees men sharing women's burden of reproductive work to reduce women's triple-burden. Men must not only 'help' women with traditionally female tasks, but these tasks must cease to be gendered and become the equal responsibility of both women and men. In terms of **structures**, women need access to adequate opportunities and services. Timor-Leste's services in health (particularly maternal and sexual and reproductive health), business and credit, violence prevention and protection, and education must be improved to equip women (and their families) with the requirements for empowerment; a woman cannot be empowered if she is illiterate, lives in a violent relationship, is unable to control her fertility, or faces a very real threat of death each time she has a baby. Finally, as women gain the confidence and time to become active beyond the household, traditionally masculine areas of Timorese society, particularly those relating to decision-making, must accept women. Women must be able to contribute meaningfully to decision-making within the home and at a local level and should be confident that they will be listened to when they are present in these forums.

4.2 Implications for Impact Groups

CITL has identified two potential impact groups around which to focus our program work. These are:

1. *Remote and isolated rural communities, especially women and girls.*
2. *Youth, especially young girls, with limited access to education and employment opportunities, and who are not empowered to make choices that affect their lives.*

This gender and power analysis finds that these groups of people are sound impact groups for CITL to focus our work around.

Remote and isolated rural communities, especially women and girls

Women in remote isolated communities have limited opportunities to make changes to their lives (should they wish to do so). While all people in isolated communities face challenges accessing information, services and economic opportunities, women experience these more acutely and face additional gender-based challenges (for example, limited mobility, a higher level of illiteracy compared with men, high birth rates and GBV).

While women in urban centres and remote areas in Timor-Leste both face significant challenges those in remote and isolated communities are most disadvantaged. Compared with urban women, the evidence above shows that rural women are almost twice as likely to have no education, are least likely to think that it is acceptable for a women to refuse her husband sex, have more children and have them at a younger age, and have less access to vital maternal health services, putting their lives at greater risk.

Rates of violence against rural women remain unacceptably high (35%) and these women are less likely to seek justice for the violence they suffer.

Youth, especially young girls, with limited access to education and employment opportunities, and who are not empowered to make choices that affect their lives

Young people in Timor-Leste face many challenges particularly relating to education, employment and relationships. Information presented in this analysis shows that the challenges facing boys and girls are not the same. Girls limited mobility and their parents' concerns about their security and sexuality make it harder for girls to access higher education and academic and employment opportunities beyond their villages, compared with boys. In contrast, Timor-Leste's high levels of youth unemployment and under-employment may negatively affect young men more than young women, as they directly challenge Timorese males' traditional role as household breadwinner.

Of particular concern is young Timorese people's lack of information about sex and healthy relationships. Unless these issues are addressed, it is likely that the problems of violence against women, high fertility rates and high maternal mortality will continue to be experienced by the next generation of young women and men.

4.3 Implications for programming

A gender transformative approach

Internationally, CARE is committed to a *gender transformative* approach which aims for gender equality by seeking to transform gender roles, alter structures that maintain inequality and promote gender equitable relationships between men and women (CARE International Gender Network, July 2012).

Currently, CARE International in Timor-Leste's (CITL) projects are generally gender sensitive but not gender transformative. CITL's projects are aware of the different needs and constraints of male and female participants but don't actively address unequal gender roles. For example, CITL's Our Roads Our Future project has a quota of 60% female work team members. While this ensures that women participate in the project and increases women's participation and capacity in the productive sphere, gender inequality in the reproductive sphere remains unaddressed. Similarly, CITL's Healthy Villages project targets women for maternal and child health and nutrition activities. While the project increases women's knowledge about health and agriculture it also reinforces their traditional caring responsibilities rather than encouraging men to share this role with their wives.

CITL should take deliberate steps to move from a gender sensitive way of working to a gender transformative approach. The move to a Program Approach provides a valuable opportunity for CITL to reconsider how gender is mainstreamed in our work and to ensure that the new programs address the three areas of the women's empowerment framework. Key changes to current project delivery should be working to influence gender dynamics not directly related to project activities (such as participants' home lives), directly promoting gender equality, and engaging with men on women's empowerment.

