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Assessing the Effectiveness of Governance Strategies in the United Nations: The East Timor Case

Ana Rita Palma Gouveia

Master's in International Management

Advisor:

PhD, Maria do Rosário Costa e Silva da Veiga, Assistant Professor, ISCTE, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

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iscte BUSINESS SCHOOL

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Department of Marketing, Strategy and Operations

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ACKNOWLEGMENTS

I found my first master's academic work and I thought it would be interesting to share it here. In September 2021, our communication professor gave us a very curious question "what do you believe in?" and asked us to answer it in a very short presentation to the class… here is my answer: Perception is reality. I believe that if you believe in something the world will follow your lead. At every step of the way you are teaching others how to treat you. That is why confidence is the master key, the key you use to open every single door. Confidence is far too different from ego and cockiness. Is the ability to see yourself, look at you, and walk through this life feeling confident about your work, your mission, and your beliefs. It is feeling comfortable and warm in your own skin. Like I said in our first class: "let your work and intelligence speak for yourself", you do not need to be loud, believe me, your work and your intelligence will always speak louder. Especially when you achieve that inner peace, that confidence, you unintentionally open a glass door where others can see you clearly. Stay in your magic.

Everything I mentioned in the previous paragraph is done through us and by us, but the truth is that anything in life becomes easier and lighter when we have good people by our side, so I would like to write a special thank you to all these people thereafter mentioned, who make me believe that I must remain and stay in my own magic.

This dissertation represents the culmination of the end (at least in the near future, since I believe the doors of knowledge should never be closed) of my academic journey. To be writing it, there was a prerequisite of 18 years of prior preparation in school, from elementary to high education, a bachelor's degree in management, a postgraduation in strategy, innovation, and foresight, and then, a master's degree in international management. Therefore, as it encompasses and represents an extension of all these years that have allowed me to be here, these acknowledgments are not just acknowledgments for this specific academic work but rather to a general thank you that encompasses everything. So, I want to express immense and deeply gratitude to my parents for always holding my hand in every circumstance of my life and for always making me feel loved, supported, and protected. You are the pillars of my personality and my being. There are no words to thank you for all the efforts you have made for me throughout my life. My wish is that we continue to walk hand in hand forever.

To my dear sister, that I have always been guided by and look up to. Sis, you made my childhood the best memory of my life. I developed my personality by watching yours, and there are so many things I do because you taught me, even unintentionally. It is a blessing to observe you just being you because you are a wonderful teacher, in every ν

Although this dissertation is written in English, and I know it may limit the readership to some extent, I want to express my gratitude, regardless of the language, to my grandparents. Dear Grandma Celeste, Grandma Rita, Grandpa Luís, and Grandpa Manuel, thank you for your love, for seeing me as an extension of your own children, and for giving me the happiness of simply being a child and to grow up by your side.

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ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNANCE STRATEGIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS: THE EAST TIMOR CASE

RESUMO

Assessing the Effectiveness of Governance Strategies in the United Nations: The East Timor Case explora múltiplos aspetos da governança dentro das Nações Unidas, focando-se nos desafios enfrentados, nas estratégias empregues e no impacto resultante durante o estabelecimento e intervenção da missão de paz em Timor-Leste. Considerando teorias de relações internacionais, a governança eficaz em organizações internacionais e em missões de paz, e considerando a Carta das Nações Unidas, bem como as decisões da Assembleia Geral e do Conselho de Segurança, a presente dissertação procura correlacionar todos estes elementos e, através deles, tenta avaliar a eficácia das estratégias de governança.

Através de um estudo pautado pelo exame da teoria à luz da realidade, investiga áreas específicas como responsabilidade, princípios democráticos, proteção dos direitos humanos, participação e transparência nos processos de tomada de decisão e estrutura institucional das Nações Unidas, examinando adicionalmente o papel da sociedade civil, da cooperação internacional e dos estados-membros nas práticas de governança eficaz. Visa contribuir para uma literatura mais extensa sobre questões e estratégias de governança, por meio da correlação de todos os componentes mencionados, e mantém o argumento central de que a operação de paz em Timor-Leste, de 1999 a 2001, refletiu uma série de atributos e princípios relacionados à governança eficaz.

Palavras-Chave: Estratégias; Governança Eficaz; Missões de Paz; Nações Unidas; Timor-Leste.

Códigos JEL: F5; I3; N4; P5; O2.

ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GOVERNANCE STRATEGIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS: THE EAST TIMOR CASE

ABSTRACT

Assessing the Effectiveness of Governance Strategies in the United Nations: The East Timor Case explores multiple aspects of governance within the United Nations, focusing on the challenges faced, the strategies employed, and the resulting impact during the establishment and intervention of the peacekeeping mission in East Timor. Considering theories of international relations, effective governance in international organizations and in peacekeeping missions, and considering the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the present dissertation seeks to correlate all these elements and, through them, tries to assess the effectiveness of governance strategies.

In a study grounded by the examination of theory in light of reality, it investigates specific areas such as accountability, democratic principles, human rights protection, participation, and transparency within the United Nations' decision-making processes and institutional framework, and additionally examining the role of civil society, international cooperation, and member states in effective governance practices. It aims to contribute to a more extensive literature regarding governance issues and strategies, through the correlation of all the mentioned components, and holds the central argument that the peace operation in East Timor, from 1999 to 2001, reflected a series of attributes and principles related to effective governance.

Key Words: Estratégias; Governança Eficaz; Missões de Paz; Nações Unidas; Timor-Leste.

JEL Codes: F5; I3; N4; P5; O2.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

INTERFET	–	International Force East Timor
TNI	–	Indonesian National Armed Forces
UN	–	United Nations
UNAMET	–	United Nations Assistance Mission East Timor
UNICEF	–	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNTEAT	–	United Nations Transnational Authority East Timor

1. Introduction

The organization of the United Nations (UN) is the only international organization capable of building a worldwide alliance among all states, regardless of their demographic, economic, or military capabilities (Voicu, 2001). To manage global conflicts and to preserve peace and security, for example, the UN' peacekeeping missions have served as a prominent method. Since 1948, the organization counts with 70 peace operations, expanding its peace efforts beyond mere military considerations (UN, 2023). These multidimensional missions consequently spurred waves of research, delving into empirical investigations aimed at discerning whether and under which circumstances UN' peacekeeping proves to be effective. This dissertation sight to investigate the assessment of effective governance strategies through the analysis of a particular peacekeeping mission: the East Timor intervention, from 1999 to 2001.

To maintain international peace and security goes beyond simply preventing and resolving conflicts, economic, health, human and social rights are equally important domains. As outlined in the UN Charter, the organization's role extends beyond traditional peacekeeping, adopting a comprehensive approach that recognize the need to address all areas of international influence equitably and with a genuine commitment to development (Fassbender, 2009). According to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support (UN, 2009), effective governance implies that these multiple areas, not being carried out in isolation, receive equally attention, being developed on equal importance, ensures that the development of one organism does not hinder the progress of another, requiring a symbiosis among the agencies and bodies of the international system, and that they achieve the desired outcomes. Recognizing this multilateral nature of the UN, the central focus of this investigation is to, throughout the lens of the East Timor case, explore the assessment of effective governance strategies. The main objective is to correlate three main spheres: the first one holds a compilation of theories of international relations, good global governance in international organizations, and peacekeeping missions; followed by what is established in the UN Charter; being the third sphere of correlation what occurred during this limited period of intervention, i.e.,

the decisions and the decision-making processes made by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

In the context of the present research, effective governance encompasses principles such as accountability, adherence to democratic values in decision-making processes, participation, and transparency, and involves ensuring coherence, effective institutions, and coordination among member states as other stakeholders within the organization's system. After the previous division of the three main areas of study and after correlating them with one another, there are three main questions that dissertation pretends to answer: (1) are theoretical principles of effective governance present in the practical context of the UN' intervention in East Timor? (2) and how are they expressed? (3) what specific challenges emerged during the implementation of governance strategies in the East Timor case, and how were these challenges addressed?

Even though the East Timor case encapsulates a microcosm of global governance dynamics, it still can enable an in-depth analysis of international aspirations, historical narratives, and geopolitical complexities. The dynamics between the three previously mentioned spheres of analysis presents an opportunity to navigate into the intricacies of diplomatic negotiations, power dynamics, and the intricate web of international cooperation. However, as the trajectory of this research follows a qualitative exploration, it is important to notice that the domain behind the evaluation of governance in this type of entity lacks empirical applications. This qualitative nature can may also entail constraints in terms of generalisability and, additionally, the reliance on historical records and documented perspectives may introduce inherent biases that need cautious interpretation. These limitations, transparently acknowledged, enrich the discussion by fostering awareness of the contextual boundaries that surround the study's findings.

