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community responses to conflict

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN TIMOR-LESTE

AN EWER PROGRAM POLICY BRIEF



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In 2008, BELUN, in cooperation with Columbia University's Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR), established the Early Warning and Response System (EWER) in Timor-Leste. EWER is designed to increase early responses to conflict and prevent the escalation of violence at the national and community level.

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Executive Summary

Timorese history makes plain that this is not the first time externally practiced religions have been introduced into the country. Early records suggest that the Catholic missionaries who first traveled to the series of kingdoms of chieftaincies that would later become the modern state of Timor-Leste met considerable resistance to their imported theology. Following a pattern well tested in other parts of the world, the church conducted a process of social integration and selective conversion that bears similarities to the methods employed today by other denominations.

In recent experience, social upheaval following occupation galvanized Timorese support for the relatively stable influence of long-established, Catholic religious institutions. The Catholic Church, in part through its role in providing safe haven for the resistance movement, and also due to its high-profile educational role, has become deeply woven into the social fabric of the nation, eliciting a privileged status at both community and nation levels.

With independence, though, has come exposure to other cultural norms and belief systems. Among the resultant challenges to the pre-existing social order there have recently been new religious groups who have, research shows, drawn followers away from the dominant Catholic Church. New religious groups are, to date, predominantly affiliated with Protestant evangelical movements of various international origins. As the process of post-conflict development and reconstruction in Timor-Leste continues, some East Timorese look to faith-based organizations for both spiritual and material support. Others are less trusting of new faith-based organizations and are angered by the perceived negative impact on existing social norms and hierarchies. As in the past, however, some perceive new faiths as a challenge to the predominant belief systems as practiced in the country.

Even aside from the actions of new religious groups, Timor-Leste contains an inherent religious tension as a result of indigenous belief structures. This older source of belief has merited some accommodations from Catholicism. The indigenous Timorese traditions of 'lisan' (or 'adat') have never been fully overtaken by the Church and continue to play an important role in the social order, especially of remote communities. Research demonstrates that whilst newer churches on the whole are less willing to engage and cooperate with the perceived competition, there exists an instructive détente between the Catholic Church (and, to a lesser extent, the Moslem community) and lisan practitioners that has grown from long coexistence.

There are positive signs of cooperation between religious groups in Timor-Leste, and this owes much to credible leadership at the local level. In a country where access to state support is limited, church and Islamic officials may often hold considerable influence over dispute resolution and community decision-making generally. Though religious identity can sometimes inflame tensions, religious leaders, nonetheless remain valued interlocutors across generational divides in many communities and are often cited as being best placed to contribute to stability and consensus building.

This willingness to cooperate, however, appears to break down somewhat over the issue of conversion, an issue compounded by widespread rejection of Constitutional freedom of religion guarantees. Allegations of economic inducement are common, though unsubstantiated. In fact, the resources of many new churches are modest, and recent converts typically indicate more personal motivations.

Outright violent conflict between and within religious groups is still rare, but tensions do exist that threaten community stability and security, both between the Catholic Church and newer Protestant churches and among new church outposts. There are further rifts reported within even the most well-attended and well-entrenched Protestant churches. Calls for reform from within religious groups suggest most conflicts concern resource scarcity or social jealousy rather than points of theology. This makes it all the more important to promote interfaith dialogue, and to emphasize collaborative social programming.

Introduction

Along with the euphoria surrounding Timor-Leste's independence in 2002 was a common perception among foreigners that Timor-Leste was a homogeneous society with a predominant religious culture that would ensure a smooth path toward development. Historical cleavages based on political allegiance were ignored and pursuit of a democratic state based on the rule of law and the free-market economy became paramount.

Within Timorese society, however, interactions are informed by experience and a desire to maintain balance between competing cultural norms. In some instances, this may produce a phenomenon of multiple, or overlapping, beliefs and identities. For some, however, it is difficult to accommodate those who claim multiple or distinct affiliations and the recent history of Timor-Leste has seen divisions emerge among its relatively small population. Resentment remains between the remnants of autonomist and (various) pro-independence political factions, and such disagreements over national identity and the country's relationship with Indonesia have continued to influence the rise of the modern Timorese state.

Since independence, the nation-building process has continued, with newly established governance and civil society institutions under pressure to redress the enduring effects of conflict. This has inevitably been a challenging process, and perceived inequity in employment and service provision has at times caused disappointment, anger and rivalry in a society eager to enjoy promised peace dividends.

In this environment of lingering political discord and limited access to state support, the construction of social identities has often reflected a grievance or a sense of disenfranchisement. The 2006 crisis, with its undercurrent of eastern versus western regional loyalties inflamed by alleged bias in the police and armed forces, amply illustrated the dangers inherent in this oppositional social dynamic. Conversely, the accommodations reached between Catholicism and indigenous belief systems suggests détente is possible between social identities that may, at first, seem at odds. Today, EWER monitoring indicates that while violent conflict between and among religiously motivated groups is the exception and not the norm, proactive steps are suggested to ensure that existing cleavages do not widen and tensions do not escalate.

BELUN, with its partner institution the Center for International Conflict Resolution (CICR), has sought to identify and help to address emerging tensions in communities across Timor-Leste by linking conflict assessment findings to community development methodologies. Since the establishment in 2008 of its Early Warning and Early Response system, the issue of conflict occurring between groups defined by religious identity has been of growing concern.

Monitors in thirteen target sub-districts, and BELUN regional coordinators based at five rural and urban locations across the country, have reported consistently on the rise of tensions related to religious identity. Whilst outright violence has resulted only rarely to this point, positive intervention is needed to avoid this antagonism becoming further entrenched and threatening Timor-Leste's fragile peace.

Methodology

Bolstered by its role in the independence movement and its provision of services at the community level, the Catholic Church is, for many, closely linked to a sense of Timorese identity. Though its predominance in offering spiritual guidance and social support is now open to unprecedented challenge from other, more recently arrived institutions and cultures, its influence over community hierarchies and policy formulation remains strong.

Conducting research into religious identity in a context where faith is so central to social order and to ideas of nationhood has required sensitivity to beliefs and relationships locally and nationally. To maximize cooperation and ensure candid responses, BELUN staff undertook a consultation tour, introducing key stakeholders to the proposed research (see Annex 1). This clarified BELUN's intention to

study the cause of tensions, rather than matters of personal faith. Positive implications of religious identity were also explored, as were the contributions to peace and stability of religious actors and institutions.