Engaging men

Changes to gender relations cannot focus on women alone – men must also understand and value gender equality. Any process of social change that moves towards gender equality must involve men. Men can be powerful agents of change and can support women's empowerment. Women in Timor-Leste may already be experiencing the consequences of men's feelings of marginalisation in the form of violence against women, demonstrating the risks to women when men feel excluded from opportunities.

CITL's attention to directly promoting gender equality within the communities we work with is minimal. Supporting Young Women's Education in a Young Nation (YWYN), an education project, teaches girls about their rights and promotes girls' right to education among parents and teachers. The project could be strengthened and its potential for gender transformation broadened if it were to also target these messages at boys. YWYN's access to young people makes it well positioned to promote healthy and respectful relations between the boys and girls that will go on to become husbands and wives.

Influencing reproductive work

Directly related to engaging men in our work to support women's empowerment is a need to look beyond the direct reach of our projects and consider how CITL can influence changes in project participants' private sphere. To enable women to increase their agency by accessing non-traditional opportunities beyond the household, reproductive (domestic) work must be the equal responsibility of women and men. It is unreasonable to expect women to participate fully in our projects given their triple burden. CITL must build initiatives into our projects which lead men to take on a greater share of tasks traditionally classified as 'women's work'. If we fail to do this project participation risks being just one more demand on women's already stretched time.

Projects must be aware that women's participation in CITL's projects can have unintended negative consequences on other female family members. Increasing men's share of reproductive tasks is important to ensure that adult women's domestic work is not simply passed onto other female household members when

they participate in activities beyond the household. CITL must ensure that we do no harm by inadvertently shifting adult women's work into girl children, which can in turn prevent them from full participation in education and other activities.

CITL is increasingly focussing on sexual and reproductive health (SRH), arguably a crucial component of the reproductive sphere. While it makes good sense for SRH activities to target women (given that they bear children) we must ensure that men share the responsibility of family planning. Currently, it appears that women have primary responsibility for limiting family size, demonstrated by the fact that only a very small minority of men have ever used a modern contraceptive. While equipping women with the knowledge and resources to control their fertility is an important aspect of women's empowerment there is a risk that the responsibility of family planning simply becomes an additional burden for women. This could be avoided by engaging men in discussions about SRH and encouraging them to consider options and access services to manage their own fertility.

Addressing gender-based violence

A significant gap in CITL's current work with communities is GBV; CITL currently does minimal work to respond to the violence against women that is normalised and accepted in the communities we work in. Given the high levels of domestic violence throughout Timor-Leste, CITL must begin to address it either by developing new projects and activities that combat GBV directly, or by mainstreaming messages that violence against women is unacceptable through all of our work in a less direct way.

CITL's future work with young people should directly address sensitive topics such as domestic violence, SRH and positive relationships. Traditional gender roles in Timor-Leste are changing, and these changes will be felt most acutely by future generations of young people who will form families that look very different from their parents' – increasing numbers of women as well as men are undertaking higher education, gaining employment in the formal sector and economically supporting their families. This presents a risk that young men will feel that their masculinity is under threat and may seek to assert it in negative ways, such as through violence against women.

Given that there is no formal sex education and or training on positive intimate partner relationships in Timor-Leste, there is an opportunity for CITL to play a valuable role in equipping Timorese young people with the information and knowledge they need to make informed decisions in these areas.

CARE International in Timor-Leste staff capacity

To act on the findings and recommendations outlined above, CITL's staff need to have the necessary skills, experience and knowledge. CITL staff are adequately skilled to fulfil the technical aspects of their current roles, but may not be appropriately qualified to promote women's empowerment or address sensitive gender issues such as SRH, sex education, GBV and intimate partner relationships.

CITL staff *are* community members. As such, it is to be expected that they will have some of the characteristics outlined above – discomfort talking about domestic violence and sex, limited knowledge about sex and reproduction, and a tendency towards victim-blaming in cases of violence against women. CITL's Gender Equity and Diversity Audit found that most CITL staff feel that gender equality is important at work but unrealistic at home, demonstrating that they are not yet role modelling the changes that we aim to achieve in communities (Cowan and Amaral, 2012). These limitations on staff capacity must be kept in mind when moving into new program areas that require new areas of skill and experience.

