Gender and changes in tsunami-affected villages in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam province

December 2005
Foreword

In the aftermath of the earthquake and tsunami that struck Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province and Nias Island in December 2004, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) provided immediate assistance to the affected populations, with gender concerns mainstreamed as part of its interventions. Among other initiatives, UNFPA, in collaboration with Oxfam Great Britain, has supported the Women Studies Centre of Ar-Ranirry State Institute for Islamic Studies in Aceh to conduct an assessment of the situation of the survivors, focusing in particular on gender issues. This assessment, targeting internally displaced people (IDPs), was designed to give a multi-sectoral perspective on the nature and quality of the relief effort. The sectors it covered included livelihoods, shelter, food, health (including reproductive health), security and gender-based violence, and sanitation.

The findings show that, on top of the trauma and loss inflicted by the tsunami, there have been two major changes for the surviving population in Aceh: a gender imbalance in the population, as more women than men died in the disaster, based on interviews and secondary data available; and a decline in living standards due to the loss of land, housing, documents, and livelihood opportunities. This publication discusses the consequences of these major changes for the lives of IDP, in terms of cultural values, social roles, access to resources, decision-making, and security. It looks especially at their impact on the most vulnerable groups, women and children, though it also considers the impact on men.

The concluding part of the report lists a set of key recommendations, which call for interventions in the various sectors outlined above. These interventions will provide the means to improve the well-being of all survivors, if we can maintain the technical and political commitment to taking action.

It is our hope that agencies will find this assessment report a useful tool in promoting the gender dimension as a development priority in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province. UNFPA reiterates its commitment to, and support for, the survivors, since we believe that everyone counts.

Dr. Bernard Coquelin
Representative in Indonesia
UNFPA

“UNFPA’s mission is to promote the right of every woman, man, and child to enjoy a life of health and equal opportunity. UNFPA supports countries in using population data for policies and programmes to reduce poverty and to ensure that every pregnancy is wanted, every birth is safe, every young person is free of HIV/AIDS, and every girl and woman is treated with dignity and respect.”
Acknowledgments

According to the Mata Ie geophysics station in Banda Aceh, the earthquake that struck the region on 26 December 2004 measured 9 on the Richter Scale. It was caused by a displacement of the Indo-Australian and Eurasian tectonic plates, and had its epicentre in the seabed west of Meulaboh.

The massive tsunami caused by the earthquake destroyed more than 85,000 houses and damaged an estimated 142,000 more. As a consequence, the people who survived the disaster have been living in tents and in temporary shelters. Other refugees have chosen to stay with family members who live far away from the tsunami-affected areas.

The conditions in which displaced people are living are far from ideal. IDPs lack food, water and sanitation, and health care. The conditions in which they are living have been a major concern for UNFPA, which has distributed assistance provided by the European Union and Japan.

This research programme was sponsored by UNFPA. A research team from the Women Studies Centre of Ar-Ranirry State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) carried out a ‘gender basic assessment’ of the people living in refugee camps, with Oxfam GB acting as research co-ordinator. The research was undertaken in two languages, Indonesian and English. The results are intended to inform the community of Aceh itself, and also especially donors. We hope that the research will provide an orientation for donors in continuing programmes of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

The Women Studies Centre of Ar-Ranirry State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) would like to thank UNFPA, as a donor that has worked hard to improve the situation and conditions of people in Aceh. We would also like to thank Oxfam GB for all the assistance it has given the people of Aceh following the tsunami, and particularly for its collaboration in completing this research.

Many people took the time and trouble to contribute to the study. They include the people of Aceh who provided information to the researchers, the village leaders and administration staff who helped the programme to run smoothly, and of course the researchers themselves, who worked day and night to complete the job. To all of them we extend our thanks.

We hope that this research will be useful for all of us, for the people of Aceh and for victims of disaster everywhere. We hope especially that it will help Aceh to move towards a better future.

Women Studies Centre
21 November 2005
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Disclaimer
The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of Oxfam GB, UNFPA, or WSC.

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Chapter i
Introduction

a. Purpose of the research

This report summarises the findings of a collaborative research programme undertaken by United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), Oxfam Great Britain, and Pusat Studi Wanita (Women Studies Centre) of Ar Ranirry State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) The research is intended to contribute to the social and economic recovery of the people affected by the tsunami of 26 December 2004 in a gender-sensitive way. More specifically, it aims to:
1. Collect and collate quantitative information on the consequences of the disaster for the demographic, social, and economic situation of the province, including gender-specific fatalities;
2. Conduct a gender-based situational analysis and needs assessment to identify the needs and problems of the affected populations, with special attention to vulnerable groups;
3. Conduct a situational analysis and assessment on the scope and nature of gender-based violence;
4. Analyse all the information gathered for its implications for gender and other social relations beyond the current emergency situation, for the purposes of influencing policy and helping to design programmes.

The report focuses on the changes that have occurred in the lives of the people of Aceh in the aftermath of the tsunami and how these changes have affected the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the day-to-day life of local communities. In particular, the report reflects an attempt to understand the effects that the high mortality of women has had on surviving women and men.

b. Focus, methodologies and limitations of the research

b.1. Location of research

In April 2005, four teams carried out fieldwork in 16 villages for a period of one week. The choice of locations was made with the following considerations in mind:
1. To include kabupaten (districts) in parts of the province (and especially the western and eastern coasts) where the impacts of the tsunami differed in intensity;
2. To include kabupaten (districts) that gave a good spread of urban and non-urban communities;
3. To include kecamatan (sub-districts) and villages with relatively easy access for fieldwork, and where Oxfam or UNFPA had already established relations with the local communities.

An advance team was assigned to carry out a preliminary survey of various districts to identify villages with differing backgrounds (urban or rural environments, agriculture/fishing/trading as the main source of livelihoods, extent of physical destruction, displacement patterns, etc.). The villages sampled by the advance team were designated ‘villages of origin’, while villages where survivors have been forced to move to and are currently settling were designated ‘current villages’\(^1\). Sixteen different villages of origin were then chosen for the research, four urban and 12 rural. The villages of origin selected are shown in Figure 1.

\(^1\) This explains the differences in village names in Figures 4 and 5.
Of the communities in the 16 villages of origin sampled, only four have since moved to another village, and all of these are in the same kecamatan (sub-district). The exceptions are villagers from Lancok in North Aceh (Aceh Utara) district, who had to migrate to another district, Bireun. Figure 2 shows the relocation pattern of the communities.
b.2. Methods and informants

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used in the research. Quantitative data were collected via a questionnaire, while the qualitative methods used were focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews with selected informants. A total of 80 respondents were interviewed, 39 men and 41 women. The majority of the men (35.9 per cent) were aged 41-50 years, while the majority of the women (44 per cent) were aged 30-40 years. It should be stressed that the majority of the women who survived are in the younger age category.

Respondents had differing educational backgrounds: primary school (28.75 per cent), junior high school (20 per cent), high school (32.5 per cent), and university (16.25 per cent). The rest (2.5 per cent), all of them women, had not received any formal education. Most of the respondents were married (50 per cent), and 31.25 per cent were widows or widowers. The remaining informants were either single (17.5 per cent) or separated (1.25 per cent). Community leaders were also interviewed, in most cases two in each village. In all, 28 community leaders were interviewed, 21 men and seven women. The female community leaders selected were usually health officials (e.g. midwives or nurses).

2 The official name for this type of accommodation is “temporary living camps”. However, the name barracks was being used at the time of the research.

3 The informants were interviewed as individuals, not as couples. The term ‘married’ means that the informant’s spouse is still alive.
In each village, the FGDs were carried out separately for men and women, in the hope that a single-sex group would enable people to express themselves more freely. The community leaders chose the individuals to take part in the FGDs, by considering different categories such as age, occupation, marital status, etc., to capture variations in opinion.

Five women’s organisations (NGOs) were also interviewed to find out what programmes they have in place to empower women, and also to gain a picture of what obstacles these organisations face in dealing with women’s issues. Secondary data were also obtained, both as a basis to choose the villages to sample for primary data collection, and to capture the social and economic conditions of the province.

b.3. Limitations
Unsurprisingly, there were limitations in the research process. The emergency situation itself was not an environment conducive to research. Many of the questions concerned personal issues, and so were difficult both to ask and to answer, especially at such an emotional time. Secondly, problems of representation were encountered. For example, the research teams intended to interview at least one informant living in a host family from every village. However, the interviewers had difficulty in tracking down informants, so the research covered a much smaller number of those living with host families than intended. The representation of people living in barracks was also not very large, as few of the barracks had been built.

There were also very limited secondary sources available. This was partly because the data banks of many institutions had been destroyed in the tsunami, and partly because the protracted conflict in the region had made the area inaccessible for scholars and researchers in recent years. Difficulties with communication and transportation were overcome thanks to the determination and dedication of the researchers, and the patience and understanding of the community members involved.

