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INSTITUT STUDI ARUS INFORMASI
The Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information



The Role of Media in Supporting Peace-Building and Reconciliation Efforts in Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku

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Acronyms

AJI	Alliance of Independent Journalist
ARSSI	Indonesian Association of Private Broadcasting Radio
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CG	Common Ground (Indonesia)
CPRU	Crisis Prevention and Recovery Unit
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EC	European Commission
FKKAUB	Forum of Harmony and Communication among the Religious Disciples
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICCO	Interchurch Organisation for Development Co-operation (NL)
ICFJ	International Centre for Journalists
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFJ	International Federation of Journalists
IMS	International Media Support
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
INSI	International News Safety Institute
ISAI	Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information (Institut Studi Arus Infomasi)
KPI	Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia)
LPS-HAM	Institute for the Development of Legal Studies and Human Rights Advocacy
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MDLF	Media Development Loan Fund
MMC	Maluku Media Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
OTI	Office of Transitional Initiatives (USAID)
PRSSNI	Indonesian Alliance of National Private Broadcasting Radio
PWI	Indonesian Journalist Association
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia
SEAPA	Southeast Asian Press Alliance
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SIUPP	Press Publishing License (now removed)
SPS	Union of Newspaper Publisher
TAF	The Asia Foundation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VoA	Voice of America

Executive Summary

The Executive Summary provides a brief description of the media and conflict environments in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi, as well as an overview of the rationale behind the identification of the specific recommendations. The chapter on ‘Activity Recommendations for Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku’ provides a description of the key findings, activity rationale and recommendations, and should therefore be read in conjunction with this section.

i. Introduction

Reliable, accurate and objective media, whether it be mainstream, alternative or traditional/non-conventional, can both prevent and resolve conflict through the automatic functions of responsibly disseminating information, furthering awareness and knowledge, promoting participatory and transparent governance, and addressing perceived grievances. In this regard, the effects of media on conflict can be viewed both in terms of the negative repercussions that inadvertent or overtly propagandistic media may have in terms of fuelling tensions and provoking conflict, as well as the potential positive impact it may have if based on basic professional standards, combined with diverse access to information, reasonable financial resources and adherence to ethical codes. Such media can contribute to societal reconciliation, change misperceptions and broaden understanding of the causes and consequences of conflict.

ii. Media and Conflict in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi

Since the Reformasi era started in 1998, the three provinces of Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi have been affected by conflict. With the Reformasi era came press freedoms under the new Indonesian Press Law (August 30, 1999), which meant that all three conflicts were covered by the first ‘free’ Indonesian media since more than 30 years.

The national media, to a fairly large extent, covered the conflicts in each province. However, due to the emergence of a number of conflicts in Indonesia in the early post New Order days, the continuity and depths of this coverage varied significantly. The national coverage also tended to focus on Ambon and Maluku, whilst the coverage of the other two provinces received less consistent attention.

In all three conflict areas, the provincial media (including mainstream, alternative, traditional and non-conventional forms) addressed the conflicts from different perspectives and with varying intensity. Many failed to provide consistent independent balanced coverage and in the early phases physical attacks against and abuse of the media by the combatant groups took place in all three provinces. Media infrastructure and buildings were destroyed or looted and in many cases local outlets chose to close down during the most intense fighting. This has meant that all three provinces have had periods with none or almost no local media coverage, leaving rumours and propaganda as the prime local information source.

Local media in all three provinces were, and still are, accused of being biased. Sometimes these accusations came from the combatant parties who expected the media to be their mouthpieces, whilst at other times the media took sides in the conflict or were forced to choose sides. In certain cases the lack of independent and balanced local coverage can be explained by the fact that local media owners were not sufficiently isolated from society and their outlets reflected popular opinions. In addition, these media were part of the local business environment and therefore dependent on income from the

local community. Another obstacle to balanced coverage was, and still is, ‘envelope journalism’, whereby reporters are paid to cover issues in order to ‘top up’ otherwise low incomes.

Maybe the largest obstacle to professional reporting remains the lack of education and professionalism among media practitioners. Conceptual understanding and practical skills for objective and independent reporting were weak, particularly after more than 30 years with centralised state controlled media. In contrast to the newfound freedoms of the post New Order era, under Soeharto news was solely provided centrally from state media and news agencies.

Many media outlets and professionals have received support and participated in workshops conducted by national and international NGOs and associations, UN agencies and international donors. However, even with this new knowledge, structural obstacles still remain in the media community preventing the practice of these skills. In addition, local interpretation of how to address content issues is often taken for granted. Lack of professionalism in the media has seemingly fuelled rumours and misperceptions in the past often with disastrous consequences. This status quo has also hindered attempts to address and resolve latent conflict issues. Furthermore, the weak commercial marketplace and lack of clear legislative or regulatory structures leaves the media vulnerable to the types of manipulation and abuse that can trigger conflict.

iii. Focus Areas for Recommendation

The recommendations identified in this report are aimed at achieving a long-term reduction in the potential for conflict based upon the specific circumstances of each province as laid out in the province-specific chapters. They range from the broadest long-term perspective of developing a strong and vigorous environment in which the media can properly fulfil its potential role as the ‘fourth estate’, thereby positively influencing conflict prevention and resolution, to the most specific level aimed at immediate grass-roots impact through the utilisation of local alternative and traditional channels of communication.

Such an approach ensures that individual traditional and alternative media can be engaged in addressing conflict related issues in a manner unique to the local environment, and the inherent long-term role of the mainstream and alternative mass-media can be secured for preventing and resolving conflict through countering manipulation and abuse, diversifying information access and dissemination, and providing skills and resources.

The four areas identified for recommended activities include strengthening the media environment at the provincial level; developing professional skills and resources; facilitating information flows and access; and supporting community-based communication.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background to Assessments

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) - Crisis Prevention and Recovery Unit (CPRU)¹, based in Jakarta, has been working in North Maluku and Maluku over the last years years, focusing on multi-sectoral recovery initiatives to complement efforts of the Government of Indonesia and other parties to support post-conflict recovery, long-term peace building and sustainable development. UNDP is also developing a 3 year programme in Central Sulawesi with a Preparatory Assistance programme aimed at supporting the peace processes, providing short-term responses to vulnerable communities and working with local government and civil society in the design of the future programme. In all three provinces, UNDP works with provincial and district level partners including Government, UN agencies, international NGOs and civil society organizations.

Currently UNDP is engaging in a planning process to strengthen the next phase of the programmes towards crisis prevention and supporting peaceful development. This will be done through a series of thematic assessments, of which media was identified as one component.

In this regard, The Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information (ISAI)², based in Jakarta, was contracted by UNDP to undertake research and prepare assessments on the role of media in supporting peace-building and reconciliation efforts in Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku.

International Media Support (IMS)³, based in Copenhagen, was approached by UNDP and ISAI to provide technical support and strategic input into this assessment process, particularly relating to the analysis of data gathered by ISAI, development of the media and conflict methodology, and formulation of targeted activity recommendations. IMS provided this support within the context of its own ongoing activities in Indonesia, whereby the assessments allows IMS to simultaneously review potential options for activities in the three conflict-affected provinces.

1.2. Conduct of Assessment

The assessments were divided into two main sections. The initial period from 14 to 30 June was used for the preparation and execution of the research in the three provinces. This involved short-term visits by the joint UNDP, IMS and ISAI team to Central Sulawesi and North Maluku (Maluku was not visited due to the security situation) and the longer-term collation of the research data by the ISAI teams on the ground in the three provinces. In each province the teams consisted of one ISAI field coordinator working with five local researchers. The ISAI field coordinators were backed-up by the ISAI team in Jakarta.

The second phase, lasting from 1 to 8 July, focused on the analysis of the data and design of targeted recommendations. This phase brought the ISAI coordinators from the three provinces, ISAI team in Jakarta, IMS team and UNDP media assessment coordinator together for consultative meetings and report drafting.

The assessment teams consisted of the following persons:

¹ For further information about UNDP - CPRU please refer to: www.undp.or.id/programme/conflict/index.asp

² For further information about ISAI please refer to: www.isai.or.id

³ For further information about IMS please refer to: www.i-m-s.dk

Organisation and Role	Name
UNDP Media Assessment Coordinator	Irawati M. Hapsari
ISAI – Jakarta Team	Emanuel Lalang Wardoyo
	Eriyanto
	Lia Ratna Palupi Nasution
ISAI – Field Coordinators	Hasrul Kokoh (Central Sulawesi)
	Indarwati Aminuddin (Maluku)
	Agung Jatmiko (North Maluku)
IMS Team	Thomas Hughes
	Torben Brandt

1.3. Report Structure

The report structure provides a fluid assessment process based upon four main sections. The first section provides an overview of some key media and conflict methodological considerations. These considerations form the theoretical basis for the practical application of the information collected through the research late on in the report.

The second section is a description of the national media landscape and key issues therein which are fundamental to understanding and interpreting circumstances at the provincial level. In addition, some generally applicable observations are also provided about the media and conflict environments in the three provinces.

The third section provides the individual specific descriptions and assessments of the media and conflict situations in Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku. These sections focus on five main areas, including mainstream media, alternative media, traditional media, new information technologies and information flows.

The fourth section brings the assessments on each of the provinces together to identify commonalities and differences. The methodology as outlined in the first stage is then applied to the findings from the research, resulting in a series of recommended activity areas.

1.4. Acknowledgements

Thanks are expressed to the local researchers for their work in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi, as well as all the interviewees and respondents who took part in the assessments. In addition, thanks are expressed to all the national and international organisations that shared information and experiences with the assessment team.

2. Media and Conflict: Methodological Considerations

2.1. Introduction

Professional media are a central component of stable plural democracies. As the ‘fourth estate’, the media acts as the ‘guardians of democracy, defenders of the public interest... revealing abuses of state authority and defending the democratic rights of citizens’⁴. In this regard, it is assumed strong well-grounded democracies are less prone or vulnerable to conflict. A professional and vigorous media community can thus both prevent and resolve conflict, through the automatic functions of disseminating information, furthering awareness and knowledge, promoting participatory and transparent governance, and addressing perceived grievances.