The gender make-up of staff must be addressed. Women remain under-represented in CITL, accounting for only a third of employees. While some of this imbalance can be accounted for by roles that are traditionally masculine (i.e. security and drivers) women are underrepresented in project implementation roles. For example, the MAKAS project does not have any female field officers, despite the fact that women's empowerment is one of the projects' goals. Particularly when we begin addressing more sensitive areas of work, female implementation staff will be required. It is unlikely that a woman in a rural community will feel as comfortable discussing SRH with a male staff member as she would with a female.

Working in partnership

Given CITL's limited internal capacity to address some crucial gender issues a greater focus should be placed on working in partnership with organisations which have these skills. An active women's network exists in Timor-Leste and many other civil society organisations, both national and international, are working to promote gender equality and women's empowerment. Opportunities exist to partner with these organisations. Working with national organisations has the potential to both provide CITL with the expertise needed for good gender programming and also support the capacity development of Timor-Leste's local non-government organisations.

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5.2 Findings from stakeholder interviews

<p>Stakeholder: Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality (SEPI)</p>	<p>About SEPI SEPI's purpose is to promote gender equality in government institutions, focusing on women. SEPI aims to build gender capacity in the districts through training (for example, on the Law Against Domestic Violence and GBV). SEPI coordinates the national and district level Gender Working Groups and Gender Focal Points. At a national level General Directors act as Gender Focal Points within their ministry. At the time of meeting Gender Focal Points were not active in each district.</p> <p>The Government Gender Working Groups were established via the Gender Working Group Resolution which states that all districts must have a Gender Working Group as a tool to mainstream gender at the district level. Gender Working Groups are made up of representatives from the major Ministries (including police) and headed by District Vice-Administrator.</p> <p>SEPI gives funding to women's groups at a district level via a small grants process (up to \$5,000 per group). In 2011/2012 \$100,000 was available for women's groups. SEPI also provides funding support for the celebration of women's days each year. SEPI runs training within Government and with women's groups on topic such as the Law Against Domestic Violence and GBV.</p> <p>Gender Action Plans are being developed for each district, commencing with Dili, Baucau and Liquica. These Action Plans will be based on a gender assessment of each district to understand needs in that area. During the national consultation process for Camara Municipio the Secretary of State conducted specific meetings with women to ensure their input into the process.</p> <p>SEPI have successfully facilitated the implementation of gender responsive budgeting throughout Government, at a national and district level. In this process SEPI analysed plans from 32 ministries.</p> <p>Gaps While there are many women involved in national leadership, there are few at the Suco and Aldeia level. Gender Working Groups have a role in providing support to increase women's representation.</p> <p>Currently SEPI's initiatives focus on government, with minimal engagement with communities or civil society. Gender Focal Points at the district level should conduct regular meetings with civil society actors, however these meetings do not always occur. SEPI meets with the Catholic Church every six-months to share information.</p>
<p>Stakeholder: Rede Feto</p>	<p>About Rede Feto Rede Feto is a network of women's organisations working to promote women's and human rights, women's empowerment and gender equality. Rede Feto functions as a secretariat and supports member organisations with organisational management needs, M&E, project design and funding applications. Rede Feto also leads advocacy.</p> <p>As per their mandate, every four years Rede Feto organises Timor-Leste's Women's Congress which brings together women's voices from all over Timor-Leste to form Platforms of Action. This is a Congress for the <i>women of Timor-Leste</i>, not for Rede Feto.</p> <p>Priorities to for women's empowerment Discrimination against women remains prevalent and culture is often used to justify traditional gender dynamics that disadvantage women. Women and men need to learn to respect each other and men need to be involved in work to encourage this. Violence against women is normal and sexual abuse within marriage is seen as normal by men.</p> <p>Women should be better represented in areas besides Parliament as they remain underrepresented in other areas of public decision-making (i.e. leadership in rural areas). To participate leadership roles women need skills and confidence to move outside the home.</p> <p>Men must more equally share responsibilities inside the home. This is difficult, given the strongly</p>