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4 As the original plan envisaged interviewing one person from each village of origin, there should have been 16 people interviewed who were living with host families. In fact, only six could be traced (see Figure 2).
Chapter II
A Portrait Of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD)

Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) is a province located in the northern part of the island of Sumatra. It is 55,390 square kilometres in size, accounting for roughly 2.9 per cent of Indonesia's total land area, and is divided into 17 districts and four municipalities. In 2002, the total population of NAD reached 4,166,040 with the largest population in Aceh Utara and the smallest in Sabang. Statistics show that at this time the number of men slightly exceeded that of women.

a. Brief history and socio-economic characteristics of NAD

Aceh was the first region in Indonesia to be influenced by Islam. Since the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom founded by Sultan Ali Mughayatsyah in the 16th century, Islam has always been a part of people’s lives in the region. However, when Aceh fell to the Dutch in 1910, many of the Islamic laws and regulations existing at the time were eliminated.

After Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, Aceh was placed under the jurisdiction of North Sumatera Province. It briefly became an independent province in 1949, but in 1950 it was again made part of North Sumatra. During this period, Indonesia's central government limited the power of religious courts to 'private domains', such as matters of inheritance and marriages. These were among the policies that led to the emergence of an insurgency movement. The unstable situation that resulted forced the central government to form a separate province under the name Special Region of Aceh in 1959. However, the wish of many Acehnese to implement Islamic law was not granted.

The marginalisation of the Acehnese, combined with their continuing demands to adopt the Islamic code, increased tensions with the central government. During the 1980s, some Acehnese turned to GAM (Gerekan Aceh Merdeka, or the Free Aceh Movement) in the hope of regaining control of their region. In response, the government made Aceh a Military Operation Zone (DOM) from 1989 to 1998. During this period, considerable human rights violations were perpetrated, both by the military and by GAM.

In 1999, the central government agreed to grant Aceh autonomy in the spheres of education, religion, and culture, but GAM continued to demand independence. After the failure of CoHA (the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement), the government declared a military emergency in May 2003, though this was downgraded to a civil emergency in 2004. After the tsunami, the conflict continued, but on a subdued level. The Helsinki MOU between GAM and the government on August 15 2005 has supported the peace efforts between the two parties.

The main sources of livelihoods in Aceh have traditionally been agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, and trade. The main agricultural product is rice, but many farmers also raise livestock. Fishing is predominant in coastal communities, with almost 9 per cent of all villages in NAD being fishing villages.

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5 Aceh dalam Angka, 2003
6 Biro Pemberdayaan Perempuan NAD, 2002
7 Azra, in Muhammad, 2003
8 Amal & Panggabean, pp.12-30
9 Sigar, 2003, pp.2-12
10 Azra, in Muhammad, 2003
11 www.amnestyusa.org
12 Haris, S. 2005
13 Sigar, 2003, p.3
14 Cahanar, 2005
The large population of Aceh is an important asset for development. However, this potential asset is blighted by poverty and extremely high unemployment rates. In 1998, only 28.83 per cent of the population were employed; the rest were categorised as unemployed.\textsuperscript{15} In 2003, 1,254,200 people, or 29.8 per cent of the total population, were living in poverty.

There is not a large gap in educational opportunities for boys and girls, although the number of boys entering high school and university is higher than that of girls.\textsuperscript{16} However, only 41.43 per cent of women of productive age were involved in productive work in 2002.\textsuperscript{17} According to a recent UNIFEM report,\textsuperscript{18} before the tsunami a large proportion of those women who were in work were involved in agriculture (65.2 per cent), with others in the services (13.4 per cent), trade (12.2 per cent), and manufacturing/industrial sectors (8.3 per cent). The same report states that the share of total household income earned by women in 2002 was 34.6 per cent. Thus, although education statistics do not show a large gender gap, women still make up the majority of those living in poverty.

\textbf{b. Women and gender relations in Aceh}

In the past, Acehnese women have played prominent roles in the history of the province,\textsuperscript{19} but there has been a decline in the role of women in public life. This can be seen, for example, in the low levels of female participation in the political process.

Acehnese women are caught between the social institutions of the uleamas (religious leaders), GAM, and the national government. Both religious leaders and GAM tend to want women to conform to their interpretation of Islam. This is seen, for example, in the obligation on women to wear headscarves. Though women activists in Aceh do not reject the wearing of headscarves, they stress the importance of a more tolerant way of implementing this rule.\textsuperscript{20}

The harassment experienced by women in Aceh due to this requirement is noted in a letter from the staff of a woman’s organisation (Flower Aceh), in reply to an Acehnese woman named Fitri:

“.......we inform Ms. Fitri that Flower Aceh rejects violence against women in any form (including violence against women by using religious reasons). Therefore, from the data gathered so far, violence towards women in the form of the ‘headscarves operation’ is not based on Islamic law. Take a look in the markets, and hear how men are shouting in the markets “I’ll kiss you if you don’t wear a headscarf”. Otherwise they pat a woman’s waist or breasts because the woman is not wearing a headscarf.....”\textsuperscript{21}

Marriage in Aceh is an important institution,\textsuperscript{22} and the most important aspect is to be married to a Muslim. Marriage is considered to be an important step in the process of reaching adulthood, and celibacy is against accepted norms, as stated by a female activist in Aceh:

“....the most important thing is the negative stigma [towards] women who have not married, so [parents] consider that the quicker [their daughter] marries, the better... [Women] who are poor usually get married not because of the stigma but for economic security.” - A., RpuK, a local women’s organisation

\textsuperscript{15} Laporan Ekonomi Kesra, June 1999.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, p.35. Compared with 71.2 per cent of men of a productive age. For these statistics, this refers to people above 10 years of age.
\textsuperscript{18} Augusta and Mueller, 2005.
\textsuperscript{19} As queens, admirals, guerrilla commanders, uleebalang (district chiefs), etc. Sofyan et al., 1994.
\textsuperscript{20} See, for example Noerdin.
\textsuperscript{21} www.indopubs.com, 13 October 1999.
\textsuperscript{22} Jayawardhana, 1977.
The interviews carried out at the research sites show that the average age of marriage is 18-20 for women and 21-25 for men. However, it is clear that levels of education are a vital factor, as women with a lower level of education tend to marry earlier. If a man intends to propose to a woman, a seulangkee or ‘middleman’ helps to establish contacts with the woman’s family. Both sides of the family will then discuss the bride price (see Chapter IV for an explanation of this), the date of the marriage, etc. In all these formal steps the dominant role of male figures, such as the seulangkee, religious leaders, and others, can clearly be seen. A female community leader in Lambaro Skep says:

“[Marriages] are organised by the village staff [usually men], such as Pak Imam... Pak Imam coordinates the marriage, and then preaches [during the marriage ceremony]...Then there is the Young Men’s Organisation leader who will mobilise the people to lend a hand [in order for the marriage ceremony to be successful].” - Snt., community leader

The ongoing conflict has exacerbated women’s subordination in the economic, social, cultural, religious, and political domains. The social disorder created by the conflict has made women victims of physical violence, sexual harassment, and abuse. Many Acehnese women have become widows as a consequence of the conflict and this has resulted in an increase of female-headed households, especially in areas where the conflict has been more intense.

c. The tsunami

The media have amply recorded the devastation caused by the tsunami in Indonesia and other affected countries. Indonesia was the country worst affected, as can be seen in Figure 3, and NAD was the most severely hit area.

### Figure 3

Number of people dead and missing in different countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Dead</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>95,000</td>
<td>133,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>5,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>10,744</td>
<td>5,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>5,384</td>
<td>3,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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23 in Indonesia, the leaders of this organisation is known as Ketua Pemuda
According to a preliminary assessment made soon after the disaster, the total damages and losses caused by the tsunami amount to Rp. 41.4 trillion, or $4.45bn. The same report makes it clear that the disaster primarily affected private assets and revenues, especially housing, commerce, agriculture and fisheries, and transport vehicles and services. Environmental damage was also significant, for example the loss of land use in coastal zones.

Evaluations of the relief operation are ongoing, and there is much that relief interventions have achieved. However, in the early weeks after the tsunami the survivors experienced a situation of enormous crisis and scarcity.

Women are generally more vulnerable to natural disasters for the following reasons:  
1) They have less access to resources.  
2) They are subordinated in terms of gender.  
3) Inadequate facilities provided following a disaster often create higher burdens for women in carrying out domestic tasks.  
4) There is the possibility of an increase in domestic and sexual violence.

Perhaps the most startling characteristic of the tsunami is that a greater number of women died than men. Though official statistics are unavailable, anecdotal evidence would point to this fact. The causes of this are complex and not fully understood, but one major factor was the unwillingness of women to abandon their children and their assets when the tsunami struck.

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26 Ibid.  
27 Kompas, 9 January 2005.  
28 PAHO, 2005.  
Chapter III
Changes After The Tsunami

In addition to the massive loss of life and widespread destruction, two major changes have occurred. Firstly, there have been changes in population structures, gender roles and marriage patterns in all the affected areas. Secondly, communities have been left to struggle with poverty and deprivation, in terms both of material poverty and of access to basic human rights, such as participation and social inclusion.

a. Population imbalance

In almost all of the villages of origin sampled, a higher percentage of women than men are dead or missing, as can be seen in Figure 4. Only in Mon Iken village in Aceh Besar district (on the east coast) and in Lancok village in Aceh Utara district (North Aceh) have more men died than women.

