

Media Mapping

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THE WORLD BANK

**Understanding Communication
Environments in Aceh**



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Indonesian Social Development Papers

Since 1998, Indonesia has been undergoing a momentous political and economic transition. Political change has been radical: old authoritarian structures have been replaced—to differing extents and with mixed success—with democratic institutions; the decentralization process, with large swaths of policy making autonomy ceded to local governments, has changed power dynamics within the state and between local actors. At the same time, the Asian Financial Crisis forced economic changes including the redevelopment of the financial system, an altered macro-economic policy, and the development of a new social safety net.

Together, these simultaneous transitions have had fundamental social impacts. Millions were swept into poverty with the Crisis, and many have not yet regained their previous standard of living. Forces of modernization and globalization have changed work patterns and sped population flows. Changes in incentives, and in the role of formal and informal institutions, have altered the ways in which individuals and groups relate to each other, and to the state. With power relations in flux, it is not surprising that recent years have seen both an increase in social conflict as well as “one step forward, another back” progress in terms of improving governance and reducing corruption.

The Indonesian Social Development Papers series aims to further discussion on a range of issues relating to the social dimensions of Indonesia’s transitions. The series will cover a range of issues including conflict, development, corruption, governance, the role of the security sector, and so on. Each paper presents research on a particular dimension of social development and offers pragmatic policy suggestions.

The papers in the series are works in progress. The emphasis is on generating debate amongst various stakeholders—including government, civil society, and international institutions—rather than offering absolute conclusions. It is hoped that they will stimulate further discussions of the questions they seek to answer, the hypotheses they test, and the recommendations they prescribe.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION

The earthquake and tsunami of December 2004 and the signing of the historic Memorandum of Understanding between GAM and the Government of Indonesia eight months later, ending decades of war, has brought unprecedented attention and aid to Aceh. A key challenge for everyone working in post-tsunami and post-conflict programming has been to engage with hundreds of thousands of Acehnese beneficiaries. There is consensus that reconstruction and reintegration programs for victims of the tsunami and the conflict must be community-driven, yet study after study has noted community ignorance and lack of effective consultation with communities in Aceh. Effective communication lies at the core of rights-based programming and community-driven development. Improving communications strategies requires a deeper understanding of the communications environment in Aceh.

This paper is the first province-wide attempt to look at the ways in which communities receive and seek information. It is designed to be a practical guide to information flows in Aceh, a tool for those who seek to improve communications with their beneficiary partners and to improve access to information among the population at large. It should have relevance to both those engaged in tsunami and post-conflict programming.

Methodology

This paper presents quantitative data collected in 410 rural and urban villages in 98 sub-districts throughout Aceh. Villages were selected randomly, using a two-stage sampling procedure with BPS's 2005 Village Potential (PODES) data as the sampling frame. Enumerators interviewed key informants and community groups to gain an overview of the communications environment in each community, and recorded the information using a survey format. Surveys were collected between April and June 2006.

Structure

The report is made up of five sections. Section 2 looks at mass media, channels that enable the (relatively) rapid and blanket dissemination of information to large numbers of people simultaneously. We look at levels of community access to newspapers, radios, television and telephones, examining their reach and distribution as well as how they are consumed. We also discuss the varying ways that different demographics engage with television and radio. Section 3 examines how information circulates at the village level, focusing on key information holders, village meetings and notice boards as the primary channels for intra-community communication. Section 4 synthesises findings for tsunami-affected areas, conflict-affected areas, as well as for urban and rural locations. Section 5 offers conclusions and recommendations.

2. MASS MEDIA

Mass media channels, including newspapers, radio, television and even telephones, can be immensely powerful means for disseminating information quickly, effectively and on a grand scale. The success of any mass media information campaign, however, depends on a detailed understanding of who listens/watches/reads what, when and where.

Reach and Distribution

The media environment in Aceh is thriving. Newspapers reach 81% of the communities sampled and 88% could listen in to at least one radio station. Television is available in close to 100% of communities.

It is clear that Serambi Indonesia is by far the most significant newspaper in terms of reach and popularity, available in almost three-quarters of the sampled communities, and preferred by 88%. Its closest rival, Waspada, had slightly better coverage in Aceh Singkil and Aceh Tamiang districts. Overall, newspaper availability was patchy in the central Acehnese districts as well as Aceh Tamiang, East Aceh, Aceh Jaya and Nagan Raya. Use of localized publications, especially in areas that do not receive Serambi, therefore remains necessary for truly comprehensive outreach. Interest in national papers, such as Kompas, is minimal.

Combined, local radio stations reached two-thirds of the sample, as did state broadcaster Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), but local commercial stations are generally much more popular. Where people had a choice, 77% of villages said they would tune into their local station rather than listen to state radio, making local stations better partners for community outreach. Nevertheless, a full quarter of villages sampled could only tune in to RRI, so parallel broadcasting on that station is important to achieve the most comprehensive coverage.

Television is a powerful medium, but it is unfortunately also the most difficult to harness for outreach, largely because favoured stations are based in Jakarta. RCTI, for example, is the most watched television station in Aceh, but as a national broadcaster it is difficult to use for campaigns targeted at the Aceh audience. TVRI, the only station carrying local Acehnese content, has good coverage but is remarkably unpopular.

Ownership and Public Access

Availability and coverage do not equate with access. Not everyone in Aceh can afford to buy newspapers, radios, televisions and telephones. Household radio ownership, for example, is solid but not ubiquitous. Half of the communities surveyed reported that 40% or more households in the village owned a radio set. Households were even less likely to own television sets.

Patterns of communal use offset this picture somewhat. Multiple readers in public places, such as coffee shops, typically share newspapers. Television sets were also more likely to be watched communally than privately, increasingly so as household ownership rates fell. However, consumption of media, and of newspapers especially, in public spaces may mean that women are effectively excluded, creating a gender bias that must be taken into consideration. Radio was more commonly listened to privately, in the home.

Of all the media examined in this study, mobile phones are perhaps the most dynamic, and have the greatest untapped potential. Households with mobile phones are still in the minority, but they are set to eclipse the number with landlines; significantly, mean ownership of mobile phones in rural areas is similar to that in urban areas. In the absence of other options (85% of villages said they did not even have access to a public phone, or wartel), mobile phones may constitute a useful channel for feeding information into a community, as well as for application in complaints reporting systems.

Use

Radio audiences fluctuate significantly over the day, which provides interesting opportunities for reaching particular demographics. Men tune in during the morning and the evening, while women listen more consistently throughout the day. As such, radio programming designed for a female audience is best aired around midday, when women have the most control over what they listen to.

By contrast, television consumption peaks in the evening across all demographics except children. Children are most likely to watch television in the afternoon, and children's programming at this time may be an effective (if costly) way of reaching an otherwise difficult audience.

Radio and television are viewed as much as sources of entertainment as of hard news and information.

Programming aimed at communities for outreach should reflect this. Music programs are popular in both media; programs could be designed to incorporate music during phone-ins or use request shows as vehicles for Public Service Announcements or quizzes. Where appropriate, working with religious programming also has potential.

3. INFORMATION FLOW WITHIN COMMUNITIES

The information needs of communities cover a wide spectrum, ranging from knowledge of political events such as elections through to highly localised information such as when housing construction will be completed. Even the most comprehensive mass media outreach campaign will not adequately meet community needs for this kind of information and communication. The challenge is not just how to improve information transfer to beneficiaries, but also how to do this in a way that promotes dialogue and information exchange. The challenge is to stimulate endogenous information sharing, knowledge and dialogue at the village level. Four channels for communication at the village level include key information holders, community meetings, religious and cultural gatherings, and public information boards.

Village Heads and other community leaders constitute an important link into communities, and are a key source of information for villagers. The Village Head was overwhelmingly cited as the key information holder; this was the case in 81% of communities sampled. Yet village leaders themselves sometimes struggle to source the information they need, and are frequently left unable to answer constituents' questions. It is important to note that village leaders are not always proactive in passing on information, and in some cases even withhold it. For this reason, it is vital that information about assistance is shared with the entire community and not just the Village Head, thus enabling the community to hold their leaders to account. Nevertheless, organizations operating at the village level must develop ways to enter into ongoing dialogue with village leaders.

Public meetings are common throughout Aceh. Across the sample, a high 87% of communities reported congregating in public meetings, called either by the village government, or by aid and development programs. The frequency of meetings held by village government dropped significantly in high conflict areas, while rates of program meetings did not change. Religious and cultural events also represent useful opportunities for community outreach, and especially for targeting women, who can otherwise be difficult to reach.

Notice boards are present in 79% of villages in Aceh, but the quality of information they provide is often poor. For example, while government notice boards were reported in 53% of villages sampled, the information they displayed was rated 'good' in just 9% of those.

Unfortunately, while informed community leaders, community meetings and notice boards are minimal conditions for good communications, they still do not necessarily result in an informed populace. Agencies engaged in community development need to do more than check-the-boxes, in terms of holding public meetings and posting public notices; attention must also be paid to the quality of information, and the avenues for participation, being provided.

4. DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATIONS IN TSUNAMI, CONFLICT, URBAN AND RURAL ENVIRONMENTS

Tsunami Effects

On Mass Media

The good news for agencies working in tsunami-affected areas is that the communication environment has largely recovered. Communities in the tsunami zone actually reported better access to newspapers and were more likely to be able to tune into a radio station than those in unaffected areas. On average, ownership of radios, televisions and mobile telephones lagged a little behind unaffected areas, but this was offset by more frequent communal use of radios and televisions, as well as of newspapers, in tsunami-affected communities. This recovery is due to a number of factors, including investments in the media sector by external agencies, commercial enterprise and perhaps higher disposable household income.

However, this recovery has been more marked in some areas than in others. Communities surveyed in Aceh Jaya and Nagan Raya still reported poor coverage by newspapers. Concentrations of radio ownership were actually both highest and lowest in tsunami-affected areas, suggesting uneven distribution.

On Community Information Channels

Large-scale post-tsunami reconstruction programming seems also to have had a positive impact on channels for communication at the village level. With large amounts of aid available, communities may be demanding more information about how to access it. More public meetings are held in the tsunami zone and program facilitators become more popular as sources of information. Communities are also more likely to congregate in religious and cultural events, and to have a notice board in their village.

These results should be viewed with some caution. It would be a gross overstatement to say that tsunami-affected communities have comprehensive access to information and communication channels. Nevertheless, their access is close to as good as, if not better, than the rest of Aceh. The challenge now is to utilize informational channels more effectively, in order to improve the quality of public outreach.

Conflict Effects

On Community Information Channels

The breakdown of village governance in conflict areas has impacted on the communication environment in villages, distorting patterns of information flow. While 87% of communities reported that public meetings were held in their villages, villages in high conflict zones were 10% less likely to gather in meetings called by village government than those in low conflict areas, and three times less likely to have received information about the peace agreement from a government meeting. Community distrust in government and reticence by local officials to call meetings are likely to blame. This deep mistrust of government sources presents a particular challenge for the post-conflict reintegration agency BRA, and other government bodies.

By contrast, aid and development projects seem to be somewhat immune from the factors that have damaged local government. Communities in high and low conflict-affected areas were equally likely to congregate in program meetings – in 55% and 54% of cases, respectively. Programs and campaigns should aim to convince communities of neutrality and provide separate and distinct opportunities for communities to access information, such as dedicated meetings and events.

On Mass Media

Distribution, reach, access and ownership of mass media do not differ greatly between villages in high- and low-conflict sub-districts.

The 'Mid-level' Conflict Effect

Perhaps the strangest finding of this study is that patterns of media consumption and availability in 'mid-level' conflict zones often differ markedly from high- and low-conflict zones. Communities in these areas may actually have the worst access to media of all. To summarize, medium-level conflict zones have better coverage by newspaper and radio networks, but have markedly lower household ownership figures for radios, televisions, landlines and mobile phones. They are more likely to listen to radios and watch TV privately, not communally, and are also more likely to hold program meetings.

There is no obvious explanation for these findings. One possibility is lower rates of disposable income (suggested by low ownership rates of radios and televisions). If communities in medium-level conflict zones are poorer than those in high and low level conflict areas, then there may be an argument to target medium-level conflict areas for assistance as aggressively as high conflict areas.

Urban/Rural Effects

Not surprisingly, urban communities have better access to media and other services than rural areas. However, while rural communities across the board were worse off in terms of coverage and ownership than their urban counterparts, the degree of difference varied between media. The gap between urban and rural villages was most notable in terms of newspaper coverage, ownership of television sets, and the presence of notice boards. One-fifth of rural communities do not receive newspapers, compared with almost 100% coverage in urban communities; urban households are on average twice as likely to own television sets as rural communities; and almost a quarter of rural villages did not report notice boards, compared with just 5% in urban areas.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Program Interventions

- *Continue to develop and support local, decentralized media*, to fill the blank spots in both newspaper and radio coverage identified in this study.
- *Free distribution of personal communications devices should not remain limited to tsunami-affected populations*. Evidence from this research suggests that while tsunami-affected areas are on their way to recovery, mid-level conflict areas have the lowest ownership across the board.
- *Develop the potential of outreach via mobile phone technology*. Mobile telephone ownership is on the increase, and there is scope for systematic use of SMS technology to pass information into villages via mobile phone owners, and as part of complaints-reporting systems.

Working with Mass Media

- *Design newspaper advertising for public display*. This survey shows that a high proportion of villages receive newspapers. One way to maximize the impact of the few newspapers available is to design advertising as inserts that can be pulled out of the paper and put on public display.
- *Where possible, work with local radio stations*. Local radio stations collectively cover around two-thirds of the sampled communities, and local radio is usually more popular with audiences than the state broadcaster, RRI.
- *Nevertheless, parallel broadcasting on RRI creates maximum reach for radio programming*. Including broadcast on RRI potentially lifts the number of communities reached from two-thirds to 88%.
- *Advertising or programming for television is unlikely to reach a wide audience*. While television is a popular medium, the only station broadcasting local content, TVRI, is extremely unpopular. Aceh-specific or Aceh-relevant programming on national television (particularly RCTI)

may gain a better audience.

- *Where possible, incorporate incentives for interaction into mass media outreach.* Centrally coordinated mass media campaigns can tend to be uni-directional. Offering opportunities to actively engage with the message being conveyed can help to strengthen it.

Working with Community-level Media

- *Ensure Village Leaders have all the answers.*
- *Consider alternatives to socialization via government channels, particularly in conflict-affected areas.*
- *Consider socialization via informal community gatherings.*
- *Ensure that notice boards are available, especially in conflict-affected and rural areas.*
- *Focus on improving notice board quality.*

Reaching Women

- *Female-orientated radio programming should be broadcast in a midday timeslot.*
- *Reaching women means going to them.* Mass media has less chance of reaching women as it does men. Communities reported that the best ways to reach women were via quoranic reading groups for women, other organized women's activities like health clinics and the family welfare association, and arisan. Even so, improving women's access to information and participation takes time and effort, and there are no easy solutions.

Reaching Children

- *There are opportunities to target children via afternoon television.* The only demographic that might benefit from local programming broadcast in the afternoon is children, who are most likely to be watching at that time of day. This kind of programming means significant investment, but for some types of outreach, like peace education, it may be worth considering.

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1. INTRODUCTION

It has been over two years since the province of Aceh was struck by the catastrophic tsunami of December 2004. Eight months after that disaster, the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) signed the historic Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on August 15th 2005, which provided the basis for an end to decades of war. Both events brought the attention of the world to Aceh, and with that attention billions of dollars of humanitarian aid, currently being dispersed through a huge range of projects to those affected by the tsunami and by the conflict.

A key challenge faced by all those working in Aceh, whether on post-tsunami, post-conflict, humanitarian, or long-term development work, has been how to engage with the hundreds of thousands of Acehnese beneficiaries. Following the tsunami, both the Indonesian government and the many agencies working on responses made an explicit commitment to reject top-down management of the reconstruction effort and sought to place communities in the driving seat, making them the architects of their own recovery. Those working on post-conflict projects have also endorsed community-driven development as a driving principle.

Achieving participation, transparency and accountability – the principles that define the community-driven approach – depends on good communication between government, donor agencies and communities. Yet, study after study¹ on Aceh have cited community ignorance about what is being done in their names and the lack of effective community consultation as key failings of the relief effort. One study calls this Aceh's 'Information Black Hole'.²

Effective communication lies at the core of rights-based programming and community-driven development. Without a commitment to share information with communities, an understanding of how to communicate effectively, and of how to ensure the voices of those affected are truly heard, community-driven development cannot work. Affected populations who have no understanding of a project or a policy cannot comment or engage effectively. People who do not understand what kind of help is available to them and how to access it are rendered unable to make informed decisions about their future, and that of their family and community. They are also likely to become disillusioned with government bodies and aid agencies, which have a responsibility to remain accountable to all beneficiaries.³

This is not to say that communication and public information are a cure-all for shortcomings in disaster response and development programming, or a quick fix for the very real challenges faced by implementers in Aceh. A good communications strategy will not fix a fundamentally misconceived project, nor hide defects or problems to emerge as it progresses. Misguided public outreach efforts – advertising services that are not capable of responding to demand, promoting a policy that is not finalized and is subsequently changed – can do more damage than good.

Nevertheless, strong downward accountability and information flows to communities enhances projects, contributing considerably to a good working relationship with beneficiaries, higher levels of satisfaction with the aid being delivered, and thus ultimately to more successful projects. Effective outreach for projects can also increase uptake of the services on offer: one radio programme in Meulaboh in West Aceh which promotes a series of medical centres has resulted in an almost 50% increase in patients.⁴

Transparency in projects is recognized and appreciated by communities, and rewarded with increased trust and perceptions of credibility. A community informed of delays and the reasons for them is far more likely to be patient and accepting than one left in the dark. Many organizations are fearful of communication,

¹ Eye on Aceh and AidWatch (2006); Telford and Cosgrave (2006); International Federation for Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (2005).

² IFRC (2005), especially Chapter 4: Information Black Hole in Aceh.

³ This is acknowledged, for example, by the Red Cross Code of Conduct: "We hold ourselves accountable both to those we seek to assist and those from whom we accept resources." Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in disaster relief, 1994.

⁴ Wall (2006, p. 36).

because they feel it can highlight inefficiencies in their work, and that it may place extra work, costs and responsibilities on agencies that are often already stretched in implementing their programs. However, organizations must find ways to overcome these fears, not only for ethical reasons (although these are obviously important) but also as a matter of self-interest, to ensure that projects work effectively as intended.

The central question addressed in this paper is how to design better strategies for communication. Until now, this has been hampered by (among other factors) a lack of understanding of how people in Aceh source and share information. This paper is the first province-wide attempt to look at the ways in which communities receive and seek information and is intended to go some way to filling this gap in our collective knowledge.

A number of forces have shaped the communications landscape in Aceh. The December 2004 tsunami washed away communications infrastructure, but eighteen months of reconstruction have restored services in many areas. The many and complex repercussions of Aceh's decades-long separatist conflict, including poverty, disruption of services and community trauma, have also taken their toll. Urban and rural environments differ significantly in terms of community access to, and ownership of, communications media. Aceh's varied topography, from flat coastal plains to the central mountains, also plays a role.