These initial consultations confirmed the widespread, and mounting, incidence of clashes between religious groups. High-level support was then secured from relevant representatives of the Catholic Church (through the diocesan offices of Dili and Baucau), various Protestant denominations and the Moslem community, to investigate this phenomenon with a view to improved security outcomes.

Throughout June and July 2009, BELUN conducted a series of interviews and focus group discussions with a range of religious and secular authorities, as well as adherents of various faiths, across the country (see Annex 2). Questions were framed to collect data on the inter-relation of religious groups in the community context, and also to solicit local and national level recommendations for the easing of tensions.

Unlike previous reports under the Early Warning and Early Response system, a qualitative approach was taken to examining this issue, related as it is to shifting perceptions and associations not easily measured statistically. Participants were asked to reflect on their own experience, and all of the resultant information was analyzed to identify any recurring concerns and to formulate possible recommendations.

This report incorporates input from nearly three hundred individuals from across the country's thirteen districts, and seeks to reflect community perceptions at selected sites where BELUN monitoring has brought to light incidences of conflict related to religious identity. Whilst such coverage cannot claim to be a comprehensive survey of Timor-Leste, it nonetheless comprises a targeted, in-depth consideration of an emerging issue.

Background and Context

Conflicts motivated by religious identity have the reputation of being among the most intractable, given the often absolutist views to which they are tied. Whilst adherence to belief systems can help to develop a sense of belonging and purpose, they can easily lead to intolerance and discrimination. Conflicts between groups principally defined by their religion typically lack a credible arbiter to determine right from wrong, hence solutions can be difficult to broker.

This research has verified a working theory that dividing issues linked to religion are more commonly manifestations of politics and social identity than theology. In a fragile, post-conflict setting like Timor-Leste, it can be hard to develop trust and social capital. Studies suggest that during periods of turmoil, communities become more insular, often creating a social, or religious 'other' and establishing barriers to inclusion that persist into peacetime.

People living under oppressed or economically disadvantaged conditions may draw guidance – rightly or wrongly – from their religious identity, particularly as religious actors are commonly accessible at the most grass-roots levels. This places a great responsibility on religious leaders, who may seek therefore to influence nation-building and dispute resolution approaches locally and nationally.

Conversely, where more established religions fail to universally meet community expectations toward spiritual and social support, they become open to challenge. The resulting, unaccustomed diversity of faiths can in turn allow more exclusive and dogmatic religious interpretations to take hold, generating or fueling tension.

Another risk inherent to conflict over religious identity is that it is often the most extreme voices or occurrences that attract attention. Whilst some conflict in Timor-Leste is linked to religion, it is important to recognize that churches also contain unique peace-building opportunities, if their strengths can be harnessed. The typically high status of religious actors in Timorese communities provides significant leverage for conciliatory and educational initiatives. Religious leaders are among those most often sought

by parties in a dispute when facilitation support for dialogue is required, for example. Moreover, it is these figures who are often perceived to be above individual interests and speak with widely respected moral authority.

Whilst the period of Indonesian occupation was marked by sporadic rioting over perceived bias between Muslims and Christians, religious discrimination has not featured largely in Timor-Leste's more recent history, likely because of the predominance of the Catholic Church. In the few years since independence, there have reportedly been incidents of Protestant missionaries being subject to community hostility, and some Moslem groups claim to have experienced harassment. In general, however, religious leaders interviewed indicated good relations and a willingness to resolve disputes amicably.

Although members of Protestant churches and of the Moslem community have lately held high positions in government and the armed forces, the Catholic Church is most often cited for its pervasive political influence. In July 2006, José Ramos-Horta repeatedly emphasized the importance of Government consultation with the Catholic Church on major decisions. A recent debate over the decriminalization of abortion, and the 2005 protests against the Government's decision to make religious teaching in state education optional have been raised as examples of the Church's role in political affairs.

Timor-Leste's exposure to new cultures, through trade, regional partnerships and international aid, is increasingly bringing with it a plurality of religious voices as well as exposure to those who profess no faith. Whilst diversity of opinion is important for a new democracy, where beliefs are so ingrained, questions of faith may challenge not only personal conscience but also established patterns of belonging. This transition holds the risk of much upheaval.

Religion and Community Life

Records of the Catholic Church contend that their religion was brought to what is now the modern state of Timor-Leste some time between 1512 and 1521, by missionaries who arrived in Lifau, in the Oecusse region. According to one senior Catholic interviewee, despite its current status, Catholicism was at first violently rejected by local inhabitants, with a number of Church representatives killed while evangelizing in Lospalos, Suai and Viqueque. Following the longstanding practice of the Church, inroads began to be made once community leaders and their families were converted.

The pattern of resistance and conversion has been repeated many times in Timor-Leste, and it may be argued a new iteration of this cycle is now underway. Whilst mention is made by Moslem community leaders of outposts in Timor-Leste as early as 1679, for many this religion is associated with the Indonesian occupation.

The Moslem communities currently living in Timor-Leste visibly and peacefully coexist with their Catholic neighbors – a fact many attribute to the lack of an explicit intent to convert. Despite positive relations, resentment and suspicion continue in some quarters, with politicians (and others) of Moslem background repeatedly and publicly subjected to challenges to their patriotism. Despite holding one of the most high public offices in the country, former Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri was, at times, the subject of criticism directed to his Moslem heritage, implying a lesser stake in Timorese identity.

This perception among a sector of the population (including some of the respondents in this research) that Moslems are somehow inherently less Timorese is belied by the nature of Timor-Leste's first Moslem religious group, the United Islamic Centre of East Timor (UNICET), created in Baucau in 1999 by Moslem pro-independence fighters. Whilst this organization still exists, its organizing functions among the Moslem community have been overtaken at a national level by the Dili-based Centro da Comunidade Islamica de Timor-Leste (CENCISTL), formed in 2000.

Distinct from the centralist administration of the Catholic Church, the Protestant faith in Timor-Leste has been advanced in a far more diffuse way, and by a range of religious institutions whose aims and creeds

differ greatly, making an authoritative historical point of entry into Timor-Leste debatable. Regardless of this diversity, all of these groups have come to be defined in contrast to the dominant Christian ideology of Catholicism, and rendered alien by the Catholic majority despite commonalities of teaching.