Although the literature has proposed a variety of concepts towards effectiveness, the correlation between them with aspects of the dynamic relationship between peace operations and conflict have received less attention. The multifaceted examination of peacekeeping effectiveness underscores the complexity of peace operations and the need for a comprehensive understanding that extends beyond traditional security metrics. This investigation aims to cover a small gap in the literature, contributing to a more extensive literature regarding governance issues and strategies. It assesses effective governance strategies in the UN through the correlation of the literature review with the reality, concluding that during the peace operation in East Timor plenty of factors recognized by scholars as essential to achieve effective governance were present. These insights could

hold relevance for multiple stakeholders, including international relations practitioners and policymakers, scholars, and researchers, as well as global citizens that seek comprehensive insights into strategies and challenges associated with the assessment of effective governance and to navigate the complexities of global governance more effectively.

The present dissertation develops across five chapters. In the subsequent chapter (i.e., Chapter 2), a literature review is conducted. In this first stage, previous studies, their contributions, and limitations to the addressed issue are exposed. The purpose is to collect insights and theories from previous studies and then compare them in with the experienced reality. The compilation and synthesis of these theories furnishes the study with a comprehensive framework, enabling a nuanced exploration of the complex interplay of governance mechanisms within the global landscape. It is followed by a theoretical framework of the epistemological and methodological basis and its subsequently application, Chapter 3, which presents the methodological approach, the steps for structuring research questions, along with a detailed description of the used tool: a qualitative approach, the study of the reality considering the theory. In Chapter 4, the case study is presented, the first segment aims to provide a short background of the UN, as well as its Charter, and it is followed by a historical narrative of the persistent instability that characterized East Timor from the colonial era to the formal acknowledgment of its independence, revealing the role of the UN and the considerable influence of various international and non-state actors during the East Timor struggle for self-determination. It exposes the core objectives delineated and the multifaceted actions undertaken by the United Nations Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET), the International Force for East Timor (INTERFET), and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), offering a comprehensive examination of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and reports that heralded the inception of peacekeeping missions within the territory and provided an intricate analysis of their developments, as well as Subsequently, the analysis and the discussion of the information collected is introduced. This phase converges the empirical insights and theoretical foundations collected from the literature review, rendering a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between global governance realities and conceptual frameworks. Finally, Chapter 5 presents the final conclusions, as the answers to the three main questions.

2. Literature Review

The concept of international society, in its essence, has gradually changed over time, it can be defined as a complex and ever-changing network of relationships shaped by material and normative factors and not an absolutist collection of self-interested states. It is a compilation of shared norms and values, traced back to the ancient Greeks, that guide the behaviour of nations in their interactions with one another and mould international relationships (Bull, 1984).

In the absence of a normative definition, governance can be described as the deliberate use of executive and socioeconomic authority to regulate a country's affairs, encompassing multiple institutions, procedures, relationships, and systems through which citizens can communicate their interests, solve conflicts, and exercise their duties and rights (Woods, 1999). Governance represents a comprehensive system through which an entity, whether it involves established and tangible governmental structures or not, guides and manages its collective affairs. It is an expression of a community's desire to self-rule, shaped by shared institutions, a common history, and norms. In both national and international contexts, the roles of international organizations and community attitudes are significant in understanding and resolving issues. People's deep concern about whom they are expected to obey brings a powerful influence on the nature and the domain of international governance (Weiss, 2013).

A brief explanation of global governance is the collaborative effort to comprehend, identify, and tackle global issues that surpass the capabilities of individual nations to resolve. In this context, it can be beneficial to conceive of global governance as the attempt within the international system to deliver government-like services and public goods without a global government. To reiterate a more extensive definition, contemporary global governance encompasses both formal and informal elements, such as ideas, norms, organizations, practices, procedures, policies, and values. According to Weiss (2013), these components often contribute to a surprising and desirable level of global order, predictability, and stability, although fairness remains an elusive aspect, occurring far too infrequently.

An even older dogma of international relations, the liberal idealism, a political philosophy that emphasizes democratic governance, individual rights and freedom, and the rule of law, holding that international cooperation and the promotion of democracy are essential for achieving lasting peace and security among nations (Alexandroff & Cooper, 2010). Liberal idealism descends from the Enlightenment period in Europe, in the 17th and 18th centuries, where philosophers and political theorists underlined the importance of freedom, individualism, and reason in society, and it was developed by Woodrow Wilson during the First World War. It stood for the idea that the general welfare of the population was only possibility to obtain throughout effective and efficient administration. It also stood for the recognition for merit, advocating that government officials should be selected based on expertise, knowledge, and talent rather than political connections, and they deserve to have the required authority and resources to manage and lead with integrity. As a response to the devastating effects of the World War II in the international context, liberal idealism emerged in the early 20th century, assuring the promotion of diplomacy, international cooperation, and peaceful conflict resolution as the best way to create global prosperity. However, during the Cold War, geopolitics overshadowed it due to the prioritization of hegemony and national interests over collaborative multilateralism. A renewed interest in liberal internationalism came with the end of the Cold War presenting an opportunity for a new era of global cooperation and wealth. From there, liberal idealism started to have a significant impact on global governance, shaping the policies of international organizations and influencing foreign policies worldwide (Brown & Kirsten, 2005).

The performance of international organizations hinged significantly on the actions and level of commitment of their most influential members, mirroring the hierarchical power structure among states, where influential members were often reluctant to relinquish their influence (Tucker, 1977). Consequently, the effectiveness of these organizations was directly linked to the actions and level of engagement of their most influential members (Voicu, 2001). However, at the end of the Cold War in 1991, due to the growing appeal for democracy, sharpened world governance, and the rise in expectations about what international organizations could do to seek effective governance became a bigger concern in the international realm. Indeed, many development banks and multilateral agencies were prodding governments worldwide to look forward to better principles of accountability, democratic representation, and transparency (Woods, 1999).

After examining the economic and political inequalities that exist between nations and their impact on global governance and tracing the historical roots of these inequalities back to colonialism and imperialism, Tucker (1977) acknowledges that these inequalities represent a serious impediment to good governance as they limit the ability of less powerful nations to influence processes of decision-making and perpetuate power imbalances. Colonial legacies have significantly impacted global governance systems, perpetuating power imbalances and structural inequalities in international organizations. Western dominance has often marginalized voices from the Global South, reinforcing Eurocentric biases. These critics opened space for the term postcolonial governance, which calls for recognizing diverse perspectives, shifting power dynamics, and overcoming exclusionary practices, promoting equitable participation, inclusion of alternative knowledge systems, linguistic diversity, and collaborative efforts to decolonize governance structures within international organizations (Hurrell, 2001; Weiss, 2013).

The importance of global governance has been growing, mainly due to the increasing influence of non-state actors, including civil society organizations, both non-profit and for-profit market-based entities, as well as various transnational and trans-governmental networks (Weiss, 2013). Globalization emerged as a phenomenon that has exposed the weaknesses of the state governance model and the emergence of new areas of activity. It has also enabled non-state actors to gain greater effective capacity to operate in extensive areas of international development. The proliferation of international, supranational, and non-governmental organizations fills the gaps that national actors cannot, such as comprehensive global responses and formulation of cross-cutting public policies, including economy, education, environment, healthcare, and human rights, within a framework of global governance (Nowrot, 2004). Nevertheless, this global dimension attributed to governance does not signify an abandonment of the importance of the nation-state. Rather, the national sphere of power is encompassed within governance, uniting all international actors for a more cohesive and close-knit connection. The process of including different international actors in global governance does not entail a complete power dilution, as countries and states and the United Nations remain central players in governance (Halliday, 2000).

The rise of international organizations has significantly reshaped global governance dynamics, as reflected in the concept of complex interdependence addressed by Keohane and Nye (1987). It has blurred the lines between domestic and international issues,

pushing states toward collaborative responses facilitated by international organizations. This concept highlights the intricate web of relationships involving states, non-state actors, and international organizations, challenging traditional power dynamics and emphasizing transnational cooperation. International organizations serve as platforms for diverse stakeholders to address global challenges, transcending traditional power and military-centric approaches. It requires a re-evaluation of sovereignty, with states finding themselves interlinked in a network of mutual vulnerability. International organizations, equipped with global perspectives and expertise, emerge as conduits for coordinated action, promoting collective solutions to global challenges (Keohane & Nye, 1987). The traditional government-centric control is inadequate in addressing contemporary global challenges characterized by globalization and technological advancements, instead, numerous state and non-state actors collaborate to tackle complex issues, creating economic interdependence, transnational networks, and shared norms and shaping international dynamics, a patchwork governance (Rosenau, 1995).

At the beginning of the globalization and competition epoch, an intertwining between economic reforms, social responsibilities, and good governance was foreseeing, ambitioning progress in institutional amends, justice, and social stability, contrasting with dysfunctional, non-transparent, and unevolved institutions that create inconsistent and inefficient governmental policies that stimulate abuse, corruption, underdevelopment, and economic and social division (Voicu, 2001). The concept of effective global governance has been widely discussed in academic literature and, over the years, several authors also tried to define effective governance within international organizations through definitions, theories, or key values. Concerning the last one, there is a consensus among multiple scholars in seeking inclusive participation, proper patterns and systems of accountability, and transparency as key values to achieve effective worldwide governance, identifying them as critical components, and realizing the importance of these principles in ensuring the comprehensive, credibility, and efficiency of international structures, such as Woods (1999), Voicu (2001), and Agere (2000).

