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***Communication Strategies for Preventing Violence against
Women in Timor-Leste: a case analysis***

Dissertação apresentada para a obtenção do Grau de Mestrado em Ciências da Comunicação

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Abstract

In Timor-Leste, violence against women is customary and domestic violence (DV) is the most common form of Sexual and Gender-based Violence (SGBV). According to statistics (DNE, 2010), 40 per cent of young girls and women, between ages of 15 and 49, experienced some form physical and sexual violence. However, these figures do not illustrate the reality.

Change behaviours and promote social change are not an easy task. It takes time, method and must be persistence. In an in-deep patriarchal and post-conflict country like Timor-Leste, gender equality and women rights are hard to be understood and accepted (Niner, 2012). After years of intense work from organizations of Timorese women, with the support of international organizations, some changes are visible. But must more need to be done and communication can have a crucial role.

Therefore, this study explores the communication strategies implemented in Timor-Leste on prevention of violence against women, in particular domestic violence. Since Communication for Development is a new field in Portugal, this dissertation begins by describing the evolution of theories and approaches. It follows an analysis of the communication strategies implemented for prevention of gender-based violence (GBV), presenting some case studies worldwide. After addressing Timor-Leste landscape, this study stresses communication strategies applied on prevention of domestic violence over the last decade in the youngest nation of South Asia. It reviews gaps, challenges and successful cases.

This study withdraws lessons from recent past, and suggests a new communication approach for C4D: Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI), based on holistic and people-centred approach with the objective of creating positive social norms and values for sustainable changes.

Key Words: Communication, Inclusion, Violence against Women, Behavioural and Social Change, Social Inclusion

Resumo

A violência doméstica e a forma mais visível de violência sexual e contra o género em Timor-Leste. Dados estatísticos (DNE, 2010) revelam que 40 por cento das jovens e mulheres Timorenses, com idades compreendidas entre os 15 e os 49 anos, experimentam violência física e sexual. No entanto, estes números estão longe de ilustrar a realidade.

A alteração de comportamento e a promoção de mudanças sociais são uma tarefa árdua. Requerem tempo, método e persistência. Numa sociedade patriarcal e em situação pós-conflito como Timor-Leste, a equidade de género e direitos das mulheres encontram impedimentos vários para a sua compreensão e aceitação (Niner, 2012). Após anos de trabalho intenso por parte de organizações de mulheres Timorenses, com o apoio de organizações internacionais, são visíveis algumas mudanças de comportamentos e novas percepções quanto a violência contra a mulher. No entanto, mais necessita ser feito e a comunicação pode ter um papel importante.

Este estudo procura explorar as estratégias comunicacionais levadas a cabo em Timor-Leste com o intuito de prevenir a violência contra as mulheres, em especial a violência doméstica. Uma vez que o tema da Comunicação para a área do Desenvolvimento (CD) é algo de novo em Portugal, a dissertação começa por analisar a evolução das suas teorias e abordagens. Segue-se uma revisão das estratégias de comunicação para a prevenção da violência contra o género com casos de todo o mundo. Após a análise do contexto sociológico de Timor-Leste, este estudo aborda estratégias de comunicação desenvolvidas naquele país para a prevenção da violência doméstica.

No final, este retira lições do passado recente e sugere uma nova linha de pensamento na Comunicação para o Desenvolvimento: Comunicação para a Inclusão Social (CIS), com base numa abordagem holística e centrada nas pessoas, através da criação de normas sociais e valores positivos para mudanças sustentáveis.

Palavras-Chave: Comunicação, Inclusão, Violência Contra o Género, Mudanças Social e Comportamental

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FOREWORD

I have spent my entire professional life working in communication of some sort: journalism, broadcasting, publication writing and editing, public relations, marketing communication, corporate communication, and by the time I am writing this study I am responsible for the implementation of Communication Department at a Timorese government agency.

Each experience has reinforced something I always believed: change can happen and communication is a tool for it. Such is the way I like to think. When I started working in Development I had no idea what I would find. Using my professional experience, skills as communication professional and common sense I got positive results. However, I felt that something was missing. That is when I started to research about Communication for Development and discovered a whole new world.

Often, during my research I asked myself if social change is the final goal of behaviour change, there must be a path between them. I discussed for several times this issue with Professor Hosein, of the University of New York. He defends that social change is only possible if behaviours change. He has given the example of the use of condoms (behaviour change) for prevention of HIV/AIDS (social change). That is, individual action led to collective action. However, knowledge is not always sufficient to solidify actions that led to social change.

One afternoon, I was working on my research, suddenly the concept of Communication for Social Inclusion has lighted in my mind: if we want to prevent violence against women, we need to work on their inclusion within society and, at the same time, of perpetrators.

Endemic social trauma in Timor-Leste brought with it a widespread lack of self-confidence and a perpetuating cycle of violence and victimization. Timor-Leste's history has left a legacy that today manifests itself in the form of pervasive domestic violence, sexual violence against women, fear, shame and a general sense of disempowerment. While the effects of conflict and poverty impact the population as a whole, women and children, because of their vulnerability and dependence, are disproportionately affected.

As societies introduce new values in each generation and evolve, communication should also do the same to prevent violence within families, always respecting the local culture and its own values. In a society post-conflict as Timor-Leste, they need new social values to change

negative behaviours in order to reorganize one society that is still looking for its identity. Perception of what is wrong is increasing, however negative behaviours are perpetuated by social, economic and cultural conditions.

This study, *Communication strategies for preventing violence against women in Timor-Leste: a case analysis*, takes a big step forward in refining the practice of communication for preventing forms of gender-based violence, in particular domestic violence. It is part of a larger strategy to spread communication for social inclusion thinking: introduction of new social values to solidify behaviour change through positive messages and, consequently, reaction of communities to improve their lives which will lead to social change.

Yet communication for social inclusion is valued as a process in and of itself that demands a qualitative assessment in the field. And that takes time, which is not always understood by program managers and donors. Communication science allows the scientist to have broad view of the context where is working. I have learned more about the field of study in which I worked during this process than I might have first imagined. Sociological, anthropological and historical approaches are then need when assessing the environment. Only then the communication expert can move for an effective planning and implementation.

In other words, the Communication for Inclusion process is equally as important as the inputs ad outcomes. An integrated strategy, based on people-centre and inclusive approach, can be applied to a myriad of social issues, big and small, such as domestic violence.

Many other methods will emerge. If this dissertation sparks debate within the community of practitioners and academics of communication science it will be a good sign. This is a work in progress to figure out just how communication for social inclusion should be practiced and what it can, potentially, accomplish.

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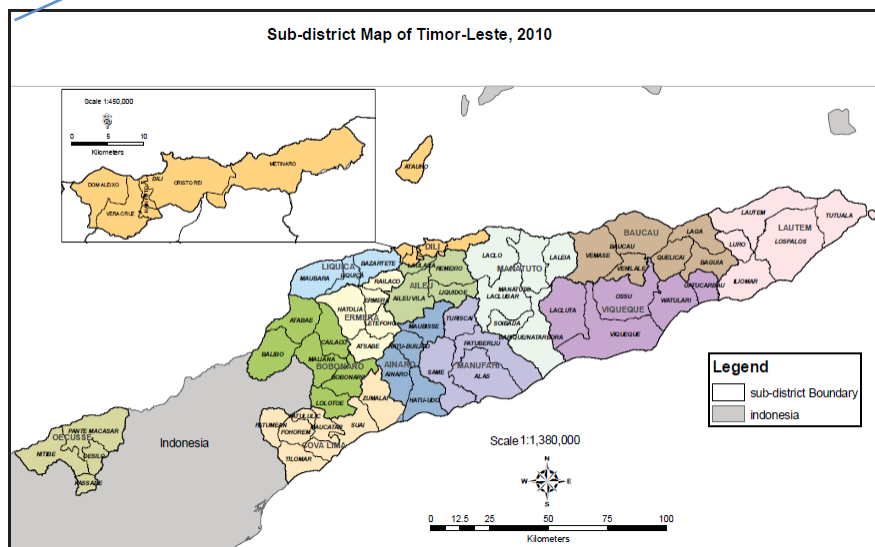
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MAP OF TIMOR-LESTE



Source: Google Maps



ABBREVIATIONS

ACADA	Assessment, Communication, Analysis, Design, Action
BCC	Behaviour Communication Change
C4D	Communication for Development
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CAVR	Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor-Leste (Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation of Timor-Leste)
CFSC	Communication for Social Change
CFSI	Communication for Social Inclusion
COMBI	Communication for Behaviour Impact
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DV	Domestic Violence
EE	Entertainment Education
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FOKUPERS	<i>Forum Komunikasi Perempuan Timor Lorosa'e</i> (East Timor Women's communication Forum)
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GoTL	Government of Timor-Leste
HRBA	Human Rights-Based Approach
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPC	Interpersonal Communication

LADV	Law against Domestic Violence
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MD	Millennium Declaration
M&E	Monitoring & Evaluation
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PCD	Participatory Communication for Development
PRADET	Psychological Recovery and Development East Timor (PRADET Timor Lorosa'e)
PNTL	Polícia Nacional de Timor-Leste (National Police of Timor-Leste)
Rede Feto	Women's Timor-Leste Network
SC	Strategic Communication
SEPI	<i>Secretaria de Estado para a Promoção da Igualdade</i> (Office for Promotion of Equity)
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Appropriate, Realistic and Time-bound
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population
UNMIT	United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
VPU	Vulnerable People's Unit
WHO	World Health Organization

GLOSSARY

Advocacy is a process to inform and influence decision-makers and leadership to generate sustainable changes within political, social and economic structures to ameliorate people's lives.

Agency refers to actions of individuals or groups and their capabilities to influence events.

Communication for Development (C4D) is an interdisciplinary field, which puts people into the centre of the communication process. It is a two-way process of communication that aims to promote dialogue for an active role of communities to enhance their own lives, using tools in an integrated and participatory ways, appropriated to the context, valuing local knowledge and social organizations to seek changes at all levels for sustainable development.

Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) aims to promote positive behaviours at the same time that provides a supportive environment to enable people to sustain those positive behaviours. BCC is associated to Health Campaigns, such as HIV/AIDS and immunization.

Communication for Social Change (CFSC) is a process of dialogue through which people define their needs and concerns, and find solutions to improve their own lives.

Community participation refers to the educational and empowering process in which communities, and their development partners, identify problems, needs and concerns, and, at the same time, assume responsibility for planning and managing collective actions for common problems and solutions.

Development is deliberate efforts at improvement by development agencies to ameliorate the life of the poorest and vulnerable groups. Therefore, it should be considered as an integral and multidimensional process associated to interactions between individual, society and ecology at local, national and international levels.

Education-Entertainment is a communication strategy of designing and implementing a program to entertain while it educates in order to increase audience members' knowledge about a social issue, creates favourable attitudes, shift social norms and changes overt behaviour.

Empowerment is a process by which individuals take direct control over their lives, and then are able to be the agents of their own development (e.g. economic empowerment).

Gender is the key concept related with the social relations of women and men, rather than their biological characteristics, over the whole range of social organizations and interactions.

Gender based-Violence involves men and women, in which the female is usually the victim. The violence derives from unequal power relationships between women and men.

Gender equality means equal treatment of women and men in laws and policies, equal access to resources and services, within families, communities and society.

Gender equity is fairness and justice in the distribution of benefits and responsibilities between women and men.

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are basic guidelines agreed by most of the countries and international organizations on specific goals to be achieved by 2015 to address the needs of the poorest of the world.

Participatory Communication combines two-way communication to ensure dialogue and interaction of social actors and stakeholders to increase understanding of their priorities and work together to build consensus for change.

Ownership means the direct involvement and commitment of agencies and structures to become the driving force for change.

Social Mobilization is a engagement process to all social actors identify needs and concerns, as well raise awareness and manage resources for sustainable achievements toward a development objective.

Strategic Communication is a result-based process, supported by multiple communication approaches and by respecting the local context, to stimulate positive and measurable behaviours and social change through the right messages, audiences and media.

Structure is the framework of relationships between social institutions – families, classes, political factions -, which includes rules of behaviour associated, with moral norms and hierarchies.

Sustainable Development is the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (definition on report of the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development, the Brundtland Commission, 1997).

1. INTRODUCTION

“As Nelson Mandela highlighted, it is people that make the difference. Communication is about people. Communication for Development is essential to making the difference happen”.
(FAO et al., 2006)

Communication for Development (C4D) is a concept that has been implemented for more than 60 years. Today, the importance of communication in developing is generally acknowledged and it moved from one-way communication (information dissemination) to two-way communication (community participation), engaging people to identify problems, find solutions and empower the most vulnerable. There is a common sense that C4D is about people and sustainable changes to benefit vulnerable groups through sharing of knowledge. Further, the communication in developing countries respects the local context, values, languages, traditions and beliefs. Only with the participation and inclusion of all in the same direction is possible to make the difference.

Recent international interest, funding and mobilisation for Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV), motivated by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)⁵, created a unique opportunity to build an effective response to this problem. Nevertheless, few of the lessons of the past are contributing to current approaches. Inclusion and participation are vital. When energy and mobilization of communities have been at the forefront of responses the solutions emerge.

The 2015 program of action to combat poverty launched by MDGs underlines the importance of inclusion and empowerment for women and girls. This program stresses the strong correlation between sustainable poverty reduction and the structural improvement of the social, legal and economic situation of women. Gender equality is vital for reducing poverty. Therefore, communication can play a crucial role in promoting inclusion and empowerment of women and girls. More specifically, communication processes can give women and girls a voice to advocate changes in policies, attitudes and social behaviour or norms that negatively affect them.

⁵ For further reading on Millennium Development Goals see Annexes III, page 213

1.1 Relevance and importance of the research

The lecture on C4D focuses mainly on the international attention given to the programs for HIV/AIDS control, mass immunization, nutrition, agriculture, family planning, education, highlighted in international reports, initiatives and meetings. Domestic Violence (DV) is neglected though communication scholars and practitioners identify examples of success, essentially related to GSBV, even so it is an issue that has hitherto been largely overlooked by development experts. By combining the two perspectives of wider communication for development and focusing specially in the fostering of DV prevention, this study offers a unique, interdisciplinary synthesis of different fields, answering questions that are relevant for both of them. Secondly, the results of the research provide critical lessons learned and recommendations for a larger project.

Lastly, next to the academic importance of the research, the questions are also relevant in a more practical sense. The research outcomes have direct implications on policy-making in SGBV, in particular DV prevention and aim to provide directly usable recommendations for communication practice. This research thus hopes to take the first step in remedying the palpable lack of research in this important area of development for gender equality.

This study presents a country study of the latest experiences in applying various communication approaches ranging from participation development communication, social mobilization, advocacy, entertainment education, interpersonal communication and mass communication in Timor-Leste. The lessons learned provide ample outcomes in development communication that are relevant for related social development domains like DV. By no means does it suggest that there is a singular approach to strategic communication, rather, that strategic communication involves a mix of appropriate multiple communication approaches that can foster individual and social inclusion. It must be geared to stimulate behaviour and social changes in more effective ways through careful communication research, analysis, planning, coordination, implementation, management, monitoring and evaluation.

On the basis of analysis of what has and has not worked in the past one presents guidelines how communication can be best used in the response to DV in Timor-Leste. Each country has its own way of experience with violence and how to communicate sensitive issues. Approaches should integrate victims and perpetrators and local communities to fostering an environment of inclusion of all members within individual, familiar and community realms. While

information and key messages remain crucial, it is important to look beyond these messages and help to develop environments where inclusion of individuals can flourish.

Finally, Communication, with its approaches, methods and tools, is a mean to development and empowerment and not an end in itself. Communication plays a crucial role in reducing gender inequality, providing tools to people involve in the process of their own development and empowerment. Little of this will be simple to implement. In the midst of another 16th Days Campaign against Domestic Violence in Timor-Leste one adds a voice to those calling for a critical examination of today's fight against the violence against women and youth. Thus, this dissertation does not offer a "one-size-fits-all" approach to communication for development. Rather, it provides some of the lessons derived from research examining good practices, using practical observation of behaviour and social change projects and analysing case studies.

1.2 Structure and methodology

Based on Timor-Leste context, the youngest nation of South Asia, this research aims to be a reflection on C4D and its role for a positive change on communities regarding SGBV, specially DV: How can communication practitioners contribute to a positive change? What communication practitioners need to have for most effective communication strategies? What are the benefits for programmes and communities? What challenges and opportunities face communication practitioners? Are only the victims the main target groups of those communication strategies?

These and other questions will be addressed in eight stages. Once this is a new study field in Portugal, one analyses in detail the concept of development communication and its evolution along Development itself (chapter 1). The research focuses next on approaches and practices in development communication (chapter 2) to move forward for understanding SGBV, emphasizing communication strategies for its prevention and reduction (chapter 3). An analysis to the context of Timor-Leste gives a wide picture of social, economic and political spheres (chapter 5) for a better understanding of communication strategies that have being implemented for over 10 years and gives guidelines for improvement of future communication programs (chapter 7). The youngest nation of South Asia lead one to a new approach of development communication for prevention of violence against women: the need of new social norms and values for inclusion of victims and perpetrators within family and

communities' environments. This has led one to Communication for Social Inclusion (CFSI), which is examined on chapter 8. The conclusion intends to find outcomes of the communication strategy implemented in Timor-Leste for over a decade. It's a reflection of what has been done and leaves relevant inputs for improvement and effectiveness of future programs on both gender equality and social inclusion once both are interdependent (chapter 9). Finally, chapter 6 describes the research process.

For discussing the role of communication on prevention of domestic violence in Timor-Leste, within a process of nation building, one relies on literature from a number of disciplines: communication for development, sociology, anthropology, legal studies, and development studies. By making use of a case study methodology into a country study, this study aims to clarify the process of applying communication strategies in a complex reality. According to London Open University (2000, 207), case study research can help explain *why* an observed phenomenon is occurring rather than simply show *what* is occurring, through open-ended interviews and observational studies. All of these criteria apply to this study and the research has been designed to attempt the inclusion of a wide variety of sources: official documentation, academic publications, press-releases, reports, newsletters and a series of in-depth interviews.

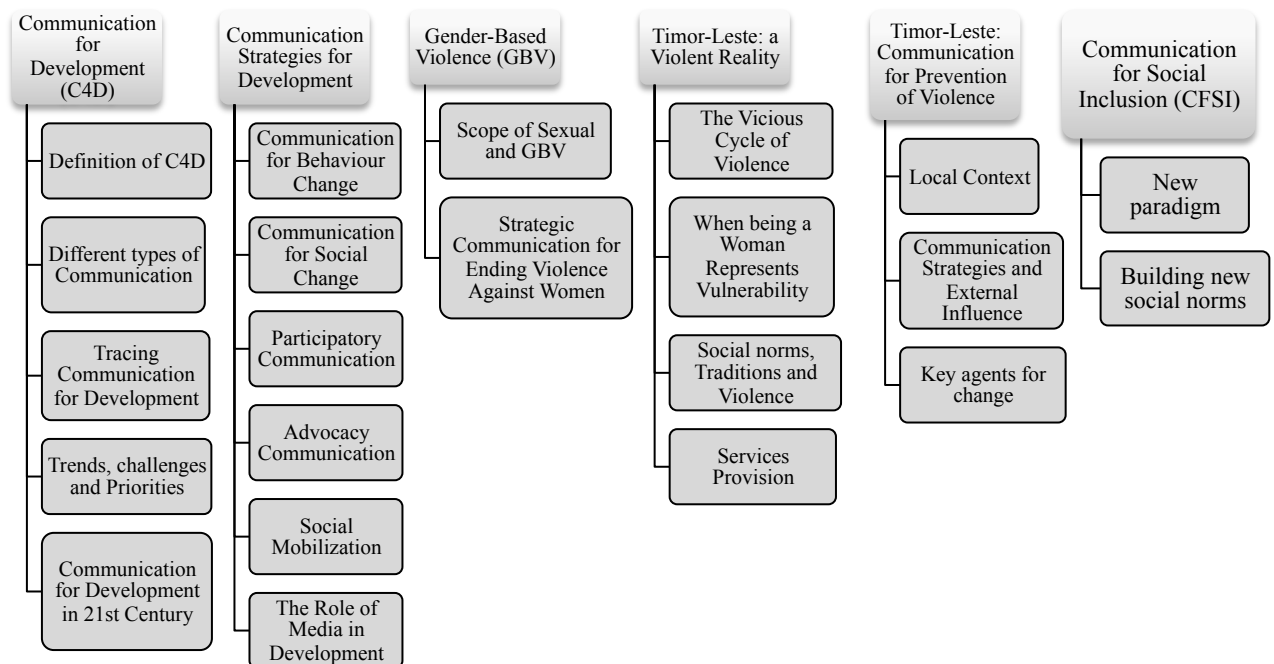
Timor-Leste was selected for several reasons. Firstly, one worked at the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) for more than three years, which has enabled to acknowledge social, political, cultural and economic contexts very closely. This offers the opportunity to identify any improvement since the Timorese Government and United Nations and other development actors started working on Gender Equality and Law against Domestic Violence. Lastly, domestic violence is the most common form of gender-based violence in Timor-Leste, which includes physical, sexual and economic violence⁶, and affects especially women, young girls and children. The high social and economic costs of violence against women and girls are extremely relevant to development policy and for efforts to reduce poverty and ensure sustainable development.

The research is based on a qualitative approach in which up to 20 people were interviewed, including young girls who have experienced domestic violence, stakeholders, such as local NGOs, PNTL officers, Government officials, international organizations and advisers and other local level actors involved in domestic violence cases. For this study one conducted an

⁶ According to the Article 2 of the Timorese Law Against Domestic Violence (Lei n.º7/2010) which defines the concept of Domestic Violence.

individual risk assessment prior to conducting each interview and ensured fully informed consent from the interviewee at all stages of the interview.

Figure 1 summarizes the structure of this study:



2. WHAT IS COMMUNICATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE

“A development strategy that uses communication approaches can reveal people’s underlying attitudes and traditional wisdom, help people to adapt their views and to acquire new knowledge and skills, and spread new social messages to large audiences. The planned use of communication techniques, activities and media gives people powerful tools both to experience change and actually to guide it. An intensified exchange of ideas among all sectors of society can lead to the greater involvement of people in a common cause. This is a fundamental requirement for appropriate and sustainable development” (Fraser & Villet, 1994).

2.1 Introduction

There have been over six decades of theory, research and various paradigms and strategies covering initiatives in development communication. Academics, development workers, communication practitioners, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and specialized agencies of the United Nations (UN) have been trying to find effective ways to improve the life of vulnerable groups by using communication. Yet the frustration continues and the situation is not always the desired one.

Over the last years, gender-based violence, including sexual violence and domestic violence, has been the umbrella of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). As part of being violations of human rights, all forms of violence against women profoundly damage the health, social and economic wellbeing of families and communities. The burden of violence is due to a complex array of factors that increase the likelihood of violence occurring in the first place. These factors include gender inequality and social norms around masculinity and other social, economic and behaviour problem. To prevent the escalation of violence against women, in particular domestic violence, we need to understand the cultural, social, economic and political contexts, but also how communication can help programs of agencies and Government’s policies and programs.

First, it is extremely important to have a clear understanding of what the term Communication for Development (C4D) does and does not encompass. Most of the definitions of C4D focus on its characteristics, mainly on its participatory and two-way processes, which distinguish itself from external relations and public relations. In fact, a number of definitions are used in

development communication field, which reflects an increased understanding of its role in development process.

Therefore, this chapter reviews the definitions of C4D and illustrates the differences with other types of communication in order to understand the analysis of the evolution of communication in development sector. Many changes have occurred in communication and development over the past decades and this chapter wishes to draw attention to those changes in the dominant perspectives of development and, respectively, communication. In other words, the communication for development new perspectives has proceeded according to the nature of the historical and political contexts rather than according to a set of *a priori* principles (Houston & Jackson, 2009: 100). The twenty-century's globalization and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) present new challenges and trends, lending new paradigm of development communication. In this context, people become central for sustainable development and communication became the channel to reach it. Gro Brundtland⁷ emphasizes this idea saying:

*"The only way we can work for a common cause, for common interest, to improve our condition, is really through communication. Basically, it has to do with democracy, with participation, with spreading of knowledge and insight and ability to take care of our future"*⁸.

Hence, direct participation of the local communities within communication process, based on dialogue and respecting their culture, has become the core of development communication in the last decade.

Turning to the main argument of this study, the present chapter aims to address these and other paradigms of C4D to further understanding of communication strategies for prevention of Domestic Violence (DV), in particular against women and young girls, on a human-rights perspective.

2.2 Communication for Development definitions over the years

The United Nations (UN) recognized its importance when, in 1997, the Article 6 of [General Assembly Resolution 51/172](#) states that:

⁷ Gro Brundtland is the former Prime Minister of Norway and Chairperson of the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission). In 1997, the Commission with her name, committed to environment and its relation with development, has defined Sustainable Development, which is included in the Glossary.

⁸ *idem*

“Communication for Development stresses the need to support two-way communication systems that enable dialogue and that allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns, and participate in the decisions that relate to their development”.

More recently, the 9th United Nations inter-Agency Roundtable on C4D, held in 2004, in Rome, argue that among other characteristics:

“Communication for Development is about people, who are the drivers of their own development. It contributes to sustainable change for the benefits of the poorest. It is a two way process [and] is about people coming together to identify problems, create solutions and empower the poorest. It respects indigenous knowledge and culture and that local context is key. It is critical to the success of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)”⁹.

This is broadly consistent with the description that resulted from the First World Congress of Communication for Development, also held in Rome, in 2006, which defines C4D in the statement entitled Rome Consensus as:

“(…) a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels, including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change. It is not public relation or corporate communication”¹⁰.

Similarly, the Development Communication Division of the World Bank (DevComm) defines development communication as:

“(…) an interdisciplinary field based on empirical research that helps to build consensus while it facilitates sharing of knowledge to achieve positive change in development initiatives. It is not about effective dissemination of information but also about using empirical research and two-way communication among stakeholders”¹¹.

The definitions mentioned above focus on communication that enables people, particularly the vulnerable groups, to participate in shaping decisions for ameliorate their own well-being. Using a variety of interpersonal, dialogue and mass media communication channels to engage, motivate and educate beneficiaries of development programs, C4D promotes, hence, changes in people's behaviours and attitudes and increases their participation in the development process. This role of communication as empowerment and participatory tools contrast with how most communication is understood within development system. In this sense, communication is a process which links individuals and communities, governments

⁹ See FAO et al. (2004), *9th Communication for Development Roundtable Report, focus on Sustainable Development*, Rome, pp. 6

¹⁰ See FAO, World Bank and Communication Initiative (2006), *First World Congress on Communication for Development*, Rome, pp. xxxiii

¹¹ See Mefalopulos, P. (2008), *Development Communication Sourcebook*, World Bank, Washington DC, pp. 8

and citizens, in participation and shared decision-making (UNFPA, 2002: 13 and Servaes and Malikhao, 2003: 121). This is, therefore, a massive field encompassing the role of communication in facilitating behaviour change, empowering people and social change.

2.3 Distinguishing different types of Communication

Communication has a multidimensional nature. Journalism, corporate communication, interpersonal communication, financial communication, internal communication, political communication, health communication, social responsibility communication, public relations, and development communication (and the list does not stop here...) indicate its diversity. It is difficult to distinguish and understand those different communication fields if you are not familiar with them.

Indeed, communication is normally associated with dissemination of information to facilitate the flow of messages and knowledge within an organization and other actors. This common perception can originate a misunderstanding of the real role of C4D. Notwithstanding, experts recognize that practitioners and program managers can easily confuse the different types of communication and its tools and methods. Therefore, there is a need to highlight the distinction of C4D and other types of communication, such Corporate Communication and Internal Communication, which are also found within development agencies and international organizations working in development. As the table 1 shows, the different types of communication diverge in purposes and functions. However, it only illustrates the four basic types of communication usually encountered in development context.

Table 1 Common types of Communication in Development Organizations

Type	Purpose/Definition	Main Functions
Corporate Communication	Communicate the mission and activities of the organization, mostly for external audiences	Use media outputs and products to promote the mission and values of the institution; inform select audiences about relevant activities
Internal Communication	Facilitate the flow of information within an institution/project. Sometimes this area can be included in corporate communication	Ensure timely and effective sharing of relevant information within the staff and institution units. It enhances synergies and avoids duplication
Advocacy	Influence change at the public or policy level	Raise awareness on hot development issues; use

Communication	and promote issues related to development	communication methods and media to influence specific audiences and support the intended change
Development Communication	Support sustainable change in development operations by engaging key stakeholders	Establish conducive environments for assessing risks and opportunities; disseminate information; induce behaviour and social change

(Mefalopulos, 2008: 5)

The corporate communication should be used in Development though for other reasons than development communication. It uses mass media to create awareness and, in many cases, contributes to ensuring successful fund-raising. Additionally, corporate communication builds organizational identity and coherence. It communicates mainly the mission, values and activities of an organization and, at the same time, ensures that the organization uses “one voice” when communicates with its public. For example, the International Labour Organization (ILO) shares a number of guiding principles that distinguish C4D from corporate communication, including empowerment, through participation and equity, social justice, transparency and social change (UNDP, 2011: 91).

Internal communication facilitates the flow of information within an organization or project. It plays an important role in ensuring that information sharing across the organization takes place in a timely and effective way and helps to promote synergies and teamwork.

As mentioned before, development communication distinguishes itself from other types for its role in empowerment processes, crucial for programs planning at achieving the MDGs¹² and other development objectives. In light of the above, Mefalopulos (2008: 4) defends that the correct term should be “development communication” to keep the two terms delineating the field’s scope (that is “development” and “communication”), instead of “Communication for Development”. According to him, this latter reinforces the wrong idea that any kind of communication used in the developing context (such the examples given above) shares the same theoretical and methodological features. Even sharing common conceptual roots, each type of communication can involve the application of one or more communication interventions such as information dissemination, community participation, social mobilization, advocacy, as well others (*idem*: 33).

¹² The glossary and Annex III give more information regarding the MDGs, pages 18 and 213, respectively

In this study one will use both terms – C4D and development communication – once the analyses is on communication in development programs of agencies and government policies in developing countries.

2.4 Tracing Communication for Development

C4D has been pursuing Development theoretical frameworks over the decades. That is why is also important to understand Development¹³ itself in order to comprehend the evolution of communication within development sector. The following pages present a brief overview of the field of development and their theoretical communication models. Their implications are presented in more detail in Chapter II.

The idea of Development evolved along the twists of World History. From the neoliberal to the people-centred development view¹⁴ has past half century of successes and disappointments. Based on the collective failures and frustrations of past development efforts, the field of C4D begun to gain legitimacy as an essential area of study and practice. Fraser and Estrada (1998: 134) summarized this shift of vision as *“people’s who were once simply the objects of development now came to see and define themselves in its terms”*.

2.4.1 Modernization

Communication for Development, or development communication, has its roots in Modernization theory. This Development thinking and practice dominated from the post-Second World War until the 1970s, with pervasive impact on most aspects of development. For decades, the prevailing assumption was that developing countries should follow the Western model to achieve “progress”. This is a top-down approach from donors (rich countries) to recipients (underdeveloped countries), leaving behind the culture and values as important inputs as the foundation for development programs. Added to this, as Colin Fraser and Sonia Restrepo-Estrada refer (1998: 41), the fault was not only from the aid agencies but also from the governments in developing countries that made assumptions about what poor

¹³ Glossary for the definition of Development on page 17

¹⁴ Neoliberalism and People-centre are two of the theories of Development on how is it seen in the first half of the twentieth century in human and economic spheres. Both theories show the evolvement of the Development’s thinking itself (Thomas, 2000). However, this study does not discuss Development itself but Communication for Development.

and vulnerable people needed. In many cases, in the 1960s, this situation led to a lack of sustainability of the development programs due the absence of identification of the local population with the projects.

Therefore, development was associated with economic growth and the communication equated with information dissemination through mass media. The modernization theorists believed that information and knowledge could transform people's views and attitudes at local level on a top-down basis. Because of this belief that the mass media could influence audiences to change behaviours and attitudes, during this period, the development initiatives were out of track with people's interests and needs. Basically, the communication initiatives relied on the traditional one-way model, from sender to receiver, as Shannon and Weaver linear model of source-transmitter-channel-receiver-destination (Fiske, 1995: 19).

In those years, the discipline of communication was largely based on the "bullet" or "hypodermic" effects of mass media, which were considered a quick and efficient answer to a myriad of social problems. However, more sociological, psychological, political and cultural factors were considered in the communication research and with it the so-called two-step-flow of communication. Although Lazarsfeld and other researchers expected to find that the mass media (radio and press at that time) had a great influence, they concluded that decisions were influenced by *opinion leaders* within a social context rather than a direct contact between 'stimulus' and 'respondent', as the "bullet" or hypodermic theory (Wolf, 1995: 20-49).

Actually, all these communication theories are in line with Everett Rogers, one of the leading proponents of the diffusion theory. His perspective of the role of communication is: "*to transfer technological innovations from development agencies to their clients, and to create an appetite for change through raising a 'climate of modernization' among the member of the public*" (Servaes & Malikhao, 2003: 114). The diffusion model sees communication as a process mainly as a message going from a sender to a receiver. Therefore, modernization is conceived as a process of diffusion and adoption of innovations whereby individuals move from a traditional way of life to a more complex, more technically developed and more rapidly changing of life. Mass media are important in spreading awareness of new possibilities and practices. However, decisions are made whether to adopt or not to adopt and personal communication is far more likely to influence them. Everett Rogers, in a first stage, distinguishes five phases in the diffusion process: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial and adoption. Afterwards, Rogers discriminates only four crucial steps: (1) Knowledge of the innovation itself (information), (2) communication of the innovation (persuasion), (3)

decision to adopt or reject the innovation (adoption or rejection), and (4) confirmation of the innovation by the individual (*idem*: 118). In general, mass communication is less likely than personal influence to have a direct effect on social behaviour (FAO *et al*, 2004: 22).

With a different vision, the Irish researcher Erskine Childers (Fraser & Estrada, 1998: 46) influenced the development approach regarding communication. He defended that *people* and *communication* were central ideas for a sustainable development process. As a result of his work in Asia, the idea that communication and information could help in the implementation of development projects was quickly adopted by a number of international agencies, such Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) and UNICEF (*idem*: 47). Conversely, the communication followed the top-down development approach of the time, which means that the information was to make people understand the objectives of the development projects and to convince them of their benefits. The relation between the development technicians and communication specialists led also to conflictual situations as the latter were seeing as merely producers of materials to help the first ones to diffuse their messages. Besides, the production of communication materials often resulted in isolated items instead of part of a communication strategy (*idem*, 1998: 47).

2.4.2 Dependency

In 1970s, dissident voices started to rise against the modernization approach, especially in Latin America, but also in Africa and Asia, and led to an alternative paradigm rooted in a political-economic perspective. The dependency paradigm played an important role in the movement for a New World Information and Communication Order from the late 1960s to the early 1980s (Servaes and Malikhaio, 2003: 121). At that time, the new states in Africa, Asia and the success of socialist and popular movements in Cuba, China, Chile and other countries provided the goals for political, economic and cultural self-determination within the international community of nations. These new nations shared the ideas of being independent from the superpowers and moved to form the Non-Aligned Nations. While the former colonialist countries were largely out to plunder economically profitable areas and politically moderate, there is the technological evolution of the mass media that contributed to a cultural and ideological dependence of the so-called Third World. In this sense, Dependency theory criticized the core assumption of the modernization paradigm as put the responsibility of the causes of underdevelopment upon the recipients, neglecting other factors such social,

economic and historic features. Its proponents conceptualized the world into capitalist and industrialized core and the underdeveloped periphery, represented by the rich countries developing at the expense of the impoverished former colonies, whose role was to supply raw materials and cheap labour to richer countries (Bernstein, 2000: 241-270).

Even though the political-economic approach has changed, the communication conception remained linear. The dependency theorists advocated for a more balanced and equitable flow of information, communication and cultural programs among rich and poor countries (Mefalopulos, 2008: 6). Rather, States tended to perpetuate the top-down use of mass media.

By analysing both Modernization and Dependency theories is possible to identify an important common feature: the nation-state as a unit of analysis, leaving them open to criticism. The failure of the modernization and dependency models led to a different approach focused on people's participation. The participatory approach is less oriented to the political-economic dimension. Its core is in the social and cultural features of the development activities.

2.4.3. Participation

One critique that had significant influence on theory and practice of communication was the "Another Development" perspective from the late 1970s. Paolo Mefalopulos (2008: 7) listed a number of terms used to refer to this new emerging conception: "another development", "empowerment", "participation" and "multiplicity paradigm". Actually, Mefalopulos emphasizes the last term, introduced by Servaes, for its cultural and social multiplicity of perspectives that, as he mentioned, should be relevant in the development context. This new paradigm shifts the emphasis from information dissemination to situation analysis and from persuasion to participation. However, it maintains the main functions of informing people and promoting social change but this time involving all stakeholders in the development process.

In contrast to the linear approach of Modernisation and Dependency theories, communication became understood as a two-way process in which poor communities could participate as active agents in defining problems and solutions and setting development goals. This is in large part because the participatory model stressed the importance of *cultural identity* of local communities and of *democratization* and *participation* at all levels – international, national, local and individual. Add to this, Servaes and Malikhaio indicate a strategy not merely inclusive but largely emanating from the traditional receivers. Actually, he quotes the

Brazilian Paulo Freire, who, referring to communication, says that *“this is not the privilege of some few men, but the right of every man”* (2003: 121).

It is now clearly that the public was not a passive recipient of information and that the media alone could not change behaviours. This school of thought argued that the development was experience within communities and, therefore, the community participation was crucial in the design and implementation of development programs. Alternative communication systems and media practice were then regarded as essential means for local people to engage in development activities and participate as key actors in their own development (UNESCO, 2007: 17; Matthew, 2010: 36). Besides sharing information, this model stresses reciprocal collaboration throughout all levels of participation and dialogue between communities and local and national decision-making institutions for sharing also knowledge, trust, commitment and a new attitude in development projects (Servaes & Malikhao, 2003: 122; Chitnis, 2005: 234).

Since then, the development world has witness an increased priority given to multi-directional communication methods, using a mix of channels and emphasizing the importance of dialogue in facilitating trust, mutual understanding, and sharing of knowledge to engage people to identify ways to improve their own well-being. Indeed, for that to happen the development worker and communication practitioner have to spend more time in the field. Obviously, C4D is recognized as a key to facilitate and amplify the voice of the most vulnerable, including women and other marginalized groups. Rather than creating a need for the dissemination of information, is disseminating information for which there is a need. The emphasis is on information exchange rather than on the persuasion in the diffusion model.

Mefalopulos (2008: 60) lists social marketing, media campaigns, information dissemination, lobbying, awareness raising and persuasive and strategic communication as “approaches commonly associated with the diffusion perspective”. He also mentions that *“the approaches often adopted in the participation perspective are community mobilization, conflict resolution, nondirective communication and other dialog-based approaches”*. Besides, depending on how they are being applied, approaches such as education or institutional strengthening can fall in either of the two perspectives.

Related to the above, the researchers (Mefalopulos, 2008: 60; Chitnis, 2005: 233) agree that none of the approaches related to the two perspectives (diffusion and participatory) are universally applicable neither mutually exclusive. Actually, each approach should be selected

according to the objectives of the communication intervention. In many cases, approaches of both families can be used in the same initiative Chitnis (*idem*) goes even further mentioning that the dominant paradigms in development communication have not replaced completely the participatory communication paradigm:

“Even today, many development projects can be analysed as using either modernization (e. g. universal access to Internet), dependency (resistance to global capitalism) or a combination of these approaches (involving communities in designing and preparing pro-social disseminated using the mass media)”.

By the late 1980s, the notion of participatory development was particularly attractive for development agencies, especially non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

2.5 Trends, Challenges and Priorities

The 21st century has brought new challenges together with globalization and the growing inequality within and between countries as well as individuals and groups. The inequality goes beyond economic dimensions, but also the lack of opportunities – health, education, freedom and capacity of people to actively participate in and shape society – affect negatively development. Against this background, the globalization and the increased interconnection of States and people have shaped identities and values. Additionally, communication has gained new shapes with the fast growing of new technologies.