	<p>patriarchal nature of Timorese society. People's mentality needs to change.</p> <p>Gaps In both rural <i>and</i> urban areas people are poor, women experience domestic violence, etc. The main way in which people in rural areas are more disadvantaged is in terms of access to information. People in rural and remote areas miss information about opportunities (such as training and scholarships). There is no system of effectively getting information to people in rural areas.</p> <p>There are fewer activities and opportunities at a sub-district or aldeia level, compared with the district level. This is problematic because the patriarchal system is strongest at the local level where people's lives are not touched by globalisation and new ideas. Gender equality training should be provided to men. Similarly, men generally don't attend activities run on family planning in communities. Women and men need to look at this problem together.</p> <p>When talking with people about their rights, we also need to talk about their <i>obligations</i>.</p> <p>Lessons learned Communication with community leaders is vital to ensure that activities related to gender equality can be implemented and supported. Rede Feto meet regularly with community leaders to invite their thoughts and ideas. Collaboration is important. Recognising the importance of engaging men, Rede Feto works with men. Men can be engaged through community leaders</p> <p>Rede Feto works with Government Gender Working Groups at the district level, informing them of their plans for each district. Rede Feto also meets regularly with SEPI, other civil society organisations and local leaders.</p>
<p>Stakeholder: Marie Stopes International (MSI)</p>	<p>About MSI MSI was founded in Timor-Leste in 2006 and is the only organisation specialising in sexual and reproductive healthcare. MSI has clinics in Dili and mobile clinics providing outreach in eight districts. Mobile clinics accompany SISCa but MSI hopes to work with community groups to increase reach.</p> <p>MSI runs family planning spaces in youth centres (funded by AusAID) and a SRH information line. This service is in high demand as people (especially youth) want to know about their SRH options.</p> <p>Services and gaps Anecdotal evidence suggests that there are many sex workers in Suai and also the trafficking of women from Suai for prostitution. People living in this border area are also at high risk for STIs and HIV. Official figures suggest that there are about 200 people in Timor-Leste with HIV, however this data is unreliable. No data exists on the prevalence of STIs, but MSI treats many STI cases.</p> <p>There are many organisations working along the border, which which could account for higher numbers of HIV cases reported there. Fundasaun Timor Haree and Hivos are the primary organisations working with sex workers and men who have sex with men.</p> <p>Health Alliance International (HAI) trains PSFs in family planning to generate demand for SRH services. HAI provide a Safe Motherhood Package. MSI works with PRADET and ILO to treat victims of sexual violence. Convents are pretty open to short-term contraceptives.</p> <p>Lessons learned MSI have found that women and men talk quite openly about SRH issues at the community level. They have found that it is important that local authorities are aware of the content of activities implementation.</p> <p>While MSI targets everyone of reproductive age, 90% of MSI clients are women. Within their current model of service delivery (through SISCa) engagement with men is challenging as they don't usually attend SISCa. MSI plans to increase its focussing on engaging men.</p>