This study aims to quantify the impacts of these variables and so map communications environments across Aceh. We examine availability and consumption patterns of mass media, and the ways information circulates within villages. This can help those involved in rebuilding Aceh in the post-conflict and post-tsunami period to develop more effective public information strategies, in so doing enhancing the quality of their programs.

Although one aim of this paper is to highlight the importance of good communications strategies as a key part of any community-driven development work, it is not our intention to evaluate any of the communications projects currently being implemented in Aceh or to recommend any particular course of action. Rather, this paper is intended as a tool for all those working in Aceh who need to improve communications with beneficiary populations, a guide to who can be reached through which channels and how, and a source of data for the development of efficient outreach work.

Methodology

This report presents quantitative data collected in 410 rural and urban villages in 98 sub districts throughout Aceh. Villages were selected randomly, using a two-stage sampling procedure with the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics' 2005 Village Potential (PODES) data as the sampling frame. Enumerators interviewed key informants and community members to gain an overview of the communications environment in each community, and recorded the information using a survey format (see Annex B).

The unit of analysis for this survey is the village, rather than the household or individual. As such, questions about how many households in the community own consumer goods, like radios and televisions, are based on estimates rather than comprehensive sampling of households. By the same token, questions about preference, particularly relating to favourite newspapers and television stations, represent a few individual opinions, not a popular community vote. Nevertheless, taken as aggregate, this is enough to gain a strong overview of the communications landscape in Aceh.

Surveys were collected between April and June 2006, 16-18 months after the Indian Ocean tsunami, and 9-11 months after the peace agreement was signed. A more detailed description of the methodology, including how we arrived at conflict intensity, tsunami-affected and urban/rural classifications, is contained in Annex A.

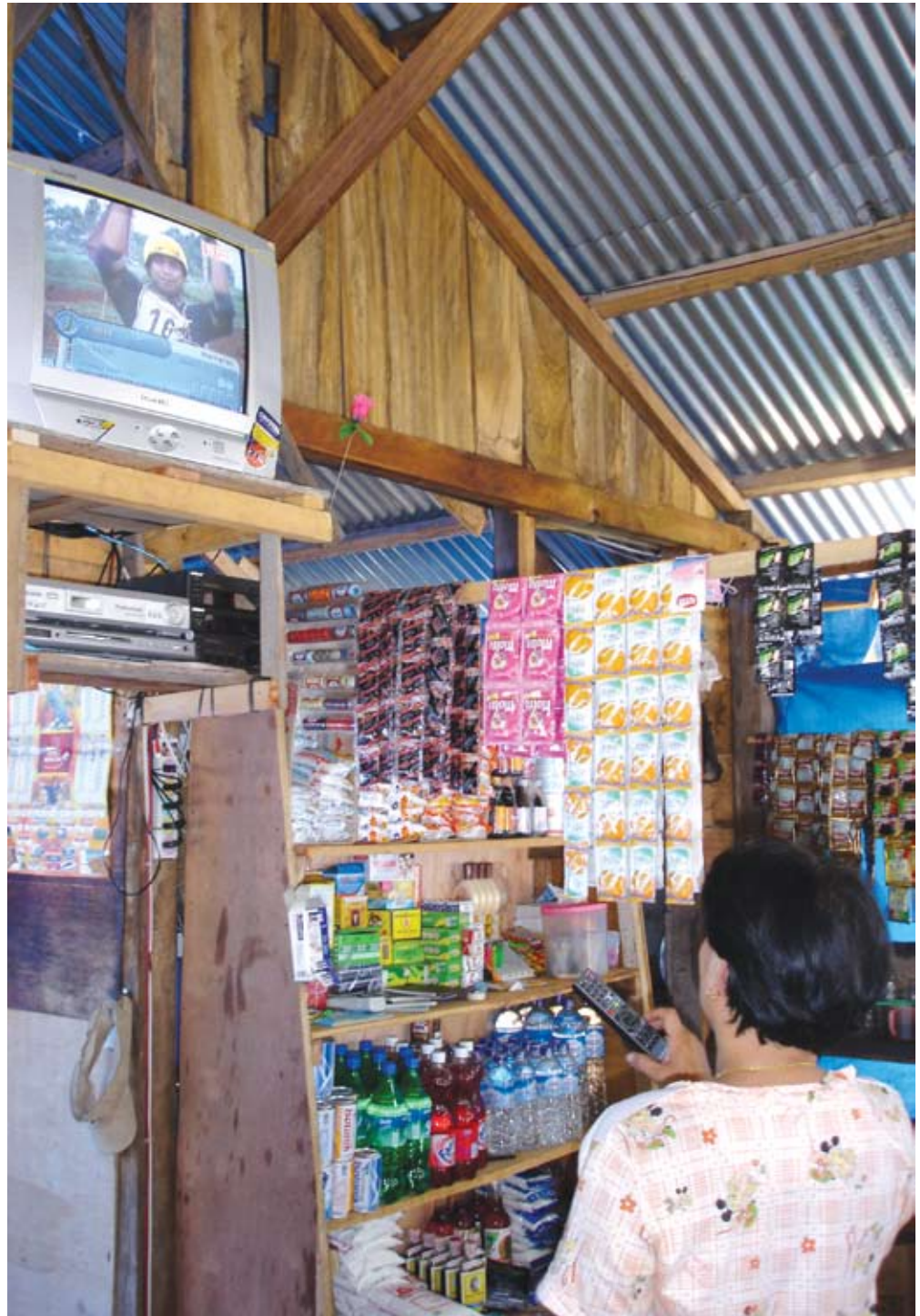
Structure

The report proceeds in four sections. Section 2 looks at mass media, channels that enable (relatively) rapid, blanket dissemination of information. We look at levels of community access to newspapers, radios, television and telephones, examining their reach and distribution. We also discuss the varying ways that different demographics watch and listen to television and radio. Overall, newspaper, radio and television networks throughout Aceh are stronger than generally assumed, but universal access to them are far from assured, as many cannot afford to buy newspapers or radio and television sets. Communal patterns of consumption broaden the reach of newspapers and television media.

Section 3 examines how information circulates at the village level, focusing on key information holders, village meetings, cultural and religious gatherings and notice boards as the primary channels for intra-community communication. Village Heads and other community leaders constitute an important link into communities, and a key source of information for villagers. Conflict has impacted on the way local government functions, including frequency of village meetings. Religious and cultural events also represent useful opportunities for community outreach and especially for targeting women, who can otherwise be difficult to reach. Notice boards are present in most villages in Aceh, but the quality of information they provide is often poor.

Section 4 draws together key findings for tsunami-affected and conflict-affected areas, as well as for urban and rural communities. Although communications infrastructure, household goods and livelihoods were destroyed by the tsunami, there is strong evidence that communication environments are on the way to recovery. In conflict areas, the breakdown of governance due to conflict means that government channels are not the most effective ways to pass on information in high conflict areas. Throughout this paper we note anomalous findings for communities living in mid-level conflict zones, who in many ways have the worst access to mass media of all. Unsurprisingly, urban communities have better access to media and other services than rural areas. This is particularly notable for newspaper coverage, ownership of television sets, and presence of notice boards.

Section 5 concludes and offers recommendations.



2. MASS MEDIA

Mass media, including newspapers, radio, television and telephones, can provide immensely powerful channels for disseminating information quickly, effectively, and on a grand scale. The success of any mass media information campaign, however, depends on a detailed understanding of who listens/watches/reads what, when, and where. This section seeks to provide insight into these matters.

The mass media environment in Aceh is well developed and flourishing. Over four-fifths of the sample communities had access to newspapers, nearly 90% could tune into a radio station, and television penetrated almost 100%. Aceh is a highly literate province⁵ with sufficient demand for media to support several provincial newspapers and over 30 local radio stations. Media consumption is very often a communal activity: sharing newspapers in coffee shops or gathering round a television set in a public place are social events. Media are as much sources of information as entertainment, and the psychosocial value of listening to music on the radio or watching *sinetron* (soap opera) on television is very important in a society that has suffered the trauma of decades of conflict and a catastrophic natural disaster. There are opportunities to use mass media more strategically for sharing information on development and other issues, and for creating channels for discussion.

2.1 Newspapers

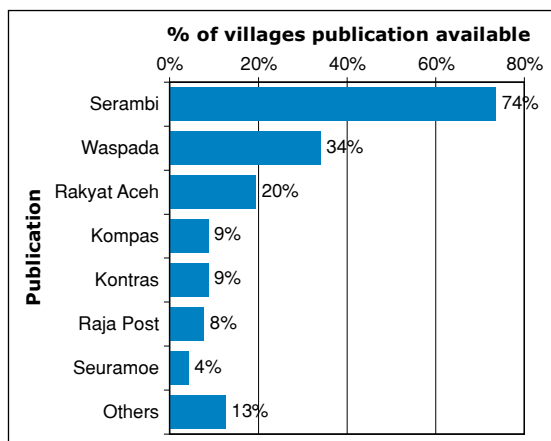
High Newspaper Penetration Across Aceh

Newspapers are popular in Aceh. While availability of newspapers in urban areas is, as expected, very high (97%), a full 79% of rural communities surveyed say they also receive papers. Further, 83% of these rural areas also report receiving newspapers on the day they were printed, indicating efficient and comprehensive distribution networks across the province.

Serambi Indonesia Dominates the Newspaper Market

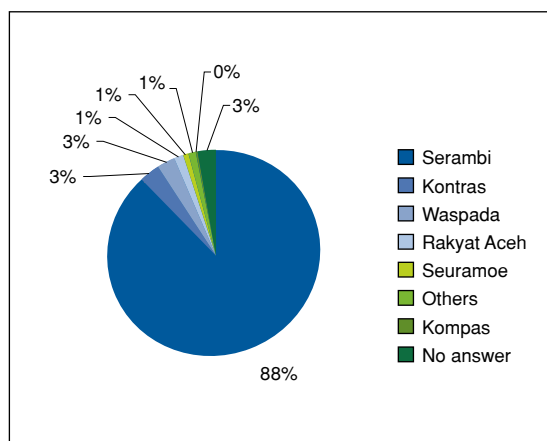
Banda Aceh-based daily *Serambi Indonesia* is by far the most significant paper in the province for outreach, as it is widely available and outstandingly popular.

Figure 1: % of villages where different publications are available



Source: Media Mapping Dataset⁶

Figure 2: Preferred publication



Serambi reaches almost three quarters of the villages in the sample. Medan-based daily *Waspada* has the next-best coverage, available in 34% of the villages sampled. A distant third is *Rakyat Aceh*, available in 20% of villages. Where people have a choice, they overwhelmingly choose *Serambi*. In the villages that

⁵ UNDP's National Human Development Report for Indonesia in 2004 found literacy rates in Aceh to be 95.8%.

⁶ N = 331, the number of communities that reported they received some kind of newspaper.

received more than one paper, 88% say they prefer *Serambi*, while just 3% prefer *Waspada* and 1% choose *Rakyat Aceh*.

The preference is clearly for local publications. Access to – and interest in – national publications such as *Kompas* is very low. Only 9% of communities reported being able to get *Kompas*, and less than 1% cited it as a preferred publication.

In terms of distribution, *Waspada* and *Rakyat Aceh* networks overlapped almost completely with *Serambi*'s, and only 2% of communities reported that *Waspada* was the only publication they received. This, of course, further diminishes the significance of *Waspada* in the context of public outreach work in Aceh. Aceh Singkil and Aceh Tamiang are the only districts better served by *Waspada* than by *Serambi*. Both districts border North Sumatra province, where *Waspada* is published.

Figures 3, 4 and 5 below illustrate the availability of *Serambi*, *Waspada* and *Rakyat Aceh* across the sample.⁷

Figure 3: Serambi coverage

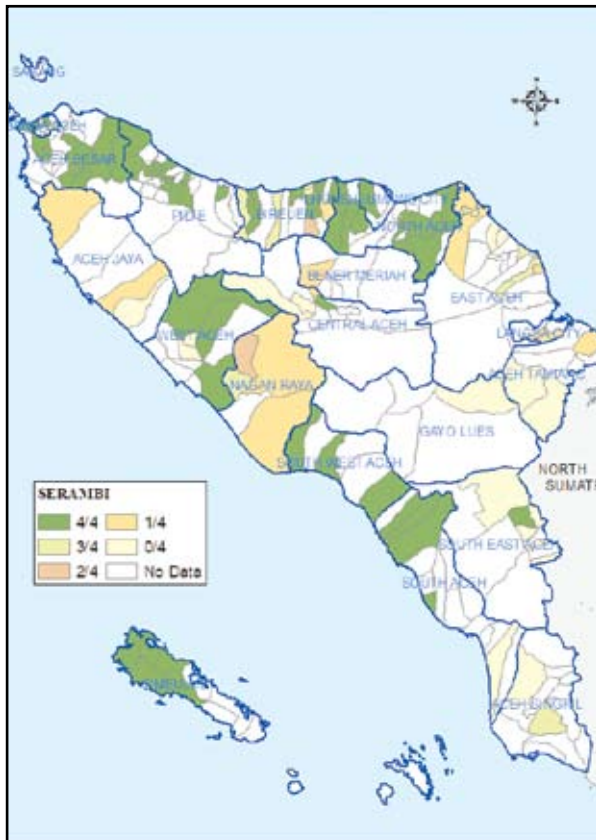
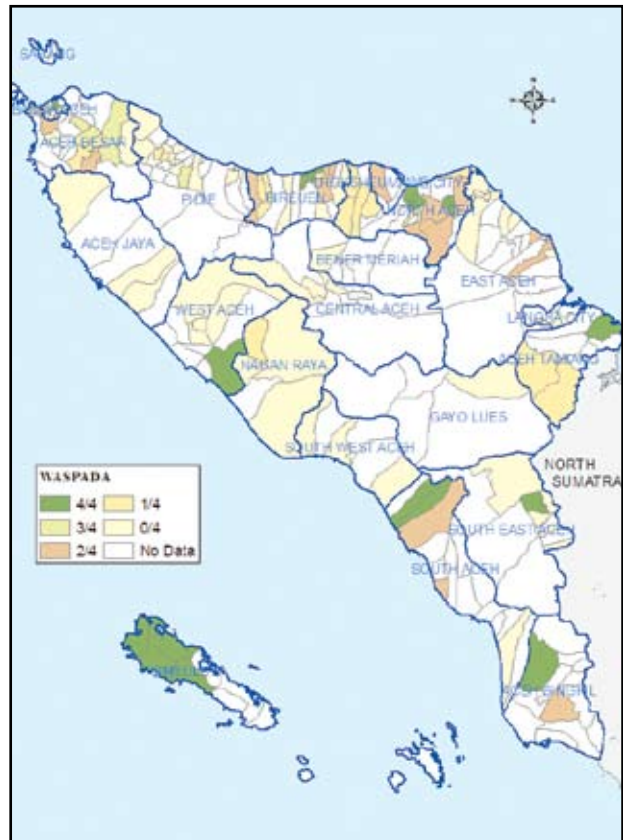


Figure 4: Waspada coverage



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

⁷ Four villages were surveyed in each sub-district. These maps show how many of those four reported each publication as being present in their village. '4/4' means that all four villages had access to the publication, indicating that distribution may be fairly widespread in that subdistrict. '0/4' indicates that the publication was not available in any of the four; and so on.

Box 1. Niche Publications Filling the Gaps

Localized, niche publications can play an important role in areas where other newspaper penetration is low. In Aceh Jaya and Nagan Raya, for example, tsunami damage to infrastructure (particularly roads) has hampered distribution of provincial papers like *Serambi*. Of the papers that reach communities that do not get *Serambi*, the most significant is *Seuramoe*, a fortnightly newsletter produced for tsunami victims in Aceh Jaya, named by ten communities as the only publication available. This means that of the 18 communities that reported receiving *Seuramoe*, it is the only printed source of news for over half.

Although the paper was originally designed to service Aceh Jaya, it appears to be spreading outside of the district, and was mentioned by communities in neighbouring Nagan Raya. This suggests that there is an appetite for highly localized news, particularly with the emphasis on practical information such as job opportunities and sources of humanitarian assistance that characterizes *Seuramoe*, which is probably shared by other districts. There may be an argument, therefore, to establish similar publications in other districts where newspaper access is otherwise poor.

Better Newspaper Coverage in Tsunami Areas

Remarkably, tsunami-affected areas⁸ have better access to newspapers than non-tsunami areas; 93% of tsunami-affected communities say they have access to newspapers, compared with just 78% in non-affected areas.⁹

Several factors might explain this. Various agencies have sponsored programs designed to improve tsunami-affected populations' access to newspapers, including free distribution of *Serambi* to barracks by UNFPA on Saturdays.¹⁰ However, as noted, most villages say that they receive newspapers every day, suggesting recovery driven by commercial factors. The high levels of access in tsunami areas might also reflect an increased desire for news and information by those affected, leading communities to place more importance on and go to greater lengths to source information that might help them recover.

At the same time, lower penetration of commercial newspapers in badly hit districts like Aceh Jaya and Nagan Raya (see Figures 3, 4 and 5) suggests that the high levels of newspaper access in tsunami areas is closely connected with the restoration of the infrastructure that facilitates newspaper delivery, such as road access.

Similar Newspaper Availability in High and Low Conflict Areas

Conflict has done little to cut villages off from newspapers: 79% of high conflict villages report receiving newspapers of some kind, compared with 77% in low conflict areas. A higher 89% of medium-conflict areas have access to newspapers.¹¹

⁸ The 'Tsunami-affected/Not tsunami affected' definitions used in this report are actually based on four categories that were assigned to villages in Aceh following the tsunami. 'Tsunami-affected' refers to villages in categories 1 (high impact) and 2 (medium impact), while 'not tsunami affected' includes those in category 3 (little impact) and 4 (no impact). Where we use the term 'not affected', then, we are actually including some areas that sustained a little damage. See Annex A4: Category Definitions.

⁹ Even correcting for the urban effect by excluding urban communities from the dataset, 91% of rural, tsunami-affected villages received newspapers, in contrast with 76% of non-tsunami, rural villages.

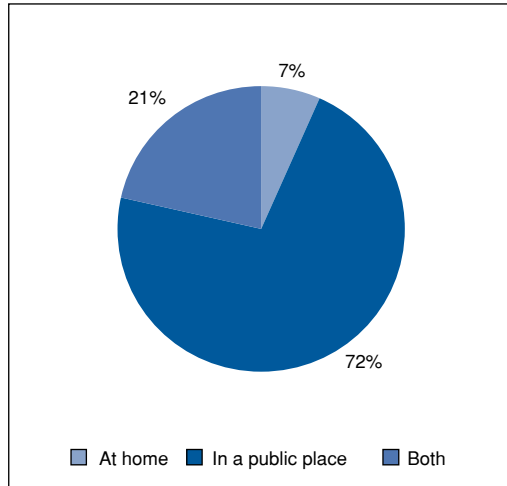
¹⁰ Free *Serambi* distribution by UNFPA ceased in June 2006.