Among the Protestant churches present in Timor-Leste, there are substantial points of difference. Some institutions, such as the grassroots-focused Hosana ministries and the modest presence of the Seventh Day Adventist church, allied under the banner of the Protestant Churches of Timor-Leste (Igreja Protestante de Timor-Leste – IPTL) do not seem to place an explicit emphasis on conversion. For other organizations, such as the openly evangelical Assemblies of God and the recently arrived Vision of Christ (Visão Christa), this is central to their purpose.

Despite the presence of different faiths, it is between 1975 and 1999, during the Indonesian occupation, that the Catholic Church cemented its role as part of the life and struggles of the Timorese people. The Church's contribution to resistance and independence has been widely lauded within the country and is recognized in the country's Constitution. Today, approximately 98% of the population identifies as Catholic, with ministry across the country coordinated between the dioceses of Baucau and Dili, and the faith is widely considered a cornerstone of modern Timorese identity. Conversely, some anthropological research conducted in Timor-Leste suggests that Catholicism may comprise more of a social than a spiritual device.

Before the advent of Catholicism to Timor-Leste, local peoples practiced their own, animist faith. The arrival of foreign religions did not extinguish this tradition, and today this source of social and moral guidance continues to be an important part of Timorese life. It is intrinsically linked to familial relations, dispute resolution and common resource use, especially in remote communities.

Interviews and focus group discussions indicate that, for most religious groups, there is a general acceptance of the traditional beliefs and practices known in most parts of the country collectively as 'lisan' or 'adat'. As it has in other parts of the world over its long history, Catholicism has seemingly accommodated this local worldview and has fostered good relations with the community guardians of local custom. One Catholic interviewee indicated that so long as traditional rituals did not extend to worship, a sense of continuity was in the community's interest.

The extent to which the modern churches are willing to engage with traditional systems of belief differs with the degree of orthodoxy espoused by its exponents, and may also provide something of an index to the tolerance such groups have for their religious counterparts. In Suai, for example, the Catholic Church is built in the same fashion as a traditional 'uma lulik' or sacred house. The Mother Superior associated with this congregation stated:

“We keep traditional faiths, but we know there is one God, and that he created everything.”

Another congregant of the Suai church amply illustrated the syncretism between Catholicism and lisan by revealing that when an uma lulik is built, priests may be invited to bless it, reflecting an overlapping religious framework. The same interviewee noted that some individuals within the community may be tasked by their families to live in and maintain the uma lulik. Such traditional devotees are not be involved in the Catholic ceremonies of their community, but may choose to call on a priest later in life, according to this approach:

“In life, we know we can maintain our traditions, but before we die we need to save our spirit and be baptized.”

According to officials of the Moslem community in Dili, the people of Timor-Leste believe in three things:

“They believe in the government, religion and tradition – separating one element from the others makes everything incomplete.”

The mix of Islam with elements of indigenous Timorese custom presents some difficulty given the often rigorous and exclusive nature of its own practice. One religious instructor from the Dili mosque noted that the conflation of Islam and lisan was more common in rural areas than urban centres, and would lessen as understanding of Moslem teaching grew. Some Moslem interviewees went so far as to suggest that elements of traditional belief, such as modest attire, premarital abstinence and burial of the dead indicated compatibility with Islam.

Whilst Catholicism, and to a lesser extent Islam, have had a protracted period of exposure to lisan and have been able to find a balance between spiritual and social obligations, more recent church arrivals have often been less willing to concede. Some interviewees aligned to evangelical groups, in particular, expressed a need to reject all of the trappings of other belief systems, however at odds this might put them with their community. This unwillingness to accept the legitimacy of many rules by which Timorese communities order themselves may sow the seeds of discord just as they are working to gain a foothold in society.

Religion and Leadership

Religious leaders are (with some, individual exceptions) not only revered as religious advisers but are often seen as counselors and arbitrators. They may be called to act as spokespeople for the community or a liaison between government, local administration and the people.

As the formal justice system in Timor-Leste remains underdeveloped, with little penetration to rural areas, church officials, often alongside traditional leaders, are being called upon as respected community elders to help resolve disputes. Just as churches are playing an important role in shaping local processes, this is also true at a national level. With many members of Parliament devout Catholics, and the Church vocal on policy issues, there is an increasingly clear link between Catholic morality and the substance of some new Timorese legislation and regulation.

In terms of community stability, relationships between religious leaders may be just as important as the ability to resolve disputes consistently with religious norms. To this end, Moslem, Catholic and Protestant leaders in Baucau have together begun an inter-faith initiative, the Forum for Inter-Religious Tolerance (FIRT). This Forum seeks to promote religious tolerance and cooperation, and in 2008 presented a report to Government in furtherance of these aims.

Whilst FIRT members report cordial interaction among most Catholic, Moslem and Protestant congregations in the region, it seems not all groups welcome the collaboration. Amu Martino, a Catholic priest and the National President of FIRT, reported reluctance among some recent evangelical arrivals to take part. All the same, these and other groups have been invited to a national dialogue session to be held in late 2009 with the intent of promoting understanding.

Conversely, in Ainaro, poor relations between Catholic priests and church officials from the evangelical Visão Christa movement have lately spilled over into broader tensions in the community. Rumours, echoed by several interviewees, that the Visão Christa minister had made derogatory remarks about the Catholic priest and nuns working in Ainaro sparked repeated confrontations between youth allied with the different religious camps. This may have escalated into violence save for the reported intervention of the Catholic priest. Whilst the resulting peace is holding for now, resentment continues, with Catholics demanding an apology.

Much of the unease surrounding the entry of new religious denominations may lie in a failure of communication between church and secular authorities. In Suai, one interviewee, a Canossian sister, noted that whenever her order seeks to establish a base in a new parish, they make it a point to introduce themselves and their intentions not only to local religious leaders but also to local administrators and community leaders. Interviewees from Liquica were critical of evangelical groups who, they claim, have

not shown due respect to decision-makers, and have accordingly upset the social order. In Suai, the Canossian sisters suggested to colleagues from Visão Christa local leaders with whom they should consult.

All over the country, research brought to light examples of cooperation and often generosity between religious groups. Religious leaders are invited to attend the celebrations of other churches, and in some cases joint services are held for major festivals such as Christmas. In Maliana, a Protestant minister was asked to give a homily at a recent Catholic church service. There appears to be a common thread to these events, in the influence of church officials from Indonesia. It may be that the experience of such individuals in a context where Christianity is more an 'outsider' religion has tempered their orthodoxy and produced a more inclusive and welcoming outlook.