Democratic principles have spread all over the world with the decline of the socialist countries and dictatorships. One of its principles is the free access to information, which is largely controlled by Governments and private interests that threatened media plurality by ownership concentration. However, the new technologies have “open new doors” for an increased awareness of democratic ideals. At the same time, the levels of literacy have increased and, consequently, there has been a remarkable improvement in people’s ability to use communication technology. We watch news on television and Internet not from professional journalists but from common citizens that through new Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) they fight for their rights and freedoms. It is no longer possible to deny the access to and participation in communication process due the lack of skills and the consciousness of people’s rights as citizens.

The ICT combined with the creative potential and knowledge embodied in people sight the meaning of communication process from something delivered to people (dissemination of

information to create a need) but rather people create and interpret it for themselves (dissemination of information for which there is a need). Furthermore, the perspective of communication changed. Nevertheless, the disparity in communication resources between different parts of the world and its gap between info-rich and info-poor people and countries is increasingly recognized and a cause of concern. For example, Servaes & Malikhao (FAO *et al.*, 2004: 25) recognize that “*while the benefits offered by Internet are many, its dependence on a telecom infrastructure means that they are only available to a few*”. Because of that, accessible and affordable technologies, such as radio and mobile phones, can improve connectivity and access to information for marginalized communities.

Throughout the last decade, discussions on globalization and location have challenged your ways of thinking about development, particularly sustainable development. This led to a new integrated perspective of relations between globalization and social change. The global development community has then focused on MDGs to halve the proportion of people living below the poverty line¹⁵. The development community agrees that unless there is a genuine process of ownership of the development strategies to achieve those common goals within the communities they will fail (FAO *et al.*, 2004: 13). This latter perspective, led participation and dialogue into a new dimension in the development discourse, nevertheless the development community agrees that yet mechanisms to ensure these tend to be lacking (UNESCO *et al.*, 2007: 19).

As James Deane pointed out at the 9th United Nations Inter-Agency Roundtable on Communication for Development, held in Rome, in 2004, communication practitioners and development managers still face many challenges within the field to put people at the centre of the communication process and, consequently, the communication strategies have arguably never been as compelling. Most of the decisions by donors to provide budget to support governments has resulted in a shift of resources away from the civil society organizations, many of them dedicated to nurturing dialogue among community members. As a result, with substantial uncertainty in funding, the development workers face many difficulties to design and implement effective communication strategies simultaneously with development projects for both be effective. In fact, as also mentioned by James Deane (FAO *et al.*, 2004: 13), this is a frequent complain of the communication community in developing for over many years.

¹⁵ According to United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Poverty Line measures the level of poverty by measuring the income, below which a person is considered to be in poverty. Internationally, for ‘absolute poverty’ this is currently US\$1 per day (approximately US\$370 per year).

In summary, the absence of political will, lack of coordination and country-focused policy advocacy and failing of international donors to operate communication tools for two-way engagement has steered to unexplored value-added of communication tools to help bring social change. The evidence of the last years suggests that the level of ownership, participation and public discourse needed for the success of the development process requires a reappraisal of the role of communication in meeting developing goals. Besides, the success of a sustainable development depends to a large extent on the adequacy of mechanisms for integration and coordination (*idem*: 13-25). Therefore, the challenge of the development community remains how to demonstrate the added-value and impact of communication in addressing development challenges and ensure that it forms an integral part of government, international and donor policies, strategies and practices (UNESCO, 2007: 21).

2.6 Communication for Development in 21st Century

The social marketing used in the health sector has borrowed its principles and techniques (audience segmentation, situation assessment, message design, pre-testing, monitoring and adjustment) for communication in development, without using whole package. The evolution of development and its aim of achieving participation caused the shift of communication perspective and its potential role. Early communication practitioners soon recognized the direct connection between communication and participation (Fraser & Estrada, 1998: 53-59).

Overall, before people can participate in development process, they must be informed and follow a communication process to reach collective perception of the local situation and of the points for improvement. However, experts recognize that this is hard to achieve, especially in poor communities with low educational levels. But, in reality, using the right communication tools to inform people enable them to contribute with their points of view, discuss problems, and reach consensus to carry out development action together for social change. Through this process, communication *is participation* in a horizontal perspective. As illustrated on the table below, communication went through considerable changes in various dimensions.

Table 2 The Changing Communication Environment

Traditional	New
Vertical communication – from government to people	Horizontal communication – from people to people

Unipolar communication systems	Communication networks
Few information sources	Many information sources
Easy to control – for good (generating accurate information to large numbers of people) and ill (government control and censorship)	Difficult to control – for good (more debate, increased voice, increased trust) and ill (more complex, issues of accuracy)
Send a message	Ask a question

(FAO, 2005: 20)

Simultaneously, vertical and participatory development and communication approaches have introduced a greater access to information by ordinary people, including the most vulnerable. For example, the participatory perspective has placed more emphasis on community radio with more participation from the audience to discuss issues that directly affect community relations and well-being, such as health, education, nutrition, governance (most quoted on literature) as well as gender equality and security.

Fraser and Estrada (1998: 60) point out one important aspect that, as experience shows, is often neglected: the improvement of interpersonal communication between development workers in the field and their client populations has become necessary. For field workers to be more effective and facilitators of change, they need to listen more than they talk and help people to help themselves than do by themselves. Currently, the communication development strategies aim to stimulate debate and awareness for participatory decision-making and action as people to acquire knowledge and skill. The use of communication should also promote teamwork, cooperation and coordination between government agencies, non-government and other institutions involved in multidisciplinary development programs.

As Servaes (2008) suggests, in essence, development is about the development of people and the transformation of society. While references to ‘top-down’ approaches have fallen out of grace in the discourse of the highly political development aid community, many statements and reports are now advocating ‘bottom-up’ approaches with references to ‘participation’, ‘empowerment’ and providing ‘a voice for the voiceless’. He criticizes that hardly anybody seems to be concerned about the implicit contradictions these forms of ‘hybridity’ pose at both theoretical and practice levels. Major aspects of many projects and programs currently being promoted and implemented are, as it is argued, nothing but ‘public relations or corporate communication’ wrapped in participatory diffusion rhetoric. As the experience shows, in the field, strategic thinking and implementation of communication in development

is going through a period of some confusion. James Deane (FAO *et al.*, 2005: 12) confirms that when he states at the ninth United Nations Inter-Agency Roundtable on C4D, held in Rome, 2004:

“(...) development organizations continue to find it difficult to put theory into practice in order to put people at the centre of the communication process. It also takes place at a time when the arguments for effective, professional and people-centred communication strategies have arguably never been as compelling”.

Furthermore, as discussed at the First World Congress on C4Development, held in Rome, in 2006, the key success in communication initiatives is to start with the participatory analysis of the needs of local institutions and stakeholders, taking into account local culture and values and promoting concerted action for development. Besides, C4D can achieve relevant impacts and sustainability only if it is adequately inserted in national development policies and builds on existing experiences and capacities (FAO *et al.*, 2006: 77).

2.7 Conclusion: Emergence of a new paradigm

Nevertheless, the discussion continues. In a world constantly under changes, ensuring those participating in the sustainable development process are fully involved remains a challenge. The importance of communication's role for achieving sustainable development was recognized by researchers, practitioners, development organizations and media in Rome, in 2004, at the 8th roundtable on C4D, where all participants admitted that without good communication is not possible to achieve the MDGs and new tools and strategies must be developed (UNDP & World Bank, 2009: 25). The Declaration of the 8th Roundtable asserts that C4D (FAO, 2004: 8):

“is about people, who are the drivers of their own development; contributes to sustainable change for the benefit of the poorest; is a two-way process – it is about people coming together to identify problems, agree on visions for desirable futures, create solutions and empower the poorest; participatory communication does not only apply to work with communities. It is an approach of equal importance to all stakeholders; is about the co-creation and sharing of knowledge; respects indigenous knowledge and culture; local context is key; is critical to the success of the MDGs”.

In 2007, during the discussion of the role of C4D in achieving MDGs, promoted by UNESCO, development actors argued that communication should facilitate shifts in power relations and contribute for positive social change led by those most affected by development

policies. In sharp contrast, others argued that people living in poverty cannot determine the outcome of policy processes, but can only inform decisions that are the sphere of policy makers advised by technocrats, leaving insufficient space for broader advocacy.

A consensus perspective argues in favour of a holistic approach that harnesses vertical and horizontal communication to inform decision-making at national and local levels for a more effective development (UNESCO, 2007: 19). An enabling environment is, therefore, crucial for effective communication planning and implementation. This should include legal and regulatory systems to protect freedom of expression, promote the right and access to information, and facilitate a free and pluralist media system at national and local levels, mainly community radio (UNDP, 2011: 3).

It is exactly this holistic approach that will be examined later on this study regarding prevention of violence against woman. This new paradigm, model or theory seeks to enhance the discourse about development with the participation of all actors. Therefore, development communication focus more on a bottom-up and horizontal approach, looking at culture and identity as key aspects which as to be respected.

However, the chapter disclose the different communication strategies used within the field of development communication, where these features are analysed. The objective of those communication strategies is the same - endorse change, though distinctively in individual (community) and social (regional, national) levels.

3. COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

The discussion around C4D strategies, approaches and methods continues at academic and field realms. Nevertheless, it has been hard to find a consensus. There has been a shift (in rhetoric at least) from vertical one-way and top-down models of communication to horizontal two-ways models that aim to facilitate participation, inclusion and empowerment. However, many approaches refer to both perspectives in contradictory ways, resulting in confusion and inappropriate compromises that limit the effectiveness of C4D initiatives (Lennie & Tachhi, 2001: 9). For example, communication is often marginalised, while at the same time, it is heralded as a major pillar for development and change. In practice, and as been defended by researchers, specialists and practitioners (Mefalopulos, 2008; Servaes and Malikhaio, 2003; Dagron, 2003; UNDP and World Bank, 2009), communication as understood by decision-makers is often reduced to vertical information delivery or public relations, rather than part of a process of meaningful engagement in development processes. The United Nations admits this when, after a long-term research, the Inter-agency group on C4D highlights:

“a recurring problem with decision makers in development organisations not appreciating what C4D means, or its important role in development. Decision makers in the UN often do not understand that C4D includes two-way communication systems that enable dialogue, ‘allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns and participate in the decisions that relate to their development’ (UN Resolution 51/172, 1997)”.

This is mainly due to the perspective of decision makers that participatory approaches are often considered costly and time consuming, they challenge entrenched power structures, and are seen by some as incompatible with dominant organisational cultures and dominant approaches (Lennie & Tachhi, 2011: 10).

Influencing and modifying human behaviour is a complex process that needs to be planned carefully. A number of communication frameworks have then been designed by United Nations agencies and academic institutions. Therefore, this chapter looks at various approaches of C4D and the role of media in development. But to detail all of the preceding theories would be to write another study, however this study cannot cover everything. The following approaches and strategies gives the broader landscape of what has emerged or occurred in the field over the pas few decades. To a large extent a number of approaches are

used from behaviour to social change, but all need to be carefully planned in an integrated way to be successful.

3.2 Communication for Behaviour Change

The Behaviour Change Communication (BCC), also referred as program communication by UNICEF, is grounded on the human rights and results-based approach for planning and development. A participatory communication framework, aims changing knowledge, practices, attitudes and behaviours of individuals, families and communities and, at same time, stimulate and facilitate wider social change at local and national levels. These are achieved through dialogue with individuals and groups to inform, motivate and promote behaviour change.

Actually, behaviour change raises a few questions: Do the development organizations have the right to change behaviours? International organizations are those whose actions aim at changing behaviour? Whose behaviours? As responses to these questions and others related to development ('whose development?'), researchers brought into use the concept of trusteeship, which means that one agency¹⁶ is 'entrusted' with acting on behalf of another, without 'the other' asking to 'be developed' or even being aware of the intention to 'develop' them (Thomas, 2000: 41).

UNICEF (2005: 7) debates this as some of the existing or recommended behaviours that should be mandated by society itself. Further, the international communication community denoted, at the C4D roundtable in Nicaragua, in 2001, that BCC is sometimes misinterpreted: *"The term is inappropriate when talking about behaviour development, as in children, or reinforcement for behaviours already in place."* Afterwards, UNICEF recommends as a more appropriate term to use should be *"behaviour development"* when behaviour is absent rather than *"behaviour change"*.

Over the last decades, BCC has evolved to strategic communication programs, leading to better integrated approaches - community mobilisation, interpersonal communication, community empowerment, public relations, public policy and media advocacy, entertainment-education, social marketing – where a sound understanding of its audiences and communication channels are crucial features to improve the reach and effectiveness of interventions that seek to facilitate social change. This evolution reflects emerging theories

¹⁶ Definition of *Agency* on Glossary, page 17

and empirical observations that point to the importance of people-centred, multidisciplinary, behaviour-oriented and strategic approach to communication interventions (Hosein *et al.*, 2009: 536). This has triggered some development agencies to adopt the more encompassing strategic communication based integrated models and planning frameworks. Communications for Behavioural Impact (COMBI), P-Process of Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs and ACADA – this latter developed by UNICEF - are the most applied models in planning and implementing communication interventions for behaviour change, which brief explanations will follow.

3.2.1 COMBI

While social development programs have some successes, most of them also achieved modest behavioural impact. In the health sector, for example, where COMBI (Integrated Marketing Communication for Behavioural Impact) is more often used, people apparently know what is required for better health but fail to act accordingly regardless of their best intentions. Notwithstanding, people that have information do not necessarily have the knowledge required to change their behaviours. Silvia Balit (2004: 5) explains this aspect by distinguishing dissemination of information and knowledge sharing and communication:

“(...) true knowledge is more than information. Knowledge is the meaning that people make of information. And, for societies the world over making sense of information depends on their ability to discuss and debate it. For social change to occur there must be opportunities for dialogue. Only when information helps people communicate, participate and allows them to make informed choices does that information become knowledge”.

It is clear that informing and educating people are not sufficient bases for behavioural responses. A behavioural impact requires a good sense of people's knowledge and understanding of the recommended behaviour, current attitudes and behaviours, projections, and the context. Consequently, behavioural impact will emerge only with effective communication programs, facilitated by the principles of Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC).

The lead author Everhold Hosein, together with Elil Renganathan, at the New York University, developed the COMBI approach, which was launched by the World Health Organization's (WHO) Communicable Diseases Program. COMBI reflects the variety of communication disciplines (information-education-communication (IEC), Social marketing,

IMC and social mobilization) and recognizes the importance of principles and lessons learned from the private sector in social development practice (Hosein *et al.*, 2009: 537).

Everhold Hosein used techniques and principles of Marketing to develop COMBI. Afterwards, due to the resistance from the United Nations Agencies, such as UNICEF and WHO, to accept the marketing concepts on communication for development, Professor Hosein decided to adjust concepts according to the United Nations own language and acronyms to facilitate understanding of each components of COMBI.

For instance, he swapped the four P's of Marketing (Product, Price, Placement, Promotion) with the four C's of COMBI (Consumer need, want and desire, Cost, Convenience, Communication). However, Professor Hosein maintained the concept "consumers" rather than "beneficiaries". For example, the "beneficiaries" (local communities) have certain needs such as reduction of domestic violence, which make them "consumers" of health and justice services to fulfil that need.

To get into that, we have to identify behavioural objectives in a **Specific, Measurable, Appropriate, Realistic and Time-bound (SMART)** way: Who needs to do What, Where, When and Why? (**5 W's**). This is only possible to reach after carrying out a **Situational 'Market' Analysis (SMA)** to discover the **Communication Keys (CK)** which would enable engaged communication with the "consumer" to facilitate behaviour change (Renganathan & Hosein, 2006: 13):

*"The situational market analysis for communication keys (**SMACK-ing**) in COMBI planning uses participatory research techniques adapted from marketing, communications, anthropology, and sociology to identify behavioural issues¹⁸ amenable to communication solutions. The situational market analysis involves listening to people and learning about their perceptions and grasp of the offered behaviour(s) through tools such as TOMA (Top of the Mind Analysis), and DILO (Day in the Life Of) Analysis. Their sense of the costs (time, effort, money) in relation to their perception of value of the behaviour to their lives is explored through a Cost vs. Value calculation. Other tools such as the Force Field Analysis helps community members, field staff, local experts, and the COMBI specialist to analyse the social, political, ecological, moral, legal, and cultural factors that could constrain or facilitate adoption of the behaviour. The situational market analysis also examines where and from whom people seek information and advice on the particular health problem and why they use these information sources. The concept of positioning (used extensively in the advertising world), also helps the development of*

¹⁸ In interview for this study, Professor Everold Hosein praises multi-disciplinary teams for an effective communication planning. According to him, "80% of the work in COMBI is spending on Situational Market Analysis, 20% in planning and the others 20% in implementing the COMBI plan."

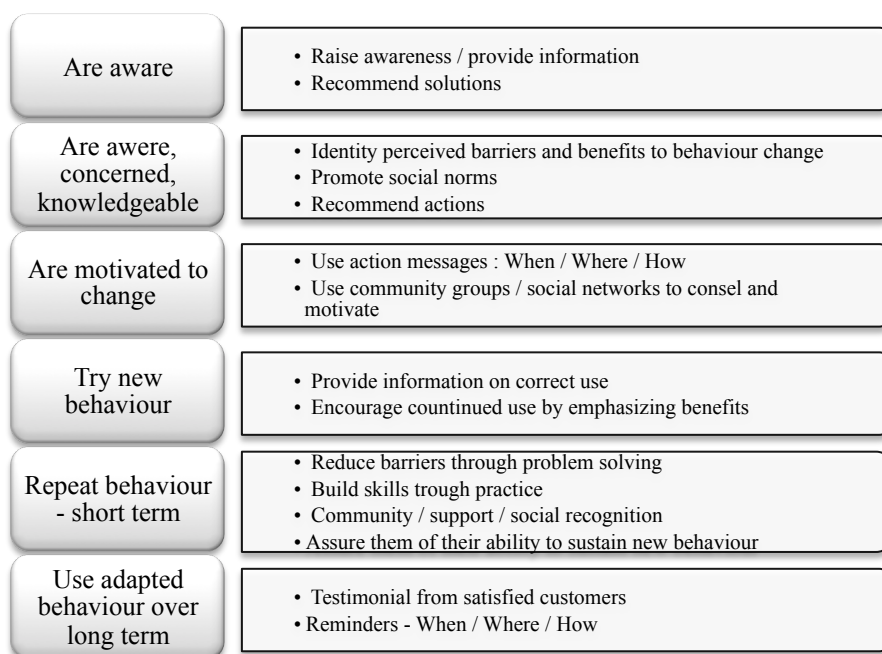
appropriate messages and communication approaches. Areas that require further investigation are also highlighted”.

Indeed, COMBI is to a large extent about carrying out a variety of communication actions, which would contribute to achieving specific behavioural outcomes. And the way this contribution is made is by “engaging communication” with “consumers”. The more we understand the communication process components, the better we are able to engage people in exploring the recommended behaviours. So COMBI should reflect the implications of communication analysis, raising a variety of questions with regard to each component involving a **Message** from a **Source** being sent via a **Channel** to a **Receiver** with a certain **Effect** intended with opportunities for **Feedback**, all taking place in a particular **Setting** (**MS.CREFS**).

While developing the COMBI strategy, like in any communication plan, we need to anticipate obstacles. And there are three key challenges in communication which impede its effectiveness, especially common with the use of mass media but also quite prevalent in interpersonal communication: Selective Attention (it is not possible to be totally attentive all the time); Selective Perception (natural tendency of people to perceive or interpret symbols and messages from their own perspectives, influenced by culture, tradition, language, social norms, educational level, etc.); and Selective Retention (tendency to simply forget or remember events that mean something to individuals. Consequently, an effective communication strategy will attempt to ensure constant repetition of messages as a way to overcome this tendency).

Therefore, understanding the different stages of behaviour change should also help to position communication channels and messages when designing a communication strategy. The figure 1 illustrates those stages on behaviour change and helps to better understand the role of communication in each step. All of these aspects are essential for an effective and sustainable behavioural impact once COMBI plan is implemented, monitored and evaluated.

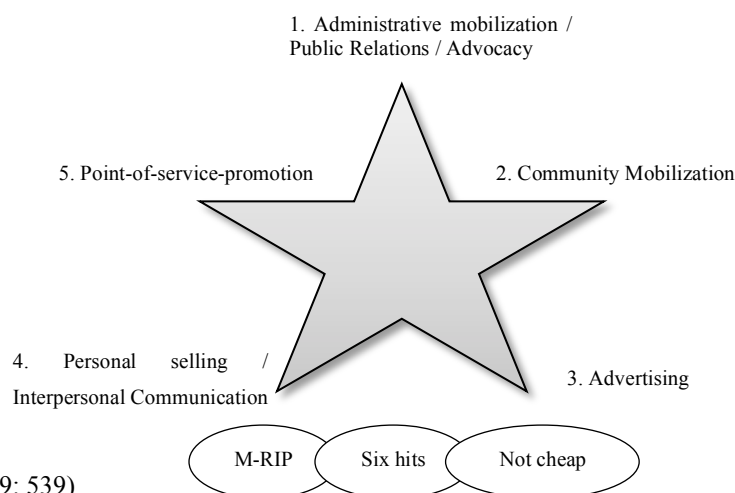
Figure 1 Communication role on each behaviour stage



(UNICEF, 2008: 30)

Communication strategy through an integrated application of the disciplines of mass communication, social or community mobilization, traditional media, marketing (including village-level marketing traditions), advertising, public relations and public advocacy, personal selling and counselling, client/customer relations, and market research for its ultimate goal as achieving behavioural results. The figure 2 outlines communication strategic actions to be undertaken, but COMBI is not restricted to them.

Figure 2 COMBI Process: Five Integrated Communication Actions



(Hosein, 2009: 539)

In summary, COMBI uses the following steps:

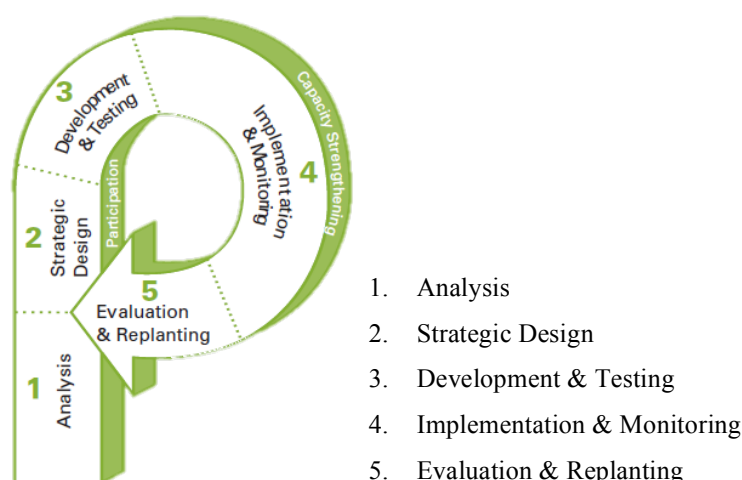
1. State the overall goal from the program that COMBI will help achieve;
2. Identifies SMART behavioural objectives/results (Specific, Measurable, Appropriate, Realistic and Time-bound);
3. Conduct situational market analysis, which includes market segmentation, SWOT Analysis, communication situation research, program pre-requisites, consumer/clients needs, wants, desires, etc.;
4. Define a strategy: a description of the general communication approach and actions which need to be taken;
5. Set out a Plan of action: description of the integrated communication actions (Public Relation, Advertising, Community Mobilization, etc.);
6. Implementation of the communication activities according to the plan;
7. Monitoring and Evaluation: description of indicators to be used;
8. Calendar;
9. Budget.

3.2.2 P-Process

The Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health/Center for Communication Program (CCP) and its partners in the USAID supported Population Communication Services (PCS) project developed the P-Process as a tool for planning strategic evidence-based communication programs. Their model has five steps, which process is illustrated in the diagram below:

1. Analysis of the situation and of the audience/communication, including participants, behavioural and communication channels;
2. Strategic design, including communication objectives, channel choice, implementation and monitoring and evaluation;
3. Development and pre-testing of the messages;
4. Implementation and monitoring, including capacity building of the participants;
5. Evaluation and replanning to reach the communication objectives.

Figure 3 Steps in Strategic Communication



(UNICEF, 2008: 9)

José Rimón (UNFPA, 2001; UNDP *et al*, 2011), from the JHU school, states that a central aspect of the relationship between communication and behaviour is ‘ideation’ – the spread of new ways of thinking through communication and social interaction in local, culturally defined communities: *“an idea, if shared, is more powerful than money.”* According to him, ideation accounts for individual behaviour, which is influenced by collective behaviour and behaviour change. In addition, those three influence each other. The theory of ideation applies to desired behaviours in order to achieve social legitimacy, improving the policy environment, strengthening political will and overcoming any stigma. He highlights that this can be achieved when publicly debated by the media.

The definition of the target community is an important feature in BCC as well as the evaluation of the program for definition of successful outcomes to greater participation, dialogue and ownership, leading individuals seeking ways to improve their lives. Overall, C4D underlies the assumption that community involvement leads to behaviour change. Nevertheless, to be a reality, UNICEF (2005: 10) developed a communication mantra for behavioural changes, which engages local culture as ally, building on existing local knowledge and use of local idioms that are culturally relevant, identifying local solutions within communities and, if possible, amplifying what works locally.

However, practice presents challenges. Few program managers and donors want to invest time and resources needed to demonstrate cause and communication effect. The balance between donor driven evidence-based results is not always compatible with appropriate conditions for community involvement and ownership, leaving many communities alienated.

In addition to behaviour change, through statistical techniques, the evaluation should include indicators such as context and community issues. Furthermore, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) emphasizes that when monitoring shifts in underlying causes, such as poverty, discrimination and status of women, it is virtually impossible to disentangle program effects from society trends (UNFPA, 2001: 40).

Within the new development paradigm, the discourse of “behaviour change” is linked to “social change”. While behaviour change implies individual level change, social change seeks to create an enabling and favourable environment for change (UNICEF, 2005: 7). Furthermore, the role of communication on social change will be discussed in the next session.

3.2.3 ACADA

UNICEF notes that there are programs and communication activities that do not support each other sufficiently. In fact, UNICEF defends that an integrated communication plan includes mutually supportive strategies and activities in advocacy, social mobilization, and program communication (or BCC).

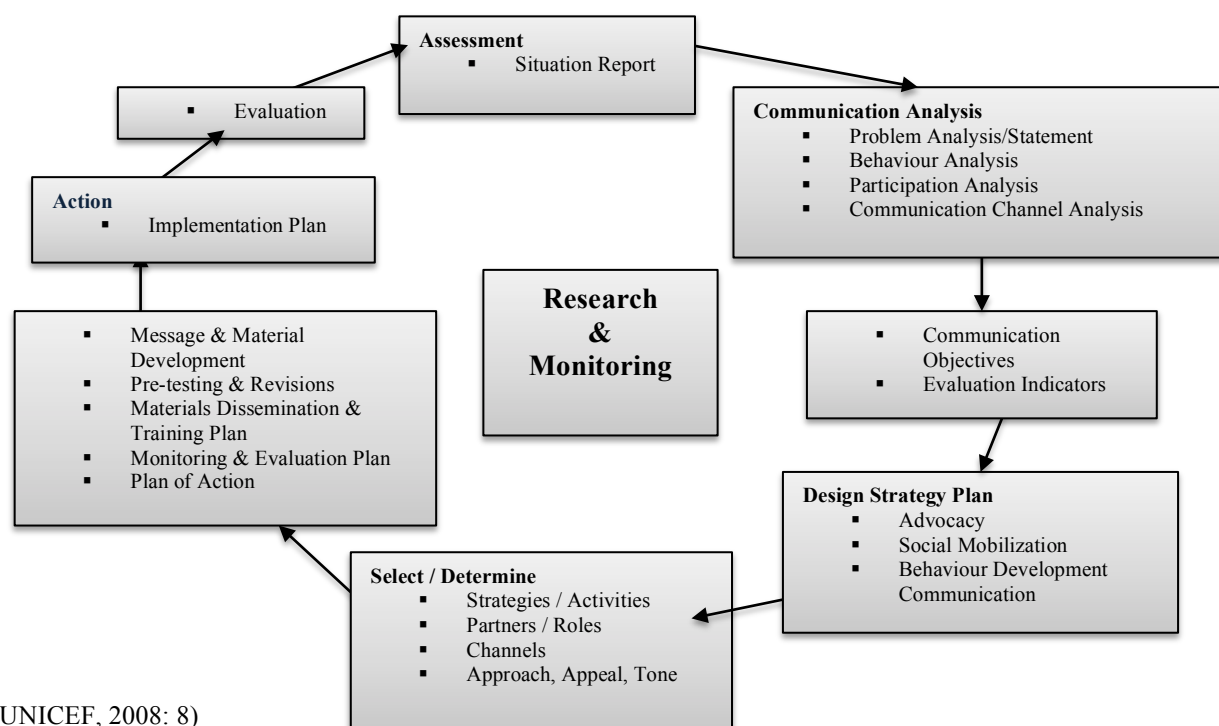
ACADA communication model was developed by UNICEF based on a widely used triple A planning cycle (Assessment, Analysis, Action) as modified to suit communication’s planning needs. The next graphic shows the elements developed by UNICEF for use in developing an integrated communication plan. The steps of the ACADA communication model guide the communication practitioners towards the developing research-driven integrated communication plan (UNICEF, 2001: 9), emphasizing the need to assess the context in which the program operates before the communication analysis.

It is interesting to observe that on situation assessment, the Agency includes successes and weakness and issues and problems, which match with SWOT Analysis (Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats) used in Marketing by the private sector, as COMBI did. It is also important to highlight the fact that UNICEF uses the same reference for communication objectives as World Health Organization (SMART: specific, measurable, appropriate, realistic and time-bound)¹⁹. That is, its methodology is similar to the one used in COMBI²⁰.

¹⁹ SMART objectives are explained on COMBI framework

²⁰ See session on COMBI, page 41 to 45

Figure 4 ACADA Communication Planning Process



As the previous planning models, ACADA also has steps, which should be followed when designing a communication program:

1. Situation assessment;
2. Problem analysis and formulation;
3. Determination of problem behaviour(s) to address;
4. Behaviour, participant and channels/media analysis;
5. SMART communication objectives;
6. Develop strategies, activities and monitoring and evaluation indicators;
7. Develop plans for message and material development and dissemination;
8. Develop training plan;
9. Put together the communication plan.

3.3 Communication for Social Change

Communication for Social Change (CFSC) attempts to integrate different theories and approaches in development communication. CFSC stresses the importance of horizontal communication, emphasising dialogue as central to development and the role of poor people

as agents of change, through participation and empowerment. These features are recognized by the international communication community at the 8th Inter-Agency Roundtable on C4D, held in Managua, in 2001, where it states:

“The focus of CFSC is not on products, messages, content, information dissemination or even the desired behaviour change, but on the process of dialogue through which people can remove obstacles and build structures and methods to help them achieve the goals they set for themselves. CFSC seeks to understand the whole person, the lives they lead and circumstances in which they live, in order not to “overcome” their life experiences but to build upon them”²³.

This is largely because CFSC focus on sustainable social change, community ownership and advocacy for change, dissemination of information in public domain, making it more accessible to local experts. Further, the non-profit organization (NGO) [Communication for Social Change Consortium](#) (2005) defines CFSC as:

“a process of public and private dialogue through which people themselves define who they are, what they need and how to get what they need in order to improve their own lives.[CFSC] utilizes dialogue that leads to collective problem identification, decision-making and community-based implementation of solutions to development issues. It is communication that supports decision-making by those most affected by the decisions being made”²⁴.

Related to above, the Rockefeller Foundation and Johns Hopkins University Center (2002) designed the Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change (IMCFSC). This model describes a process where community dialogue, information sharing, mutual understanding and agreement and collective action produce social change, away from individual behaviours. CFSC is guided by principles of tolerance, self-determination, equity social justice and active participation. Actually, the Rockefeller Foundation (2002: 4) points out one crucial aspect regarding dialogue often forgotten:

“The underlying assumption of dialogue is that all participants are willing to listen and change not just one of the parties. [Nonetheless, in the field, development practitioners often lead with] communities that have a long history of conflict should not be able to engage even in this minimal form of collective action – talking to one another”.

To overcome this obstacle, the Foundation (*idem*: 5) advocates initial communication within a community group to identify areas of agreement and disagreement among the participants. The appearance of divergence is necessary for further communication in order to reduce the

²³ See UNFPA *et al.* (2002), “Communication Paradigms and Experiences”, *Communication for Development Roundtable: Focus on HIV/AIDS Communication and Evaluation*, pp. 45

²⁴ More information on Communication for Social Change Consortium available at <http://www.communicationforsocialchange.org/>

level of convergence to the point where there is a sufficient level of mutual understanding and agreement to engage in collective action and solve mutual problems. The experience has proven that community leaders usually determine the method used to reach consensus and resolve mutual problems within community.

According to the Rockefeller's model, the elements of the CFSC process include *catalyst* (that can be external or internal to the community), which leads to a *dialogue* within the community for a problem recognition, planning and collective action. When the dialogue is effective it leads to *collective action* and the resolution of a common problem. This results in individual or social change – or both for a sustainable societal impact (UNFPA, 2001: 45; Rockefeller Foundation, 2002: 6).

Actually, Rockefeller Foundation (2002: 6) criticizes most of the literature on development communication. The Foundation's scholars point out the *catalyst* (internal stimulus, change agent, innovation, policies, availability of technology and mass media) is:

“[a] “*missing piece*” [while] “*most of the existing literature implies that the community spontaneously initiates dialogue and action or that an external change agent visits the community to mobilize the community*”. [However, experience has shown that] “*communities rarely initiate a dialogue about a problem spontaneously and that some do take action on their own without being visited by external change agents*”.

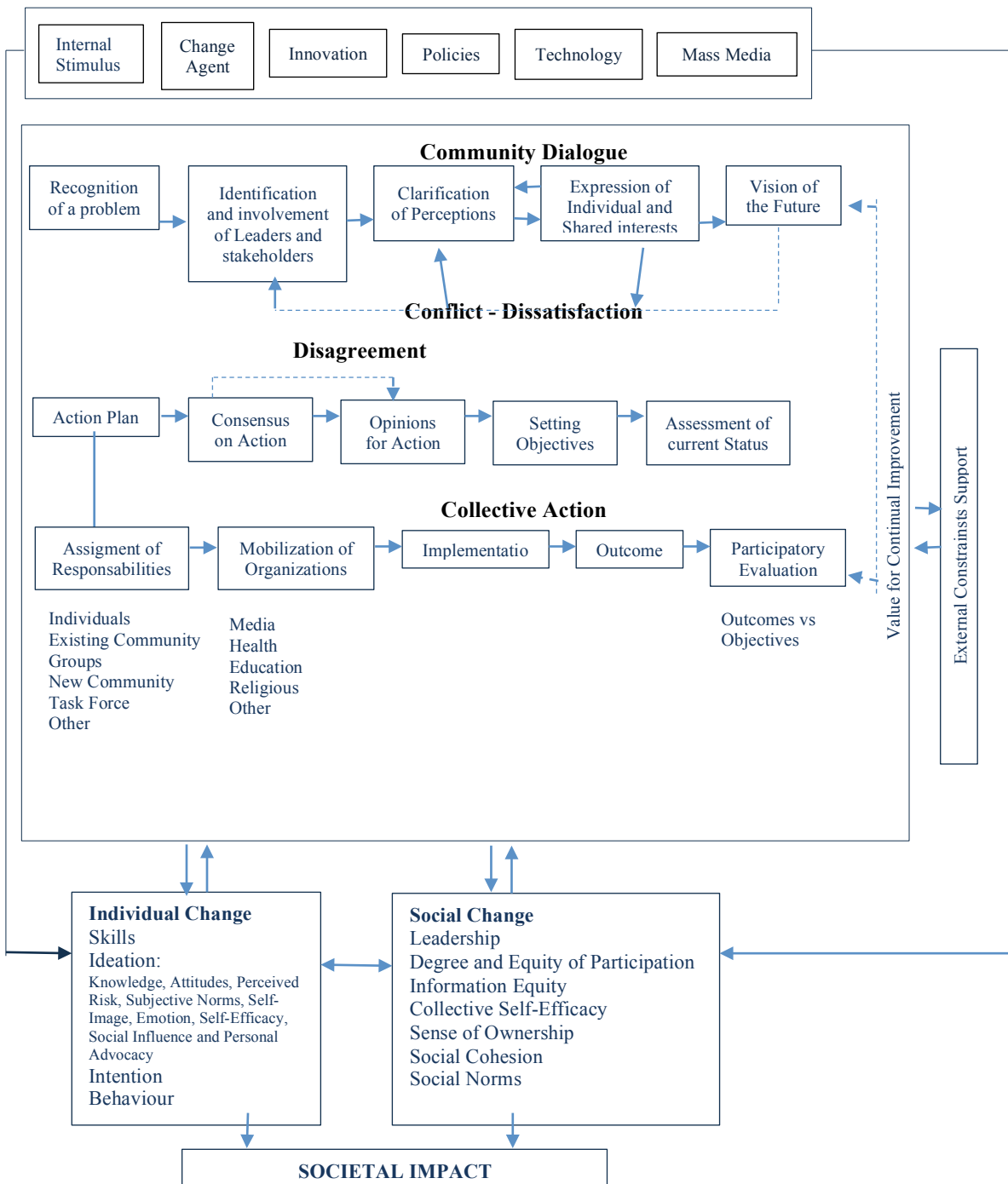
Its model also describes *community dialogue* and *action* as a sequential process within the community that lead to the solution of a common problem. Once again, literature (*idem*) and experience indicate that if the process described is successfully completed, community action is more likely to be successful. In this sense, this model is *descriptive* and should explain why community projects are successful or unsuccessful. In another sense, it is a *prescriptive* model that can be used by community members and external change agents. Nevertheless, it needs a set of indicators and outcomes regarding individual and social change to measure the effectiveness of the community dialogue and collective action, i.e. overall project.

In summary, this model focuses on community participation, which importance is recognized by Silvia Balit (2004: 5) when she stresses that:

“ (...) *there is need to create an alternative framework for communication interventions, that is truly people and participation oriented, and not only on paper. It must involve them in assessing the nature of the problem, defining priorities, formulating solutions and managing the processes of change*”.

Figure 5 Integrated Model of Communication for Social Change

Catalyst



(Rockefeller Foundation, 2002: 7)

While CFSC's strength is that it has emerged largely from practitioners on the ground, some critics claim that it has failed to back its arguments and evaluation methodologies with rigorous academic analysis modelling and theory. Scholars and practitioners (*idem*: 46) admit

that CFSC still needs elaboration and precision, adding that it is important to explore critically and constructively how far communicators agree and how willing donors are to support social change processes. Social change itself needs to be defined whether as mobilising people in focused interventions or as altering structures in society. Therefore, the discussion in turn of this issue is on the fact that designing and evaluating CFSC requires new ways of thinking that help to understand change processes in a community, while considering evaluation as integral to the process (*idem*: 47).

In summary, as admitted at the 8th United Nations Inter-Agency Roundtable on C4D, a number of issues surrounding CFSC remain uncertain, including evaluation regarding who owns the process, who is the most appropriate audience and whether tools should be used. Once again, donor pressure can lead to partial results, while consultants' evaluation continues to be dominated by western approaches.

Some communication practitioners and scholars (UNFPA, 2001: 45) argue that CFSC is not new but is a simply new term for participatory communication for development. This assumption is explained in next section.

3.4 Participatory Communication

This study addresses participatory communication in the first chapter when analysing the evolution of Communication for Development. The objective now goes forward and addresses participatory communication in the ground.

Participatory Communication for Development (PCD) endeavour is essentially building relationships with the community and thereby facilitates collective action for social change. It empowers local communities to discuss and address their problems and practices, and to engage other stakeholders in the building of an improved policy environment. On the contrary other approaches such as diffusion, PCD suggest a shift from informing people to try to change their behaviour or attitudes to focusing instead on facilitating exchanges between various stakeholders. The focus is horizontal communication that both enables local communities to identify their development needs and establishes a dialogue with all involved within the process through information sharing and knowledge (FAO, 2004: 31; Bessette: 2004: 7).