¹¹ Throughout this paper we refer to a fascinating anomaly that becomes apparent when looking at the effect of conflict intensity on access and use to all forms of media. Villages located in sub-districts classed as having experienced *medium* conflict intensity often show results that differ greatly from results in high or low conflict-affected areas. In terms of the data, medium conflict areas are slightly skewed towards being *not tsunami affected* - they are 6% less likely than the average to also be tsunami-affected than high or low conflict areas. As we will show, there seems to be a positive correlation between tsunami damage and *better* access to many forms of media, probably reflecting the scale of recovery programming in those areas. However, as in this analysis of access to newspapers, results from medium level conflict villages do not always follow the trends of non-tsunami-affected areas; in fact, the opposite often occurs. There seems to be some unknown factor (or factors) inherent to areas affected by medium level conflict causing these results, which warrants further study. See Annex A5: Overlap between categories.

High 'Read-on' Rates Through Communal Reading

Newspapers in Aceh are read communally – that is, newspapers are consumed in public places and shared between readers.

Figure 6: Where do people read newspapers?



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Newspapers are shared out of necessity, as not everyone can afford to buy them, but also because reading newspapers is a social activity in Aceh. A newspaper like *Serambi* is targeted at an educated, affluent, urban elite or, in media jargon, Aceh's 'opinion formers', the people who can afford to buy newspapers and the products they advertise. Yet, there is enough demand amongst those who cannot afford papers for businesses, and coffee shops in particular, to supply communal copies of newspapers to attract customers. In rural areas, especially, communal reading rates are high: 77% of rural respondents say they read newspapers in public places, with just 6% reading at home, reflecting lower circulation in rural areas. Even in urban areas, where people are more likely to be able to afford newspapers, communal reading remains popular. Just 10% of urban communities report that they only read newspapers at home, and 39% said they read communally (51% said both). This suggests that people see

a social value in reading newspapers together, discussing the issues and airing their opinions.

'Public' Access Unlikely to Extend to Women

Sharing newspapers may mean improving public access to them, but the consumption of newspapers in public spaces may mean that women are effectively excluded. A casual visitor to Aceh will observe that coffee shops are almost exclusively male environments. If most people gain access to newspapers in coffee shops, then women have far less access to papers than men. Further, if women only have access to newspapers at home, then it follows that women in rural areas have even fewer opportunities to read newspapers than their urban sisters. So, while access to newspapers is widespread, it is important to remember that the audience is primarily male.

2.2 Radio

In contrast to television and newspapers, radio services and audiences in Aceh tend to be highly localized. Dozens of local, district-based radio stations are dotted across the province, each serving a local community and rarely transmitting far beyond the borders of their home district. There are more than thirty commercial stations (some districts have several), in addition to the growing community radio scene, broadcasting a range of programs from news and analysis to religious programming to Indonesian pop. In addition to the local stations, state broadcaster *Radio Republik Indonesia* (RRI) is also relayed throughout the province, broadcasting some local content from Banda Aceh.¹²

RRI and Local Radios have Similar Reach

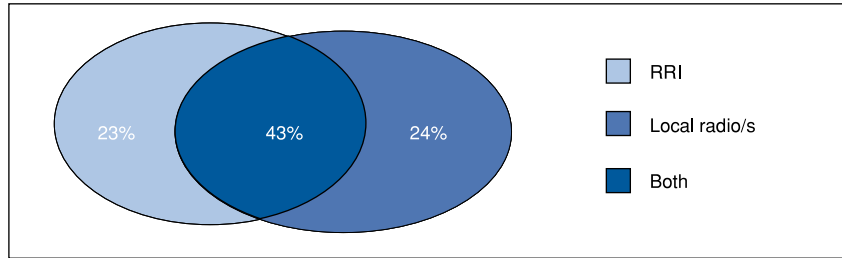
With so many stations, it is perhaps not surprising that radio penetration across the province is high: 88% of communities surveyed can receive some kind of radio station. Of these, 67% say they can pick up at least one local¹³ station of this kind, while 66% of communities report being able to tune into public radio

¹² Some international broadcasters, such as BBC and Deutsche Welle, also reach parts of Aceh, although communities in the survey did not mention these.

¹³ Figures for 'local' radio here combine the responses for both commercial and community radio. Community radio operates on a not-for-profit basis and has very limited broadcast range. The figures for commercial and community radio are aggregated here for two reasons. First, most 'community' radio stations listed by villagers responding to this question were actually commercial, as communities tend not to understand the legal and technical differences. Second, for the purpose of the argument, commercial and community radio are similar in that they are both locally produced and decentralized, in contrast to the centrally produced RRI.

(RRI). This suggests that public radio and local radio have similar reach. Only 42% can receive both, which means that approximately one quarter of the sample could only receive RRI, while another quarter could only pick up local radio.

Figure 7: % of communities with access to public radio, local radio/s

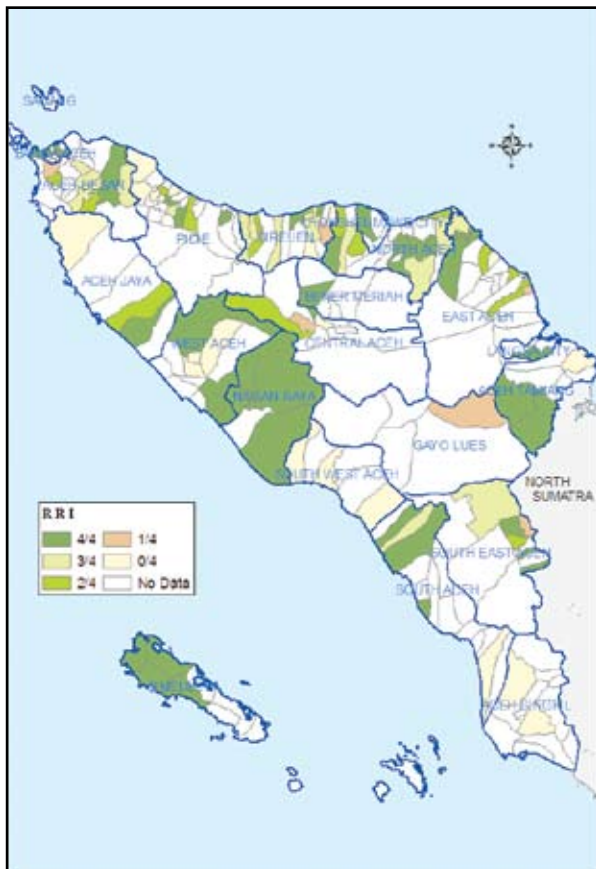


Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Complementary Coverage

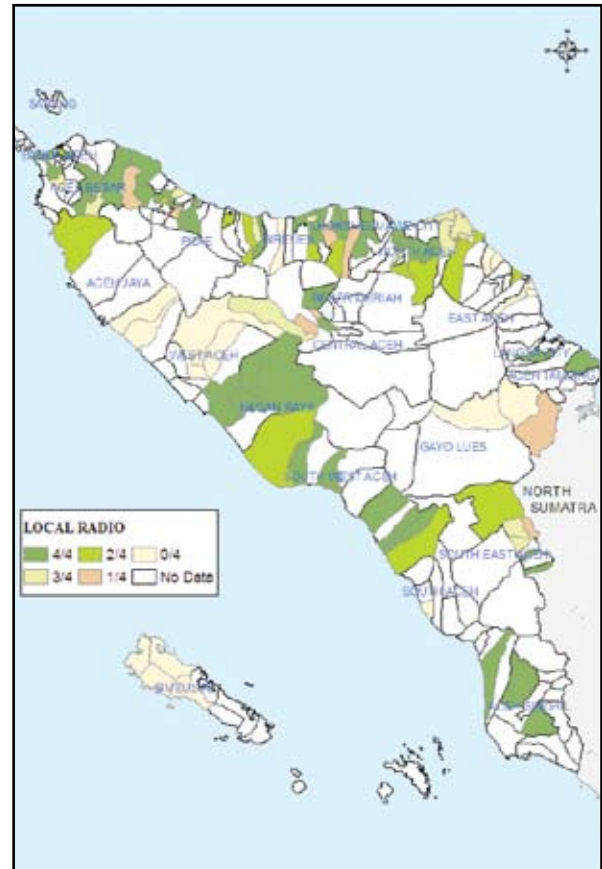
State radio and local radio coverage therefore often complement one another, meaning that neither can be neglected in the context of major outreach campaigns. In the maps below, note for example that the villages surveyed in Aceh Singkil (9) and Southwest Aceh (12) are exclusively covered by local radio stations, and do not report RRI. By contrast, the villages on the island of Simeulue (14) are exclusively covered by RRI, and report no local radio coverage.¹⁴

Figure 8: Radio coverage: Radio Republic Indonesia



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Figure 9: Radio coverage: local stations (collectively)



¹⁴ Four villages were surveyed in each sub-district. These maps show how many of those four reported radio coverage. See footnote 7.

Blank Spots

Radio coverage is not uniform and there are many areas that have little or no radio access at all. This is not surprising: radio signal is affected by geography, for example, so the number of villages able to tune in decreases in mountainous areas where the landscape blocks the signal. Penetration is very high (100%) in urban areas where many radio stations are based.

RRI coverage is patchy in West Aceh, Central Aceh and Pidie, with less than half of the communities surveyed in those districts reporting that they could tune in to RRI. Local radio coverage, meanwhile, is similarly uneven in West Aceh, Aceh Jaya, Aceh Tamiang and East Aceh. Overall, radio reception is proportionally poorest in Gayo Lues, where just one village of the eight surveyed can pick up a radio station.

As with newspapers, high and low intensity conflict has little effect on radio reception, but medium-level conflict areas actually report *better* coverage by radio stations.¹⁵

Post-tsunami Recovery in the Radio Sector

Again, tsunami-affected areas show clear signs of recovery, which is at least partly due to intense post-tsunami reconstruction and support to the radio sector. Tsunami-affected areas are somewhat better covered by radio networks than non-tsunami villages (93% versus 87%), even though radio stations in the worst affected areas – Banda Aceh, Sabang, and along the western coast – were destroyed in the tsunami.

Of all the mass media forms examined in this study, radio infrastructure has received the most support from international donors and local agencies. Various organizations have noted the need for improved communications channels to tsunami-affected communities, and radio is (rightly) seen as having the potential to reach a wide audience. International and local agencies have rebuilt damaged stations, erected new ones and provided training for radio staff. In large markets (notably Banda Aceh), this recovery is supported by a large audience base and commercial potential, whereas radio stations in smaller towns are still heavily dependent on external support to cover operational costs.¹⁶

Communities Prefer Local Radio to State Radio

Public and local radio have similar coverage across the province, but local stations are far more popular. 77% of communities able to choose between the two say they prefer local radio, compared to just 20% who opt for public radio.¹⁷ This is a departure from the patterns of newspaper and TV consumption, where provincial and national media are preferred. It indicates a strong preference for content that speaks to local concerns and reflects local culture. The fact that local radio stations offer far more in the way of interactivity – phone-ins, talk shows, music request shows, and so on – may also be a factor.

The popularity of local radio stations make them preferred partners for outreach, particularly for interactive work, but parallel broadcasting on state radio is still necessary to reach the widest audience. A quarter of the communities sampled could *only* tune in to RRI; incorporating RRI as part of a broadcast strategy increases the audience to 88% of communities in Aceh.

¹⁵ 84% of high conflict villages are covered by radio, compared with 87% in low. Coverage is higher in medium conflict areas at 92%.

¹⁶ Newly established (or re-established) stations for communities in the tsunami zone also have the advantage of broadcasting in areas that by definition are not mountainous, so signal may travel further and reach a greater number of communities.

¹⁷ The remaining 3% do not give a preference.

Box 2. Working with Local Radio for Community Outreach

The multitude of local, popular radio stations in Aceh offer very valuable opportunities for public outreach. Unlike newspapers or television, it is possible to use radio to promote localized projects, such as a new clinic in Meulaboh or a livelihood project in Sigli. Radio also allows for interactive programming with a local audience via phone-ins and live events.

At the same time, organizing the simultaneous broadcast of public service announcements (PSAs) or other programs over dozens of radio stations to achieve province-wide coverage presents challenges. Individual radio stations have different levels of production and financial management capacity, and many need a lot of support. Working with such complexity is impractical for most organizations, especially those without strong decentralized field presence. There are several nascent organizations based in Banda Aceh that attempt to resolve this problem by offering 'one stop shop' production services and creating brokerages or syndication services, although they too struggle with the logistics of radio networking.

Although working with local stations can be a complex business, supporting them can help promote a healthy media environment throughout Aceh. Many local stations operate on a shoestring – for stations in tsunami-affected areas, who lost their own assets as well as primary advertising markets due to the destruction of local businesses, selling airtime and production services often represents their only way of generating revenue and therefore of keeping the station on air. Paying for airtime, and for the development and production of PSAs, therefore not only represents a fair and equal way of working with radio stations, but also helps them recover from the tsunami (and conflict) by filling the income gap left by the collapse of the local economy.

Household Ownership of Radio Sets is Common, but Not Universal

Unsurprisingly, urban communities report higher levels of radio ownership than their rural counterparts.¹⁸ Overall, 51% of the villages that reported radio signal available said that 40% or more households there owned radio sets.¹⁹ Interestingly, on average, high conflict areas reported higher rates of radio ownership than low conflict zones.²⁰ The small number of radio sets (5000) that were given to ex-combatants and former prisoners following the August 2005 peace deal may go some way towards accounting for this. The AMM distributed a further 25,000 radio sets in conflict areas via their district offices prior to their withdrawal in September 2006, which is likely to have had an effect on current rates of household ownership.

High Saturation of Radios in Some Tsunami-affected Areas

On average, tsunami-affected communities are marginally less likely to own radio sets than those in non-affected areas.²¹ Looking closer, however, tsunami-affected populations report both the lowest and highest household ownership of radio, suggesting that radio saturation is uneven and unusually high in some areas.

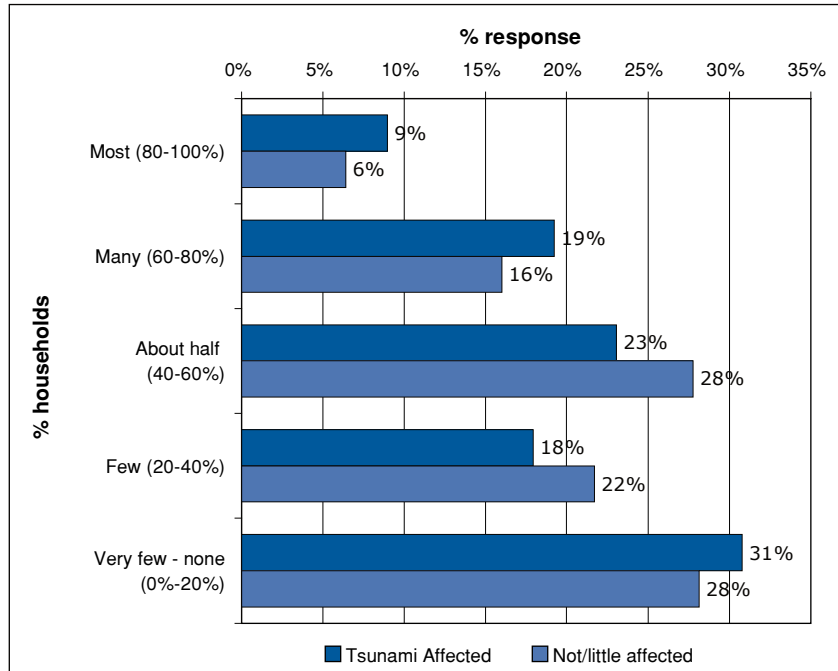
¹⁸ The question was, "How many households in this village own radios?" In order to obtain a mean for purposes of comparison, each answer was assigned a value, so that 'Very few-none' (0-20%) = 0, 'Few' (20-40%) = 1, 'About half' (40-60%) = 2, 'Many' (60-80%) = 3 and 'Most' (80-100%) = 4. These values were then added together and averaged. The mean for radio ownership across Aceh was 1.84, which can be interpreted by saying that on average, communities in Aceh reported that 'about half' of the community owned radio sets – 'about half' having a value of 2. This system is also used to compare ownership rates of televisions and telephones, below. The mean for rural ownership was 1.82, compared with 2.1 in urban villages.

¹⁹ N = 361. Communities that could not pick up radio are excluded from this analysis – naturally, if there is no radio signal, we would not expect households to own radio sets.

²⁰ Mean score for high-conflict: 2.01; medium: 1.65; low: 1.84. Medium-level conflict zones reported the lowest rates of ownership.

²¹ Mean score of 1.6 in tsunami-affected villages versus 1.91 in unaffected villages.

Figure 10: Household radio ownership: tsunami-affected and unaffected communities (% response in each category)

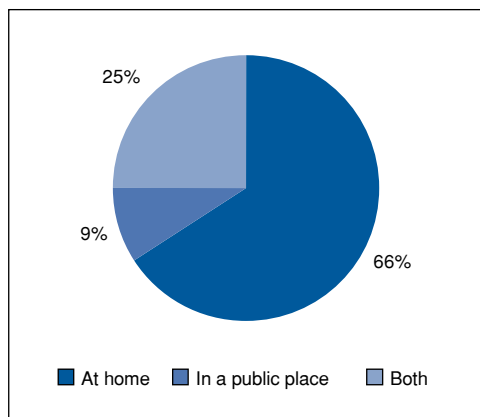


Free distribution of radio sets by a number of agencies may explain the higher concentrations of radios in certain tsunami-affected areas. Various organizations, including UNDP, Internews, 68H and others have distributed radio sets to tsunami-affected communities, and uneven levels of radio ownership may reflect uneven patterns of distribution.

People Listen to Radio at Home

Interestingly, of the three main mass media sources available in Aceh – television, newspapers, and radio – radio is the only one that people actively prefer to consume at home. Even though fewer households own radio sets in rural villages than in urban communities, rural communities said they were less likely to listen to radio together than urban communities, despite actually owning fewer radio sets.²²

Figure 11: Where do people listen to radio?



Overall, people are less likely to listen to radio together, which suggests that it is a less social medium than television or newspaper reading. Slightly higher levels of communal listening in urban areas is unsurprising, as there are more public spaces in urban communities: mechanic’s workshops, coffee shops and public transport.

Even so, while people might not listen together, the multiplier effect created by people passing on what they have heard can still be considerable. An IOM weekly health phone-in on one local station resulted in a 50% increase in patients at their clinics, many of whom heard about the program second-hand from friends and neighbours who heard it on the radio.²³

Source: Media Mapping Dataset

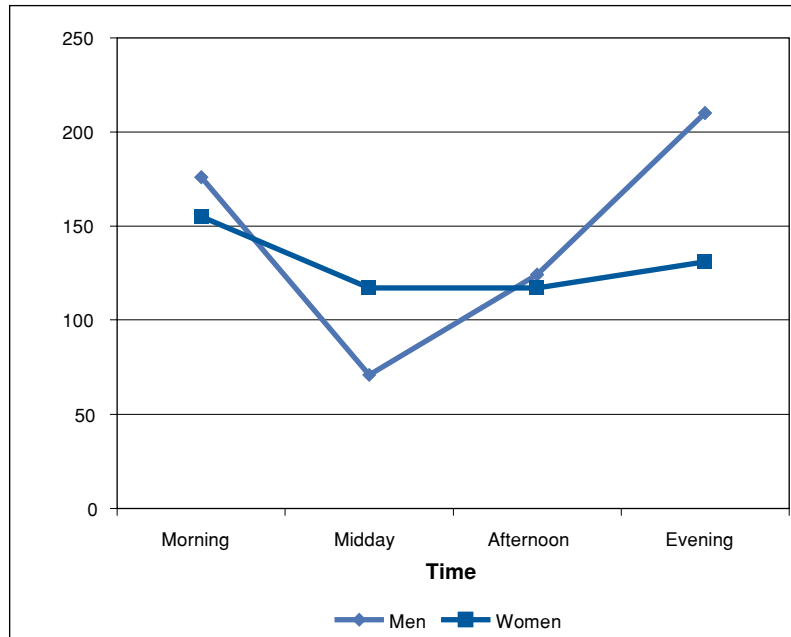
²² Mean rural radio ownership is 1.82, compared with 2.1 in urban villages. Nevertheless, only 8% of rural communities report that they listen to the radio together, compared to 15% in urban areas.