![Figure 4: Women and men dead and missing](image)

These figures are estimations based on data from kecamatan (sub-district) leaders, so caution needs to be exercised when interpreting them. Numbers were taken from interviews with community leaders if no secondary data concerning the number of dead and missing were available.
The same pattern can be seen in almost all of the camps sampled. Men consistently outnumber women (see Figure 5), and younger adults outnumber both children and elderly people (see Figure 6). In Figure 5, the numbers refer to the villages in which the informants are currently living.

**Figure 5**

**Distribution of survivors by sex**

Figure 5 shows that women outnumber men in only five villages: Keude Aron, Keude Bayu, Keude Tringgading, Keude Panteraja, and Sangso. However, in four of these villages there were more women than men prior to the tsunami, perhaps due to male migration, or to conflict.

The majority of survivors, both male and female, are in the teenage and adult range of 15-45. This is perhaps because they were physically and mentally strong enough to survive the tsunami and the post-tsunami period.

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31 Again, these figures represent the survivors in each camp or barracks, and are based on an estimation made by the leaders of the camp/barracks or leaders of the village where the camps are located. The estimations were made by carrying out interviews with community leaders if secondary data were not available.

32 Again, the figures represent the survivors in each camp or barracks, based on an estimation made by the leaders of the camp/barracks or leaders of the village where the camps are located. The estimations were made by carrying out interviews with community leaders if secondary data were not available.
Figure 6 confirms that in all age categories (except for that of children below five years old) there are higher numbers of male survivors.

b. The different faces of poverty

Informants stressed that they have experienced a dramatic decline in their standards of living due to the loss of land, housing, important documents, and livelihood opportunities. Each individual, depending on their gender, age, the nature of their work, and the place where they live, experiences downward mobility differently. Disasters are not gender-neutral, and therefore the consequences of these losses also differ according to gender.

Clearly one of the most significant losses is that of homes and land. Figure 7 sets out the opinions of survivors on the impact that these losses are likely to have on their lives. Most survivors are afraid that they will not be able to reclaim their land or houses, mainly because documents have disappeared.

**Figure 7**
Problems encountered due to loss of land and houses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems encountered /fears for the future</th>
<th>Form of accommodation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afraid that land and/or house will be owned by somebody else</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know the exact location of the house/land</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not able to rebuild the house</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Acehnese have a parental or bilateral kinship system of inheritance, in accordance with Islamic law. This means that both girls and boys have the right to inherit their parents’ property. Discussions among extended family members are usually the first step in dividing the inheritance, as an NGO worker explains:

"The main principle concerning inheritance in Aceh is that it is decided through dialogue (musyawarah) among the family. It is common that the men are willing to give a larger share of the inheritance to women... in fact it is advised to do so in a family. Only when there are disagreements do the people go back to Islamic law." - A., RpUK, a women's organisation

According to a village leader in Lambada Lhok (M.N., male, 31 years old), female survivors usually do obtain their share of the property they have inherited. However, the data collected did not explain how the inheritance is divided, or who decides on the share of female survivors.

A second important question concerns the fate of property owned by women who have died. Our research reveals that such property is usually given to the deceased woman’s husband and children. All decisions are made solely on the basis of Islamic law, cultural norms, or agreements among family members, rather than through formal mechanisms of civil law. However, as in the question of inheritance for surviving women, the extended family has a great influence on what is decided. Sometimes women’s property is also taken care of by community leaders, as stated by a leader in Alue Dayah Tengoh (Banda Aceh City):

"Their property [the property of women who have died] is taken care of by the community. People from other areas who come and say that they are entitled to the inheritance will, of course, be questioned.... We will try to trap them with our questions [in order to see whether they are telling the truth or not]." - F., community leader

Women tend to own jewellery, while land and houses usually belong to men. Because jewellery is more ‘mobile’ than land or houses, it is usually women who sell their property when poverty demands it. Given the assumption that economic assets determine a woman’s position in the household, the division of ownership based on gender creates vulnerabilities for women.

Informants point to the loss of land certificates as one of their most acute problems (see Figure 8). Most community leaders interviewed (81.2 per cent) say that land has become a major problem after the tsunami. In the absence of land certificates, they are unable to calculate precisely the position of land or of houses that have been destroyed. Some efforts have been made to support people in reclaiming their land, but the process is far from complete, as stated by the following informant:

"Until now they have only managed to set margins to our land and identify our houses. But they are not sure whether the measurements and process of identification are correct, and there are no documents to prove it." - Jwrh, Dayah Mamplam, woman
Figure 8
Problems encountered due to loss of documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems encountered</th>
<th>Type of accommodation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camps N%</td>
<td>Barracks N%</td>
<td>Host families N%</td>
<td>Total N%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings of insecurity due to loss of ID card</td>
<td>10 38.5</td>
<td>3 11.5</td>
<td>1 3.8</td>
<td>14 53.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frustration due to the difficulty of processing new documents</td>
<td>8 30.8</td>
<td>3 11.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>11 42.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict with others in claiming property because no documentation is available</td>
<td>1 3.8</td>
<td>6 23.1</td>
<td>1 3.8</td>
<td>26 100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feelings of insecurity that accompany the loss of ID cards are especially common in areas prone to conflict, such as Bireun. In Sangso village almost all respondents are afraid that, without their ID cards, the military will accuse them of being members of GAM. Interviews show that the loss of ID cards is less worrying for older women than it is for men or for young women, although older women can be still be accused of being one of the Inong Bale (GAM's women soldiers).

Informants also say that without an ID card they are unable to access food aid. In interviews, informants also mentioned the loss of vehicle documents as causing problems, because they can be accused of having a stolen vehicle, especially when riding a motorcycle. Informants who have children, or young informants of high school age, are worried about losing their school diplomas, because without such proof, they may not able to continue their education, or search for a job.

Processing new documents is a complicated and time-consuming business. This creates difficulties for women, who have little time to spare due to their daily activities, such as running the household and trying to find a livelihood. Some informants point out a lack of money as being a major problem in processing new documents. Only those who have the money are able to process the documents quickly.

"In processing diplomas or other documents, people are inhibited by bureaucracy, money, and time. It is better for them to allocate their time to searching for money." - FGD with men, Alue Dayah Tengoh

c. The nature and quality of relief

According to the informants interviewed, aid is distributed by various organisations. Many complain that the assistance given is not sufficient for the whole community, and that only certain people have access to it. In conditions such as these, women become more vulnerable in accessing aid as they lack the power to compete with men.

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33 Those involved include Aceh Sepakat, ACT, ADRA, Al Afghani, Bulan Sabit Merah, Care, CARDI, CRS CRU, DASCA, Dompet Dhuafa, ICRC, Indonesian government, IOM, IRD Islamic Relief, KKSP, Lasykar Mujahidin, Masyarakat Bangka Belitung, Masyarakat Riau, Mercy Corps, OBOR, OMAS, Oxfam, Organisasi Yesus Christus, PKS, PMI, RCTI, Satkorlak, Save the Children, UNHCR, Unicef, Walubi WFP, World Vision YPI.
c.1 Livelihoods

As mentioned in the introduction, affected populations have lost not only their families and property, but also the means of making a living. In general, they are now dependent on the support of national and international institutions. The informants interviewed mentioned various organisations that have supported them in rebuilding their livelihoods, such as IRD, Oxfam, Kuwait, Japan\textsuperscript{34} UNDP, KKSP, CRS, World Relief, Mercy, IOM, PKS, and Save the Children.

Though interviewees say that these organisations give significant support, they complain that some - specifically IRD, Japan, and UNDP - do not include everyone in their livelihood programmes. They say that others - Oxfam, Mercy, IOM, PKS, Save the Children, and ALISIE - give only temporary earning opportunities. There are other problems. For example, programmes organised by the government of Kuwait do not pay enough attention to women’s needs, and the boats Kuwait distribute are not suitable for the local sea conditions in Aceh.\textsuperscript{35}

A majority of women (88 per cent) and men (76 per cent) living in camps say that they are involved in income-generating activities provided by various organisations and donor countries. Half of the women and 62.5 per cent of the men living in barracks are involved in similar activities. None of the informants living with host families are involved, as donor organisations are active only in organised IDP communities. Those living in camps have a better chance than those living in barracks of becoming involved in such activities, perhaps because barracks are still new and have not yet gained the attention of donors.

\textbf{Figure 9}
\textit{Involvement of women and men in income-generating activities, based on type of accommodation}

Clearly, sources of income are both limited and precarious. Most of the women (88 per cent) and all of the men who have the opportunity to earn income are involved in cash for work programmes. In some areas such as Sangso, cash for work programmes are carried out exclusively by men. Some say that this is because the work is considered too hard for women. However, in other villages, women who have never before worked in ‘low-status’ jobs of this sort are beginning to compete

\textsuperscript{34} It was not clear from the interviews whether it is the Japanese/Kuwait government or other organisations from those two countries that provided the assistance.