As mentioned above, Rockefeller Foundation also emphasises community dialogue, information sharing, mutual understanding and agreement as critical for effective social change. Thus, it involves communicating *with* people and not *to* people. Hence, PDC is grounded in dialogue between the agents of change and the community members. Mefalopulos highlights this same idea in his book *Broadening the Boundaries of Communication* (2008: 95):

“Development is first and foremost about people; consequently, development communication should also aim, first and foremost, to ensure that the voices of people affected by a development initiative be heard, allowing them to share their knowledge and points of view. In most cases, dialog among stakeholders is key to the success of a project. Dissipating suspicious and misunderstanding is a great help, since failing to reconcile different perspectives has been a major cause of failures in development initiatives”.

Actually, approaches linked to the participatory model, such as social change, acknowledge that there can be different constructions of the same reality. There are a number of realities that often need to be reconciled through communication, lending to mutual understanding. Besides differences in perceptions, Mefalopulos (2008: 97-98) points also to other causes of project failures:

“(...) the focus of communication intervention on the wrong level of the awareness, knowledge, attitudes and behaviours. (...) For example, a development project should try to induce changes in attitude and behaviour concerning personal hygiene without realizing that people lack awareness of the issue as a problem”.

Therefore, participatory communication uses communication tools, such as interpersonal communication, participatory theatre, and media to extend dialogue, to reach and enhance how people understand and receive messages. This communication process increases community knowledge-base (both indigenous and modern) and approaches local and national authorities, policymakers and service providers. It also set up to implement the required initiatives, monitor and evaluate their impact and plan for future action. Here the communication practitioner acts as facilitator²⁵ (or the catalyst as defined by Rockefeller Foundation). He is the outcome of the shift in the field of C4D in response to the rather limited impact that large-scale campaigns (many of which have been top-down) had on changing the status of vulnerable groups such women and children, for example. Notwithstanding, the challenges to ensuring people’s participation, a community-based

²⁵ Maria Celeste Cadiz, Associate Professor of the College of Development Communication, University of the Pilippines Los Banos, summarizes the role of the communicator as a facilitator on the working paper *Strategic Communication for behaviour and social change in South Asia*, published by UNICEF, 2005, pp. 26

program can yield national level changes (UNICEF, 2005: 28). Among those challenges are the lack of receptivity of the community to the objectives and mandate of a specific program or a heterogeneous community should pose difficulties in ensuring equity of participation from all segments of the community, such as women and children. To overcome these challenges it is critical that the community perceives the benefits of the program, which requires raising people's consciousness and relationship building, which is time-consuming and demands intensive resources, not always supported by program managers and donors who want quick results. Of course, this requires a change of attitude. The practitioners must learn to listen to people, to help them express their views and to assist them in building consensus for action (*idem*).

Further, the participatory communication initiatives are successful when it involves all stakeholders in the decision-making process. It can facilitate by identifying solutions to conflict situations in the villages and for setting up or reinforcing social institutions. Besides, the participation of poor people and improving the capacity of leaders and community organizations also helps to apply participatory approaches so that all stakeholders could contribute to community plans and activities.

In summary, participatory communication needs to be taken in a holistic context. Understanding the communication context within the community is most important. Who are the different groups? What are the main customs and beliefs? How do people communicate among themselves? What views expressed different stakeholders in specific places? What local associations and institutions do people use to exchange information and points of view? What modern and traditional media does the community use? Bessette (2004: 11) recommends communication practitioners seek to understand, with the help of the community, its communication channels, tools and contexts. For communication to be effective it must integrate different perspectives and knowledge from all actors and agents to ensure the appropriation by local communities for sustainability of the social change process and, at the same time, influence policy and decision-making processes at all levels (family, community, local and national).

Furthermore, to be successful, communication initiatives should seek the participation of beneficiaries to the point of them becoming the owners of a project. The ownership of the project that aims change – either behaviour or social change – is what helps to sustain change. Alfonso Dragon (2003: 91) states that:

“Without people’s participation, no project can be successful and last long enough to support social change. This should sound as an obvious truth but it was amazingly ignored for decades, and still is in many development projects where donor’s agendas are imposed over people’s needs”.

Silvia Balit (2004: 8) adds that:

“(…) to be successful, communication efforts must take into account the cultural values of marginal groups as an avenue for their participation, rather than borrowing communication strategies from outside that promote change without due consideration for culture. [Further] Preserving cultural diversity, local languages and traditional systems of communication in the face of globalization is one of the major challenges for communication practitioners in this Information Age”.

3.5 Advocacy Communication

One decade ago, the international development community (UNFPA, 2001: 53) saw advocacy as a *“relatively new program area in the field of Communication for Development”*. For instance, it was seen as public relations to promote a project or organization or it could be reduced to support function of service delivery or policies, through activities such as media events. With time, advocacy communication strategies aim to influence decision makers for a more responsive social change at local, regional, national and international levels. It looks for a supportive environment to influence the political climate, policy and program decisions, public perceptions of social norms, funding decisions and community support and empowerment towards specific issues through a set of well planned and organised actions undertaken by groups of committed individuals and/or organizations working in concert (UNFPA, 2001: 56). Additionally, Jan Servaes (2004: 23) argues that:

"Advocacy for development is a combination of social actions designed to gain political commitment, policy support, social acceptance and systems support for a particular goal or program. It involves collecting and structuring information into a persuasive case; communicating the case to decision-makers and other potential supporters, including the public, through various interpersonal and media channels; and stimulating actions by social institutions, stakeholders and policy-makers in support of the goal or program".

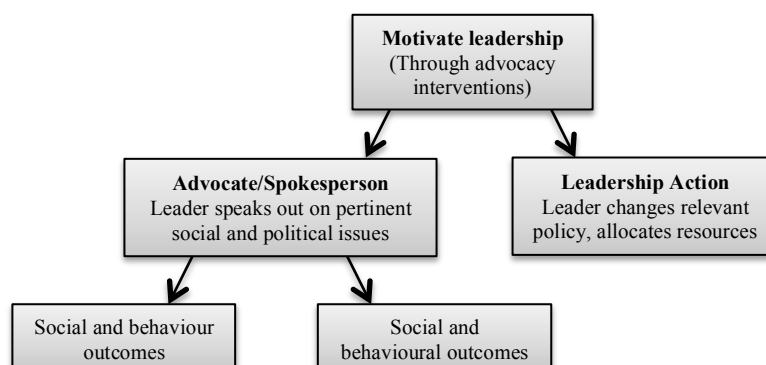
The advocacy component of the communication strategy should inform and motivate appropriate leaders to create a supportive environment by taking action, such as changing policies (legal reform or enactment of new laws), allocating resources (funding, social or political alliances, or mobilizing resources). In addition, it can build the capacity of both

political and community leaders to become advocates themselves and speak out on pertinent issues, such political strength will remove blockages, support policy change or address social barriers. It is, therefore, imperative to have the involvement of individuals, groups and all sectors of society for the effectiveness of the advocacy, as defended by Servaes (*idem*). The figure 6 illustrates the process of advocacy to create a supportive environment for a social and/or behavioural change.

While the primary goal of advocacy is to create an enabling and supportive environment, UNFPA (2001: 53) argues that there is a two-way relationship between both of them:

“For the advocate, the environment is both an independent variable (...) and a target of change, [which] includes unfavourable social and political contexts with their diversity of interests, shortage of resources, weak civil society and lack of coordination among other challenges. [Further], advocacy is only one of the many steps and communication only one of many interventions needed to achieve these goals. [Indeed], commitment, support articulation, participation, sources of sustainability and self-reliance are all needed”.

Figure 6 Advocacy Objectives for a Supportive Environment



UNICEF, 2008: 48

Notwithstanding, advocacy has been analysed as an isolated component of communication strategy until now, but it can (and should) be part of BCC and CFSC strategies. According to the BCC model, for example for HIV/AIDS prevention, advocacy should be the last step in behaviour change when the individual becomes an advocate for social mobilisation. Speaking out in favour of condom use or voluntary counselling and testing validates their choices and sustains their commitment. As more people speak up, their behaviour becomes the norm and health behaviour becomes accepted and expected. The primary difference between both

advocacy and BCC is that the former is the collective dimension while the latter operates at the individual level. In fact, the collective dimension fills the gap between BCC and CFSC.

For some agencies of the United Nations that work with development communication, such as WHO, UNICEF and UNFPA (*idem*: 52-53), what distinguish advocacy for social change and CFSC is that the former is driven by imperatives, such health issues, destigmatisation of vulnerable groups or build networks and coalitions, and the latter with social change itself. Overall, advocacy communication address strategic interventions such health programs, intersectoral participation, human rights, legal and regulatory back-up, public policies, empowerment of women, young girls and children, poverty reduction strategies, emergency programs, among others.

For an effective advocacy campaign on any issue, evidence should be used for a multiple analysis to identify casual links between a problem and its potential impact on political and social-economic development. Those data will then determine the advocacy strategies based on audiences and approaches into decision-making (policy advocacy) or local levels (program advocacy). For example, the first one used data and approaches senior politicians of the impact of immunisation at national level and the need for action; and the second used at the community level to convince community leaders of the need for local action for immunisation (UNICEF, 2005: 13-16).

In summary, advocacy aims that those individuals and groups whose decisions, resources and opinions can influence the social and political processes, allocate resources and ensure the participation of civil society. Nevertheless, the social and political changes take place once the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of leaders and other influential people customized, leading to sound decisions and practices. A good example of advocacy strategy can be found in the project “Four Free-One Care” for orphans and vulnerable children with AIDS, in China. The lessons learned from the project developed by UNICEF (2005:14-16) demonstrate that (1) supported evidence, (2) clear direction and goals, (3) sustainability over a period of time, (4) involvement of people who are affected by the identified problem, (5) use of multiple advocacy levels and various partners, (6) sufficient resources available and (7) the advocacy events clearly linked to specific actions were crucial features for the programs’ success.

3.6 Social Mobilization

Social mobilization approach enrolls institutions, community networks and social and religious groups to strengthen participation in activities at the grass-roots level. As part of integrated strategic communication processes, it has been a key feature in various communication efforts to set out greater support from local people so that interventions are accepted and to empower communities to take control of their own situations, including accepting or rejecting interventions (UNICEF, 2005: 16).

UNICEF (*idem*: 16-21) illustrates as successful cases of social mobilization the Soul City's campaign against domestic violence, the polio eradication campaign in Uttar Pradesh, HIV/AIDS prevention in Uganda and Thailand and eliminating the vitamin A deficiency disorder in Nepal. All these cases relied on an integrated communication strategy in which social mobilization was a key feature, in combination with political advocacy, media and interpersonal communication. This strategy aimed at reaching out the support from institutions such as the judiciary or ministries; groups of health workers or women's groups; communities such local level organizations; and networks such as organised groups of individuals.

Nevertheless, social mobilization is usually used in a campaign mode with a specific timeframe as the group members involved (for instance, teachers). Therefore, social mobilization is best used when the behaviour to be promoted or the messages to be disseminated are simple and people are generally aware of an issue but there is a need for boosting participation (for example, students talking to parents about hand washing).

3.7 The Role of Media in Development

There are many publications dealing with media and its role in development communication initiatives. Although it is not the scope of this study to discuss in detail the functions and practical challenges faced by media in development, given its importance this topic deserves a brief presentation.

The use of media in development can be treated at two levels: mass media, often using television, radio and print media in campaigns aimed at inducing the adoption of changes in behaviours; and community media, mainly using radio community and traditional expressions such as theatre and music giving voice and representation to local communities.

As already analysed in the first chapter, in Modernization and Dependency theories, media were considered key elements in supporting the development of poor countries in one-way and top-down processes. Nowadays, globalization and new information technologies have created new identities, which go beyond the boundaries of the state or geographical communities. In the recent years, social movements and individual citizens make use of new communication networks and information flows to express their concerns, share common interests, and promote social change and action for collective rights.

The media coverage reflects every aspect of cultural, social, economic and political life. It support and enables the accountability process through free press and relationships between people and government and, therefore, the formation of good governance. They are also a crucial part of the civil society, reflecting different voices, competing interests and clash of opinions (Wilson, 2007: 22); and shape opinions, attitudes and behaviours, articulate needs and demands and provide a vehicle of expression for the “voiceless”. At the same time, as the primary source of information, they have the capability to define what should and should not be reported. The *agenda-setting*²⁶ role of media reiterates the power of the media and opinion formers in addressing social issues and stimulating community dialogue. The quality of media in reporting in turn shapes the public and policy discourse. Actually, media play a crucial role in setting the political and public agenda to tackle domestic violence, for instance, and creating an enabling political and social environment for change (Singhal, 2005: 8).

Developing countries, such as Timor-Leste, present many challenges to development and communication. Infrastructures are weak, there are few roads and many in bad conditions, transportation is expensive, there is no functioning postal service and only limited access to telephones in rural areas. Illiteracy is widespread and education levels are poor. Very few people have access to primary health care and clean water. National press and television does not reach many parts of the country. Notwithstanding these constraints play a crucial role in information and communication process further in sustainable development.

At the same time, the media landscape in developing countries has changed over the years. If one decade ago it was possible to reach an entire population through a partnership with one government broadcaster, enabling a widespread dissemination of messages on developing issues, in the recent years the increasing number of radio community and commercial radios reach more people and empowered poor and isolated communities to discuss issues of their

²⁶ See Wolf, M. (1995), *A agenda-setting: 2a parte – o estudo dos efeitos a longo prazo*, in “Teorias da Comunicação”, Editorial Presença, 4ª Edição, Lisboa, pp. 132 - 139

daily lives. James Deane (2004: 16) highlights the impact that media has in development: *“For the most three billion people on the planet who earn less than two dollars a day, it is the structure, ownership, content and reach of the media that is having the most profound impact”*.

The evolution of communication studies has shown that media are instrumental in increasing knowledge and influencing attitudes and behaviours. Nevertheless, as remarked by Mefalopulos (2008: 61), *“this influence is not as strong as originally believed, especially if it does not take the local context into account.”* Silvia Balit (2004: 9) goes forward stating that:

“Traditional communication systems can be important channels for facilitating learning, people’s participation and dialogue for development purposes. Indigenous media have been successfully adopted to promote issues of relevance to marginal groups. Popular theatre, puppet shows, music and dance have been used (...). Traditional forms of communication can also be integrated with other media such as radio, television, video and audiocassettes. What is important is that they should not be produced only by outsiders. The participation of local artists, storytellers, performers and musicians in the production and use of traditional media ensures respect for traditional values, symbols and realities and, at the same time, ensures that such media productions appeal to communities. It also increases credibility of media programs and thus their effectiveness as vehicles to share knowledge and bring out social change”.

Even so, how much of the potential of the new information age is directed towards improving the wellbeing of vulnerable groups? United National Development Program (UNDP) (Deane *et al*, 2006: 8) developed an approach that *“puts the information and communication needs and interests of disempowered and marginalized groups at the centre of media support.”* This approach is labelled ‘Communication for Empowerment’ and aims:

“(...) to ensure that the media has the capacity and capability to generate and provide the information that marginalized groups want and need and to provide a channel for marginalized groups to discuss and voice their perspectives on the issues that most concern them”.

To achieve these, the media assume a facilitator and liaison role between government, donors, civil society organizations and development partners; advocates government counterparts for policy development, contributing to the effectiveness of development and poverty reduction; and develops professional capacity of the local media.

Besides, free media are an essential element of accountability. They have the potential to report on and investigate the decisions and behaviour of the powerful agents and agencies, exposing corruption and providing a public debate space and agendas (Wilson *et al*, 2007: 22). The Nobel Prize of Economics, Amartya Sen, argued that no famine has ever taken place

in a country that has multi-party politics and free media.²⁷ In addition, the international community (FAO, 2004: 38) agrees that:

“ (...) alternative and small media, such as video and small audio visuals, popular theatre, local and community radio, poetry, storytellers, popular songs and music, loudspeakers, in addition to informal meetings in the street, in the market place and at ritual celebrations [are effective communication channels. All belong primary to oral cultures prevailing in developing countries].”

There are various examples of successful stories in which media played a crucial role in issues such as Domestic Violence in Africa and Asia. Mass media initiatives – such as information dissemination and awareness campaigns - were essential to challenge conservative attitudes and promote public discussion, and became a powerful force for political advocacy (Panos, 2003: 23-24).

Although it is often argued that mass media campaign are not effective in directly challenging individual behaviours, it is also true that the media are critical in stimulating public debate and dialogue and in challenging long-established social norms that prevent more widespread changes in behaviour (*idem*). However, the radio is one of the most recognized effective media in developing countries. With a high reach and low cost, it is accessible to vulnerable groups. The testimony of Fatimata and Palmira (Wilson *et al.*, 2006: 8, 23) are evidence how radio can promote social change within communities:

“[Radio] helps, since it lets you know what happens in the country... It’s educating us about how to live within the family, the way to cook well... They say that not being spoken about means being excluded. I switch on {the radio} because listening... can make events that seem difficult easier... by getting to know things you couldn’t know {before}” (Palmira, a 60 years old woman from Mozambique talks about the importance of radio to her).

“Before it was a silent life between men and women... women kept their ideas to themselves, even if these would have been a help to the community... Nowadays, the radio is a major source of information. This keeps women up to date with all the news from the area, the town, neighbouring countries and overseas. We now have women who preside over meetings in the village, in the local area... They have all been democratically elected by village groups and other political structures” (Fatimata, a 62-year-old woman from Ouahigouya, in Burkino Faso).

The next section provides a wide vision of the role of community media, in general, and the radio community, in particular. Community media are civil society based media that operate for social benefit, as a means to express a community’s issues, concerns, cultures and languages. They provide communities with access to information and voice, facilitating

²⁷ See Sen, A, and Drese, J (1981) Poverty and Famine, Oxford, Oxford University Press

community-level debate, information and knowledge sharing and input into public decision-making (Deane, 2006: 7).

3.7.1 Community Radio

“Community radio responds to the needs of the community it serves, contributing to its development within progressive perspectives in favour of social change. Community radio strives to democratize communication through community participation in different forms in accordance with each specific social context” (World Association of Community Broadcasters – AMARC, 1998)²⁸.

Despite the growing popularity of television and the advent of newer Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), such as the Internet and mobile telephone, in various countries across disparate regions, even in challenging regulatory environments, community radio remains a useful channel to enhance civic engagement in poor and marginalized communities. As Mefalopulos (2008: 61) remarks “(...) *the vibrant world of community radio that has emerged in recent years is often more empowering and influential than the more celebrated medium of television, at least at the local level*”.

Community broadcasting can help social groups articulate priority issues, even if they live in remote communities or face linguistic, ethnic, and literacy barriers. It can also help build sustained capacities, institutions, and practices. In particular, successful community radio stations feature the following three characteristics: they have community ownership and orientation, they are non-profit and independent (Salazar and Hammer, 2008: 180 - 181).

Community radio has the capability of involving and engaging local communities to discuss and solve problems by providing listeners with access to information, education and entertainment. It also allows listeners to access sensitive subjects that might not otherwise be addressed by community or in individual households, such as information about alcohol and how to confront violence against women and children (*idem*: 182). Programs that address these and other subjects should encourage families and community members to discuss them. In reality, experience has shown that “*informed discussion can significantly affect individual and group behaviour and improve the ability to community member to raise problems, analyse them, and work together to solve them*” (*idem*).

²⁸ Fraser and Restrepo, *Community Radio Handbook*, UNESCO, 2001

The main characteristic of the community radio programs is promoting community participation and enabling an open exchange of information and opinions in local languages. Through cultural and thematic programs, music and entertainment, discussion of local issues, community reporting, community radio performs a public service for their listeners' views and concerns facilitating the dialog with local administration over the air and encouraging continuing discussion among themselves. In summary, community radio promotes social change. Even so many developing countries have an ambiguous regulatory framework, community radio is slowly gaining recognition as an important part of a pluralistic media. Indeed, some experts (Salazar and Hammer, 2008; Wilson *et al.*, 2007; Berger, 2009) remark at the correlation between the existence of a free and professional media and levels of political, economic, and social development.

Moreover, radio, in general, and community radio, in particular, has a key role in post-conflict and nation building scenarios. Michelle Betz (Betz, 2004) examines the role of radio in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), a post-conflict country, through a more holistic approach. First she analyses the role of radio in the peacemaking process and then in a holistic approach blending theoretical areas of social development and conflict resolution by combining sociology, political science and media studies. The researcher recommends the involvement of a myriad of players and partners, as well as ordinary citizens to given them a voice, the use of local language to succeed in a multilingual environment, a long-term planning for a viable media system, training of local staff and local partnerships for peacemaking sustainability.

Similarly, in Timor-Leste, the community radio stations play a key role in the process of nation building and post-conflict reconstruction. In the reconstruction process that followed the violent aftermath for the vote for independence, in 1999, and under the United Nations administration, community radio development was given priority in a country, which had previously no tradition of independent media (Buckley, 2011: 79).

The World Bank has developed the Timor-Leste Community Empowerment and Local Governance Project (CEP) for cultural and social reconciliation, which, in 2002, helped to establish eight community radio stations. Under the leadership of the World Bank Institute's Civic Engagement, Empowerment, and Respect for Diversity (CEERD) program²⁹,

²⁹ CEERD program of the World Bank Institute supports the voice of poor communities in developing countries by promoting community radio development, and the development of a pluralistic broadcast sector that serves the public interest through informed, participatory development and demand for good governance. Its objectives include building institutional capacity of community radios, enhancing community radio programming for

community radio development included the participation of women from the outset and, as a result, female reporters and producers play a strong role. Many programs feature women's issues, some of which invite listeners to submit questions that are answered on the air. National women's organizations, such as Rede Feto, and women's rights groups are vocal advocates for community radio and work to ensure that community radio stations are vehicles for gender equity and rights (Salazar and Hammer, 2008: 190).

Across many regions, community radio has proven to be a sustainable and interactive channel of communication for poor and marginalized groups to be heard and informed, shape opinions and behaviours, and become more informed and active agents in their own development. In fact, community radio foster community participation, even in isolated rural areas, and create an environment for accountable governance.

The following box is an example of women's participation in community radio within the rural districts of Timor-Leste.

Box 1 Community Radio and Women's Participation for Strengthening Social Impact: Timor-Leste

In 2006, the World Bank, under the CEERD (Civic Engagement, Empowerment and Respect for Diversity) program and the East Asia and Pacific Region and with GENFUND (Integrating Gender Issues into the World Bank's Work) support, developed a capacity-building activity in Timor-Leste to support community radio as a vehicle for social expression and a tool to empower women throughout the country. The training sessions covered several topics, such as the role of women in politics, gender equality, and domestic violence, as well examined how to sustain community radio stations. A Key result of the activity was that 10 women journalists from community radio stations across the country collaborated to produce a six-part radio program series and a three-part drama series on the themes covered in the workshops. They also documented outcomes of the Second National East Timorese Women's Congress and its significance to women in media and communication. (Mefalopoulos. 2008: 190)

In the capital of Timor-Leste, Dili, the community radio also gives voice to youth regarding its role in a post-conflict county:

citizens' engagement in public accountability, generating and sharing knowledge, and facilitating global networking of community radio (Mefalopoulos, 2008)

Box 2 Timor-Leste Radio Rakambia – Youth voices building a new country

Radio Rakambia is a student and youth led community radio station based in Dili. With a focus on peace, education and development, Radio Rakambia has assured young people's voices a central place in post-conflict reconstruction following Timorese independence in 1999. Radio Rakambia places particular emphasis on the promotion of literacy and multi-culturalism.

Buckley, 2011: 75

Education-entertainment programs are one of the means of expression in radio. The education-entertainment (EE) approach combines the entertainment with educational messages to educate, inform and encourage behaviour change to achieve social development. This approach can employ traditional media³⁰ such as puppet shows, music and dance to promote issues in domestic violence, for instance, and can be integrated with media such as radio, television and video. These programs are adapted to local cultural and linguistic contexts and integrate entertainment with awareness raising and education. It follows a more detailed description of EE.

3.7.2 Education-entertainment

Many countries have turned to various media to combat problems such illiteracy, poverty, family planning, domestic violence, etc., to teach the communities ways of bringing changes that are needed to improve their well-being. The concept of using media to push for social change is referred as education-entertainment (EE) or edutainment (McPhail, 2009: 33).

Everett Rogers is one of eminent experts with several works published on this field (Rogers and Singhal, 2009 and Roger *et al*, 2003), which acknowledge communication projects in areas such as health, civil society, environment, family planning. It illustrates several areas ranging from children's media to adult cooperative education programs. However, domestic violence is not referred. Therefore, a good number of examples of case studies can be found in literature (Singhal, 2005: 9; Servaes & Malikhao, 2004: 41; Scalway, 2003:15; Drezin and Lloyd-Lane, 2003: 9; UNFPA, 2002: 49-52, FAO, 2004: 44; World Bank, 2007). This section

³⁰ Some experts (Servaes & Malikhao, 2004; Balit, 2004; Wilson *et al*, 2007; Fraser and Estrada, 1998, and others) mentioned "indigenous media". One prefer to use the concept "traditional media" since it refers to the media that are well known communication tools by local communities, long before the ICT, and use their languages.

briefly focuses on two case studies, which one hopes it can contribute to understanding EE and its role on behavioural and social changes.

One of the longest standing examples of the use of EE as a tool of communication is Soul City, a soap opera that addresses various social issues, including domestic violence in South Africa. Soul City began in 1994 and reached 16 million people. Five years later it included violence against women. The soap-opera combined mass media approach with social mobilisation, advocacy and participatory components to extend the project's impact. To harness this multi-level EE communication strategy, the program producers worked in partnership with the National Network of Violence against Women (NNVAW), a coalition of over 1,500 activists and community organizations in South Africa, to help them tap into the community through extensive quality research. All the material went through consultation with the grassroots organizations and embarked on a national advocacy and mobilization campaign to combat domestic violence. The advocacy campaign focused on expediting the implementation of the recently passed Domestic Violence Act and on enhancing access to existing support services for abused women through telephone helplines. Additionally, the advocacy strategy was complimented by concerted social mobilisation efforts to gain community support against violence against women through a series of public marches and mass meetings (Singhal, 2005: 9).

According to Shereen Usdin, head of the Soul City 4 campaign (Scalway, 2003: 15), the success of the campaign as an edutainment project is down to the participatory input generated by the collaboration with community-based organizations:

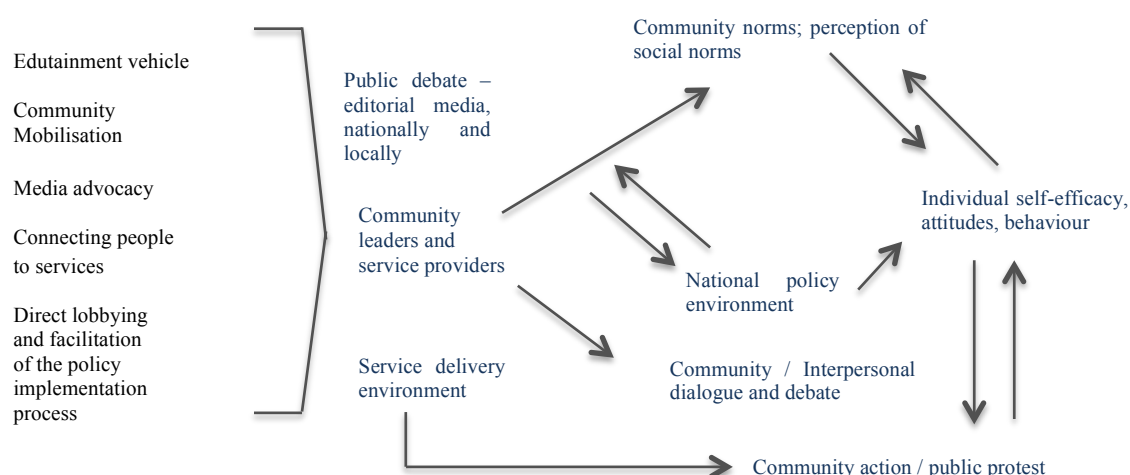
"The involvement of a massive grassroots coalition greatly extended the impact of our show. (...) Soul City can concentrate on creating a professional media product because it is well linked with other partners who are placed for doing work with the community".

Singhal (*idem*: 23 - 24) extend that EE:

"(...) contributes to the process of directed social change as it can influence audience members' awareness, attitudes, and behaviour with regard to specific practices. (...) because entertainment is fun, exciting, engaging and sticky – it has a high recall and it keeps audience members engaged even after the communication activity is over by spurring conversations. (...) EE can also influence the audience members' external environment and thus act as social mobiliser and agenda-setter, influencing public and policy initiatives – as in the case of role modelling against domestic violence in Soul City in South Africa".

The next figure illustrates the communication strategy used by Soul city to tackle domestic violence in South Africa.

Figure 7 Soul City's Communication Strategy



(UNFPA, 2002: 52)

Soul City shows indeed how soap operas can produce change, but communication process does not stop here. Initiatives as Soul City are not meant to be a solution. The real change came from the people who watch or listen to this type of program. Even so, to be aware and acknowledge desired behaviours is not the same as having the correct behaviours. Listeners and television views need to be motivated to adapted desired behaviours over time for a real behavioural impact³².

This is an example how the behaviour of a few individuals who do things differently from others in the community can lead to far-reaching changes within the community. This phenomenon is defined by Jerry Sternin, from School of Nutrition Science and Policy, USA, as *positive deviance*, which exploits existing local knowledge and builds on it to tackle health and development problems. Singhal (*idem*: 10) illustrates this concept giving several examples on HIV prevention, reduction of incidence of the traditional practice of female genital mutilation and nutrition. Overall, positive deviant behaviours is practiced by individuals that share a similar cultural background with others in the community, it makes the adoption of these behaviours relatively easier. This is what Malcon Gladwell defines as “Law of Few”³³, when certain individuals have the capability to influence the behaviour of others.

Actually, Singhal (*idem*: 22-23) gives another good example on how EE can influence behaviours. All started at the end of 1960's in Peru. The soup-opera *Simplemente Maria*,

³² See the figure 1 for details of Behaviours Stages, page 44

³³ See Gladwell, Malcolm, in *Outliers: The Story of Success*, Boston, Little, Brown, 2008

built around the life of a young girl who travels to Lima in search of a better life. The audience members became highly involved in the story line and started to develop a para-social relationship with the character. This resulted in increased number of women enrolled in adult literacy classes and learning how to sew to improve their lives, as done by *Maria*, the main character.

3.7.3 Participatory Theatre

The example in the following box exemplifies how the participatory theatre engages community members in discussing and reflecting on their needs, concerns and beliefs in order to understand why they should change their behaviours and what benefits they have in doing that. Actually, participatory theatre is an important component of EE often absent in lectures. Even though participatory theatre is a simple communication channel that does not need many resources it has excellent outcomes. Participants at the forum “*Making Community Theatre in Timor-Leste*”, organized by the Australian NGO Many Hands International and the local NGO Ba Futuru, emphasized these features.

Overall, EE is a universal communication strategy found in almost all cultures as it can be adapted or created based on local customs, practices and needs of the public. Though EE need not to be limited to mass media such as TV, radio or music, but can successfully advance information through local folk media, arts, photography, cartoons, comics, theatre, video and other forms to transmit information that should result in pro-social behaviour. This process depends on the existence of role models in the stories: good models, bad models, and those who transition from bad to good. Participatory theatre is an example of folk media as part of participatory communication strategy and empowerment tools that stimulates the community-based debate. Participatory theatre is a tool which uses the format of a play based on a problem (for example, domestic violence) followed by a discussion.

Box 3 Making Participatory Theatre work in Timor-Leste

Participatory theatre is been used in Timor-Leste for engaging communities to discuss human rights-based issues, such children and women's rights or domestic violence. The international non-government organization (INGO) Many Hands International, and the local NGO Ba Futuru, jointly organized a conference, with participation of the local theatre groups Teatru Ba Futuru (Dili), Nafu Fila (Ainaro), and Sangar Haburas (Los Palos). This conference was about the role of cultural traditions within process of nation building. They all agree that participatory theatre is crucial to stimulate community debate on issues that directly affect individuals, families, youth and households, and create community members is and admit that change takes time. However, in order that people and communities become aware and change behaviours, they engage with community members for creating their stories on issues of common interest and encourage discussion of the subjects within the stories on issues of common interest and encourage discussion of the subjects within the stories before and after their act. Even finding some resistance, through local languages and traditions, these groups disseminate information and knowledge, and promote reflection on issues that should find difficult to reach remote zones in rural areas.

(Author)

3.8 Conclusion: Different Strategies for the Same Goal: Change

Strategies are not right or wrong, only appropriate or inappropriate given the circumstances and nature of the phenomenon to which they are applied. Panos Institute (2003: 21) admits that behaviour change depends on social change when it marks the conclusions from UNAIDS (Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS) and Rockefeller Foundation:

“While mass education campaigns aimed at changing individual behaviour play an essential role in AIDS prevention, they are highly unlikely to be successful or sustainable unless they are accompanied by deep-rooted social changes”.

Indeed, CFSC Consortium (2005) emphasises that:

“Individual change is hard to sustain unless broader social and community changes also occur. That is, individual behaviour change must be reinforced by shifts in what are considered acceptable beliefs and practices. This can include such things as cultural traditions, commonly shared stories, (...). The term ‘changes in community norms’ is often used to describe such shifts”.

On the contrary, Professor Everold Hosein states that social change depends on behaviour change. He justifies this assumption saying:

“All the examples show that social change occurs with behaviour changes. For instance, people have to use condoms for preventing HIV/AIDS. For their behaviours to change, they have to understand the implication of using the condom. Of course, they will lose some sexual pleasure, but, in other hand, they will prevent the contamination of this terrible disease. Individual behaviour leads to community action. Once certain individuals change their behaviour other community members will follow³⁴”.

The effect that the behaviour change has on a few individuals is pictured in the above example of EE *Simplesmente Maria*, in Peru³⁵.

In general, experts (Fraser and Estrada, 1998; UNFPA, 2001; Figueroa *et al.*, 2002; FAO, 2004; UNICEF, 2005; CFSC Consortium, 2005; Panos, 2007; UNESCO, 2007; Mefalopulos, 2008; UNDP, 2009; McCall, 2011) agree that long-lasting social changes demands communication strategies. These strategies include engaging people actively as agents of their own change; facilitating and supporting dialogue on key issues; negotiating the best way forward through partnership rather than through coercion and persuasion; developing communication capacity of individual and community as a whole for them to play the central communication role. Actually, the communication capacity building was discussed at the 8th United Nations Inter-Agency Roundtable, in Managua, in 2011, which recognizes the importance of strengthening communication capacities in order to build an effective communication and enabling environment.

Whether for an individual behaviour change or a widely social change, integrated strategic planning is essential for effective changes. Mefalopulos (2008: 93) remarks that:

“There are no universal formulas to address a situation successfully, but in most circumstances there are precise steps that, when followed professionally, provide the inputs needed for the strategic design of the communication intervention. Social marketing is not necessarily more effective than social mobilization; television is not always more persuasive than radio; and mobilization approaches are not always better than dissemination of information when a change in behaviours is sought. [Further] deciding which approach or mix of approaches is best suited always depends upon a number of considerations (...).”

Therefore, the designing of a communication plan should need to combine different strategies at different stages of the program. For example, it should start with behaviour change communication for immunization of measles and use communication for social change to involve the whole community in order to improve the health of their children. The program

³⁴ Professor Everold Hosein in interview for this study when he visited Timor-Leste.

³⁵ See page 68 for details of *Simplesmente Maria*.

manager and communication practitioners should need to apply social mobilization, political advocacy, education-entertainment, and media, among others.

However, this can only be achieved in combination with stratification of audience and incorporating aspects of the wider environment that influences (and constrains) structural and sustainable change. These aspects include structural and conjuncture aspects, i.e. enabling environment such as policy and legislation; service provision; education systems; institutional and organisational factors; cultural; socio-demographic; political and socio-economic factors and physical environment.

This chapter has reviewed the major strategies which sought to look at them with new thinking but in the same direction: change. To some extent the present C4D strategies find its roots in participation communication, through the involvement of all actors of development, dialogue and reflection on issues that affect entire community in order to find solutions. Yet, developing a good communication strategy, incorporating the multiplicity of approaches, poses many challenges. In practice, applying an integrated approach to real world projects meets several hurdles in the field. Those challenges will be analysed in the following chapter with emphasis on the main scope of this study: communication to prevent violence against women.

4. GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

“Violence against women is perhaps the most shameful human rights violation. And, it is perhaps the most pervasive. It knows no boundaries of geography, culture or wealth. As long as it continues, we cannot claim to be making real progress towards equality, development and peace”³⁶ (Annan, 1999).

4.1 Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) ranges from sexual harassment to rape, domestic violence (or intimate partner violence by World Health Organization - WHO) to trafficking. Over the last years there is a growing concern on sexual violence against women and children – which occurs both in domestic and community levels. Overall, violence against women and girls is a manifestation of gender inequality and discrimination. Although the unequal relation between women and men is universal, the relation between gender and violence is complex. Differences in gender roles and behaviours often create inequalities, but their vulnerability to male violence stems from the fact that they are women not from her economic and educational circumstances.

Normally, experts (Grown *et al*, 2005; Butchart *et al*, 2010; Krug *et al*, 2002) divide violence against women in two important types: domestic violence or partner intimate violence (private sphere) and sexual violence (community sphere). However, the purpose of this study is not analyse GBV itself but understand its context, one will comprise both sexual and partner intimate violence into the concept of domestic violence.

The criminal justice approach responds to this type of violence after it has occurred by enforcing the law and ensuring that “justice is done”. This involves properly identifying the perpetrators, ascertaining their guilt and ensuring that they are appropriately sentenced. To prevent and respond to SGBV the criminal justice approach relies primarily on deterrence, incarceration and the punishment and rehabilitation of perpetrators.

The public health approach engages with gender perspective, which emphasizes primary prevention (prevent violence before it occurs). This approach aims to provide and extend

³⁶ Remarks of the former Secretary-General for the United Nations, Kofi Annan, at the Inter-Agency Videoconference *For a World Free of Violence against Women*, on 8th March 1999, in New York.

better care and safety to entire communities providing responses to violence through service providers such as health care, rehabilitation and reintegration (Butchart *et al.*, 2010: 6 – 7).

Linked to this, the analysis on violence against women should be done in two directions. When focusing on the social relations, that produce and perpetuate this situation, it is possible to describe the conditions of women in social and economic realms. If the focus is behaviour and social changes, which will improve the material and social condition of women, there is a need to understand how profound and pervasive the structures of women's subordination really are.

This chapter looks at GBV landscape to understand the communication strategies used to end violence against women and overview the role of those strategies in the process of development communication. It examines successful strategies that became case studies that, over the years, have raised awareness regarding violence against women, especially domestic violence.

4.2 Scope of Sexual and GBV

There are a vast lecture on violence against women from different perspectives and approaches. The gender perspective emphasizes patriarchy, power relations and hierarchical constructions of masculinity and femininity as a predominant and pervasive driver of gender inequality. The human rights approach is based on the obligations of states to respect and protect and, therefore, eradicate and punish violence against women and girls. It recognizes SGBV as a violation of many human rights: rights to life, autonomy and security of the individual; rights of non-discrimination and equality; rights to be free from torture and cruel treatment or punishment; right to privacy; right to health³⁸.

Universally, sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) are used as a weapon of war and goes largely unpunished. During conflict, violence against women becomes an excepted norm while increased presence of weapons result in high levels of brutality and even greater levels of impunity. [UN Women](#) points that most of the victims in contemporary conflicts are women and children, whom:

“face specific and devastating forms of sexual violence”. In post-conflict situation, “the impacts of sexual violence persist, including unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections and

³⁸ See the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, available at <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

stigmatization. Widespread sexual violence itself should continue or even increase in the aftermath of conflict, as a consequence of insecurity and impunity”³⁹.

These types of violence are then perpetuated inside their households, which are supposed to protect them. However, there is a dimension usually forgotten by development experts, particularly the one related to gender issues: cultural and social norms, which are highly influential in shaping individual behaviour, including the use of violence. In developing countries, such as Timor-Leste, the use of violence is cultural accepted either as normal method of resolving a conflict or as usual part of family relations. Furthermore, the WHO recognizes that interventions that challenge cultural and social normal supportive of violence can help reduce and prevent violent behaviour, though those interventions are rarely evaluated (WHO, 2009: 3).