Religion and Service Provision

The widespread experience in Timor-Leste of receiving support (financial, material or educational) from one's own religious community has seemingly contributed to a concern that more recently arriving churches may offer competing, or more advantageous benefits. Whilst much social assistance is organized within respective congregations, it is not always so exclusive.

The contributions of the Catholic Church, both pre- and post-independence have been significant, particularly in the reconstruction of the education sector. Many primary and secondary schools in Viqueque and Covalima are still Church-run. Catholic youth groups such as 'Foin Sae Katolika' (FOSKA) and 'Tunggal Hati Yesus-Tunggal Hati Maria' (THS-THM) are helping to engage local youth through construction of sporting facilities and promotion of arts and crafts.

In Suai, representatives of the Catholic Church spoke proudly of their school, and of the Portuguese language classes and computer training programs offered to members of their congregation. Special health and hygiene education is available to girls. In Maliana, social programs are increasingly an inter-faith concern, with the Catholic Church welcoming all comers to its orphanages and safe houses, as well as partnering with Protestant and Moslem leaders on HIV/AIDS awareness.

The Moslem community also offers educational opportunities, with officials at the An'Nur mosque in Dili referring to scholarships that will in 2009 send seventeen students to Kuwait. An agreement with the Government of Kuwait will also see a new Islamic center and mosque built in Dili. In the wider community, Moslems have, since independence, funded three orphanages and established primary and secondary schools in Dili, Liquica and Baucau. Two representatives from the Dili Moslem community work with Catholics and Protestants on a collaborative health promotion program. One interviewee reflected that one of the five principles of Islam is charity and that this ought to be limited to benefiting fellow believers.

Aid efforts across Timor-Leste reveal an international dimension to faith-based support. Many non-governmental organizations derive funding, or more directly their mandate, from churches. The Catholic majority is reflected here, with such organizations as Trócaire, Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and Caritas. Whilst each draws on a specific religious heritage, there are few evident restrictions on the provision of support (a rare exception being, among some donors for family planning initiatives). Certainly no valid claims have been made to suggest aid is being conditionalized along denominational lines. Progressio, formerly the Catholic Institute of International Relations, typifies this inclusive approach by declaring that it works in Timor-Leste and elsewhere with "people of all faiths and none."

Despite the support to the community that religious groups provide, in various districts such benefits have caused considerable tension. Certain contributions have been perceived as an underhand attempt to increase the membership of new churches. In interviews and focus groups across Ainaro, Same and Suai, the Brazil-based Visão Christa has been criticized for offering material inducements. Other Protestant groups such as the independent Church of Jehovah in Maliana have been the subject of similar allegations.

Several interviewees in these districts believe that newer religious groups were providing not just training services but financial support, clothes and food to encourage attendance at their churches. According to these (largely Catholic) respondents, promises were also made to build new houses for those who joined. Members of Catholic youth group FOSKA in Viqueque shared a rumour that new churches were offering a five dollar 'sign-up bonus'. A nun interviewed in Maliana claimed such churches were taking advantage of a lack of understanding about the difference between Protestant and Catholic doctrine. She, along with many other Catholic interviewees, suggested that:

“People go to these churches for economic reasons. We say, this is not a religion. I will not sell my soul for rice or Super Mee [noodles].”

Many interviewees, both Catholic and Protestant, were angered by a perception that Visão Christa, despite its apparent evangelical tendency, misrepresented itself as an NGO. In point of fact, the organization does run training centers that teach Portuguese, computer literacy, cooking and other basic skills. Visão Christa maintains that this is a free service to all, regardless of religious denomination.

In Ainaro and Viqueque, the Visão Christa church stated that they had provided training to more than five hundred people, of all religions. Interviews and focus group discussions with members of Visão Christa did not reveal any financial exchange between the church and the followers. In some districts, such as Bobonaro, the church and its adherents appear, conversely, to be suffering a lack of resources.

Given that direct handouts remain unsubstantiated, other motivations for joining Protestant and evangelical groups likely play a significant part. Research suggests this may, in part, be a reaction against the perceived inflexibility of the Catholic Church. Several interviewees who had recently become members of evangelical groups indicated that they felt more drawn to the methods of Biblical teaching at Protestant churches, which were felt – rightly or wrongly – to be more direct and accessible. One interviewee stated:

“The Catholic Church reserves Bible teachings only for the Fathers and Sisters – there is a hierarchy. I became a Protestant to be able to read and understand the Bible better.”

Some motivations may be altogether more personal. Another interviewee mentioned that he was in a motorcycle accident and the minister from Visão Christa stayed with him and prayed until his injuries healed. He now heads the Visão Christa Church in Suai. Another interviewee mentioned that she joined Visão Christa after a Catholic priest had slapped her during an argument.

Visão Christa ministers in Baucau, Viqueque, Same, Suai and Ainaro disputed all allegations of financial inducement and misrepresentation of their programming. Two ministers, however, did mention that in certain emergencies, the Church would try to provide financial support to members of their community. This was provided strictly on a case-by-case basis and the contributions were very small, with a focus on both the material and spiritual needs of recipients.

Similarly, the Assemblies of God minister in Viqueque asserted that he has no access to funds and his own family remains poor. He understands his church is rumored to give money to people to change their religion, however, he pointed to the humble condition of the church and home in order to dismiss the claims. Here, as elsewhere, evidence appears to refute (largely Catholic) claims that economic motives are foremost among people changing their religion in Timor-Leste.

Religion, Identity and Conflict

In the majority of the cases, conversion seemed to be the main cause of conflict and tension; whether the conversion is from Catholic to Protestant or from one Protestant group to another. Despite the guarantee of religious freedom in Article 24 of the Timorese Constitution, research indicated many religious groups feel betrayed and angered by members of their congregations adopting another faith.

There also seems to be a sense from some elements within the Catholic Church that once an individual is baptized they should not seek to change their faith, even if it is from Catholic to Protestant. In Maliana, an interviewee spoke about a Protestant church that had recently entered the district, suggesting it should:

“Go to people who have not been baptized or who have no religion. Once you get baptized we don’t want people to change their religion.”

The same sentiments were echoed in Ainaro by a Catholic nun. She indicated her belief that the entire community, especially the youth, were angry about new religious groups converting baptized Catholics. When asked about the inclusion of freedom of religion among human rights recognized in Timorese law, she stated:

“The Constitution is one thing, religion is another.”