\textsuperscript{35} Based on an interview with a community leader in Alue Dayah Tengoh.
with men. Unfortunately, no matter how welcome and essential cash for work programmes are, these opportunities are only temporary. In addition, they do not provide men or women with the chance to resume their original occupations, for which they have skills and experience. Only three women from camps had been given capital to start their own businesses, though perhaps this promises more for their future.

Fifty-five per cent of the women interviewed say that they would like to be given training and the equipment to enhance their skills, such as cooking, making craft products, or tailoring. Women also say that they would like to be provided with animals, such as chickens or cows, as this would allow them to run a business close to home.

**c.2. Shelter**

Shelter seems to be a deep source of concern and dissatisfaction for most of the informants. Of the 41 women interviewed, 87.8 per cent stated that they were dissatisfied with their accommodation. Both men and women express almost the same concerns, which are shown in Figure 10. As mentioned above, there are three basic types of accommodation: camps, barracks, and host families. Each type of accommodation has its own advantages and disadvantages, and sources of dissatisfaction clearly differ. Although people seem to be favourable to them initially, the barracks are the least popular, because of inadequate facilities and poor access to public services. For example, many families with school-age children complained that they did not have access to education facilities. One informant said:

“The location of the barracks is far from the school, so it is difficult for the children to go to school.” - S.l., male, 49 years old, married, Keude Tringgading

Because of this, some people have started to move back to camps, and even those who have not moved are reluctant to stay.

The biggest cause of dissatisfaction is bad sanitation, and 33 per cent of informants dislike barracks because of their lack of privacy. The same informant says:

“The barracks are not equipped with rooms, which makes it hard for married couples to have intercourse.” - S.l., male, 49 years old, married, Keude Tringgading

Of 56 people living in camps, most (59 per cent) say they are dissatisfied because they do not have enough space, and because the camps are too hot during the day and too cold at night. Most of the informants (60 per cent) living with host families point to a lack of privacy as the major problem with this type of accommodation.

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36 Kompas, 2005.
37 Piping, 2005.
Almost half of the respondents (47.8 per cent) say that they would like to have their houses rebuilt, while others say that they would like to be relocated (30.4 per cent), or would like to have the facilities in the camps/barracks improved (21.5 per cent). Unfortunately, even though many of the respondents say that they would like to go back to their village of origin, 90.5 per cent say that they are unable to do so because they would have no shelter there, while a small number (5.4 per cent) say that they have not gone back because they are still afraid of the sea.

c.3. Food
Most community members have lost the capacity to produce food (through farming or fishing), or to acquire it by earning money from an occupation. This means that large numbers of people are still dependent on food aid. The importance of food aid is highlighted in the following statement:

“they (the people) are given food, coffee with milk..... They were extremely happy with all that.” - Snrt., female community leader, Lambaro Skep

Of 80 respondents surveyed, most say that they receive rice (92.6 per cent), eggs, meat, and vegetables (80.5 per cent), cooking oil (69.5 per cent), instant noodles (89 per cent), and bread (40.2 per cent). Others say that they also receive milk (26.8 per cent) and sugar and coffee (14.6 per cent). One informant says that he has also received canned beverages (1.2 per cent).

38 Though many of the informants do live in their village of origin, they are living in camps/barracks/host families within the village, when they would actually like to go back to their own land.
Generally, it would seem that only about half of the displaced women and men interviewed think that the food distributed is sufficient in quantity - a worryingly large percentage.

c.4. Health

The communities identified the indicators of adequate health care as the provision of health posts in the camps/barracks or near host families; the fees charged for services; whether or not female health staff are available; and whether or not the health posts provide a 24-hour service. According to the community members interviewed, the services available are shown in Figure 12.

In addition to the above services, there are six main health programmes in operation in the villages sampled: free check-ups (in 12 villages), provision of vitamins for children (10 villages), immunisation (seven villages), provision of free medicine (three villages), socialisations concerning health (eight

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**Figure 11**

Women’s and men’s perceptions of sufficiency of food aid

**Figure 12**

Availability of health facilities, based on type of accommodation
villages), and environmental hygiene\textsuperscript{39} (three villages). Most of the villages have more than one health programme running at the same time; in Rukoh, for example, there are both free check-ups and free medicine.

Though almost all villages have access to health posts and other health programmes, half of the informants complain that medicines, staff, and equipment are all limited. Figure 13 shows the most common diseases and ailments among displaced people. Skin disease is the main health problem mentioned, followed by coughs and fevers.

**Figure 13**

*Most common health problems among displaced people*

Respondents were also asked about psychological symptoms, in order to assess the mental health of the community. Of 80 respondents, 50 say that they have experienced changes in behaviour, both in terms of their own behaviour and in others’. Figure 14 shows the negative psychological symptoms they mention.

**Figure 14**

*Psychological problems reported by community members*

\textsuperscript{39} This involves cleaning the village of rubbish and other material that threatens the health of the community.
c.5. Gender-based violence

Changes in behaviour are not uncommon in the aftermath of a conflict or disaster. Figure 14 shows that aggressive behaviour is the most frequently reported type of problem. There were not many reports of increased domestic violence towards women, however. Only three respondents (one in each type of accommodation) reported an increase in domestic violence. From such information it is hard to conclude whether the incidence of domestic violence really is low, or whether it exists but it is not reported.

It should be noted that domestic violence is not an easy phenomenon to observe. Displaying domestic disagreements (especially if they turn physical) in front of other people is a common taboo in most parts of the world. Other forms of domestic violence can be seen in instances where women are forced into sex with their husbands against their will. Many respondents did not acknowledge these incidents, as this is considered a private matter. However, three people living in camps, two people in barracks, and one person in a host family say that they know of women in these kinds of situations.

When resources are scarce, the selling of sex for money or for goods is also known to occur. Eight interviewees stated that they know of women who are now providing sex for men in return for food, protection, or money.

Like domestic violence, rape is a very sensitive issue. Most of the respondents say that they have never heard of rape occurring in their current accommodation. However, six people stated that rapes do occur, and added that there is a support system that deals with these incidents.

Many of the respondents say that a better religious foundation should be provided in order to prevent violence against women. Another measure would be to limit encounters between young men and women.

c.6. Reproductive health

The use of contraceptives is always an important factor to understand in the context of reproductive health. According to respondents, the contraceptive methods commonly used among the sampled population are the injection and the pill, both female methods. A quarter of the respondents did not know what kind of contraception they or people around them used, more than half of this number being men.

While gender seems to determine who has an understanding of contraceptive use, educational background and marital status do not have any significant influence on a person's knowledge. This can be seen by the fact that more than half of the people who claimed no knowledge of the issue are married, or have been married. The responses given to the researchers may be a sign that contraception is a sensitive issue, especially in the current conditions. Because many people lost their children to the tsunami, there is a general desire to have more children. This raises the question of whether there may have been a change in attitudes towards contraception and its use. The issue is discussed by a health official in Sangso and members of the community:

"[People here] wish to have more children. This is based on the fact that none of the women have asked for contraception from us. Maybe they still believe the slogan ‘many children, more wealth’," - S., 26 years old, health official, Sangso
“I would like to have more children, if Allah permits me... [I would like] to have five children. I would like to have more girls.... if possible three girls and two boys.” - C., widower, 27 years old, Lambada Lhok

“Of course there is a possibility that people want to have more children, especially those who are still young, and those who have lost their children in the tsunami.” - N., single woman, 22 years old, Keude Panteraja

However, some respondents expressed a desire not to have more children in the near future, as they consider the current living conditions unsuitable:

“Some plan to have more children, but it depends on each family.... But for the time being people do not plan to have more children, because what is important for them now is to find shelter and a source of livelihood.” - FGD for men, Lampaya

The limited availability of modern means of contraception in the camps, barracks, and host families is a problem. Sixty per cent of respondents claim they have no access to modern contraception, while 83.75 per cent say that there is no access even to condoms. Most people claim that the condoms available are given only to married couples.

The limited access to contraception in many areas creates a higher chance of unwanted pregnancies. However, 83.75 per cent of the respondents (men and women) say they would keep their baby if strategies to avoid pregnancy failed. The rest are unsure what they would do if an unwanted pregnancy occurred.

Again, as in the case of rape and violence, it is important to stress that issues concerning reproductive health, contraception, and unwanted pregnancies remain sensitive, and thus deserve more detailed and long-term research.

**Figure 15**

Decision to continue unwanted pregnancies, by sex

Pregnant women describe the health services that are available to them as usually consisting of daily check-ups, blood checks, and the provision of vitamins and nutritious food or drinks. Not many pregnant women, either in camps or in barracks, have the privilege of having a midwife or other health official visit them, especially on a daily basis. Figure 16 shows that midwives are by far the most popular choice of assistance when it comes to delivery, followed by hospitals, community health centres, and private doctors.

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Here, modern contraception refers to pills, IUD, injections, and implants.
Preferred health providers for delivery, based on type of accommodation

Though health facilities in the present context can be described as minimal, the incidence of women or babies dying during delivery is very small. Twenty five per cent of the respondents recall such incidents. In such cases, death is usually caused by haemorrhaging, anaemia, or tetanus. If a problem occurs during pregnancy, 40% of the respondents say that it is their husband that decides what to do, while 51.3% say that it would be the decision of both their husbands and their extended families. The majority of respondents (96.2 per cent) say that women breast-feed their babies.