In light of the above, it is necessary to analyse each situation separately to understand the meaning of the nature of gender relations and conflicts within family and/or community, the different factors that influence themselves and how gender relations have impact on social and economic development. Those relations are the result of the history of society, influenced by the nature of the local economy that evolved over time, religious beliefs and political systems (Pearson, 2000: 206).

The defining of the international community’s responsibilities in response to gender inequality and sexual violence was slow until recent years. Although statutes prohibiting discrimination on the basis of gender appeared in the original [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) in 1948, it is only in the last decade that the issue of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict countries have been addressed.

Obviously, the effect of the increased focus on Sexual and GBV has been both positive and negative. Due to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), many aid agencies, donors and local organizations have now included GBV as part, or the main focus, of their activities, resulting in more money and attention. However, GBV experts who have been working on this issue for many years are cautious of this sudden interest, which they fear should be short-lived. For instance, Sophie Read-Hamilton of the International Rescue Committee, in Liberia, explained that if support systems are not in place for the victims, “*you can drown in funding that’s not well used*” (IRIN, 2004: 4). If donors do not see results for all the funds spent, they can dry up, then nobody benefits. However, the legal frameworks and humanitarian assistance

³⁹ See <http://www.womenwarpeace.org/>

for victims count for very little if the authorities lack the power, or will to act in places where the crimes are committed (*idem*).

Domestic violence is, therefore, one of the most common forms of gender-based violence, including sexual violence, with deep cultural and social roots and intimate partners perpetuate the majority of cases. WHO (Butchart *et al.*, 2010: 11) defines intimate partner violence as “*behaviour within an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including act of physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviours*”. Further, domestic violence is a cycle hard to be broken. Understanding the nature and scope of this cycle is possible to find factors that originated it, find solutions for its prevention, and improve the wellbeing of families and communities.

4.2.1 The nature, costs and impacts of Domestic Violence

The harm caused by domestic violence can last a lifetime and span generations, with serious adverse effects on health, education, employment, crime and economic wellbeing of individuals, families and communities. It is widely recognized as an important development constraint that retards economic growth and poverty reduction (Grown *et al.*, 2005; Butchart *et al.*, 2010; Krug *et al.*, 2002).

However, although acknowledging these aspects, this type of violence is still relatively invisible once it occurs within a private sphere and is often accepted as the feature of male-female relationships. Domestic violence occurs at the home, at the hands of relatives or parents, manifested as sexual and physical violence and psychological abuse. Women are primary victims of this type of violence, followed by children, and men are primarily the perpetrators.

The violence against women and young girls can lead directly to serious injuries, disability and death and indirectly to health problems, lack of personal autonomy and incapacity among reproductive-age women. Violence not only affects women involved but also children in the family. For instance, children who witness intimate partner violence, or are victims themselves, tend to imitate and perpetuate that behaviour (Grown *et al.*, 2005; Butchart *et al.*, 2010; Krug *et al.*, 2002). In addition, another form of violence within families often forgotten

in lecture is child maltreatment⁴⁰, in particular physical, sexual and emotional abuse by parents and caregivers.

In addition, such violence has also adverse economic impact with the average cost of goods and services used in preventing violence, treating victims per person and for women experiencing at least one occurrence of physical intimate partner violence more than twice. Besides, the overall costs to society are greater when it hampers productivity, reduces human capital and undermines economic growth (Grown *et al*, 2005; Butchart *et al*, 2010).

In order to find guidelines for ultimate prevention of negative social and economic impacts of violence against women and young girls we need to identify the risk factors. Few studies were conducted for tracking experiences of such violence and how these experiences relate to other factors at various stages of their life. World Health Organization (WHO) has summarized them in the study *Preventing Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence against Women* (2010), which intends to be a planning framework for developing policies and programs for the prevention of intimate partner and sexual violence. As a result, WHO identified over 50 risk factors for the perpetration by men and the experiencing by women of both intimate partner and sexual violence, most at the individual and family relationships level. The table below illustrates most of the identified risk factors:

Table 3 Risk factors for intimate partner violence (or domestic violence)

Perpetration by Men	Victimization of Women
INDIVIDUAL LEVEL	
DEMOGRAPHICS	DEMOGRAPHICS
• Young age • Low socio-economic status/income • Low education • Unemployment	• Young age • Low socio-economic status/income • Low education • Separated/divorced marital status • Pregnancy
EXPOSURE TO CHILD MALTREATMENT	EXPOSURE TO CHILD MALTREATMENT
• Intra-parental violence	• Intra-parental violence

⁴⁰ WHO refers *child maltreatment* as “physical and emotional mistreatment, sexual abuse, neglect and negligent treatment of children, as well as to their commercial or other exploitation. (...) The perpetrators of child maltreatment should be parents and other family members; caregivers; friends; acquaintances; strangers; others in authority – such as teachers, soldiers, police officers and clergy; employers; health care workers; and other children” (WHO – ISPCAN, 2006), available at http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/activities/child_maltreatment/en/index.html

• Sexual abuse • Physical abuse	• Sexual abuse
MENTAL DISORDER	MENTAL DISORDER
• Antisocial personality	• Depression
SUBSTANCE USE	SUBSTANCE USE
• Harmful use of alcohol • Illicit drug use	• Harmful use of alcohol • Illicit drug use
• Acceptance of violence	• Acceptance of violence
• Past history of being abusive	• Exposure to prior abuse/victimization
RELATIONSHIP LEVEL	
• Education disparity	• Education disparity
• Multiple partners/infidelity	• Number of children
RELATIONSHIP QUALITY	RELATIONSHIP QUALITY
• Marital dissatisfaction/discord • Gender role disputes • Marital duration	• Marital dissatisfaction/discord
COMMUNITY LEVEL	
• Acceptance of traditional gender roles	• Acceptance of traditional gender roles
NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS	NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS
• High proportion of poverty • High proportion of unemployment • High proportion of male literacy • Acceptance of violence	• High proportion of poverty • High proportion of unemployment • High proportion of female illiteracy • Acceptance of violence
Low proportion of households that use corporal punishment	• Low proportion of women with high level of autonomy • Low proportion of women with higher education
• Weak community sanctions	• Weak community sanctions
SOCIETAL LEVEL	
	• Divorce regulations by government
	Lack of legislation on intimate partner violence within marriage
	• Protective marriage law
• Traditional gender norms and social norms supportive of violence	• Traditional gender norms and social norms supportive of violence

(Butchart, 2010: 27)

The complexity of GBV requires different approaches and solutions for each context where it occurs. Multi-sectoral strategies that deal with the complex and intersecting dynamics that perpetuate violence against women need to have in mind when planning strategies to prevent such violence. In reality, policy-makers and practitioners are shifting toward more integrated approaches and are mainstreaming GBV interventions into cross-sectoral violence reduction strategies. For instance, Timor-Leste has given a big step on that direction with the approval of the National Action Plan for Gender-based Violence, coordinated by the Secretary of State for Promotion of Equality (*Secretaria de Estado para a Promoção da Igualdade* - SEPI), which focuses on three areas of intervention: prevention of GBV, provision of services to victims and access to justice for victims. This NAP has a fourth section dedicated to monitoring and evaluation of its implementation. Further, the NAP complements the Law against Domestic Violence (LADV). Despite this favourable policy environment and political speeches for addressing gender inequality and promoting gender sensitive programs, there are few examples of programs addressing issues of gender in a holistic manner. LADV and NAP should change that scenario in the upcoming years, but they need to be supported by a national communication plan.

Therefore, communication strategies should follow a gender sensitive and holistic approach for effective results. Development and communication experts (Grown *et al*, 2005; Butchart *et al*, 2010; Krug *et al*, 2002; Drezin and Lloyd-Laney, 2003; UNICEF, 2005; UNFPA, 2005) agree that education and advocacy are crucial for combating or preventing sexual and GBV, through media and community interventions. However, as Everold Hosein referred in interview:

“communication only results within an enabling environment. As in marketing, we can only sell a product or a service when is it on market. In this case, communication is only effective if you have services in place and working, otherwise people will not change their behaviours even with the best communication strategy”.

Violence against women has gained worldwide visibility due to its pervasive and debilitating nature. As mentioned before, many studies and analyses of violence against women have been reported (Butchart *et al*, 2010; Pedro, 2011; Kovar, 2011; Ferguson, 2011; UNFPA, 2005; among others). This situation is no different in Timor-Leste. The Timor-Leste Demographic and Health Survey (TLDHS), conducted by the Timorese Government in 2009, shows that 35 per cent of women age 15-49 has suffered of violence at same point since age 15 at the hands of an intimate partner (MF & MS, 2010). The main perpetrators of sexual violence against

even-married women are current husbands/partners (71%) and former husbands/partners (9%). Thirty-six per cent of married women have suffered from spousal or partner abuse, whether physical, emotional or sexual. From those, one-third experienced some form of these types of violence by their husband or partner in the past year. Most of the time, the alcohol is associated to domestic violence. The survey shows that women whose husbands are often drunk are more likely to suffer from any of those types of violence than women whose husbands do not drink (60% and 26%, respectively). Nevertheless, we need to be careful when analysing statistics. The current data is not totally reliable. As experience reveals and admitted by development agencies (UNDP, 2011), different sources of information show different data. Besides, the majority of cases are not reported.

The next sections analyse the causes of this high rate of violence against women and girls in order to better provide answers when planning communication campaigns for prevention of Domestic Violence in the country.

4.3 Strategic Communication for Ending Violence against Women

“Only by capitalizing on the potential of women to effect change can we ever expect to realize the global aspiration for more just societies, where the human rights and dignity of every woman, child and man are respected” (Pillay, 2012)⁵⁵.

The Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women Declaration (CEDAW, 1981)⁵⁶ clearly states that every woman have the right to live healthy, free from violence and fear and protected from abuse and exploitation. This Convention delineates women’s rights as fundamental Human Rights. Therefore, communication in all its diversity plays a vital role in realizing this principle as it entails to bring about more effectively positive behaviour and social changes for women to live a healthy life⁵⁷.

⁵⁵ Statement by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights on International Women’s Day, Navi Pillay, *Capitalizing on women’s potential in times of crisis*, Geneva, 7 March 2012

⁵⁶ Annex V, page 219, for CEDAW Declaration. The full text is available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm>

⁵⁷ World Health Organization defines “Health” as “a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization as adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, 19-22 June, 1946; signed on 22 July

Communication is recognized as a powerful tool with tremendous potential to bring change in society. Nevertheless, literature discloses few successful examples of communication programs related to gender-based violence. UNIFEM, former UN Development Fund for Women, is the only development agency that produced a strategic communication toolkit totally dedicated to this subject. Nevertheless, its manual is basically focused on advocacy, leaving aside other communication strategies at individual and social levels. On other hand, Media Mentoring Africa published guidelines on strategic communication and GBV to facilitate stronger and sustainable communication campaigns as a component of GBV intervention strategies, to promote partnerships across organizations and to ensure greater long-term impact. UNICEF also shares same examples on its manuals for development managers and communications practitioners. In contrast, a good number of examples of cases of communication programs on HIV/AIDS, mass immunization, agriculture projects, polio eradication and family planning can be found in most of the literature dedicated to C4D.

A wide range of communication initiatives are being harnessed to support elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and achieving gender equality, such as advocating for legal frameworks and using dialogue as a tool for changing social and cultural attitudes to remove barriers to women's participation in wider society (UNDP, 2011: 10). After years advocating for gender equality, Timor-Leste has move forward with the approval of the Law against Domestic Violence in 2010 (which took eight years to be drafted and promulgated), the establishment, in 2011, of Working Groups for Gender in all Ministries and Offices for the Promotion of Gender Equality, and recently approval of the National Action Plan for Gender-based Violence. The existence of a legal framework can support changes, but, as we will analyse forward, more needs to be done and communication can make the difference.

On other hand, cultural and social norms are highly influential in shaping individual behaviour, including the use of violence. Norms can protect against violence but also can support and encourage the use of it. Communication interventions that challenge cultural and social norms supportive of violence can help reduce and prevent violent behaviour, such campaigns in schools and universities, media, social mobilization, participatory communication, education-entertainment and so on (UNICEF, 2005; Butchart *et al*, 2010; UNDP 2011; Drezin and Lloyd-Laney, 2003).

1946 by the representatives of 61 States and entered into force on 7 April 1948): available at <https://apps.who.int/aboutwho/en/definition.html>).

Cecilia Lotse (UNICEF, 2005: xi), UNICEF regional office director for South Asia, noted that:

“many communication initiatives have succeeded in enhancing public awareness, but have failed in going beyond awareness, to stimulate changes in attitudes and practices toward creating lasting social change. Communication, to impact on sustainable behaviour change among individuals and groups on a large scale, needs to be strategic, participatory, based on evidence from research, results-oriented and well-funded”.

Furthermore, Strategic communication (SC) should foster gender equality and help to overcome some of the cultural barriers responsible for gender inequality since it facilitates both individual and societal level changes, when linked to other program elements, acquainted of the local context and esteeming a multiplicity of communication approaches. But, for this to be achieved, and already mentioned, communication programs need to be responsive to people’s needs, wants and desires.

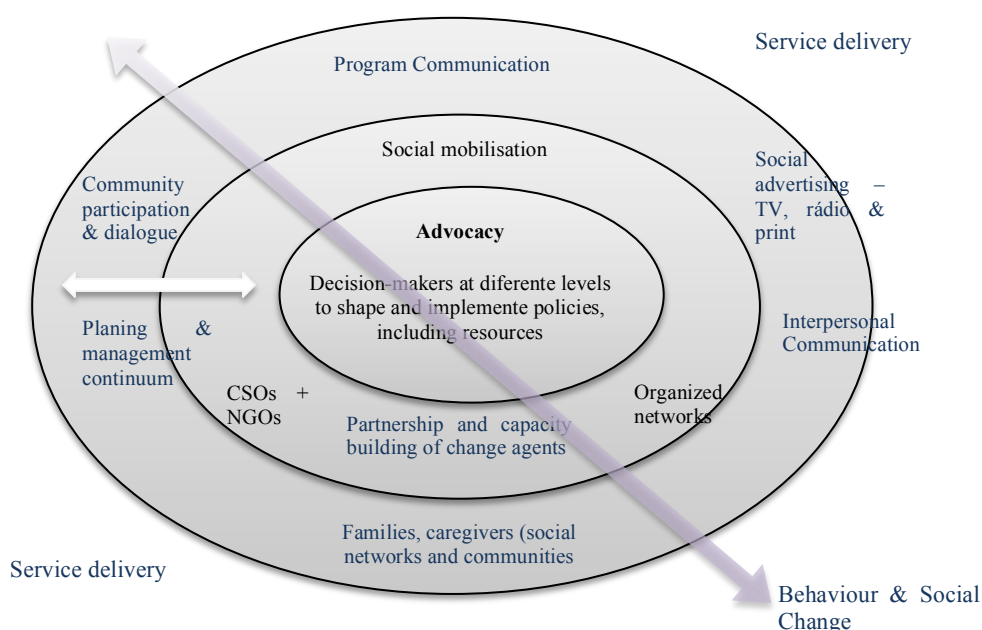
For behaviour and social changes, UNICEF defends three linked approaches – program communication or behaviour change communication, social mobilization and advocacy. Thus, for program to be effective both communication and services delivery components have to work closely. For instance, a communication initiative that seeks to prevent domestic violence is not helpful if health services and shelters for victims’ protection are not easily accessible.

According to the United Nation’s agency, the program communication addresses knowledge, attitudes and practices of individuals, while advocacy and social mobilisation contribute towards the creation of an enabling social and political environment that can support behaviour change at the individual level. It reiterates the fact that behaviour change and social change are inter –related and need to occur across all participants for a program to make a difference (UNICEF, 2005: 7). These three dimensions of communication are united through a planning and management continuum (represented by the arrow on the left) and the importance of linking the activities to service delivery as describe in figure 8 (UNICEF, 2005: 7).

Using communication for advocacy strategically to end violence against women empowers individuals and groups with the message that every single person has the power to make change. While behaviour and social changes are a long-term process, UNIFEM (2003: 2) reiterates that communication to educate and raise awareness is often the first step in modifying attitudes, behaviours and policies:

“On an individual level, raised awareness (e.g. that domestic violence is a national problem affecting women of every class, race and ethnic group) can become knowledge (40% of women in my province have experience abuse of some kind in their own home), which transforms attitudes (women feeling they are not to blame for the violence they have experienced) and, ultimately, brings about behavioural change (a women calling a confidential telephone ‘hotline’ to report violent behaviour on the part of her partner). Attitudes and practices of the general public can pressure key stakeholders and decision-makers to change or implement important policies”.

Figure 8 UNICEF’s Strategic Communication Model



(UNICEF, 2005: 7)

In addition, violence prevention is the least used anti-violence strategy and potentially the most effective in the long-term. Prevention includes raising awareness, disseminating information on gender-sensitive human rights methodologies, media and communications campaigns, and extensive efforts directed toward building non-violent, gender-sensitive curricula in primary and secondary educational institutions (*idem*: 39; WHO, n/a).

All of these strategies involve identifying appropriate approaches and effective communication channels, as well as designing messages and communication materials, based on the sound knowledge of the environment in which one is working, the audience one seeks to reach and how the audience thinks. Experience shows that well-intended communication strategies are not enough for an effective result. Focus on the objectives of the program and

creativity should work side by side with careful planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation if the program manager wants sustainable results.

The following sections analyse messages and communication channels to an intended audience in order to better achieve communication objectives. It explores questions of how can we obtain information about our target groups (research-based approach), how messages should be designed and decide what communication channels and dissemination strategies are most effective for reaching the various target audience.

4.3.1 Getting the message right

The creation of messages is directly connected to the choice of communication channel through which those messages will be disseminated and target audience. When developing a message it is important to consider the SMART objectives of the communication program, such reduction of domestic violence in 20% in the next 5 years, and who is the target audience, like perpetrators, victims or policy-makers. Understanding the target audience – concerns, beliefs, needs and wants – is crucial to determine the content and language of the message and how should be disseminated.

In its toolkit for *Strategic Communications to End Violence against Women* (2003), UNIFEM has a checklist of tips for creating slogans and messages: focused on a specific problem; simple and to the point; appropriate to the target group and recommended actions; use local languages and common terms; attractive and interesting; prominently visible (people tend to remember more the first and last thing that they read); repetitive (research has shown that people are more likely to believe a message and understand it if they hear it from more than one source); reinforced through the use of a combination of media.

“In the case of advocacy to end violence against women, many of the most powerful and effective slogans are rights-based, focusing on messages of empowerment and positive change. Others relate to munity and the responsibility of everyone to stop it. The intention might be: for men to curb violent behaviour and to positively influence other men; for women to know their rights; for law enforcement to contribute to proper implementation of a law; and for neighbours and friends of victims to report instances of abuse” (UNIFEM, 2003: 7).

Communication in developing countries face many challenges such a high rate of illiteracy. Having that in mind, the communication practitioner needs to create short and simple messages, easy to memorize and to reach, in local languages. The former United Nations

agency (2003: 7) describes messages as ‘attention grabbers’ once they “lead the audience into the larger message”.

On other hand, the guidelines developed by Mediamonitoring Africa (MMA), *Empowering Messages: Strategic Communication and Gender-Based Violence*, highlights the “messenger” or “brand” as the “*strength and credibility of the message are also relevant on the impression of the messenger*” (n/a: 37). The South African NGO uses the “brand” concept from marketing to explain the importance of the perceptions that a campaign leaves in its audience’s mind “*through a collection of experiences and associations with both the brand and your organization’s ‘products’*”. The brand allows creating a particular identity and feelings between the audience and campaign message (how they think about it and connect with it emotionally) (*idem*).

Indeed, a brand can become greater than the message through ongoing exposure. The brand is created to generate preference and, thereby, action. In case of this study, the desired action is positive behaviours. Building a brand in social marketing context is about making the core objective of the campaign compelling or appealing to the audience to gravitate to trust, which is essential for facilitating action and sustaining positive response. This trust is then created from the message’s credibility, messenger’s motive and relevance its message for the audience.

“Strong brands supported by good communication can create instant appeal and facilitate the decision to think, value or be what the campaign is suggesting” (MMA, n/a: 38).

However, MMA (*idem*) calls to attention the dangerous of using a brand in a campaign message for gender-based violence:

“it can also be a fad that undermines the effectiveness of your message. In addition, a single universal brand spread across a partnership should not be as effective as having similar messages coming from multiple sources with their own brands that appeal to different segments in the market. In deciding to develop a brand, stay focused on the objectives of your campaign”.

Basically, a great message should be clear, easy to understand and appealing to “consumers” in order to be notice and generate positive response. So, when developing a campaign message it should use emotiveness, be relevant, unexpected and memorable. Thus, the message should also be single-minded in its intent, i.e. find a core message for an intended audience. The best method of doing this is by testing several messages on intended audience members and getting the sense of which is the most powerful (Owen *et al.*, n/a: 42).

Of course, the style of the message and the way it is communicated is crucial for being accepted by the intended audience. MMA explains how it works on gender-based violence (*idem*: 43 and 44):

“Culture and social norms play a large role in GBV in Southern Africa and you need to strike the delicate balance of addressing those customs and norms that support GBV ad not alienating your audience. In many respects this can be done by working through people’s aspirations for themselves and their families – that is, rather than striking directly at what is considered wrong and unacceptable (but perhaps acceptable to your audience), draw your audience’s attention towards positive outcomes that they would like to be a part of, which also support gender equality. You can also facilitate empowerment through messages that show your intended audience has the capacity to act and create change”.

Behavioural change is a process that occurs over time, which gives time for the communication expert to get to know the audience well and in which stage of readiness and capacity to change it is. This helps to ensure that the communication expert is using the right message in the right stage. For that is essential to ask what people think about the problem, what are their aspirations, if they are ready to talk and what do they need to change from awareness to act positively and sustain the positive behaviour.

How would they react to a certain message? What are the characteristics of your audience? The communication professional can only answer to these questions after research its intended audience and collect information to understand it. Demographic information is the first step for audience segmentation and find out specific behaviours and patterns, as well to identify what channels should be the best to reach them. The next step involves breaking up the groups of people with similar specification into even smaller segments on the basis of shared attitudes, beliefs, opinions, etc. When planning a GBV campaign is crucial understanding what people think and feel about gender, gender roles and abuse in order to develop a message that will be notice, absorbed and acted upon. These only make sense after understanding the behaviour of target audience. Having a behavioural understanding involves learning about people’s acts and behaviours patterns and routines regarding gender. Without this information, one cannot determine the best time and place to get messages across and ensure that activities are designed to achieve desired change (*idem*: 32 and 33).

The communication practitioner should have the best intentions, but to find the proper message from a particular material for its audience is not an easy task and the intended effect should be the opposite. In order to avoid unwanted results the professional should be pre-testing materials so intended messages come across loud and clear. And this can be done in a

simple manner by showing a draft of the materials (as a rough-cut of a television or video script) to the intended audience and asking them questions to verify if they understood the concept and the message it was intended to convey. Sometimes, small initiatives to get some feedback can save time and funds. The pre-testing allows the professional having a sense of the different kinds of reactions people should have towards the communication products (Drezin and Lloyd-Laney, 2003: 13-14).

A great message needs a great communication channel to make the difference when reaching intended audience. So, the communication expert responsible for the campaign has to choose different channels for each audience. Creativity should be the final ingredient for a successful campaign.

4.3.2 Using appropriate communication channels

Experience has shown that high-involvement behaviours that strategic communication addresses require greater exposure to the key messages developed in order to stimulate behavioural change. Broadly speaking, the communication practitioner, always having the campaign's objectives, needs to choose the most effective channels for ensuring effective and increasing message's exposure (Owen *et al.*, n/a: 50; *idem*: 7). This is the point at which strategic communication is essential for increasing effective exposure of the message by choosing appropriate channels in order to reach each audience. A message seen all the time should not eventually be notice if the channels are not the most effective for that specific target audience.

So, how to find the most effective communication channels in a country as Timor-Leste? For sure is not an easy task. Research is, therefore, crucial to answer a number of questions related to people's way of life and culture: what languages do they use? What are the traditional channels to communicate within community? Do they have access to radio, TV and Internet? Would they respond positively to participatory theatre? When and how do they use information channels? Is there any particular channel that they use the most?

Currently, communication channels go beyond mass media channels such as radio and television, as in early communication studies⁵⁸. Communication professional should strive to reach its audience in different, more appropriate and relevant ways every day. In a developing country such Timor-Leste, where communication practitioners found several constrains in

⁵⁸ See chapter II "What is Communication for Development" for more details, page 23 to 38

their daily work, a multitude of channels for messages should extend into people's homes, work, community spaces, and further stakeholders.

Knowing your intended audience also means knowing what channels should be used. For instance, key stakeholders are those who must make the change, often policy makers or opinion leaders, the latter with a great influence in Timor-Leste. Depending on strategy, they might consist of the male perpetrators who must curb their violent behaviour, the courtroom judges and police officers who need to be more gender-sensitive or the journalists who need to cover gender-based violence in a more equitable and accurate manner. But they also consist of those who benefit from the changes. They are women and girls, victims and others that live in low sensitive-gender communities. The target audience should be often who works to bring change, such as NGOs and women's organizations, government, donors, United Nations System (Missions and Agencies) and other partners who support should helpful to achieve the campaign's objectives (*idem*, 2003: 40).

Having all these in mind it is time to define the distribution of the communication products, which have been pre-tested, and select their channels. Experience as shown that a mix of communication channels is more appropriate and potent for our message than one single channel. Besides, each communication channel has positive and negative factors by the time of choosing them: who is more likely to be reached, number of people reached, message medium, among others. The communication practitioner has, therefore, to pick and choose a mix of channels to convey the right message to the right people in a most effective and cost efficient way (Owen *et al.*, n/a: 53). But it does not finish here.

Once the most appropriate communication channels are selected, it is time to ensure that the message is delivered both timely and relevant. It is necessary to identify specific patterns among groups of people to ensure more receptive exposure to the message, which involves knowing your intended audience well. For instance, audience research verifies that families tend to watch together soap operas before the news. This tells one that advertising before or during the break is a good idea as this will plant the seed in the families heads that women's are not a mere object and need to be treat as equal or the importance for child caring.

As mentioned before, these are two case studies well known as successful communication programs in South Africa and in Nicaragua, respectively. But how can we know that they are really effective? Is the campaign reaching the right audience? Is there any behaviour change?

In which levels can we verify that change? The Puntos de Encuentro reveals a pathway: evaluation, which has to be done together with monitoring.

Box 4 Communication Examples: Soul City and Puntos de Encuentro

Soul City

A well-recognised ‘brand’, the Soul City Institute Health and Development, utilises a variety of channels to reach its intended audience/s and support the messages distributed. Soul City employs the innovative edutainment format, integrating social issues and popular entertainment in prime time television drama, including a series addressing GBV as well as AIDS. In addition, Soul City employs radio drama and print media and establishes partnerships with relevant organizations. This array of channels increases the exposure of the intended audience to the message and enables a variety of audiences to be reached (as the program targets multiple populations). A toll-free help line was also established as part of the partnership with the National Network on Violence Against Women, which connected audiences with services, ensuring support for health-seeking behaviour change.

Puntos de Encuentro

The organization Puntos de Encuentro also utilises edutainment in the form of a socially conscious soap opera, *Sexto Sentido*. The current focus of the Puntos strategy is youth and initiatives are aimed at promoting youth people’s rights and empowerment. The soap opera is supported by a nightly talk-radio show that encourages youth to call in and discuss each episode. In addition, further exposure to the messages is created through youth coordination with media and other organizations. Issues raised on the show are also raised in the media and in youth leadership training, as well as in the organization’s own magazine. This presentation of the message in different ways also creates the multi-dimensional exposure and in-depth engagement required to address high-involvement behaviours. An evaluation of the radio program showed that episodes led not only to increased awareness of domestic violence, but also to a large proportion of viewers discussing the content with others.

(MMA, s/d: 54)

The next section analyses the significance of monitoring and evaluation in communication for development. Indeed, monitoring and evaluation is a technique for long time used by the private sector. It has been discussed, for over a decade, by communication practitioners and program managers within development sector (UNDP and World Bank, 2009: 9). Actually, they admit that “*systems for routine monitoring of communication activities (...) remain weak and many of*

them are not designed to provide the critical information needed to support the development of strong communication activities” (UNICEF and WHO, 2000: 58).

4.3.3 Monitoring & Evaluation

What is a regular practice within private sector, development communication does not always assess the effectiveness of communication intervention initiatives or, when it does, not always apply suitable indicators. Monitoring and evaluation (M&E), as an information system used to measure, manage and communicate desired performance and program achievements over time, make use of social and market research tools and methods. It involves the collection and analysis of inputs, outputs, outcomes and impact (UNICEF, 2005: 43).

Why the need for monitoring and evaluation? Communication strategy is more effective when planned using data and assessed using monitoring and evaluation tools to achieve results and intended impacts. MMA (n/a: 56) states that *“organizations and all those involved in addressing gender-based violence benefit from an assessment of the effectiveness of communication intervention strategies.”* According to the South African NGO, monitoring is important:

“to engage in critical reflection and to steer the course of on-going projects.” [On other hand, evaluation enables] “to determine the campaign results against the stated implementation plan, objectives (outcomes) and broader goal (impact on the social issue). Evaluation can also identify recommendations for future campaigns regarding context, approach and operational issues.”

M&E are a continuous process, critical to distinguish communication strategies that promote behaviour and social change from those that do not. Therefore, information from these processes is essential for improvement of program design and implementation and in turn to re-define behaviour outcomes, if necessary, to more effectively contribute to the strategic result (Parks, 2005: 46).

Communication experts and program managers are aware that strategic communication (SC) must lead to behaviour and social changes, however, the impact can only be demonstrated in long span of time. The new paradigm in development⁵⁹ and SC with increasing emphasis on community participation and people’s empowerment, M&E methodologies are gaining a new dimension as data collection. The community members are no longer an object of research rather they are as participants capable of analysing and design their own solutions by learning

⁵⁹ See chapter 2 “What is Communication for Development” for details, page 23 to 38

from their own experiences (*idem*: 48). The project is more likely to sustain over time if the motivation and sense of ownership of the participants improve with the direct participation of the community members in tracking the progress and analysing the results in which they are involved (Graeff *et al*, 2008: 61). Therefore, Monitoring & Evaluation are applying the principles of participatory communication⁶⁰.

M&E are complex processes and face constraints, lack of staff and funds. Even with those constraints it can be simple and straightforward. They just need to define their goal (decisions, improvements, funding, etc.), audiences, kind of information needed and when, methods and resources to obtain the information needed, analyse it and report it in a useful, easy and understandable fashion.

As in any other field within development sector, M&E of communication interventions also face challenges that need to be observed. Sometimes the objectives should not be easily measurable (MMA, n/a: 60; Parks, 2005: 47). Indicators for measuring behaviour and social changes are not always easy to define as increasing emphasis on qualitative indicators with the new development paradigm. To overcome this challenge one must ensure measurable and reasonable objectives when planning (SMART objectives) and use more than one methodology to collect reliable and valid data. Sometimes, communication evaluators need to use *proxy*⁶¹ indicators for whole picture of outcomes and impact, i.e., short and long-term effects and their sustainability. Indeed, indicator for SC need to capture changes both at the individual and social levels, as show in graphic 9.

In this context, monitoring is to measure the indicators, assess the changes from the baseline data and report achieving result. Results-based monitoring ensures that the communication interventions contribute to the planned results by using the available resources. An example of an indicator outcome compared to baseline data is:

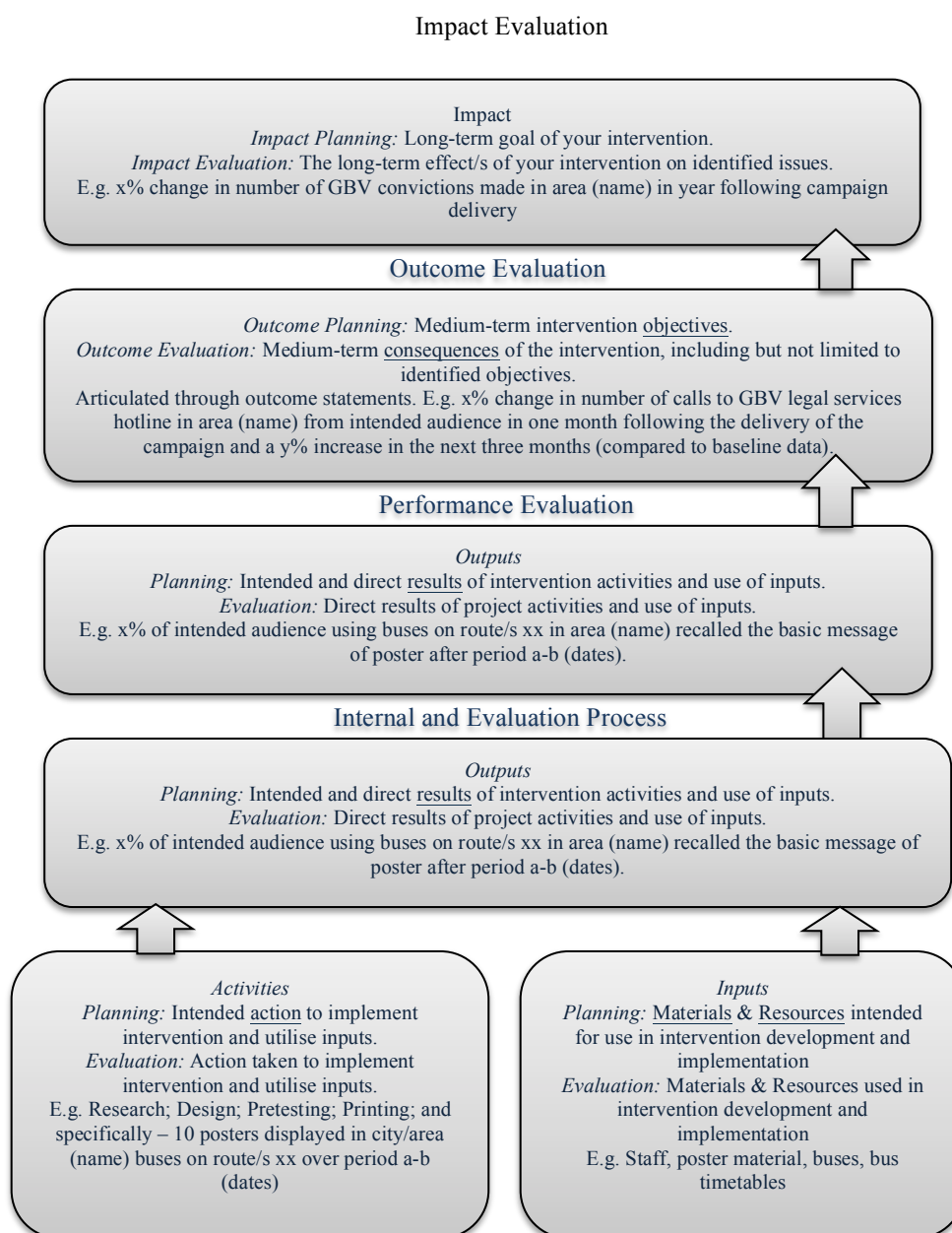
“This project aims to result in a 20% increase in the number of calls to (name) GBV legal services hotline in area (name) from women aged 16 to 24 in one month following the delivery of the campaign and a 10% increase in the following three months”.

⁶⁰ See chapter 3 “Communication Strategies for Development”, the session dedicated to Participatory Communication, page 52 and 55

⁶¹ *Proxy* indicator is a relatively simple for something that is too complex to measure in its entirety. For example, the proxy indicators for poverty are malnutrition, lack of education, lack of clean water, lack of access to health facilities, which are all correlated with diseases incidence and, therefore, strongly linked to poverty (FAWSSET, S. *et al*, *International Development: Challenges for a World in transition*, Open University, Milton Keynes (UK), 2008)

The baseline data allows comparisons with post-campaign measurements in order for an evaluation of the campaign effects to be possible (MMA, n/a: 59).

Figure 9 Evaluation Levels



(MMA, n/a: 62)

Combining indicators is crucial for a complete picture of the campaign's results. When a communication expert is conducting a monitoring of a certain campaign, he is measuring the message delivery and audience exposure, i.e. "also seek to determine if the intended audience

saw/heard the communication enough times for the message to be absorbed” (*idem*: 66). In this case, the results of different stages must also be combined to obtain meaningful information. MMA illustrates this point through an example:

“X% of the intended audience were estimated to have seen an ad Y times over a four week delivery period, after which Z% of an intended audience sample can recall the content of the message.” [The South-African NOG add that] “it is useful to take measurements over time in order to determine at which point the delivery/exposure became effective, and after which point no change in effectiveness could be perceived. For example, taking one measurement at a halfway point during delivery of the message (...) and then again just prior to the end of implementation (...). The times chosen will depend on when recall and response are predicted to take place”.

M&E allow communication experts to find gaps, which can always be amended on time. Lessons learned are also important for future campaigns, such as public information campaigns. Measure and evaluate behavioural and social change is not an easy task, particularly at outcome and impact levels due to enablers (external influences) that facilitate or impeded the changes sought. These can be government policies or services and the campaigns and actions of other organizations.

Sometimes, various organizations produce their own campaigns, with different messages and communication interventions. Without coordination among organizations and stakeholders, intended audiences should get confused and the outcomes of the campaigns will be nothing more than good intentions.

4.4 Conclusion: Communication against violence a never end job

Gender inequality has existed for centuries and change it is almost a utopic task. Violence against women and girls is one branch of gender inequality. It is a global problem and transversal to all societies and cultures. Many communication strategies have been designed and implemented to end or prevent diverse types of violence against women and young girls worldwide. Some have brought positive results. Others have shown less positive results.

In other words, communication experts and practitioners need to acknowledge the full context that they are working with before planning. As has been argued, turning communication into development programs often poses many challenges. Communication is increasingly understood as enabler of individual and social change to achieve established development goals. Within the new paradigm of development, communication is much more than merely

writing a press release, or producing radio jingles, posters, or flyers. It is an integrated strategy intrinsically linked to development goals of each program, through careful communication research, management, monitoring and evaluation.

The country study that follows is an extend review of the social and cultural context of Timor-Leste, the geographic area of this study. It describes the factors that can be pointed as responsible for the high rate of violence against women, young girls and children. This widen research provides a deep knowledge of how communication is supporting prevention of gender-based violence, in particular domestic violence, the second highest crime rate in Timor-Leste. This study analyses different communication interventions that occurs over the last decade, though not all of them, and gives some recommendations for future communication interventions.

5. TIMOR-LESTE: A VIOLENT REALITY

“Every individual, be it a woman, man or child, has the right to live in dignity, to be protected within their family and to be free of fear, coercion and discrimination. This violence can no longer be viewed as a matter which is dealt with behind closed doors or just by one institution or sector – it is everyone’s responsibility”
(Rodrigues, 2012)⁶².

5.1 Introduction

The above quote by Idelta Maria Rodrigues, Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality, illustrates the political will to change the reality of violence against women in Timor-Leste through deliberate social policy and public provision services, including shifting social structures and agencies. The same is observed on Prime Minister, Xanana Gusmão, and former President of Timor-Leste, Jose Ramos-Horta, statements regarding gender equity⁶³. The promotion of gender equity and the women and children’s rights were identified as a public need after restoration of Independence, in 2002. The Timorese government, together with development partners, converged SGBV as a great social problem (Pedro, 2011).

The articles 16 (Universality and Equality) and 17 (Equality between Women and Men) of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste establish the gender equality within the country since 2002. Other laws have followed it, such as the [Law against Domestic Violence \(Law n. 7/2010\)](#)⁶⁴ and regulations, as prescriptive policies for a gender mainstream on a long process for social change. However, these have to be complete with more regulation regarding violence against women, shelter’s regulation, and laws need to be reviewed for victim’s protection⁶⁵. Laws and policies can assist in altering norms linked to violence.

⁶² Statement of the Secretary of State for the Promotion of Equality of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, Mrs. Idelta Maria Rodrigues, at the Second World Conference of Women’s Shelters, at Washington DC, from 27 February to 1 March 2012

⁶³ Press-releases and public statements on several occasions and in diverse events, as International Woman’s Day celebrations (2012) and LADV promulgation (2010).