Even though Weiss (2013) theorizes that the differences between international organizations' institutional architecture, competencies, and decision-making processes result from how individuals confront the challenge of international governance, Woods (1999) stands a common ground between international organizations, their effectiveness is fundamentally grounded in good governance. This principle, upholding accountability, adherence to the rule of law, and transparency, enhances the efficiency of institutions,

enabling them to fulfil their mandates more effectively (Woods, 1999). This ideology, like other lines of thought previously introduced, paves the way for insights from other authors on what constitutes good governance within international organizations. According to Koremenos et al. (2001), the effectiveness of international organizations can be accessed throughout the analysis of multiple dimensions, considering both qualitative and quantitative measures, as the case of the achieving objectives that the organization have, which includes addressing global challenges such as climate change and poverty, advancing sustainable development, the progress in promoting peace and security, and upholding human rights. The impact that the actions carried have on member states is also one of the key trough effectiveness, the organization itself evaluates whether their interventions have helped prevent conflicts, mitigate humanitarian crises, support economic development, and improve the overall well-being of member states and their populations. Another dimension is the multilateral cooperation, involving the analysis of the level of collaboration, engagement, and participation in decision-making processes, as well as the ability to reach consensus and implement collective actions. In line with peacekeeping operations comes the humanitarian assistance, providing humanitarian care during crises and emergencies, based on the adequacy, coordination, and the speed of its response is another level of its whole effectiveness. Last, but not least, monitoring adherence to international law, like disarmament agreements, environmental commitments, human rights standards, and public perception, such as public engagement, support, and trust with the organization reflect its ability to effectively address global concerns and represent the interests of diverse stakeholders (Koremenos et al., 2001).

As the leading instrument of foreign policy, one of its priority tasks is to make it easier to promote good governance on a national and worldwide scale. Voicu (2001), contemporary multilateral diplomacy apologist, includes diplomacy as a component of effective global governance. Beheld has one of the master keys for international communication and negotiation, diplomacy is constantly requested to guide societal changes in a democratic, progressive, quiet, and rule-based path. The awareness of opposing interests and the potential agreement on compromise solutions are among the diplomacy goals, as the identification of similar interests and agreement on synergetic actions in their pursuit. Diplomacy is also a popular political approach for a more amiable and polite resolution of conflicts, granting an orderly international relations system. It sticks to continuous information collection and sharing, cordial relationship arousal, and different governments' interactions, clarifying, and transmitting their communication.

The author also addresses that the notions and values of effective governance became accepted and part of the international vocabulary due to successful efforts at different levels of multilateral diplomacy and after plenty of diplomatic negotiations, underling the continuity of the process and the interdependency of all the elements and the characteristics bound to them. He expresses a pressing need for further diplomatic negotiations to establish globally accepted definitions of international concepts without force use, emphasizing that only when there is a mutual respect for the unique culture and history of each country effective governance is reached. So, there is not just one single global model of effective administration, but instead, the development of a set of values widely accepted as guides of good governance and tailored to every country's particularity.

In addition to Woods's (1999) endorsement of the three core principles of good governance, she also states that fairness is essential for social cohesion and stability and the effectiveness and legitimacy of governance institutions, adding fairness to the vital trio. Effective governance should strive to guarantee equal access to public services, distribution of resources, economic opportunities, and political participation for all members of society, face inequalities, and promote social justice. By promoting fairness, it is possible to build trust, create an enabling environment for sustainable development, and reduce social tensions (Woods, 1999). Contrasting with this egalitarian perspective, Bull (1984) does not necessarily defend full equality among states but rather advocates for the idea of a society of states, where states have common interests and can work together to achieve them, once, aside from the uniqueness of countries in power and resources, they share common interests and values that can form the basis for cooperation. Believing in an existing link between the growth of international society and the spread of liberal values, the author also stands for the idea that to achieve greater justice it is mandatory to protect the continuity of the international order and that the measures needed to achieve justice for underdeveloped nations were the same that would magnify the prospects of international order and stability slightly in the long term. Even though some countries may have more significant leadership roles or obligations due to their relative power and resources, it is important to give all countries a role and a voice in the international system (Bull, 1984).

In parallel to this last approach about the importance of embracing all the states into the international system and allowing them to participate in it, Agere (2000) claims that global governance structures should be engineered to make decision-making processes

accountable to all stakeholders, highlighting inclusive decision-making processes, democratic ideals, and the necessity for international organizations to be accountable of a broad range of stakeholders and that transparency in decision-making, financial transactions, and in information sharing is vital for fostering good governance practices and trust. Weiss (2013) brings a perspective on the emergence and the significance of multiple organisms and the engagement of a wide range of non-state individuals, including civil society groups and non-governmental organizations, in decision-making processes within the international system, stating that by blending different points of view, global governance can become more approachable, representative, and consequently more effective. The perspective on public participation, for example, has gained prominence, particularly in emerging and socialist nations transitioning to democracy, emphasizing its role in establishing accountability, empowering citizens, and ensuring legitimacy (Fung, 2006).

Although international cooperation is often perceived through a realist lens, raising questions about why states rely on international institutions, considering their interest in dominance, it should be seen as a tool to help states achieving some objectives (Keohane & Nye, 1987). States often highly value their survival and national independence, but these are not the sole motivations for states, they may choose to relinquish some of that independence in favour of shared governance, as seen in the history of federalism (Volden, 2004). The mobilization of exclusive nationalism can limit a government's willingness to empower an international organization, especially when faced with functional pressures. The compatibility of international governance and self-rule depends on the politicization of national identity, making the social aspect of international governance possibly viewed along two dimensions. It relates to the extent to which the populations of member states perceive themselves as part of a broader community. A sense of community, characterized by shared fate, identity, and norms, supporting diffuse cooperation and reciprocity without strict contracts in a non-hierarchical setting (Ostrom, 1990). Even a modest sense of community among people enables the existence of the general-purpose international organizations, having profound implication for international authority, requiring consideration of decision-making among states and delegation to independent international organization bodies. An authoritative body can consist solely of state principals, making binding decisions collectively on individual states without the involvement of non-state actors (Johnson, 2014).

Bull and Watson (1984) emphasize the principle of non-intervention as a fundamental aspect of the international system, essential for maintaining order and stability among states and closely tied to the concept of sovereignty. However, they acknowledge that there may be situations where intervention becomes necessary to prevent humanitarian crises or protect human rights. The focus on global governance, as mentioned before, extends beyond the economic sector, emphasizing the promotion of human dignity and human rights. Increasing global awareness of human rights, driven by non-governmental organizations and civic engagement, has led to a more comprehensive approach to addressing human rights issues. This has resulted in a multitude of agencies and organizations dedicated to human rights protection, fostering a more global perspective and a comprehensive approach to addressing human issues (Manor, 1999). When a government commits to an international organization's accession treaty, it commits to abiding by the legal obligations outlined in the treaty, which are public and challenging to alter without incurring significant costs (Johnson, 2013). An indicator of effective and legitimate global governance is tied to the promotion of values related to human dignity and the protection of human rights. For decades, attempts to develop this area clashed once again with the principles of legitimate state sovereignty, especially in those countries where social reality is far from what is observed in high-risk countries. Consequently, raising political leaders' awareness about human disparities proved to be more challenging (Hooghe et al. 2019).

As equal focus on different areas of coverage represents one of the bases for effective governance, it is inherently challenging to break down policies into separate organizations since many global problems are interconnected as, for instance, natural disasters or security problems that often result in environmental, financial, health, and humanitarian challenges simultaneously. Indeed, efforts to stabilize conflict zones usually involve a complex mix of financial, development, policing issues, and security. The UN General Assembly, which comes closest to representing the international community, has spawned numerous subsidiary bodies, including boards, commissions, committees, councils, panels, and working groups, many of these bring together willing coalitions to make non-binding recommendations to the main policy-making organ of the organization. The Security Council stands out as the only body within the compartmentalized headquarters with significant focus and power, with task-specific functions, veto power held by its most influential members, and make its decisions binding on all members states. The system of the UN expanded its policies through the

creation of multiple organizations, as the case of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) developed to provide emergency food and healthcare to children and mothers in countries that have been devastated by the second World War. This approach to global governance breaks down tasks into smaller parts, making them more suitable for expert-driven problem-solving (Hooghe et al., 2019).