Another important reproductive health issue is that of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Of 60 respondents in camps, 65 per cent (19 men and 20 women) have heard of STDs and HIV/AIDS, while all of the respondents in barracks say that they have heard of these diseases. Such differences are difficult to explain. Only one person out of six living with host families had never heard of either AIDS or STDs.

Almost all of the people who have heard of STDs are afraid that they might be infected by them. The solution to the problem, they say, is to obey religious values and to avoid promiscuous sex. Respondents also claim that people who have already contracted AIDS usually see a doctor, and pray more in the hope of forgiveness from Allah. Unfortunately, access to HIV/AIDS treatment for people in camps, barracks, or host families is very scarce.

c.7. Sanitation

Respondents mentioned many organisations that provide water and sanitation facilities. Among them Oxfam, IRD, Unicef, PMI, Kimprawil NAD, Spanish Red Cross, PDAM, World Relief, Islamic Relief, Kreasi, Dian Desa, Bayumas, PT Arun, and PKS.

41 Among them Oxfam, IRD, Unicef, PMI, Kimprawil NAD, Spanish Red Cross, PDAM, World Relief, Islamic Relief, Kreasi, Dian Desa, Bayumas, PT Arun, and PKS.
are only made out of tarpaulin and are often blocked. One of the health staff in Lambaro Skep was frustrated because the limited access to water in the village affected her services to her patients:

“In villages [such as this one] there is no water, so when women give birth in my house, it is so hard to find water because many of the pipes are broken and never fixed.” - Sn., female, 40 years old, health worker in Lambaro Skep

The villages of Lampaseh Kota, Keude Panteraja, and Alue Dayah Tengoh do not have any latrines or bathrooms. The people of Keude Panteraja usually visit the beach early in the morning as a substitute for toilets. They are also forced to use sea-water to bathe, which can be very uncomfortable.

Figure 17 shows the provision of separate bathrooms and latrines for men and women, by type of accommodation. Barracks are more secure compared with camps, because of the relatively permanent materials with which they are built. However, the barracks do not have separate latrines or bathrooms for men and women. This lack of privacy can be very stressful for women: 23.3 per cent of female respondents state that they are uncomfortable with the fact that there are no separate latrines, while 51.6 per cent have the same concerns over bathrooms. Although many women have complained about this, very little has been done to accommodate their concerns.

Camps in three villages (Rukoh, Lampaya, and Suak Nie) have separate latrines for men and women. In Rukoh there are six latrines each for men and women, and in Lampaya there are eight latrines in total.

Only one person living with a host family said that a separate latrine and bathroom was available.

Figure 17
Provision of separate latrines and bathrooms in camps and barracks

Of the women interviewed, 73.2 per cent say they feel unsafe going to the latrines, while 75.6 per cent say they feel unsafe using the bathrooms. Mostly this is due to the physical conditions: for example, the doors are made of plastic, there are no locks on the doors, and the latrines are very dirty.

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42 Though 16 villages were sampled, the total of accommodation types is 17. This is because in Keude Tringgading there are two forms of accommodation, a camp and a barracks, both of which were sampled. The three villages that do not have any latrines or bathrooms at all are included in the category of accommodation without separate latrines and bathrooms for men and women.
“[I feel uncomfortable because] there are no appropriate bathrooms, only ones made from old iron sheets.” - A., widow, Alue Dayah Tengoh
Chapter IV
Dynamics Of A Changing Society

The previous chapter summarised the research findings on the population imbalance due to the high incidence of mortality among women; the losses experienced by the communities; and their reactions to the relief provided by various organisations. This chapter looks in more detail at the immediate and long-term consequences of the changes to people’s lives, with particular emphasis on gender relations.

a. Changes in gender relations

The large number of women who died in the tsunami means that there are now many widowers in Aceh. These men are either trying to adjust to their new roles in domestic work and care-giving, or are trying to find other women to fill these ‘traditional’ gender roles, as well as to provide comfort and rebuild the future. Women are trying to adjust to new roles as they take on more productive responsibilities in the household. Differences in access to resources determine their success in fulfilling this new role. Our research shows that a change in gender roles can be very distressing for men. Some widowers ask close female relatives to take care of their children and to do other domestic work.

“Because my wife died, I have to wash my own clothes, but I take my son to be taken care of by my sister-in-law, my wife’s sister... I am really frustrated because I can no longer take care of myself. During the day I go off to find work, and during the night I have to take care of the family.” - Abd., widower, 40 years old

“When men want to go to work, they have wives to take care of the house, so without any wife, it is hard for them.” - N.S., 39-year-old woman, Lambaro Skep

As well as relying on female relatives, widowers sometimes pay other women to manage their domestic tasks, especially washing clothes, cooking, or ‘home-making’. An interesting aspect of these new arrangements revealed by the research is that women take care of the children of widowers only if they are from their own close family. Many women fear that looking after the child of a man to whom they are not related will have negative consequences on their reputation. Child-rearing, as opposed to other domestic work, involves affection and care, and therefore is seen as being ‘too dangerous’ for women to be too involved with. This can be seen in the following statements:

“I do not have any intention of supporting widowers [to help raise their children], because I have my own husband and I am scared that people will say negative things about me.” - Rk., 43 years old, married

“Taking care of a widower, aside from [a widower who is] our own brother, is considered disgraceful in our society.” - Nh., 22 years old, single woman.

“[We] only help do the small things for widowers, such as keeping an eye on their children when they are away.” - Kw., 40 years old, married

During an FGD with women in Kuede Bayu (on the north coast of NAD), the respondents suggested that it is actually easier for men to switch gender roles than it is for women, because they are physically stronger.
“Men are able to do everything that women can... except becoming pregnant and breastfeeding, right? Everything they are able to [do], but they're just too lazy to.” - FGD with women, 18 April 2005

However, the fact must be taken into consideration that, although men may be physically capable of doing domestic work, they lack the necessary skills and confidence for it. This is especially true in Acehnese society, as men are socialised to perceive domestic tasks as being solely the preserve of women.

The tsunami has also left many female-headed households. These widows too are struggling to adapt to the social transformations.

“Now widowers and widows are both facing a very tough time. While widowers are able to bring happiness to their children even though they have no companion, widows have to struggle to make a living in order to make their children happy.” - FGD for men, Sangso

Because women are traditionally confined to the private domain, the men assume that widows are not able to secure the well-being of their family, and therefore are not able to bring their children happiness. On the other hand, this statement also shows that men acknowledge that access to employment or income-generating activities is not so easy for women. One of the reasons for this is that women lack the skills to perform high-paying jobs. Widows who are not able to find employment often help widowers with their domestic tasks in return for small favours such as food.

“Widows are looking for income to secure the well-being of their children, but they are limited to certain jobs such as being a maid or washing other people’s clothes.” - Interviewer’s notes, Sangso

“Widows who have not remarried will try to fight for a living, such as drying fish and selling cookies.” - A., widow, 37 years old, Keude Panteraja

“We help the widowers with the cooking, cleaning, washing, and child care. They give us fish from the sea as a reward. We accept their gifts.” - FGD for women, Lambada Lhok

“Because the widowers are so busy with the camp, the widows usually help cook and take care of the widowers, who are busy themselves taking care of the community [with tasks] such as food distribution.” - N., widow, 39 years old, Rukoh

It is commonly believed throughout the community that women who do not have children have a lighter burden than those who do. This can be seen in the following statements:

“Everyone shares what little food is distributed.... but it is easier for me because I am a widow with no children, so I do not have many responsibilities [compared with widows who have children].” - Jn., widow, 50 years old, Sangso

“My greatest concern is how I will ever be able to find a living for me and my children. I am worried about whether I will be able to educate my children, at least until they finish university.” - K., widow, 23 years old, Lambada Lhok

The tsunami has resulted in change and adjustment in Acehnese values and traditions. For example, a local newspaper reports that a mass marriage took place in June 2005 in the TVRI Complex camp. This
mass wedding did not apply the traditional rules common in Acehnese marriages, so as to reduce the cost of the marriage ceremony.44

Though no mass marriages were carried out during the time of the research, changes in marriage customs and traditions are becoming more prominent. Marriage in Aceh tends to be between people from the same community but, because of the small number of women left alive, surviving men must now consider marriage outside their community. For example, there seems to be a tendency towards out-group marriages in Suak Nie village. This is due to the fact that only about 15-20 women survived the tsunami (out of a total of 139 survivors). When asked about remarrying as a possible plan for the near future, some male informants bluntly say bluntly that there are no more young women in the village.

People in a village in Banda Aceh seem to view marriage as a way of overcoming the problem of under-population, with the condition that those marrying outside the village would come back with their new spouse.

“Marriages are now carried out according to our current condition, where nobody sees it as a problem to marry people from other villages..... Some of the men intend to marry [women] from other villages, but usually they bring the women back to our barracks.” - A.J., male, Dayah Mamplam

“Women are concerned about the human resources for this village, so they tend to ask the widowers who marry other women from outside the village to bring them back to our village.” - N., 39 years old, health official in Alue Dayah Tengoh

Many widowers perceive marriage as a way of adjusting to the changes in their lives, especially the distress of having to live alone and carry out domestic tasks.