Although the influence of the media during periods of conflict has long been recognized, it is only in more recent years that it has been specifically addressed by the international development community as a means for positively impacting on conflict, both through its function to communicate information, as well as address issues and events in an objective, reliable and accurate manner. As noted by the participants of the SIDA/ UNESCO international roundtable on ‘Assistance to Media in Tension Areas and Conflict Situations’ in May 2003:

‘Media underpins development and democratisation and is a vital element of conflict resolution and peace building.... An independent media is the foundation of a democracy and more often than not the only guarantee for transparency and good governance in conflict management and post-conflict development efforts’⁵.

The reflections outlined in this section of the report are based upon the methodological considerations and practical experiences of International Media Support (IMS) and the Institute of Studies on Free Flow of Information (ISAI) in the field of media development and freedom of expression in conflict-affected areas. The continuing debate in this field has been contributed to by a number of academics and media practitioners as referred to in the text⁶.

2.2. Analysis and Definitions

Conflict Analysis

In order that the media be assisted to effectively address conflict, it is essential that the root causes, patterns of violence and current dynamics are clearly understood. This process requires a detailed and specialised approach, upon which assessments of thematic issues should ideally be based. Moreover, conflict should be considered as circular rather than linear, with the various stages of pre, mid and post-

⁴ ‘Mass Media: Fourth Estate’ (Mick Underwood, www.cultsock.ndirect.co.uk, June 2003)

⁵ Seminar on Assistance to Media in Tension Areas and Conflict Situations: Conclusion of Seminar Discussions and Proposed Recommendations (SIDA/ UNESCO, Vaxholm 25-27 May 2003)

⁶ Publications reflected in this section include:

- ‘Conflict Sensitive Journalism’ (IMS/ IMPACS, Ross Howard, March 2003)
- ‘An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding’ (IMPACS, Ross Howard, January 2002)
- ‘Assistance to Media in Tension Areas and Conflict Situations’ (SIDA/ UNESCO, Vaxholm May 2003)
- ‘Working with the Media in Conflicts and other Emergencies’ (Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department and Social Development Department, DFID, September 2000)
- ‘Special Report: Use and Abuse of Media in Vulnerable Societies’ (USIP, Special Report 110, October 2003)
- ‘Reporting the World’ (Conflict & Peace Forums, Jake Lynch, 2002)
- ‘Using the Media for Conflict Transformation: the Common Ground Experience’ (Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, www.berghof-handbook.net, 2003)

conflict overlapping one another, without any necessary preset course. In this regard, a conflict may theoretically pass from the overt-conflict stage to either the pre-conflict or post-conflict stages and so forth⁷.

Definitions of Media

As a basic definition, the media are the several mediums or channels used in an organised fashion to communicate to individuals and groups. The most commonly recognized forms of media are print, audio, video and new information technologies, which can be divided between ‘mainstream’ and ‘alternative’ outlets dependent on their structure, focus and content. Whilst the term ‘mainstream’ media is relatively universally understood, there is more divergence about what constitutes ‘alternative’ media. Although this report does not seek to provide a definitive definition, it is assumed that ‘alternative’ media should fit into one or a number of the categories below¹:

- The media is ‘issue-driven’ and actively supports like-minded outlets and civil society initiatives;
- Alternative approaches to societal activity are promoted in contrast to existing commercial interests and socio-economic hierarchies;
- The editorial focus is based on ‘new’ perspectives, providing different interpretations of issues and events;
- The consumers are often niche groups;
- Maximizing profits is not a key consideration;
- Outlets have relatively horizontal working and pay structures.

Although news and information are most often the basis for media and conflict activities, entertainment programmes, ranging from chat-shows to soap operas, are also important mediums. In this regard, all forms of media, if based upon accurate and balanced standards, can communicate diversity and understanding⁸.

This report also takes ‘traditional and non-conventional’ media into consideration, including literature, poetry, music, art, rural and urban socio-economic forums, religious groups and socio-ethnic ceremonies. Although some of the content and structural considerations outlined below are mainly applicable to the ‘mainstream’ and ‘alternative’ media, a number of the considerations are equally relevant to ‘traditional and non-conventional’ media.

2.3. Interrelationship between Media and Conflict

‘The media is a double-edged sword. It can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment... But there is another aspect to the media. It can be an instrument of conflict resolution, when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse views. It’s the kind of media that enables a society to make well-informed choices, which is

⁷ Michael Lund in ‘Media as an Instrument for Managing Conflicts and Building Peace’ (June 2002) writes that conflicts may be perceived as going through stages: “They may typically encompass a variety of simultaneous facets including stable peace in relation to unstable peace; crisis with high levels of tension and confrontations, and breakdown of regional political mechanisms; war, stalemates; de-escalation or cessations; negotiations of settlements; settlements implementation; and post-settlement reconstruction and reconciliation. And several of these characteristics often occur at the same time. Conflicts are not uni-linear phenomena.”

⁸ ‘An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding’ (IMPACS, Ross Howard, January 2002)

the precursor of democratic governance. It is a media that reduced conflict and fosters human security⁹.

As indicated in the quote above, an assessment of the ‘cause and effect’ relationship between media and conflict serves to more clearly present how the two entities impact upon one another.

Effects of Media on Conflict

The effects of media on conflict can be viewed in terms of the negative repercussions that inadvertent or overt propagandistic or one-sided reporting may have in terms of fuelling tensions and provoking conflict.

Conversely, the media may potentially have a positive impact if based upon basic professional standards, combined with diverse access to information, reasonable financial resources and adherence to ethical codes. Such media can contribute to societal reconciliation, alter misperceptions and broaden understanding of the causes and consequences of conflict.

Effects of Conflict on Media

The negative effects of violent conflict on media are well known. In conflict-developing situations it is freedom of expression and the impartiality of the media that are often the initial victims. In weakly founded democracies where editorial independence is not sufficiently ensured, both state and non-state entities often succeed in making the media a tool for nationalistic and xenophobic propaganda. This is the case for both the state and independent media. Conflict generating propaganda in the media can serve to provoke or escalate violence and is also often a convenient occasion for the authorities to crack down on press freedoms and freedom of expression.

Conflict also erodes media environments and undermines the economic viability of marketplaces. Although during conflict an explosion in the number of media is often seen, the vast majority of these are of limited resources and serve purely propaganda purposes of one side or another. In this regard, they generally do not survive long after the conflict subsides, although the resultant degradation to the media environment often has a lasting impact after the conflict.

The effects of the media on conflict and visa-verse are dependent on the context in which the interaction takes place. Such contextual factors dictate the role and scope of the media to influence the root causes, patterns of violence and current/ future dynamics of conflict. In this regard, it is helpful to consider these factors in terms of ‘structural’ and ‘content’ considerations.

2.4. Structural Considerations

When assessing the mutual impact of media and conflict there are a number of structural issues that should be taken into consideration. These relate to the manner in which the media outlets and practitioners function and interact, both with one another, as well as the authorities, civil society and general public¹⁰.

⁹ ‘An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding’ (IMPACS, Ross Howard, January 2002)

¹⁰ This is based upon the categories and methodological structure as described in ‘Special Report: Use and Abuse of Media in Vulnerable Societies’ (USIP, Special Report 110, October 2003)

Media Policy and Environment

The degree to which policy and legislation provides a space within which the media can operate, and the degree to which the judiciary can regulate and protect that space, are crucial. If legislation is used to silence the media or the courts are easily influenced and corrupted, then its function as the ‘fourth estate’ and conflict preventing/ resolving entity, will be significantly hindered.

Conversely, if the media policy environment is too loose and legal and self-regulatory checks and balances are not in place, this may allow ‘rogue’ media, whose aim is to disseminate hate speech and/or provoke conflict, to continue their activities without any reasonable recourse to deter or prohibit such action. This is particularly relevant in transition countries where the sudden presence of an unregulated or ‘loosened’ media landscape may result in numerous politically, religiously and ethically associated outlets opening, potentially only interested in solidifying their influence at the expense of others.

Networking and Association

Networking and association between journalists both within their immediate communities, as well as regionally and internationally, facilitates exchange of experiences, promotion of best practices, collective stances and ‘strength in numbers’. This serves to reinforce the confidence of media practitioners to uphold professional standards, often in isolated circumstances when societal, political and economic pressures dictate otherwise, as well as opens avenues for support from peers, on issues from basic professional standards training to accessing legal aid funds.

Information Flows

The dissemination of a media is crucial in considering its potential to influence communities. Media with low dissemination are significantly restricted from communicating to the wider public and, in that regard, affecting public opinion. Likewise, the accessibility of a media to the public is central in defining its influence. If media is inaccessible (i.e. if a ‘media vacuum’ exists) either due to low technical means, prohibitive costs, deliberate obstruction or lack of interest, then its role will be diminished. The plurality of certain media can also have a significant impact, because if there is only one outlet in the most popular and/or easily accessible form, then its influence will be significantly enhanced due to the lack of competition.

Furthermore, the access that the media has to timely and accurate information from primary sources is essential for balanced, objective and reliable reporting. In this regard, linkages and cooperative relations with local authorities, civil society, academia and the development aid community are of significant importance.

Homogeneous or Heterogeneous Media Communities

The religious, ethnic and political composition of the media community can be instrumental in defining its orientation and possible vulnerability to bias. Without diversity there is a risk that the media will fail to reflect the needs and concerns of ‘the other’. In this manner, stereotypes and popular myths can be promulgated through the written and spoken word. Likewise, if ownership is concentrated in one particular group, then the media may be manipulated or fail to reflect diversity.

Media Skills and Resources

The skills and resources available to media outlets and practitioners, ranging from owners and editors to reporters, has a significant impact on the media’s role. If there is an ingrained understanding of the role of the media and the professional standards required, then the media is more likely have a positive impact. Conversely, if these are not present then the potential for inadvertent conflict provocation, as well as purposeful manipulation and abuse, is greater.

Likewise, if the media has access to developed financial and institutional resources this will facilitate best practices and allow media practitioners to perform their work effectively and in accordance with professional standards. Financial self-sustainability also removes dependency on external sources of funding and influence, thereby strengthening the potential for independent media to operate.

2.5. Content Considerations

When assessing the mutual impact of media and conflict, there are a number of ‘content’ issues to be considered. These relate to the substance of the media products being published and/or broadcast¹¹.

Media content that promotes conflict prevention and resolution is that which, at a minimum, is based upon core professional standards and practices. In this manner the practice of advanced journalism skills, such as conflict sensitive journalism, investigative reporting and so forth, can have an even greater impact on facilitating conflict resolution and prevention.