⁶⁴ Law Against Domestic Violence (Law n.7/2010) in Timor-Leste available at http://www.jornal.gov.tl/public/docs/2010/serie_1/serie1_no25.pdf

⁶⁵ The interviewed judges, Rosa Brandão and Jacinta Correia, and the Prosecutor-General, Ana Pessoa, are unanimous regarding the need for implementing the victim’s protection in order to have their testimony in court.

Nevertheless, the experience shows, for now, a different reality of subordination of women under the power of men⁶⁶.

The Asosiasaun Mane kontra Violensia (Men's Association Against Violence – AMKV) (Araújo, 2004: 140) states that:

“gender inequality issues in Timor-Leste should have their solution in the future, but their roots are embedded in the past. Men have complete control and dominate all aspects of social, economic and political life. Men are the unchallenged decision makers in affairs relating to tradition, law and custom.” [And it goes forward admitting that] *“this unchecked power results in men having the freedom to do whatever they want. At its most extreme, this power extends to having control over the life and death of a woman. [Therefore], domestic violence in Timor-Leste is very common. (...) As in many other countries around the world this type of behaviour by men towards women is tolerated, as there is a widespread view that culture or tradition allows a husband to ‘educate’ his wife and children by whatever means necessary”*.

Timor-Leste's society is then intensely patriarchal and violence against women is prolific. In addition, women disproportionately endure the impacts of ongoing economic deprivation that stems from enduring poverty.

Many studies on sexual and gender-based violence have been conducted in Timor-Leste since 1999 by national and international organizations, examining the prevalence, incidence, cultural context, service provision for victims and legal mechanisms available. Current information indicates that Timor-Leste has a long history of culturally accepted forms of domestic violence, often perceived as a private matter within households and families and that should not be discussed in public (Robertson, 2005; DNE, 2010: 225 – 248; Oxfam, 2010; Fergunson, 2011; UNDP, 2011; Niner, 2011; APSC-TL: 7, SEPI, 2012: 15). Indeed, those studies have shown that the cultural acceptance of gender roles and behaviour has led to the reinforcement of violence against women (*idem*; Pearson: 2000).

Timor-Leste Demographic and Health Survey (TLDHS) explores women's attitudes regarding specific behaviours as a proxy for justifying patriarchal behaviours that puts men in a higher social position than women. This survey indicates that 38 per cent of women aged between 25-29 years are particularly at risk of abuse. Key findings of this survey (DNE, 2010: 18) show, for instance, that in the rural settlement of Manufahi, 76 per cent of those who reported violence were between 15 and 49 years old, followed by Oecusse, Covalima and Dili

⁶⁶ Ruth Pearson has chosen the concept of ‘Subordination of Women’ over the anthropological term “patriarchy” to describe the unequal relations between women and men. Further discussion on “Rethinking gender matter in development”, in *Poverty and Development into the 21st Century*, Oxford Press.

where it reaches 56 and 53 per cent, respectively. The proportion of women who have ever experience physical violence is highest among women age 25 and 29. In Baucau, the second biggest city after the capital – Dili - 44 per cent have experienced physical violence since age 15 and 31 per cent have experienced physical or sexual violence committed by their husband/partner. The proportion of women who have ever experienced physical violence (44.9 per cent) and physical and sexual violence (48.8 per cent) is highest among women age 25 and 29 (*idem*: 233). Reported cases of domestic violence go beyond physical and sexual violence. Verbal abuse, restrictions on freedom of movement and withholding funds constitute violent behaviour (*idem*: 235). Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is then rampant in Timor-Leste and ranges from sexual harassment to rape and domestic violence (or intimate partner violence, as defined by World Health Organization (WHO)). A problem of growing concern is sexual violence against women and children – which occurs both in domestic and community levels.

For better understanding of the timorese landscape, the following sections will look into what should be the underlying causes of why these types of violence became so strongly rooted in Timor-Leste.

“Sexual violence committed during periods of armed conflict is considered ‘the spoils of war’ which results from the breakdown of social and moral systems. Sexual violence during conflict is a systematic way of destabilizing communities and destroying cohesion within communities and families. It supports ethnic cleansing and is used as a means of expressing hatred for the enemy or to supply combatants with sexual services” (UNPFA and UNIFEM, 2005: 25).

5.2 The vicious cycle of violence

Rebuilt from ashes, the youngest nation in South Asia continues to strengthen its democratic institutions and tries to maintain peace and security, with the support of consecutive United Nations Missions. Timor-Leste has a long history of occupation and violence and is still in the peace building process. The Portuguese colonized it for over 400 year and the Japanese occupied it during the II World War killing around 60,000 people. In 1975, Indonesia invaded the country, leaving thousands of dead and hundreds of women and girls victims of sexual assault (Wandita *et al.*, 2006, CARV, 2005). Further violence emerged in 1999 post-conflict until the restoration of Independence in 2002. With a fragile peace, the violence returned in 2005 and 2006 until 2008.

The brutal Indonesia's occupation has changed the life of thousands of Timorese people and, therefore, their behaviours⁶⁷. Even if not recognized by the Timorese leaders⁶⁸, it is generally accepted that violence of the occupation and the associated trauma has resulted in a more violent society today. The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation of Timor-Leste (commonly known by its Portuguese acronym CAVR⁶⁹ (Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor-Leste) reported cases of extreme violence from thousands of testimonies that, even today, are waiting for justice (Wanita *et al*, 2006: 290 – 291; CAVR, 2005):

“Of a total 7,669 statements that the CAVR received on human rights violations. 1,642 (21.4%) were from women who were either victims of, or witnesses, to human rights violations. (...) From these statements, the CAVR documented more than 85,000 counts of violations, which included extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, death by deprivation, illegal detention, torture, ill-treatment, forced displacement, forced recruitment, sexual violence, and property and economic violations. (...)”

Of all reported violations, the CAVR documented 853 counts of sexual violence. The most frequently reported form of sexual violence was rape at 46.1% (393 out of 853 cases), followed by an aggregate of other forms of sexual violence at 27.1% (231 out of 853), and sexual slavery¹ at 26.8% (229 out of 853).

The overwhelming majority (93.3% of 796 out of 853) of sexual violence incidents were committed by Indonesian security forces, 3.3% by members of the resistance movement (28 out of 853) and 4% by others (34 out of 853). Of all reported incidents of sexual violence, 16.7% (142 out of 853) occurred during the violence surrounding the referendum in 1999”.

Adding to these facts, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Indonesian military killed husbands and children in front of their wives and mothers and asked them to smile and yell

⁶⁷ This is well described in “Colibere, um herói timorense...” (*Colibere, a Timorese hero*), a novel written by Domingos Sousa, Lidel, Lisboa, 2007. The Timorese novelist describes the transformation of behaviours in common Timorese people after suffering extreme violent actions, such as torture and emotional violence, perpetrated by Indonesian military forces and *mauhus* (Timorese supporters).

⁶⁸ This point is confirmed by Ana Pessoa, Prosecutor-General, in interview for this study. She stated that the Timorese leaders say that the people are not traumatized by the human rights violation committed by the Indonesia. This situation does not allow establishing social and health policies for treatment of trauma within communities and, consequently, extend the suffering of all that directly and indirectly experienced human rights violation. For details related with human rights violations committed in Timor-Leste during the Indonesia's occupation see Wandita, *et al* (2006), “Learning to Engender Reparations in Timor-Leste: Reaching Out to Female Victims”, *What happened to the Women? Gender and Reparations for Human Rights Violations*, Rubio-Marin, R. (ed.), International Center for Transitional Justice and Social Science Research Council, New York, p. 265 - 334

⁶⁹ The CAVR's report, entitled *Chega!*, has more than two thousand pages with detailed description of, among other, sexual abuses perpetrated by Indonesian's forces. This report was presented to the President of the Republic of Timor-Leste, Parliament and Government, in 2006. The serious crimes committed at that time still to be judged. Available at <http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/cheqaFiles/finalReportPort/07.7-Violencia-Sexual.pdf>

‘Viva Indonesia’. Then the wives were required to bury their husbands and children (UNIFEM, 2003).

Actually, CAVR (Niner, 2011: 47; CAVR, 2005) found a link between high rates of domestic violence and sexual assault and the period of armed conflict, which induced behaviours that are more violent. The witnesses of these types of killings and other forms of violence led to widespread physical and psychological trauma among the survivors, including children who are adults nowadays. Living and growing up in a society where violence is ‘normal’ and thus enduring constant fear, has implications far beyond what is possible to image and with intergenerational consequences. This is expressed by Phyllis Ferguson, consultant at UNDP and UNIFEM, on his article on *Progress in legislating domestic violence and gender-based violence in Timor-Leste* (2011: 59):

“An overwhelming need for truth and justice over events of the past continues; this particularly conditions the presently expressed frustrations of sufferers of DV and SGBV, or those who attempt to assist them.

Controlling women and children through violence and the threat of violence has become a culturally accepted assertion of power by Timorese men. In part it is colonially inherited patriarchy well learned and reinforced by the memory of Indonesian violence. Freedom did not mitigate the perpetration of the acceptance of violence. It helped provide the stage for it reassertion, in part as reclaiming of suppressed ‘traditional culture’”.

Even today, as demonstrated by previous quote, violence becomes the ‘normal’ way of solving conflicts. This reality is, furthermore, confirmed by the reports of PNTL and UNPOL, which are confidential though one had access to them. The violence, in general, and against women and girls, in particular, become institutionalized within community.

“(…) domestic violence was a common occurrence in the current lives of many victims. For example, some male survivors of detention and torture told the Commission that they had fallen into a pattern of violent behaviours” (Niner, 2011: 47).

More has to be said about Timor-Leste and violence that started long beyond the Indonesia occupation (Pedro, 2011; Molnar, 2010: 25 – 45). With a great linguistic and cultural diversity and ethnic complexity (Molnar, 2010: 9 – 10) Timor-Leste has 16 national languages, plus dialects, and 13 ethno-linguistic groups). This small half of the island is still

looking for reconciliation and unit, as finding itself in terms of identity and culture in a society mainly patriarchal⁷⁰.

The gender inequality is also visible at social and economic realms, in a society with very strict cultural structures and values. The Timorese patriarchal society leaves very little space for women to express themselves and to fight for their rights as women and citizens. Furthermore, cultures that have engendered high rates of war-related sexual violence also suffer from high rates of domestic violence or partner abuse.

5.3 When being a woman represents vulnerability

Maria and Isabel are fictional names of two young girls, both victims of sexual abuse by family members during their childhood, living in one of the shelters of the project “casa Vida”. Even today, away from the dark reality of constant abuses, the trauma still visible when they talk about what happened to them and what they expect for their future. The tears in the eyes of one and the strength of another are the image of many Timorese young girls and women whom face the hard road of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in a society where women and children are under the rule of men in a patriarchal and post-conflict country. They are two amongst 150 young girls and women in risk that, since 2008, found security and comfort at Casa Vida, after years of suffering. The majority of those are victims of domestic violence or sexual abuse, 80 per cent of who are pregnant from their fathers, uncle or grandfather when they arrive to Casa Vida⁷¹.

It is not easy listening stories of abuse and violence, even if they are current behaviours occurring, sometimes, next door. Social scientists, anthropologists, psychologists and other scientists have their own explanations for those phenomena. Actually, in communication it is important to have diverse perspectives for the same problem, in order to understand what is behind certain behaviours and find ways to shift them into positive behaviours for ultimate social change.

⁷⁰ Stated by Timorese people at the Conference ‘*Making Participatory Theatre in Timor-Leste*’, on February 2012, in Dili.

⁷¹ Holy Sisters, in Salele, Covalima district, and Fokupers, in Dili, also provide services to women and young girls victims of GBV, such temporary shelter and psychological support. PRADET is located in Pante Makasse (Oecussi district), Maliana (Bobonaro district) and Baucau (Baucau district). The Timorese Government is establishing more safe houses, integrated in its steer social development policies, supported by international development partners.



Figure 10 Woman victim of domestic violence, in Dili, being interviewed by an UNPOL. PNTL refused to attend the scene as this situation occurred on a Saturday. The perpetrator stayed at home. An international worker testified the scene and called for police's assistance. Afterwards, the victim refused to testify against her husband⁷².

As has been argued, gender-based violence (GBV) is a pervasive problem in Timor-Leste. While it takes many forms, the most common type of GBV is domestic violence (DV). Women are particularly affected. Many studies on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) have been conducted in Timor-Leste since 1999 by national and international organizations (UNFPA: 2005; APSC-TL, 2010; OXFAM, 2010; DNE, 2010; UNDP, 2011; Niner, 2011). Current information indicates that Timor-Leste has a long history of culturally accepted forms of DV, often perceived as a private matter within households and families and that should not be discussed in public (*idem*; Robertson, 2005; Fergunson, 2011: 5; SEPI, 2012: 15). Indeed, those studies have shown that the cultural acceptance of gender roles and behaviour has led to the reinforcement of violence against women (*idem*; Pearson, 2000). For example, Timor-Leste Demographic and Health Survey (TLDHS) (DNE, 2010) explores women's attitudes regarding specific behaviours as proxy for justifying patriarchal behaviours that puts men in a higher social position than women. This survey indicates that 38 per cent of women aged between 25 and 29 years are particularly at risk of abuse.

The recently approved National Action Plan on GBV, drafted by SEPI with the support of its development partners, admits that (SEPI, 2012: 7):

⁷² This case was testified directly by an international staff of UNMIT that gently provided this testimony and the photo to be published in this study

“social norms and beliefs regarding women’s roles and sexuality make discussion on sexual and GBV culturally taboo. The instinct to keep these issues private further compounds the problem, isolating victims, who normalize violence in their lives and are often unable to access assistance and support services”.

Subsequently, reporting crimes outside the family structure is hindered by the stigma associated with such crimes and socio-cultural acceptance. Notwithstanding, language barriers, limited knowledge of rights and lack of access to support services, especially in rural areas, also impede women’s access to justice and assistance in changing their circumstances. Furthermore, most DV and sexual assault cases against women and young girls are mediated in traditional justice forums, not always consistent with international human rights standards or Timorese law, instead of prosecuted in the formal justice system (UNFPA, 2005; Oxfam, 2010; Ferguson, 2011; UNDP, 2011).

Box 5 Examples of cases of domestic violence in Dili, Timor-Leste

In Dili, at Bairro Pite, a male suspect assaulted his wife for an unknown reason whilst she was talking to her children. The suspect also destroyed the refrigerator. The victim further stated that this is not the first time the suspect has assaulted her.

At Taiboco Village, a male suspect assaulted his wife for an unknown reason. The victim then left for her parent’s house with her one-month-old baby. Later, the suspect went to see the victim at her parent’s house and during a conversation, the suspect got angry, grabbed the baby, and left for his village at Oemolo.

Police reports

The TLDHS (DNE, 2010) shows, for instance, that in the rural settlement of Mahufahi, 76 per cent of those who reported violence were between 15 and 49 years old, followed by Oecusse, Covalima and Dili where it reaches 56 and 53 per cent, respectively. The proportion of women who have ever experience physical violence is highest among women age 25 and 29 years. In Baucau, the second biggest Timorese city, 44 per cent experienced physical violence since age 15 and 31 per cent ever experienced physical or sexual violence committed by their husband/partner.

Box 6 Example of a case of domestic violence in rural areas

In Aldeia Bemetaim, Manufahi district, a male suspect assaulted his wife because he was angry after he had burnt his own belongings. The victim stated that the suspect had used the handle of a machete to hit her causing serious injuries requiring urgent medical attention. The suspect was arrested the same day.

Police reports

The baseline data of TLDHS (*idem*: 229 – 230) reveals that working women who have an independence source of income are more likely to report having experienced physical violence, once their income may pose a challenge to the established norm of being dependent on their male partners for their livelihood. The reversal of the gender role suggests that women may be subject to greater violence.

Related to above, young girls are already disadvantaged when it comes to education and the treat of rape and sexual abuse aggravates these inequalities. The coordinator of the project Casa Vida testifies to this study such disadvantage:

“Is a girl is raped, she may be blamed and beaten by family members. If she gets pregnant, she misses one year of school and may not be able to go back. Even she doesn’t [fall pregnant], she’s already a different person. Some communities see marrying her to the offender as a way to make him accountable for his behaviour without considering the additional emotional trauma that the child will suffer and, sometimes, continued abuse”.

Table 4 Different forms of violence against women and young girls

Percentage of women age 15 49 who have experienced different forms of violence, by current age, Timor-Leste 2009-2010

Age	Physical violence only	Sexual violence only	Physical and sexual violence	Physical or sexual violence	Number of women
15-19	28.5	0.2	1.8	30.5	700
15-17	28.2	0.2	0.1	28.5	446
18-19	29.1	0.1	4.7	33.9	254
20-24	33.9	1.5	0.9	36.3	513
25-29	44.9	0.8	3.1	48.8	403
30-39	40.0	1.4	3.6	45.1	765

40-49	34.5	1.3	2.0	37.8	570
Total	35.8	1.0	2.3	39.2	2.951

TL DHS, 2010: 233

These findings demonstrate a need for raising awareness among women and men about individual rights in relation to sexuality and how they can work to reduce physical and sexual violence. The responsibility for sexual assault lies with perpetrators, who choose to engage in inappropriate behaviour. Decreases over time in the proportion of women who believe that ‘men sometimes cannot control their sexual behaviour’ may indicate an improvement in the level of awareness and empowerment (DNE, 2010: 247). In fact, the baseline data shows useful guidelines for both programme managers and communication practitioners to initiate awareness-raising activities and human rights education interventions.

5.3.1 Cultural representation of gender and violence

The Timorese society is intensely patriarchal and violence against women is prolific. This social organization ensures traditional customs and practices are upheld, wherein women are typically afforded substandard rights and respect. In addition to being under constant risk of domestically perpetrated violence, women disproportionately endure the impacts of ongoing economic deprivation that stems from enduring poverty. Exacerbating these disempowering circumstances is the fact that Timor-Leste has an extremely high fertility rate and one of the largest child demographics in the world (41.4 per cent of the population is under 15 years old, according to the Census 2010). As in any other developing country in a post-conflict situation, sexual violence against young girls and the stigma that follows is forcing many out of school and other into early marriage. Moreover, informants confirmed also testimonies of children and young girls victims of sexual abuse and physical violence from family members, caregivers and teachers. Achieving gender equality in a country such as Timor-Leste is, therefore, technically difficult and challenging.

Scientists have been trying to explain those violence behaviours. For example, the social scientist Daniel S. Simião reveals a different dimension of violence on his paper *Representando Corpo e Violência: a invenção da ‘violência doméstica’ em Timor-Leste*

(2006)⁷³. During the year he spent in Timor-Leste working with local communities, he realized that domestic violence (DV) is a foreigners concept introduced in Timorese society. More than looking into statistics, the researcher analyses the perceptions of physical and moral violence and their relations with body, family and education. During the year he spent in Timor-Leste working within local communities, Simião realized that domestic violence is a new concept introduced by the international community and local agents that advocate for gender equality. He illustrates his findings with an example of a Timorese woman, who gained conscience of being a victim of DV from her experience with foreigners (2006: 141). Indeed, the Brazilian researcher postulates that “gender-based violence does not exist within Timorese culture”, that is “domestic violence is not part of the Timorese society”, but it was “invented” by the new Timorese society, influenced by international presence in the country and the Timorese women’s movement for women’s rights.

According to his findings, for Timorese people violence is more related to moral - which originates shame and embarrassment - than physical aggression. Actually, the physical aggression is perceived as a disruption of the natural order of social relations, including gender relations. This is confirmed by other studies stressing that DV is locally addressed “*as an offence against the community and social relations between families rather than an offence against an individual*” (UNDP, 2011: 10 - 11). The “victim” should be considered guilty when they are the one responsible for disturbing the harmony of the community. For example, if a wife does something wrong, like arriving home late for cooking dinner, the husband is entitled to bit her in the sense of educating her - *mane bele baku nia fe’en atu hanoirin ni fe’en* [man can bit his wife to educate her, in English]. The opposite is also possible: “*women should also punish their husbands as ripping their clothes when they wash them or give them bad food*”⁷⁴. Simião (*idem*: 136) states in his article that:

“The use of power is as a mechanism to restore order in interpersonal relations. This is, therefore, a rightful social tool with the objective of regulating the community’s relations and its use is far from belonging to the State”.

In light of above, what is violence in western perspective gains different dimensions in Timor-Leste. Aggressive behaviours and physical punishment are, in certain ways, encouraged as social norms to restore family and community order and, therefore, women and

⁷³ Translation from Portuguese: “Representing Body and Violence: the invention of domestic violence in Timor-Leste”

⁷⁴ The women’s behaviours that can trigger aggressive reactions from men are, normally, associated to domestic duties, while men’s behaviours are related to loss of money in gambling and drinking.

children are the most vulnerable. Even though, there are limits for violence. A visible physical aggression is not tolerated and a motive of shame which changes the perspective of violence into moral violence⁷⁵ (*idem*):

“What we would call domestic violence is, therefore, not only related with the status of women within familiar structure, but also to certain conceptions of corporal punishment as a form of education and education of the body as an instrument serving the production of subjectivities”.

On the other hand, the Australian researcher Sara Niner indicates another rejection to the new values. She assumes that Timorese society is dominated by a military male elite, whom fought side-by-side with females, that now is patriotically promoting Timorese culture, “while denigrating the imposition of foreign ‘gender equity’ policies, which some have declared will destroy Timorese culture” (Niner, 2011:41). On her article [*“East Timor: new President, same problems for women”*](#) (2012), based on the violence perpetrated by Indonesians during the time they were in this half side of the island of Timor, the Australian researcher argues that:

“It is male elites from the resistance struggle, like Taur Matan Ruak [acting President of Republic], who now head the government [Xanana Gusmão], military [General Anan Lere Timur] and police [Commander Longuinhos Monteiro], and the contemporary society they have shaped is heavily influenced by military thinking and behaviour. These men have been engaged in a brutal and bloody war for most of their adult lives and suffered a variety of ill effects, including displacement, imprisonment, torture and loss of family, fellow soldiers, close friends and colleagues. They have made dreadful sacrifices for independence. Just as disturbingly is their mothers, wives and daughters were often victims of sexual abuse at the hands of the Indonesian military and its militias, often because of their relationship to the fighters”.

The rejection of Timorese male elite to new values, such as gender equality, when women fought equality with them in the Resistance against the Indonesia soldiers, was also observed in the neighbouring post-conflict countries of Cambodia and the Pacific (Niner, 2011: 42).

5.3.2 Gender equality as public need

Gender-based violence (GBV) is, therefore, institutionalized within Timorese community and gender inequality is visible at social and economic realms. Women and children are the most vulnerable group in a patriarchal society, enhanced by high rates of poverty. The Human

⁷⁵ The researcher reports two testimonies of women where more than physical aggression they feel the moral aggression as violence. The first one is the testimony of a Timorese woman that has gain conscience that she was a victim of domestic violence with her experience with foreigners. The other case is a woman that was interviewed in district court of Dili and stated that “one thing is to educate, another is this” (pointing injuries suffered that needed medical treatment).

Development Index (HDI)⁷⁶ shows improvements (UNDP, 2011: 30). Although women continue to be less literate than men and with high rates of unemployment (DNE, 2010: 35 – 40; UNDP, 2011: 32-36), which turn them highly dependent economically on their husbands, normally the perpetrators, or other male family member. Therefore, they are vulnerable to abuse (Oxfam, 2010; APSC-TL, 2009). Besides, the subordination of women to male power⁷⁷ is strongly encouraged by belief's that men are the heads of households, as well as cultural practices such as *barlake* (bride price) (Khan and Hyati: 2012) and a traditional system of law and conflict resolution (*lisan*), which is called informal justice system by the international community (UNFPA, 2005; Oxfam, 2010; UNDP, 2011). The domestic violence and sexual assault are both tolerate as normal part of domestic life and education, as well as women and children rights are not recognized (UNFPA, 2005). Indeed, SGBV is not about gender or sex but power and control of men over women and children (Ferguson, 2011: 55; APSC-TL, 2009: 2-3).

It is been one decade full of constrains related to behaviours and attitudes and a constant fight to survival. If before the fight was against the invader, one observation and testimonies suggest that this fight became against the ghost of the daily survival that persists tormenting the most vulnerable in a fragile society divided between new ideas and values, the 'power' given by money and an ancient culture of respect that has been modified according to the will of men and a history of domination.

Despite all these challenges, the Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) is determined to change the social context through deliberate social policies and public provision services, including shifting social structures and agencies. The GoTL, in collaboration with its development partners, converged sexual and GBV as a great social problem and promotion of gender equity. The women and children rights were identified as public need after the Independence.

The Government of the youngest nation in South Asia has adapted an interventionist attitude playing an important role in social development policy. Suffering human rights abuse for

⁷⁶ The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure for assessing long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development – a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, and a decent standard of living. This measure, as well as others in development, was established by United Nations Development Program (UNDP), as inequality-adjusted HDI (IHDI) – a new measure which takes into account inequality in all three dimensions of HDI – and Gender Inequality Index (GII), introduced in 2010, which outlines disadvantages for women in four areas: reproductive health, education, empowerment and labour market (UNDP, 2011: 29 – 32).

⁷⁷ Ruth Pearson chose the concept of 'subordination of women' over the anthropological term 'patriarchy' to describe the unequal relations between women and men. Further discussion on "Rethinking gender matter in development", in *Poverty and Development into the 21st Century*, Oxford Press.

decades and influenced by the arrival of idea on Human Rights and Gender Equity by international community (Pearson, 2000), the Timorese Government and its partners have been discussing and implementing steer public actions at local and national levels, including legal framework for deliberate social development (Pedro, 2011: 2).

Since Timor-Leste became independent, on May 2002, international agencies and local women' rights advocacy movements have launched campaigns against violence against women. The Secretary of State for Promotion of Equality (SEPI) – supported by UNFPA and UNWomen – conducts public awareness campaigns on DV and its consequences. With more or less effectiveness it is visible some changes in terms of awareness. However, the assumption that behaviours are changing as mentality is premature. The baseline data provided by Timor-Leste Demographic and Health Survey (TLDHS) (DNE, 2010) and APSC-TL (2009) confirm the empirical studies which postulate that violent behaviours are associated to gender inequality and post-conflict situations. Hence, one way of ending a culture of violence is to change people seeing violence against women as a given. Communication can play a role for changing that culture.

5.4 Social norms, tradition and violence

Social scientists, anthropologists, psychologists, and other scientists have their own explanations for abuse and violence. Actually, communication is important to have diverse perspectives for the same problem, in order to understand what is behind certain behaviours and find ways to shift them into positive behaviours for ultimate social change.

As Sara Niner (2011: 44), an Australian researcher, states that:

“understanding the status and power women hold in indigenous systems is crucial, especially in answer to contemporary pressure for women to return to ‘traditional’ roles which should have become a corruption of past indigenous norms. In a strong and resilient indigenous culture like that in Timor we must understand how women’s status, power and income is maintained by traditional relations or customary practices and how this can be diminished (...) but also how it can be enhanced through local beliefs, and what this means for the current renegotiation of gender roles”.

The recently approved National Action Plan on GBV, developed by SEPI, admits that:

“social norms and beliefs regarding women’s roles and sexuality make discussion on sexual and GBV culturally taboo. The instinct to keep these issues private further compounds the problem,

isolating victims, who normalize violence in their lives and are often unable to access assistance and support services” (2012: 7).

Subsequently, reporting crimes outside the family structure is hindered by the stigma associated with such crimes and socio-cultural acceptance. Notwithstanding, language barriers, limited knowledge of rights and lack of access to support services, especially in rural areas, also impede women’s access to justice and assistance in changing their circumstances. Furthermore, most domestic violence and sexual assault cases against women and young girls are mediated in traditional justice forums not always consistent with international human rights standards or Timorese law, instead of prosecuted in the formal justice system.

Gender roles in a Patriarchal society

During the Indonesian occupation, women acted independently, some as members of the Resistance others as heads of households while the husbands were fighting in the mountains or killed, tortured or displaced by Indonesian forces. However, with the end of the conflict, the return to their traditional roles and status often become a new conflict (Niner, 2011: 41; Corcoran-Nantes, 2011). Besides, many of them, victims of sexual violations and widows, continue to live in extreme poverty, discriminated by their families and with no or very little conditions to educate their children, whom were the result of unwanted pregnancies from sexual abuses perpetrated by Indonesians’ soldiers (Wandita, 2006: 299; CARV, 2006).

Thus, the social norms vary within the 13 district ethno-linguistic groups through patrilineal to matrilineal social structure. With a static social structure, the gender inequality has deep roots. The local proverb *Feto hakat klot, mane hakat luan* (a woman is born for narrow steps while a man is born for wide steps) confirms this. Such reality has consequences at various realms: educational, economic and health.

Hence, the traditional roles of division labour persist: women are the housewives taking care of the household, with low or no education (especially in rural areas), while the husbands are seen as the breadwinners. The Timorese women are, therefore, at a disadvantage with limited role in household and motherhood and have less right or access to education, health, family property or ownership of the land, etc. (CEDAW⁷⁸, 2008; Alves *et al.*, 2009: 16 – 18; Hayati,

⁷⁸ The Timorese Government publishes, every four years, a report for the [Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women \(CEDAW\)](#). The Initial Report, for the period 2002 – 2006, was published in *Jornal da República* (the official gazette) on February 2008. The latest report of 2010 was presented to the

2010: 4; UNFPA, 2005: 7). Indeed, the role of the Timorese women is based on importance given to their fertility (Niner, 2011: 43):

“In Timor-Leste women are often pressured by their husband’s families to produce more children (more strongly in patrilineal than in matrilineal communities) resulting in one of the highest fertility rates in the world. Children and growing families are very welcome in a country that has been through a brutal conflict but currently this situation has many negative impacts for mother and their children as Timor-Leste struggles with tragically high maternal and infant mortality rates. Also, considerable child-rearing and domestic duties limit many women’s time for political participation and other opportunities, both educative and economic”.

While men own the power in the different sectors of society and, in contrast, women are deprived of rights, influence and resources. Men and women are equal under the law, but the reality does not reflect that. Similar to other developing countries, women are more vulnerable to poverty and with high rate of illiteracy, while men have the decision-making power in the households and in the community (*idem*).

Of course, there are exceptions, but those women’s who have some sort of influence, decision-making capacity and power belong to influence families, normally families of *liurais* (kings). Today, also due to better education, especially the women that have had the opportunity to study abroad have a more active role in decision-making within civil society and in politics for their participation in NGOs, civil society organizations (CSO), as members of the Government and political parties with seats in Parliament.

Family intervention in the marriage

This happens in a society that has rooted ancestor traditions based on the *luli* (sacred), where conceptions of power and authority are rigorous (Kovar, 2011:13), based on complex network of marriage and kinship alliances with kingdoms and chiefdoms (Molnar, 2010: 10 – 18). Today, young people have more freedom to choose who will be their spouse. However, marriage should be arranged at birth. Normally, young girls have to marry with much older men and they are not allowed to break the arrangement made by their families (CEDAW, 2008).

Further, the women’s rights activities claim that the *barlake* (dowry) gives more power to men. As the Timorese Judge Jacinta Correia explained in her office, together with her

United Nations last year, however still to be published, which do not allow one to compare the evolution of the woman status situation in Timor-Leste

colleague from Baucau, Judge Afonso Carmona, *barlake* was a sign of respect and union between families in the past. Nowadays, it is misinterpreted and became a common belief that women became property of men once they “pay” for them and, therefore, they can treat them the way they please. Indeed, this often became an argument to justify the violence against women (CEDAW, 2008; Alves *et al*, 2009: 16).

Adultery and polygamy

Even forbidden by law, the polygamy is a reality. Adultery and polygamy have social and economic impacts within families, such failure to comply with marriage promise and abandonment of an official wife and their children without provision of any means of subsistence (CEDAW, 2008; Hayati, 2010: 5; Alves *et al*, 2009: 17).

Religion and beliefs

The Catholic Church and animistic beliefs contribute to the subordination of women (Hayati, 2010: 4; Niner, 2011: 44). The Catholic Church has a conservative vision regarding gender issues. Today, the church stresses the marriage as sacred and women’s role as wives and mothers, and opposes divorce. However, neither physical nor sexual violence are valid reasons for ending a marriage.

Justice system

There is an effort to improve the formal justice system to deal with sexual and gender-based violence, such domestic violence, over the years. Acting as development agency, the Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) prescript new structures to address victim’s rights, such as Vulnerable Person’s Unit (VPU), which was established nationwide by National Police (PNTL) to handle cases of Domestic Violence (DV), sexual assault, child abuse and missing persons. Nonetheless, this special unit faces operational and capacity inefficiency and effectiveness, not reaching adequately the victims, especially in rural areas, where there is less access to resources and information. On the other hand, development partners consider a significant human rights achievement the enacted Law against Domestic Violence (LADV) (Ferguson, 2011: 53). This law defines DV broadly including physical, psychological, economic and sexual mistreatment. It provides protection to the victims, namely shelters.

However, the law contradicts itself. DV became a public crime, but the Penal Code gives the right to victims not to testify. And they do not do it to protect their family (Pessoa, 2011).

Although Timor-Leste has a formal justice system, many cases are still solved by the informal legal system, entitled *Lisan* (or *adat* in bahasa Indonesia), which encompass local laws and prohibitions, social norms and morality, art and rituals, as well as a system and governance (Kovar, 2011: 10). In general, traditional practices lead in the rural areas and its main feature is the prioritization of the community over the individual rights, based on a concern to establish and maintain community harmony and stability (*idem*). Therefore, women are discriminated staying out of negotiation between the victim and perpetrator's families. Normally, the traditional legal system establishes compensations, which are paid to the male members of the victim's family. In case of sexual abuse of young girls, in most cases, the traditional legal system determines the marriage between the perpetrator and the victim even if the victim is underage in order to restore the community peaceful existence. The social reconciliation ensures harmony within community and maintains the "cosmic equilibrium". Nonetheless, this situation perpetuates the abuses and strengthens the gender inequality within the household⁷⁹.

Public Opinion

Timorese people think that domestic violence is a private matter and has to be solved within family (APSC-TL: 2 - 3; DNE, 2010: 247). The social pressure and economic dependence turn women and their children into a vulnerable group. More conscience of their rights, women who speak out on gender issues, such as divorce, domestic violence, family planning, are stigmatized by their families member and communities. Normally, fear and social exclusion are stronger then the will to speak out. For instance, if the case of DV is reported to police and goes to court, most of the victims fear violent behaviours of their husbands and the discrimination by their family member. If the husband is sentence to prison, even if for a short term, he should return home with feeling of revenge or, in serious cases, the victim's family member can banish her. This situation leads to extreme cases of poverty, as confirmed by the Portuguese judge Rosa Brandão and the Timorese judge Jacinta Correia in separated interviews.

⁷⁹ Author interviewed two young girls, both victims of sexual abuse when they were minors by their family members. Their story is described in page 99.

Social and economic factors

As in other countries, the correlation between domestic violence and social conditions is noticeable in Timor-Leste. High percentage of unemployment, inadequate housing, low education and lack of social and health services, especially in rural areas, alcoholism and gambling contribute to the number of DV cases. For instance, the Prosecutor-General Ana Pessoa, mentioned in our conversation that:

“inadequate housing instigates promiscuity and, therefore, sexual abuses. On other hand, virtually all Timorese people experienced some sort of trauma and loss during the Indonesian occupation. Very few of them received professional counselling and, even today, it is difficult for them to deal with those feelings, which reproduce violent behaviours”.

Today, after more than ten years of international presence in Timor-Leste, gender equality attitudes are starting to change. There is a growing expectation of women’s active participation in civil society and politics. However, it is one of the newest nations in the world still in a process of peace building, but also it is in reconciliation with itself. Ten years already passed since restoration of Independence and with a budget of 1.7 billion dollars in 2012, but little has been done for the improvement of living conditions of its population.

5.5 Services Provision

After the referendum in 1999 and the arrival of the international community, there was an extensive work on gender-based violence, whereas on a human-rights approach in Timor-Leste that had just been free from Indonesia domination and all its perpetuated violence. The dynamics of issues and actors around GBV changed over time (UNFPA, 2005: 23). Below is a summary of some of the most significant agents on violence against women and girls in Timor-Leste, from advocacy and draft and implementation of policies to services provision.

Secretary of State for Promotion of the Equality (Secretaria de Estado para a Promoção da Igualdade – SEPI)

Under the Prime-Minister Office, advocates for gender mainstreaming policies and strategies, including that on sexual and gender-based violence such as domestic violence, in order to promote a culture of equality and women’s empowerment. One of its great accomplishments was of the Law against Violence (Law n.7/2010) that took eight years to be drafted and approved by the National Parliament. Recently, SEPI approved the National Action Plan on

GBV maps out, cost and set up a monitoring framework of implementation of the LADV. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, the only communication strategy on this NAP focuses on reproductive health, through behaviour change communication. Indeed, this NAP does not go forward in communication strategies for SGBV, mentioning only awareness raising and training.

Ministry of Social Solidarity (MSS)

The Department of Social Reintegration Services respond, protect and assist vulnerable groups, such as women, young girls and children victims of gender-based violence and domestic violence. These functions are performed primarily by social service staff, who is in contact with victims in their communities. The MSS has the support of local NGOs to assist the victims within the districts, such as shelters like Maria Tapó (figure 11).

Currently there are few services to meet both short and long-term needs of the victims of GBV and domestic violence, particularly in the rural areas. MSS will continue to establish a number of *Uma Mahon* (Model Shelter) in the districts to overcome these constraints. Statistics from the Demographic Health Survey (DNE, 2010: 246) show that only 27% of Timorese women could rely on family members to provide shelter for them for a few nights if they were forced to move their home because of violence and even less – one in five Timorese women – could rely on their families to financially support them if needed.



(UMIT / A/SRSG Office)

Figure 11 Inauguration of Uma Mahon Maria Tapó⁸⁰, in Ritabou Village, Maliana, Bobonaro district

⁸⁰ Maria Tapó died fighting the Indonesian occupancy in 1975, side by side with men, and became a symbol of women's resistance and freedom. She was born in Tapó sub-district, in Bobonaro district.

Vulnerable Persons' Unit (VPU)

The Commander explained that, amongst other specific responsibilities, VPU is a specialised unit of the National Police (Policía Nacional de Timor-Leste – PNTL) to receive complaints of sexual and gender-based violence – for instance, domestic violence and rape – and help survivors access key medical treatment, legal assistance, emergency accommodation and other social services. It operates in all districts but the lack of resources hamper access in remote areas.

According to the statistics provided by VPU National Command, the number of GBV related has increased from 2009 to 2010 but then decreases in 2011. In 2009, there were 586 reported cases of domestic violence, 48 of sexual abuse and 75 of rape. These figures rose to 619 cases of domestic violence and 73 of sexual abuse, with a petty decline to 71 reported cases of rape in 2010. Contrary to what was expected, in 2011, these figures decreased to 589 cases of domestic violence to 36 cases of rape, while 75 cases of sexual abuse were reported⁸¹. An UNPOL officer, who requested anonymity when interviewed for this study, explained that this reduction of reported cases last year has to do with the fact that UNPOL handed over security to PNTL on March 2011 and, especially, with the lack of sensitivity to SGBV issues by the Timorese police officers.

“When security was under UNPOL we attended all the cases that were reported. Since it was handed over to PNTL, the Timorese police officers do not attend the scene in lot of cases of domestic violence. Therefore, those cases are not reported”, states an UNPOL officer.

As pointed out in the previous section, the patriarchal culture perpetuates the submission of women to men’s power and, for instance, domestic violence is a private matter, which only family should interfere or the community.

Ministry of Health (MoH)

The Ministry of Health provide emergency medical assistance in five regional hospitals (Maliana, Suai, Baucau, Oecussi and Lospalos) and in the National Hospital, located in Dili. Health care services are crucial to preventing and responding to violence against women. In April 2012, a group of Timorese health care workers finished the training of medical forensic protocol. However, even with improvements over time, the primary health services still struggle to meet the basic health needs of the population and demands of services, such as

⁸¹ See VPU’s Statistics for more detailed information on page 170

maternity care. In rural areas, due to the long distances and lack of transport, most of the victims do not have access to medical assistance and, thus, look for other supportive services, such as psychological and legal support. Although the MoH tried to respond to this public need, the limited resources constrain its ability to respond independently.