“[We] are concerned about our children, what their future will be like, who will guide them.... There is nobody to share our thoughts.... So to overcome this problem, we think that the best solution is to get married.” - FGD for men, Keude Bayu, 16 April 2005

Marriages among different social classes are also becoming more common. Many informants perceive the highest social strata in Aceh to be people of uleebalang lineage, who are believed to be part of the royal family. Men of this group are known as Teuku and women are known as Cut. Another group, Sayyid (men) and Syarifah (women), are believed to be descendants of Muhammad.

“......Ideally, a Teuku is supposed to be married to a Cut, while a Sayyid should be married to a Syarifah.” - A., RPuK

“.... a Syarifah is not to marry anyone but a Sayyid.” - M.S., male, Keude Aron

However, with the tsunami, social classes are becoming blurred, and there is greater potential for marriages between people from different social strata.

“There is no social class among us now, so I am happy about this.” - S.Y., 27 years old, health official, Keude Bayu

44 Kedaulatan Rakyat, 6 June 2005.
Most community leaders interviewed point to the fact that in Aceh, deciding to remarry is an easier option for men than it is for women. Under Islamic law, women are forbidden to remarry until four months and 10 days after the death of their husband. This waiting period is intended to ensure that, if a woman is pregnant, then it can be assumed that the child she is carrying is her late husband’s. This is important in Islam, because knowing the father of a child will influence inheritance, wali nikah for girls (i.e. who has the right to hand over the girl when she is married), and indeed whom the child is allowed to marry.

In Alue Dayah Tengoh camp, everybody is either single, a widow, or a widower. None of the widows have remarried, whereas eight widowers have already found another wife. However, some community members predict that when the waiting period for women has passed, more marriages will occur.

Also, in Acehnese tradition it is inappropriate for a woman to ask a man to marry her. This is mentioned in almost all of the interviews with community leaders, and is sometimes mentioned by community members themselves:

“Many widows want to get married again, but it is in our tradition that women tend to wait for men to ask for their hand in marriage, so men are the ones who come [to the women].” - Rk., 43 years old, married, Tringgading

When parents were asked whether they would allow their daughters to marry widowers, they gave a variety of answers. Some parents would not mind, even if the widower were much older than their daughter, as long as she was happy and secure economically, and provided that she finished at least her high school education. A small number of informants point to the daughter’s wishes as the most important aspect in giving permission to marry:

“Many parents here even encouraged their daughters to marry widowers, especially wealthy ones.... They can secure their economic future [by marrying a wealthy widower].” - E.S., married woman, 26 years old, Lapang

“I’ve heard of young women asking their friends. ‘Why are you willing to marry a widower?’....They answer, ‘If we get married to a widower, we won’t have to be so busy looking for money’”. - FGD for women, Suak Nie

“Basically, all parents want their children to marry other single [people], but if both of the children are desperate to get married, then it is the parents’ obligation to give them permission.” - M.S., male, 50 years old, Keude Aron

For young single women who may have lost most of their family, a quick marriage would presumably be an attractive proposition for personal and economic security.

Young men who cannot afford to give much financial stability to women also tend to marry widows, as they often have at least some of the property left by their previous husbands. On average, men have to hand over 5-10 mayams of gold as a ‘bride price’. In higher social classes, the bride price can reach 100 grams of gold or around 30 mayams. Therefore, marrying a widow can seem an attractive proposition for a man who might find it difficult to offer financial security to his new wife.

45 1 mayam represents 3 grams of gold. 1 mayam of gold costs around Rp 450,000, which means that in order for a man in Lambada Lhok to get married, he has to give at least Rp 2,700,000 to the bride (based on interviews with leaders from various communities).
“Young men who marry widows, they say ‘We don’t have to buy another bed, there is already the bed provided by the widow’s late husband.’” - FGD for men, Suak Nie

“Many men want to remarry, but some have no money, so one of the ways to resolve this is by marrying their sister-in-law.” - FGD for men, Suak Ribee

Clearly, those with access to material resources are in a better position to look for a bride, given the tradition of paying bride price. According to an activist in a woman’s organisation in Banda Aceh, some men even give their bride a house and land at marriage. However, while this can represent security and protection for a woman, it also reinforces the idea of her inferiority.

“Acehnese society is a society with a patriarchal system where men are always first, especially in the family, which lowers women’s position. However, the positive side is that the Acehnese system protects women when they are married, such as in Pidie and Aceh Besar, where men hand over land and a house for the women whom they marry.” - A., RPuK

Finally, the practices of ganti tikar and turun ranjang (in which a man marries a sister-in-law after the death of his wife) appear to be common. Ganti tikar is when a man marries the younger sister of his wife, while turun ranjang is when a man marries an older sister. The aim of this tradition is to maintain familial ties with the late sister’s husband and their children.

“It is part of our tradition that when our older sister dies, then the younger sister will take her place.” - FGD with women, Lapang

“Here, if [a young woman] gets married to an older man, it is usually with the husband of her sister, if the sister dies. This is to strengthen family ties.” - FGD for women, Lampaseh Kota

b. Living ‘normal’ lives and building for the future

According to the informants, ‘normal’ would mean that their basic needs are met. Different people clearly have different basic needs. Some point to a capacity to secure their livelihoods, some to the importance of sanitation, and others to food.

It is hard to think of normality when conditions remain so unsatisfactory. For example, in Keude Aron (Aceh Barat), the women who joined the FGD complained of the fact that there was no well-defined leadership in the distribution of aid. The village head never visits the camps and thus does not know the conditions in which people there are living. They are also confused about whom they can express their feelings to, as they are not sure who is actually in charge.

The loss of husbands and other family members creates a great deal of sorrow for women. This is especially true if they previously depended on their husbands for income, since procuring a livelihood then becomes a major concern. Food aid and the establishment of barracks give them a sense of security, and thus temporary relief. However, they understand that dependency on foreign aid cannot go on forever:

“If no foreign aid came to support us, all the people of Leupung would starve to death, because the way I see it, the government does not care about our living conditions in the barracks and our lack of food.” - Jwrh., 10 April 2005
Men too are concerned about immediate survival. A man in Keude Bayu stresses the importance of access to livelihood opportunities for him and for other men: the Acehnese still consider men as the main breadwinners, with women complementing this role by taking care of the house.

“I need money to start a business - this will lift my spirits and hopes.” - Muzakir, 25 years old, single, Keude Bayu

Most of the communities sampled were fishing villages, where before the tsunami women helped the men when they returned from the sea with the catch. They either fixed the nets or were involved in selling the fish. However, many women have now lost their livelihoods because they have no husband to fish, and therefore no fish to sell. Women who were housewives are also looking for ways to earn an income.

“[Before the tsunami], I did not work [I was a housewife].... If I were given some money, I would like to open a ‘warung’ [small shop] to help earn income.” - Jwrh., woman, Dayah Mamplam

“Now everyone, including widows, is working here and there to earn income.... [They] clean the fish, dry the fish, and some sell snacks.” - Az., woman, 37 years old, Keude Pante Raja

Another major concern for women is the lack of access to sanitation, as explained earlier. A woman in Dayah Mamplam explains:

“A place to bathe has been built for us, and also latrines, but there is no water.... So we have to search for a ‘toilet from nature’ where there is no need for water. We have to go to the hills, far from the barracks, as there is no decent toilet here.” - Jwrh., 10 April 2005

Many women who have young daughters are afraid for their safety. Teenagers in camps are now socialising with peers of the opposite sex, without much supervision from parents. A woman in Keude Aron fears that her daughter will be seduced by one of the many widowers who are living in the same camp. A young woman from Keude Aron expressed serious worry at having to live in a camp, as people come and go as they please. She also mentioned that people are engaging in more open sexual relationships than before, such as dating.

“There is nobody to protect us from outsiders [who come] to date people living in this camp. Maybe one day they will be a threat to us.” - S.H., single female, 18 years old, Keude Aron

The potential threat of sexual harassment is often present in post-disaster or conflict periods, and personal space and privacy is important to ensure that women are protected from such abuse. However, many women in Keude Aron say that they prefer to live in camps where there are many men, as they feel safe and protected.

Many people feel deeply distressed because of the loss of their spouse or other family members. Above all, women are concerned about the future of the children who have lost their mothers. Surviving women are also concerned about the development of their children, as mentioned by one of the FGD participants in Lambaro Skep:

46 Andriyani, 2005.
“I don’t know what more to say. My child is always asking when his father is going to come home, saying ‘If it is taking so long [for him to come home], why don’t we go search for him in Banda Aceh…’. My child is always praying. When I see him lift his hand in prayer, I cannot hide my tears any longer…” - FGD with women, Sangso

Many parents are also concerned about their children’s education. Many of those in displaced communities are no longer able to send their children to school. They are hoping for aid that will enable their children to finish their education, by relieving them of the need to pay school fees.