In contrast, content that provokes conflict can be roughly divided into two broad groups. That which is intended to stir emotions based upon an imagined need to take pre-emptive action, and that which dulls-opposition to conflict based upon an image of historical enmity and inevitability of reoccurring conflict. If the surrounding environment is conducive for the spread of conflict, both these types of content can fuel violence, whether they be deliberate hate speech or inadvertent reporting due to low professional standards.

Pre-emptive Action

Media content as described above serves to engender an unsubstantiated belief that pre-emptive action is required for self-defence. Such perceptions are often based on a lack of information and understanding of the intentions and circumstances of the other and a focus on myths and stereotypes, perceived inequalities and injustices, and previous tensions between communities (although the two communities may have a far longer history of cooperation and mutual tolerance). This can create hysteria, drowning out more moderate voices in society. The role of the media in providing balanced and objective information is therefore essential.

In addition, the dehumanisation of communities and creation of an image of the enemy as a mass rather than individuals with different orientations and interests, serves to make the resort to violence less personal and therefore easier to justify¹².

Historical Enmity and Conflict Inevitability

Although closely linked to the ‘pre-emptive action’ model, of equal concern is when media content creates an image that the outbreak of conflict or return to conflict is unavoidable. This undermines the collective will of communities to resist the path to conflict, which may be sought only by a small minority. The establishment of such self-fulfilling prophecies is usually achieved through portraying conflict as pattern or ongoing historical process, thereby promoting violence as a normal or acceptable manner in which to pursue grievances or right perceived wrongs.

¹¹ This is based upon the categories and methodological structure as described in ‘Special Report: Use and Abuse of Media in Vulnerable Societies’ (USIP, Special Report 110, October 2003)

¹² ‘An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding’ (IMPACS, Ross Howard, January 2002)

3. National Media Landscape

The following section outlines some background considerations and information applicable to the national level in Indonesia, but which has a direct bearing on the situation at the provincial level in Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku.

3.1. Media Legislation

There are two important pieces of legislation relating to the media in Indonesia. These are Undang-Undang Pers No.40/1999 (the Press Law) and Undang-Undang Penyiaran No. 32/2002 (the Broadcast Law).

Press Law

The press law was created to ensure press freedom and independence. This law is the total revision of the former law (UU No.11/1966 and UU No.21/1982), the spirit of which was to control and manipulate the media. In the press law of 1966 and 1982, the government could intervene to shut down media if they violated censorship rules. Over 237 press companies were shut down as a result of the application of these laws.

The most important thing in the UU Pers No.40/1999 is the elimination of licensed press publishing (SIUPP-Surat Ijin Usaha Penerbitan Pers). Under the New Order regime, this license was the main obstacle for those wishing to publish. This new press law also guarantees that there should not be any censorship or government interventions to shut down media. The law also guarantees the right of journalists to search for and spread information.

Broadcast Law

The broadcast law passed in December 2002 was produced following a long consultative process with all broadcast media owner, academics, government and non-governmental sector.

An important part of this broadcast law is the limitations placed on national broadcaster, cross-ownership and centralization of the media ownership. This law manages the broadcast media in Indonesia based on the principles of diversity of ownership and content. The law divided the broadcast institution into three sections. Those three sections are The Commercial Broadcast Institution, The Community Broadcast Institution, and The Public Broadcast Institution.

Another important aspects of the law is the creation of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia - KPI) as the independent regulatory institution for broadcast media. This role was previously in the hands of the government under the Ministry of Information.

3.2. Media Institutions

There are two important institutions relating to the media in Indonesia. Those are the Press Council (Dewan Pers) and Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI).

Press Council (Dewan Pers)

The existence of the Press Council is in the UU No.40/1999. The Press Council functions are to decide and monitor the practice of journalist ethical codes, develop the communication between government and the media, and assist the press organisations in formulating professional rules. Other important functions include reviewing cases of public complaint about the print and broadcasting media.

The Press Council is financed by media company organisations, state assistance and other direct assistance. Although a Press Council was already established in the New Order era, the new independent Press Council was only created in February 2000.

Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI)

The establishment of KPI is under the UU Penyiaran No. 32/2002. KPI is one of the independent broadcast regulatory institutions. The role of the KPI is similar to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the United States or the Canada Broadcasting Authority (CBA).

The KPI is in charge in deciding the standard of the broadcasting programme, making guidelines and determining their implementation. The KPI can also give penalties against those media that violate the rules and guidelines. The KPI should be established both in Jakarta and in the provinces. The central body consists of nine persons chosen by the legislative council and acknowledged by the President.

3.3. Professional Media Organisations and Associations

Indonesian Journalist Association (PWI)

PWI is the oldest journalist association in Indonesia. This organization was created in February 1946. In the New Order era (up to 1998), PWI was the only journalist association. During that time, all journalists are required to be the member of PWI. Journalists without PWI membership could not work. In addition, all chief editors of media in Indonesia had to be members of PWI. PWI worked together with the New Order and the authorities identified many critical journalists with the assistance of PWI.

Until 2002, the number of PWI members was 11,212 journalists who came from various media. Currently, PWI has 27 branches (at the provincial levels), and 69 representatives in the regencies across Indonesia. Although it has a lot of members, many are non-active. PWI's image is reportedly poor mainly among the younger journalist. PWI holds several activities, such as training for journalist and writing competitions, as well as sports and arts events.

Alliance of Independent Journalist (AJI)

Alliance of Independent Journalist (AJI) was created in opposition to the Indonesian Journalist Association (PWI). AJI was established in December 1994 in response to the banning of three media (Editor, Tempo and Detik) under the Soeharto's regime. In October 1995, AJI was accepted formally as the member of International Federation of Journalists (IFJ).

Under the New Order, AJI was run as an underground organisation since the government did not acknowledge it as an institution. Any journalist recognised as a member of AJI was removed from the media. The Department of Information issued instructions to chief editor of media to expel any journalist involved with AJI. Therefore, under the New Order, AJI was more a movement against the authorities rather than professional organisation. AJI activities included discussions and seminars about the press struggle, professional journalist training, students and pro-democracy activities, and promoting research about press issues and publication of related books.

Following the end of the New Order regime in 1999, AJI became a purely professional organisation. AJI's activities currently include holding training for journalists and advocacy against violence and abuse of the media. Other advocacy includes protection and assisting journalists under threat. AJI also campaigns against bribery in the media and for the development of labour unions in media enterprises.

Its membership is smaller than PWT's, although those involved have a reputation of being more proactive.

Indonesian Alliance of National Private Broadcasting Radio (PRSSNI)

PRSSNI is an association of private (commercial) radio stations in Indonesia. It was established in 1974 during the New Order and was the only umbrella organization for private radios. Currently there are reportedly about 1,200 private radios in Indonesia and by 2003 PRSSNI included 816 of these across the country. PRSSNI has a central management in Jakarta, as well as regional branches in the provinces. It held training for its members, organised radio databases and seeks to strength the resources and abilities of stations.

Indonesian Association of Private Broadcasting Radio (ARSSI)

ARSSI was created in 1999 after the fall of the New Order regime when it was no longer compulsory for radios to be members of PRSSNI. However, there is very little available information about ARSSI activities and the number of member.

Union of Newspaper Publisher (SPS)

SPS is an association of newspaper publishers in Indonesia. It was established in 1946. SPS represents newspaper's interest, including issues relating to price, paper supply and taxation. SPS also holds press management training and runs a newspaper database. Most of publishing houses are members of SPS. It also has regional branches, of which there were 20 branches across Indonesia in 2003.

3.4. Commercial Media Networks

Print Media Networks

Indonesia experienced a boom in media publishing after the downfall of the New Order in 1998 and the elimination of the press permission certificate. Up to 2002, there were 1,676 press permission certificates, although only 695 of them published regularly. According to the Union of Newspaper Publishers (SPS), only 30% of those 695 publishers were financially stable. Indonesian newspaper encountered the classic problems of low reading capacity and poor purchasing power. As a result, many newspapers have been closed down.

A recent phenomenon in Indonesia has been the emergence of corporate owned press. Of the approximate 695 regular publications, 30% are under corporate groups. By 2003 there were 10 corporate media groups in Indonesia, the biggest being the Jawa Pos Group and Kompas-Gramedia. Jawa Pos has 107 daily and weekly newspapers in Indonesia. Kompas-Gramedia has almost 50 publications in Indonesia. Besides the national companies, there are regional publishing houses such as Bali Post and Pikiran Rakyat in West Java.

Corporate Media Groups	Number of Publishing (as of 2003)
Jawa Pos Group	107 (a newspaper in Surabaya, and many regional newspaper)
Kompas Gramedia Group	55 (a newspaper in Jakarta and regional ones, tabloid and magazine)
Media Indonesia Group	4 (a newspaper in Jakarta and several regional newspapers)
Pos Kota	4 (newspapers in Jakarta)
Bisnis Indonesia	2 (newspapers in Jakarta)
Pikiran Rakyat	5 (newspapers in West Java)
Bali Post	4 (newspapers in Bali)
MRA Group	4 (several media in Jakarta)
Bintang Advis Media (BAM)	3 (several media in Jakarta)

Mediamillenia Group	3 (several media in Jakarta)
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Broadcast Media Networks

In Indonesia there are 53 government radio stations under Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) and about 1,200 private radios. However the precise numbers are unknown, since many radios operate without licences (it is estimated that only 850 out of 1,200 radios in the country have licences). The radio phenomenon in Indonesia has been similar to the print media. Many radios are in networks. By 2003, there were approximately 17 radio networks in Indonesia.

Radio Network	Number of Members
MRA Media	10 radios (in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Bali, Bandung, Semarang)
Rajawali Media Group	3 radios (all are in Surabaya)
Gajahmada Gorup	3 radios (all are in Semarang)
Rajawali Group	4 radios (all are in Lampung)
Pentas Group	4 radios (all are in Palembang)
Kartika Group	3 radios (in Liwa and Lampung)
Masima Media Investama	14 radios (in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Manado and Makasar)
CPP Radio Net	40 radios (in almost all regencies of Central Java)
Suzana Radionet	8 radio (in East Java)
Arbes Network	9 radio (in West Sumatra)
Smarat Network	6 radio (in Manado, Makasar, Palembang, Padang and Banjarmasin)
Mayangkara Radionet	6 radio (in East Java)
Ramako Group	(5 radio in Jakarta and Batam)
RCM Radio Network	(9 radio in Yogyakarta and Central Java)
Volare Group	14 radio (in West Kalimantan)
Bens Radio	9 radio (in Jakarta, Banten and Surabaya)
Nirwana Group	9 radio (in South Kalimantan)

4. Central Sulawesi

The following chapter provides an overview of the five main assessment areas for Central Sulawesi. These include the mainstream media, alternative media, traditional media, new information technologies and information flows.