This lack of capability forced the Government to empower agencies at different levels, especially to reach remote rural areas. A model of partnership with international organizations and local NGOs – *Rede Referral* – enable Government agencies to provide effective public goods to respond and protect vulnerable groups such as women and children in risk (PEDRO, 2011). Indeed, most NGOs specifically targeting gender-based violence are providing psychosocial and health responses to survivors, with community education components. However, small, locally-based NGOs do the best they can with few or no resources. According to Kippenberg, the co-author of a 2002 report ‘The War Within a War’ on sexual violence against women and girls in eastern Congo, “smaller local women’s rights groups are the actors on the ground who know the situation and who have networks, but they do not always have funding. It’s sometimes shocking.” (IRIN, 2004).

PRADET Timor-Lorosa’e

This national NGO provides, since 2002, psychosocial service for people who experience trauma, mental illness and other psychosocial problems. Its program [Fatin Hakmatek](#) (Safe Room) provides emergency counselling, medical treatment and forensic documentation of injuries to victims of domestic violence, sexual assault and child abuse, with ongoing referral to appropriate agencies or services. This program receives referrals from all over the country in the National Hospital Guido Valadares, in Dili, but it planned to extend its services to the four regional hospitals. A new Fatin Hakmatek service was established in Oecussi Regional Hospital and more are under construction in Suai and Maliana. Fatin Hakmatek received most of its referrals from VPU for forensics after the victims complained to the police. Other sources are other NGO that also support victims of violence, such as FOKUPERS, and family members.

According to its annual report of 2010, the number of cases increases every year since 2003, from 42 cases reported in 2003 to 252 cases in 2010 (246 females and six males), when the LADV was promulgated. The 2006’s crisis period was an exception, with only 83 cases reported, when many services were closed. Unlike the expected, Deputy Director for

PRADET, António Manuel dos Santos, highlighted the incidence of sexual violence cases in Liquiça: *“Since 2003, PRADET has filed more than 300 sexual violence cases. The higher number of incidences was in Liquiça district, followed by Dili”*, said Manuel dos Santos in an interview for this study, *“more than 20 cases have been filed since January 2002”*. This NGO also exchanged information and experience with other partner organizations and conducted workshops designed to develop local community strategic responses to enable victims to access services, as well as strategies for the prevention of violence throughout all districts and sub-districts.



Figure 12 Fatin Hakmatek inaugurated in Oecusse, on February 2012
(UNMIT/UNFPA)

FOKUPERS

Fokupers is one of the best-known women's organisations in Timor-Leste. Fokupers (Timor-Leste Women's Communication Forum) was funded in 1997 for women's rights. Its program initially developed a women's network - *Uma Feto (Women's House)* - in three districts to support victims of rape and political violence. Its program expanded after increased demands following the crisis of 1999 and those centres still providing refugee, care and support to victims of domestic and sexual violence. Fokupers work extended its work to include women's empowerment through income generation, training in management, administration, leadership and human rights. In partnerships with international community, Fokupers started to undertake counselling to victims, legal advice and accompaniment, community education,

campaigning, advocacy to the Government and operates a safe house for victims of domestic violence. This local NGO provides also training on gender-based violence to PNTL officers, *Suco* Chiefs (local governance leaders) and civil servants. Currently, Fokupers' safe house provides shelter to 82 women victims of domestic violence. Most of the victims are from Dili district and still waiting for legal proceedings.

Asosiasaun Mane Kontra Violensia (AMKV)

AMKV was created in 2002 after a group of men from different regions of the country participated in a workshop promoted by the local NGO La'o Hamutuk and the international NGO Oxfam. The training gave them the opportunity to know the work developed by *Puntos de Encuentros*, a men's group from Nicaragua that works against violence in a post-conflict context. Mário de Araújo (Ruxton, 2004: 141) admits that "*this workshop encouraged the participants to confront and reflect on their behaviour towards the women in their families as a society.*" Even facing the discrimination of other men, AMKV aims to raise awareness of men and women about gender and gender-based violence by running community-based education and discussion forum. AMKV also supports work already being done by women's groups and Government agencies promoting gender equality in Timor-Leste.

Judicial System Monitoring Program (JSMP)

JSMP was established in 2001 to monitor the process *ad hoc* on human rights, JSMP quickly extended to monitoring and analysis of court cases on gender-based violence. In 2004 established the Women's Justice Unit as result of researching the situation of women in informal judicial system. In order to go forward in its work, JMSP created the Victim's Support Service, in 2005, as legal referral for women victims of domestic violence, without representing victims in court, and increasing public awareness for women and children affected by sexual assault and domestic violence. The Executive Director of JSMP, said that:

"even with extremely limited human resources, they [prosecutors and public defenders] have continued to demonstrate their willingness and dedication to make preparations and help the judges schedule cases of domestic violence and to try these cases".

According to him, before hearing testimony from defendants, victims and witnesses, the judges always provides an explanation about their rights and responsibilities in accordance

with the applicable law. Also after reading his decision, the judge always advises the defendants to refrain from repeating such violent acts in the future.

Not only is there little coordination between programs within or across organizations, those interviewed frequently highlighted the low quality of counselling. A significant gap in Timor-Leste is the lack of mental health programs and trained human resources to implement such programs. There is a strong perception that counselling within shelters for victims of violence is inadequate. Counselling is thus an undeveloped area of service and yet extremely critical given the expansion of SGBV. Even within domestic violence programs counselling is rudimentary. One of the projects that provide counselling is *Casa Vida*, developed by Brazilian missionaries that came to Timor-Leste in 2000 for initially training Timorese teachers.

CASA VIDA – Centro de Cuidar da Criança

Casa Vida is a shelter of the project *Centro de Cuidar da Criança*, created after the experience of its coordinator and her husband in refugees camps in Timor-Leste, after 2006 crisis, where the number of cases of sexual abuse were high but ignored by the international community that was focused on security and food security issues. *Casa Vida* receives young girls, victims of sexual abuses from across the country. It provides psychological support and shelter in three houses: *Uma Dame* (House of Peace), for minors until 15 years old and with a homelike atmosphere, *Uma Esperanza* (House of Hope) for screening new cases, and *Uma Haksolok* (House of Joy) for training the girls for an independent life.

Those girls, who are victims of sexual abuse, arrive traumatized to *Casa Vida* without being able to speak and with very aggressive behaviours. “*There is a need for psychosocial support, in coping with the trauma of such attacks. Sometimes just asking the right questions could be crucial*”, explains Simone Assis, coordinator of the project.

“There is a need to improve the mechanisms to support women and young girls confronted with such traumas, the dilemmas of unwanted children, sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS, or being rejected by their community, family or husband. The mothers know what happens to their children but they do not talk about it for shame or fear. They only complain to the Suco Chief when the girls are pregnant and no longer hide the pregnancy. But what socked me the most was the fact that they only report to the authorities when the perpetrator refuses to compensate the victim’s family. No one is worried with the victim’s physical and psychological condition. And, most of the times, they are discriminated by their family members, accusing them

of been responsible for what happened. (...) They call them 'the spoiled', since they are no longer virgins for marriage. Those girls are stigmatized and their self-esteem is destroyed. Sometimes those girls are taken away far from home to get married with an unknown person, normally with a much older man", testimony of Simone Assis, Coordinator of Casa Vida.

(Author's Interview in Café Aroma, the project's Coffee Shop for funding their activities)

5.6 Conclusion: Violence from social acceptance to public need

This is by no means a complete list of service providers and agencies that advocate and provide psychological and legal support and shelter in the case of violence against women, young girls and children, since that is not the scope of this study. The intention, however, is to have a picture of the work executed in the field.

For such a young country much was already reached, but meanwhile the lack of qualified staff in counselling and other social and health areas, cultural and economic features prevent more achievements. Communication has been a great support to raise awareness on violence against women. Mentalities are changing even if the final result is not the one expected.

The following chapter analyses communication strategies and products that have been developed in Timor-Leste for over ten years by SEPI, UNICEF and United Nations Country Team (UNCT)⁸², as well as peacekeeping mission. Many national and international organizations arrange communication initiatives - from advocacy to participatory communication, from behaviour change to social change. Nonetheless, Timor-Leste does not have a National Communication Strategy and, according to SEPI, neither has planned for upcoming years. This is confirmed by UNFPA, partner of SEPI for prevention of GBV, admitting that the recently approved NAPGBV includes "a componente of BCC".

⁸² United Nations Country Team (UNCT) is the designation for the group of United Nations Agencies deployed in the country.

6. SCOPE OF STUDY, RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

6.1 Study's Approach

The Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) are long-established in Timorese community and gender inequality is visible at social and economic realms. Women and children are the most vulnerable group in the patriarchal Timorese society, enhanced by the high rates of poverty. Achieving gender equality is, therefore, a laudable ideal and technically difficult and challenging in any country and Timor-Leste is no exception. Since the *referendum*, in 1999, national and international agencies have been working together to ameliorate the heavy burden of being a female through social programs for women's empowerment and gender equality. Communication has been a part of those programs though not always strategically accurate. This study analyses the communication strategies in the past decade in Timor-Leste regarding SGBV, in particular Domestic Violence since it is the most common form of violence against women and young girls.

This study aims to provide a direction to development communication specialists to play a more strategic role in the behavioural and social changes. Based on the findings of literature review on communication for development (C4D) – or development communication -, qualitative and quantitative data and interviews suggest that an existing model for developing communication grounded on social inclusion should be used for prevention of violence against women since programs' early stages. Today there is acknowledgement of the impact of communication in development programs, however limited time and resources constrain communication's effectiveness.

A major insight that emerged from this study is that there is a greater awareness regarding violence against women in Timor-Leste but behaviours have changed little. Communication strategy for behaviour change should facilitate social change through social inclusion of communities, incorporating women and men as specific targets group. Such strategy should be directed at Communication for Social Inclusion, based on holistic, participatory and people-centre approaches, where local culture and beliefs should be used as changes' facilitators for the inclusion within communities of vulnerable groups to violence.

This study aims to find the answers to what investment was being made by the Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) and international organizations on targeted programs for preventing

Gender-Based Violence (GBV)? What communication strategies have been used in GBV? Which communications constraints and opportunities do national and international organizations face in Timor-Leste? To what extent C4D has to use different tools in the rural and urban areas?

6.2 Research's constraints and opportunities

The fact one worked at United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) has enabled a direct observation to find out about people's thoughts, opinions and attitudes regarding violence against women by talking to them and asking the right questions. Observation, thus, does give one a sense of context, which helped to explain people's perceptions and what they do. In order to complete the data collected through observation one also conducted interviews⁸³. On the other hand, one being integrated in the United Nations mission has facilitated both the contact with informants (from United Nations' organizations and Government) and access to other sources of information, as Government officials, for instance.

In a country such as Timor-Leste, away from academic institutions and libraries, present constraints and challenges when researching for literature review. The lack of access to academic literature was the main challenge for this study, which was overcome by using online-libraries and bookshops, literature provided by United Nations agencies and communication experts that facilitated the access to sources of information, including communication materials.

6.3 Methodological procedures

The previous chapters follow two analytical perspectives. First, we examined C4D, its strategies and tools used in the field. The objective is to have a broad view of evolution of this communication area, one not explored in Portugal, and which methods and strategies are used nowadays in development projects. This is, indeed, a field that can be put into practice in social projects in a country such as Portugal. On the other hand, the chapter dedicated to the context of Timor-Leste gives us a whole landscape of the object of study. This is crucial to

⁸³ See Appendix I Interviews to Government officials, representatives of the United Nations, international and local NGOs, victims and other informants for details regarding interviews conducted for this study, pages 190 and 194

understand the following analysis regarding the communication interventions for the prevention of violence against women in that country.

6.3.1 From lecture review to direct observation

The first phase of the research is under qualitative methodologies. In general, research means “search for” or “to find” (Berger, 2011: 11) information about the object of this study: development communication. The sources of information include essays, books, reports and manuals as secondary research fundamental for literature review.

The documents related to this subject are published mainly by the United Nations. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) started on 70’s developing this communication’s area. For the last twenty years all United Nations agencies and international non-governmental organizations (INGO) meet regularly to discuss communication programs in developing countries, namely strategies, approaches, tools and best practices. As result of those meetings are produced several publications. Besides United Nations’ publications, manuals, scientific articles, e-books from academics and experts and Internet were the based sources for the chapters dedicated to C4D, GBV and communication strategies.

The object of this study was conducted in the field for over two years based on primary research for a close knowledge. Afterwards, diverse methods were used to collect data with the objective of verifying axioms, which include statistics, interviews and direct observation. The information gathered from lecture published by international organizations and the Timorese Government, statistics and semi-structured interviews have enable one to acknowledge perspectives and perceptions of the different actors regarding the subject of this study, as well as verify and validated assumptions that resulted from direct observation and content analysis of communication materials. A restrict number of victims were also interviewed for additional information and to have their perspectives. It is important to note that their answers are not representative of victim’s opinion. For that purpose, a new study is needed based on a survey, focus, for instance, on victim’s perceptions to messages from diverse communication interventions.

6.3.2 Interviews to Government officials, representatives of the United Nations, international and local NGOs, victims and other informants

For this study were chosen semi-structured interviews which enable the researcher to tailor its questions to the interview context and to the interviewer (Berger, 2011: 135), through a framework of themes to be explored using a interview guide⁸⁴. The interviews were conducted around the work developed on prevention of violence against women and young girls by national and international organizations, general perceptions of communication's effectiveness regarding the subject and recommendations for greater achievements. The questions were related to the organizations' role on prevention of GBV and strategies, effectiveness of campaigns against violence against women and dissemination of information regarding the Law against Domestic Violence, communication channels and messages.

More than 20 interviews were conducted between February and June of 2012 and additional ones took place between September and October 2012 in order to validate data gathered. Most of the interviews were conducted *in loco* and each took an average of 45 minutes. The exception was with Professor Hosein, from the University of New York. After his visit to Timor-Leste, he answered by e-mail every time there were new questions during the research. All the respondents were aware of the objective of this study before the beginning of each interview.

The individuals interviewed were chosen according to certain criteria: their reliability, role and access to information, professional, gender and social position and communication expertise. Therefore, the interviews were made to academics, international experts, consultants and government officials. It was also conducted around 10 unstructured interviews with other informants in order to complete the exploratory analyse of this study. These were crucial to explore generations regarding certain facts described in this study, such as policies, legal system and behaviours. In this case, the interviews were made to common citizens; the Prosecutor-General of Timor-Leste, Ana Pessoa; the Portuguese judge, Rosa Brandão, in service in Timor-Leste; as well to the Timorese judges Jacinta Correia and Afonso Carmona; Commander of Vulnerable Person's Unit (VPU) of PNTL, Dária Ximenes; United Nations Police officer who requested anonymity; victims whose identity will be protected in this study and development workers from several local NGOs. Others interviews (semi-structured and unstructured) could not be accomplished once the informants did not

⁸⁴ The interview guides used on this study in Appendix I, pages 190 to 194

respond to one requests. These are the case of Communication and Public Information Office (CPIO) from UNMIT and the Spanish Cooperation, both Governments' partners, which information would be essential for this study due their role in supporting the Timorese Government in mass media strategies, production of videos and other advertising.

It will be relevant to note here that when one proceeds with the analyses try not to identify directly the respondents or informants. Not only because some of them asked not to due to their professional position, but also, as informants, they have given information that pointed constraints and errors in strategies, data and declarations made by other officials.

It is equally important to note that a future study can explore further such communication for social inclusion frameworks in the light of the findings of this study. Actually, the objective of this study is to indicate a path for future investigations.

7. TIMOR-LESTE: COMMUNICATION FOR PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

“In our new era of independence, which follows 24 years of violent struggle against Indonesia accompanied by unrelenting human-rights violations, the rights of East Timorese remain largely neglected. The continuing severity of gender inequality raises the fundamental question: has independence in Timor-Leste resulted in liberation for men only?” Mário de Araújo, NGO activist (OXFAM, 2004: 140).

7.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses various communication strategies implemented in the last decade to prevent violence against women, in particular domestic violence (DV), in Timor-Leste. Those strategies include advocacy, behaviour and social communication change, social mobilization and participatory communication, following new communication paradigm thinking⁸⁶. It is divided in three main sections which examine opportunities and challenges that communication experts need to consider when implementing a communication strategy in that territory taking into account (1) the local context; (2) external influences; and (3) key change agents, such as traditional and local community leaders, youth, men and women and media. One lays some clues to turn challenges into opportunities. Both features work side-by-side and the ones of today are different from the ones faced in the past. Some further and additional actions are made at the end of this study.

7.2 Local Context

Each communication programme should be adapted to local situations and needs and facilitate the participation of multiple stakeholders (UNFPA *et al.*, 2010: 9). For that reason, this section examines the local context and it indicates challenges and opportunities that result from local culture and values.

⁸⁶ New communication paradigm is analyzed in detail on chapter 2, “What is Communication for Development”, pages 23 - 38

7.2.1 Patriarchal Society

Indeed, cultural norms and traditions remain key barriers to gender equality globally and Timor-Leste is no exception. Qualitative analysis and testimonies demonstrate that behaviours are changing, especially among women and young girls in urban areas. It is also true that violence against vulnerable groups, like women and children, still happen in high proportions, as the baseline data of the Timor-Leste Demographic and Health Survey (TLDHS) proves it (DNE, 2010: 225-253).

Even if local traditions do not recognize violence against women as negative behaviours, those traditions should be used in favour of behaviour change. A deep evaluation of communication strategies, based on literature review related to Timorese culture and interviews, expose that communication interventions, such as social mobilization, should have explained the benefits of preventing violence (physical and moral), avoiding disruption into community harmony. As it was explained previously, community harmony is more important than the individual itself. Communication should then ‘play’ with this cultural detail to create acceptances of a new concept that goes against the local perceptions of violence (physical and moral). These generalizations demonstrate that cultural aspects should work in favour of behaviour and social change instead of been considered constraints. Nonetheless, for its accomplishment, community leaders should be consulted and sensitized for its implementation for better acceptance from their community members due to their role within communities and relation of trust. This point will be further explored.

7.2.2 Poverty and illiteracy

High rates of poverty enhance negative behaviours and violence against vulnerable groups, especially women and children. As already indicated in the chapter dedicated to Timor-Leste landscape, women continue to be less literate than men and with higher rates of unemployment (DNE, 2010: 35-40; UNDP, 2011: 32-36).

Indeed, the majority of the Timorese population is illiterate, especially in rural areas, which makes written information almost inaccessible, particularly regarding laws. Instead of facing high level of illiteracy as an obstacle, communication professionals should handle it as an opportunity to use local culture to promote changes. Illiteracy obliges the dissemination of simple and clear messages for easier comprehension by target audiences. Moreover, these messages should be appropriated to familiar communication channels to target groups,

respecting their culture and values. The conjunction of these factors for a comprehensive message's reception is only possible through a research-based sound understanding of local landscape. For instance, qualitative research indicates that local staff, who deal directly with their communities, have more sensibility to communicate with them. However, this does not mean that they send the right messages, as demonstrated by the following quote from UNICEF's⁸⁷ personnel:

"Of course there are root causes, such as witchcraft and shame that still make people not to report [violence against children]. That is why the officer explains openly to community members that perpetrators are the enemy".

Here the perpetrator is considered 'the enemy' and not as 'family and community member' who, for some reason, is the assaulter. This example indicates a misinterpretation of the development program goals by the organization's staff of sending a negative idea of perpetrators to increase the number of denounces. The observed effect should be the opposite. Instead of higher member of complains, victims and their family member should resort to silence fearing 'the enemy'.

UNFPA (2005: 53) explains this situation with the fact that:

"Timorese staff have been trained (...) through memorization and that do not foster creative methods, often making it more difficult to think of innovative ways to build awareness regarding GBV. Staff who are literate often struggle to conceive ways to communicate effectively with people who cannot read".

Another constrain mentioned by Government's partners is communication interventions mainly based in Dili, where people have more access to information and services. *"It only occurred in the districts if they [Government] have partners"*, confessed UNFPA's representative. This situation limits, even more, the dissemination of information, knowledge and awareness in remote areas. Actually, another challenge in Timor-Leste is the interpretation of laws due to language barriers and gap of analytical thinking, which constitute constrains for legal actors' action.

⁸⁷ UNICEF national staff interviewed for this study.

7.2.3 Multiple languages

A country with one million people⁸⁸ and 16 local languages, plus two official languages, turns communication context into a challenge. In a small country such as Timor-Leste and with so many languages, diversity forces a bigger effort from communication programmes and resources: national staff from each linguistic region and communication materials in each language, which is expensive. Here, experience proves that interpersonal communication strategy (ICS) is more efficient once activities are in direct contact with local communities in their own language. Taking all these aspects into account, oral traditions should facilitate the ultimate goal of reaching messages to their audience.

On the other hand, even if Timor-Leste has Portuguese and Tetum as official languages it is also true that local languages are spoken in the districts, where high rates of illiteracy exist. Additionally, Tetum does not have abstract and technical concepts as a legal system. These are constraints that suggest that distribution of printed material is not the most efficient tool in this context.

Again it is necessary to explore particular characteristics in favour of changes. This study indicates that communication strategy, either behaviour or social change, needs to be inclusive and integrated, with intervention activities where the local languages should have a leading role. Those activities based on interpersonal communication strategy should be developed by local trained persons to create trusted relations within their local communities and facilitate the reception of new concepts and values, such as gender equality and human rights. The decision of using local languages should be measured by the success of any communication strategy in Timor-Leste. Language is, indeed, close associated with the issue of culture. The use of one language (Tetum, for instance) to the exclusion of others sends a message that one culture may be promoted and safeguarded while others are being neglected.

7.2.4 Rural and urban areas: from oral traditions to media communication

Timor-Leste is a country of contrasts. Dili, the capital, is becoming a modern city in a developing country, where according to the Census of 2010 almost 200.000 people live (DNE, 2010) and the access to information is easier. Internet, newspapers, television, radio

⁸⁸ According with Census 2010, Timor-Leste has exactly 1,666,582 people, representing 2.41 per cent annual population growth since the last Census, in 2004, the highest in the Southeast Asia and Pacific Region. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority – 70.4 per cent – of the Timorese people still lives in rural areas (DNE, 2011).

and other communication channels reach audiences and deliver messages. However, the reality in rural areas is reversed. The overwhelming majority of Timorese population live in rural areas (70.4 per cent) (*idem*), some of them in remote and isolate areas.

The lack of transport and electricity, high rate of illiteracy and unemployment, especially amongst women, are features that induce communication into a hard assignment. While the influence of values such as human rights is becoming visible in Dili, where the international community is mainly deployed, as soon as one leaves the capital, the weight of the cultural heritage⁸⁹ overlaps the new mentality that arrives from the ‘big city’ and from the *malae*⁹⁰.

Indeed, urban areas – in this case Dili – have more contact with foreign practices and values. On the contrary, difficult access to rural areas and illiteracy conserve them from external influence. Consequently it keeps grounded patriarchal social norms and practices. For instance, men have an active social and political role in their communities while women have an important role inside their household and within families⁹¹. The traditional role of woman in society should play as an advantage in communication programme. If they have an important role as mother, wife or family’s guardians, communication strategies should face up these features to promote prevention of violence against women, as well as their education and empowerment.

In summary, local culture (especially in rural villages) provides opportunities such as oral tradition that should be used in favour of messages dissemination. Respect and engagement of local traditions in communication interventions are based on Participatory Communication Strategy (PCS)⁹², which aims to facilitate the exchange of ideas and empower local communities to address their problems and practices. In this specific case, it is grounded between agents of change and community members based on dialogue through information sharing and knowledge (both modern and ancient). Oral tradition in Timor-Leste should then be employed as facilitator for dissemination of information. For instance, community leaders should reach youth and adults through sessions of storytelling, traditional music and dances. In addition, local NGOs and Government agencies should collaborate with them for local

⁸⁹ Domingos Sousa (2007) portrays well the pressure of the cultural heritage over individual’s life in his novel “Colibere, um herói timorense...” (*Colibere, a Timorese hero*), Lidel, Lisboa

⁹⁰ *Malae* is the word in Tetum for ‘foreigner’. Although, ‘malae’ refers to the ethnic group from Austrasia, in South Asia, in particular Malaysia, Sumatra, Borneo and Batavia, but also Philippines, Timor-Leste and Malagasy (an ethnic group from Madagascar). See Duran, F. (2009), *Istoria Timor-Leste Nian, Husi Pre-istoria to’o atualidade*, Lidel, 2ª Edição, Lisboa-Porto

⁹¹ In Timor-Leste, oldest women have sometimes an important social role in their families and communities as equal as men and, in certain cases higher than men. See Duran, F. (2009), *Istoria Timor-Leste nian, Husi Pre-istoria to-o atualidade*, Lidel, 2ª Edição, Lisboa-Porto

⁹² See Chapter 3, “Communication Strategies in Development”, pp. 39 - 71

performances in remote villages on issues that affect their communities. That is, community empowerment for subjects like prevention of violence, conflict resolution and respect for others. Participatory theatre, radio community and soap opera are three tools based on these principles that are often implemented in development programs.

Myths and rumours normally abound in Timor-Leste and it can be difficult for women to get accurate and objective advice about their rights and choices. Community theatre (or participatory theatre)⁹³ has an essential role regarding dissemination of messages, public awareness and sensitization, modifying people's perceptions and behaviours, where information spreads by word of mouth. In Timor-Leste, it can be found in a good number of local troupes: Teatru Ba Futuru, in partnership with UN Women, UNFPA and German Cooperation; Nafo Fila, from Ainaro; and Sangar Haburas, from Lautem, are some examples. Others also exist integrated in local agencies and promoted, most of them, by youth.

At Kria Teatry ba Kuminidade iha Timor-Leste (*Making Community theatre in Timor-Leste*), a joint conference by local NGO Ba Futuru and the Australian NGO Many Hand International, participants emphasize the role of theatre on engaging communities to discuss issues normally considered taboo in remote areas, such as domestic violence (DV) and women and children's rights. On the other hand, actors have the capability to involve community's members, even when it is not easy, which increases the changes of messages' acceptance. *"We collect ideas from the community, like their problems and concerns, before we develop our drama"*, explains Jacinta Pereira, director of Ba Futuru, a local NGO. At the end of each performance, actors, musicians, dancers and local educators speak to the audience about the performance and answer questions about gender issues, for example. Ângelo dos Reis, theatre coordinator at Ba Futuru, explains how through local culture it is easier to reach local communities:

"Often, the persons attending the meetings in the districts use a language not understood by the audience. With theatre, through a simple language and local cultural features we can inform and motivate people [to reflect and discuss local issues]. This way we have spread a lot of messages from agencies that same times do not have impact in solving people's problems but theatre is an opportunity to find long-term solutions".

In addition, drama should be a vehicle of violence prevention amongst youth. Through this approach, Ba Futuru also develops its drama based on experience of their young members to better reach its audience and create acceptance on issues that normally have resistance among

⁹³ *Idem*, page 39 - 71

population. These testimonies validate advantages of participatory theatre in developing context as making use of local values, beliefs, culture and languages for reaching audience through simple and subtle messages. Overall, community theatre gathers tradition and modernity. Humbelina de Jesus (Kay) Gambara, former history teacher, established her cultural performing group *Sangar Haburas* in 2000, in Lautem district, to acknowledge the vital role of culture in promoting a positive future within communities. As a result, their performance includes traditional dances and local musicians:

“We have performing about gender equality by promoting our local cultural and language [Fatuluku]. In Los Palos not everyone understands Tetum, so we use different languages [Fatuluku or Maku’a] depending of the place where we go to act”.

This strategy is similar to the one used by theatre group Nafu Fila, from Ainaro district, once it is imperative to engage community into all process in order to have community members open up to discussion and participation. Actually, its director admits that “communities’ engagement is hard and takes time”.

Participants in the conference indicate that participatory theatre is an effective tool in rural villages, where high levels of illiteracy obliges the dissemination of simple and clear messages for easier comprehension by target audience. Community theatre seems to be an effective vehicle for increasing people’s knowledge, in particular in rural villages, where a high rate of illiteracy exists. The director of Ba Futuru confirms it for this study: *“Normally, the population do not acknowledge these issues because the information only goes to community leaders. These issues are not explained to them in a way they can understand”.*

International organizations and Government agencies also recognize the role of local traditions for increasing knowledge of communities and stimulate collective action. Participatory theatre is also performed by Secretary of State for Promotion of Equality staff (SEPI, in Portuguese). Its performance aims to advocate for communities, especially at rural areas, denounce cases of domestic violence (DV). “Domestic violence affects not only one person. It affects entire community”, states SEPI’s representative for this study. As local groups, the government agency promotes reflection and discussion around DV before and after each performance in order to verify if audience’s perception around the subject has changed:

“A Government official starts a brainstorming with easy questions about the context of the Law Against Domestic Violence, Timorese culture and identity to fight negative aspects of our culture. We start with negative aspects to talk about domestic violence. With easy questions about our

culture and identity, as well as history of the law [LADV] we wanted to reflect about the negative aspects of our culture”.

Notwithstanding, other communication tools should equally reach target audiences in an easy and effective way, such as interpersonal communication. The Secretary of State also covers interpersonal communication in public campaigns with the objective of raising awareness through “resource persons at the district level to sensitize the general public on prevention of GBV and LADV” (SEPI, 2012: 15). In face of social and cultural barriers, which inhibit women from participating in social events⁹⁴, trained staff should talk directly with population in remote locations. This is seen as an effective tool to ensure that women and girls are informed on DV and involved in the process of meeting an important milestone for their village for prevention of violence.

In the light of the above, participatory theatre and interpersonal communication are two important and effective tools for its simplicity. They can have similar impact in people’s lives as any mass media by introducing sensitive issues and promoting their public debate, enabling communities from isolate villages to participate. Indeed, community theatre is a vehicle that through community’s values, traditions and local languages transmits new principles in a simple and subtle way. This channel disseminates information and, at the same time, stimulates knowledge on issues not always easy to be understood by grassroots, such as conflict prevention, gender equality and women and children’s rights.

Other communication tools should be equally explored, in attempting to address illiteracy. Organizations such as UNICEF in Timor-Leste use pictures in combination with the written word in order to reach its audiences with simple cartoons and clear and key messages. The communication materials have local characters with the intention of sending key and short messages⁹⁵. In theory, targeted audiences should identify themselves easier with the messages to accept them. Those materials are distributed to police stations and service providers, especially in remote areas, where dissemination of information is not always easy. UNFPA

⁹⁴ This situation is testified by former UNWomen Country Director for Timor-Leste, during a visit to Liquiça district: *“Even with representatives of women in Suco Councils, they still have no role on it. I went to Liquiça for a meeting with a Suco Council and I asked for the women. They were cooking and serving food while others attended the meeting but did not spoke. So I talked with one of the youth that where close to me and I asked ‘Why women are not participating?’ . He answered that women should ‘seat’, ‘hear’ and ‘be silent’. Basically, they are there to serve men. The Suco Council is something implemented by the United Nations as a democratic system to elect their community leaders, adopted from the Liurai Council, where the local kings played a major role. But a democratic system is different. The women’s discrimination, the cultural rules continue to submit women.”* (This is a testimony for this study)

⁹⁵ UNICEF did not authorized the author to take photos of their communication materials for this study.

(2005: 53) indicates the high level of illiteracy as “perhaps the biggest challenge” to communication strategies on violence against women, together with lack of funding:

“Many people, especially those in rural areas, cannot read or have limited reading abilities; hence, materials based on the written word are ineffective. Funding (...) has not been a significant issue, although donors have emphasized this kind of activity, as opposed to services for victims or longer term interventions with communities in order to work on changing attitudes and building systems and structures to respond to and prevent gender-based violence”.

In order to overcome this constrain, radio community⁹⁶ is a prevailed communication channel for dissemination of information and increase knowledge of rural communities. A small radio that runs on batteries is enough to have access to sensitive issues, like domestic violence that otherwise would not, in particular communities in remote locations and ethnic constrains. Households and communities have an opportunity to listen to educative programs through education-entertainment programs and small spots encouraging behaviour change. A positive example is the work developed by a popular local theatre group called *Bibi Bulak* (Crazy Sheep, in english), which created radio drama shows and advertising (*idem*):

“Bibi Bulak presented live performances and recorded a song about GBV in hip-hop style to appeal to younger audiences. Besides being distributed to local radio stations, this song was used in workshops and tapes were distributed to mini-bus drivers, who are known for playing loud music as they travel [around the country]”.

Moreover, radio fills the gap of local and national news in rural villages. Although, this scenery is changing as participants of the Communication and Media Survey published by United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT) (2011) believe that more and more people are now watching television instead of listening to radio to get information.

One national radio broadcaster - Radio Timor-Leste (RTL) – and 15 community radio broadcasters spread in such a small country illustrates the importance of this mass media in developing countries in order to ameliorate the life of those most vulnerable people. The World Bank was responsible for the programme of establishing Radio Community in Timor-Leste⁹⁷. Since then, many radio programs, from national to community level, address gender equality and women’s rights. Radio spots and interviews of women’s organizations, like *Rede Feto* and *Fokupers*, are often on air advocating for positive behaviours and attitudes. Listeners are motivated to participate and discuss these issues. However, direct observation reveals that

⁹⁶ See Chapter 3 “Communication Strategies for Development” for more information, page 39 - 71

⁹⁷ See pages 62 to 65 for detailed information regarding World Bank ‘s program for Radio Communities in Timor-Leste

lack of repetition and advertising of these programs limit their effectiveness in promoting discussion around those subjects.

Furthermore, community radio faces a lot of challenges in a country such as Timor-Leste. The lack of funding for its sustainability and lack of resources (logistical and staff) are constraints that should restrain its crucial role in educating people in remote locations. When one was deployed in Ainaro district and contacted by local community radio to broadcast a spot on voter education, they could not do it. The equipment was broken for more than one month. It needed to be taken to Dili, the capital, for repairing. The testimony of local journalists reveals that they face additional constraints: no payment and no basic equipment like a recorder for interviewing people and broadcasting their stories. While this is an example of how hard it is to maintain a radio community station operational. It can be found in a number of successful interventions in mass media.

Following the example of other countries, Timor-Leste also produced its own soap opera with the objective of sensitizing viewers for women's rights and other social issues, based on education-entertainment communication strategy (EEC)⁹⁸. *Suku Hali* is a soap opera produced and broadcasted in Timor-Leste by IOM (International Organization for Migration), funded by the European Union and supported by the Timorese Ministry of Social Solidarity. It tells the story of a Timorese family living at *Suco* Hali, in Dili, in twenty episodes. It portrays domestic violence, juvenile delinquency, gang problems, among other issues.

Soap opera is useful when using viewers' emotions and self-identification with actors to change negative behaviours. There are cases in which listeners (or TV viewers) identify themselves with the story and actors and try to imitate them. *Suku Hali* is, indeed, a good example of national production that educates and promotes collective action for social and behaviour changes regarding domestic violence and youth problems and, at the same time, stimulates local acting.

⁹⁸ See Chapter 3 for more information, page 38 - 70



Figure 13 DVD covers of the 20 episodes of the Suku Hali

Television of Timor-Leste (TVTL) also broadcasts small spots advocating for couples to respect each other and explaining that domestic violence is a public crime and may destroy families. Normally, those videos are produced by local NGOs and focus on the value of family, using traditional values to reach mainly couples. For example, *Fokupers* made small videos with key messages that were broadcasted by TVTL. Those videos emphasized that domestic violence is a public crime and used testimonies. *“But then they had a conflict with TVTL and the broadcast stopped”*, confirmed UNFPA representative. This is an example that raises problems of repetition of messages and, consequently, its effectiveness.

7.3 Communication Strategies and External Influence

In this section one focus on external influence of the international community in Timor-Leste at governance and communication levels. Interviews to international development and peacekeeping workers and Timorese officials show a two-sided relation: if it is seen as an opportunity for introducing new values, such as human rights and gender equality, it is also seen as a foreigner’s interference which poses a resistance to strengthen those values.

7.3.1 Introduction of new ideals: human rights, gender equality and domestic violence

After the *referendum*, on August 1999, international organizations arrived in Timor-Leste to help the country rebuild from the ashes. The arrival of the international community has facilitated the introduction of new ideals, such as human rights (including women and children rights), gender equality and domestic violence (DV) when Timorese people

welcomed foreigners to help them in the peacebuilding process. However, research findings indicate that over the years Timorese people become resistant to ‘western values’. As testified by a Government official for this study, it is the case of traditional community leaders, for whom “violence among family members exists for generations” and “domestic violence is something imposed by foreigners.” Former UN Women director testifies⁹⁹ that:

“discrimination and cultural roles that submit women haven’t changed. (...) Nowadays, they are more resistant to outside messages than in the beginning of the United Nations presence. They were more vulnerable back then”.

On the other hand, as already mentioned, Sara Niner (2011: 41-42) indicates promotion of the Timorese patriarchal culture by male elite against foreigner values is increasing women subordination. In fact, she cited Timorese female veterans and feminists who feel offended that their culture is been used to justify discrimination and violence against women¹⁰⁰.

Domestic Violence: a misunderstood concept

“In 2009, during the 16’ Days Campaign, we were part of a working group of discussion which showed posters saying Violência Doméstica é crime Público (Domestic Violence is now a public crime) and we found out that only the Portuguese speakers and children understood the meaning, the concept of Domestic Violence”, admitted the UNFPA representative in interview.

This quote illustrates the assumption that the Domestic Violence (DV) concept was understood by a small percentage of the population after years of communication

⁹⁹ This is part of former UN Women testimony for this study. She has described an episode of a visit to a district where she attended a Suco Council meeting, which shows distinctive gender roles within communities: “Even with representatives of women in sucos, they still having no role on it. I went to Liquiça to a meeting with Suco Council and I asked for the women. They were cooking and served the food. Some of them attended the meeting but didn’t spoke. So I talked we one youth that was there and I asked ‘Why are not women participating?’. He answered that should ‘seat’, ‘hear’ and ‘be silent’. Basically, they are there to serve men. The Suco Council is something implemented by the United Nations as a democratic system to elect their community leaders, adopted from the Liurai Council [council of traditional leaders], where the local kings played a major role. But a democratic system is different.”

¹⁰⁰ Sara Niner, in *Women in the post-conflict moment in Timor-Leste* (2011:42), has the testimony of Maria Olandina Caeiro, veteran, commissioner at CAVR and acting Consul General for Timor-Leste in Bali, saying “I like my culture but some things need to change, I argue here that those who advocate ‘traditional’ roles for women today, or state Timorese culture is incompatible with ideas of gender equity, are attempting to enforce a subordinate role for women to ensure their own privileges.” Filomena Balbo, Chief of Department for Training and Education at SEPI, mentioned the same idea for this study: “It is my culture, but I do not have to accept what is wrong.”

interventions. Therefore, this section attempts to explain the reasons why domestic violence (DV) is a misunderstood concept after a decade of interventions.

DV is a subject discussed since the restoration of Independence. Even so, many Timorese people continue without understanding the concept, in particular at grassroots level where the majority of the population is illiterate. Additionally, the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV) was approved in 2010 without population and policy-makers understand both concept and bill. Interviewed international development workers believe that this should explain why it took eight years until DV to be included in the Penal Code and LADV approved. One analysis goes beyond and adds lack of knowledge of the local context.

As revealed by Daniel S. Simião (2006)¹⁰¹, DV is a foreigner concept introduced into the new Timorese society (influenced by international community presence). For instance, physical violence is seen as an educative method instead of aggression and to restore the harmony within family and/or community. The Australian researcher Sara Niner (Niner, 2012: 42) goes forward by saying:

“Gender equity and the right to equality has penetrated a collective consciousness and has been incorporated in the institutional discourses of government and many civil society organizations. This has led to a tension between symbolic and concrete actions and policies to enable increased economic, social and political wellbeing for women”.

Next, one will analyse the mentioned “tension between symbolic and concrete actions and policies”. The influence of the international community has prompted a western approach on social policies and communication strategies not with intended results.