The encouragement of peace is one of the most pointed problematic aspects in the functioning of the UN, often associated with the Security Council problem (Pinto, 2014). Being effective governance a crucial element of the global struggle for sustainable development, academic literature embraced some studies regarding the effectiveness of the UN in global governance matters, as the case of peacekeeping missions. Over the decades of the security operations of the UN, the blue helmets, are funded not only financially but also with military personnel and equipment from all member states of the organization. They carry out peacekeeping operations in territories facing security risks. These missions are primarily focused on maintaining ceasefires in these territories and normalizing conflict zones through constant patrolling, with the goal of achieving a peaceful resolution of the conflict whenever possible (UN, 2023). During the Cold War, peacekeeping primarily served as a policy framework aimed at quelling conflicts, preventing their escalation, maintaining a balance of power among global forces. It prioritized security and the restoration of order. However, significant changes occurred in the peacekeeping landscape following the end of the Cold War and throughout the 1990s. This period witnessed the emergence of peacebuilding, which introduced a liberal model emphasizing elements such as democratic elections, Western-style institutions, human rights principles, and free-market mechanisms. Consequently, peacekeeping missions expanded their scope to encompass activities related to, for example, overseeing elections, establishing the rule of law, and reforming security sectors. Notable instances of this transition can be observed in UN operations in regions like Congo, East Timor, and Sierra Leone (Dorussen, 2014). Rooted in the principles of development, human rights, peace, and security, the UN serves as a platform for member states to address shared global concerns and find collective solutions, as the case of peacekeeping mission, that have been under criticism and doubts regarding their effectiveness, due to the failure of some. Recent studies show that the work of the blue helmets has significantly reduced civilian casualties, shortened conflicts, and stimulated the implementation of peace agreements. In fact, most UN peacekeeping missions have been successful in their primary objective, stabilizing societies and ending wars. The significant success of these

missions is evident through the implementation of peace agreements, the reduced likelihood of a conflict resurfacing, the end of wars, and the eventual withdrawal of the blue helmets from the field. As concluded by Howard (2008), contemplating at completed peacekeeping missions since the end of the Cold War, two-thirds of the time, they have been successful in carrying out their mandates and departing, not meaning that is perfectness, but, at least, these countries are no longer at war (Howard, 2008; UN, 2023).

Assessing the effectiveness of these operations is essential to ensure that resources are optimally allocated and to improve the outcomes of peace-making endeavours. There were several authors to contribute to assessing the effectiveness of peace-making operations, including the factors they identify as crucial in achieving effectiveness. Hartzell et al. (2001) addresses that the most common measure of success in early empirical studies of peacekeeping effectiveness was peace duration. Fortna (2004) examines the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping missions, including consent from the parties involved, the size and capabilities of the peacekeeping force, and the duration of the mission as key factors that contribute to effectiveness. Also emphasizing the importance of impartiality and the challenges associated with maintaining it in complex conflicts. Bellamy et al. (2010) delve into the factors that influence the success of peacekeeping operations, concluding that the significance of achievable and clear mandates, adequate resources, and the coordination of international and regional actors stand out, as well as legitimacy and the need for host country cooperation. Autesserre (2014) offers a critical perspective on peace-making effectiveness highlighting the importance of understanding cultural context, local dynamics, and the role of international interveners in shaping the outcomes of peace operations, calling for a more bottom-up approach to peace-making. Paris (2000), focusing on the post-conflict phase, also addresses the factors that contribute to a successful peacebuilding. He stresses the significance of economic recovery, local ownership, and integration of ex-combatants into society, underscoring the need for long-term commitment and a comprehensive approach to peacebuilding. The violence against civilians varies in scale and, in extreme cases, can escalate to genocidal proportions. Peace missions have been deployed in situations fraught with a significant risk of genocide, consequently making scholar often examine their effectiveness in preventing or mitigating genocides and politicides, as the case of Kathman and Wood (2011). Beardsley and Karim (2017) investigated the composition of peacekeeping forces and the intricate dynamics through which peacekeeping influences gender equality and various post-conflict societal outcomes.

Concerning political development, Joshi (2013) and Steinert and Grimm (2015) have discovered that peacekeeping missions appears to have a positive influence on democratization, fostering democratic processes, as evidenced by improvements in their chosen indices. However, both studies share a common limitation when establishing a connection with democratization without definitively proving that peacekeepers directly caused these improvements. It is possible that peacekeeping efforts coincided with ongoing democratization, raising the question of whether external involvement in democratic transitions might introduce more instability than locally driven processes. The outcomes of the peacebuilding efforts and operations are determined by the interplay of three main crucial factors: the initial level of hostility present at the beginning of the peace process; the local capabilities for post-conflict reconstruction and development; and the international capabilities for peacebuilding, primarily through UN peace operations (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000). Bove and Ruggeri (2015) argue that peacekeeping helps to prevent conflicts, effectively containing and reducing violence. Ceasefires, within this context, create windows of opportunity for both government authorities and rebels to enhance their negotiating leverage. Furthermore, the physical presence of peacekeepers within local communities serves as a commitment by leaders to adhere to pre-established rules, which often include the prohibition of combatants in civilian areas. Peacekeepers bridge this gap by actively engaging with local populations, gaining valuable insights that enable a more proactive approach to civilian protection, as well as demonstrating commitment by deploying substantial military contingents and contributing to the effectiveness of peace missions. The authors additionally introduce an additional element related to safeguarding civilians, which goes beyond the size and composition of UN contingents. It involves the diversity of nationalities within these UN' units (Bove & Ruggeri, 2015).

3. Methodology

Assessing the Effectiveness of Governance Strategies in the United Nations: The East Timor Case it is a historical-organizational exploration since it is interested in a particular occurrence, and it aims to investigate the assessment of effective governance strategies throughout the intervention of the UN in East Timor. Case studies are methodologically qualitative (Yin, 2015), which leads the present thesis to a qualitative methodological approach and a longitudinal study built on historical narrative.

Scholars still engage in discussions regarding the choice between qualitative and quantitative research techniques. The term qualitative research has been broadly employed to encompass all types of research primarily relying on qualitative data, including ethnography, naturalistic inquiry, case studies, ethnomethodology, life history methodology, biographical approaches, and narrative research (Rodríguez et al., 1996), however, when perusing the extensive body of research literature, it becomes apparent that qualitative research often struggles to receive the recognition it deserves, often overshadowed by the prominence of quantitative research (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). When delving into the intricacies of events that encapsulate the human experience, the qualitative approach is the more suitable choice. It adopts a multi-faceted perspective, embracing an interpretive and naturalistic orientation toward its subject matter, and it is particularly helpful for understanding and elucidating processes (Patton, 1990). In contrast to mathematical significance, qualitative researchers endeavour to grasp the intricacies of meaning patterns as they unfurl from individuals' expressions, deeds, and written records (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). In quantitative research, it is assumed that all knowledge originates from first-hand observation and logical deductions drawn from such observations. However, when dealing with human subjects, experimental control is frequently unfeasible, if not altogether impossible (Newton & Rudestam, 2007).

A case study takes on an inductive, holistic, and naturalistic character. From a holistic perspective, the researcher aims to comprehend phenomena in their entirety, seeking to understand individuals within their contextual realities rather than controlled, independent, and isolated variables (Newton & Rudestam, 2007), and aims to enhance the understanding not only of researchers but also of readers regarding the phenomenon under investigation, and can potentially offers new insights (Stake, 2016). The approach

embodies inductiveness, where specific observations give rise to emergent patterns that can later lead into theory, contrasting with the deductive method, which presupposes patterns and then seeks data for validation. Ultimately, opposing to the controlled environments of experimental design with a limited range of outcomes, this technique explores phenomena within their naturally unfolding settings (Newton & Rudestam, 2007). The confines of controlled variables and the structured environment of quantitative analysis, typically involving non-human instruments, proves to be inadequate considering the research problem. Instead, it requires the use of a human-as-instrument approach, as it represents the indispensable instrument with the adaptability to apprehend multifaceted complexity (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Furthermore, in the third and fourth instances, respectively, specific research methods are imperative, as they should ease the comprehension of the phenomena from the perspective of those directly involved. It is important to note that the primary objective of this study is not to validate an existing theory but rather to articulate the human experience within the context of development (Newton & Rudestam, 2007).

Comparative to other research designs, this approach is notably challenging to achieve (Gil, 2008), however, it can be broadly applicable across various contexts, disciplines, and phenomenological scenarios with multifaceted objectives (Yin, 2015). Case studies are especially pertinent when researchers have limited control over the events under scrutiny and aim to gather data from real-life situations (Yin, 2015). It is a descriptive investigation, as the objective is to provide a comprehensive and rich description of the studied intervention, encompassing the previously studied variables as already mentioned and their interactions among them and it is a distinctive investigation, as it centres its attention on a specific phenomenon, emphasizing the importance of what is revealed about the event and its significance and it is also descriptive, as the aim is to provide a comprehensive and rich depiction of the studied intervention, encompassing the previously studied variables as already mentioned and their interactions among them (Stake, 2016). Despite of being distinguished from historical research, where temporal evolution takes the main stage, case studies can and may also delve into past events to gain insights into the present without being fundamentally rooted in historical analysis (Mazzotti, 2006). It requires a detailed study over a considerable period, collection of data on past experiences, analysis of the current environment and state, and how these factors relate to one another (Martins & Santos, 2003). In essence, the objectives of research in case studies revolve around unravelling how phenomena have been experienced (Yin,

2015) though an intrinsic approach since it has the interest and purpose of finding indicators that are not susceptible to generalization, but applicated in the case, being the particularity of the case the basis for drawing conclusions about the problem concerned (Stake, 2016).