“We want better education for our children, [but] of course that would need money, because there are books, uniforms, and other school materials that we need to buy. I am just hoping that in the future my husband will work again, so we can support our child to go to school.” - M., married woman, 24 years old, Lampaseh Kota

b.1 Moving on

Settling down and having a place they can call their own is very important for all the survivors. Having been displaced from their homes, many Acehnese have to decide where to settle in the future. Many informants insist that they do not have any intention to move to another place, but want to return to their place of origin. However, most of those who want to go back say that they will only go when other community members go. This is to ensure they can maintain the close relationships amongst themselves.

“[Going back to my village is important] because I feel safe being with people I already know. [Our] togetherness as a family will also be maintained.” - Mz., male, 25 years old, Keude Bayu

Women tend to rely on their husbands or on the community to decide where to move to; they find it hard to make their own decisions, as indicated by some of the women in Keude Aron and a woman activist interviewed.

“Many women who still have husbands just follow wherever their husbands take them, while widows usually just follow [male] neighbours in migrating.” - FGD with women, Keude Aron

“The position of women in Aceh is very weak…Everything is arranged by their family [men].” - W., Solidaritas Perempuan

The influence of men (especially among women who have husbands) is also clearly seen in the close statement below:

“I need to be sure that my household stays firm and communication can be carried out, but the most important thing that determines where I migrate anywhere would be that I am with my wife. I need to ensure that my biological needs can be fulfilled.” - T.A., Keude Bayu, married man and religious leader, 45 years old

However, women also support the idea that men’s biological needs must be satisfied to make them feel secure and happy:

“[Their biological needs are not fulfilled], [they feel] tortured, and it is hard for them to find wives because there are so few women left.” - FGD for women, Keude Aron
It appears that the factors influencing the possibility of migration differ between men with children and those without. Widowers who have children find it harder than single men or widowers who have no children to decide if, and where, to go. Widowers with children have to consider child care, and thus whether they live near women, especially their female relatives. Single men, on the other hand, tend to choose according to where they are able to work and sustain their livelihoods.

Purely practical considerations are not the only concerns for the people affected by the tsunami. In Dayah Mamplam, people said that being able to live with others provides them with a glimpse of happiness, as they are able to share thoughts and feelings, as well as responsibilities. However, with the death of so many women, this is not easy, as women feel that they can express their feelings more openly with other women than with men.

“We feel safe around many women, because if there is a problem we can discuss it. With other women, we are more open... When there are many women, we can carry out activities for women and... we just feel safe when we see many women around.” - FGD with women, Rukoh

Because so many women have died, there are few left who can take care of the deceased and carry out other ceremonies associated with death.47

Apart from being able to form closer bonds with others experiencing the same frustration and sorrow, one factor that has strengthened communities is that they are still able to practise their beliefs and traditions, although perhaps not as well as before the tsunami.

“We are still able to practise our religion, though in an emergency condition [it cannot be carried out as well as before]. The mosque that we are using now is a bit small and very simple, because the other mosque that was supposed to be built was never completely finished.” - Jwrh., woman, 10 April 2005

“We still pray together, but not as regularly as before.” - Ns., woman, 39 years old, Lambaro Skep

Some religious ceremonies are still carried out, such as Dala‘il Khairat (a prayer), khanduri blang (prayers before going to the fields), khanduri laot (prayers when going to sea), and Idul Adha (Islamic holiday).

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47 In Islam, a corpse has to be bathed before burial, and it is only the husband or other women who are allowed to bathe a dead woman’s body.
b2. Community participation

Figure 18 below shows community involvement in various programmes in the villages sampled.

![Figure 18: Community involvement in village programmes (N = 25)](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of community involvement</th>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camps</td>
<td>Barracks</td>
<td>Host families</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
<td>N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash for work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpig to distribute aid</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making in the process of building barracks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping to build barracks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping take care of patients</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the community involvement in camps is in the form of helping to distribute aid (52.6 per cent) and working in cash for work programmes (31.6 per cent). In barracks, most of the community members are involved in cash for work programmes (40 per cent) and in decision-making concerning the development of the barracks (40 per cent). In addition, they help care for sick people, as mentioned by one of the community leaders in a camp.

Most community leaders (78.6 per cent) say that women’s involvement in village programmes is largely in the form of participating in discussions. However, it remains unclear what forms of discussion there are, and in what areas of discussion women are involved.

Community leaders claim that women are informed about the kind of aid given to communities. Only 21.4 per cent (6 individuals) of the 28 community leaders say that women do not have access to such information; they say that this happens when aid is distributed directly by organisations, without community consultation. Only one community leader mentioned the lack of women’s organisations as a factor preventing women from receiving adequate aid and proper information.

Involvement in various community meetings seems to be an effective way to claim rights in relation to legal problems. Widows are perhaps in a better position to claim their rights because they are participating as a ‘substitute’ for their husbands. However, there are still questions concerning the extent to which they, and women in general, are participating. Borrowing Cornwall’s term of ‘the continuum of participation’, it seems that the level of women’s involvement in community meetings in relation to legal problems has reached only functional participation, as can be seen by a statement made during an FGD for men in Rukoh:

48 According to Cornwall (2003) functional participation only makes women beneficiaries of development, where their involvement is used to legitimise decisions made and to obtain compliance.
"For legal matters, as long as the problem can be solved [by the men], there is no need to involve women. People who answer (involved in decision making concerning legal matters)] are those who have wives, so [legal] problems can be solved without the involvement of our wives. In cases where women are involved, they just listen [to what the men say]." - FGD with men, Rukoh, 13 April 2005

b.3 Women’s organisations
Perhaps because of the problems described above, many women’s organisations in Aceh are involved in advocating for women’s rights. For example, KKTGA (Kelompok Kerja Transformasi Gender Aceh) is network of local NGOs with a gender perspective. These organisations were already working with women in Aceh before the tsunami. Figure 19 shows the women’s organisations interviewed in the course of this research, and their programmes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of organisation</th>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Partnerships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RPUK (Relawan Perempuan untuk Kemanusiaan)</td>
<td>Advocacy for women’s rights and combating violence against women</td>
<td>Identifying incidences of domestic violence against women, carrying out FGDs with women in various villages, psycho-social programmes (after the tsunami)</td>
<td>NOVIB, which provides funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MisPI (Mitra Sejati Perempuan Indonesia)</td>
<td>Strengthening women’s groups, advocacy for women’s rights</td>
<td>Various programmes prior to the tsunami, since 1998, ranging from seminars to drafting of legal documents. After the tsunami, programmes have focused on women’s livelihoods and on mapping local NGOs and civil society in NAD</td>
<td>Prior to the tsunami: Canada Fund, The Asia Foundation, USAID, Cetro, DANIDA, USC SATUNAMA, KPU Prov NAD, WRI, TIFA, Biro PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matahari</td>
<td>Civil society empowerment, including that of women</td>
<td>Economic empowerment programmes and aid distribution</td>
<td>UNDP, Oxfam, UNIFEM, POHD, UNFPA, GAA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidaritas Perempuan</td>
<td>Advocacy for women’s rights in the political domain</td>
<td>Assisting women during elections in 2004, socialisation on women’s rights, assisting women in camps</td>
<td>MisPI, KKTGA, Flower Aceh, UNFPA, Biro PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: primary and secondary data.

49 These include Flower Aceh, YPW, MisPI, and Matahari. Other women’s organisations include RPUK, PEKKA, LBH APIK, and Solidaritas Perempuan.
The women’s organisations interviewed say that partnerships amongst themselves are ‘running smoothly’. It was difficult to obtain information on any problems experienced in such partnerships. For example, RPuK said that its partnership with LBH APIK had experienced no problems. Later, however, the staff interviewed explained that in certain cases, the follow-up of incidents of violence against women identified by RPuK had not been dealt with well by LBH APIK. Perhaps these feelings can be explained by the length of time it takes for legal cases to find a resolution. Another example is a statement made by the director of SP Banda Aceh, who tried to argue that there had been no major problems encountered in partnerships with other organisations.

“All the partnerships are considered a success, even though there might be some problems encountered, such as the programmes not running according to schedule, or the costs of programmes changing... But all that is still ‘normal’ as long as it is carried out in a responsible manner.” - W., Solidaritas Perempuan

In general, the organisations try to make direct contact with women, in order to ensure their accountability. For example, RPuK carries out focus group discussions run by female staff members, to distribute information about its programmes. The presence of female staff members is intended to make women in the communities feel comfortable when communicating their thoughts and feelings. However, from our interviews, it remains unclear whether women are participating in proper decision-making processes. The following statement highlights the ambiguous answer to this question:

“The end result of MiSPI’s activity is to ensure that all of the women are able to be involved in the decision-making process and able to communicate their opinions to the legislative board.” - S., MiSPI

This does not indicate, for example, to what level the women are actually involved in decision-making, or what level of decision-making is targeted. This is important to note, since communicating opinions to the legislative board does not ensure that women’s voices will actually be heard.
Chapter V
Conclusions And Recommendations

This chapter summarises the findings of the research and puts forward recommendations to overcome some of the problems identified.