7.3.2 Western approaches in a diverse reality

Motivated by the international community, the Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) assumed an interventionist attitude, discussing and implementing steer public actions through projects and programmes, as a legal framework for deliberate social development (Pedro, 2011: 2). Since the early stages of its first inauguration after the restoration of independence, GoTL works with United Nations agencies and other international actors, but not without conditionality. In exchange of technical support and funding, its development partners demand gender equality and human rights approaches in policy-making. Although synergies between the various actors have enabled social provision policy, this demand constrains

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 5 “Timor-Leste: a violent reality”, pages 103 - 104

Government's decisions. If the convergence exists regarding the need of public actions on Gender-based Violence (GBV), the divergence is how to enable social development related to gender equality and women's rights. The responsive ineffectiveness and gap of human capital reveal national institutions' difficulty of adapting western approach of international organizations and treats to local perceptions and perspectives (*idem*: 3-4). For instance, this influence is visible in 16' Days Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women, planned by international organizations, in which messages have normally a western approach. Withal, international perceptions and policies are not always adequate. This situation instigates comments from Timorese policy makers. This is visible in the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV), which former President of the Republic, José Ramos-Horta, in his speech to the National Parliament, criticizes the law of being inappropriate to social, cultural and economic local contexts¹⁰².

Despite all these challenges, speeches of Government officials indicate determination to change the current social context through deliberate social policies and public provision services, including shifting social structures and agencies. The Government, in collaboration with other development actors, converge sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) as a great social problem and promotion of gender equity and women and children's rights were identified as public need. Nevertheless, various interviewed local and international agents, such as justice officials and development workers, are unanimous regarding the need for a bigger commitment from Government to implement certain laws - like victim's protection - budgeting programs, projects and support service providers. For example, they specify that, in most cases, the law exists but constrains do not allow its effective and efficient implementation in the field, such as lack of human capital, facilities or transport. On the other hand, one observes that this 'lack of commitment' is also explained by grounded patriarchal values in Timorese society. This situation is, for instance, visible in the case of those that publicly defend gender equality and are accused of being perpetrators. Such is the case of the former President of the National Parliament, Fernando "La Samba" de Araújo, who was one of the faces in the 16' Days Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women, in 2007¹⁰³.

¹⁰² José Ramos-Horta has sent his opinion about the LADV to the National Parliament after he promulgated the law, in June 2010. He accepted the law that criminalizes domestic violence, however he pointed faults, such as inadequacy to country's context and the need to be amended later.

¹⁰³ Some of Timorese leaders are themselves perpetrators or victims of domestic violence, such as acting Deputy Prime-Minister, Fernando "La Samba" de Araújo, and acting Minister of Justice, Dionísio Babo. Other example that illustrates grounded patriarchal system in Timorese society is the case of the former Minister of Justice,

In 2002, the Government established the *Gabinete de Assessoria para a Promoção da Igualdade (GAPI)* [Cabinet for Promotion of Equality], under the Prime Minister Office, which aims to ensure the principles of equality and protection against discrimination against women. Between 2004 and 2006, GAPI, in collaboration with Civil Society Organizations (CSO) and supported by United Nations agencies, an “extensive social mobilization campaign” began in all districts, targeting “local administration and civil society”, with the purpose of “raising awareness” and “strengthening capacity [at local level] on women’s rights” (CEDAW, 2008). Actually, Daniel S. Simião (2006: 139) attributes a raise in awareness to years of advocacy from change agents (international organizations, Timorese women organizations and Government) to introduce gender equality into the political agenda and “a new meaning for violence against women”. Communication interventions analysis indicates that the final goal is to gain support from local authorities and communities to support Government and agencies efforts for people’s acceptances’ regarding the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV) and, additionally, raise awareness concerning issues as women and children’s rights. Meanwhile, those interventions are interrupted during the Crisis of 2006¹⁰⁴.

In 2007, the IV Constitutional Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) is inaugurated and GAPI became the *Secretaria de Estado para a Promoção da Igualdade (SEPI)* [Secretary of State for Promotion of Equality], which coordinates gender mainstreaming policies and programs, including those on Gender-based Violence (GBV). The continued pressure from international community and local women’s organizations has boosted violence against women concerns of officials and local agencies, which led to public information campaigns, such as the 16’ Days Campaign for Elimination of Violence against Women. SEPI continued to mobilize local communities to discuss the bill and advocate¹⁰⁵ for policy-makers approve LADV. The communities had, then, the opportunity to address their concerns, problems, practices and expectations through dialogue during the process of consultation regarding this issue.

Lúcia Lobato, herself a victim of domestic violence. See <http://timorhauniandoben.blogspot.pt/2011/11/violencia-domestica-lasama-bateu-em.html> and <http://www.timorhauniandoben.com/2012/09/ministro-da-justica-bate-na-mulher-e.html>

¹⁰⁴ Divisions between eastern and western Timorese people originated the 2006’ Crisis, perpetrated by militaries and extended to common citizens. For details, see the Report of the United Nations Independent Special Commission of Inquiry for Timor-Leste, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Countries/COITimorLeste.pdf>

¹⁰⁵ Even being a government’s agency, SEPI advocates for gender equality policies as *gatekeeper* of civil society and international and national agencies and the Government.

Direct observation and qualitative findings demonstrate that both advocacy and social mobilisation strategies are implemented for enabling political and social environment with the objective of approval and implementation of the LADV. One suggests that advocacy and social mobilization are part of an Integrated Communication Strategy (ICS) of the GoTL, which also includes media, public campaign and interpersonal communication. This strategy aims at enrolling institutions and community networks to strengthen their participation on problems related to gender, namely domestic violence (DV). However, this ICS is not integrated on a national strategy. Each agency – international and organization – developed their own activities without or with little coordination between them. Nevertheless, years of advocacy for public policies to support women's victims of violence, legal framework to protect and support them and social mobilization around the concept of DV - which resulted on LADV and in social and legal services for victims – have resulted into gender equality policies and legal framework, as well as an increased awareness of women's rights as human rights, especially in urban areas. However, the legal framework on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including DV, is not complete yet. Government is finalizing the social services regulations that should be approved whilst this study is being written. This is a step forward for enabling supportive change environment. Nevertheless the problem is not the existing legal framework, which resulted from years of advocacy from international and local agents, but its implementation due to lack of infrastructures and human capital and, similarly, a grounded social tradition of men's patriarchal role: *“Gender power inequalities are perpetuated at home, at school, at work, at church: ‘traditionally’ men earn, women serve”* (Ferguson, 2011: 59).

Communication interventions without coordination

According to testimonies of development workers and Government officials and direct observation, it is possible to assume that social mobilization is the most applied strategy over the last decade, followed by advocacy and interpersonal communication. Communication interventions consist mainly in workshops and training sessions, as well as community meetings as identified by literature (UNFPA, 2005: 53 – 54; Oxfam, 2010: 12 – 14; UNFPA: 2008: 9; Ferguson, 2011: 62 – 63; Fundasaun Alola: 2012; Kahan and Hyati, 2012: 53), mostly supported by international agencies, such as UNMIT and others international and national NGOS.

A comparative study¹⁰⁶ regarding domestic violence and its correlation with bride-pride in Timor-Leste - *barlake* - (Kahan and Hyati, 2012) admits that “results of the socialization of the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV) are not yet evident”, which makes it difficult to verify its effectiveness regarding dissemination of the law and raise gender awareness amongst service providers, police officers, teachers and community leaders. The purpose of those communication intervention is sensitize and increase knowledge for bigger involvement of communities and their empowerment around the issue, increase the number of denounces and, additionally, promote positive behaviours.

Indeed, government officials and development workers confirm in interview the lack of monitoring and evaluation of campaigns and other communication activities. However, it has been verified that those activities not always reach intended targets, focusing mainly in *Suco Chiefs* (UNFPA, 2005: 54; Kahan and Hyati, 2012: 53 - 54). The lack of coordination between the various organizations that arranged those activities is also pointed as a challenge (UNFP, *idem*):

“For the most part, efforts to educate the public have not been coordinated with one another, so some communities and individuals may have held the opportunity to participate in several events whereas others may have had none”.

The National Action Plan on Gender-based Violence (NAPGBV), approved by the end of 2012, seeks to overcome this challenge by meeting all actors to find solutions in a holistic approach.

After the approval of the LADV, in July 2010, social mobilization continued to be chosen in order to promote criminalization of DV, whilst target audience continue without understanding its concept. These may be explained by the fact that communication materials are not effective and/or by the way communication interventions have been planned. For example, UNFPA (2005, 53 – 54) emphasizes some weakness:

“Many workshops have focused on providing introductory information regarding GVB and DV and sexual assault, in particular. Workshops often last one day or less and are conducted at the local or village level, with all members of the community invited. Some organizations have conducted more in-depth events, for several days at a time, and some have returned to the same community more than once in an effort to consolidate the learning that took place. However, many more workshops have never been followed up. Because of the relatively limited time in

¹⁰⁶ This comparative study was commissioned by UNFPA and distributed informally to Gender Working Group of UNMIT, which the author of this study was member.

most workshops, trainers are unable to enter into in-depth discussions about attitudes and beliefs contributing to GBV and how they might be overcome”.

Moreover, social mobilization is effective when people are aware of the concept – domestic violence – in order to promote a bigger participation from the target audience for sustainable changes. In summary, the concept of DV should (1) be accepted by the audience and then would be easier (2) to mobilize target groups to promote intended behaviours: denounce cases of DV once it became a public crime. On the other hand, its implementations is not being properly as admitted by UNFPA representative:

“The GoTL is not addressing the issues accordingly. For example, the LADV is being implemented rashly. A proper socialization takes between five to ten years to people can understand the concepts and start asking for changes. (...) They could do better if they did things step-by-step”.

One examination of testimonies allows one to assume that once the LADV was approved, in July 2010, advocacy interventions are reduced and interpersonal communication (IPC) gain a new role, with local culture assuming a relevant part of it. Local culture is explored as an opportunity for changing negative behaviours into intended behaviours and, ultimately, steer social change. This is an assumption especially for rural areas where traditions are grounded, endorsed by remote isolated places and ethnical rivalries between regions and kingdoms¹⁰⁷.

Indeed, as explained in a previous section about Participatory Communication¹⁰⁸, communication interventions to be successful need to have the participation of its beneficiaries to the point of them becoming the owners of the project. Direct observation and qualitative data reveals that SEPI is the “owner” of the gender equality policies and associated projects, with technical and financial support from international organizations (UNFPA, UN Women, Spanish Cooperation). This feeling of ownership is being important for the success of its interventions, even with the support of international organizations. Indeed, local change agents such as this one need to feel that the goal of their actions is the wellbeing of their population. The local population need also to feel that policies and interventions are from their peers and not from external agents. Then sustainable changes should occur. This aspect can be also observed in activities such as participatory theatre and radio community, which will be analysed further.

¹⁰⁷ See Duran, F. (2009), *Istoria Timor-Leste nian, Husi Pre-istoria to-o atualidade*, Lidel, 2ª Edição, Lisboa-Porto

¹⁰⁸ Chapter 3 “Communication Strategies for Development”, section related to Participatory Communication, pp. 52 - 55

Official speeches vs reality

Testimonies from international workers deployed in Timor-Leste confirmed the perception that the official speech is not exactly what is observed in the field. While the Government's officials and international workers say that "ideas are changing", there are a 'greater awareness that domestic violence (DV) is a crime' and "gender equality is well accepted". Those who work in the field feel that things are not as good as they should be, as demonstrated by the testimony of one Australian Lawyer working as program officer with local legal aid NGO Fundasaun ECM, based in Baucau, as volunteer:

"Traditionally people should have gone to their local authorities mediation or some kind of traditional resolution, which raised questions about women's representation and likelihood for some kind of fair remedy. So it's important that people are aware of this. Recently, there was a domestic law that is been promulgated [but] the community in general is not aware of the extent of it or what it means".

More than looking into political speeches, one examines the perception of each actor to explain the differences. Government officials are people who are born in a patriarchal society and, even having the opportunity to live and study abroad during the Indonesian's invasion, traditional social norms are still grounded. On the other hand, they work directly with the international community for development of their country and want to show them that they are doing something to change the current situation regarding gender equality and discrimination against women. If for them having the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV) is already a great step in that direction, for international workers in only one step and "resources for the support and protection of victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, child abuse and trafficking, are inadequate" (UNFPA, 2008: 5). The international community consists in majority of western workers with a different perception of gender and violence than the host country. In that sense, what is a big step forward for locals, for foreigners is only a small movement in direction of real changes.

As examined above, implementation of gender equality policies remains a great challenge, but it is also possible to see it as an opportunity. "Gender violence is about context and we have to work on that", emphasizes UNMIT's Gender Adviser. Actually, many activities have been arranged, though without a framework with common objectives and messages. This situation has changed in terms of objectives with the National Action Plan on Gender-Based Violence (NAPGBV), recently approved by the Government and drafted with the support of UNFPA, UN Women, MDGs Spanish Fund and other development partners (SEPI, 2012: 15). This working plan discloses a holistic approach on issues related to Gender-Based Violence

(GBV), which indicates a new approach where all stakeholders participate in tackling grassroots causes that foster GBV (SEPI, 2012: 15):

“preventing GBV requires actions to address the underlying causes of GBV, including discrimination and gender inequality, which results in the perceived lower status of women. (...) alarming trends have been identified in various studies regarding tolerance on GBV in Timorese communities. It is essential therefore to create change by directing efforts at attitude and behaviour change and increasing substantive equality”.

This working plan is then a step forward, in particular regarding “changing attitudes and behaviour” with the purpose of eliminating “stereotypes and harmful practices that contribute toward GBV, including DV, through changing attitudes and behaviour” (SEPI, 2012: 19). Similarly, World Health Organization (WHO) recognizes promotion of equality as a critical part of violence prevention (WHO, 2009: 3-4): *“Evidence suggest, however, that gender inequalities increase the risk of violence by men against women and inhibit the ability of those affected to seek protection”.*

The analysis of this document discloses that, while trying to change attitudes and behaviours through communication by breaking the cycle of violence, it is an enabling environment for those changes to occur, at least in part. Professor Everold Hosein, founder of the COMBI theory, emphasizes this assumption: *“without an enabled environment it is not possible to change behaviours”.*

However, document’s analysis reveals that SEPI has failed by including just components of communication for behaviour change, such as public campaigns, media and community empowerment. The lack of a national strategy – which is confirmed by SEPI and UNFPA representatives – should continue to raise challenges in the field. For now it is a positive step towards understanding underlying factors that instigate violence against women and find the most efficient media to reach audiences either monitoring and evaluate previous public campaigns with the objective of improving future programs (SEPI, *idem*).

As mentioned earlier, it is essential for communication expert acknowledge attitudes, behaviours, as well as all social, economic, legal, moral, cultural and political contexts (called Situational Market Analysis on COMBI)¹⁰⁹ for an effective communication program. Those are features that should facilitate or constrain the adoption of positive behaviours and sustainable changes.

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter 3 “Communication Strategies for Development”, pages 39 - 71

Ineffective messages

Women's rights and domestic violence are, therefore, sensitive subjects in Timor-Leste. The global campaign on Eliminations of Violence Against Women started in 2002 and became one of the many communication initiatives in Timor-Leste. It was driven by strong pressure from Timorese women, most of whom are ex-resistance veterans. These women have cleverly leveraged the post-conflict moment and the international presence to legitimize and fund this campaign. This is, indeed, an example of the crucial need to create 'a locally grounded discourse of gender equality', which avoids political elites claiming such changes are simply 'a western imposition' (Hall, 2009: 323). In sharp contrast, western approaches of campaigns makes it hard to be accepted and understood by local population.

The 16' Days Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women is a worldwide campaign promoted every year by the United Nations on November 25th and promoted in Timor-Leste by SEPI. It began with the slogan "Timorese culture does not have gender-based violence" [*Violensia basea ba géneru la'os kultura Timor-Leste nian*, in tetum] which is a clear effort of respect for local culture and values. Five years later, in 2007, UNMIT, in collaboration with UNIFEM (former United Nations Development Fund for Women), Asosiasaun Mane Kontra Violensia (AMKV) and UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund), launched another national campaign against domestic violence integrated in the world movement. This time, the slogan "Stop violence against women" [*Hapara violensia kontra feto*, in tetum] shows a clear shift in the message for the need of changing behaviours and attitudes and it is an example of contesting gender norms, cultural revitalisation and transformation in contemporary Timorese society (Niner, 2011: 48).

Nevertheless, empirical analysis and testimonies disclose that this campaign was launched without intended success. That is, messages were ineffective. It did not respect the Timorese cultural aspects nor was it appealing for Timorese people, as indicated by the testimony of development workers: "*This campaign with dark posters, for example, I could not understand what was about. Can you imagine the Timorese people? Of course, they could not understand the message neither its concept*", assumed UNMIT representative for Gender Justice. The UNFPA representative supports this point: "*The posters are really nice graphically. It shows men crossing arms. However, people do not understand the meaning of that gesture neither the concept of domestic violence*".

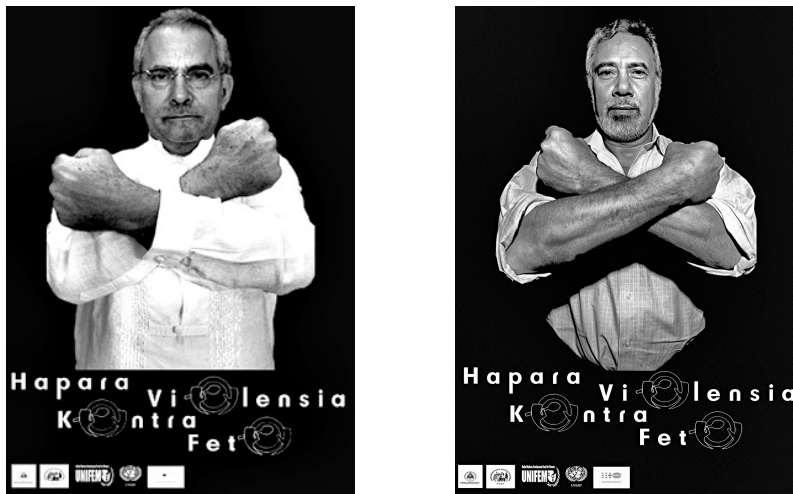


Figure 14 Former President of the Republic, José Ramos-Horta, and the Prime Minister, Xanana Gusmão, are two of the faces of the Campaign against Domestic Violence in Timor-Leste¹¹⁰

Other informants are unanimous regarding the message expressed on the above images: “They arrest the men that bit women”. On the contrary, the goal of these posters is to transmit the idea that those national leaders are against violence against women. The misinterpretation of the message reveals that the communication materials were not pre-tested by the communication expert that designed the campaign. The social and economic pressure is also important aspects. Respondents confirm qualitative data demonstrating that Timorese women do not want their husbands to go to prison. The reasons for this reluctance are numerous, including economic factors, family pressure, lack of information and lack of protection and follow-up services for victims of DV (UNDP, 2011: 21), while economic factors seem to be central to many women. Their economic dependency makes it difficult for victims to denounce the case and move forward to trial to fearing of being left alone without the breadwinner of the family. Additionally, guilt and stigmatization from family and community members for being responsible for putting her husband into prison and take him from his family are crucial features that keep domestic violence underreported.

LADV became the main subject of campaigning from 2009, particularly after its approval in July 2010. A series of posters were then designed and published by United Nations agencies deployed in Timor-Leste, with the key message of ‘Domestic Violence is a Public Crime’. The first one tries to send a direct message that domestic violence (DV) is a public crime and that the perpetrators can go to jail. The biggest challenge of this message is to overcome the local perception that DV is a private matter, as explained previously in the chapter dedicated

¹¹⁰ See Appendix IV for complete picture of the posters of the *Hapara Violensia Kontra Feto* campaign, pages 200 and 201

to Timorese landscape¹¹¹, and alerts the possibility of prison for perpetrators in serious cases. However, without overcoming the feeling of inferiority and stigmatism of victims and improve dissemination of information it will be hard to change attitudes regarding DV. Even so one highlights the attempt to change the perception of DV as a private matter in order to promote its public discussion and, consequently, change attitudes.



Figure 15 Posters series published by the Unites Nations mission deployed in Timor-Leste advocating for ending domestic violence

As qualitative data and observation demonstrate it, international agencies tend to produce posters for public campaigns and most of them with a western perspective without using local features. That is, they turn global campaigns with global messages into local campaigns by using local (or not that local) characters (second poster is an example), but without taking into account resident landscape.

The second poster associates DV to physical aggression, however the message is in English when the official languages of Timor-Leste are Tetum and Portuguese. This is a good example of western perspective in communication materials, which turn the interpretation of messages hard to local population. Booklets are another example of communication materials published by international organizations with, as most of it, western approaches. The next figure illustrates this point. The booklet was published in 2008 for the 16' Days Campaign on Elimination of Violence against Women. Messages are written in Tetum, but the photos did not send the intended messages, as explained previously in this section. Furthermore, posters

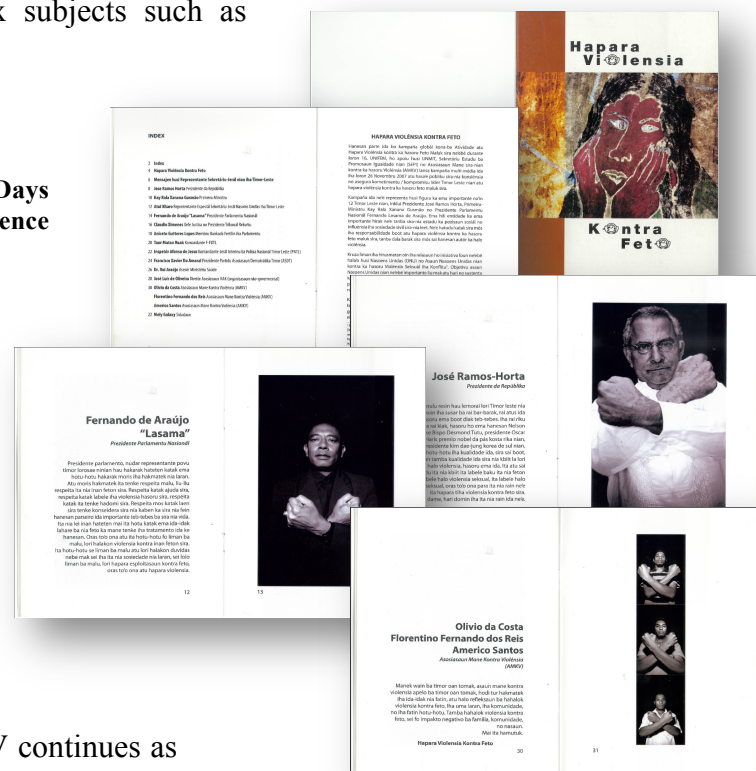
¹¹¹ See Chapter 5 “Timor-Leste: a violent reality”, pages 94 - 119

and booklets are one of the most ineffective communication materials as demonstrated by UNMIT Communication and Media Survey¹¹². UNFPA (2005: 53) confirms this particular situation: “posters have become a popular way of decorating homes and offices and have been developed on many issues besides gender-based violence, such as human rights, the environment and health.” This is a subject that will be examined in detail in a section dedicated to key agents for change.

The National Action Plan on Gender-based Violence (NAPGBV) includes also distribution of copies of the LADV, “brochures explaining the concepts of GBV and DV in clear and simple terms” and “standardized training modules on the content of the LADV and nature of GBV”. The target groups are general population, local leaders, such as *Suco* Chiefs and respective Councils and *Lian Nain* (community’ spokespersons). Their low literacy requires simple messages to understand complex subjects such as LADV.

Figure 16 Booklet for the 16’ Days Campaign on Elimination of Violence Against Women, in 2008, published by the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT), in joint campaign with UNIFEM, UNFPA, AMKV and Government of Timor-Leste

As mentioned earlier, since 2002, DV has being a constant issue in social mobilization and public awareness initiatives countrywide. If the concept of DV continues as a gap after 10 years, as already remarked in this section and testimonies demonstrate it, it indicates that implemented communication strategies are not as effective as intended.



¹¹² See UNMIT (2011), *Timor-Leste Communication and Media Survey*, Dili

7.4 Key agents for changes

This section assesses key agents for changes, appraising advantages and barriers of each in the field. The analysis covers only the main target groups that possibly should promote behaviours and social changes: traditional and local communities' leaders, youth, men and women and media.

When reduction of violence against women and young girls is the main goal, behaviours need to be identified, who are the victims and who perpetrate them. Furthermore, communication expert need to identify macro and micro behaviours. According to Professor Everol Hosein, of the University of New York, micro behaviours should be identified *“for a bigger behaviour change. Some witnessed violence and did not like seeing how their mothers were treated. They want to have a role in ending that cycle and this is a start”*. That is, the action of a few persons can lead to collective action. Actually, one compares this to the concept of ‘catalyst’ of the theory on communication for social change developed by the Rockefeller Foundation¹¹³.

The American journalist Malcon Gladwell goes forward and labels “The Law of the Few”. Those ‘few’ are certain people with a special capability of influencing the way messages are transmitted and capable of leading into collective action (Gladwell, 2007: 163):

“When we try an idea, attitude or product to reach the tipping point, we are trying to change our audience in some crucial point: we are trying to ‘infect’ it, including it in our epidemic, moving it from hostility to acceptance. This can be done through the influence of especial persons, persons with an extraordinary personal connection. This is the Law of the Few. This can be done by changing communication and by making message so memorable that sticks to people’s mind and makes them react to it. This is the Factor of Adherence. I think that these two Laws make sense intuitively. However, we need to have in mind that small changes within context can have equal impact, even if should seems to violate some of our most entrenched ideas regarding the human nature”.

Details, indeed, make the difference in communication. A sound understanding of audiences and channels is, therefore, crucial to find where and who seeks information and advice and why people use certain channels. UNMIT published a [Communication and Media Survey](#)¹¹⁴ (UNMIT, 2011: 1) with objective of assessing:

¹¹³ Detail information on Communication for Social Change on Chapter 3 “Communication Strategies for Development”, pages 39 - 71

¹¹⁴ The Communication and Media Survey published by UNMIT in 2011 is available at: http://unmit.unmissions.org/Portals/UNMIT/Media_Survey_Report_CPIO_FINAL_ENG.pdf

“the extend of media coverage and audience reach/access to information and types of media in Timor-Leste, as well the reach and impact of non-media information sources [but also] “provide updated baseline information [and] evaluate the effectiveness of media campaigns (...) in order to improve future design”.

This survey does not give details regarding population access to information on Gender-based Violence (GBV), but has important clues on which communication channels are more effective in Timor-Leste. Actually, the latter point should be used for monitoring and evaluate the communication strategy for future directions.

7.4.1 Community leaders as best sources of information

The UNMIT survey indicates that community leaders are the best (33 per cent) and most trusted (25 per cent) source of information, followed by television (20 per cent) and national radio (12 per cent) broadcasters. The police are also mentioned in both aspects (16 and 9 per cent, respectively). Friends and neighbours can also be a source of information (7 per cent). This preference should be explained by the fact that there is a lack of information access through mass media, especially in rural areas, and the word of mouth is one of the most effective ways for spreading messages in Timor-Leste.

Without other communications tools than oral tradition, Timorese people trust their community leaders and community members to get information from “outside”. In each village or community has a person in who people thrust the most and listen to. For example, the participation of that person on prevention of violence against women and children and on human rights activities should mobilize the entire community in turn of these issues. However, there is a detail that should imply the success or failure of communication activities based in local leaders: there are two types of community leaders – *Suco* Chiefs and traditional chiefs called *Liurai*. Voters elect the first in a democratic electoral process, while the latter is chosen within the community. This situation should limit communication effectiveness if the local communities trust the most traditional leaders and if this one is not included in communication interventions.

On the other hand, informants, including Government officials, state that it is very hard for community leaders to accept the concept of domestic violence (DV). In their opinion, DV is something imposed by foreigners. The resistance results from the fact that they feel that the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV) – which legitimizes DV as a public crime – has taken their power. Traditionally, they are the ones that solve community member’s disputes

and disagreements. After the approval of the LADV, they have to denounce any case to the police, which diminish their role as mediators. In order to overcome this resistance, SEPI explained the concept of DV and that community leaders should prevent it by guiding community members, protecting victims and denouncing cases. In community meetings SEPI used banners with photos and simple and clear messages for illustrating examples for better perception and understanding by target group, as the bellow testimony of SEPI representative for this dissertation:

“We had to explain what is domestic violence and its negative effects in community life to make them understand why it should not exist. We also talked about the Community Law, in which, according to article 11, the Suco Chief have to collaborate with police by informing and supporting victims of DV”.

For such sensitive subjects as women’s rights and DV, the strategy moved from social mobilization to interpersonal communication with the objective of involving local leaders and for them to pass on the messages to their community members. This is the case of *Suco* Chiefs and *Liurai*¹¹⁵ due to their social position within their communities. Both of them are local leaders and, consequently, mediators of conflicts between members of their communities.

Furthermore, empirical analysis indicates there should be a closer relationship between Government officials and service providers with community leaders acting as intermediate for prevention and denounce cases of DV. This way, the role of the community leaders as the guardian of the community’s wellbeing is still preserved. To this role adds the one as educator. After being trained, community leaders should mentor their members in preventing negative behaviours and promoting collective action for social change. They should act as a ‘catalyst’ for social change.

While information is widespread, 15 per cent of the respondents of the mentioned survey never received information on DV. Posters, banners and public boards are mentioned by less than 2 per cent of respondents as a source of information. Even so, those are often communication tools chosen by the development partners in Timor-Leste¹¹⁶.

The recently approved National Action Plan for Gender-Based Violence (NAPGBV) targets mainly *“national and local leaders (including Suco Chiefs, Church officials and traditional*

¹¹⁵ Traditional community leaders

¹¹⁶ Examples of booklets and flyers produced by the Government of Timor-Leste with the support of its development partners, pages 201 - 204

leaders) to increase knowledge of gender equality, GBV and Domestic Violence issues” (2012, 16). However, other audiences are equally essential for sustainable changes in all structure to create opportunities for collective actions and positive behaviours. A deeper analysis of the NAP reveals target groups, such as police and military officers, Government and Parliament members, Civil Society Organizations (CSO), women’s organizations and teachers, but it leaves aside judges, personnel of services providers, parents and caregivers.

Actually, communication strategies (CS) analysed until now explores particular agents of change – community leaders, women, especially the potential victims, teachers and youth - regarding sensitive issues: women’s rights and gender equality. The degree of success of intervention activities addressing DV varies and they have in common their focus on victims. Research based on interviews indicates a one-sided focus, which did not produced intended decrease of DV cases or significant help for the majority of the victims.

7.4.2 Youth: the generational change

Children and youth may produce generational changes in terms of behaviours and attitudes. For that reason, both should be observed as an opportunity for sustainable changes. Young generations better educated have a more open mind and nurture new values and intended behaviours inside households and for next generations. An analysis of communication strategies in Timor-Leste shows that school-based communication programmes should hence address gender norms and attitudes before they became deeply ingrained in children and youth. “The youth better educated are changing. Education is an investment”, emphasizes UNICEF in Timor-Leste. UNWomen former director remarks the same idea for this study:

“Working with children is also an effective way to decrease the incidence of domestic violence. They learn and practice at home what they have learned at school. Sooner or later that can reflect in their parents’ behaviour. We are also investing in the new generation with a different understanding of things. Sensitization, awareness, information and education are needed. If we repeat the messages, people’s knowledge increases and motivates them to change their behaviours. Media and training are as well crucial”.

On the other hand, interviewed victims stress a limitation in school-based communication interventions, in particular urban areas, where “increased feeling of ‘power’ given by money, closes young boys to new ideas”, such as women’s rights and respect. Nonetheless, WHO and other international agencies report successful initiatives addressing gender norms, dating violence and sexual abuse among teenagers and youth (WHO, 2009: 5):

“These target either male peer groups, or male and female together and aim to increase knowledge of intimate partner violence, challenge gender stereotypes and norms and reduce levels of dating violence”.

Teachers are similarly an important target group. Testimonies disclose that most of them use violence to punish or educate their students. In spite of this situation, empirical observation demonstrates that they should be a channel on civic education amongst their students, namely human rights, gender and sexuality for conflict and violence prevention, such as sexual abuse in adolescence, which is a common occurrence in Timor-Leste demonstrated by baseline data, police reports and testimonies. UNICEF and SEPI follow this strategy by increasing knowledge of those who have an impact in children’s lives. Through education it is possible to empower communities for engaging positively with peers and family members, increasing children and youth’s self-esteem and feel supported in discussing and processing trauma from abuse and violence.

7.4.3 Engaging men and Women for equal goal

The holistic approach of SEPI’s strategy on National Action Plan on Gender-based Violence (NAPGBV) presents a new opportunity to engage men for sustainable behaviour change. This is surely a positive aspect that deserves to be highlighted, which is confirmed by WHO (*idem*): *“there is some evidence that (...) empower women without engaging men should actually cause friction and conflict between partners, especially in societies with rigid gender roles [as Timorese society]”.*

One finding suggest that women are now more encouraged to speak out and there is a growing awareness that cultural traditions fostering violence are no longer acceptable under law. In turn, Timorese women have more actively opposed male hegemony, domestic conflicts have increased and more men have resorted to domestic violence. These findings are compatible with deductions of Timor-Leste Demographic and Health Survey (TLDHS) (DNE, 2010: 247), in which baseline data reveals that working women who have an independent source of income are more likely to report having experienced physical violence. This should be an assumption that independent women are challenging the established social norms of being dependent on their partners for their livelihood and, therefore, their new role should subject them to greater violence. These findings demonstrate a need for raising awareness among women and men about their individual rights in relation to sexuality and how they should work to reduce physical and sexual violence. In fact, this baseline data show

useful guidelines for both programme managers and communication practitioners to initiate awareness-raising activities and human rights education interventions.

One's research suggests responses to domestic violence must not focus exclusively on women, but also targeting men to prevent a backlash. When gender roles become more flexible, most women enjoy greater power, status and economic independence and the threat of violence against them decreases. It is important, therefore, to engage both men and women, boys and girls in interventions that promote gender equality and prevent violence against women.

A major focus of the domestic violence campaigns examined for this study has connecting legislation and prevention of further violence through the imprisonment of perpetrators, underlying the belief that men might stop using violence knowing that imprisonment is a possible outcome. Thus, imprisonment is meant to serve two purposes: punishing the perpetrators as well as preventing violence from occurring. The evidence from courts and police reports show a different reality. Moreover, SEPI representative for this study point out that, after the approval of the LADV, "there are men that provoke their wife just to see if they complain to the police".

Nonetheless, men as members of households, potential perpetrators and breadwinners are forgotten. Informants point out that Timorese women do not want their husbands to go to prison, since they depend on them economically. This dependency makes it difficult for the victims to put the case forward into court and cultural and social pressures are enormous, even among officers who deal directly with GBV, such as police officers and prosecutors.

The inclusion of men, including those that for professional reasons deal with DV, as target groups is then essential for the success of communication programmes on prevention of violence against women. Women need to be protected and advocacy campaigns need to continue, but at the same time something should be done to change men's mentality and their attitudes to women. In fact, findings from qualitative research indicate that some gender projects have failed directly due to exclusion of men and perhaps even resulted in an increase in domestic violence. Based on one analysis, the exclusion of men in educational activities on human rights and domestic violence resulted in an unequal information and knowledge. Communication interventions enable women to gain confidence and a feeling of empowerment. Consequently, they have begun to challenge their husbands' patriarchal

attitudes. However, their husbands' reaction is increased violence for being excluded from the whole process.

7.4.4 Mass Media in an integrated perspective

As mentioned earlier, in sharp contrast with Dili, the capital of Timor-Leste, information does not always reach rural areas, where few households have television and only a few points have Internet access. For that reason, communication strategies should have an integrated approach to overcome these constraints. The Communication and Media Survey (CMS), published by UNMIT (2011), indicates that 25 per cent of the households do not own any media and communication equipment in 2010. The main media continue to be radio, with 47 per cent, followed by television (24 per cent). The Internet access is very limited (0.5 per cent), as well as computer ownership (2 per cent).

Domestic violence is one of the topics presented in this survey. Effectively, 72 per cent of the respondents mentioned that recognize DV draft law during the consultation process that took place between 2009 and 2010. The Ministry of Justice, SEPI, NGOs and United Nations agencies conducted public meetings to discuss the draft law against domestic violence, throughout all districts in Timor-Leste during those years. The Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL), in collaboration with its development partners, including civil society, have been promoting the 16' Days Campaign Against Violence Against Women, from November 25th to December 10th, during which DV draft law was the main subject. Communication initiatives included printed banners, postcards and other materials, as well as meetings and workshops.

The above survey reveals that radio and television are both important media for dissemination of information and raises awareness. However, their effectiveness depends on the way they are used. For instance, media campaigns have proven successful in increasing knowledge of intimate partner violence and influencing attitudes towards gender norms, but less is known about their ability to reduce violent behaviour. Research (WHO, 2009: 11) shows that the most successful media interventions are those that begin by understanding the behaviour of their audience and engaging its members in developing the intervention. Media campaigns associated with intervention activities are proven to be successful in change knowledge and attitudes. Mass media strategies should promote social change aiming to empower women and youth to promote women's rights and gender equality. Activities should include television series, radio talk shows for youth and community activities. The campaigns should

also targeted men aiming to challenge traditional concepts of masculinity associated with violence.

SEPI has planned “*working with the national media to sensitize journalists to the causes and consequences of GBV to improve reporting*” (SEPI, 2012: 16). It is interesting to observe that this is the only media strategy related to training journalists for improving the report of GBV. The lack of professionalism and independence of Timorese media are well known and identified for long time. Even with improvement from intensive training, the newspapers’ articles related to domestic violence are mere description of facts, for instance. Empirical observation suggests that Timorese media still lacking analysis and reflection on issues such as human rights and gender equality through stories, chronicles and opinion articles. On the other hand, one acknowledges that public awareness campaigns and other interventions delivered via television, radio and other mass media can be effective for altering attitudes and behaviours but these are not being used in that direction. Further, community radio is an example well known for its effectiveness, as explained previously in this chapter.

Nevertheless, media are misused in Timor-Leste, lacking repetition of advertising issues like domestic violence (DV), health and family planning, for example. The absence of public awareness through media is hence a great loss for behaviour change strategy developed by SEPI and its development partners.

7.5 Conclusion

This is by no means a complete picture of what have been done. There have been great initiatives, from participation in international and national events to the holding of small workshops at the village level. This is neither a complete picture of what can be done. The intention is to leave some guidelines of what and how can be done.

This chapter examined communication strategies implemented in Timor-Leste: challenges and opportunities. Research demonstrates that each challenge has one or more opportunities in which communication experts should concentrate their strategies. For an effective communication plan, experts should explore local beliefs, values and traditions so that messages can be better understood by targeted audience in each intervention. For that purpose, the professional should do a research-based communication plan to acknowledge intrinsic factors permeating violence and social disruption, that is, the root causes that instigate violence.

Although most of communication development experts (Fraser & Restreto-Estrada, 2001; Figuerea, 2002; Scalway, 2003; Parks, 2005; Singhal, 2005; Lennie & Tacci, 2011; MacCall, 2011) agree that social change cannot easily fit into a rigid structure, some structure is needed to help identify what makes some community initiatives succeed and what can be lacking in those that fail. Individual change strategies also have a habit of succeeding with one segment of a population while failing with another. Elimination of discrimination and violence against women may only be possible by means of collective discussion and action. Numerous communication efforts regarding domestic violence and other forms of gender-based violence have been conducted in all levels of society in Timor-Leste, from national to local level by the Government, United Nations agencies and mission and international and national NGOs. Yet, there has been relatively little proactive discussion regarding what “national communication strategy” really means, which communication channels are most suitable for particular audiences and what impact communication activities actually have. Monitoring and evaluation of communication activities is then fundamental for verification of intended objectives.

8. COMMUNICATION FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION (CFSI)

8.1 Introduction

The previous analysis of the Timorese communicational landscape demonstrates that increased knowledge and awareness is raising the number of denounces but it does not suggest inverting behaviours from perpetrators. So, something is missing. Timor-Leste is just one case. Myriads of communication strategies have been used for almost a century to influence how people think, feel and behave. Indeed, over the last twenty years, there is a lot of discussion around what are the best communication strategies, where a sound understanding of its audiences and communication channels are crucial features to improve the reach and effectiveness of interventions that seek to facilitate change. However, this discussion does not address emotions, reactions, how behaviours and actions are built. Nevertheless, researchers of the British Government Communication Centre (COI, 2009) emphasize the need for understanding them for an effective communication.