²³ Wall, (2006, p. 36).

Who's Listening?

Even if people do not listen to radio socially, it is nevertheless popular. Both men and women listen to the radio in 86% and 80% of villages respectively.²⁴ Generally speaking, male radio audiences peak in the morning and evening, while female listeners tune in consistently throughout the day. The female audience is proportionally at its highest compared to the male audience around midday.

Figure 12: When do men and women listen to radio?



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

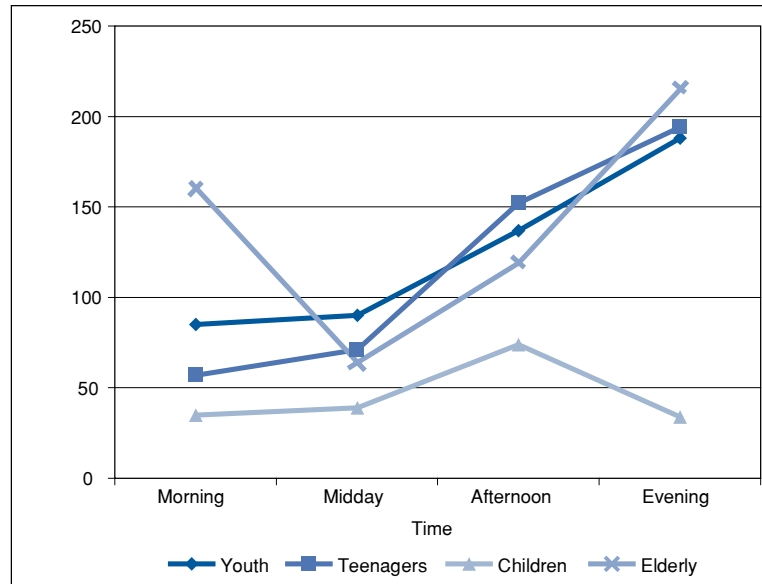
Targeting a Female Audience

The proportionally higher female audience around midday, especially combined with the preference for listening at home, offers a key opportunity to reach a majority-female audience. Other research has found that often the man of the house will change the channel or switch off if the program being broadcast does not interest him. UN-OCHA (2005) notes the phenomenon of “the man’s hand on the dial” in tsunami-affected areas; that when men and women listen to the radio or watch TV together, it is the men who select the program. Airing programs aimed at women when the female audience is high and the male audience is low may be one way of ensuring that more women are listening in.

²⁴ N = 362, or the 88% of villages that have access to radio signal of some kind. Of these, men are said to listen in 311 villages (86% of the sample), and women in 289 (80%).

Listening Habits by Age Group²⁵

Figure 13: When do different age groups listen to radio?

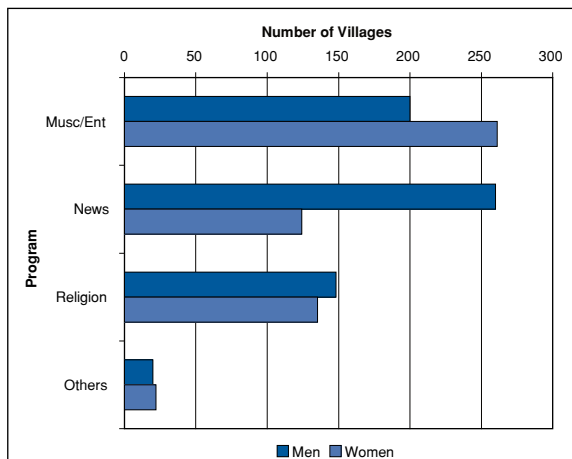


Source: Media Mapping Dataset

A high percentage of youth and teenagers say they listen to the radio – 78% and 75% respectively. Audiences in these groups are lowest in the morning, and climb steadily throughout the day. Radio is not a popular medium with children (only 35% of respondents say children tune in) but those who do listen in the afternoon rather than morning or evening. The elderly, in direct contrast, listen primarily in the morning and the evening.

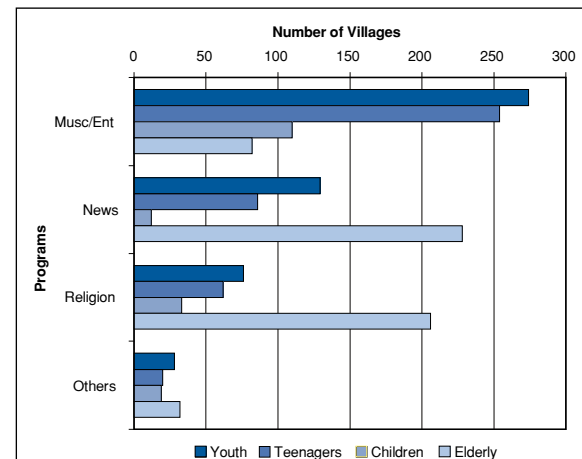
What's On?

Figure 14: What do men and women listen to?



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Figure 15: What do different age groups listen to?



²⁵ Communities were left to self-define who fell into the different age categories. As a guideline, children are roughly aged ten and under, teenagers (remaja) 10-20. Indonesians are commonly still considered 'youth' until the age of 35.

Men are primarily interested in news: 68% say this is what they tune in for. Young people and teenagers are particularly interested in music and entertainment, although these shows are popular across the board (except with the elderly). It is also worth noting the popularity of religious programming, which appeals to women more than news and is also popular with the elderly.

Public Outreach on Radio Must be Entertaining

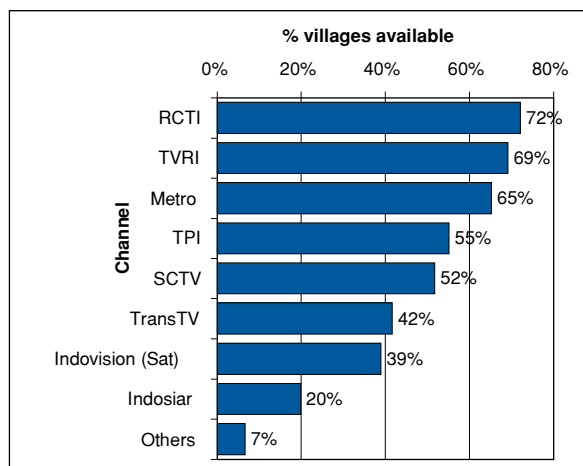
Radio is a source of entertainment as much as it is a source of hard information. No matter how important or worthy the subject matter, public information radio programming must be careful to entertain as well as inform, or risk losing a proportion of the audience. For example, mixing music with talk shows, quizzes or interactive programming with prizes is much more likely to be successful than monotonous, hour-long talk shows.

2.3 Television

Television is available in every village...

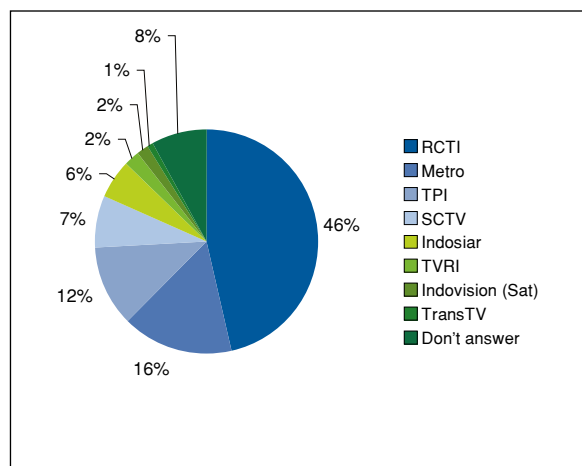
Television signal is ubiquitous across Aceh. Just two communities (both rural) from the entire sample report having no access to television.

Figure 16: % of villages where different channels are available



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Figure 17: Preferred channel



Aceh's favourite station is the Jakarta-based RCTI – like most of those listed here, a national service. It is both the most popular station, and the one with the biggest reach. The second-most accessible station, national state broadcaster TVRI, can be picked up by 69% communities but is extremely unpopular. This is frustrating from an outreach perspective: TVRI is the only station that produces and broadcasts local Acehnese content, making it the only viable option for Aceh-specific programming. Unfortunately, it the station of choice for just 2% of the villages sampled.²⁶

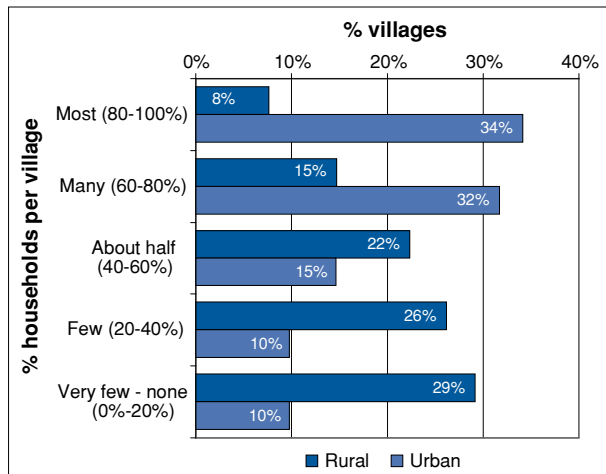
... But Few Households Own Television Sets

Despite the ubiquity of the signal, actual ownership of television sets is low. Outside urban areas, relatively few households own television sets; rural families are half as likely to own a television set as their urban counterparts.²⁷

²⁶ We suspect that these high levels of access are based on ownership of satellites dishes in remote areas, which make television accessible to anyone. 39% of communities report that they receive satellite carrier Indovision, suggesting that these communities rely on satellite to access the full spectrum of networks. As such, good coverage is actually reliant on ownership – if you can afford to own a television, and you (or a neighbour) own a satellite dish, you can access television, but if you cannot, then television signal is not as freely available. Multiple households can share dishes – up to 500 households at a time, according to estimates elsewhere in Indonesia (Sen and Hill 1999, p. 117).

²⁷ Mean for rural villages was 1.47, compared with 2.71 in urban villages.

Figure 18: Household television ownership: urban and rural villages (% response in each category)



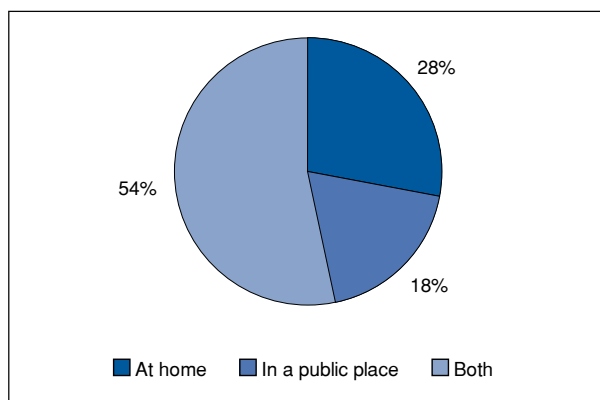
Source: Media Mapping Dataset

transitional shelter and early return areas.³¹ As household ownership in tsunami communities catches up with those in unaffected areas, it seems clear that families are purchasing private, household sets. This suggests a commensurate rise in disposable family income in the tsunami zone.

Communal Watching Offsets Low Television Ownership

Television is slightly more likely to be consumed in private than in public, but both are common.

Figure 19: Where do people watch television?



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Mid-level conflict zones also report particularly low rates of television ownership.³²

Communal television watching presents an interesting variable for outreach. On the one hand, people are less likely to be giving the TV their full attention if they are sitting with friends or eating, and their recall of information broadcast may be proportionally less. On the other hand, the opportunities for generating

Ownership Rates Similar in Tsunami-affected and Unaffected Villages

At the same time, the evidence from tsunami zone indicates that television sets are considered important household commodities. Household ownership of television sets in disaster areas is almost exactly on par with non-tsunami areas, adding to the evidence of a post-tsunami recovery, and indicating the high priority that the survivors place on television ownership.²⁸ This is a huge change from August 2005, when ownership of TVs in tsunami-affected populations was reported at just 3%.²⁹ Unlike radios and newspapers, televisions have not been widely distributed, so this recovery has been largely spontaneous.³⁰

In the early days after the tsunami, communities banded together to purchase communal TV sets for

Communities tend to watch more television communally as household ownership drops. In rural villages, where communities were half as likely to own television sets, 20% report that they watch television in a public place, compared to 7% in urban areas. Communal watching is also more common in tsunami-affected areas, where just 12% of respondents say they only watch TV at home. As with radio, this is likely to reflect higher levels of communal living in barracks and camps.

Running counter to overall trends, a high 31% of communities in mid-level conflict zones say that they watch television together, compared with 17% and 12% in high and low conflict villages respectively.

²⁸ Mean score for affected areas was 1.5, compared with 1.6 in not/little-affected areas.

²⁹ UN-OCHA (2005, p. 8). Respondents were asked how many households in their community owned television sets. The figure 3% represents an average.

³⁰ Although some agencies working in barracks and camps have established communal television watching areas.

³¹ As observed by the authors during post-tsunami field work.

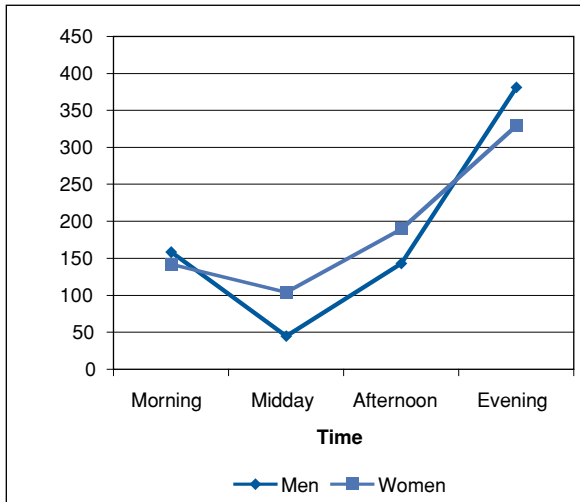
³² Means: High = 1.68, Medium = 1.18, Low = 1.69.

group discussions, either planned or spontaneous, are greatly enhanced by communal viewing: people are far more likely to discuss something they have just seen with their friends in a communal context.

Who's Watching, and What's On?

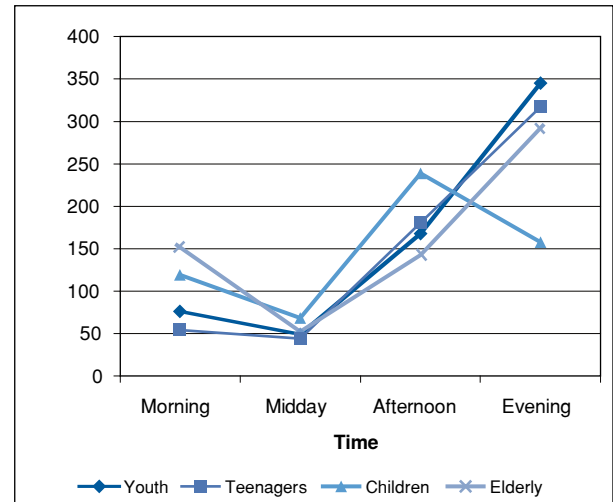
Almost everybody watches television, and most are watching in the evening. Men were said to watch television in 97% of villages; women in 91% of villages joined them.

Figure 20: When do men and women watch television?



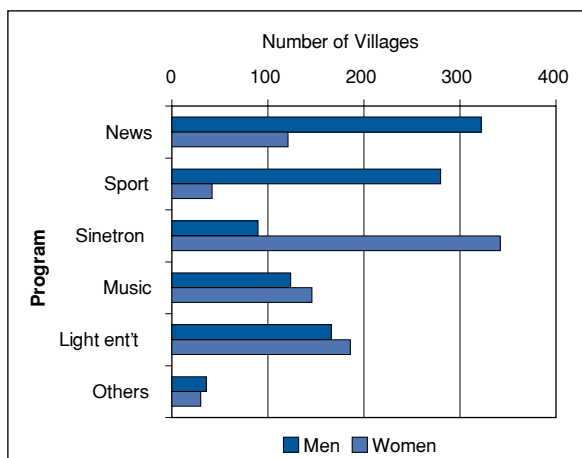
Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Figure 21: When do different age groups watch television?



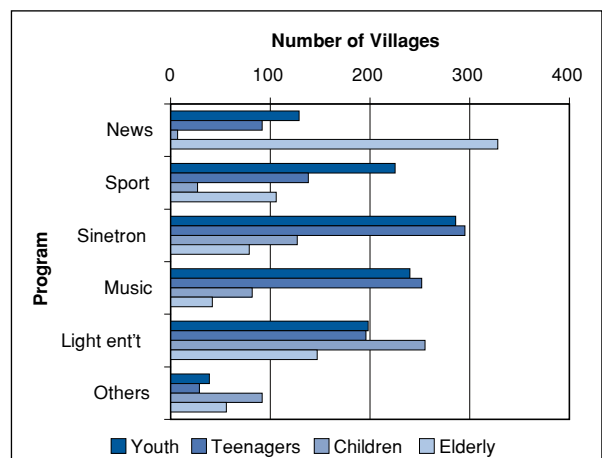
In the morning figures are low across the board, with just over one-third of men watching, and similar numbers of women and children. By midday, figures have fallen sharply: the most significant daytime audiences are women (26%) and children (32%). More children watch in the afternoon than at any other time of day. Audience numbers peak in the evening, when 93% of communities said the men in their village were watching, while 81% said that women were too.

Figure 22: What do men and women watch?



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Figure 23: What do different age groups watch?



Viewing patterns conform to gender stereotypes and expected patterns of behaviour. As with radio, news is most important to male audiences (mentioned by 82%), followed by sport (71%). Women, on the other hand, display little interest in traditional news bulletins (31%), and even less in sport (11%), but love *sinetron* (drama/soap opera, 87%) and light entertainment (47%). Young people are also much more interested in *sinetron*, music and sport than they are in news programming, and children are most likely to watch light entertainment shows. Light entertainment programming appears to have the greatest across-the-board appeal, and everyone enjoys music programs.

Box 3. Using Television for Public Outreach

It is unfortunate that such a popular medium is so difficult to use for outreach purposes in Aceh. The most viable option is to use the slots dedicated to local programming on TVRI, but, as noted, TVRI is remarkably unpopular.

There may be some potential for developing programming directed at women and children on TVRI during their local afternoon slots, when the proportion of women and children viewers is at its highest. However, it seems unlikely that many children watch TVRI, and it would take time (and a great deal of money) to build up a popular following.

Aceh-specific or Aceh-relevant programming on national television, particularly RCTI, may gain a better audience, but this type of programming has limited application. TV news is especially popular with men, who will avidly consume and national television coverage of Acehese news, for example. However, only certain types of stories attract national media attention.