The information presented in this chapter derives from the research data gathered by ISAI during the field assessments in June 2004. In this regard, it provides an overview of the media situation at that time, using selected examples to give the reader an overall impression of the circumstances in the province. However, it does not provide a holistic picture of all media outlets and forms, although additional in-depth information can be found in the Annexed tables.

4.1. Conduct of Research

The research was undertaken by ISAI between 23 and 30 June 2004 and looked at the performance and development of the provincial mainstream, alternative and traditional media in Central Sulawesi, as well as examined information flows from both local and national media and their respective influence on the general public.

A sample of eleven respondents representing provincial media stakeholders, community figures, religious leaders, security forces, government, private sector and the general public provided in-depth feedback on the role of the media relating to conflict. The in-depth research on media outlets covered four newspapers (Radar Sulteng, Nuansa Pos, Koran MAL, Poso Pos), two alternative print media (Sangkopo, Baruga), four private radio stations (Nebula, Nugraha, RAL, Bulava) and the state-owned radio station (RRI programmes 1, 2 and 3).

The main obstacles faced in undertaking the research were the conditions in the field, particularly relating to the distance between the provincial capital, Palu, and the centre of much of the violence, Poso (with the Muslim community being concentrated in Poso Kota and the Christian community in Tentena). Coordinating the local researcher was also problematic, as it was hard for the Muslim local researcher to do in-depth interviews with Christian religious figures and visa versa. The local researchers were recruited from media and civil society backgrounds, although it was ensured that they did not interview persons related to their own organisations¹³.

4.2. Background to Conflict¹⁴

Historical Background: Central Sulawesi

Dutch missionaries from the early 1900s sought to convert indigenous animist groups to Christianity in the mountainous interior of what is now Central Sulawesi province. The colonial administration envisioned these Protestants as an allied population buffer against Muslim-influenced coastal kingdoms. Many of these slash-and-burn farmers were resettled in model villages and set to wet-rice farming by the Dutch. Most groups living around Poso Lake, between Poso and the mission centre of Tentena, came to identify themselves ethnically as Pamona. The Japanese Occupation and independence in 1945

¹³ Please see table referring to researchers and respondents in the Annex.

¹⁴ This section is based upon the following sources: Encyclopaedia Britannica 1999, Jakarta Post, OTI Field Report Indonesia (June 2000), Central Sulawesi - Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research (Harvard University, USA), Human Rights Watch, Inside Indonesia, Lorraine Aragon, East Carolina University in Greenville (North Carolina, USA), International Crisis Group (Indonesia Backgrounder: Jihad in Central Sulawesi, report, 03 February 2004).

was followed by a chaotic period when Muslim rebels from South Sulawesi attacked interior animists and Christians.

When the Suharto regime took control, the majority population of the region was still Protestant and Pamona leaders exercised partial control over the local bureaucracy. However, much had changed by the end of Suharto's regime. In 1973, Suharto designated Central Sulawesi as one of ten new transmigration provinces. The Trans-Sulawesi Highway was cut into the rugged mountain forests to ease the path for trans-migrants. The new roads and settlements also attracted a flood of voluntary migrants, especially Muslim Bugis and Makassar people from South Sulawesi. The financial crisis beginning in late 1997 spurred further migration into the Poso area. Many had been displaced from their ancestral lands. Modernist Muslims were installed in high-ranking military posts and Christians reportedly found it harder to get their leaders selected for local governance.

Recent conflict in Central Sulawesi (Poso)

In December 1998 a street fight between two youths, one Protestant and one Muslim, during a tense local political campaign, quickly deteriorated into a religiously polarised battle in the formerly quiet, multiethnic region. The street fight that began in the heart of Poso city on the eve of both Christmas and Ramadan in 1998 fed into religious tensions promoted by inflammatory graffiti during the campaign.

Soon, supporters from allied towns arrived to reinforce the Protestant and Muslim mobs. After a week of chaotic street fighting and arson, about 200 people were injured and 400 homes burned. A second escalating street fight occurred in mid-April 2000. When a Muslim youth was reported stabbed by a Protestant, a Muslim posse began a retaliation campaign that the police reportedly could not handle. By early May over 700 homes had been burned, mostly belonging to Christians, along with several church buildings and a police barracks. Thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs), mostly Christians, fled the province.

The 'third phase' began only three weeks later when a group of Christians made a night-time raid on the Muslims they considered responsible for the earlier destruction of Christian neighbourhoods. The masked 'ninja' group of about a dozen men is alleged to have included both Protestant Pamona and Catholic immigrants from Flores who resided in the Poso district. Fighting then intensified throughout the region, abetted by local Christian militias. This third phase culminated in a massacre of Javanese men who fled to a Muslim boarding school in a transmigration area south of Poso. Over a hundred were killed with homemade weapons and their bodies were tossed in the Poso River and mass graves. The fighting continued until the end of July 2000, when three ringleaders were arrested.

Despite a few high-profile reconciliation efforts in late 2000, sporadic fighting continued and most IDPs did not return home. Instead, the population underwent an increasing de-facto religious segregation - Muslims in Poso city, Protestants in the highland towns.

During the first months of 2001, violence worsened. In addition to attacks on farmers, disgruntled factions planted bombs in religious buildings and police posts. Violence surged again at the end of 2001 when thousands of well-armed Laskar Jihad members were added to the volatile mix of local fighters and over a hundred more persons were killed. At least half a dozen churches and 4,000 houses in thirty villages were burned. Roughly 15,000 more people fled their homes. Muslim militias seized control of fuel stations and roadside checkpoints.

After three years of episodic fighting, death toll estimates range from 1,000 to 2,500, with thousands more injured. Scores of churches and mosques have been burned. Nearly 100,000 have fled their homes, leaving the capital of Poso district described at one time as a 'dead city', though some are now returning. The peace agreement formulated in Malino, South Sulawesi, shows promise but faces challenges in its implementation.

4.3. Media Landscape

Situated in the eastern region of Indonesia, Central Sulawesi covers an area of 68,059 sq. km. It has a population of approximately 2.07 million (ranked 22nd in terms of population after North Sulawesi)¹⁵, with a population density of 31 persons/sq. km.¹⁶ The population is spread out over 8 districts and 1 city, with concentrations in Donggala District (35.21%), Banggai (13.07%), Palu (12.94%) and Poso (11.20%). Smaller numbers reside in Tolitoli District (8.34%), Morowali (7.73%), Banggai Islands (6.80%) and Buol (4.71%).¹⁷

The media is mainly concentrated in Palu District with its population of 269,083, which makes up the majority of the marketplace for existing media. In this regard, Palu also acts as a barometer for media development and growth. Palu and the other districts are located hundreds of kilometres from one another and the topography includes mountains and valleys with steep slopes thus obstructing the dissemination of media. In addition, road and transportation infrastructure is poor.

National Media

National print media that are readily available in Kota Palu include Kompas, Media Indonesia, Harian Fajar (Makassar) and the Jakarta Post. These are beside tens of infotainment tabloids and magazines available in Central Sulawesi that are published in Jakarta.

Local media have allotted designated columns for national information and news. Radar Sulteng sources its news from its group, while Nuansa Post and the weekly newspaper MAL make extensive use of the Internet. Headlines are predominated about national news, with local news amounting to 40% of the total content. Reporters working for local media also often double as correspondents for national media.

In Central Sulawesi one of the most popular sources amongst the population for accessing news and information is television. National private television stations with transmission stations in the region include RCTI, Metro TV and TPI. Local viewers may also opt for TVRI Palu, which broadcasts local programmes for three hours a day. The population in Palu also has access to cable television operations serving housing complexes in Kota Palu, and even some of the villages outside the city.

4.4. Provincial Mainstream and Alternative Media

4.4.1. Mainstream Print Media

Background

According to the Independent Alliance of Journalists (AJI), between 2000-2002, Palu saw thirty-three new print media being established. However, by 2004 only a few were still running. To date, only four

¹⁵ BPS, Sulawesi Tengah Dalam Angka 2002, Jakarta, BPS, 2002, p 11.

¹⁶ BPS, Penduduk Indonesia: Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2000, Jakarta, BPS, 2001, pp 5 and 7.

¹⁷ BPS, Sulawesi Tengah Dalam Angka 2002, Jakarta, 2002, p 71. Processed data.

newspapers based in the province's capital continue to publish regularly (the table in the Annexes summarizes the growth of printed media in Central Sulawesi up to 2002¹⁸).

After the need to have a press publishing license (SIUPP) was removed, investment in the print media sector sharply increased in Central Sulawesi. A newspaper could reportedly be started for approximately IDR 5-10 million.¹⁹ This sparked an upsurge of instant reporters working on a minimum wage, who were often poorly versed on professional principles. As a result, editors and owners also had difficulty in applying stringent newsroom policies.

However, after the conflict, the number of outlets fell rapidly²⁰. These short-lived outlets were handicapped by poor editorial management, inadequate printing facilities and limited capital²¹. Moreover, a number had existed simply to serve the purpose of propagating one side's version of events in the conflict. Despite the decline in numbers since 2002, those print media still in operation are still hindered by the same problems.

Brief Description of Print Media Outlets

Mainstream print media in Central Sulawesi includes Radar Sulteng, Nuansa Pos, Koran MAL and Poso Pos. The oldest newspaper in Central Sulawesi is Mercusuar, which is now called Radar Sulteng following its takeover by Jawa Pos Group. Mercusuar, then part of *Yayasan Suara Rakyat* (People's Voice Foundation), was initiated in 1969 by *Rusdy Toana*. Its maiden publication was in September 1969 in the form of a magazine. As it was reportedly founded among Muhammadiyah circles, it was seen as serving as a Muhammadiyah mouthpiece. Mercusuar eventually opted for a tabloid format and started targeting a broader audience. Koran MAL also counts itself as one of the first publications in the province. It was established in July 1971 by Yayasan Al Chairaat Press, which also administered an Islamic school. MAL was initially printed as handouts and run by the Chairman of Al Khairat, HS Saggaf Al Djufrie.