According to Minayo (2012) several parameters need to be considered, such as the feasible, novelty and relevance of the topic under study. The present dissertation sights to lead to conclusions; novelty; and viability, effectively addressed through research. Reliability in research is another important parameter in this domain, obtained when the research methodology is well-documented, and the data is made available to other researchers. It should be possible for fellow researchers to access the same data using the same procedures and achieve consistent results, as emphasized by Yin (2015). Yin (2015) details the creation of a database, comprising four key components: (1) the researcher's records from interviews, observations, and document analysis; (2) any relevant documents acquired during the study; (3) records of surveys, quantitative data, or other numerical information; (4) narratives in response to open-ended questions. In this specific approach, the data should converge in a triangle format and can rely on multiple sources of evidence, such as archival data analysis, experiments, interviews, historical research, and surveys.

Aiming to compile a critical and organized report on the intervention and evaluate it analytically (Chizzotti, 2000) and benefiting from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and further analysis (Yin, 2015), this case study investigation deals with a unique scenario characterized by a multitude of variables of interest far exceeding the available data points. Consequently, it relies on multiple sources of evidence, requiring data convergence through triangulation, which involves incorporating multiple perspectives to enhance the clarity of meanings and refine the researcher's interpretation (Stake, 2016). Strauss and Corbin (2008) outline three methods for analysing qualitative data: (1) presenting data without analysis; (2) reconstructing data to understand the researcher's insights; (3) inductively developing theory based on the data. The effectiveness of qualitative research heavily relies on both the data collection methods and the subsequent data analysis.

Concerning data analysis, qualitative research methods need an inductive and ongoing analytical process that extends beyond data collection, it demands a continuous analytical effort. Regarding data collection, the available online library of ISCTE, Business School provided a panoply of articles, authors and scholars that assembled the

thick of data collection for the literature review and methodology. The Official Document System (ODS) is an internet-based repository of UN records. It contains complete digital versions of UN documents published since 1993 and encompasses materials from prominent entities, such as the General Assembly and the Security Council (UN, 2016). The data collection for the East Timor intervention was obtained through archival data analysis and historical official records from the UN ODS system once the compilation of documents has full public access, as reports of the peacekeeping decisions and intervention, general assemblies, and conferences. It also embraces publications from scholars, books, and journal publications The formal rules of UN also held significance when evaluating its legal authority, for example. Legal authority is explicitly defined, firmly institutionalized, and devoid of personal bias.

The theory development in the early stages of the case study project served to provide a framework with theoretical propositions drawn from existing literature to guide the study. Involving conceptual ideas and theories during the case study analysis not only eased the understanding between the existing knowledge and direct data collection, as also created bridges to correlate the two of them. It acted as the foundation for the overall research plan, data collection, and interpretation (Stake, 2016). In the realm of case studies, their holistic nature is an attribute they share with qualitative research. Case studies intent to provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon, prioritizing this over specific details or differentiation from other cases (Stake, 2016). Nevertheless, Yin (2015) suggests that the level of holism in case studies can vary depending on the specific design of the study. Contextual factors play a significant role in case studies, with Stake (2016) proposing that the importance of context is greater in cases that are more intrinsic and that the issue of generalization is multifaceted, contending that case studies primarily aim to make the specific case understandable through detailed examination. However, there are scenarios in which insights gained from one case can be applied to another. Yin (2015) suggests that having a prior theory is essential for generalization, particularly in achieving analytical generalization and expanding existing theories.

The present study does not intend to generalize the decisions taken and the events that occurred during this intervention but to contribution to the existing literature. Through the chosen methodology it was possible to study the reality considering theory, correlating the Charter, the decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the events that involved the community of East Timor, it was possible to seek and assess effective governance strategies. Nevertheless, this study has

encountered some limitations in addition to those inherent to qualitative methodologies as, for example, the inability to directly engage with individuals involved with the study under research due to personal and time constraints and the restriction on the information collected and selected for analysis, considering the limited number of pages allowed.

4. Case Study

4.1. The UN

To assess the effective governance strategies in the UN, the present chapter, Chapter 4, presents the juncture where theoretical constructs are put to the test through a real-world case study: the intervention of the UN in East Timor during the civil war the country faced. Through the lens of this case study, the objective is to evaluate strategies, navigate challenges, and ascertain the tangible impact of governance enhancement efforts, guided by three main questions: (1) are theoretical principles of effective governance present in the practical context of the UN' intervention in East Timor? (2) and how are they expressed? (3) what specific challenges emerged during the implementation of governance strategies in the East Timor case, and how were these challenges addressed? Before delving into the East Timor case, it is essential to provide a prior context of the UN, not only its Charter, the document that establishes its governance system, as also its internal structure and reflection of its mission.

The United Nations was born through a liberal vision materialized by the signing of the UN Charter at the San Francisco conference, in 1945. It represents more than just a regular treaty; it is, in fact, a piece of international law, a living document aimed at influencing the evolution of the international system and order. Its primary goal was to establish a constitutional framework for an international community in which every member state adhered to the principles therein enounced. The Charter's preamble succinctly outlines the broad objectives that govern the organization's aiming (Jolly et al., 2004). According to the UN Charter: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods,

that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims. Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations" (UN Charter, 1945).

The UN possesses the freedom to operate in multiple domains of international relations, granting legal authority to penalize those individuals or entities who violate any statutes stipulated in treaties or agreements established by the organization. Among the principal bodies instituted within the UN is the General Assembly, which serves as the organization's singular universal representation entity. It holds responsibilities such as devising overall policies, sanctioning its financial budget, examining reports from other organizational entities, addressing governance issues, endorsing new member admissions, and possesses the authority to provide recommendations to the members of the Security Council. While it lacks the legislative authority of a Parliament, all state delegates, up to 5 per state, possess a single vote regarding the decision-making within the Assembly. Moreover, decisions made during Assembly sessions must gain approval from a two-thirds majority of attending and voting members. These sessions occur on an annual basis, with the option for extraordinary meetings convened by the Secretary-General. The Assembly's president gets elected each year by the entire UN Assembly membership (UN Charter, 1945). The Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States under the United Nations Charter of 1970, General Assembly Resolution 2625, and the Definition of Aggression of 1974, General Assembly Resolution 3314, are two of the most important ones. Both declarations not only brought to light the Assembly's willingness to act, disregarding the suspension of the Security Council, as other issues, being the most notably the contradiction between the seemingly general prohibition on warfare and a common urge to assist and furnish the military army of those who wore opposing colonialism, oppression, or other forms of war (Higgins, 1995).

The UN Security Council, another essential body, holds responsibility for one of the most delicate areas in the international system: preserving peace and international security. The General Assembly provides the Council with complete autonomy and authority to act within these domains, all while upholding the principles and overall goals

of the organization as outlined in the Charter. The Council is obliged to submit reports for assessment by the General Assembly, either annually or, in exceptional cases, at shorter intervals (UN Charter, 1945). The Security Council counts with fifteen members, five permanent and ten non-permanent members. The five permanent members having veto power are China, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Russian Federation. The non-permanent members are representatives of different countries and only have a two-year term. Despite the limited number of member states officially part of the Council, any organization member state may receive an invitation from the Council to participate in meetings if their involvement proves pertinent, though they do not possess voting authority. As outlined in the UN Charter, any resolution of state disputes must initially be addressed using diplomatic channels, such as conciliation, inquiry, negotiation, and mediation. It also possesses the authority to offer guidance to any part involved in a dispute and can implement temporary measures to halt the conflict until a final decision is reached. All actions taken by the Council must be carried out with a thorough understanding of their necessity to prevent violence. If it is determined that ultimately the conflict or dispute poses a threat to international peace and security, the Council has the legitimacy to take necessary actions to restore peace and security. The resources required for these actions are provided not only by Council members but also by all UN members who have committed to assisting in the restoration of international security. This equips the Security Council to respond to any threat to international peace, prioritizing diplomatic means for re-establishing safety. Article number 39 states that the Security Council has the authority to evaluate the existence of a threat to international peace and to suggest or decide the appropriated actions to restore it, article number 41 includes diplomatic and economic penalties, and article 42 were military reprisals, under exceptional agreements (UN Charter, 1945).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, promulgated by the UN in 1948, established the rights of both men and women. Similar to men, women possess rights that must be respected. These rights include the right to life, the right to health, the right to freedom and security, the right to equality, the right not to be subjected to any form of discrimination, the right to education, information, and privacy, as well as the rights to political, social, economic, and cultural benefits (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UNESCO, 1998).