With significant investment, agencies could develop national television programming to address broader themes, of relevance to Aceh as well as to other parts of Indonesia. Public service messages with a nation-wide remit could include disaster preparedness, health issues, or peace education.

2.4 Telephones

Telecommunications are potentially a very valuable resource for outreach, but are currently under-exploited. Telephones can connect users to access helpdesks or hotlines, can allow them to stay in touch with project officers, and can be used to take part in other media activities such as phone-ins. Text messaging in particular is a popular new medium with potential for two-way communication.

Few Communities Have Access to Public Telephone Kiosks (Wartel)

Communal landlines or *wartels* provide access to telephones for those unable or unwilling to invest in a mobile or landline. They are cheap (cheaper than mobile phones) and are particularly popular for long distance calls. Anonymity is more assured with public phones, which might have been important during the conflict. However, public phones are a one-way communication channel; people can only call out using *wartels*, and cannot receive calls.

Communities with access to public phones in Aceh are in the minority. Just 20% of villages say that they have a local *wartel*. Access to public phones is particularly low in rural areas, with 85% of the communities sampled saying that there are no *wartel* in their area.³³

Although the rise of mobile phones means that public phones may be becoming outmoded, they nevertheless

³³ 'Urban' areas had far higher access to wartel, with 68% saying they had a wartel in the vicinity of their village. However, one of the indicators BPS survey data uses to classify urban communities is the presence of a wartel. As such, urban areas are, by definition, the ones with public phones, and therefore we would actually expect to see access to public phones in urban communities closer to 100%. Reduced numbers of wartel in urban areas may be the result of tsunami damage.

provide the only option for the still-sizable proportion of Acehnese who cannot afford mobile phones or landlines. This suggests that the poorest members of many remote communities in Aceh are cut off, without access to telecommunications.

Private Landline Connections are Scarce

Few homes in Aceh have fixed-line telephone access. Just 12% of villages sampled say that 40% or more households are connected to a landline,³⁴ although this rises to 42% in urban communities.³⁵

Tsunami areas are slightly less likely to have landlines than non-affected areas. Earthquake and tsunami damage to landline infrastructure plays a part in this, although it is likely that terrestrial connections were uncommon even before the disaster. In any case, repairing damaged landlines has not been a priority. Telephone cable technology has been superseded by CDMA, which uses radio waves to provide home and business connections.

High and low conflict areas also follow the general trends, but communities that have experienced mid-level conflict are less likely to have terrestrial connections – just 4% of communities have home phones in more than 40% of households.

Mobile Phones

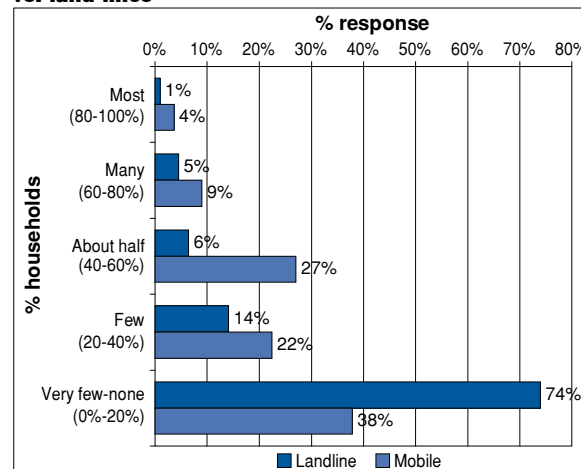
Indonesia as whole is experiencing an explosion in the use of mobile telephones. Across the country, commercial studies estimate that the number of people who own mobile phones is expected to double between 2005 and 2007 from 42 to 89 million,³⁶ while competition between providers is driving costs down. Rates of mobile phone ownership among all sectors of society, including the rural poor, will only increase over the coming years.

Mobile Phone Ownership is on the Rise in Aceh

Mobile phone owners in Aceh are still in the minority, but there is strong evidence to suggest that numbers are rising rapidly. Mobile phones are already challenging landlines as the predominant personal communications device; taken as an average, Acehnese households are almost as likely to own mobile phones as they are landlines.³⁷

Further, as Figure 24 illustrates, more communities have high concentrations of mobile phones than landlines.

Figure 24: Household ownership of mobile phones vs. land lines



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

³⁴ N = 311. Many villages surveyed did not even answer this question, which might suggest they do not have landlines at all.

³⁵ Although on average the difference works out to be fairly slight. Mean score rural: 1.48; mean score urban: 1.59.

³⁶ Indonesia Mobile Market (2006).

³⁷ Mean score landline: 1.49, compared with mean score for mobile phone: 1.46.

These higher concentrations of mobile phones are primarily found in urban areas, where households are typically more affluent. Urban households are far more likely to own mobile phones than their rural cousins: 74% of urban communities say that 40% or more of their members own a mobile phone, and only 8% say very few or no people have mobiles.

Nevertheless, mobile phone ownership in rural areas is still significant. Although figures are lower in rural areas, nearly a quarter (24%) of villages still report that around 40% or more households own one,³⁸ and anecdotally we know this figure is rising.

Mobile Phone Ownership High in the Tsunami Zone

Relatively high ownership in many tsunami-affected areas contributes to the picture of post-tsunami recovery.³⁹ The disastrous destruction of telecommunications infrastructure may have accelerated the province-wide trend. Those in tsunami areas who lost access to communal and home phones have moved quickly into mobile ownership. As with television, there have been no aid projects distributing or otherwise promoting the ownership of mobile phones. Climbing rates of mobile ownership seem to have happened spontaneously – mobile phone purchase is clearly another priority for those with disposable income.

Communities in high conflict areas actually own more mobile phones than those in low conflict areas. The most deprived areas again are middle ranking conflict areas, where the number of communities reporting few or no mobiles is 39%.⁴⁰

Who Owns Mobile Phones?

The presence of even a few mobile phones in a village creates possibilities for communicating with communities. It may be possible to send important messages via mobile phone to one or two key phone owners, who can then take on responsibility for disseminating the message more widely – for instance, by posting it on a notice board.

The most important questions for outreach related to mobile phones are, who owns mobile phones, and are these people in a position to act as information gateways? In the absence of further data, we can only speculate. Being able to afford a mobile phone suggests a certain degree of affluence, so owners are most likely to be wealthier members of the community. Local entrepreneurs and traders may use phones to conduct business, as may local officials and program field staff, at least at the sub-district level. Mobiles are also popular with teenagers and young people. Interestingly, discussions with GAM leadership have found that most former combatants now own mobile phones.⁴¹

In the next section, villagers identify the Village Head as the key information holder within the village. Where village leaders are reasonably well off, then, they may own a mobile phone. However, this is by no means guaranteed, and it should fall to program field staff to identify who in the community – be it a small entrepreneur or a local official – has a mobile phone, and can be trusted to pass information on.

³⁸ Mean score: Rural = 1.4; Urban = 2.02.

³⁹ Mean score: Affected = 1.42; Not/little affected = 1.47. As with radios, households in tsunami-affected areas are both more and less likely to own mobile phones. On average, tsunami-affected and unaffected households are equally likely to possess mobiles phones.

⁴⁰ Mean scores: High = 1.79, Medium = 0.96, Low = 1.57.

⁴¹ Discussion with Irwandi Yusuf, former Senior GAM representative to the Aceh Monitoring Mission.

Box 4. Using Mobile Phones for Outreach: Text Messaging

Text messaging offers enormous and largely untapped potential for community outreach. Text messages or SMS are cheap, easy and popular, and can deliver information literally into the hands of any number of beneficiaries instantaneously. ‘Texting’ can pass on information with a level of specificity and timeliness that is otherwise very difficult to achieve. Last-minute messages, such as schedules for food aid deliveries, can be delivered by SMS. Recipient lists can be easily tailored to include only those in a certain geographical area, or messages can be programmed to reach the entire population of Aceh simultaneously. Text messaging can also overcome intermittent network coverage, as text messages are saved until a phone is switched on and the network is available.

The commercial sector is already picking up on the potential of text messages. Local radio stations ask listeners to text rather than call in record requests, and mobile companies themselves text their users with details of special offers. Even the national Indonesian government has experimented with SMS messaging and public outreach, using the Telkomsel network to send SMS to Telkomsel clients across the archipelago, for instance with anti-drugs messages.

As noted, the challenge is to ensure that information delivered by text message is passed on to others who need to receive it. It would be useful to trial the use of text messaging for outreach purposes, to gain an indication of usage and interaction. A trial could examine how people respond to group messages, whether they take in information, and explore ways to encourage phone owners to disseminate information more widely.

Text messaging is also an inexpensive way for mobile phone owners to contact program staff, local government and others, and has application for asking questions and reporting complaints. However, a complaints-handling mechanism that begins with SMS reporting is useless unless there is someone on the other end of the message that can respond in a meaningful way.

2.5 Summary

Reach and Distribution

For those working on media outreach in Aceh, many of these results are encouraging. Overall, mass media distribution networks in Aceh are strong. Newspapers are available in 81% of the communities sampled, radio signal in 88%, and television (with the aid of satellite dishes) in close to 100%.

Serambi is the most significant publication in terms of reach, available in almost three-quarters of the sampled communities. It is also the clear frontrunner in terms of popularity. Rival publication *Waspada* has somewhat better coverage in Aceh Singkil and Aceh Tamiang.

However, while newspaper coverage is good, it is not comprehensive, and distribution is patchy in a number of districts. These include the central Acehnese districts of Gayo Lues, Bener Meriah, and Central Aceh, as well as Aceh Tamiang, East Aceh, Aceh Jaya, and Nagan Raya. Use of localized publications, especially in areas that do not receive *Serambi*, therefore remains necessary for truly comprehensive outreach. The district-based publication *Seuramoe*, which is published and distributed in Aceh Jaya and Nagan Raya, is the primary source of news for communities in those areas.

Combined, local radio stations reach two-thirds of the sample, as does state broadcaster RRI, but the amount of overlap between the two is strikingly limited to just 42% of communities. Almost one-quarter

of the population can only tune in to RRI, and a further quarter can only tune in to a local radio station.

Where people have a choice, local stations are usually more popular than state radio. As such, it is best to work through local stations where they are available. Nevertheless, parallel broadcasting on RRI is necessary to achieve the most comprehensive coverage.

RCTI is the most watched television station in Aceh, in terms of reach and popularity, but as a national broadcaster it is difficult to use for campaigns targeted at the Aceh audience. The only station airing Aceh specific programming, TVRI, has good coverage but is remarkably unpopular. Local content on TVRI is broadcast in the afternoon, when overall audience numbers are at their lowest.

Ownership and Public Access

Although media coverage is widespread in Aceh, universal access is far from assured. Not everyone in Aceh can afford to buy newspapers, radios, televisions, or telephones. Radio ownership, for example, is solid but not ubiquitous. Half of the communities surveyed report that 40% or more households in the village own a radio set. Households are even less likely to own television sets.

Patterns of communal use offset this picture somewhat. Multiple readers in public places, such as coffee shops, typically share newspapers. Television sets are also more likely to be watched communally than privately, increasingly so as household ownership rates fall. However, consumption of media, and of newspapers especially, in public spaces may mean that women are effectively excluded, creating a gender bias that must be taken into consideration. Radio is more commonly listened to privately, in the home.

Of all the media examined in this study, mobile phones have the greatest untapped potential. Households with mobile phones are still in the minority, but they are set to eclipse the number with landlines soon; significantly, mean ownership of mobile phones in rural areas is similar to that in urban areas. In the absence of other options (85% of villages said they did not even have access to a public phone), mobile phones may constitute a useful channel for feeding information into communities, as well as for application in complaints reporting systems.

Use

Radio audiences fluctuate throughout the day. Men tune in during the morning and the evening, while women listen more consistently throughout the day. As such, radio programming designed for a female audience is best aired around midday, when women have the most control over what they listen.

By contrast, television consumption peaks in the evening across all demographics except children. Children are most likely to be watching television in the afternoon, and children's programming may be an effective (if costly) way of reaching an otherwise difficult group.

Radio and television are viewed as much as sources of entertainment as they are of hard news and information. Programming aimed at communities for outreach should reflect this. Music programs are popular in both media; programs can be designed to incorporate music during phone-ins or can use request shows as vehicles for Public Service Announcements or quizzes. Where appropriate, working with religious programming also has potential.

NAMA ANGGOTA BELUM SETOR
BULAN PK BULAN FEBRUARI

4. Kelompok HYOKO

1. YOKOMIYA SUNAT	1 BULAN MEMUNDI	Rp. 110.000
2. HEROKAS TORESTO	1 BULAN MEMUNDI	Rp. 93.330
3. MURAHCI PATUSINA	1 1/2 BULAN MEMUNDI	Rp. 240.100
	MEMUNDI	Rp. 48.400
		Rp. 195.050
		97.600
		400
		24.700
		96.700

3. INFORMATION FLOW WITHIN COMMUNITIES

The information needs of communities cover a wide spectrum of issues, ranging from knowledge of political events such as elections through to location-specific information such as when housing construction will be completed. Even the most comprehensive mass media outreach campaign will not adequately meet community needs for this kind of information and communication. The second part of this study, therefore, addresses the question of localized information flow into, and within, communities.

The challenge faced by aid agencies is not just how to improve information transfer to beneficiaries, but also how to do this in such a way so as to promote dialogue and information exchange. The desired end result is a dialogue, rather than one-way information flow. Exploring this process fully is beyond the scope of this study.⁴² However, it is worth some discussion. To begin this process, agencies must understand how to stimulate information sharing, knowledge and dialogue at the village level. How is information brought into communities, and how does it circulate? Mass media plays a role, and ‘community’ media, like local newsletters and radio stations, go some way towards providing locally relevant information. Anecdotally, we know that information circulates in communities by word-of-mouth, gossip, and rumour. The best communications strategies harness the power of rumour to create interest in the program or process, but information spread via word of mouth is prone to distortion. Clear and correct information must be available to counter gossip and misinformation.

This section will look at four key channels for formal communication at the village level: key information holders, community meetings, cultural and religious gatherings, and public information boards. For most villagers, community meetings and consultations provide the best opportunity they have to access information most relevant to themselves and their communities, to ask questions, to provide input, and make complaints. Public notice boards provide a simple, inexpensive way of maintaining a record of policy and program issues that affect the community, decisions and pledges made, project progress, and expenditures.

In a sense, the presence or absence of public meetings and notice boards can be used as proxies: meetings for levels of participation and consultation; boards for ongoing accountability and transparency. However, the extent to which we can assess the *quality* of these interactions and the information disseminated through these channels is limited. Meetings and boards are discussed here as minimum conditions for good intra-village communications, but their presence alone does not mean they are being used effectively. Here we discuss some of the challenges.

3.1 Key Information Holders

In each community, there are people who act as information nodes, or gatekeepers. These figures are seen to have privileged access to information from exclusive sources, which might include local government (Village Heads and sometimes other community leaders), aid and development programs (program facilitators), or other networks (notably, in Aceh, the Free Aceh Movement – GAM). These and other community leaders may also have better access to mass media than average villagers, as they are more likely to have superior education and wealth. These are the people that communities rely on to pass on important information, via word of mouth, public announcements, in community meetings, and by posting information.

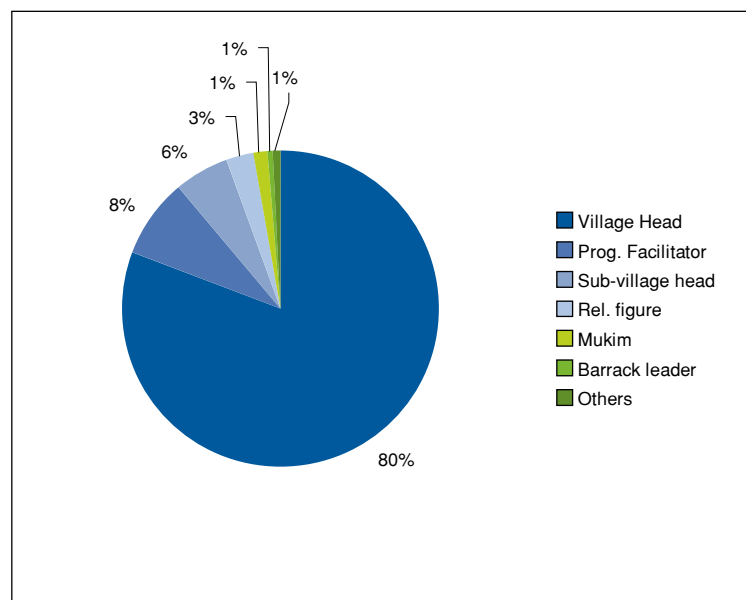
Village Head Seen as the Primary Information Holder

In Aceh, the Village Head, or *Geucik*, is overwhelmingly listed as the key information figure, in 80% of communities overall.⁴³

⁴² For a detailed analysis of these issues in the context of project implementation in tsunami-affected areas, see Wu (2005).

⁴³ N = 339. A survey error meant that some communities did not give valid responses to this question.

Figure 25: Who is the key information holder in the community?



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

The *Geucik's* dominance in this role is consistent across locations. In tsunami-affected areas, the Village Head lost a little ground to program facilitators, who were cited as key information sources more often than in non-tsunami-affected areas (14% versus 6%). This reflects the large number of reconstruction and aid programs operating in tsunami-affected areas. Urban areas show slightly more variation than rural areas, with sub-village heads, religious figures and program facilitators each cited as the key information source around 7% of the time. Villagers are slightly more likely to cite Village Heads as key information sources in high conflict areas (84%) than in low conflict places (80%).

Clearly then, public outreach must directly target these key information nodes, particularly Village Heads. This seems obvious, yet villager assumptions that village leaders have privileged access to information are often incorrect, and leaders are frequently left under informed and ill equipped to answer constituents' questions. This is evident from the following example.

Box 5. One Newspaper Advertisement + Word of Mouth = 49,000 proposals

In April 2006, the Aceh Reintegration Agency (BRA) took out a one-page advertisement in Serambi newspaper explaining the eligibility criteria and mechanism for communities to access 'reintegration funds', or compensation for victims of conflict promised in the MOU. This included a call for individuals to write proposals for economic empowerment and livelihoods programs.

GAM ex-combatants were already familiar with a proposal-based mechanism to provide livelihoods assistance to ex-combatants, which was operating in parallel with the civilian reintegration fund scheme. Communities therefore sought information from regional KPA offices (the GAM transitional body) and local ex-combatants about how to write proposals and access funds. In many parts of Aceh, regional KPA members actively encouraged communities to write proposals, provided templates and examples to copy, and collated and delivered proposals to the BRA office in Banda Aceh.⁴⁴ Naturally, communities were anxious to access funds and submitted proposals by the

⁴⁴ Interviews with KPA members in North Aceh (Governor, Vice-Governor, Panglima Sagoe, June 17 2006) and Aceh Jaya (GAM representative to the AMM, May 29 2006).

thousands. By the end of June, the BRA had received around 49,000 proposals, most naming multiple beneficiaries, in all covering around a sixth of the entire population of Aceh.