Looking to all this aspects, the present chapter is dedicated to a new paradigm in Communication for Development (C4D): Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI). This is an approach that has not been explored though it has been implemented in mental health programs, for instance, as admitted in an interview by Professor Everol Hosein, of the University of New York. UNICEF has also highlighted a new approach in communication projects in the same direction as CSI but without an in-deep analysis. Therefore, the following sections try to go further in development communication by examining its social inclusion dimension of those affected by violence against women in society. Women and young girls may be direct victims of violent behaviours against them, but perpetrators, family and community members are all affected in different realms. The social inclusion of vulnerable groups¹⁵² in family and community spheres through positive social norms and values suggests that CSI is inherent in C4D thinking. According to professor Everol Hosein, this dissertation is the first study that analysis social inclusion in C4D. In this sense, this study brings to light a new communication approach to C4D through positive social norms and values for social inclusion of those affected by violent behaviours.

¹⁵² The author of this study includes perpetrators as vulnerable group once they are also victims of their social, economic, cultural, political and historic situation.

8.2 Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI): a new paradigm

“Promoting the value of respect for human life in all peoples and cultures, based on the conviction that an authentic people is one that knows how to respect and care for the most defenceless and fragile life, is fundamental to social integration” (CSD’s Survey respondent, 2009: 12).

Despite the implementation of laws to remove gender discrimination, being female remains a barrier to social integration and a participating member of society. Women and children, especially those living in poverty, are identified as particularly vulnerable groups who experience marginalization and social exclusion (Pearson, 2000). Indeed, gender inequality, gender stereotyping, male domination, patriarchal attitudes or abusive cultural and social practices are reported as barriers to social integration (CSD, 2009: 7). As World Health Organization (WHO) (2009: 4) points out:

“Often unspoken, these norms offer social standards of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, governing what is (and is not) acceptable and co-ordinating our interactions with others. Cultural and social norms persist within society because of individual’s preference to conform, given the expectation that others will also conform. A variety of external and internal pressures are thought to maintain cultural and social norms”.

Therefore, cultural and social norms have high influence in shaping individual behaviour (*idem*; COI, 2009: 23), including the use of violence that when accepted is a risk for all types of interpersonal violence. For instance, as demonstrated in previous chapters, traditional beliefs that men have a right to control or discipline women through physical means makes women vulnerable to violence by intimate partners and places girls at risk of sexual abuse. On the other hand, personal and environmental factors (local and wider) also influence behaviours. As a result it is important to identify and understand behaviours addressing the complex and interrelated nature of the factors that influence how people behave (*idem*). People are then central for a sustainable change and development, as described in Chapter 1 on Communication for Development (C4D).

Notwithstanding, can we change behaviours when people are worried with how to survive? The vicious downward spiral of social problems, such as lack of housing and transport, malnutrition, poor primary health care and educational services, unemployment, strikes especially vulnerable groups as women and children. In fact, previous researches (Allen and Thomas, 2000; UNFPA, 2005 and 2008; CSD, 2009: 7; WHO, 2009; UNDP, 2011; Khan and

Hyati, 2012) have proven a strong correlation between poverty and violence. So, should we advocate also for socio-economic development in order to ‘fight’ those negative behaviours? According to the psychologist Abraham H. Maslow, people reach fulfilment through satisfying a series of needs. He traced a hierarchy beginning with physiological needs, like hunger and thirst, through safety, love and esteem to the self-actualization, or full expression, of the individual (Hosein, 2012: 22). If survival is somehow the main question in people’s life, change behaviours, attitudes and practices that are entrenched are then the least of their concerns.

Thus for behaviour change, one needs to look at grassroots causes that promote negative behaviours. Social exclusion is one of those causes often compounded by a lack of investment in social infrastructure and poverty eradication strategies. Researchers of the Committee for Social Development (CSD, 2009: 7) further indicate that:

“(...) individuals and groups who live in poverty and lack financial and personal resources should experience other conditions that lead to exclusion: family violence and breakdown, child neglect and violence, addictions and engagement in illicit activities”.

Without focusing on gender relations that produce and perpetuate those situations, it is impossible to go beyond a mere description of the conditions of women in different realms. One needs to understand how profound and pervasive the structures of women’s subordination really are (Fawssett *et al*, 2000, 202 – 204). Moreover, the analysis should also encompass emotions and feelings. Indeed, excluded groups often experience feelings of inferiority and culpability – especially women and young girls –, which are also barriers to their own integration. In addition, stigma and discrimination are, then, important impediments to social inclusion. Furthermore, moral and ethical deficits create constraints to social integration (CSD, 2009: 8-9): *“These are expressed as a loss of basic values, having little experience of positive human and social values, an absence of spiritual sensitivity and a low level of moral consciousness”.* Social bonds are broken when violence erupts and reconstructing them requires communicational sensibility and creativity. Demand for changes arrives with increased awareness and knowledge, as previously demonstrated. However, those are not always as easy as intended.

These generalizations seem to be an extension of the argument one has made earlier that entrenched attitudes and practices can change through communication. Thus, it puts a more positive ‘gloss’ on the new C4D paradigm, which links behavioural to social changes for integration of vulnerable groups. If the final goal is to change behaviours in order to reach

social change, the strategy suggested could be **Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI)**, which explores particular agents of change – community members – and it is about a particularly sensitive issue – human rights perspective through relations of trust and respect. CSI links behaviour to social change incorporated in a new approach for C4D. This is a strategy based on holistic, participation and people-centre approach, whose core is grassroot causes (socio-economic, cultural and emotional) that instigate violence. In this particular case, sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), especially domestic violence or intimate partner violence.

8.3 Building new social norms and values through Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI)

Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI), based on participatory and people-centred approach of C4D¹⁵³, intends to fill the existing gap between behaviour (individual) and social change (collective). It aims to detect original causes of negative behaviours, which lead to exclusion of community members, such as women and perpetrators. The final goal of this holistic approach is to create new values and social models, like caring and respect for others (that is, human rights perspective), in order to invert those that constrains social inclusion of vulnerable groups.

Lauron Sonnier (2009: 69) recognizes that “people are emotional beings. We all make decisions based on emotions and then justify them with fact.” That is, behaviours will change depending how people feel. For example, in order to change negative behaviours regarding violence against women one needs to use positive messages in order to create new emotions and feelings regarding gender equality. Is not saying that is wrong to be violent – that it does not work – but that women have an important role in society and that they make the difference. The communication is for the integration of women in society, in their families, in their communities and, at the same time, increasing their self-esteem. The same is for men. Instead of sending messages that they cannot be violent or they can go to jail, should be the other way around: have a happy family for a better future, for example. One should then assume that emotions are important and necessary features in communication.

¹⁵³ See Chapter 2 “What is Communication Development” (pages 23 to 38) and Chapter 3 “Communication Strategies for Development” (pages 39 to 71).

Actually, the victims of sexual abuse interviewed for this study specified the need for preventing violence through the development of safe, stable and nurturing relationships between children and their parents and caregivers. That is, new social norms add values in a society where men's mentality, masculinity stereotypes and attitudes towards females is exacerbated. In the same direction, WHO (2009: 3) advocates for:

"(...) safe, stable and nurturing relationships with parents and other caregivers (...) enabling the children to (...) develop the skills required to establish loving and supportive relationships with others. (...) The lack or disruption of safe, stable and nurturing relationships in early childhood can have severe and long-lasting effects and is related to a variety of problems from childhood through to adulthood. These include anxiety and depression, poor communication skills, low self-esteem, difficulties forming peer relationships, lack of empathy for others in distress, anti-social behaviour, poor educational attainment and economic productivity and being a perpetrator or victim of violence".

Therefore, this suggests that building new social models between parents and children that will influence future generations. Consequently, promoting social change over time. Youth and men are other target groups remarked by the interviewed victims.

CSI should then advocate and encourage change of behaviours that support the use of violence through interventions at grassroots level, targeting in particular communities, parents and caregivers¹⁵⁴, men and youth. Nonetheless, CSI to be effective must have and strategic, integrated and holistic approach. Firstly, it should be based on local culture and beliefs for better acceptance of new social norms and values from local audience. The coordinator of the *Casa Vida* project has given an example of how things work at a community level:

"When an organization organizes a seminar, for instances, in a village, people go to it but nothing changes at home. The perpetrator can become more cautious because he realized that what is doing is wrong, is a crime and can go to jail. The silence should increase. The intended effect should be opposite. Therefore, the communication has to reach grass causes instead of been only about violence. The education of the new generation is crucial for a new vision of things. The Timorese culture has very deep beliefs and values, that is why communication should focus on family values, respect for the family, the woman as mother, as a very important member of household and community".

These are reasons why communication interventions ought to make use of local culture and values to promote collective action for change. For instance, it should emphasize woman role within Timorese culture, such as her value within household as a mother and wife. At the

¹⁵⁴ In Timor-Leste, any family member can be a caregiver or even a neighbour, depending if the child has relatives close or if any of them can take care of him/her during a particular time of the day/night.

same time, it should make use of strong family values in Timorese society in order to invert the mentality and raise awareness for respect of all community members, including women and children.

Secondly, communication interventions should be based on which communication channels are most effective in the context. In case of Timor-Leste, where illiteracy is high, only a small percentage of the population have access to internet, with poor transport network and roads in bad conditions, limit access to primary health care and education, the creativity is crucial to find the right tools than normally used to inform, increase knowledge and contribute to public discussion with the objective of reaching consensus to carry out collective action for social change. That is, participatory approach in a horizontal perspective of development communication. Research among local communities and ask them what channels and messages are the most appropriate in a certain region and/or community should be a pathway for an effective communication design, planning and implementation. In COMBI theory for behavioural change, Professor Everol Hosein (UNMIT, 2012) calls this approach SMACK, that is discover the communication keys (CK) which would enable engaged communication with beneficiaries of the programme to explore facilitating and constraining factors with regard to the possible practice of the behaviour. The process, based on a “smacking conversation”, consist in find the communication objectives which need to be accomplished in order to achieve the desired intended/positive behaviours. This is done during fieldwork to acknowledge the whole local context (economic, political, social, cultural, moral), what the author calls Situation Market Analysis (SMA).

In the same direction, Fraser and Estrada (1998: 60) appraised the need for improvement of interpersonal communication between development workers and local populations. This requires fieldwork and time for research, which are not always compatible with pressure from project managers and donors for quick results. One experience reveals that it takes between six to seven months until an international expert “is allowed” to enter into the local context and gain the trust of locals. Only then are they able to understand the context in which they are working. In most of the cases, this is exactly the time that the communication expert has for presenting a communication plan for a public campaign, for instance.

Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI) is not only about communication at grassroots level, but also from bottom-up and horizontal levels. All stakeholders ought to participate, including Government, services providers and agencies, either national or international, and

civil society organizations (CSO). All should send the same message and speak as one in order to avoid misinterpretation among target groups. In summary, it is about positive communication with the objective of inverting negative behaviours and attitudes into new values and social models through emotions in order to facilitate integration in society of victims of DV and perpetrators. Similarly, in this particular example, it promotes nurturing relationships among family members. Consequently, social changes should occur over time. All of this ought to lead to a situation in the field of development for a new paradigm.

Until recently, little research (WHO, 2009: 12) has been done on the outcomes of stand-alone media and communication interventions to encourage better relationships, thus preventing violent behaviour and, consequently, promote social changes. Therefore, like in any other communication strategy and approach, monitoring and evaluation on CSI interventions are essential for verification of outcomes and improve future interventions. Working in close collaboration with communities, communication experts should use quantitative and qualitative indicators, which are not easy to define. To overcome this challenge the communication expert must ensure measurable and reasonable objectives when planning (SMART objectives as mentioned earlier) and use adequate and various methodologies to collect valid and reliable data. Baseline data from previous studies can be a starting point, allowing comparisons with post-campaign measurements in order for an evaluation of the campaign effects to be possible.

In summary, the core principles of communication for social inclusion are:

- Facilitate enabling environment for sustainable behavioural and social changes;
- Two types of target groups: (1) communities, parents, caregivers, women and men, youth; (2) Government, services providers, agencies and civil society organizations (CSO);
- Based on local culture and beliefs to invert negative behaviours and attitudes, listening and giving voices to vulnerable groups;
- Principles of inclusion, participation and respect for others (human rights) to build self-esteem and confidence;
- Setting social norms and values that identify key desired behaviours, attitudes and social practices;
- Identification of communication channels and messages through dialogue with beneficiaries and pre-testing material.

8.4 Conclusion: Research-based communication strategy for social inclusion of vulnerable groups

The analysis of the case of Timor-Leste in chapter 7 demonstrates communication strategies based on two perspectives: (1) punishment of perpetrators and (2) protection of victims. There is a negative connection regarding domestic violence in all their forms. On contrary, the new paradigm of development communication for social inclusion of both perpetrators and victim in family and community realms highlights positive messages building new social norms and values to reverse negative behaviours into positive. This is highlighted by the testimony of the victims for this study. Those social norms and values should be based on relations of trust and respect for others, in a human rights perspective. Therefore, communication expert should then ground its strategy on an in-deep analysis of the context (or market) that will work on it. Understanding how socio-economic, cultural and emotional features responsible for violence affect women, men, girls and boys is critical to the overall effectiveness of communication strategy. A meaningful knowledge of target groups, namely its emotions, feeling and expectations, is essential to define successful messages. Communication tools are another essential element. They depend on structures and constrains, which can be overcome with creativity and respect for local culture and identity.

Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI) is not only about communication at grassroots level, but also from bottom-up and horizontal levels. All stakeholders should participate, including Government, services providers and agencies, either national or international and civil society organizations (CSO). All should send the same message and speak as one in order to avoid misinterpretation of messages among target groups.

In summary, CSI is about positive communication, with the objective of inverting negative attitudes and behaviours into new values and social models through emotions in order to facilitate the inclusion in society of vulnerable groups, such as victims of domestic violence and perpetrators in this particular case. Similarly, it promotes nurturing and trusted relationships among family and community members, for example. Consequently, social changes should occur over time.

This is, therefore, a study in progress. It needs to be verified once this is a new approach without in-deep analysis. Many methods will emerge from research and empirical experience. Therefore, the objective of this chapter is to spark the debate.

9. CONCLUSION

This study assesses communication strategies for prevention of the most common form of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in Timor-Leste: Domestic Violence (DV). It presents a synthesis of the experiences in applying communication approaches ranging from advocacy, social mobilization, interpersonal communication, mass media and entertainment, participatory development communication that have been used in Timor-Leste in the last decade. One's intention is to provide a direction for development communication experts' play a more strategic role in behavioural and social changes. Based on findings in literature on communication for development (C4D), quantitative and qualitative data, one suggests that an existing model for developing communication grounded on social inclusion ought to be used on prevention of violence against women since early stages of programmes.

One starts by showing opportunities and challenges faced by professionals in the field, following examination of Timorese communicational landscape for prevention of violence against women and presents a new communication paradigm for social inclusion of victims and perpetrators. It ends with recommendations for communication professionals, international agencies, Governments and their partners.

9.1 Challenges and opportunities faced by communication professionals in the field

This section addresses the main challenges and opportunities faced by communication experts and practitioners in the field, which constrains or facilitate the success of their programmes.

1. Confusion and lack of understanding of what is C4D. Experts recognize that there still confusion and lack of understanding from agencies and Governments of what Communication for Development (C4D) – or communication development – is all about (Balit, 2012: 106; Servaes *et al.*, 2006). For instance, decision makers in development institutions are aware of the importance of information and communication activities, but in connection with public relations or corporate communication. As Timorese communicational landscape demonstrates, they understand the advantage of using communication in development programmes, but are usually interested in producing messages to tell people what to do, rather than in listening and giving people a voice, that is, make them part of the

whole process. Governments, in turn, tend to be primarily interested in cutting edge technologies in development programmes. This situation suggests that development programmes effectiveness may be compromised. As argued in this study, integrated communication strategies since early stages in development programmes are not always put into practice, which constrains communication practitioners work and programmes' success. On contrary, C4D has to do with people and implies employing appropriate methods and tools to empower people.

2. Limited time and resources. Today there is some acknowledge of the impact of communication in development projects. Hence, limited time and resources constrains communication' effectiveness (Balit, 2012: 106; Servaes *et al*, 2006). In the opinion of Silvia Balit (*idem*), pioneer of development communication within United Nations System, “many development programs failed because they failed to communicate with the intended beneficiaries and other stakeholders” and “tend to be given too few resources.” Communication strategies results are visible after years of fieldwork and donors are eager for results, not always compatible with communication pathway. This situation may constrain communication interventions in getting sustainable changes. In Timor-Leste, there is a new vision from donors. UNFPA representative testified that some donors are now more aware for the need of long term goals for effective and sustainable changes, such as Spanish Cooperation. The Spanish agency is an example that encompasses the time factor – 15/20 years programmes - and, consequently, resources in the programme on GBV that is developing with the Timorese Government and other partners.

3. Single Communication Strategies for each situation. Understanding the socio-economic, political and cultural context of each country and region is crucial for the success of any communication programme. Forms of SGBV differ vastly between and within regions and countries, which make all communication strategies unique. Field research is then essential once it enables a communication expert to understand the grassroots causes that promote those negative behaviours and how profound and pervasive the social, economic and cultural structures of subordination of women are. For instance, as this study demonstrates, cultural and social norms have a high influence in shaping individual behaviours. Traditional beliefs in patriarchal societies such as Timorese give the right to men to control and discipline women, girls and children, making them a vulnerable group to violence. People are then central for a sustainable change and development.

Therefore, communication expert should design and plan an integrated strategy linking each program goal through careful communication research, management, monitoring and

evaluation. Development of communication programmes should have a holistic approach addressing grassroots causes. Behaviours lead with emotions, political, social and economic causes lead with historical and cultural factors.

4. Communication programme team with a multidisciplinary vision. For a better understanding of this complex context, communication programmes should have a multidisciplinary team. Hence, its complexity forces a research-based communication strategy in order to understand (1) why those negative behaviours and attitudes happen; (2) who are affected directly and indirectly by those behaviours and attitudes; (3) what are the communication tools and messages more effective; (4) which target groups should be reached for sustainable changes with the final goal of social change. At first, sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists should work in close collaboration with communication expert for a wider understanding of the entire context for an effective communication design, planning and implementation. This collaboration helps also the communication professional to determine each target group, each message and communication tools are more effective. Even each region in a particular country can then enforce the communication expert to diverse its strategy, depending of structural factors, as cultural and traumatic causes, that other social sciences professionals have a more accurate vision and understanding.

In Timor-Leste, as in many other cases, diverse experts in human rights, gender, justice, development, sociology, international relations, including consultants for short term, work to define policies and programmes. However, one research suggests that no multidisciplinary team supported the implemented communication interventions in Timor-Leste. Those were developed by communication professionals recruited as short-term consultants that have a broad picture of the local context, which is explained during meetings and field studies written by other than communication experts. These studies are useful, but do not give accurate indicators and information needed to design an effective communication strategy, such as the most efficient communication tools in the local context. Communication professionals should, therefore, leave the office and talk with people that work directly in the field and with the beneficiaries.

9.2 Timor-Leste: challenges and opportunities in a difficult landscape

The Timorese landscape denotes challenging situations for its post-conflict situation and intrinsic patriarchal culture. As already argued in this dissertation, challenges also enable opportunities, which is analysed below.

1. Slow changes in a post-conflict and patriarchal country. One research, based on baseline data, literature review (UNFPA, 2005; Alves *et al.*, 2009; UNDP, 2011; Khan and Hyati, 2012; Niner, 2012) and interviews, suggests experienced high level of trauma exposure in a traditional patriarchal society such as Timor-Leste have intensified subordination of women and undesirable behaviours. However, this assumption requires further inquiry since it is not the aim of this study. Even so in one decade, Timor-Leste has reached great achievements regarding violence against women: domestic violence became a public crime, services are being provided to victims, including legal support, and a joint programme is being led by SEPI for strengthening country-level response on GBV. These were achieved with support of international development partners.

Hence, the lack of commitment from the Government of Timor-Leste (GoTL) in budgeting programmes and services which are being funded by its development partners and implementation of laws sharpen the fragility of social policies and services provision to reduce domestic violence and change behaviours. On the other hand, sustainable changes happen when local actors understand the benefits of controlling their path of development.

2. Western approach diminishes effectiveness. From all the studies analysed concerning Timor-Leste landscape (UNFPA, 2005; UNFPA, 2008; APSCTL, 2009; DNE, 2010; UNDP, 2011; Kahn and Hyati, 2012), some produced by Timorese personalities, look at factors responsible for high incidence of violence against women such as high rates of poverty and illiteracy, patriarchal society exacerbated by *barlake* (dowry) and violent recent past of the country. However, social scientist Daniel Simião (2006) is the only analysed author in this study that goes further. He poses a new analysis by examining the local concept of violence itself. His field research verified that for Timorese people moral violence is more aggressive than physical, which is seen as an educational method. Indeed, his findings indicate a new behaviour perception. The western perspective has a negative perception of violence while for the Timorese people it has an educational dimension. This different perception regarding violence forces communication professionals to shift the communicational approach avoiding opposing messages to local perception and, by doing so,

prevent resistance from communities to new concepts and values, such as domestic violence (DV) and women's rights.

This study demonstrates that the introduction of the concept of DV and the global campaign 16 Days on Elimination of Violence Against Women are two examples of western approaches and ignorance suggests concerning the local conception of violence. Indeed, the first still misunderstood and the latter had an adverse impact. New concepts and values, such as DV and gender equality, had a better acceptance at the beginning of the international presence. After the excitement of restoration of independence, they started to be seen as foreigner interference to local social norms and values. Therefore, this study suggests that local and traditional communication channels should be faced as an opportunity for converting resistance into acceptance, as an example of the local languages through interpersonal communication approach. For this to be effective, it would be important to identify whom people trust the most in each community to become a partner in the programme. Another example is oral traditional, which makes use of cultural performances as dance, music and drama. As explained in this study, participatory theatre has the capability of engaging local communities with sensitive subjects than other than media. Both examples may trigger collective discussion and, in the long term, new awareness concerning negative behaviours.

On the other hand, public campaigns and mass media were used to raise awareness on issues such as DV and its punishment as a public crime. However, public campaigns were implemented without intended objectives. 16 Days Campaign on Elimination of Violence against Women proves that lack of in-deep knowledge of the cultural and moral local context and not pre-testing communication material in order to verify their effectiveness. Testimonies reveal that the message of this campaign, which was implemented in 2008, was not understood or misinterpreted by its audience.

3. Communication strategies with participatory features. If western perceptions and have constrained communication interventions, it is also true that Timor-Leste has examples of effective communication activities resulting in increased awareness. Many implemented communication strategies are based on participatory principles: involvement of local communities for acceptance of new concepts and regulation through social mobilization; advocacy for enabling legal and regulatory environment, such as approval of the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV) by decision-makers and referral network of support and service provision to victims; involvement of international and local agencies for gender equality policies and service provision. These are summarized examples.

4. Increased awareness and knowledge do not suggest inversion of behaviours. After 10 years of intensive development work it is possible to observe increased awareness and knowledge regarding violence against women. Baseline data and police statistics' prove an augmentation of awareness with increased number of denounces. However, they do not suggest an inversion of behaviours and attitudes. On contrary, baseline data and testimonies indicate that women's awareness have boosted negative behaviours from men that feel their rights as males challenged. This reveals that men have been left outside of communication strategies, mainly focusing on victims as target groups for messages and communication initiatives. This is a loose end of communication interventions developed until now. A better understanding and sensitization by perpetrators and victims about the harm caused in their families and communities could have a more effective intervention, for instance. Of course, this generalization needs further analysis.

5. Lack of national communication strategy. The implementation of the National Action Plan on Gender-based Violence (NAGBV) is a major effort to reduce grassroots causes responsible for violent behaviours against women for enabling the environment for effective changes. However, this plan misses a national communication strategy to support and reach its goals. For now it only includes components of behaviour change communication, leaving aside target groups that may promote collective changes, such as justice officials and service providers. Behaviour change communication strategies may stimulate individual action, but sustainable social change needs collective mobilization. A national integrated communication strategy, with a participatory and social inclusion approach, may influence new perceptions of violence and generate positive behaviours. A positive social change should be visible with sustainable behaviour change. Behaviour change at an individual level and social change at a collective level are both hard to achieve. They take time and effort from local agents and international partners.

6. Choosing the right communication channels define the success of any communication strategy, as the right messages and audience. Normally, booklets, posters and flyers are the first to be thought. They might work in developed countries, where literacy is high, but in Timor-Leste these are not the most efficient tools. This is confirmed in a survey conducted by UNMIT in 2010 (UNMIT, 2011), which also points media, police and community members as trusted information source. In a country such as Timor-Leste where rural areas are isolated, media have little impact. Word of mouth continues to be a good communication channel, which aggregated local and oral traditions it reveals to be effective.

In this case, participatory theatre conveys simple messages using local culture and local languages, involving local community members into the subject by promoting reflection and discussion. Radio community has a similar role and is an exception regarding media. It stimulates listeners to participate in the discussion about sensitive issues such as domestic violence, besides getting information that normally they do not have access to and in their own language. Small spots, soap opera and stories in newspapers – with a component of reflection – are other vehicles that working together with other interventions can present positive results.

The power of media has not been totally used in Timor-Leste. Radio community lacks resources and funding for its sustainability and national broadcasters are not always effective. For example, some spots for raising awareness were broadcasted in television and radio, but findings reveal lack of repetition, which make them less efficient. Professor Everol Hosein, of the University of New York, on his COMBI theory, he developed M-RIP (massive, repetitive, intense, persistent) and six hits (6x/day, 5days/week, 3 weeks) to illustrate the need for repetitions to retain audience attention and perception in order to act (Hosein, 2012). Habit and routine can then be a key factor in influencing behaviours. As in other cases, media have proven to be effective in an integrated communication strategy. It is the example of the soap opera *City Soul*, in South Africa, part of an integrated communication strategy described in this study.

7. Agents for changes. According to above cited survey (UNMIT, 2011), community leaders, who are democratically elected by local population – *Suco Chiefs* - are the best sources of information. Indeed, they have an important role within communities, however they might not be the right ones to disseminate information. Other traditional leaders, such as *Liurai* (traditional leaders), may have a more respectful role within their community. Therefore, it is crucial to identify each local leader may be a agent for disseminating information, mediating conflicts, and raising awareness, at the same time they maintain their traditional role. Only then the community leader (traditional or other) has the capability to engage community members around such a sensitive issue as DV and promote positive behaviours.

Another key agent is the younger, who produces behavioural changes over generations and may influence their peers and older generations. For instance, they can produce changes in their parents, where communication programmes have little influence. Better education and awareness make them both an audience and a vehicle of communication. They are more

sensitive and open to new values and attitudes and as influencing their peers regarding violence in adolescence. The testimony of Ba futuro, a local NGO, in a chapter dedicated to Timorese communication landscape is an example of how working with youth can promote behaviour changes. Teachers may also have an influenced role through civic education and promoting dialogue within schools about violence at home and in their communities.

Furthermore, gender relations exclude, many times, women from active roles in society, especially in patriarchal societies in post-conflict countries like Timor-Leste. One adds also perpetrators once their negative behaviours are part of an excluded society. Overcome discrimination against women and men is more than changing social norms around masculinity. It is about promotion of equality, respect for others, in particular, and human rights, in general. One study suggests that men, the perpetrators and those responsible for violence and discrimination against women are often forgotten in communication programmes. They cannot be outside for intended results in violence prevention. Of course, this assumption needs to be verified.

On the other hand, in Timor-Leste, these key agents have, for one decade, listened to several messages from diverse organizations. All of them have one purpose – reduction of domestic violence and raise awareness for gender equality -, but there is a lack of coordination. This situation does not reach intended results once the efforts of all actors involved are spread in different directions. Therefore, the involvement of all in an integrated communication strategy, with one message in one voice, is crucial for transmitting a message of engagement for prevention of violence within family or community environments. Government, civil society and other agencies should then work together to end social inclusion of victims (women, young girls and children and men, often forgotten as victims), perpetrators and family and community members. In order to achieve this, local organizations, both women's and men's - such as *Rede Feto* and *Asosiasaun Mane kontra violensia* – should work together promoting new, safe and nurturing family and community relations. Through participatory and integrated communication strategy for social integration of victims and perpetrators, by creating new social values and norms, should be possible to overcome negative attitudes and behaviours for sustainable social changes within communities. Another agent with an essential role in Timorese society is the Catholic Church. It can be an ally in communication programmes to counselling couples in non-violent conflict resolution and for the need of nurturing and safe relations between family and community members. Its influence in people

awareness and education can shape beliefs that nurturing safe and positive social values and norms will benefit all.

8. Monitoring & evaluation. Donors want positive results, programme managers need to justify funding and communication practitioners need to verify if their communication plan is effective. Many communication interventions have taken place in Timor-Leste, however without monitoring and evaluation to verify its effectiveness. The National Action Plan on Gender-Based Violence (NAPGBV), developed by SEPI and its development partners, is the first working plan with some communication interventions that includes monitoring and evaluation (M&E). Its purpose is to verify if the implementation of the working plan is effective or if it needs new directions to reach its goals. This is a positive step and may give interesting outcomes. However, as already mentioned, this plan only has a few communication elements, which may limit a whole communication appraisal. Furthermore, find the right indicators for an efficient monitoring is not an easy task. Timor-Leste already has baseline data, such as TLDHS and police statistics. These data are an advantage, allowing the communication expert to verify the evolution of attitudes and behaviours in the last years and perceptions regarding violence. This evaluation should allow better planning for future communication activities and definition of new [SMART] objectives.

9.3 Outcomes: positive messages and creative communication tools for social inclusion

The degree of success of the communication interventions addressing domestic violence and other forms of violence against women varies and are limited, which may be explained by the fact that their main focus is being on victims. This study shows that this one-sided strategy has produced changes in victims' life - with increased awareness and, consequently plus denounces, more service providers, shelters, legal framework - although without producing its primary objective: prevention of domestic violence cases.

This study verified that in Timor-Leste, programmes for prevention of domestic violence (DV) cases either communication interventions have not addressed changing men's mentality, masculinity stereotypes and attitudes towards females. The NAPGBV has a holistic approach, which already includes some of these aspects but still misses a national communication strategy in order to complement its three years programme.

The first communication strategies implemented in Timor-Leste aimed to raise awareness regarding gender equality and women rights. Then increased awareness cases of DV and sexual abuse at refugee camps has increased advocacy for drafting and implementation of the Law Against Domestic Violence (LADV). Programmes for women empowerment were also implemented. Public information campaigns were implemented for raising awareness on DV as public crime and punishment of perpetrators. Media and participatory theatre interventions focused on raising awareness.

The analysis of all these interventions reveals that none has stressed emotions and feelings of victims and perpetrators with the objective of inverting negative behaviours and stereotypes. The current hegemonic masculinity in Timor-Leste legitimates violence against women in an “educational” sense. Women and men should then work together aggressive behaviours for a more equalitarian and non-violent social system. This should be done together with programmes for inclusion of victims and perpetrators. Until now programmes have been implemented for women empowerment, leaving aside perpetrators and their violent behaviours, with most of them resulting from a traumatic experience. On the other hand, if many cases are not denounced to authorities due to social and economic consequences to victims, alternative methods of punishment for DV cases could be adapted, such as community service while staying in the family, for increasing family and community bonds and strengthening social relations.

On the contrary what is being done in Timor-Leste, the testimonies of victims and other informants have given clues for effective communication. They highlighted the need for positive messages with the purpose of creation of new values and social norms, such as safe, stable and nurturing relations between children and their parents and caregivers. That is why, by planting positive emotions and feelings through positive messages it may be possible to create new perceptions of correct behaviours in individuals and, consequently, change their behaviours. The path between them could be social inclusion of those most affected by the negative behaviours and attitudes: victims, perpetrators, family members and communities. Perpetrators should feel that they are part of the process for sustainable changes. The same is also true for all family and community members, responsible for preventing and denouncing cases of DV.

Indeed, one of the principles of participatory communication is listening beneficiaries of development programmes. The analysed communication strategies implemented in Timor-Leste for prevention of violence against women suggest a top-down and horizontal

communication, leaving aside bottom-up. Listening target audience, asking them directly what are the messages that they want to hear, what do they need may allow the communication professional to avoid some mistakes, such as misinterpretation of messages, as the mentioned example of the 16 Days Campaign. This confirms that ensuring active and meaningful participation and voice of victims and perpetrators is crucial for successful programmes in prevention of violence against women.

Following this line of thinking, Communication for Social Inclusion (CSI) is a communication for development (C4D) dimension reflecting the principles of inclusion of vulnerable groups, participation and respect. In a holistic approach, CSI aims to detect original causes of negative behaviours, which lead to exclusion of communities' members, and facilitate shifts in gender relations for positive social changes. The final goal is to create new values and social models to invert those that create constraints to social inclusion of vulnerable groups. This approach should follow an integrated and participatory communication strategy to remove gender discrimination and promote inclusion of victims and perpetrators in society through a variety of communication interventions respecting local culture and giving a voice to both victims and perpetrators for promotion of public debate. By engaging the entire community with the same objective – inclusion of their members – through positive messages, it ought to transmit positive emotions and feelings. The objective is encouraging positive social and healthy gender relations, with aim of reducing negative feelings of inferiority and culpability of victims to facilitate their integration in society, for example. Low self-esteem of victims is one of the main causes that makes them serve to perpetrators. Positive messages should then use emotions to reduce discrimination and stigmatization of victims within family and community. Introduction of social norms and values for increasing family bonds and understanding the role of women in society suggests inversion of negative feeling regarding victims, avoiding social tensions and exclusion.

9.4 Recommendations:

Following the previous analysis, one has recommendations to both experts and agencies and Governments. One held that analysis and recommendations must be based on actual experience from practitioners and experts in the field. The purpose is to ensure a realistic analysis as well as recommendations that are practically desirable and possible to implement.

Communication practitioners and international agencies:

- Research-based strategic communication plan should be integrated in annual work plans and multi-year programmes, ensuring activities since early stages;
- Integrated communication strategy should achieve clearly identified and realistic goals and linked to programme elements and service provision;
- Communication strategies should extend beyond individuals to include service providers, traditional and religious leaders and decision-makers at different levels to stimulate structural social change;
- Participatory communication is effective if responsive to people's needs and understand context, audience and most efficient communication tools;
- Research, monitoring and evaluation are essential and should be part of strategic communication plan;
- Field experts should have capacity building and local ownership in their objectives, building local and national structures that would be sustainable even when the international projects ended;
- Respect for local traditions, language and culture as paramount, as a gender perspective;
- In the field, for every challenge there is one or more opportunities to be explored and that communication should boost its potential in favour of behaviour and social changes.
- Entertainment-education (EE) strategy is an underused communication strategy in South Asia (UNICEF: 2005: 4) and should be explored based on the success of case studies in Africa and Latin America. Its results should be monitored and evaluated for future researches.

Government's agencies and their partners:

- Multidisciplinary teams are important for field research to understand the root causes of negative behaviours and advise best solutions to overcome them;
- Implementation of policies for change enabling environment, such as poverty eradication and gender equality policies and frameworks together with integrated communication interventions;

- National Integrated Communication Strategy should be established reaching all stakeholders and intended audience. For that is crucial to a coordination team which will design, plan and implement it, based on research-based strategy, with goals (SMART objectives) for three, five and 10 years.
- Monitoring and evaluation in all process is important for verification of its effectiveness and define new directions when needed. It ought to have positive messages for changing negative social norms into new behaviours and social norms to, consequently, influence social change.

One offers then a comprehensive definition of what communication strategy should be for reaching social change through behaviour change, after drawing on the vast outpouring communication activities in Timor-Leste for over 10 years, as well as those that inhibit or thwart the full realisation of communication for social integration. One argues that the diversity of such activities is indicative not just of the potential of communication strategies but also, and more importantly, of the lessons that they teach us on the limits of communication itself on adverse conditions. These lessons are fundamental to build a more equal and just society. Working in the field is not an easy task. Local context and lack of resources and logistics challenges the creativity of communication professionals.

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Conference

Making Community Theatre in Timor-Leste, joint conference organized by the Australian NGO Many Hands International and local NGO Ba Futuru, on 14th February 2012, in Dili, Timor-Leste

APPENDICES

I. Guide for Interviews with UN Mission and UN Agencies

Personnel data

Name:

Position:

UNMIT Unit/Agency:

Information regarding their work on Violence against Women

1. What is the role of your unit/agency on gender?
2. How do you see the role of the Timorese women within society?
3. What are the policies to strengthen the role of women in Timor-Leste?
4. Are those policies according with the reality of the country and effective?

Personal perspective of the communication on Violence against Women

1. Since the approval of the Law against Domestic Violence, there are many activities to disseminate it. Do you think that those activities are effective?
2. Year over year there's campaigns against domestic violence. The messages reach the people?

Recommendations

1. In a country like Timor-Leste, where the violence against women is seen as normal and a family matter, how can communication change this?
2. Which channels of communication should be used?
3. What messages should be disseminated?

Guide for Interviews with local/International NGOs

Name:

Position:

NGO:

Information regarding their work on Violence against Women

1. What is the role of your NGO on gender?
2. How do you see the role of the Timorese women within society?
3. What are the policies to strengthen the role of women in Timor-Leste?
4. Are those policies according to the reality of the country and effective?
5. Do you know the different stages of domestic violence?
6. Do the technicians know about them?
7. How many victims have you helped and from what type of crimes?
8. What kind of support exists for the victims?
9. What activities have your NGO to empower women's victims of violence?

Personal perspective of the communication on violence against women

1. What communication channels your institution uses to reach the victims?
2. What communication channels your institutions uses to advocate the victim's vulnerable situation?
3. The communication on violence against women is been effective?
4. Do people understand the messages disseminated by the campaigns against domestic violence

Recommendations

1. In a country like Timor-Leste, where the violence against women is seen as normal and a family matter, how can communication change this?
2. Which channels of communication should be used?
3. What messages should be disseminated?

Guide for Interviews with official institutions

Name:

Position:

Institution:

Information regarding Violence against Women

1. What is the role of your institution on gender?
2. How do you see the role of the Timorese women within society?
3. What are the policies to strengthen the role of women in Timor-Leste?
4. Are those policies according to the reality of the country and effective?
5. Do you know the different stages of domestic violence?
6. Do the technicians know about them?
7. How many victims have you helped and from what type of crimes?
8. What kind of support exists for the victims?
9. What activities have your institutions to help women's victims of violence?

Personal perspective of the communication on violence against women

1. What communication channels your institution uses to reach the victims?
2. What communication channels your institutions uses to advocate the victim's vulnerable situation?
3. The communication on violence against women is been effective?
4. Do people understand the messages disseminated by the campaigns against domestic violence

Recommendations

1. In a country like Timor-Leste, where the violence against women is seen as normal and a family matter, how can communication change this?
2. Which channels of communication should be use?
3. What messages should be disseminated?

Guide for Interviews with Communication practitioners

Name:

Position:

Institution:

Information regarding Violence against Women

1. How do you see the role of the Timorese women in the society?
2. Have your institution ever worked on violence against women?
3. What do you know about gender-based violence?
4. What do you know about Timorese context on gender-based violence?

Personal perspective of the communication on violence against women

1. The communication on violence against women is been effective?
2. What communication channels you use to reach the victims?
3. What communication channels you use to advocate the victim's vulnerable situation?
4. Do people understand the messages disseminated by the campaigns against domestic violence?

Recommendations

1. In a country like Timor-Leste, where the violence against women is seen as normal and a family matter, how can communication change this?
2. Which channels of communication should be use?
3. What messages should be disseminated?
4. What approach should be use?
5. What strategy should be use?

Guide for Interviews with Victims

Name: (Anonymous or fictional)

Institution:

Information regarding Violence against Women

1. Did you went to the police presented complain?
2. Why did you / Why didn't you?
3. Do you feel protected here?
4. Do you want to go back to your family? And will you?
5. Do you feel that what happened to you were your fault?
6. Does the formal justice system work? And the community justice (informal justice system)?

Personal perspective of the communication on violence against women

1. Have you ever had information about violence against women? If so, how did you?
2. How did you find out about this institution?
3. Do you think that the Timorese women know when they are victims of domestic or sexual violence?
4. How can they find information?
5. Do women have enough information about violence against them, about shelters and how can justice protect them?

Recommendations

1. What is the best way to inform women about violence against them?
2. What messages should be spread and how it should be done?
3. What kind of information is need for women that are in the same situation as did you?