After the genocide of 1975 in East Timor, the UN faced criticisms, as the non-effective performance of the blue helmets in preventing genocides, an obligation outlined in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948. The UN, equipped with numerous specialized organs and agencies, should have been able to anticipate and foresee the course of the conflict while maintaining a strong presence in other hostilities. Despite only fully erupting in the 1990s, East Timor showed signs of being a volatile region in the preceding decades (Khong & MacFarlane, 2006). However, duet to the increasing of violence and human rights violation, the UN committed to collectively assume the capacity to navigate the ongoing crisis and pave the way for a new chapter in East Timor's history. This new era envisioned the country as an integral member of the global community, where its citizens, both men and women, old and young, could live with dignity and tranquillity, addressing financial resources, reconstruction process, and employment opportunities (UN Document A/AC.109/2001/18, 2001). The UN demonstrated that it could turn an impossible mission into an exceptional one. The Charter enabled the establishment of norms in the international law sphere, such as the right to self-determination of nations, representing a crucial role in the territorial independence and its universal recognition. Without the intervention of the UN and this framework of international law, the "law of the jungle" would triumph, and East Timor would not be considered an independent country (Duque & Ferraz, 2021).

4.2. From Impossible to Exceptional: The East Timor Case

The crisis that East Timor faced in 1999 should be viewed within the context of a long history of severe human rights abuses and political tensions, which trace back to Indonesia's annexation and invasion of the territory in 1975 (UN Document A/54/660, 1999). In 1974, Portugal initiated the establishment of a provisional government and a popular assembly to determine East Timor's status, leading to a civil war between those who supported independence and those in favour of Indonesian integration. As Portugal was unable to control the situation, Indonesia intervened militarily and incorporated East Timor as its 27th province in 1976. However, the UN never recognized this integration, and both the General Assembly and the Security Council and the General Assembly called for Indonesia's withdrawal (Peace and Security Section of the Department of Public Information in cooperation with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UN, 2002).

In October 1998, the UN, maintaining neutrality, presented an intricate preliminary constitutional framework for regional self-governance within Indonesia to representatives from Indonesia and Portugal. It delineated and specified the various domains of authority and jurisdiction between an independently administered East Timor and the Indonesian government. During the negotiations, a consensus was forming on the shape of a mutually acceptable autonomy plan for East Timor (UN Document A/54/687, 1999). This period witnessed persistent allegations of extrajudicial killings, acts of sexual violence, disappearances, and torture. The Indonesian National Army (TNI), paramilitary groups, and pro-government militias initiated a campaign of intimidation and violence against individuals and communities known for their pro-independence sympathies and general Timorese population, leading to the internal displacement of tens of thousands, hindering the aiding efforts of local church groups, humanitarian organizations and non-governmental ones without facing consequences. The Commission on Peace and Stability failed to establish a code of conduct for disarmament, as outlined in the security arrangements agreement (UN Document A/54/687, 1999).

During March to April 1999, a UN mission conducted an assessment in several countries, including Australia, East Timor, Indonesia, Portugal, and New Zealand. This mission laid the groundwork for a UN mission to conduct a popular consultation in East Timor and involved extensive discussions with various East Timorese groups (UN Document A/54/687, 1999). On March 11, 1999, an agreement was reached between Indonesia and Portugal for an UN-supervised ballot, allowing the East Timorese people to voice their acceptance or rejection of Indonesia's proposed autonomy (UN Document A/54/660, 1999). The agreement on the modalities set the date for the popular consultation and defined, *inter alia*, the specific queries that would be presented to the voters for their decision on whether to approve or disapprove the proposed autonomy, the criteria for determining who is eligible to vote, the timetable for carrying out the consultation process, and provided a comprehensive description of each stage of the operational process (UN Document A/54/687, 1999).

The Security Council in its resolution 1246 (1999) established the UNAMET, on June 11, with the primary objective to coordinate the popular consultation, assuming a comprehensive responsibility for the territory's administration and possessing the authority to exercise legislative and executive powers (S/1999/1024) (UN Document A/54/687, 1999). It also established the UNTAET as an integrated and multidimensional

operation needed to be fully responsible for the administration of the territory of East Timor during its transition to independence, after the outcome of the popular consultation. It was envisaged that the process would operate under the authority of the Security Council. To establish the conditions for sustainable peace and to ease the independence transitions, the UNTAET proposed to be entrusted with a robust mandate containing the following elements: (1) to provide security and maintain law and order throughout the territory of East Timor; (2) to establish an effective administration; (3) to assist in the development of civil and social services; (4) to ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation, and development assistance; (5) to support capacity-building for self-government; and (6) to assist in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development. To implement this mandate, UNTAET had multiple objectives, as follow: (1) to assist and protect East Timorese displaced or otherwise affected by the conflict; (2) to facilitate the emergency rehabilitation and reconstruction of services and infrastructure; (3) to administer the territory of East Timor and create the basis for good governance; (4) to develop mechanism for dialogue at the national and local levels; (5) to assist the East Timorese in the development of a constitution; (6) to organize and conduct elections and build the institutional capacity for electoral processes; (7) to undertake confidence-building measures and provide support to indigenous processes of reconciliation; (8) to create non-discriminatory and impartial institutions, particularly those of judiciary and police, to ensure that the establishment and maintenance of the rule of law and to promote and protect human rights; (9) to promote economic and social recovery and development, including in the fields of education and health; (10) to coordinate assistance to East Timor; (11) to develop administrative institutions that are accountable, transparent, and efficient; (12) to facilitate the strengthening and development of civil society, including the media; (13) to ensure that the development of any indigenous structure for security conform to the standards of civilian oversight, democratic accountability, and international human rights norms and standards; and (14) to create conditions of stability through the maintenance of peace and security, including through programmes for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, as needed. The effectiveness of UTNAET rested on its ability to perform its duties in close consultation and cooperation with the people of East Timor, as to exercise its authority on their behalf, keeping member states and the Timorese community informed of its work through periodic reports to the Security Council (UN Document S/1999/1024, 1999).

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The registration process proceeded with minimal disruption due to violence, in fact, it was a resounding success, registering a total of 446,666 individuals, with 433,576 in East Timor and the remainder at international registration sites. This impressive turnout underscored the profound desire of the East Timorese people to participate in the popular consultation. It also reflected the effectiveness of UNAMET's initiatives in informing voters about the process and ensuring its confidentiality. Throughout registration and subsequently during polling, UNAMET's electoral team integrated plenty of safeguards into the process to protect voters while promoting maximum participation. In response to requests from the government of Indonesia and certain political groups, an extension of the 20-day registration period in East Timor by 2 days and a 4-day extension outside the territory were granted to ensure the inclusion of all eligible voters. Towards the conclusion of the registration period, the number of applicants progressively dwindled, indicating that the process had adequately served the population. To guarantee transparency throughout the consultation procedure and to establish an impartial entity for addressing grievances from any source, an autonomous electoral commission, the Independent Electoral Commission, was formed. This commission, comprising three distinguished legal experts well-versed in electoral matters from the United Kingdom, South Africa, and Republic of Korea. It oversaw every aspect of the consultation, from voter registration to the final vote tally, and provided official certification of the results (UN Document A/54/687, 1999).

On the main polling day, August 30, 1999, an astonishing 98.6% of all registered East Timorese, totalling 446,953 individuals both within and outside the territory, exercised their right to vote. By September 4, the counting process had concluded counting 344,580 votes, constituting 78.5% of the total, rejected the proposed special autonomy, while 94,388 votes, comprising 21.5%, were in favour of accepting it. Despite the security challenges faced, the overall process effectively ensured transparency while preserving the confidentiality of individual ballots. The unambiguous outcome, endorsed by the Independent Electoral Commission followed a comprehensive judicial review addressing various protests and alleged irregularities, provided the foundation for a clear resolution of East Timor's fate in accordance with the agreements of May 5. However, although the UN beholden an orderly and peaceful transition from the Indonesian domain to Timorese independence that was not what happened (UN Document A/54/687, 1999). After the release of the results of the popular consultation, violence broke out even more across the country, militia groups and elements of the Indonesian security forces unleashed a wave

of violence, targeting and killing pro-independence supporters (UN Document S/1999/1024, 1999). It included the systematic burning and destruction of infrastructures, private homes, and public buildings without any punishment. More than 400,000 people were forced to abandon their homes and flee, either to the hills or through forced displacement by TNI and militia units to areas outside East Timor, predominantly in West Timor and other nearby Indonesian islands. In West Timor, for example, most refugee camps were under militia control, which hampered food distribution and medical care, attempting to stopping the humanitarian aid. Journalists, humanitarian volunteers, and UN workers were also frequently attacked, harassed, and forced to leave. The World Bank estimated that both militia groups and soldiers destroyed or turned inoperable almost 70% of the physical infrastructures in the territory. UNAMET found itself compelled to evacuate all its offices, apart from the headquarters in Dili, where the remaining staff found themselves under siege, along with approximately 2,000 East Timorese who sought refuge there (UN Document A/54/687, 1999).

