

学位論文題目 Effect of Gender Quota in Post-Conflict Reconstruction : Women's Initiative Networks in East Timor

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This dissertation focuses on an electoral gender quota in post conflict reconstruction contexts. My research question focuses on the practical issues of implementation of electoral gender quota in such contexts. To answer this research question, I analyze the process underlying the adoption of electoral gender quotas and the effects of such quotas. Following this analysis, I discuss three of its major findings: the necessity for a different analytical perspective on electoral gender quotas in post conflict contexts, the importance of networking among elected female legislators and relevant institutions, and the possibility of the enhancing the democratization of the policy making process.

The dissertation proceeds as follows. The introduction chapter describes how assistance provided to post conflict countries by the United Nations Peace Keeping Operations (UNPKO) missions and international donors has changed since the end of the cold war. Under the Beijing Platform for Action and UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), all countries, including post-conflict countries need to promote gender equality. Furthermore, the Beijing Platform for Action and the UNSCR 1325 point out the lack of female participation in decision making regarding economic and political activities as one unresolved gender issue. The small number of female legislators in parliament is one major issue caused by a lack of female participation in decision making. An electoral gender quota has been adopted globally to increase the number of the female legislators in parliament.

Next, Chapter 1 describes this dissertation's originality, and I clarify the significance of analyzing electoral gender quotas in post conflict countries with two relevant arguments. First, such analysis makes it possible to identify a specific perspective for analyzing gender quota in post conflict countries. The literature review clarifies that most researches on electoral gender quota do not pay attention to post conflict contexts, which need a different analytical perspective. The second is that such research may support arguments that increasing the number of female legislators promotes the democratization of the policy making process in post conflict contexts.

Chapter 2 details this dissertation's method of analysis and the relevance of the Democratic Republic of East Timor as a case study. This dissertation uses three analytical perspectives. The first part of my analysis describes the process by which the electoral gender quota system in East Timor was introduced, paying attention to the role of women's nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that were active in the introduction. Second, I apply descriptive representation and substantive representation to elected female legislators in East Timor. As for a descriptive representation which asks who they are, I use age and educational and occupational background as explanatory variables. Regarding substantive representation which asks what they do, I analyze the constitution making process, female legislators' group organization process with regard to parliament and

gender policies making process, such as domestic violence against women's law and gender budgeting law. The third step is to analyze the relationship between female legislators and relevant institutions such as women's NGOs and the government, both of which are crucial to making gender equality policies possible. With regards to the choice of East Timor as a case study for analysis, I note that East Timor, as a post-conflict country, has been the second highest Asian country in terms of percentage of female legislature since the adoption of the gender quota system in 2007. Over a decade later, it is time to now analyze the effects of the gender quota. Therefore, I analyze constitutional election in 2001, the first national parliament from 2002 to 2007 and parliament election in 2007.

From Chapters 3 to 5, I focus on issues of gender discrimination in East Timor. In Chapter 3, I touch on the history of East Timor, focusing on discrimination against women such as violence against women, lack of educational opportunities, forcible exercise of family planning, and lack of participation in decision-making processes. In Chapter 4, I describe the East Timorese women's participation in fighting for the nation's independence as members of *Organização Popular de Mulher Timor* (OPMT), which was a women's organization, as members of *Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste* (FALINTIL), which was an armed resistance group, and as participants in clandestine activities. In Chapter 5, I describe how changes in Indonesian policy on the East Timor problem opened up new opportunities for the establishment of women's NGOs. In particular, I describe the process of the first National Women's Congress and the adoption of political platforms for actions, which included gender equality in decision making.

From Chapters 6 to 10, I analyze the process of adopting gender quota and the effect of elected female legislators in the 2001 constitutional assembly election, the first national parliament from 2002 to 2007 and the 2007 parliamentary elections, applying representation constructs. In Chapter 6, I describe the politics of electoral gender quotas in East Timor, focusing on the process by which the introduction of the gender quota for the 2001 constitutional election was blocked by the UN Department of Political Affairs, who was tasked with monitoring free and fair elections in the country and which saw the electoral gender quota as a discriminatory policy. In Chapter 7, I analyze the results of the 2001 constitutional assembly election. From a descriptive perspective, I note that female legislators possessed high levels of education and belonged to higher age groups in light of the average life expectancy in East Timor. Nonetheless, they share experience fighting for independence and suffering from discrimination with other East Timorese women. From a substantive representation point of view, I analyze the process of constitution making, which included gender equality provisions because several active female legislators who were in exile during resistance period and possessed competency on promoting gender equality.

In Chapter 8, after describing how members of the constitutional assembly became members of the National Parliament, since the parliament election did not take place, I analyze the process through which female legislators tried to make a group for themselves in the National Parliament, which failed at first and they tried to pass the law and finally passed it, and the process of setting up the national government machinery

for gender equality, which took over the UNPKO's gender equality functions. I point out that the female legislators, the national machinery, and women's NGOs recognized that a high percentage of female legislators in the National Parliament is necessary and that female legislators need technical assistance from the national machinery and women's NGOs. In Chapter 9, I focus on the results of the 2007 elections, focusing in particular on the politics of setting up the *Grupo das Mulheres Parlamentares de Timor-Leste* (GMPTL), a woman's caucus, and the process of law-making on gender-based violence and on gender responsive budgeting. These gender policies could not have been passed in national parliament without the assistance of the international donors and women's NGO and national machinery in government. Rather, the female legislators recognized the gender discrimination in East Timor, and they utilized assistance from the international donors strategically.

Based on the analysis from the preceding chapters, Chapter 10 discuss three findings. First, it is necessary to understand the relationship between actors and their motivations to analyze the adoption of electoral gender quotas in post-conflict contexts. In order to understand that, it is necessary to understand what women did and how women suffered from gender discrimination during the conflict. This perspective would be applied to analyze the female legislators from a descriptive representation point of view. From the subsistence representation analysis, it is clear that the electoral gender quota is an effective policy for increasing the number of female legislators, but it is not enough for making gender equality policies. As the East Timor case shows, strategic networking among female legislators, national machinery, women's NGOs an international community can offers a possibility for leading to the adoption of gender equality policies. Furthermore, this networking may promote bottom-up policy making as democratization. Finally, in the last chapter, I provide avenues for future research. Future studies should consider the effects of political parties and various women's NGOs on female legislators in East Timor, engage in comparative case studies of post conflict countries with respect to gender quotas, and examine the arguments regarding the possibility of the coexistence of discipline of free and fair election and gender equality.