However, the proposal-based mechanism was never actually explained to sub-provincial government officials, nor was a decree issued to sub-district or village-level heads. This caused a number of problems. Local governments were anxious about having to sign-off on villager proposals when they themselves had never received formal notification of their role. Tensions emerged between local government and local KPA in North Aceh when the former questioned the role KPA was playing in encouraging proposals. When a second advertisement appeared giving a sunset date for proposals to be received, many local government officials missed it, or even ignored it.⁴⁵

Communities grew frustrated at the lack of clear information, especially as many went into debt to write proposals for funds that never came. Local government leaders have borne the brunt of that frustration, and their credibility has been further undermined.

The mechanism for communities to access reintegration funds has since been revised, as the earlier system was unworkable. Careful attention must be paid to informing key people of the changes, and the justifications for them.

Disincentives for Passing on Information

Providing key information nodes with complete information is a minimum condition for successful outreach, but it is not adequate in and of itself. As figures of authority, who traditionally make decisions on behalf of the community, Village Heads may not see the necessity of passing information on. Certainly, Village Heads and other figures who abuse their power – siphoning funds, reselling donated goods, and so on – have clear disincentives to promote transparency and keep their constituents informed. Corruption among Village Heads has been a common problem within tsunami response projects, particularly given the tendency of some aid agencies to simply sign goods over to Village Heads for distribution.⁴⁶ This only underlines the importance of providing direct information to the community at large through other channels – mass media, public meetings, and so on. Simply informing communities about what aid they should be receiving empowers them to hold their local leadership to account.

3.2 Public Meetings

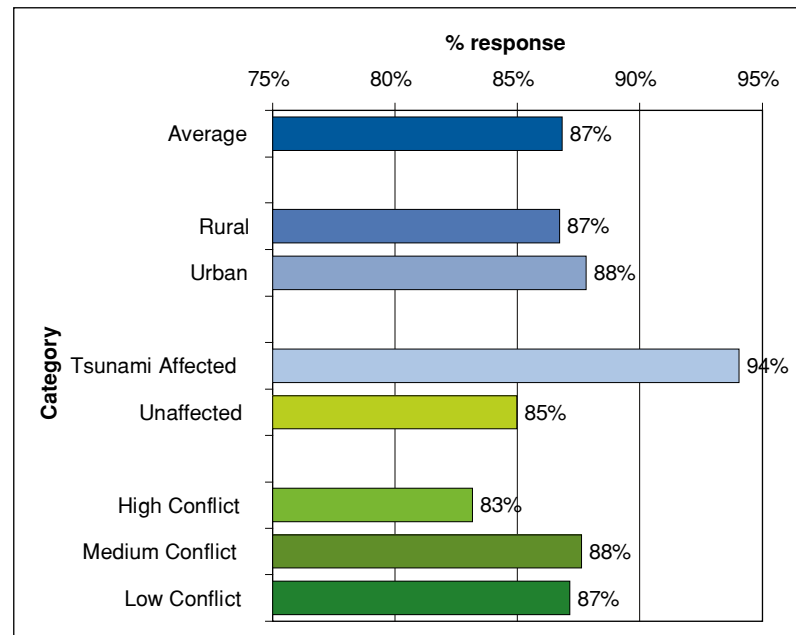
Public meetings are common throughout Aceh. Across the sample, a high 87% of communities report congregating in public meetings, called either by the village government or aid and development programs.⁴⁷ Interestingly, these are just as common in urban as rural areas.

⁴⁵ Interviews with Kecamatan Secretary, Kecamatan Krueng Sabee, Aceh Jaya, May 30 2006.

⁴⁶ See CDA (2005, pp. 6-7).

⁴⁷ Communities were asked the question: 'Where does the community congregate/gather?' and were asked to select as many as were relevant from the following list: Village meetings, Program meetings, Religious events, Cultural events, Other. For the purposes of analysis, village (government) and program meetings were initially grouped together; i.e., where villages reported that they had participated in a village and/or a program meeting, we said that villagers had gathered in some kind of public meeting. This is because there was a great deal of overlap in these two responses, as program meetings typically involve local government and villagers may not have distinguished between the two. Following analysis of the aggregate figures, we broke them down again to compare the two. Religious and cultural events were similarly aggregated, as religion and culture in Aceh are intertwined.

Figure 26: % communities that congregated in public (government and/or program) meetings: average, urban/rural, tsunami, conflict



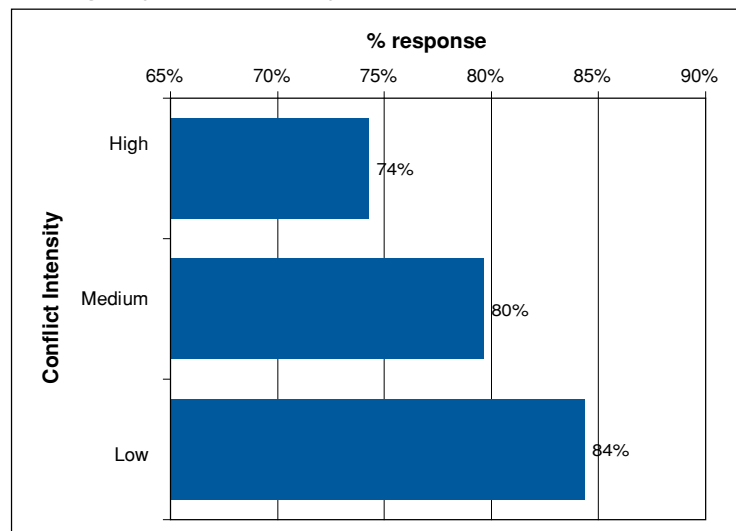
Source: Media Mapping Dataset

The intensity of reconstruction work in tsunami-affected areas seems to have had a positive impact on levels of public discussion and participation. 94% of villages in tsunami-affected areas report that they congregate in public meetings, compared with 85% in low and unaffected areas.

Negative Impact of High Conflict on Community Meetings

Communities in high conflict areas, however, are significantly less likely to gather in village meetings, particularly those called by village government, than in other areas. Just 74% of villages in high conflict areas report holding village meetings, compared to 84% in low conflict areas.

Figure 27: % communities that congregate in village (government) meetings: by conflict intensity



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Local governments are also far less likely to hold meetings specifically to ‘socialize’ the peace agreement to villagers in high conflict areas than in low conflict zones. When asked to identify the sources from which they had received information about the Helsinki Memorandum of Understanding, communities that have suffered high levels of conflict are *three times less* likely to have received information about the MOU in government meetings than in low conflict areas, in 10% versus 30% of cases respectively.

Impacts of Conflict on Village Governance

These findings reflect the broader impacts of conflict on village governance. In their analysis of why the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (COHA) failed in 2002, Aspinall and Crouch (2003) and Huber (2003) note that local governance had broken down in conflict areas. Village Heads would have been reticent or unable to call village meetings. During the separatist war, Village Heads were seen as extensions and representatives of the state, and were viewed with suspicion. They were often victims of extortion, intimidation and violence.

“The village heads in remote areas often have to sleep in the police office or *Camat* (sub-district head’s) office. 300 village heads have been killed across Aceh... All the village heads in our sub-district went to the *Camat* and asked to resign because it is very hard for us to do this job.”

Village Head, South Aceh⁴⁸

Communities were also reticent to attend government meetings. With relation to the peace agreement in particular, villagers in at least some conflict-affected areas reportedly do not trust information about the peace agreement coming from the government, preferring other sources.

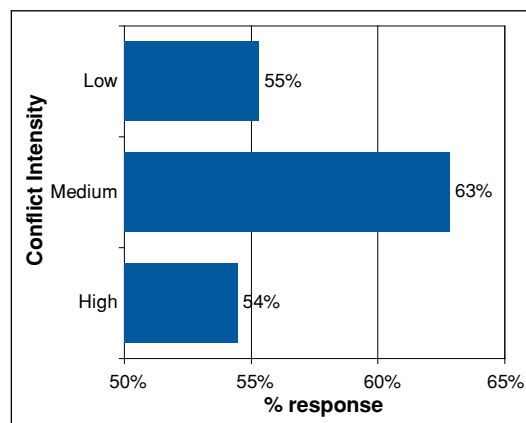
“If the government holds socialization meetings, villagers do not want to come. They only believe it if GAM says it to be true.”

Religious Leader, Nibong sub-district, North Aceh, 17 June 2006

Program Meetings Unaffected by Conflict

In contrast to medium intensity conflict areas, communities in high and low conflict-affected areas are equally likely to congregate in meetings called by aid or development programs, in 54% and 55% of villages surveyed respectively.⁴⁹

Figure 28: % communities that congregate in program meetings: by conflict intensity



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

⁴⁸ Barron, Clark and Daud (2005, p. 32).

⁴⁹ The reported rate of program meetings in medium-level conflict areas was higher at 63% than in high or low conflict areas, continuing the pattern of incongruous findings coming out of medium-level conflict zones. This is especially odd considering that medium-level conflict zones correlate more with non-tsunami zones, where we would expect to see fewer programs operating in fewer villages. We could speculate that where fewer programs are active, communities are more motivated to participate in the ones available. However, this probably warrants further study. Note also that high and low conflict areas are equally likely to have suffered tsunami damage. Frequency of village program meetings in high conflict areas is therefore not attributable to reconstruction programming and associated village meetings.

This suggests that aid and development projects are, to some extent, immune from the factors that have damaged local government. There are several reasons why this might be the case. Aid and development programs can have the advantage of perceived political neutrality and can avoid the negative connotations of association with the state.⁵⁰ The corollary of the breakdown in formal village governance may be higher levels of community trust and faith in alternative systems, including outside development programs.⁵¹ Finally, the lure of funding and assistance encourages community participation and may overcome villager reticence.

Box 6. Implications for Working in Post-Conflict Areas

Agencies working in post-conflict communities should not underestimate the impact of conflict dynamics on community meeting habits. During the conflict, many communities suffered serious reprisals for speaking out or asking questions of local government. Even today, communities are not only less likely to trust government sources, but can also be reluctant speak out when they witness problems or corruption.⁵²

It is vital to ensure that conflict-affected communities are adequately informed (and convinced) of progress relating to community 'reintegration funding', the Law on Governing Aceh, elections and other aspects of the ongoing peace process. However, the evidence suggests that using formal village government channels for socialization and information sharing will be less effective in precisely those communities that have suffered the most from conflict. For government agencies, like the elections body KIP and the reintegration authority BRA, this will present a particular challenge.

This means preparing local government, but not relying on government networks to reach the village level. Earlier we emphasised that providing Village Heads with complete information is important, but in conflict areas it seems this information is less likely to be passed on in a formal way as Village Heads are viewed with suspicion and the danger associated with acting as *Geucik* mean that those in the job may not be the most capable.

At the same time, excluding or bypassing government for outreach is counter-productive. The challenge for programs and campaigns is to convince communities of neutrality and provide separate and distinct opportunities for communities to access information, such as dedicated meetings and events, while maintaining a role for local government and keeping them in the loop. Providing village leaders with access to information and encouraging them to pass on information effectively could improve the credibility and usefulness of local officials, and may go some way towards rebuilding villagers' faith in local governance.

3.3 Informal Community Gatherings

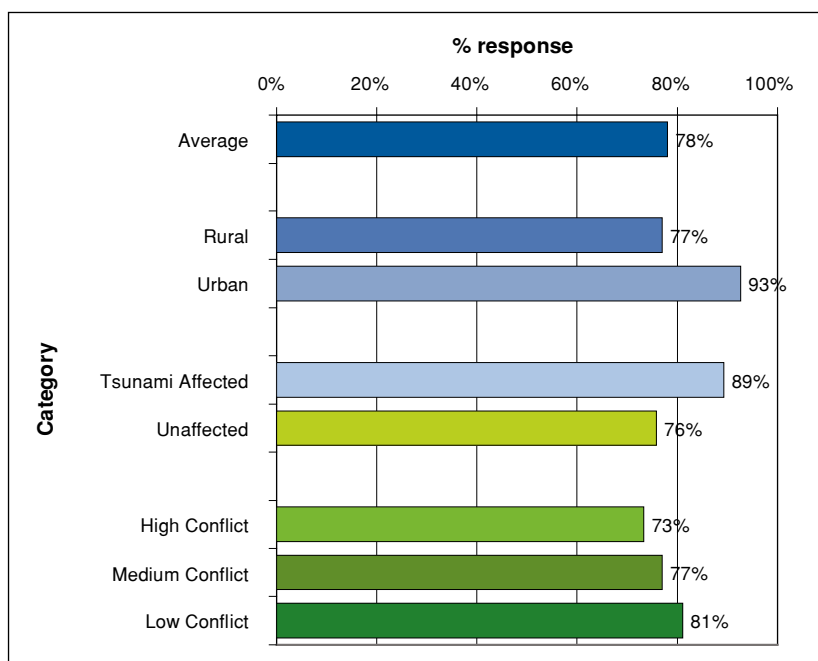
In Aceh, local culture and especially religion are extremely important to people. Religious and cultural events that bring people together informally and in large numbers also represent useful opportunities for community outreach. 79% of all villages surveyed report congregating at religious and/or cultural events.

⁵⁰ During periods of conflict, facilitators working for the GOI/World Bank Kecamatan Development Program, which has operated in Aceh since 1999, reported disassociating themselves from the government and presented themselves instead as working for an internationally sponsored development program, in order to allay community suspicion as well as deflect potential violence and extortion. Guggenheim (2005).

⁵¹ Barron, Diprose and Woolcock (2006) look at the potential for development project fora and meetings at village level to act as neutral space between conflicting parties, where problems can be raised and resolved (pp. 90-96). In Aceh, these meetings may act as neutral spaces, separate from the conflict environment.

⁵² Wall (2006, p. 24).

Figure 29: % communities that congregate in religious/cultural events: average, urban/rural, tsunami, conflict



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

Communities in tsunami-affected areas are more likely to come together for religious/cultural events than those in non-tsunami-affected areas. It is interesting to speculate that this may reflect increased religious piety amongst tsunami-survivors, although Acehnese actively practice their religion under any circumstances. Equally, outside actors may be responsible for providing survivors with cultural and religious edification as part of recovery work.

Box 7. Religious Gatherings for MOU Socialization

A primary mode of MOU ‘socialization’ has been to hold public *ceramah*, or religious addresses. KPA/GAM have been especially active in organizing *ceramah* in villages, particularly in GAM strongholds, but some local governments have held similar events. *Ceramah* are often held in open public spaces, such as soccer fields, and are delivered by *Ulama* (religious leaders) who frequently speak in Acehnese. One well-known *Ulama* from Bireuen has even produced a VCD of his MOU socialization lecture, which has been viewed as far away as Aceh Jaya.

The *ceramah* form is particularly suited for disseminating information. While it is religious in tone and is framed using Islamic phrases and concepts, interspersed with prayers and readings, it can also deal with secular issues and is essentially equivalent to making a speech. Like all oral media, this platform is best suited to socializing ideas and concepts. However, in addition to orally relating more specific information, the large gatherings provide scope to hand out written information to back up explanation of more detailed processes.

Incorporating socialization into religious and cultural events, or holding similar events for the purposes of socialization, are ways of reaching a large audience. If ‘piggy-backing’ on existing events, however, agencies

should be aware of how association with that event might reflect on the message they wish to convey. For example, passing out information at a KPA-sponsored rally may be a good way to reach people, but the agency then runs the risk of being seen as too close to GAM.

Women and Civic, Religious, and Cultural Participation

“Researcher: Are community meetings held in this village?

FGD participants: Yes, they are.

Researcher: Who usually attends?

FGD participants: Everyone, the whole community.

Researcher: Do women also attend?

FGD participants: Oh no, women don't attend, just men.”

FGD, Mamplam village, Nibong sub-district, North Aceh, 17 June 2006

Traditional Acehnese society effectively excludes women from civic life, but not from cultural and religious life. Practically speaking, it is difficult to get women to attend meetings or to elicit meaningful participation from them when they do, and unfortunately there are no simple solutions. However, women do participate – even if only passively – in religious and cultural ceremonies, celebrations and events.

In order to effectively reach women, programs need to go to where women are, rather than expect women to come to them. When communities were asked an open-ended question about how best to reach women, the most common responses were: through *quoranic* reading groups for women (*pengajian*) (26% - this increases to 32% if grouped with other religious activities); through formal women's activities such as health clinic days and Family Welfare Program meetings (25%); and through *arisan*⁵³ (12%). 40% gave an answer along the lines of a religious or cultural gathering.

Women-only gatherings have the advantage that they offer a forum for women to speak out with a confidence they may not feel in a mixed gathering, and on issues which they may not feel are appropriate for male ears.⁵⁴ At the same time, holding exclusive events and forums for women today does little to ensure women's participation in civic life tomorrow. A compromise may be to conduct outreach through less formal gatherings (such as *ceramah*), where women can legitimately congregate with men, even although they are sometimes physically separated from them.⁵⁵

3.4 Public Notice Boards

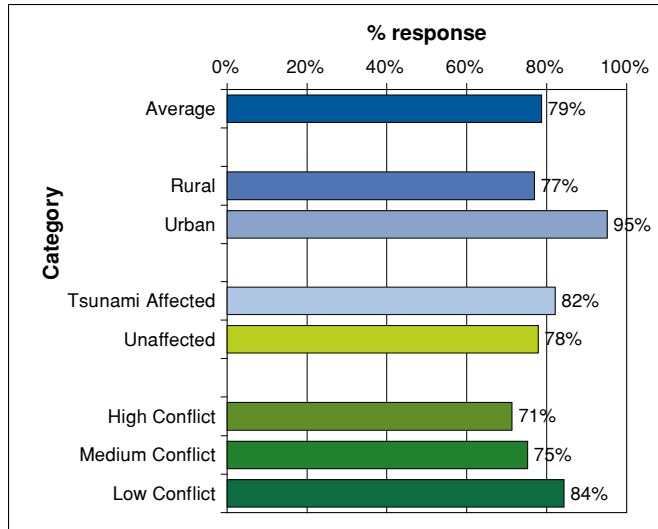
Notice boards are present in most villages in Aceh. 79% of villages in the sample have notice boards.

⁵³ Arisan is a kind of lottery that also functions as a social safety net. At regular meetings women each contribute a set amount of money to a common pot. At each meeting, one woman's name is drawn out of a hat, who takes home the combined pot. Once she has won, her name is no longer added to the hat, although she must continue to contribute money to the pot. In this way, each member eventually wins the lump sum. It is common for winners to pass their winnings on to members in genuine need, who then forfeit their own turn later on.

⁵⁴ For example, the need for sanitary towels as part of the provision of health aid, or their fears about sexual harassment in temporary accommodation. Interview with CRS representative, Meulaboh, May 2006.

⁵⁵ For more on how to promote effective women's participation in development programs, see World Bank (2002).