The public information campaign was initiated early, and agreements were established with local media providers to broadcast information messages. The texts of the principal agreements and autonomy proposals were translated and distributed. The security issues, for example, were communicated to the Security Council through verbal and written reports. The active support of member states, including the provision of helicopters and vehicles of transportation as in-kind contributions, along with early contributions to a dedicated trust fund, provided the mission with crucial capabilities in its early stages. After the arrival of UNAMET, there was an evident improvement in the security situation in urban areas like Baucau and Dili, extending to certain eastern districts. These developments severely curtailed political freedoms, undermining the requisite openness for conducting the consultation process effectively. The Security Council engaged in extensive diplomatic efforts to stop the violence and urged Indonesia to fulfil its responsibility for maintaining security and order in East Timor. In its Resolution 1264 (1999) dated September 15, 1999, the Security Council, acting under the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, sanctioned the establishment of a multinational force with the authority to employ any necessary means to reinstate peace and stability in East Timor. The INTERFET, led by Australia and constituted troops from 22 member states, was developed to restore peace and security, protect UNAMET, and facilitate humanitarian assistance operations within its capabilities. The collaboration between INTERFET and TNI, occasionally mediated by UNAMET, generally proceeded

smoothly. Simultaneously with INTERFET developments, various UN organizations initiated a large-scale emergency humanitarian relief operation, which included food distribution, healthcare, and shelter (UN Document A/54/687, 1999).

As the process was hampered by the extensive damage inflicted on most UNAMET facilities and, indeed, a substantial portion of East Timor's infrastructure, this entity assumed a comprehensive responsibility for the territory's administration and possessed the authority to exercise legislative and executive powers (S/1999/1024). On October 25, 1999, the UN Security Council established the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) through Resolution 1272 (1999). UNTAET, also possessing legislative and executive powers, was a comprehensive, multidimensional peacekeeping mission responsible for East Timor's administration during its transition to independence. Its objectives included to coordinate humanitarian and development assistance, create conditions for sustainable development, to develop civil and social services, to establish effective governance, to foster self-government capacity-building, and to maintain law, order, and security. UNTAET comprised governance and public administration components and counted with a total of human resources of 9,150 militaries a civilian police force of up to 1,640 personnel, and more than 2,000 civilian elements, both local and international. Additionally, humanitarian assistance and rehabilitation components were integrated into the Transitional Administration's structures (UN Document A/54/687, 1999).

Within UNTAET, an Office for Gender Affairs was established to ensure the equal participation of men and women in the development of East Timor, being its primary mission to integrate principles of gender equity and equality throughout UNTAET's activities. Alongside Timorese women, aimed to establish mechanisms and structures, develop guidelines, and implement programs to promote a perpetual framework to promote gender equality, even when the mission of the UN was given as completed. The vote for independence in August marked a new chapter for East Timorese women, who constitute a significant portion of the population. This transition has brought new responsibilities and roles for women in a traditionally conservative society that had not been particularly supportive of women's rights. Many women aspired to have a more significant role in decision-making processes related to education and economy, as well as in politics, contributing to policy formulation. According to Maria Paixão, the former National Representative of the East Timorese Women's Organization, it represented a significant advancement for East Timorese women, although the changes take time to

fully materialize. The women's organizations in East Timor were united in their support for this new era of increasing involvement of Timorese women. In this society, men have typically adhered to traditional gender norms and may not readily embrace the evolving roles of women with more modern perspectives (Tais Timor, an information service of UNTAET, 2000).

On October 27 the UN together with humanitarian organizations initiated a global appeal seeking over 199 million dollars in funding for emergency aid programs in East and West Timor, with the intended duration extending until the end of June 2000. This financial support had the objective to establish a safety net of vital services, encompassing education, healthcare, shelter, and sustenance for the East Timorese populace during the forthcoming nine months. It additionally, aimed to lay the foundational groundwork for comprehensive reconstruction and developmental efforts. Humanitarian agencies were actively collaborating to formulate a comprehensive program that involved both emergency assistance and initial reconstruction requirements (UN Document A/54/418, 2000).

From November 4 to November 10, 1999, was conducted an allied mission titled Situation of Human Rights in East Timor. Under Resolution 1999/S-4/1, this mission had the goal to provide reports of the widespread violence and human rights violations followed by the popular consultation. These reports were submitted to the General Assembly and individuals who had either committed or sanctioned human rights violations or infringements of international humanitarian law held individual responsibility and were subject to accountability for these actions, since the international community was determined to ensure that those responsible would face justice (UN Document A/54/660, 1999). INTERFET military police and UN civilian police officers were also responsible for investigating alleged crimes and human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings. There was an expressed concern that INTERFET lacked expertise in handling cases of sexual violence, as there was no specialized unit or trained investigators capable of identifying, reporting, and investigating instances of violence against women. It was crucial to address this issue urgently and provide INTERFET with the necessary support to ensure the proper investigation of sexual violence cases and the INTERFET. Although the situation had seen some improvement with the arrival of a forensic expert working under UNTAET auspices, an urgent need to deploy additional experts, including a forensic pathologist, as well as essential equipment such as adequate

autopsy facilities remained. These measures were necessary to ensure that investigations could proceed without delay or interruption (UN General Assembly, December 10, 1999).

Faced with a challenging judicial landscape, UNTAET took the initial steps to restore a functioning justice administration system. This system faced several limitations, including a lack of physical infrastructure, a shortage of qualified legal professionals, a scarcity of Timorese jurists who primarily spoke Indonesian, and the complexity of applicable laws. To address the issue of applicable laws, a constitutional provision was established, as outlined in Article 3 of UNTAET Regulation (2) 1999/1. UNTAET laid the foundations for a justice administration system through Regulations 1999/3 of December 3 and 2000/11 of March 6, which governed the status of magistrates and the organization of the judicial courts in East Timor (Campos & Albuquerque, 2004). UNTAET's priorities for the following six months included ensuring the physical security of all East Timorese, establishing a fair judicial system, supporting repatriating refugees, creating administrative structures, and reinstating basic services like health, education, electricity, and water (Peace and Security Section of the Department of Public Information in cooperation with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UN, 2002).

In late January of 2000, UNICEF highlighted the organization's primary objective of reinstating children into the educational system, emphasizing that children and youth in East Timor were experiencing idleness due to a lack of educational opportunities, approximately 90% of the schools suffered damage during the conflict period. Approximately 100,000 children have returned to school and the inauguration of a childcare centre for children and youth, in Dili, as well as the reopening of a school in Manatuto were examples of supports from UNICEF. UNICEF has registered a total of 686 schools in East Timor as part of its education initiatives, and many of these also received support from UNTAET, INTERFET, and the United States. In the beginning of March, UNICEF initiated a significant immunization campaign in East Timor, aimed at safeguarding approximately 20,000 infants against diseases including diphtheria, measles, polio, pertussis, tetanus, and tuberculosis. The preparation for this campaign involved the restoration of a cold chain, which consisted of freezer systems and refrigeration in all 13 districts of East Timor, which were essential for storing vaccines, especially considering that most of the health clinics in the region were damaged or destroyed during the violent events of the previous year. A prior UNICEF supported campaign in East Timor had successfully immunized 50,000 children against measles since October 1999. UNAMET announced a three-year program, executed by the

UNTAET, dedicated to restoring access to fundamental healthcare services, establishing health legislation, and implementing robust management systems (UN Document A/54/418, 2000).

UNTAET reported that the meetings between leaders of the pro-autonomy militia, who had previously opposed East Timorese independence, and local community leaders from East Timor started to be described as overwhelmingly positive, representing a significant step towards fostering improved relations and reconciliation. The Constituent Assembly and the new East Timorese government ruled East Timor during the remaining transitional period leading to its independence as a democratic and sovereign state. East Timor became an independent country on May 20, 2002, when UNTAET was replaced by the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor, UNMISET, though Resolution 1410, of May 17, 2002 (UN Document A/54/418, 2000).

4.3. Analysis and Discussion: Correlation Between Reality and Theory

The analysis of the UN intervention in East Timor case uncovered critical insights into the complexities of international interventions and peacekeeping operations and into governance strategies in addressing conflict-ridden regions and fostering stability. The effectiveness of these governance strategies can be studied and then assessed through the correlation between the theory, previously introduced in the literature review, considering the reality.

After the genocide in East Timor, in 1975, the UN faced criticism regarding the starting date of the intervention, claiming that it should have started earlier. It demonstrated the non-effective performance of the blue helmets in preventing genocides, outlined in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948 as an obligation (Khong & MacFarlane, 2006). Despite showing, in the preceding decades, signs of being a region of high instability and volatility, the conflict only dramatically broke out in the 1990s. The UN remained committed to the principle of non-intervention, highlighted by Bull and Watson (1994) as being a fundamental aspect of the international system, essential for maintaining order and stability among states. However, the same authors express that are situations where intervention becomes necessary to prevent humanitarian crises or to protect human rights. Under the circumstances of violence and human rights abuse that East Timor was facing, the UN took the decision to

intervene in the civil war, illustrating its commitment to the principles outlined in the Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

As addressed by Volden (2004), despite states often highly value their survival and national independence, they may choose to relinquish some of that independence in favour of shared governance. The cornerstone of peacekeeping is and should always be the nation-state, encompassing the national sphere within governance, uniting all international actors for a more cohesive and close-knit connection, as seen by Halliday (2000). Even though East Timor accepted that the UN's mission and the administration of the territory during its transition to independence, a critical condition viewed by Fortna (2004) along with impartiality. East Timor kept its national state and, by conducting a popular consultation, the UN granted the Timorese the freedom of choice and voting, and consequently guiding the country to its officially proclaimed independence, in 2002. As seen in the literature review, effective governance is related to the promotion and respect of democratic principles and values, crucial at all levels of society, from local communities to nation-states and the international community. Holding that international cooperation and the promotion of democracy are essential for achieving lasting peace and security among nations, Alexandroff and Cooper (2010), the UN illustrated liberal idealism, a political philosophy that emphasizes democratic governance, individual rights and freedom, and the rule of law.