Nuansa Pos was started after the SIUPP was removed. Established in November 1998 and going by the motto 'Conclusive and Solid Reportage', it took a tabloid format (then later turned into a broadsheet) and specialized on crime reportage. The owners stated that they felt that there was a need for a newspaper providing news on development and bridging the gap between the public and government.²² Poso Pos was also established after the SIUPP was removed. Published for the first time in November 1999, the paper has the motto "Palakati Sintuwu Maroso", which according to the owner is designed to carry the democratic message.

5.4.2. Alternative Print Media

When the administration of Abdurrahman Wahid made way for that of Megawati Soekarno Putri, the Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare (Menko Kesra) Jusuf Kalla initiated the *Malino Declaration* as a conflict resolution mechanism for Poso in February 2002. In Poso, stakeholders followed up on the declaration by forming a multi-stakeholder forum called the Working Group for Reconciling Poso

¹⁸ Data of the Kota Palu chapter of the Independent Alliance of Journalists (AJI), See Annex: Table 01. Growth of Printed Media in Central Sulawesi between 2000-2002.

¹⁹ Data of Palu City chapter of AJI, 2000-2002.

²⁰ Quoted from data of the Kota Palu chapter of the Independent Alliance of Journalists (AJI), research on media in Central Sulawesi during 2000-2002. See Table: Growth of Printed Media in Central Sulawesi between 2000-2002.

²¹ Interview with M. Rafik Yahya, Executive Editor of MAL, 29 May 2004.

²² Interview with Andi Attas Abdullah, Editor-in-Chief, and Bayu Alexander Montang, President-in-Chief of Nuansa Pos, 27 May 2004.

(Pokja RKP). One of its projects was to promote and campaign on peace through alternative media, such as Baruga magazine²³, which made its debut in 2001.

Baruga is a monthly 20-page publication and was established to ‘counterbalance’ its mainstream media counterparts. According to Darwis Waru, a community member and reporter, the media’s role in the conflict in Central Sulawesi is so crucial that it may make or break peace. With this in mind, Pokja RKP published Baruga as an effort to reduce tensions. USAID supported the magazine until its fourth edition, whilst the coming editions are funded by ICCO. As is commonplace with media managed by forums or NGOs, sustainable access to funding is an upcoming need²⁴. The magazine appears to have a strong editorial capacity and the management recently tried to sell it to the general public as a fund raising effort to substitute production cost (editorial, printing and distribution), reportedly finding that the public willing to pay for the publication²⁵. Pokja RKP also spreads peace messages through information and communication tools, such as posters.²⁶

The Central Sulawesi chapter of Lembaga Pengembangan Studi Hukum dan Hak Azasi Manusia (LPS-HAM)²⁷ also utilised alternative media with a specific focus on conflict. In 2002 it published “Sangkopo” magazine with the aim of covering human rights issues. Its other mission was to address the lack of advocacy through the media in the province.²⁸ In this regard, LPS-HAM considered the media as being quite cooperative in opening the information flows in Central Sulawesi in the area of human rights education and the ongoing peace process.

The Crisis Centre is another conflict resolution forum, established by Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah (Central Sulawesi Christian Church). The mission of Crisis Centre is to help Christian IDPs and distribute information about violence affecting Christian communities.

4.4.3. Broadcast Media

Compared to print media, radio in Central Sulawesi had a higher survival rate following the conflict. Lower production costs, wider dissemination and more straightforward permit requirements were some of the underlying reasons behind the comparative sustainability of the broadcast media vis-à-vis the print media.

Nevertheless, before the Broadcasting Law was passed in 2003, radio administrators in Palu had to deal with rigorous permit requirements set by the Ministry for Communications (Dephub) through its Directorate-General for Post and Telecommunications (Dirjen Postel). At the time, broadcast content was regulated by the Ministry of Information (Deppen), based on recommendations made by the Indonesian Commercial Broadcasters Association (Persatuan Radio Siaran Swasta Nasional Indonesia – PRSSNI). However, permit requirements became more lenient in 2003.

²³ Baruga means a place for communities of all ethnicities to gather and consult to resolve problems.

²⁴ Interview with Romy, editorial volunteer for Baruga Bulletin, Pokja RKP.

²⁵ Pokja RKP decided not to sell Baruga on a regular basis, due to ethical reason of accepting donor aid in order to continue with its publication.

²⁶ Interview with Darwis Waru, Editor-in-Chief of Baruga magazine, 31 May 2004.

²⁷ LPS-HAM is the Institute for the Development of Legal Studies and Human Rights Advocacy in Central Sulawesi. It is an organization that focuses its activity in civil society strengthening and has done much advocacy work and critical legal education for the Central Sulawesi community. It is a local NGO which is part of a national network of NGOs that works on Civil Society and Human Right advocacy.

²⁸ Interview with Marthen Salu, Editorial Secretary of Sangkompo Bulletin, 27 May 2004.

In Central Sulawesi there are five radios that hold official FM frequencies license and eight with AM frequencies²⁹. However, Palu has at least thirteen radio stations broadcasting on FM frequencies³⁰. The Indonesian Government Radio (Radio Republik Indonesia – RRI) in Palu, with its widespread range, now uses simultaneously six channels on different frequencies (FM, AM, SW). A number of commercial broadcasters assumed that the use of their channels was legal because (at the time) the Broadcasting Law was still being drafted, although this is yet to be determined. In direct connection to this, the Regional Independent Broadcasting Commission (Komisi Penyiaran Independen Daerah – KPID) is still to be formed in the province to take over the role of PRSSNI.

Before the number of radio stations started to expand in the post-conflict period in Poso, stations holding radio frequency permits often lacked editorial capacity to produce news programmes, as they had for so long been required to relay news broadcasted news from RRI. After this was no longer required, stations started to diversify by adding news programs to their entertainment shows. In this manner, Radio Nugraha has produced its own news programme since 2002. Meanwhile, Nebula, which went on air for the first time in November 1985 and reaches Kota Palu, most of Donggala District and Parigi Moutong District, started to seriously produce news only when the Poso conflict erupted.

The change must be partially attributed to the arrival of news agencies such as KBR 68H Jakarta with its radio network concept. International radio stations, such as BBC and Voice of America (VoA), have also included local radios into their networks. Moreover, radio program producers such as Internews Indonesia and Common Ground have developed the scope and source of programmes for the local radio stations.

Brief Description of Broadcast Media Outlets

Radio stations in Central Sulawesi include Nebula and Nugraha in Palu, whilst in Poso there is Bulava, Local Government Radio (RPD) Poso and *Bhayangkara Radio*. Radio of Indonesian Republic (RRI) Palu with Programme 1, 2 and 3 has a broad reach covering the province.

Radio Nebula, which airs 18 hours a day, was established by a group of school students in Kota Palu. At first they started a broadcast named Voice of Madness. However, it did not survive and eventually went off air. Afterwards the radio was taken over by PT Nebula Nada. The radio currently broadcast on FM 101.0 MHz. According to Tasrif Siara, the radio was formed because of commercial and creativity reasons, as well as to serve as a forum for popular aspirations. To date, Nebula is reportedly one of the province's barometer for commercial broadcasters in terms of news programmes. The radio is also networked with KBR 68H Jakarta and Voice of America. It uses radio programmes produced by Internews and Common Ground. Its infrastructure appears adequate with most of its personnel having attended radio trainings.

Another commercial radio in Kota Palu broadcasting news is Nugraha. It went on air for the first time in 1993. Like Nebula, it started out by airing on AM wavebands before switching over to FM in 1997 with a broadcast range of approximately 30 km. The radio airs 21 hours a day. The radio was originally purely intended to serve commercial ends and as a means to channel creativity. Nugraha is now owned

²⁹Data processed from Data and Potential of Broadcasters in Central Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi chapter of PRSSNI, See Annex: Table 14. Commercial Broadcasters holding Frequency Permits in Central Sulawesi.

³⁰ Most of radio stations in Palu are illegal and they do not mention their station's call sign. The local researcher screened the FM frequencies around Palu and found there were radios on the following frequencies: 90,6; 95,2; 95,8; 97,5; 99,1; 93,0; 101,0; 101,8; 102,6; 103,4; 104,2; 105,0; 105,8. Out of these 13 radios, only three have valid licenses, these being 101,0: Nebula FM; 102,6; Nugraha Top FM; 101,8: Best FM.

by a media business network, the Jakarta-based Media Network Consolidated. Nugraha also broadcasts news programmes and is a member of the BBC network, as well as airs Internews programmes.

RAL (Radio Alchiraat) broadcasts on AM wavebands. Like MAL, RAL is also administered by Yayasan Alchiraat. Its broadcasting permit was issued in 1994 and its mission is to spread Islamic values. When it made its debut, RAL adopted broadcasts of RAL Manado.³¹ Later, RAL also produced news programmes of which content were sourced from MAL. RAL is part of the KBR 68H network.

The radio with the widest range in Central Sulawesi is Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Palu. The radio station, now a departmental agency, expanded its programs to include Programa 1 RRI, Programa 2 RRI and Programa 3 RRI. The three programmes are aired at six different frequencies on FM, AM and SW wavebands. They are supplied with (local) news from the News Desk packaged as fits the segmentation of each program.³² The editorial crew at the news desk has only seven outdated typewriters, although the journalistic capacity appears strong. Broadcasts target audiences of all ages with a range that goes across provincial borders. It collaborates with local government departments and offices in covering news and implementing promotional campaigns. It has worked particularly close with the provincial Information and Communication Office (INFOKOM) in dealing with the Poso conflict, as well as with natural disasters.

Bulava is a radio station based in the conflict area of Poso. It went on air for the first time in 1996 at FM 100.2 MHz. Its broadcast range covers Kota Poso. As is the case with other commercial broadcasters, it was established solely based on commercial considerations and to entertain the public in Kota Poso. Bulava produces its own news programme called 'Bulava Aktual' with content sourced from local and national newspapers. The radio is not yet linked to news agencies or networks. Pokja RKP collaborated with Bulava in broadcasting public service announcements to promote peace in Poso. Other commercial radios in Poso include Radio Pemerintah Daerah (RPD) of the district government of Poso, Radio Bayangkara of the Poso Police Precinct (Polres), Radio Narwastu and Radio Mayasprasta.³³

4.4.4. Media Content

The University of Tadulako's Research Centre on Peace and Conflict (P4K) have undertaken analysis of the role of media in conflict, which they classify in three groups as follows: (1) media as conflict trigger; (2) media as conflict concealer; and (3) media as conflict resolver. The conclusions of P4K are that mainstream media, including both newspapers and radio stations, pose a significant potential to become a conflict trigger due to their commercial orientation and poor professionalism. In contrast, it was alleged that the state-owned media attempted to down play the conflict at the time.