The people of Aceh have suffered a great deal, both from the past conflict and from the effects of the tsunami. In response to both, men and women of all ages and social status have demonstrated immense courage, resilience, and determination. It remains imperative that the efforts to improve the conditions in which the people of Aceh live now, as well as their future opportunities, are determined by their needs and perceptions.

a. Summary of the findings

1. Donor organisations still lack co-ordination in aid distribution, and sometimes do not pay sufficient attention to the needs of the community. Aid is often distributed without any discussion with those receiving it, especially women. Not only are women not participating in aid distribution, they are also in most cases absent from community decision-making and decisions on legal matters. Even some of the women’s organisations in Aceh fail to provide sufficient opportunities for proper female participation.

2. Most of the survivors’ current concerns focus on livelihoods and satisfying basic needs. At the time of the research, displaced people still depended heavily on relief assistance, as livelihood opportunities remained scarce. Women in particular complain about the lack of working opportunities, as they are competing with men for work. Because of this, and because they are still burdened with domestic responsibilities, women aspire to traditional types of work (tailoring, selling cookies, making handicrafts, etc.) as a source of livelihood. Most of the men, on the other hand, are hoping for capital to start up businesses or to buy fishing equipment.

3. Child care, as well as other domestic work, is still seen in Aceh as the domain of women. Given the large number of female victims of the tsunami, survivors have to take on additional burdens, as they help others with such tasks. In this they have to navigate complex and newly evolving social norms, as well as having to shoulder responsibility for the emotional and psychological needs of traumatised and distressed children and men.

4. The type of accommodation in which people now live is an important element of differentiation among the survivors.
   a. Those in barracks seem to have the biggest problems in meeting their basic needs. Problems include insufficient food, and bad sanitation and health facilities. Latrines and bathrooms are not separated for men and women, and sometimes they have no water. Lack of privacy is a concern for many people in the barracks, especially women.
   b. Latrines and bathrooms are also a major concern for those living in camps, as some camps have no bathrooms or latrines at all. The semi-permanent materials with which they are built make women feel uncomfortable. Women in camps are also more prone to sexual harassment, rape, and violence. As yet, there does not seem to be any system for reporting, monitoring, or preventing such occurrences, and information is very difficult to access.
c. Those living in host families experience lack of access to food aid. They also feel the lack of privacy.

5. The loss of children, husbands or wives, and friends has had many consequences on the lives of the Acehnese. A transformation of gender roles is evident in all of the communities sampled. Due to the death of so many women, men (especially widowers) are occasionally attempting to take on the domestic burden, while surviving women are taking on more livelihood roles.

6. The majority of both male and female survivors are of reproductive age, and for them there is a strong desire to build for the future. This means that remarriage is an important priority for survivors whose spouses have died. Out-group marriages are becoming more common, representing a considerable change to ancient traditions in the province. Unfortunately, not everyone has the same opportunities to remarry. Men are more mobile and are able to take action in seeking a new spouse. Acehnese tradition relegates women to a more passive role - for example, in their obligation to respect the 'waiting period' before marrying again.

7. Though it is easier for a man to seek a new bride, the requirement for a bride price leaves poor and younger men marginalised. As an option, some single men seek widows who are financially secure.

8. Marriages do not function only as a source of economic security, of course, but also of emotional support. For those of reproductive age, marriages are also seen as a means to replace children who have been lost. Those who do not want children tend to avoid intercourse to prevent pregnancy, as contraception is not easily available. If unwanted pregnancy does occur, however, abortion does not seem to be a popular option.

9. There seems to be a high awareness among the survivors of the importance of health care for pregnant women, but not all of them have access to health services. Midwives are the most popular choice of health worker for assistance with deliveries. However, not many midwives or other health officials visit camps or barracks, especially on a daily basis. If problems are encountered during delivery, husbands (with the agreement of the extended family) are the main decision-maker in determining what action is to be taken.

10. Survivors are aware of HIV/AIDS and STDs, but they lack access to medical treatment. HIV/AIDS and STDs are seen to be a result of free sex, and therefore the main method of prevention advocated is to obey religious norms.

11. The tsunami has caused downward mobility for many people. Loss of property (especially land and houses) and important documents is the cause of the most acute anxiety among survivors. The loss of land certificates makes it hard for them to reclaim their land, the loss of ID cards reduces their mobility, and the loss of diplomas inhibits access to work and education.

12. The property of a woman who has died is usually inherited by her husband or children, following discussion within the family. The extended family and community leaders (usually men) also play an important role in guarding women's property if their children are still too young to inherit.

13. In Aceh, women's property is usually in the form of jewellery or other mobile goods. Because of this, it is used to support the household economy during times of crisis. This means that a woman...
is the first member of the household to sacrifice her belongings, and thus risk personal poverty and insecurity.

14. Moving to other villages or beyond is not a popular option for survivors. IDP had an almost unanimous desire to return to their places of origin. However, decisions on whether or not to migrate are still the domain of men (either the husband or male neighbours), and women tend to accept whatever the men decide.

b. Recommendations

Below are recommendations extracted from the conclusions of this research.

1. Aid distribution
   a. People appreciate the aid they receive. However, co-ordination between donors and distribution systems must improve to enable equal access for different categories of people, and for those residing in different types of accommodation. People living in host families should also receive relief.
   b. There is an urgent need to include representatives (both women and men) of IDP in all co-ordination bodies and at different levels.
   c. Currently, the management of aid distribution for IDP is mostly undertaken by men. Women are rarely involved, and therefore many of the IDP's needs that are expressed may be male-biased. Women must be involved too.

2. Provision and improvement of accommodation facilities
   a. Bathrooms and latrines need to be added (where lacking) and built with permanent materials. There should be separate facilities for men and women. This is essential in order to ensure that women are protected from sexual harassment and feelings of insecurity and shame.
   b. Barracks are the worst type of accommodation. Rooms in the barracks need to accommodate fewer people, so that those living there (especially women) feel safe and have enough comfort and privacy.

3. Provision of health facilities
   a. There seems to be very limited access to suitable health facilities, especially for pregnant women. More health facilities need to be built near current accommodation sites, so that they are within reach.
   b. Health officials should pay more frequent visits to the camps and barracks, especially to monitor the health of vulnerable groups, such as pregnant women and babies.
   c. Psycho-social networks should be created so that mental problems occurring after the tsunami can be dealt with in the community. This should include a concern for possible occurrences of domestic and other forms of violence, and support for men who are struggling to adapt to new roles.
   d. The availability of contraception should be increased to avoid the spread of STDs and HIV/AIDS, and to allow couples (and where appropriate single women) to control their own fertility. Information and educational initiatives are also greatly needed.
4. Documents
   a. The government seems slow in responding to the needs of the survivors to replace legal documents. The processing of documents should be made a priority, for ID cards and land and housing documents.
   b. Women (especially widows) find it more difficult to replace their documents as they are juggling various daily activities. There needs to be a system in which officials are proactive and sensitive to the difficulties of specific groups within the IDP community. For example, officials could go to the camps or barracks to facilitate the process of replacing lost documents.

5. Land and houses
   a. The resolution of legal matters concerning land should be given the highest priority, especially for those (such as widows) who are particularly vulnerable to having their rights ignored. Both government agencies and others should provide the information and legal aid necessary to ensure that rights to land and other property are respected.
   b. In cases of land inheritance and other properties, Acehnese custom should be maintained. This allows room to facilitate a more equal share of inheritances among men and women, and will help to further empower women.
   c. Most people wish to move back to their place of origin, with their houses already built. Therefore, rebuilding houses should be a priority. Rebuilding programmes should accommodate, whenever possible, the wishes of IDP.

6. Provision of livelihoods
   a. Women (especially those heading households) should be given priority in the provision of livelihood opportunities. Skills and capital to start businesses are an urgent alternative to temporary programmes, such as cash for work.
   b. Livelihood opportunities that give long-term economic security are important in order for poor men to get married, and to reduce the number of young women who are eager to marry simply so that they will be financially secure. Innovative projects need to be developed to ensure that widows and widowers are able to combine their reproductive and productive responsibilities. Child-care services would be one such project. Such projects would, in addition, generate additional sources of income.

7. Women’s rights and security
   a. In addition to the gender aspects of the elements highlighted above, the rights of women and girls in other areas of their lives should be better protected. Domestic violence and sexual harassment and abuse are sensitive matters, about which it is hard to collect information. Appropriate research should be carried out in a suitable manner to identify the extent of the problem and to find solutions that are realistic and suited to the local context.
   b. Local women’s organisations should be assisted in providing services and work within the community in a manner that is participatory and effective. Their priorities should include ways of ensuring that women have the necessary information for contributing effectively to decision-making processes at the level of camps and barracks, as well as at different levels in the relief
and reconstruction operations. Capacity building for local women’s organisations is seen as an important aspect in further empowering women.

c. Communities should be supported in building awareness of possible abuses of rights in marriage. This will allow women and men of all ages to enter into such unions of their own free will, and without endangering their future educational or health prospects.

d. The government should monitor emerging marriage patterns to ensure that they do not contravene legal norms on age at marriage, and that they do not undermine social cohesion or stability.
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