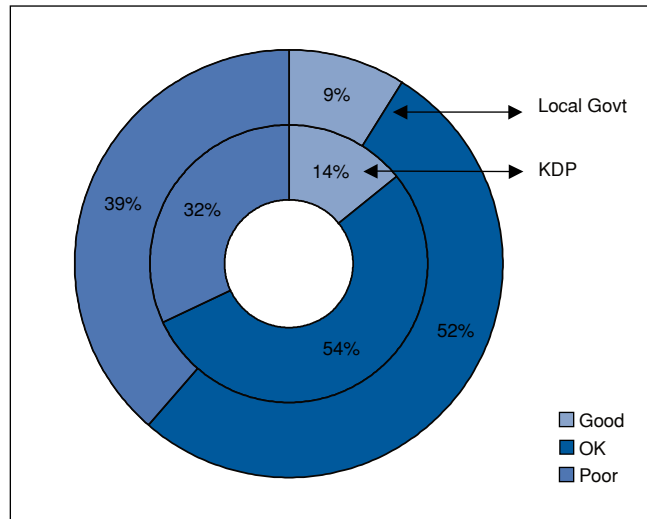
Figure 30: % villages where a notice board was present: average, urban/rural, tsunami, conflict



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

As with public meetings, the tsunami-aid effect has translated into slightly more notice boards in tsunami-affected villages (82%) than in unaffected villages (78%). Around a quarter of communities in high and mid-level conflict-affected communities do not possess notice boards, compared to 16% in low conflict areas. Notice boards are more common in urban communities (95%) than in rural villages (76%).

Figure 31: How communities rated quality of information provided on notice boards (government and KDP)



Source: Media Mapping Dataset

However, information provided on notice boards was very often of poor quality (see Figure 31).

To illustrate, just over half of the villages in the sample reported that they had access to an information board provided by government.⁵⁶ When asked to rate the quality of information available on the board, just 9% responded that it was ‘good’; i.e., that information was regularly updated, useful and visually attractive. 39% gave their government notice boards a ‘poor’ rating – information was out of date, incorrect or non-existent.⁵⁷

Notice boards are compulsory in the Kecamatan Development program (KDP), which operates in every rural village in Aceh. These fared slightly better, but 32% of communities still rated the information they contained ‘poor’.⁵⁸

Box 8. Working with Notice Boards for Outreach

In addition to providing notice boards, attention should be paid to maximizing their potential. Local governments and agencies must be vigilant about providing useful, up-to-date information on notice boards. Placement is also important – boards should be located in high traffic, public areas, and protected from the elements. Ideally, communities should be encouraged to think of boards as a communal resource, so that they can demand and even promote their effective use. Agencies can promote the sense of ownership by tasking villagers with upkeep and providing incentives, such as competitions for best boards.

3.5 Summary

Village Heads and other community leaders constitute an important link into communities, and a key source of information for villagers. Yet the idea that village leaders have privileged access to information is often incorrect, and leaders are frequently left unable to answer constituents’ questions. At the same time, it is important to note that village leaders are not always proactive in passing on information, and outreach should not be directed at them exclusively.

Public meetings are common throughout Aceh. Across the sample, a high 87% of communities report congregating in public meetings, called either by the village government or aid and development programs. The frequency of meetings held by village government drops significantly in high conflict areas, while rates of program meetings does not change, suggesting that aid and development projects are somewhat immune from the factors that have damaged local government.

Religious and cultural events also represent useful opportunities for community outreach and especially for targeting women, who can otherwise be difficult to reach. Notice boards are present in most villages in Aceh, but the quality of information they provide is often poor.

Improving Quality

Unfortunately, while informed community leaders, community meetings and notice boards are minimum conditions for good communications, they still do not necessarily add up to an informed populace. The

⁵⁶ N for government notice boards = 217. For this question, villages were asked to identify who (if anyone) provided the notice board/s in their village. They were then asked to rate the quality of the information provided from either: Good, OK, or Poor. Government and KDP boards are analysed here, as they were by far the most commonly reported boards present. Note: KDP is a government project, and hence KDP boards are in effect government notice boards, too. However, communities tend to distinguish between KDP and other government programs (see Barron, Clark and Daud 2005), and they are usually clearly distinguished by KDP branding. Hence we disaggregate during the analysis.

⁵⁷ N for KDP notice boards = 141.

⁵⁸ Approximately half of the media mapping data was collected by facilitators and volunteers from the KDP program, so this figure should be taken with a grain of salt. Nevertheless, KDP boards were not rated highly even under these conditions, underlining the problem.

absence of meetings and notice boards effectively precludes participation, transparency and so on, and as such their existence is a minimum requirement. However, the fact that a meeting was held does not mean that everyone actually attended, nor that they participated actively, just as the presence of a notice board similarly does not guarantee it will contain useful and up-to-date information, nor that people will actually read the information provided. Agencies engaged in community development and public outreach need to do more than check-the-boxes on holding public meetings and posting public notices. Attention must also be paid to the quality of information, and the avenues for participation, being provided.



4. DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATIONS IN TSUNAMI, CONFLICT, URBAN AND RURAL ENVIRONMENTS

This section draws together the practical implications for outreach practitioners working on tsunami reconstruction and post-conflict-related projects, by looking at the impacts of the tsunami and conflict on communications environments. The difference between urban and rural environments is the third major factor affecting community access to the various forms of media.

4.1 Tsunami Effects

Communications Recovery in Tsunami-affected Areas

The good news for agencies working in tsunami-affected areas is that the communication environment has largely recovered. The tsunami wreaked havoc on communications infrastructure, including roads, radio stations, and telecommunication networks; it destroyed personal devices including radios, televisions and telephones; and it devastated livelihoods and household incomes. Yet, 18 months after the disaster, the evidence shows that access, ownership and use of mass media forms in tsunami-affected areas has recovered. Indeed, tsunami-affected communities have *better* access to some forms of media than regions that were not affected. In May-June 2006, communities in the tsunami zone received more newspapers and were more likely to be able to tune in to a radio station. On average, radio, television and mobile phone ownership have essentially caught up to non-affected areas. Tsunami-affected communities are also more likely to report communal, shared use of newspapers, radios and television sets, extending the reach of these media even where few are available.

Factors Behind the Recovery

The local and international resources poured into post-disaster reconstruction of the media sector partly explains this recovery, particularly with relation to radio. Radio stations in Banda Aceh, West Aceh, Aceh Jaya and Simeulue, to name a few, have been rebuilt or newly-established with assistance from various agencies. Other agencies have distributed radio sets, most notably UNDP which provided 35,000 to tsunami-affected communities. Radios have not been distributed uniformly, but on the basis of need, which may explain why radios are concentrated in some areas rather than others.

Yet this recovery has not been entirely donor driven – private enterprise has also played a significant role. The continued dominance of *Serambi* in the Acehnese market is an example. UNFPA's free distribution of the *Serambi* newspaper to barracks and communities in tsunami-affected areas on Saturdays is likely to have improved community access to newspapers. Interestingly, however, this survey found that even in tsunami-affected areas, most communities surveyed could receive newspapers most days of the week, suggesting that *Serambi* found its way into villages of its own accord.⁵⁹

The reconstruction marketplace has allowed some media outlets to cash in on development dollars. *Serambi*, for example, has raised revenue from increased demand for advertising space by the various agencies operating in Banda Aceh. *Serambi* has also profited from the fortnightly supplements *Seumangat* and *Ceureumen*, funded by external development agencies.⁶⁰ Some radio stations, especially those in large markets like Banda Aceh, are also able to support themselves independently through advertising.

To some extent recovery also seems to have been driven by other factors. To our knowledge, neither televisions nor mobile phones have been widely distributed, yet household ownership of these items was approaching that of communities that did not have property destroyed by the tsunami.

This seems to indicate that, relative to some other population groups in Aceh, the tsunami-affected have access to considerable disposable income, and highlights that the importance and status associated with

⁵⁹ *Serambi* also famously managed to print and distribute newspapers just days after many of its staff was killed, and its premises and equipment destroyed by the tsunami.

⁶⁰ The Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority (BRR) and the Decentralization Support Facility (DSF) through the World Bank, respectively.

these consumer items make them priority purchases whenever funds are available.

Improved Channels for Intra-village Communications

Further, large-scale reconstruction efforts have helped create better channels for communication at the village level. Program activity is intense in the tsunami zone, and this appears to mean a greater frequency of village meetings. Across Aceh, communities identify the number one key information source as being the Village Head, but in tsunami-affected areas, program facilitators are more likely to be named as information sources than in non-tsunami areas. People living in the tsunami zone are also more likely to congregate at religious and cultural events, and to have a notice board in their village.

These results should be viewed with some caution. Blank spots in tsunami-affected areas do exist. Not everyone has the means or the equipment to receive the messages conveyed by mass media. For social and cultural reasons, certain sections of the community, most notably women, are less likely to access mass media, or attend village meetings. The presence of both mass and community media is meaningless if the media are under utilized, or messages poorly targeted. Nevertheless, tsunami-affected communities' access is close to as good as, if not better, than the rest of Aceh. The challenge now is to utilize information sources more effectively, and to improve the quality of public outreach.

4.2 Conflict Effects

The decades-old conflict has impacted in far-reaching and complex ways: on the provision of services and infrastructure; on livelihoods and household income; and on community cohesion and relationships between community and government. All of these effects have implications for how villagers communicate with one another, and how information circulates.

Breakdown of Local Governance

Conflict has impacted on the way local government functions, including its usefulness as a source of information. Villages in high conflict-affected areas are significantly less likely to hold government village meetings than in low-conflict affected areas: 74% compared with 84%. By contrast, although meetings called by community and development programs are less common overall, there is little difference in their frequency in high and low conflict areas.

We have speculated that program meetings may be more immune to the factors than have caused a reduction in village meetings in conflict areas, including distrust in local government. As noted above, this has serious implications for how programs and agencies should involve local government for outreach. We suggest that while agencies need to look beyond government to pass information down into the village, excluding government is not the answer either. In fact, improving government capacity for outreach may go some way towards rebuilding the credibility of local government, and community faith in it.⁶¹

Fewer Notice Boards in High Conflict Areas

Availability of notice boards drops in high conflict areas, so that a quarter of villages in this category report that they do not possess information boards. This is an important consideration for agencies working within these communities, who should be prepared to provide boards in villages where they are lacking.

Access to Mass Media Similar in High and Low Conflict Areas

The good news for agencies seeking to reach those communities worst affected by conflict is that the distribution, reach and access of most mass media does not differ greatly between villages in high and low conflict sub-districts. Newspaper, radio and television coverage are very similar. Communities in high conflict areas are more likely to own radios but less likely to own mobile phones. Television ownership is

⁶¹ See Barron and Clark (2006).

similar. Nor is there much variation between communal and private consumption of media in Aceh, which follow general trends in both high and low conflict zones.

The Special Case of Mid-level Conflict Zones

As noted throughout this paper, the results for communities located in 'medium'-level conflict zones often differ markedly from those in high and low conflict areas; communities in these areas often have the worst access to media of all. To summarize, medium-level conflict zones are better covered by newspaper and radio networks, but have the lowest household ownership figures for radios, televisions, landlines, and mobile phones. They are more likely to listen to radios and watch TV privately, not communally; they are also more likely to hold program meetings.

Are Communities Poorer in Mid-level Conflict Zones than Elsewhere?

Low rates of ownership of household items like radios and televisions may point to lower rates of disposable income, particularly as radio and television signals remain on par with, or better than, other parts of Aceh. This seems to be the most plausible explanation, as the anomalous results for medium-level conflict zones are not explained by a bias towards tsunami or urban or rural factors (see Annex A5).

Why communities affected by medium level conflict might be poorer than communities in high and low conflict areas is beyond the scope of this research. Analysis of the latest census data to test for relative levels of household income according to the conflict intensity categories would be one way to gain a better understanding of whether or not this is true.

Nevertheless, if communities in medium-level conflict zones are poorer than those in high and low level conflict areas, then this could have wider impact for post-conflict programming and targeting. The classification of sub-districts into the three levels of conflict intensity was devised for the purposes of allocating funds for post-conflict programming. Villages in high conflict sub-districts will receive more money than those in mid-conflict sub-districts, while low-conflict affected communities will get less again. If communities living medium-level conflict zones really are economically worse off than those even in high-conflict areas, then there may be an argument to target medium-level conflict areas for assistance as aggressively as high conflict areas.

Potential for Post-conflict Programming to Improve the Communications Landscape

Post-tsunami reconstruction has had a positive impact on the communications environment, and an increase in programming for conflict-affected communities may similarly improve the frequency of meetings in villages, and perhaps even availability and ownership of mass media. However, progress in tsunami-affected areas has been due at least in part to the dedicated development of the media infrastructure in affected communities. Just as tsunami-affected populations in Aceh have special needs for communication and information about the reconstruction process, conflict-affected populations need to know about post-conflict/reintegration programming, the peace process, and the political climate. It will be necessary to support the establishment of local-level media sources, and possibly distribute radios and other devices to achieve similar results in communities recovering from conflict as has been seen in tsunami-affected areas.

4.3 Urban/Rural Effects

It is to be expected that urban communities have better access to media and other services than rural areas, and this is supported by the survey data. Mass media is naturally targeted at larger, urban markets, supply routes are better, urban communities are more likely to be connected to electricity and telecommunications networks, and so on. However, while rural communities across the board were worse off in terms of

coverage and ownership than their urban counterparts, the degree of difference varied between media forms.

The gap between urban and rural villages was most notable in terms of newspaper coverage, ownership of television sets, and the presence of notice boards. One-fifth of rural communities do not get newspapers, compared with almost 100% coverage in urban communities; urban households are on average twice as likely to own television sets as rural communities; and almost a quarter of rural villages did not report having notice boards, compared with just 5% in urban areas.

Beyond these areas, coverage and access to media in urban and rural villages is relatively similar. Radio signal coverage is still high, at 87% of rural villages (compared with 100%) in urban, and while urban households are still more likely to own radios, the difference is slight. Television coverage is universal, while landline telephone connections are universally scarce. Significantly and surprisingly, rural communities report the same average levels of mobile phone ownership as urban villages, underlining the potential for mobile phones to be used more widely for passing messages down to villagers.



5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The survey results point to a number of recommendations that can help improve the information environment in Aceh, and, in so doing, can improve the quality and efficacy of post-tsunami and post-conflict development efforts.

Program Interventions

- *Continue to develop and support local, decentralized media.* The survey identified a number of blank spots in terms of newspaper and radio coverage. The success of *Seuramoe* in Aceh Jaya and Nagan Raya suggests that there is a market for highly localized publications, and that similar publications could be trialled in other areas, particularly where other newspapers are scarce. There is also potential for community radio stations, broadcasting over short distances, to augment commercial and public radio coverage. Both community publications and radio have additional benefits beyond simply filling gaps in mainstream coverage; community media allow for coverage and discussion of local issues that is beyond the scope of larger, commercial media.
- *Free distribution of personal communications devices should not remain limited to tsunami-affected populations.* The survey indicates that tsunami-affected communities are well on their way to recovery in terms of the extent to which populations possess key media-related goods (radios, televisions, etc). Any further distribution would be better targeted elsewhere. Evidence from the research suggests that mid-level conflict areas have the lowest ownership of such goods across the board, and that efforts should be directed to these areas.
- *Develop the potential of outreach via mobile phone technology.* Although overall mobile telephone ownership is still low, it is on the increase, and even in many rural districts, some households own a mobile telephone. There is certainly scope for systematic use of SMS technology to pass information into villages via mobile phone owners, particularly if community leaders are the people most likely to own mobile phones. SMS is especially suited to providing short updates of progress made, announcements of events and schedules, and so on.
- *SMS also has potential as a way to ask questions and make complaints.* However, agencies should think carefully about how enquiries and problems will be handled and responded to once they are received. Simply providing a number for complaints without preparing the supporting infrastructure is a sure way to overwhelm program staff and raise community expectations that then go unmet.

Working with Mass Media

- *Design newspaper advertising for public display.* The survey shows that a high proportion of villages receive newspapers. However, it is likely that this only stretches to a few copies per village, and the evidence suggests that newspapers are shared and read in communal areas such as the almost exclusively male environment of the coffee shop. One way to maximize the impact of the few newspapers available is to design advertising as inserts that can be pulled out of the paper and put on public display. Displaying this kind of material in neutral areas (or even in areas where women congregate) would go some way towards countering the gender gap inherent in newspapers as a predominantly male medium.
- *Where possible, work with local radio stations.* Local radio stations collectively cover around two-thirds of the sampled communities, and local radio is usually more popular with audiences than the state broadcaster, RRI. Unfortunately, local radio stations are only loosely networked, which

presents a problem for agencies based in Banda Aceh seeking to broadcast via stations throughout the province. There are several brokers in Banda Aceh that can arrange for the distribution and broadcast of materials on district-based radio stations, which offer the best solution. These agencies, however, are new and inexperienced, and any agency seeking to work with them should monitor their efforts closely. More capacity building assistance for these bodies from specialist media agencies is needed.

- *Nevertheless, parallel broadcasting on RRI creates maximum reach for radio programming.* State broadcaster RRI exclusively covered almost a quarter of the sample; residents in these villages represent a captive audience. Including broadcast on RRI as a part of any communications strategy potentially lifts the number of communities reached from two-thirds to 88%.
- *Advertising or programming on local television is unlikely to reach a wide audience.* While television is a popular medium, it is also very difficult to work with. TVRI is the only station that can broadcast localized programming, and while TVRI has relatively good coverage it is very unpopular. Further, it broadcasts its local content in the afternoons, when audience numbers are at their lowest (children are the exception).
- *Aceh-specific or Aceh-relevant programming on national television (particularly RCTI) may gain a better audience.* As such, any opportunities to leverage local issues into national stories should always be taken. Television is potentially also a key medium for public service messages with a nation-wide remit such as disaster preparedness or polio vaccination, not least because it is the only major form of mass media with any significant audience of children.
- *Where possible, incorporate incentives for interaction into mass media outreach.* We have suggested that one of the reasons local radio may be more popular is that communities have the opportunity to request songs, phone in, etc. As part of a program to support peace socialization, 700 Acehnese responded to a competition advertised in a newspaper asking them to say what peace meant to them. Centrally coordinated mass-media campaigns can tend to be uni-directional. Offering opportunities to actively engage with the message being conveyed can help to strengthen it.

Working with Community-level Media

- *Ensure village leaders have all the answers.* Across Aceh, villagers are most likely to name the Village Head as the most important source of information. Village Heads need to be adequately informed, particularly about issues that directly affect their communities, even if they are not always pro-active about passing the information on. Use of SMS technology may be one way to open a direct channel between agencies and facilitators and local leaders.
- *Consider alternatives to socialization via government channels, particularly in conflict-affected areas.* A quarter of communities in high-conflict areas reported that government meetings were not held, while reported rates of program meetings remained steady across conflict categories. Agencies holding meetings in conflict areas, and particularly over sensitive topics, should aim to be seen as neutral and not government (although local government must still be involved). This is particularly important (and difficult) for government agencies like the elections body (KIP) and the reintegration authority (BRA), which could consider conducting any socialization meetings through a neutral third party.

- ***Consider socialization via informal community gatherings.*** Acehnese in most villages gather informally for religious and cultural events. Incorporating socialization into these events, or holding similar events for the purposes of socialization, are ways of reaching a large audience, which has the added benefit of often including women. If ‘piggy-backing’ on existing events, however, agencies should be aware of how association with that event might reflect on the message they wish to convey. For example, passing out information at a GAM/KPA-sponsored rally may be a good way to reach people, but the agency then runs the risk of being seen as too close to GAM.
- ***Ensure that notice boards are available, especially in conflict-affected areas.*** Notice boards can be useful tools in providing ongoing information to communities, and are important particularly for agencies running programs for villagers. A quarter of communities in high conflict areas said that they did not possess notice boards, which has implications for post-conflict programming.
- ***Focus on improving notice board quality.*** Many agencies provide notice boards for community and program use, but this does not guarantee that they are well maintained and contain information that is useful to beneficiaries. Agencies should monitor the quality of information contained on their notice boards and work to improve it.