During the periods of heightened conflict, the mass media (most notably newspapers) apparently inadvertently contributed to the violence in Poso, often becoming a mouthpiece for combatant groups.³⁴ Printed news or articles were used as reference by many of the parties to the conflict. At the same time, the press in Indonesia was enjoying its newly acquired freedom. The administration of Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur) allowed the establishment of media without the need for stringent permits. Newspapers in Palu experienced a sudden growth. Amidst the increasing conflict they

³¹ The chairman of Yayasan Alchiraat, HS Saggaf Aldjufrie has initiated a number of media including RAL Palu and RAL Manado, the latter also being affiliated to the Al Khairat network (more than 2000 nodes) in the eastern part of Indonesia.

³² See Annex: Table 16. Wattage and Broadcast Range

³³ Aside from Radio Bulava which airs on FM wavebands and Radio Mayaprasta (AM), other radio stations in Poso have yet to receive frequency permits.

³⁴ Interview with Mr. Nasrun of University of Tadulako's Research Centre on Peace and Conflict, Central Sulawesi.

reportedly competed by orienting themselves towards commercial considerations through taking sides in the violence. The media often unconditionally quoted interviews from a single side and included religious sentiments that coloured news coverage.

After the conflict, the editorial policy of the local media reportedly underwent considerable reorientation. The public, jaded by the constant news about conflict, prompted newsrooms to shift the focus of their content. As stated by Ariyanto Sangaji, an activist with Yayasan Tanah Merdeka (YTM):

“During the Poso conflict, local media where during the initial stage very imbalanced in their reporting... The principles of journalism were no longer heeded. But the last 5 years have seen amazing change”

Overall, it appears that media administrators in Central Sulawesi do attempt to apply stronger newsroom policies, but on the other hand reporters who have to meet local sources and deal with the realities of working in the field find it quite challenging to write balanced, correct and verified news.

Different newsrooms have different responses. MAL chooses to take over the job of the relevant reporter in order to safeguard the paper’s reputation. MAL benefits from the fact that it only has to publish once a week. Other media opt to print the news with the condition that verification can be done the day after. Yan Patris Binela, a priest based in Tentena, recounted how fast news on religious segregation spread when, unverified, it was broken by the media. Even so, during the last two years he judged that the media had undergone a shift in news focus, stating:

“I think that they between 2002 and 2004 started to produce balanced news on Poso, even if they often overlook the root cause of the issue”³⁵

However, although many media no longer address conflict sensitive issues due to the potential outcome of poor professionalism, the tendency to print bombastic news is evident in other forms, such as crime reportages. Media apparently often turn to crime news to increase sales. Soraya, an activist with KPKP-ST,³⁶ said that newspapers in Central Sulawesi shed the limelight on criminal actions against women by incessantly exposing, for example, rape cases. No efforts are made to protect the identity of the victim³⁷.

In contrast to the problems faced in the print media, the percentage of intervention by owners in editorial content in radio is not large. Radio in Palu is mostly entertainment (less news with lots entertainment and music), although some do carry news broadcasts, often relayed from an international or Jakarta based network. However, dissemination is often limited due to geographic factors and poor broadcast equipment³⁸.

Radio seems to have been the most influential media during periods of conflict. News can be spread rapidly, although the content is harder to regulate for the editors and therefore not always professional. In periods when the conflict has been dormant, the information gathered indicated that the general public apparently preferred to listen to entertainment-based radio, rather than those carrying a more news programmes.

³⁵ Interview with Yan Patris Binela, a reverend based in Tentena, 28 May 2004.

³⁶ KPKP-ST: Kelompok Perjuangan Kesetaraan Perempuan-Sulawesi Tengah (Central Sulawesi Group for the Struggle for Women’s Equality).

³⁷ Interview with Soraya Sultan, Director of KPKP-ST.

³⁸ See Annex: Table: Audience Segmentation and Program Composition, Table: Presence/Absence of News Programs.

The radios in Central Sulawesi do, however, seem to be trying to change the image of, and interest in, news programmes. As an example, Radio Nebula currently broadcasts local news for 30 minutes per day and the rest is relayed programmes. Radio Nugraha provides 20 minutes for local programmes, although this is mainly quoting the news from local newspaper. The production costs of approximately Rp 10 million per month (Rp 5,5 millions for wages, the rest is for operational cost) seem to undermine the willingness of the radios to produce their own news. RRI reportedly has the only long-term news programme in Central Sulawesi. The reach is wide through programmes 1, 2 and 3 and supporting operational equipments³⁹.

Internews and Common Ground are two INGOs working with radio stations in Sulawesi. They produce radio programmes that are broadcast by a number of radio stations in Palu. Internews regularly sends three feature programmes to radio stations in Palu. These being Sahabat Alam (Friends of Nature), a programme raising awareness about the threat of environmental destruction; Suara Bangsaaku (Voice of my Nation), a programme analyzing current economic, social and political events; Sehat Indonesiaku (Healthy Indonesia), addressing health issues and possible solution. Common Ground sends a radio drama series entitled Menteng Pangkalan to a number of radio stations in Palu through the 68H radio network. The programme promotes pluralism and peace, including ways for resolving conflict.

4.4.5. Education and Skills

Reporters based in Palu and Poso have received considerable attention from national and international organisations focusing on peace journalism. Those who have undertaken training in this area include, LSPP, which was supported by the British Council, LP3ES, AJI and PWI. Internews, KBR-68H and Common Ground have also provided capacity-building to broadcasters⁴⁰.

However, human resources continue to be an obstacle for the media, due to poor access to education for media practitioners. Moreover, most media institutions hire journalists with either high school diploma or Dip.HE, and only Radar Sulteng newspaper hires graduates with Bachelor's degree. RRI Palu has a centralised and routine training programme. Of particular note, is that many alternative media apparently have stronger human resource capacity than the mainstream media.

4.4.6. Safety Issues

During the conflict, the journalists worked in difficult and hazardous circumstances during the conflict in the province. It was dangerous to cover events in the Poso area during the peak of the violence. According to AJI Palu, at least one journalist was killed from Poso Pos after losing contact with his colleagues.

Furthermore, Poli Joris, managing editor of Suara Maluku, was also almost killed when a bomb exploded and he was injured by shrapnel. Moreover, many Christian media practitioners choose to travel by sea, thereby avoiding travelling through Muslim villages by road. There are reportedly no recommended safety standards or advice for media practitioners available from professional bodies or associations in the province.

4.4.7. Associations and Networks

³⁹ See Annex: Table: Facilities, Table: Presence/Absence of News Programs.

⁴⁰ Based on interviews, all print and electronic media have had received training from institutions such as LP3ES, LSPP, KBR-68H, AJI, PWI.

The present radio and print journalist associations in Central Sulawesi include AJI (Independent Journalist Alliance) Kota Palu and PWI (Indonesian Journalist Association) Sulteng. These two associations have held activities to improve the journalism quality in Central Sulawesi. Young journalists have tended to choose AJI, while PWI contains more senior journalists. AJI reportedly has more members than PWI. AJI also has a wide network, so journalists can meet and work with members outside Central Sulawesi. In some cases of advocacy, AJI has taken a firm stance in defence of the media. Beside meetings, the AJI community also has an e-mailing list. However, the services being provided by the associations do not seem to be that extensive, mainly due to a lack of resources and knowledge about potential opportunities. In addition, as with elsewhere in the country, the role of the associations as trade unions in securing collective agreements is not yet established.

PWI Central Sulawesi and AJI Palu have worked on anti-bribery campaigns and promoted the importance of forming unions. The Press Worker Alliance (SPP) is also working for the protection of media practitioner's rights. However, not all provincial media are in a position to provide full wages and welfare benefits as demanded by SPP and others.

A number of complaints against the media have also been issued by consumers through the Indonesian Consumer Organization (Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia/YLKI). This institution has a regional network including in Central Sulawesi, although its activities and mandate are apparently not well known in the province.

PRSSNI is the main private radio broadcasting association. PRSSNI Sulteng activities are concerned with coordinating the frequency usage and advertisement distribution, as well as accreditation of institutions.

4.4.8. Media Policy and Legislation

The national policy regarding media influences the form and environment for the provincial media. In this regard, the press law (No. 40/1999) provides for simpler media management requirements and decriminalises media-related offences, thereby removing custodial sentences. However, as with a recent case against Nuansa Pos, the legal system still refers to criminal libel law in cases against the media. Moreover, the criminal code (KUHP) is used to determine financial penalties, which although smaller under the liable law, are based upon broader definitions.

An ombudsmen institution has been created in the form of the 'Press Council'. Functions of the Council include monitoring adherence to professional standards and ethics, as well as the resolution of legal actions or complaints against the media. The Council has no authority to impose penalties, which remains under the legal authority of the court⁴¹, but also does not exclude recourse to legal channels at a later date if the resolution under the Council is unsatisfactory. However, the Press Council is centred in Jakarta and regional matters regarding the media do not always come to their attention. Another obstacle is that complaints can often not be quickly dealt with.

Following the passing of the broadcast law (No 32/ 2002) responsibility for the regional broadcast media rests with the Regional Independent Committee of Broadcasting (Komisi Penyiaran Independen Daerah)⁴². However, this has not yet been established because the Indonesian Committee of

⁴¹ Many press complaints or consumer's complaints on press are not solved well.

⁴² KPI's rights: Determining program standards, arranging regulation and determining broadcasting manual; penalizing the violation of law and broadcasting manual and program standards; coordinating and cooperating with Government, broadcasting institution and people. KPI's tasks: guaranteeing people to have proper and the right information according to the human rights; helping the management of broadcasting infrastructure; building the sound competition inter-

Broadcasting (KPI) is not created in Central Sulawesi. Many problems and obstacles for the broadcast media derive from this state of affairs, such as the confusion in allocating and managing frequencies.

4.4.9. Legal Cases and External Pressure

A number of print media in Central Sulawesi have had to deal with external pressure relating to news coverage. Nuansa Pos has been accused of inaccurate and libellous reporting twice. The first claim was filed by the family of Ruly Lamadjido, then the province's governor, accusing the paper of defamation by reporting on the alleged murder of woman. The second claim was related to a corruption case involving the Office of Health of Central Sulawesi, which went on to the court of appeal. Bayu Alexander Montang, Director-in-Chief of Nuansa Pos, claimed to have abided by the principles of professional journalism, but lost the case, which was tried under the libel laws.