Among the Moslem community, conversion to Islam has mostly been related to marriage. In Manatuto there was reportedly an incident where a Catholic woman married a Moslem man. The formalities of her conversion to Islam had not been completed when she suffered an untimely death. There was then a conflict between the husband and the wife’s family regarding burial rights. The husband was harassed and threatened by other members of the community and prevented from leaving his home for two days while the wife was buried according to the Catholic tradition. A mosque official was sent to intervene and the community threw rocks and verbally abused him. The Dili mosque contacted a local priest to look into the incident. However, the Muslim community did not press the matter further.

As a counter-example, in the sub-district of Luro, in Lospalos, there is respect shown for both Catholic and Moslem traditions, especially when a death has occurred. There is a large Moslem community in this part of Timor-Leste, and it is not uncommon for families to include both Catholic and Moslem adherents. One interviewee noted that during a funeral, there would sometimes be Catholic prayer and ornamentation with the Christian cross, followed by prayers in the Moslem tradition. The interviewee claimed that the faith followed on earth was not so important, as “God will know the person as His own.”

Another issue of contention is the ease of entry or expansion into the country for new religious groups. Many interviewees stated their position that there should be a limit to the faith-based organizations allowed to enter Timor-Leste. Others have suggested visas should be withheld from foreigners who intend to proselytize.

New entrants onto the social landscape may, unwittingly or by design, disrupt longstanding community dynamics. For example, the Catholic Church remained the only established religious presence in Suai until 2003, when the evangelical Protestant Visão Christa group commenced its operations in Covalima district.

Memories of the Suai Church massacre in September 1999 continue to weigh heavily on the community and the Church, especially as a memorial service recently marked the tenth anniversary of the tragedy. Suspicion and reservation of foreigners and their intentions still prevails. During an interview of a Catholic nun in Suai, she intimated that the motives of Visão Christa were questionable:

“They are coming to help us or divide us? To create something else worse than before? Our young people are already divided and they are coming and dividing again. Why do they come to Timor-Leste? They can stay in their own country.”

In some cases, opposition has become more direct. In Ainaro, a Visão Christa minister explained that his church had been established in 2006 and now counted more than a hundred families among its flock. However, he claims that several months ago Catholic youth from all over the district came and disrupted church activities, harassing participants. Despite a court order supporting Visão Christa to reopen their church and continue their worship, the minister has now, out of ongoing fears for the safety of his congregation, elected to hold services privately.

Similarly, in Maliana, tension flared when the Moslem community applied to the local administration to build a kindergarten and a mosque. The petition was, it appears, summarily denied. Interviews with members of the Moslem community indicate this sparked a confrontation, but that the matter was settled and there was no further plan to build either structure in Maliana. During an interview with a nun from the local Catholic Church, the following explanation was offered:

“The Moslem community is afraid because there are so few people. They live together in Maliana and some are Indonesian. Maliana is not like Baucau; in Baucau there are many Moslems.”

Tensions do not exclusively focus on challenges to the dominance of the Catholic Church. Where various new religious groups are seeking adherents in the same community, this too can fuel conflict. In Same, for example, at a focus group discussion with Assemblies of God members, many people indicated that they refuse to acknowledge Visão Christa as a valid church. According to this group, rivalries stem from 2006, when Christian Vision, an NGO partner of the Assemblies of God, suddenly split off to found the Visão Christa Church.

In retaliation for this schism, the members of the Assemblies of God congregation took action with the then Ministry of Interior and the Police, claiming Visão Christa had illegally claimed land for their church. Today the Church is built and almost one hundred out of the two hundred and thirty members of the Assemblies of God church have joined Visão Christa. Tension between the two congregations continues, with various interviewees warning that conflict could be imminent.

The Moslem community has its own, internal conflicts. A splinter group of the Dili mosque, called Mofaradia, formed in 2008. According to the current leaders of the Timorese Moslem community, Mofaradia (comprising two or three families) held to an exclusive interpretation of Islam. A confrontation with the more established Moslem leaders ensued, and most Mofaradia adherents have moved to Indonesia. One interviewee from the Dili mosque claimed that the Moslem community now works with immigration and security authorities to ensure that unknown Moslem groups do not enter the country. He stated:

“We don't want other splinter groups to come to Timor-Leste. It's not that we violate their human rights, but they make it complicated. If the way they practice Islam is not according to how we practice, they are not coming. They can't do anything here.”

High-level concerns about the entry of newer religious groups may also reflect the declining credibility of the Catholic Church in some areas, especially among youth. Various interviewees, and notably participants in a focus group discussion with Catholic youth in Metinaro, pointed to tensions occurring within the Catholic church and its congregations. Criticisms were leveled at the relative privilege of church officials, and of the bureaucratic nature of the church. An example was given of the local Catholic priest driving to Dili but not providing rides for other passengers. The group was very displeased with this practice.

Another example provided by this group related to the long bureaucratic process of obtaining baptismal documents. Some members said they had driven to Dili in order to complete paperwork for baptism and were told to come back another day. Some were asked to pay again after they had already paid. One interviewee felt strongly that:

“There is corruption and nepotism in the Church. The Catholic Church should fix its bureaucracy. If they don't have money to fix the Church, we don't have money for them.”

Religion and the State

The relationship between religion and state in Timor-Leste has been a sensitive issue since the drafting of the Constitution, which at Article 12 recognizes and respects the right of different religions to freely conduct their activities, and charges the state to “promote cooperation with different religious

denominations that contribute to the well-being of the people of Timor-Leste”. Article 45 not only guarantees freedom of religion, but also codifies separation of church and state.

Throughout this research, the close relationship between (especially Catholic) religious leaders and state officials has been emphasized with great pride. In one case, a member of the Catholic Church leadership gave an example of the strong relationship between the Catholic Church and the local administration. A Visão Christa minister had issued a formal request to the local administration for approval to build a church. Before deciding, local administrators met with the Catholic Church to seek their views. A consensus was quickly reached during this informal meeting that approval should be denied for the good of the community.

Similarly, in a focus group discussion with Moslem participants, one interviewee expressed disappointment that despite the secular framework of the Timorese Constitution, in the budget speech this year the Catholic Church was mentioned separately and all other religions and NGOs were categorized together. He claimed:

“It is not about the money, it is about the language.”