	<p>Opportunities</p> <p>In partnerships with MSI, family planning messages could be delivered through the Youth Centres CARE supports, to men via Healthy Villages' night events and to women through mothers' groups. Adolescent reproductive health messages could be delivered via YWYN and post-natal family planning could be linked to Healthy Villages' work with lactating mothers.</p> <p>MSI's SRH counselling training could be provided to CARE staff to introduce them to SRH and build their confidence and capacity in talking about these issues.</p>
<p>Stakeholder: Fundasaun Alola</p>	<p>About Fundasaun Alola</p> <p>Fundasaun Alola (Alola) works in all 13 districts to promote women and children's right under the motto, 'Feto forte, nasaun forte' ('Strong woman, strong country'). Alola's projects focus on education, economic empowerment, maternal and child health and advocacy. Activities include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education: Develop children's school resources; scholarships. • Economic empowerment: Establish credit groups; support women with small business development; sell women-made products through Alola shops. • Health: Establish mothers' support groups; support SISCa; promote breast-feeding. • Advocacy: Advocate for the development or implementation of laws affecting women (i.e. gender-sensitive budgeting, law against domestic violence, parliamentary quota system); make submissions to parliament; monitor progress against CEDAW. In 2013 Alola is advocating for the development of a re-entry policy for girls who have dropped out of school to have children as a result of sexual assault or incest. <p>Priorities to for women's empowerment</p> <p>The biggest challenge to women's empowerment is Timor-Leste's patriarchal culture. This leads to all other problems, especially violence against women (VAW). The Law Against Domestic Violence is not implemented effectively. Many police interpret the law incorrectly and do not take appropriate action domestic violence is reported. MSS, MoH Ministry of Justice (?) key implementers of the law.</p> <p>Education is key to enable women to develop their intelligence and build their confidence to access public spaces. Women's economic independence is connected to education; women need to be educated to be economically empowered.</p> <p>Violence in schools is a problem. While there is no good data about the incidence of violence it has been observed (teacher on student, student on student and at least one case of mother on teacher).</p> <p>The new Labour Law (established in 2012) is not yet being effectively implemented. Alola is undertaking advocacy with SEFOPE about this issue. The situation of the labour market in Timor-Leste (high unemployment, migrant workers, competition) make it hard for women to find work and makes them vulnerable to exploitation once they're in jobs. Gender-based problems experienced by women in the workplace include leave maternity entitlements not given, women not receiving payment for maternity leave and sexual harassment. Some companies stipulate that their female employees are not allowed to get pregnant.</p> <p>Positive gender equality initiatives</p> <p>The Law Against Domestic Violence is a positive step but is not implemented effectively. Scholarships for women are important. The quality of education is a problem as it affects the effectiveness of education. In many cases schools are just an empty building and lack resources and adequate sanitation (which particularly impacts women).</p> <p>Gaps</p> <p>Alola is working with other women's groups to lobby Government to establish a re-entry policy for girls who have left school due to early pregnancy or sexual abuse. While international policy exists around this issue, it is not yet integrated into Timorese law. Alola refers girls who have been victims of abuse to support services (i.e. legal services or shelters) through an established referral network.</p> <p>Other issues:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many projects for women are short-term which decreases their effectiveness. Alola recommends integrated programming to better meet the needs of women. • Most projects for women focus on education, health, political participation. There is a gap in terms of women and the environment/climate change – no one is really addressing gender relating to these issues. • Women are well-represented in political at a high level but not at the community level. • HIV is a problem and equal numbers of women and men are infected. Many women living with HIV are married and have been infected by their husbands who have had extra-marital sex. • Young women face specific challenges. They have less access to information, compared with boys and teenage pregnancy is a problem (particularly in Dili). • Alola recommends that childcare centres be established in workplaces and in the government. Alola is the only organisation in Timor-Leste providing childcare for its employees. <p>Engaging with men Recognising that men need to be engaged for change to occur, Alola engages men in discussions about human rights and gender and works to raise men’s awareness about ‘women’s problems’ and solutions to address them.</p> <p>In rural areas Alola engages with men via the Xefe Suco to ensure that men participate in their activities. Men are also involved in the mothers’ support groups that Alola run. Alola works with men’s organisation Mane ho Visaun Foan.</p>
<p>Stakeholder: The Asia Foundation (TAF)</p>	<p>About TAF The Asia Foundation is a nonprofit international development organization committed to improving lives across Asia. In Timor-Leste, TAF’s work focuses on access to justice and governance issues.</p> <p>Opportunities Organizacau Popular da Mulher Timor (OPMT) is a women’s network within the Fretilin party. OPMT has a wide national reach with a presence everywhere that Fretilin is. OPMT were involved in the development of the law against domestic violence. OPMT represents a good potential network for disseminating information or accessing communities given their broad reach and Fretilin networks. Organizacau Mulher Timor (OMT) is the CNRT party’s women’s network.</p> <p>Priorities for women’s empowerment The big problem for women in Timor-Leste is their subordinate status/lack of power. All other problems stem from this.</p> <p>Not all sex workers are victims; some have made a choice and are in control. Women’s rights NGOs would generally assume that the women were doing it because they were somehow compelled. There have been allegations of police arbitrarily arresting sex workers, even though self-prostitution is legal.</p> <p>Positive gender equality initiatives The parliamentary quota is a positive initiative for women in Timor-Leste. One in three candidates must be women. However, parties place women third, meaning that if only two seats are one the woman misses out. The quota came into being after a successful campaign from women’s groups.</p> <p>There is a women’s caucus made up of 25 members, 17 of whom are new since the last election. There is great potential and opportunity in this group.</p> <p>Services A new legal association for women and children was launched in February 2012/13 (?) – Asosiensia Legal ba Feto no Labarik (ALFELA). Currently ALFELA only undertakes GBV/DV work and doesn’t do any civil work, though they’re trying to change this to be able to respond the non-violence related women’s concerns.</p>