Cases of external pressure against the media, including threats and attacks on media practitioners and outlets, were also noted by the assessment team. In one example, a local person of note apparently felt that a newspaper had falsely reported about him and as a consequence allegedly had his driver attack and beat the responsible journalist.

4.4.10. Revenue and Income Generation

Low circulation and poor retail markets are the general picture of the print media in Central Sulawesi. Most outlets have a low number of subscribers, poor distribution systems and insufficient income from advertisement. There are also problems connected to the independence of the news, as the marketing division are often intertwined with the editorial departments. The biggest single income for advertisement in the print media seems to be congratulatory advertisements on national days.⁴³

In general, radios in Central Sulawesi are run on minimum operational costs. The radio with the highest costs uses Rp 15 million per month (most which have costs of Rp 10 million per month for wages and operational expenses). The private radio income comes mainly from public advertisements - national and local (temporary). Only radios with international marketing networks get better revenue. It is due to these limitations that the local radios often do not have enough funds to cover local news themselves⁴⁴.

4.4.11. Ownership, Employment and 'Envelope Journalism'

The independence of the media can be directly correlated to the ownership and institutional orientation. Aside from business interests, the owner of the media can influence the editorial policy and management system. A number of newspapers in Central Sulawesi are privately owned such as Nuansa Pos and Poso Pos. However, the legal entity of media business, including privately owned, is usually a proprietary limited company (Perseroan Terbatas/PT), except MAL Newspaper's, which is a foundation (Yayasan Al Khairat Press/Al Khairat Press Foundation).⁴⁵

broadcasting institutions and industries; preserving the justice and balance national informational order; collecting, researching and responding people's complaints, critics and appreciation upon broadcasting service; managing the human resource development guaranteeing professionalism in broadcasting.

⁴³ The biggest source of income for local newspapers comes from personal advertisement, although this type of ad is incidental. It depends on certain occasions e.g. when there is instalments of new government officials. Their colleagues, counterparts from other institutions or business partners will place ads to congratulate them. See Annex: Table 05. Readership and Distribution, Table 11. Operational Costs, Table 12. Income and Circulation, Table 13. Income from Advertisements.

⁴⁴ See Annex: Table: Payment System and Salary Range, Table: Operational Costs, Table 22. Income from Commercials

⁴⁵ See Annex: Table: Owner and Profession of Media

Although theoretically journalist should not be engaged in the business and administration side of a media business, in Central Sulawesi some journalist are also involved in advertising negotiations. The standard wages (some still pay the employee through an honorary system) and the lack management allows for this mix of working roles⁴⁶.

Most media apply the regional minimum wage standard for employees salaries, although allowances are often not included. In addition, many journalists are paid per news pieces submitted. The lack of standardised salary rates for journalists allows individual media to set their own levels. To get by, journalists often double up as correspondents for national media or have a second job elsewhere. Such conditions have a direct impact on the capacity media institutions in Central Sulawesi.

Envelope journalism is reportedly increasingly becoming a topic of discussion amongst journalists in Central Sulawesi, although there were only a few journalists who showed a firm commitment against this practice. In reality, the vast majority of journalists are dependent on favours and bribes, both to maintain a reasonable income, as well as access resources, such as transportation, to allow them to do their work. One deputy editor also stated that as long as it did not influence the editorial policy and the manor of the journalism, it was acceptable.

4.4.12. Gender

The number of female journalist in the print media is relatively limited and there are apparently no exact figures about how many editors are women. The ‘patriakri’ culture relating to gender roles can still be clearly seen in the media. Many media managers assume that women are much better indoors and should not be working in the field as reporters. Although, it was noted that the balance of women work working as DJs in the broadcast media was considerably better, women were usually working in administrative capacities. As a topic for coverage, gender issues are also apparently given limited coverage. Hj. Siti Haditjah Toana, a community figure in Central Sulawesi, stated:

“Women issues have yet to be exposed, particularly the 30-percent quota issue of women legislators in the parliament. It demonstrates the widespread lack of support of media towards women and women issues.”⁴⁷

4.5. Provincial Traditional Media

Indigenous Groups in Central Sulawesi

Central Sulawesi is home to at least three indigenous groups, the Kaili, Lore and Buol. Each are concentrated in different administrative regions, with the Kaili community mainly in Donggala District, the Lore in Poso District, and the Buol in Toli-Toli District.

Each group had a form of local government and social institutions. The social stratification includes old and current patterns. Before contemporary government and religious systems influenced social change these were; strengthening faith, providing incentive, increasing sense of shame and increasing sense of fear. These groups also had strong ties with these natural elements supporting life, related to their place of living and environment. Current changes have altered the shape and nature of these communities, which eventually demanded a cultural change that has caused social tensions. The introduction and intervention of cultures from outside that have also not helped in mitigating these tensions. A research paper titled “Local Social Life Systems in Central Sulawesi”, published by the Ministry of Education

⁴⁶ See Annex: Table: Number of Employees and Employment System, Table: Payment System and Payment Range.

⁴⁷ Interview with Hj Siti Haditjah Toana, a community figure in Central Sulawesi and provincial parliament legislator, 27 May 2004.

and Culture in 1980 and 1981, discussed the threat posed by this kind of excess as change increasingly alienated existing social institutions.

Indigenous Groups in Poso District

Poso District is home to two indigenous groups, the Lore and Pamona. The first is concentrated in the two sub-districts of North Lore and South Lore and is largely made up of Protestants and Catholics. This group lives next to the Pamona community, who are concentrated in the Poso Pesisir sub-district in the south, which borders onto South Sulawesi, and which is a Muslim community.

Living in the hills as farmers, the Lore community is seen as grouping together. Their power to influence policymaking at the district and provincial level is supposedly concentrated in the sub-district capital of Tentena. Meanwhile, the Pamona community relies on fisheries and inhabits the coastal area of Poso, and has ties to the Bugis, Makassar and Gorontalo people, migrant communities living in the southern region. Power to influence policymaking at the district and provincial level is concentrated in the sub-district capital of Poso Kota.

4.5.1. Indigenous Community Forums and Ceremonies

The Poso District consists of 12 sub-districts (Poso Kota, Poso Pesisir, Lage, South Lore, North Lore, Central Lore, Ampana Kota, Ulubongka, Tojo, North Pamona, East Pamona South Pamona) and the region is at least inhabited by 5 ethnic groups that make up the *adat* (customary) community, including Lore, Pamona, Baree, To po Ta and Tojo, with each abiding by longstanding customs and rules. Since long ago, conflict has often occurred among adat kings, or in this case local warlords, but there always has usually been a mechanism to dampen the intensity of conflict.

Sintuwu Maroso is the Central Sulawesi's people motto denoting unity. Then there is Baruga, meaning a place to meet face-to-face where issues are resolved through prevailing adat mechanisms. So a dispute between people from a single region will be resolved through Molibu, but when it involves two or more regions and tends to become larger, the Kayori adat ritual is called for. Kayori means reciting poems by turns and is concluded with Motambu Tanah, a ritual to bury the past that involves a buffalo head as symbol. Historically, the ritual required the conflicting groups to make human sacrifices taken from the lower strata (slaves). Motambu Tanah literally means a forum to meet and resolve disputes.⁴⁸

During his national presidency, Abdurahman Wahid (Gus Dur) visited Poso in August 2002. A "Rujuk Sintuwu Maroso" peace agreement, or popularly known as "Bersatu Kuat", was declared. Even so, the sacral event, which was marked by the handing over of the agreement from fourteen local adat leaders to the president, lacked effectiveness⁴⁹.

Dero, a forum that takes the form of an entertaining and recreational gathering, was halted when the conflict broke out, especially so when it was banned by some Muslim leaders, who are mostly based in Poso Kota. Dero is a forum marked by communal dances based on a set choreography that is understood by all community segments with people holding hands in a circle symbolising unity.

Central Sulawesi is also well known by festival of Lake Poso, which is a folk gathering that was regularly held each year up until the conflict. This activity stopped for security reasons, as Tentena is a Christian area where it is considered hazardous by local communities for Muslim to travel.

⁴⁸ Discussion with academicians of the University of Tadulako in the office of its Research Center on Peace and Conflict (P4K Untad).

⁴⁹ Tomy Waworundeng, *Liputan Jurnalisme Damai: Kerusuhan Poso dari Dua Sisi*, Makasar, ELSIM, 2002, pp 105-112.

4.5.2. Migration, Local Government and Organised Religion

Population movements (including transmigration and spontaneous/ unassisted migration), which have been ongoing for sometime, have gradually eroded the importance and belief in indigenous symbols and rituals. In addition, for 32 years the New Order regime segregated the communities into a systematic system and hierarchy. As a result, institutions and adat or social values that were once referred to by locals in resolving conflict have been largely eroded. As a replacement, a standardised system of government at the hamlet or kampong level was introduced. The forum has changed also from what was once known as 'Baruga' into the present Balai Desa (Village Hall).

The coastal community in Central Sulawesi is mostly Muslim and concentrated in Poso Kota and surroundings, while the inland communities are dominated by Christian communities. The conflict was mainly concentrated in two regions, Poso Kota with its Muslim community and migrants, and North Pamona sub-district and its capital of Tentena with its Christian community.

Local economic, political and social cultural competition has taken place since long before the recent conflicts took on a religious connotation. As stereotypes, the Muslim community has marked itself as successful merchants. Meanwhile, the Christian community is seen as increasingly losing ground in the competition. This is reflected in the makeup of the local government (PEMDA of Poso District) with positions reportedly being mostly filled by Muslims. This highly vulnerable situation has made it easy for intruders to trigger communal conflicts.

In this regard, tensions were vented along religious lines and churches and mosques were focal points for violence. Moreover, it is alleged that at the time of conflict a number of religious leaders incited violence in the form of self-defence and based upon perceptions of historical inevitability and enmity. However, in the post- conflict phase when calmer heads prevailed, organised religion has often played a constructive role in trying to preach tolerance and understanding to reduce conflict related tensions.