Another interviewee claimed that the Government creates divisions between the faiths where they did not previously exist. He offered as an example that during legislative discussions on the issue of abortion, only the Catholic Church was invited, whilst other faiths were reportedly excluded from taking part in the policy debate. Making an interesting distinction between public and private spheres, he alleged:

“It is not the Catholics but the Government creating this conflict.”

An interviewee from a minority religious group proposed that the Government ought to provide greater clarity and education on what freedom of religion actually means. He felt that there was a disconnect between grassroots realities and what the Constitution promotes. Several focus group discussions raised the prospect of a Ministry for Religion. Some participants believed that a Ministry would promote partnerships, encourage dialogue and resolve conflicts among faith-based groups. There is a strong feeling that Government support and involvement is required for stability and cooperation among religious groups such as through the clarification of responsibilities and the creation of a collaborative forum.

Recommendations

Over the course of this enquiry, many interviewees and focus group participants proposed strategies to address tensions between religious groups that are either incompatible with human rights and other legal principles or otherwise impinge on the separation of church and state. BELUN does not support calls to restrict religious freedoms in Timor-Leste, nor does it seek greater Government control over the entry into the country of new churches nor their subsequent activities. Instead, BELUN offers the following recommendations, broken down by the category of actor most capable of responding.

Religious Leaders/Groups

- **Creation of a national inter-religious council**

A body comprising leaders of all faiths and denominations would help to resolve disputes between (and, as appropriate, within) religious groups. Such a council could further offer coordinated policy recommendations on issues of common interest. Topics that traditionally contribute to tensions at the community level could also be addressed by such a forum, including that of conversion. Constructive responses that promote tolerance can be generated by senior representatives of religious groups and then passed down through the existing leadership structures for implementation by those practicing across the country. This process can further serve to strengthen the communication mechanisms within those religious groups that remain more diffuse in structure.

The FIRT model operating in Baucau can serve as a good example of how such a council may function. Efforts should be made to encourage as broad-based participation as possible at the anticipated inter-religious dialogue to be convened in late 2009.

- **Encouragement of collaborative social and educational programmes**

Many churches and mosques work together on health promotion or educational programs allowing for positive interaction and understanding – this good practice could be bolstered in cooperation with, *inter alia*, the Ministries of Social Solidarity, Health and Education as well as with sector-specific NGOs.

Coordination with existing Government-led, and civil society implemented, social programs can be sought so as not to duplicate service provision, identify areas of need with regard to public information/education and to streamline messages. Cooperation can also model interfaith dialogue and highlight areas of common (human) interest.

Linkages can be fostered with the Secretary of State for Vocational Training and Employment where training opportunities may need to connect with anticipated job creation. This is necessary as often training opportunities do not consider availability of employment leading to frustration among those who complete these programs and who cannot subsequently find jobs.

- **Publicizing non-denominational aid**

Whilst much aid provided (domestically and internationally) by faith-based organizations is available to all, perceptions of exclusiveness persist and may be combated in part by clear, published and socialized statements of intent. The non-denominational nature of programming can further be discussed with local authorities and efforts should be made to reach out to both religiously affiliated and non-affiliated people when seeking participation in workshops and other programs.

Civil Society Organizations

- **Bolstering civic education on religious freedoms**

Coordinated in cooperation with the Ministry State Administration and Territorial Management, civic education on religious freedoms would help to combat current resistance to the arrival into communities of new religious institutions, and promote a human rights based response. Modules related to tolerance, respect for differences and national unity can be added to existing community-based civic education programs being designed in follow-up to the Local Authority elections.

Workshops can reinforce messages of tolerance toward other identities including that of divergent political identities. Similarly, orientation and training programs for newly elected local authorities can include modules on religious freedom and emphasize equal access to opportunity to combat prejudice at the community-level and to reduce obstacles for those seeking to establish themselves in a new community.

- **Creation of voluntary guidelines for official engagement with religious groups**

Much conflict over the arrival of new churches and mosques stems from a perceived failure to engage properly with local authorities. Guidelines can be developed, as may be overseen by the Ministry of State Administration and NGO umbrella FONGTIL, to raise awareness of social protocols and expectations, particularly when working in remote communities. Such guidelines can also serve the international community at-large as they also seek to navigate culturally sensitive mechanisms for trust-building across communities in Timor-Leste.

Religious Groups and Government

- **Support inter-faith initiatives such as FIRT, in Baucau**

Some organizations have already been formed to promote good relations between faith communities. These should be strengthened and expanded. Whereas the Government has allocated funds in support of civil society, significant resources have been used in support of the rehabilitation and building of infrastructure. In the future, as necessary, these funds can be allocated, at least in part, to strengthening inter-faith initiatives, particularly with regard areas of particular concern, such as Ainaro, Liquica and Maliana.

At present, inter-faith groups (despite some international partnerships) do not yet have national reach and may benefit from Ministry of Social Solidarity (MSS) support where dialogue is required in relation to an existing conflict. Utilizing existing, and experienced, dialogue teams and cooperating with its new Peacebuilding Unit would build upon MSS' strong record in peacebuilding after the 2006 crisis.

Government

- **Curriculum emphasis on world religions and cultures**

As many in Timor-Leste learn about other faiths informally, there exists an opportunity to provide authoritative, unbiased education in the school setting. Organizations working on curriculum development can consider inclusion of teaching modules on world religions and cultures.

- **Reinforce non-discrimination and equal opportunity in public discourse**

To prevent the perception that one religious group has more access to opportunities and is more respected than others, State officials can be more inclusive in public statements referring to religious groups and leaders and can ensure opportunities provided to one are provided to all faith-based as well as other non-religiously-affiliated civil society groups.

Conclusion

Fortunately, the incidence of conflict related to religious identity remains relatively low in Timor-Leste. BELUN monitoring through the EWER program does, however, suggest this is an area of concern. Further research has shown that there are significant tensions within communities across the country, as a result of the advent of new churches and their subsequent efforts to integrate into society.

Many of these churches, despite attempts to offer useful services to their host communities, beyond the circle of their own adherents, have few resources to share. This appears to contradict common claims that newly arrived religious groups have been offering financial or material inducements to convert. Many interviewed converts claimed rationales more to do with personal relationships.

The issue of conversion remains a vexed one within Timor-Leste, with a disjuncture between recognition of the legal and Constitutional right to freedom of religion, and social interdictions against changing religion (especially from Catholicism). Given the rise of new churches, and increasing exposure, post-independence, to other cultural norms, the intolerance implied by these beliefs contains a risk of conflict as the social order is inevitably challenged.