Reaching Women

- ***Radio programming targeted at women should be broadcast in a midday timeslot.*** There are particular opportunities for reaching women through radio, who make up the majority of the daytime audience.
- ***Reaching women means going to them.*** Mass media has less chance of reaching women as it does men. Women are less likely to read newspapers, and they have lower rates of radio and television consumption. Further, women’s radio and television choices are likely to be influenced by their men. As such, outreach campaigns targeting women need to get right in amongst them. Communities reported that the best ways to reach women were via *quoranic* reading groups for women, other organized women’s activities like health clinics and the family welfare association, and through *arisan*. Women also participate in community religious and cultural events, probably more often than they attend formal meetings.
- ***Improving women’s access to information and their participation takes time and effort, and there are no easy solutions.*** Agencies might consider organizing socialization events to coincide with women’s activities, or working with women leaders to pass information through their networks.

Reaching Children

- ***There are opportunities to target children via afternoon television.*** The only demographic that might benefit from local programming broadcast in the afternoon by TVRI is children, who are most likely to be watching at that time of day. While it does seem unlikely that TVRI is the preferred station for Acehnese children, it is possible that such programming could build up a following in the long term. This kind of programming means significant investment, but for some types of outreach, like peace education, it may be worth considering.

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Annex A: Methodology

A1. Sampling

To ensure that the survey could be used to make statistically valid inferences about media use in communities in Aceh, we employed a two-stage sampling procedure. For the sampling frame, we used BPS's 2005 Village Potential (*Potensi Desa* or Podes) data, which lists the names of all villages in Indonesia. Based on this sampling frame, we conducted a two-stage sample selection. Since most of the questions can be interpreted as a binary (yes/no) questions, we needed about 400 villages to ensure around 90% statistical power with a 5% margin of error, assuming a design effect of between 1.5 – 2.0 (Cochrane 1963).

In the first stage, we wanted to choose 108 sub-districts. To obtain them, we perform probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling on the 2005 Podes data. For each sub-district, we used the number of villages as its probability weight. After obtaining these sub-districts in the *first stage*, we performed a simple random sampling (SRS) for the *second stage*, to obtain four villages in each sub-district. This gave us a total sample of 432 villages. This two-stage methodology simplified the weighting of our sampled villages: all of the villages in the sample have equal weights.

Although this sample called for data from just four villages, we randomly selected *eight* villages for each sub-district. Each enumerator was instructed to visit the first four villages on the list. The remaining four were back-ups, only to be used if, due to extenuating circumstances, she or he was unable to go to one (or more) of the first four villages.

To allow for the possibility that Podes missed out the names of some of the villages, we inserted two blank rows, in random sequence, in the list of eight priority villages to visit. If an enumerator came upon a blank row, he or she was to insert a 'new' village or community that was not otherwise listed in the BPS data (this could include high concentrations of people, like barracks complexes).

A2. Data Collection

Enumerators (field staff) from three organizations assisted with data collection: Information Facilitators (in association with Village Facilitators) from the Kecamatan Development Program (KDP); field researchers from private media research and development consultancy Info Aceh; and IOM. Enumerators were given the following instructions:

Box 9. Instructions for Enumerators

A village list has been created using a sample size of 108 sub-districts. 8 villages have been randomly selected in each sub-district. These have been numbered 1-8. However, researchers only need to fill in surveys for 4 villages out of the 8. Researchers should aim to fill in surveys for villages 1-4. However, if it isn't possible to get information on one of the villages (e.g., because it no longer exists), researchers should move down the list and to number 5, and so on. If you have to skip a village, please make a note of why. Enumerators MUST NOT simply chose the four most convenient villages on the list.

There are a number of 'blank' villages (marked 'fill') included in many of the sub-district. For these 'blank' villages, researchers should identify a 'new' community/population/village that does

not otherwise appear on government (BPS) lists of villages. This is to cover IDP populations that are not living in standard villages (e.g. large barracks/tent complexes), or ‘new’ villages that have split from old ones. Researchers should give this community some kind of name (e.g. ‘Samalanga Barracks’), and note its location.

For each village/community, please interview at least 3 people – preferably one man, one woman and one youth – in order to get a good representation of the village/community.

A3. Surveys Returned and Data Used for Analysis

Due to a variety of reasons, mainly to do with difficulties in finding enumerators that could cover every one of the randomly selected sub-districts, some sub-districts did not return data.

The analysis contained in this report is based on surveys returned from 410 villages in 98 sub-districts. The ‘missing’ sub-districts come from these districts, in the following ratios: Pidie (5 of 17); South Aceh (1 of 6); Aceh Tamiang (1 of 4); Central Aceh (1 of 5); East Aceh (1 of 9); and Aceh Jaya (1 of 3).⁶²

At the same time, enumerators in several sub-districts misunderstood the instructions and returned *more* than the four village surveys required. This resulted in an additional 18 villages altogether, in the following districts and amounts: South-East Aceh (1+2); East Aceh (4+1); Aceh Besar (3); Bireuen (1+2+3); North-West Aceh (1). The decision was taken to include this extra data, rather than discard it.

The exception is for the maps contained in Figures 3,4,5 and 8,9. These maps illustrate the intensity of availability of various newspapers and radio signals in the sampled sub-districts. Intensity is measured on a scale of 0-4, according to how many of the four sampled villages could access newspapers and radio. (0 of 4 villages being the lowest intensity, 4 of 4 villages being the highest intensity). In order to work with just four villages per sub-district, the ‘extra’ villages noted above were discarded.⁶³

A4. Category Definitions

Urban/Rural

This analysis uses the Village Potential (Podes) definitions of urban and rural villages, following classifications assigned to villages in Podes 2005.

It should be noted that Podes applies a complex definition of ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ according to a number of variables. As such, an ‘urban’ village is not limited to a village located within the city limits of a district capital, and may include smaller regional centres such as sub-district capitals. As such, the ‘urban’ sites can include villages that would otherwise seem quite rural.

Table 1: Urban/Rural Sample Breakdown

Rural	Urban
369 (90%)	41 (10%)

⁶² Aceh Jaya proved a particular problem for data collection. The randomly sampled sub districts were: Panga, Sampoinet, and Jaya. Panga was missed, Sampoinet was complete. Two of the villages from Jaya subdistrict were correctly surveyed, according to the sample. Data from Jaya was supplemented by two villages in Keudee Unga, which were surveyed separately by a research team that happened to be visiting the area.

⁶³ We worked out which ones to discard by looking at the initial list of eight, randomly sampled villages. We kept the data collected from the top four villages on the list, and discarded any others.

Tsunami Affected/Non-Tsunami Affected

Several months after the December 2004 earthquake and tsunami, BPS, in association with KDP facilitators, conducted a comprehensive survey of tsunami damage across Aceh. Each village was assigned one of four classifications: 1 = high tsunami damage; 2 = medium tsunami damage; 3 = low tsunami damage; 4 = no tsunami damage. Classifications were assigned at the discretion of the surveyor; as such, one of the problems with this data is that it is probably not likely to be consistent across categories.

For the purposes of this research, villages in categories 1 and 2 were said to be ‘tsunami-affected’, while villages in categories 3 and 4 were combined for the ‘not (or little) tsunami-affected’. This was partially done for the sake of simplifying analysis, but also with the rationale that subjective opinions of ‘high’ and ‘medium’ level tsunami damage were more likely to be blurred than ‘low’ damage. ‘Low’ tsunami damage seems less likely to have had the same drastic impact on communications infrastructure and personal property.

This tsunami impact data does not take into account subsequent movement of tsunami-affected populations. Hence, when we refer to tsunami-affected households and communities in this report, we are limiting the definition to those still living in tsunami-affected areas. This definition still allows us to look at the ways tsunami affected areas have recovered, and also at the impacts of post-tsunami reconstruction and rehabilitation programming, which is largely focused in the tsunami belt.

Table 2: Tsunami Affected/Not- little Affected Sample Breakdown

Tsunami-Affected	Not-little Affected
369 (20%)	41 (80%)

High, Medium and Low Conflict-Affected

The World Bank has developed a Conflict Intensity Index that classifies sub-districts as experiencing high, medium and low conflict impacts. The index was constructed using nine indicators, namely: conflict victims (2002), conflict victims (2003), conflict victims (2004), military intensity, GAM returnee estimates, political prisoners, GAM-GOI incidents (2005), perceptions of safety (pre-MOU), perceptions of conflict (pre-MOU).

The quantitative data was then verified with two (sometimes three) district-based actors experienced with local conflict mapping: the SPADA consultants who have undertaken intensive social and conflict in 2005 and 2006; and, the IOM Community Technical Assessments who undertook conflict mapping in 2005. For the purposes of this research (and indeed for program targeting), every village in a sub-district has the same conflict intensity ranking).

Table 3: Conflict Intensity Sample Breakdown

High	Medium	Low
101 (25%)	113 (28%)	179 (44%)

The Conflict Intensity Index does not include sub-districts located in cities (municipalities),⁶⁴ which is why 17 villages (4%) in the dataset have not been assigned conflict intensities and are excluded from any discussions of the effects of conflict.

⁶⁴ I.e., Banda Aceh, Lhoksumawae, Langsa, and Sabang. The only exception is Muara Dua, which is actually located within the municipality of Lhoksumawae, but was assigned ‘medium’ level conflict intensity as conflict impacts were notable.

Topography

The report briefly looks at the impact on Aceh's topography on radio signal. Podes data assigns three grades of topography to villages in Aceh, namely coastal, flatlands and mountains.

A5. Overlap between Category Definitions

The report aims to isolate some of the effects on the communications environment in Aceh by measuring the differences between villages according to levels of conflict intensity, degree of tsunami impact, and whether or not a location is urban and rural. However, these various classifications are not mutually exclusive – tsunami-affected villages may also have experienced high conflict, urban and rural areas were affected by the tsunami and so on. As such, we run the risk of confusing the different effects.

Fortunately, for the most part, these different ways of slicing the data do not seriously skew the data in any particular direction. In summary, tsunami-affected areas are slightly more likely to be urban than rural, and medium-level conflict-affected areas are also more likely to be tsunami-affected than either high or low conflict areas.

Tsunami-Affected and Urban and Rural

Table 4. Correlation between Tsunami-affected and Urban/Rural

Tsunami	Urban/Rural	Total (#)	Total (%)	Deviation from average
Affected	Rural	71	84.52%	+5.48%
	Urban	13	15.48%	-5.48%
Not/little affected	Rural	298	91.41%	+1.41%
	Urban	28	8.59%	-1.41%

The urban/rural split for unaffected villages is consistent with the overall average (90% rural, 10% urban). However, the percentage of urban communities in tsunami-affected areas is about 5% above average. Analysis that adjusts for the difference (for instance, by only looking at tsunami effects in rural areas) demonstrates that this skew is negligible, and does not affect conclusions drawn.

Conflict Intensity/Urban and Rural

Table 5. Correlation between Conflict Intensity and Urban/Rural

Conflict	Urban/Rural	Total (#)	Total (%)	Deviation from Average
HIGH	Rural	100	99.01%	+9.01%
	Urban	1	0.99%	-9.01%
MEDIUM	Rural	104	92.04%	+2.04%
	Urban	9	7.96%	-2.04%
LOW	Rural	160	89.39%	-0.61%
	Urban	19	10.61%	+0.61%

Again, the urban/rural split for low- and medium- intensity conflict zones is consistent with the average (10%/90%). However, high conflict areas are almost exclusively rural – 9% more likely than the average.

Tsunami-Affected/Conflict Intensity

There appears to be no correlation between high/low intensity conflict, and tsunami impact. However, there is a slight correlation between medium conflict intensity and unaffected tsunami areas.

Table 6. Correlation between Tsunami-affected and Conflict Intensity

Conflict	Tsunami	Total (#)	Total (%)	Deviation from Average
HIGH	Affected	22	21.78%	+1.78
	Not/little affected	79	78.22%	- 1.78
MEDIUM	Affected	16	14.16%	- 5.85
	Not/little affected	97	85.84%	+5.85
LOW	Affected	37	20.67%	+0.67
	Not/little affected	142	79.33%	-0.67

On average, 20% of the villages in the sample are tsunami-affected, which correlates with the split for high- and low- level conflict areas. However, medium-level conflict zones are around 6% less likely to also be tsunami-affected than the average.

The Medium-Intensity Conflict Conundrum

As noted throughout this paper, the results for communities located in ‘medium’-level conflict zones often differ markedly from those in high and low conflict areas. To summarize, medium-level conflict zones have better coverage by newspaper and radio networks, but have the lowest household ownership figures for radios, televisions, landlines and mobile phones. They are more likely to listen to radios and watch TV privately, not communally, but they are also more likely to hold program meetings.

As Table 2 indicates, this is unlikely to be related to urban or rural effects. Indeed, in terms of coverage, medium level conflict zones mirror urban patterns (superior coverage), but when it comes to household ownership of media, they mirror the rural picture.

By contrast, the anomalous result for medium conflict-affected areas could be slightly influenced by the tsunami-effect. Sampled villages in medium-level conflict zones are slightly less likely to have been affected by the tsunami, although the difference is small. The results of this survey suggest that the tsunami had a positive effect on ownership of radio sets and mobile telephones, while non tsunami-affected areas have been left behind. Medium level conflict areas also report proportionally lower rates of radio and mobile telephone ownership. However, higher reported rates of access to newspapers and radio, as well as higher rates of program meetings, run counter to the non-tsunami affected picture.

It seems, therefore, that there is something common to medium-level conflict affected areas that accounts for the unusual results. This paper suggests that lower economic levels may be a factor, but this is a matter for a separate study.

II. Radio

- What kind of radio can you hear in this community? (Circle all that are relevant)
 - Public radio (RRI)
 - Commercial radio
_____ (list names of stations)
 - Community radio
_____ (list names of stations and their locations)
- In your opinion, which of these radio stations is the most popular? (list one only)

- How widely can radio be heard? (circle one only)
 - In all villages in the sub-district
 - In most villages in the sub-district
 - In just a few villages in the sub-district
 - Only in the sub-district capital
- How many households own radios?
 - Most (more than 80%)
 - Many (60-80%)
 - About half (40-60%)
 - Few (20-40%)
 - Very few-none (less than 20%)
- Where do people usually listen to radio?
 - At home
 - In a public place (coffee shop, village security post (poskamling), other)
- Who listens to radio, and what time of the day do they usually listen to it, and what programs do they like to listen to? (tick all that are appropriate)

WHO listens?	WHEN?				WHAT?			
	Morning	Midday	Afternoon	Evening	Music/ Entertainment	News/ Information	Religious	Other
Men	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[] _____
Women	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[] _____
Youth	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[] _____
Teenagers	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[] _____
Children	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[] _____
Elderly	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[] _____

III. Television

- What TV channels are available in the community? (circle all that are relevant)
 - TVRI
 - RCTI
 - SCTV
 - Metro
 - TransTV
 - TPI
 - Indovision/Kabel/Satelite
 - Others _____
- In your opinion, which of these TV stations is the most popular?
_____ (list one only)

2. Who has provided notice boards in this community? How well are they being used?

Which organizations provide or use notice boards? appropriate)	Rate the quality of information available on these many as (circle as notice boards (chose one)			
1) Local government	Good	OK	Bad	N/A
2) KDP	Good	OK	Bad	N/A
3) BRR/UNDP	Good	OK	Bad	N/A
4) Other NGO/organization _____ (list)	Good	OK	Bad	N/A

Good = often updated, filled with useful information, visually attractive OK

Bad = info is out of date or incorrect, etc

N/A = There are no notice boards of this kind

VI. Community Leaders

1. Who is the 'key' information person at the community/village level? (Circle one)

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1) Keucik | 2) Kepala Dusun/RT/RW |
| 3) Barrack leader | 4) Religious figure |
| 5) Other community leader | 6) Facilitator program |
| 7) Mukim | 8) Other _____ (list) |

VII. Meetings

1. When do communities congregate?

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1) Village meetings (held by village govt.) | 2) Program meetings (including KDP) |
| 3) Religious events | 4) Cultural events |
| 5) Other _____ (list) | |

2. What are the artistic/cultural forms popular in this community?

_____ (list)

VIII. Information and Socialization Campaigns

1. What information or socialization campaigns have you noticed in this community? (circle all that are relevant)

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) MOU and the peace process | 2) Health |
| 3) Governance | 4) Anti-corruption |
| 5) Reconstruction projects | 6) Other _____ (list) |

2. What socialization material about the MOU and the Peace process has there been in this community? (Circle as many as relevant)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1) Posters | 2) MOU booklets |
| 3) Banners | 4) Meetings held by AMM |
| 5) Meetings held by local government | 6) Other meetings |
| 7) Other _____ (list) | |

3. What languages have the socialization materials used? (Circle as many as relevant):

- 1) Indonesian
- 2) Acehese
- 3) Gayo language
- 4) English
- 5) Other _____(list)

4. In your opinion, which language would your community prefer?

- 1) Indonesian
- 2) Acehese
- 3) Gayo language
- 4) English
- 5) Other _____(list)

5. In your opinion, what is the best way to reach women?

6. In your opinion, what is the best way to reach children?

Indonesian Social Development Papers

No.	Title	Language	Author(s)	Date
1	The Dynamics of District Governance: Forums, Budget Processes and Transparency <i>Dynamika Pemerintahan Kabupaten: Forum, Perencanaan Anggaran dan Transparansi</i>	English Indonesian	Luthfi Ashari	May 2004
2	Violence and Conflict Resolution in Non-Conflict Regions: The Case of Lampung, Indonesia	English	Patrick Barron David Madden	Aug 2004
3	Mobilizing for Violence: The Escalation and Limitation of Identity Conflicts	English	Yuhki Tajima	Aug 2004
4	More Than Just Ownership: Ten Land and Natural Resource Conflict Case Studies from East Java and Flores <i>Bukan Sekedar Persoalan Kepemilikan: Sepuluh Studi Kasus Konflik Tanah dan Sumber Daya Alam dari Jawa Timur dan Flores</i>	English Indonesian	Samuel Clark (ed.)	Dec 2004
5	Crisis, Social Ties, and Household Welfare: Testing Social Capital Theory with Evidence From Indonesia	English	Anna Wetterberg	Apr 2005
6	Village Corruption in Indonesia: Fighting Corruption in Indonesia's Kecamatan Development Program	English	Andrea Woodhouse	Apr 2005
7	Counting Conflicts: Using Newspaper Reports to Understand Violence in Indonesia	English	Patrick Barron Joanne Sharpe	May 2005
8	Aceh: Reconstruction in a Conflict Environment	English	Adam Burke Afnan	Oct 2005
9	Media Mapping: Understanding Communications Environments in Aceh	English	Joanne Sharpe Imogen Wall	Apr 2007
10	Conflict and Community Development in Indonesia: Assessing the Impact of the Kecamatan Development Program	English	Patrick Barron Rachael Diprose Michael Woolcock	Jul 2006

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