The term postcolonial governance, which calls for recognizing diverse perspectives, shifting power dynamics, and overcoming exclusionary practices, promoting equitable participation, inclusion of alternative knowledge systems, linguistic diversity, and collaborative efforts (Hurrell, 2001; Weiss, 2013). It was visible through the financial, humanitarian, and military intervention of the various member states, the voting systems, the decision-making processes of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as through the UN mission from March to April 1999, involving extensive discussions with Timorese and the Independent Electoral Commission, formed to guarantee transparency in popular consultation. Public participation has gained prominence in transitioning to democracy, establishing accountability, empowering citizens, and ensuring legitimacy, as corroborated by Fung (2006). In East Timor, public participation was evident through popular consultation and throughout the progress of UNAMET, INTERFET, and UNTAET.

Concepts as complex interdependence (Keohane & Nye, 1987) and patchwork governance (Rosenau, 1995) were seen through the numerous state and non-state actors that collaborated to tackle complex issues, creating economic interdependence, transnational networks, shared norms, and shaped international dynamics, seen by Weiss (2013) and Agere (2000) as elements of effective governance. Multilateral cooperation, involving the analysis of the level of collaboration, engagement, and participation in decision-making processes, as well as the ability to reach consensus and implement collective actions were seen through the multiple efforts of mediation between forces as the Indonesian and Portuguese governments, and with pro-integration militias. Fostering to guide societal changes in a democratic, progressive, quiet, and rule-based path, those negotiation were carried with diplomacy, allowing the awareness of opposing interests and the potential agreement on compromise solutions, as the identification of similar interests and agreement on synergetic actions in their pursuit, standing as one indicator of effective governance, as mentioned by Voicu (2001). The UN collaborated and worked alongside with civilians, not only to receive insights from them, but also to reconstruct peace and stability in the territory. The physical presence of peacekeepers served as a commitment by leaders to adhere to pre-established rules, bridging the gap by actively engaging with local populations, gaining valuable insights that enabled a more proactive approach to civilian protection (Bove & Ruggeri, 2015).

As perceived by Woods (1999), Agere (2000), and Voicu (2001), accountability, adherence to the rule of law, and transparency are components of effective governance. Accountability and transparency were crucial in conducting the popular consultation and ensuring that the voting process was fair and impartial, and it was assured through the systematic reports made and published by the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the achievements and actions of the UN that spread through media outlets, newspapers, as the mentioned Tais Timor (2000), and television.

Regarding the factors that influence the success of peacekeeping operations, pointed out by Bellamy et al. (2010), the UN delineated achievable and clear mandates with UNAMET, INTERFFET, and UNTATET and held adequate resources and coordination of international and regional actors. For Doyle and Sambanis (2000), the outcomes of the peacebuilding efforts and operations are determined by the interplay of three main crucial factors: the initial level of hostility present at the beginning of the peace process; the local capabilities for post-conflict reconstruction and development; and the international capabilities for peacebuilding. The level violence of East Timor, even though it increased

after the results of the popular consultation, it was largely diminished by the UN. Concerning how effectiveness can be accessed through Koremenos et al. (2001) vision, the UNAMET, INTERFET, and UNTAET achieved their primarily objectives, which included the attempt to advance sustainable development, to cease violence, disarmament agreements, improvement of the overall well-being of member states and their populations, progress in promoting peace and security, and the protection of human rights. The speed of the peacekeeping response and the duration of the peacekeeping mission, under the consideration of Koremenos et. al (2001) and Fortna (2004), respectively are also parameters of effectiveness. The UN demonstrated rapid dynamism addressing the circumstances the country experienced from 1999 to 2001 within the creation of INTERFET, aiming to support UNAMET objectives after the unforeseen tumultuous wave of violence after the release of the results of the popular consultation, registering the favouritism towards independence. For Hooghe et. al (2019) equal focus on different areas of coverage it is one of the bases for effective governance. As previously mentioned, these missions, as well as the multinational force, were not solely focused on ending the conflict but also on infrastructure development, humanitarian assistance, and building a solid transition to country's independence. Underscoring the need for long-term commitment and a comprehensive approach to peacebuilding (Paris, 2000), the UN extended its intervention and presence in the country by establishing the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor, UNMISET, though Resolution 1410, of May 17, 2002 (UN Document A/54/418, 2000).

Intrinsically related to effective and legitimate global governance is the promotion of values related to human dignity and the protection of human rights. As seen throughout the case study analysis, the UN mission in East Timor not only helped to assure and protected human rights and to cease violence, as also addressed multiple issues, as the development of education and healthcare infrastructures, advocacy for women's rights, and children's protection, as outlined in the Charter, and establishing a solid legal framework in East Timor. For instance, Portuguese legislators, judges, and magistrates were sent to East Timor to provide full education and training to new and future Timorese judges. UNTAET laid the foundations for a justice administration which governed the status of magistrates and the organization of the judicial courts in East Timor (Campos & Albuquerque, 2004).

5. Conclusion

The UN' peace intervention in East Timor, during the period from 1999 to 2001, was characterized by the establishment and the developments of two missions, both possessing executive and legislative powers, UNAMET and UNTAET, as well as a multinational force, INTERFET. UNTAET aimed to provide security and maintain law, to establish an effective administration, to assist in the development of civil and social services, to ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation, and development assistance; to support capacity-building for self-government; and to assist in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development. The establishment of these three entities was guided by decisions made by the General Assembly and the Security Council, characterized by collective and inclusive decision-making processes (UN Document S/1999/1024, 1999; A/54/660, 1999; A/54/687, 1999*).*

Starting with public consultation, the vote for independence in August marked a new chapter for East Timorese community in general, as for women, regarding gender affairs. The UN ensured democratic values and the promotion of diplomacy and the rule of law. Participation was fostered through consultative processes and local engagement, while transparency was upheld in administrative practices, resource allocation and administrative practices. Faced with a wave of violence that persisted and intensified after the popular consultation results, the UN established INTERFET with the aim of restoring peace and security, safeguarding UNAMET, and supporting humanitarian assistance operations to the extent of its capabilities. All the three, UNAMET INTERFET, and UNTATET operated alongside with Indonesian and Portuguese governments, as well as with pro-integrated militias and Timorese community, not only to receive insights but also to provide direct assistance to the population, and to conduct hostilities through diplomacy. To achieve the objectives of each one of them, collaboration was fostered with various stakeholders, state, and non-state actors demonstrating concepts such as complex interdependence and inclusive governance. One of these organizations, for example, was UNICEF, which played an important role in humanitarian aid, medical assistance, vaccination campaigns, creation, and improvement of healthcare infrastructure, as well as school rehabilitation and education incentives. Accountability were upheld through mechanisms like electoral supervision and justice systems and

transparency was seen through the official reports made by the UN, where financial costs, decisions and events were described (UN Document S/1999/1024, 1999; A/54/660, 1999; A/54/687, 1999; A/54/418, 2000).

Through the correlation between the theoretical principles of effective governance with the analysis of East Timor intervention, it reveals a notable alignment. The UN substantially contributed to the rehabilitation of order and stability, beyond human rights protection, it broaden its mission into development of healthcare and public infrastructure, establishing a democratic governance it restored administrative and community structures, and promoted literacy. Theoretical principles were expressed into decision-making processes, governance frameworks, and operational activities, as well as the visible alignment with the mission with Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights principles. The UN played a prominent role in East Timor, between October 1999 and May 2002, providing internal and external security, conducting humanitarian and development assistance projects and it encompassed a set of essential elements for guiding the country toward a peaceful environment. This small nation, asserting itself in the international community, stood as a success story of peacekeeping operations since is possible to conclude that it reflected a series of attributes and principles related to effective governance.

This investigation aimed to cover a small gap in the literature, contributing to a more extensive literature regarding governance issues and strategies. As already mentioned, it encountered some limitations as, for example, in addition to those inherent to qualitative methodologies, the inability to directly engage with individuals involved with the study under research due to personal and time constraints and the restriction on the information collected and selected for analysis, considering the limited number of pages allowed. Nevertheless, it was possible to conclude that during the peace operation in East Timor plenty of factors recognized by scholars as essential to achieve effective governance were present. These insights could hold relevance for multiple stakeholders, including international relations practitioners and policymakers, scholars, and researchers, as well as global citizens that seek comprehensive insights into strategies and challenges associated with the assessment of effective governance and to navigate the complexities of global governance more effectively.

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