There are reasons to be hopeful about the prospect of better relations between religious groups. The apparently easy co-existence and even alliance of Catholic and indigenous Timorese belief systems suggests accommodations will be made naturally over time. Moreover, for every standoff or confrontation, there are plentiful counterexamples of collaboration between churches and mosques toward service provision. In general, such aid disregards denominational lines.

The internal rifts experienced by religious institutions, as much as the perceived external assaults to which they believe themselves subject, reveal that where conflicts occur, they are rarely over theological issues. Conversely, resource scarcity and observance of local hierarchies are more directly at the root of the problem.

This underscores the need for proactive and coordinated response strategies directly from religious leaders and institutions. Religious institutions can lead the process of promoting tolerance and emphasize the underlying humanistic values that underpin their faith. Religious actors can further take responsibility for coordinating service delivery with relevant counterparts in the Government and civil society to actively increase communication with local authorities when arriving in a new area.

Civil society can also support these efforts by raising awareness more broadly about diversity and civic rights and responsibilities. Similarly, Governmental leadership in coordinating service delivery, facilitating civic education and supporting dialogue as necessary can directly reduce the potential risks that these tensions may further and more frequently escalate into direct violence.



ANNEX 1: RESEARCH PROPOSAL ON RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND CONFLICT

Introduction

BELUN, a Timorese NGO, has established a conflict Early Warning and Early Response (EWER) system in Timor-Leste. This EWER system seeks to contribute to stability and and promote human security by preventing the escalation of violence. Under this system, BELUN prepares recommendations for Government and development partners, helping them to respond to emerging conflicts.

At the local level, BELUN recognizes that it needs cooperation in order to prevent conflict. Accordingly, civil society organizations, local authorities and others all receive EWER research, as well as other information, through BELUN's district networks. This is intended to produce responses that are relevant to the target community and which are capable of addressing tensions at the sub-district level.

Policy Briefs

Through the EWER system, the BELUN team undertakes research into topics identified as linked to emerging conflict. Recently, in nearly every district in Timor-Leste, our network has reported problems between religious groups. Accordingly, BELUN has chosen to investigate religious identity and conflict.

This research would not focus on personal faith but on community tensions related to different religious identities. Economic or political issues may contribute to worsening relations between religious groups. When there is an element of social jealousy or intolerance, conflict may ensue. BELUN intends to consider the situation in thirteen target sub-districts in order to analyze the situation and also to assist these communities in working toward a solution.

Objective

BELUN hopes that this research can contribute to better relations between religious groups in Timor-Leste and that it will help communities to show tolerance for other religious traditions. Following the research, BELUN will prepare an EWER policy brief, including recommendations for Government.

Methodology

In June 2009, the BELUN team, together with the EWER monitoring network, will commence consultances with local community and religious leaders, as well as members of various religious groups. In order to obtain useful and complete data, BELUN will use a questionnaire as a reference point when conducting interviews and in some cases holding focus group discussions with specific stakeholders.

Following this, BELUN will analyze the results and publish them in a policy brief that will be distributed to relevant stakeholders including research participants. Research results will help shape EWER programming as this continues to 2012.

ANNEX 2: LIST OF INTERVIEW, FOCUS GROUP & CONSULTATION PARTICIPANTS

	Nomor	Participante Naran	Institut/organizasaun	Pozisaun
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	5	Ipolito	SENCITIL (Sentro Comunidade Islamica Timor Leste)	Vice Presidente
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	36	Jodus Martins	Igreja IPT Matinaro	Sarani
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Distritu Manatuto	40	Felis da Cuinha	Igreja Nova Apostolik Manatutu	Saserdote
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	44	Berta da Cuinha	Igreja Nova Apostolik Manatutu	Sarani
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	48	Joanitu da Cuinha	Igreja Nova Apostolik Manatutu	Diaknu
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	55	Filipe de Carvalho	FOSKA Mantutu	Xefe FOSKA
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135	Tereja Faria	Vicao Crista Viqueque	Obreira
136	Salomao Sarmento	Vicao Crista Viqueque	Recepsaun
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139	Ana Graciana	Vicao Crista Viqueque	Professora
140	Januario Pinto	Vicao Crista Viqueque	Membro
141	Terezilha Miranda	Vicao Crista Viqueque	Membro
142	Celestino Soares Viana	KOSKA Viqueque	Membro
143	Justino Sarmentu Jeronimo	KOSKA Viqueque	Membro
144	Henrique Soares	KOSKA Viqueque	Membro
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146	Julio Brandao	KOSKA Viqueque	Profesor
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148	Luiza M. F. Pinto	KOSKA Viqueque	Membro
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150	Nelinho dos Anjos	KOSKA Viqueque	Desporto
151	Bendoti Jose A.	KOSKA Viqueque	English Language
152	Bendito Faria Miranda	KOSKA Viqueque	Membro
153	Zulmira Soares Sarmentu	KOSKA Viqueque	Membro
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155	Olimpia S.	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
156	Balvina	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
157	Trifina	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
158	Umbelina	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
159	Lidia	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
160	Deonizia	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
161	Rui	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
162	Pedro	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven

	163	Jose G.	Igreja Evangelika Assembleia de Deuz (IEA de Deuz)	Joven
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	173	Gita A. Tong	Igreja Protestante Iha Timor Lorosae (IPTL) Lospalao	Juventude Imanuel
	174	Pe. Duarte da Costa	Igreja Protestante Iha Timor Lorosae (IPTL) Lospalao	Pastor
	175	Roberto M. F. M. Ximenes	Igreja Protestante Iha Timor Lorosae (IPTL) Lospalao	Penatua
	176	Aleixo Pinto	Igreja Protestante Iha Timor Lorosae (IPTL) Lospalao	Guru Injil
	177	Roja	Igreja Protestante Iha Timor Lorosae (IPTL) Lospalao	DIAKEN
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	181	Delfin dos Santos Pires	Igreja Protestante Iha Timor Lorosae (IPTL) Lospalao	Penatua
	182	Muslim	Comunidade Muslimanu Lospalos	Coordinator
	183	Luis Freitas Idrio	Comunidade Muslimanu Lospalos	Sahaddat
	184	Abubakar Siddik	Comunidade Muslimanu Lospalos	Estudante
185	Suster Maria ADM	ADM Lospalos	Supiora	
186	Suster Lau ADM	ADM Lospalos	Membro	
187	Aderito de Jesus	Igreja Protestante Iha Timor Lorosae (IPTL) Lospalao	Juventude Imanuel	
Distritu Maliana	188	Suep	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Koordenador
	189	Suparti Taslim	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Bendahara
	190	Haji Kudus	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Sekretaris

	191	Yusuf	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Pembangunan
	192	Budiman	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Anggota
	193	Siti Fatimah	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Anggota
	194	Syamsul	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Anggota
	195	Jumisa	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Anggota
	196	Siti Rosana	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Anggota
	197	Hanum	Comunidade Muslumanu Maliana	Anggota
	198	Gamaliel Mali Mau	Protestante BETHEL Maliana	Penetua
	199	Ernesto Perreira	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	200	Olandino Soares	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	201	Merita de Jesus	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	202	Selestino Perreira	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	203	Joao Baptista	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	204	Januario Barreto	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	205	Edy Ramos	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	206	Ana Cardoso	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	207	Joao Bosco	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	208	Sisto Soares	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	209	Ananias Madeira	FOSKA Maliana	Membru
	210	Egidio	FOSKA Maliana	Koordenador
	211	Me.Chistina Wolla	Kongregasaun SSpS Maliana	Madre
	212	Suparti Taslim	MUSLIM Maliana	Secretaria
	213	Syamsul Fadli	MUSLIM Maliana	Membru
	214	Julio B.L	THS/THM Maliana	Penasehat THS/THM
	215	Gamaliel Mali Mau	IPTL Maliana	Penetua
	216	Fernando de Araujo	Crista Vista Maliana	Pendeta
Distritu Liquica	217	Rev. Miguel Babo da Costa	IPTL Liquisa	Pendeta
	218	Leoneto da Costa Martins	IPTL Liquisa	Pendeta
	219	Rev. Saturnino da Conceicao	IPTL Liquisa	Pendeta
	220	Rev. Jose Sampaio	Igreja Assembleia de Deus Liquisa	Pendeta
Distritu Ermera	221	Me. Natalia do Menino Jesus Ferreira, H.Carm	Hermanas Carmelita (Katolik)	Madre
	222	Domingos Soares	FOSKA Ermera	Koordenador
	223	Pe. Arnaldo Frederico de Deus	Lider Religiosa Katolika Letefoho Ermera	Padre Paroquia Letefoho
	224	Domingos Soares	FOSKA Letefoho Ermera	Koordenador FOSKA
	225	Ermelindo Perreira	FOSKA Letefoho Ermera	Vice-Coordenador
	226	Natalia Maria dos Santos	FOSKA Letefoho Ermera	Secretaria
	227	Jeronimo Babo	FOSKA Letefoho Ermera	Vice-Secretaria
	228	Rosa Soares	FOSKA Letefoho Ermera	Sec. Liturgia
	229	Antonino dos Santos	FOSKA Letefoho Ermera	Sec. Desportu
	230	Alvaro dos Santos	FOSKA Letefoho Ermera	Tesoreiro

	231	Madre Carmelita	Hermanas Carmelita Letefoho	Religiosa
	232	[Protestante Brazilheiro]	Protestante Letefoho Ermera	Koordenador
Distritu Ainaro	233	Pe. Evaristo	Lider Religiosa Katolika Ainaro	Pe. Parpquia
	234	Merlinda de Sousa	Lider Religiosa Katolika Ainaro	Supriora
	235	Aderito Magno	FOSKA Ainaro	Koordenador
	236	Jacob da Costa	Lider Religiosa VC Ainaro	Pastor
	237	Joaquim Magno	Rep. Juv. VC Mane Ainaro	Koordenador
	238	Silveira	Rep. Juv. VC Feto Ainaro	Koordenador
	239	Joaquina	Rep. Juv. VC Feto Ainaro	Membros
Distritu Manufahi	240	Pe. Sabino Pinto	Lider Religiosa Katolika Same	Padre Paroquia Same
	241	Madre. Milburga	Lider Religiosa Katolika Same	Responsabel Madre CIJ
	242	Rodolfo J. de Sousa	FOSKA Same	Coordenador
	243	Pendeta Marsiriu	Lider Religiosa VC Same	Pendeta
	244	Apolinario Martins	Lider Religiosa Protestante A de Deus Same	Pastor
	245	Quintao da Costa	Sosiadade Sivil Same	Mestri (Katolika)
	246	Joaquim	Lider Religiosa Protestante A. de Deus Same	Responsabel Juv. A. de Deus Same
Distritu Kovalima	247	Me. Domingas Gama	Lider Religiosa Katolika Suai	Madre
	248	Me. Elsa Fernandes	Lider Religiosa Katolika Suai	Madre
	249	Pe. Natalino Verdial Gama	Lider Religiosa Katolika Suai	Padre Paroquia Suai
	250	Agapito dos Reis	CCF Suai	Adm
	251	Fortunatu Amaral	CCF Suai	Program Manager
	252	João Martins	FOSKA Suai	Koordenador
	253	Meiry Lima	Visaun Cristaun Suai	Responsabel
Distritu Oecusse	254	Carlos Quefi	Juventude Pasabe	mestre
	255	Ludovico Vaz	Juventude Pasabe	Fasilitador legal aid
	256	Asala	Juventude Pasabe	Membru
	257	Domingos quefi	Juventude Pasabe	Membru
	258	Octoviano da Cunha	Akolitus Pasabe	Estudante
	259	Nicolao abi	Akolitus Pasabe	Estudante
	260	Raimundo Luan	Akolitus Pasabe	eEstudante
	261	Sonha Imelda da C.	Akolitus Pasabe	Estudante
	262	Pasquela Ximenes	Akolitus Pasabe	Estudante
	263	Antonio do Santos	Igreja Betel Timor Leste (IBTL)	Pastor
	264	Miguel Oki	Igreja Betel Timor Leste (IBTL)	Sekretariu Ogreja
	265	Fatima Quefi	Igreja Betel Timor Leste (IBTL)	Jemaat
	266	Helena efi	Igreja Betel Timor Leste (IBTL)	Jemaat
	267	Marcos Co'e	PNTL Oecusse	Adjuntu Esquarda
	268	Adelino Cau	DNAL Oecusse	Fungsionario
	269	Suster Yudith	Congregasaun Franciscana	Madre

*** This list does not include details of the numerous interviewees and respondents who wished to remain anonymous. All sources above are identified with permission.**