4.5.3. Communicative Art Forms

Cultural media refers to longstanding communication tools that to date have remained in effect (though increasingly dwindling, e.g. communicative forms of art) and are recognised in local inter-ethnic interaction. Central Sulawesi is home to several communicative art forms, such as Dero, Kayori and Dante-dante, with definitions and visualisations as described in the paper on 'Communicative Art of Central Sulawesi', published in 1980/1981 by Central Sulawesi's Department of Education and Culture⁵⁰.

4.6. New Information Technologies

4.6.1. Cellular Phone and SMS

Cellular phones have greatly changed access to information in Central Sulawesi, although they have only been in operation for 6 months in Poso. The province's community, particularly those residing in the districts of Palu and Poso,⁵¹ are now familiar with this facility. The speedy access of cellular phones has placed it as a primary means of communication, being utilised in manner consistent with person to persons dialogue, as well as the spread of rumour and gossip (see below).

4.6.2. Internet

The Internet is becoming increasingly popular amongst selected groups in Palu. Based on interviews with stakeholders, it is often made use of by government, academia, private sector, and local and

⁵⁰ See Annex: Table: Communicative Art in Central Sulawesi.

⁵¹ Cellular phone coverage is not that good in Poso Kota.

international NGOs. Most of the mainstream media also uses the Internet as a communication and information tool. The public, especially college students, have started to access the Internet for entertainment and information needs. Meanwhile, only a limited number of individuals make use of the local Internet provider as it applies long-distance call tariffs for its services. Furthermore, in Poso Internet access is very limited, with only one service provider at UNSIMAR University.

4.6.3. Handy Talky

Handy-talkies are a popular communication tool in Central Sulawesi. The province's challenging topography and limited cellular phone coverage have made it a useful means of communication. Members of radio networks are often affiliated to amateur radio organisations such as RAPI or ORARI Sulteng. It has also proven to be a significant help with field coordination needs. INFOKOM,⁵² a department of the provincial government that deals with communication affairs in coordination with SATKORLAK, depends heavily on handy-talkies, especially when dealing with disaster and conflict management issues.⁵³

However, exactly how challenging a task it is for SATKORLAK to coordinate and disseminate information is exemplified by the situation during which the Poso conflict erupted or a natural disaster struck: As stated by Haris Tandimuso, Coordinator of Central Sulawesi's SATKORLAK:

“We have a link going downwards in our network to which we must report every time something happened. When reports from the District or Sub-district were late we'd firstly access news from local newspapers, then television, and finally from local radio stations”⁵⁴

4.7. Information Flows

4.7.1. Rumour and Gossip

A number of persons interviewed in Poso's stated that the local community was rife with gossip and rumour. They stated that gossip and rumour was usually exchanged around forums such as marketplaces, residences, food stalls and *deker*⁵⁵. Youths in particular apparently enjoy 'sharing the latest gossip' with one another a form of social interaction. During the conflict, gossip on SARA (ethnic, religious, racial and class issues) issues was widespread⁵⁶. The interviewees also stated that rumour and gossip are hard to contain, and its impact can quickly fuel tensions. *Ustad* Abdul Gani T Israil, an Islamic teacher and Chairman of the Kota Poso chapter of the Indonesian Ulemas Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia – MUI), viewed rumour as having a major influence on a person's soul. The impact is beyond human limits. He stated:

“I saw with my own eyes how innocent and unaware people were slaughtered in the middle of the street. Both groups took part in this”⁵⁷

⁵² INFOKOM is a Bureau within the Governor's Office, which handles public relations for the provincial government. The exact name in Indonesian is Biro Informasi dan Komunikasi (Biro Infokom)..

⁵³ Interview with Haris Tandimuso, Coordinator of Central Sulawesi's Provincial Coordinating Body for Disaster and IDP Management (Satkorlak PBP), 27 May 2004.

⁵⁴ Interview with Haris Tandimuso, Coordinator of Central Sulawesi's Coordinating Body for Disaster and IDP Management (Satkorlak PBP), 27 May 2004.

⁵⁵ *Deker* is a local word denoting a place to gather and sit on the sides of a concrete moat.

⁵⁶ Interview with Sergeant Second Class Sudirman, 26 May 2004.

⁵⁷ Interview with Ustad Abdul Gani T Israil, Chairman of the Kota Poso chapter of MUI, Chairman II of the Regional Board of Alchiraat Poso, Administrator of the Islamic boarding school Alkautzar Poso, Chairman of MTsN Poso Pesisir, 28 May 2004.

Rumours that were often groundless therefore influenced local communities relatively easily. This was particularly so in Poso where access to mass media was problematic and the general public therefore had few ways in which to verify information and obtain more reliable, objective and balanced interpretations of events. It was also reported that the lack of objective information fuelled feeling of insecurity and prompted the belief that communities were under attack and needed to respond to the supposed atrocities of the other side.

Ibu Mbose, a Poso resident and advocate for women activities in her neighbourhood, stated that the local community would no longer blindly trust gossip before they have verified its truth. She stated:

“During the conflict lots of rumours did the rounds, and at the time the community was easily provoked, but that’s no longer true. Now we discuss a lot and do activities that lead to recovery of household economies that had suffered greatly during the conflict”⁵⁸

4.7.2. Media to Consumer

Poor distribution and partition between Muslim and Christian areas weakens print media circulation. Media published by Muslim community cannot come into Christian community and vice versa. In addition, weak purchasing power and geographical factor also hinder the reach of print media to rural areas. The same geographical factor also prevents the already weak transmission power of radio stations from reaching population in rural areas.

Although media access in the more remote conflict-prone areas has improved, there is still apparently poor access to mass media. However, the emergence of alternative media, initiated at the local level, has greatly assisted in strengthening information flows.

4.7.3. Primary Source to Media

Editors reportedly identified four main target groups as information sources for the media, particularly relating to conflict. These were religious leaders, military, police and government. Member of the regional parliament were also identified, but were widely considered to be partial in the conflict.

At the moment the relation between the media and main identified information sources is good, although many often choose not to provide information as the ‘safer option’ at a time when professional standards amongst the media are not always dependable. As stated by Amirullah Sia, the Head of the Office for the promotion of National Unity and Civil Protection (Kesbang Linmas/Kesatuan Bangsa dan Perlindungan Masyarakat) of Poso District government:

“Lets be objective, some less than interesting local media cared more for the commercial prospect, and not how to keep the public informed”⁵⁹

4.8. Additional Information

Please refer to the Annexes for further research information in tabulated form collected by ISAI during the research phase on the provincial mainstream, alternative and traditional media (as listed below).

⁵⁸ Interview with Ibu Mbose, homemaker, resident of Tagolu Village, Lage Poso Sub-district, 26 May 2004.

⁵⁹ Interview with Amirudin Sia, Head of Kesbang Linmas of Poso District, 28 May 2004.

Print Media (Mainstream and Alternative)
Table: Growth of Printed Media in Central Sulawesi between 2000-2002 <i>Source: Kota Palu chapter of AJI</i>
Table: Chief Executive/Editor-in-Chief <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Owner and Profession of Media <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Size, Total Pages and Publication Frequency <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Readership and Distribution <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Facilities Owned. <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Layout and Printing Works <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Number of Employees and Employment System <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Education and Training Courses Attended by Employees <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Payment System and Payment Range <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Operational Costs <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Income and Circulation <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Income from Advertisements <i>Source: Data research collected</i>
Broadcast Media (Mainstream)
Table: Commercial Broadcasters holding Frequency Permits in Central Sulawesi <i>Source: Central Sulawesi PRSSNI</i>
Table: Radio Stations and Occasion of On-Air Debut <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Wattage and Broadcast Range <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Radio Owner and Manager <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Facilities <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Number of Employees <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Education of Employees <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Payment System and Salary Range <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Operational Costs <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Income from Commercials <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>
Table: Audience Segmentation and Program Composition <i>Source: Data research collected.</i>

Table: Presence/Absence of News Programs *Source: Data research collected.*

Traditional Media

Table: Communicative Art of Central Sulawesi *Source: Paper on 'Communicative Art of Central Sulawesi', published in 1980/1981 by Central Sulawesi's Department of Education and Culture*

5. Maluku

The following chapter provides an overview of the five main assessment areas for Maluku. These include the mainstream media, alternative media, traditional media, new information technologies and information flows.

The information presented in this chapter derives from the research data gathered by ISAI during the field assessments in June 2004. In this regard, it provides an overview of the media situation at that time, using selected examples to give the reader an overall impression of the circumstances in the province. However, it does not provide a holistic picture of all media outlets and forms, although additional in-depth information can be found in the Annexed tables.

5.1. Conduct of Research

The research undertaken by ISAI between 23 and 30 June 2004 looked at the performance and development of the provincial mainstream, alternative and traditional media in Maluku, as well as examined information flows from both local and national media and their respective influence on the general public.

A sample of eleven respondents representing provincial media stakeholders, community figures, religious leaders, security forces, government, private sector and the general public provided in-depth feedback on the role of the media relating to conflict. Resource persons were interviewed individually in neutral places.

A number of obstacles were faced in conducting the research. Most serious were the security consideration in the province, in particular as the assessment was being conducted soon after the re-emerged tensions in the area⁶⁰. This situation greatly restricted the freedom of movement for the five local researchers and the majority of information collected had to be done in the Ambon⁶¹.

5.2. Background to Conflict⁶²

Historical background: Maluku (the Moluccas)

The Maluku Islands⁶³ were a part of the Javanese Majapahit Empire and the Shrivijaya Empire (Sumatra) before Islam was introduced in the 15th century. The Portuguese entered the region in the early 16th century and from 1599 the Dutch started establishing settlements on the islands. The Dutch conquest was completed in 1667. During the 16th and 17th centuries the islands were a source of cloves, nutmeg and mace. The islands were ruled by the British in the periods 1796-1802 and 1810-1817, and occupied by the Japanese during World War II.

⁶⁰ As an example a local researcher, Mey Cresentya Rahail (a Christian), who befriended another local researcher Sahira Sangaji (a Muslim), had to keep some distance from her friend after an external party threatened her if they continued to speak.

⁶¹ Movement within Ambon was also restricted, particularly based on the religion of the local researchers.

⁶² This section is based upon the following sources: Encyclopaedia Britannica 1999, Jakarta Post, OTI Field Report Indonesia (June 2000), Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research (Harvard University, USA), Human Rights Watch, Inside Indonesia, International Crisis Group.

⁶³ From Arabic phrase "Al-Muluk" meaning "of kings", the areas was known by foreign traders as the "Spice Islands".

Consist of a group of approximately 1,000 islands with approx. 1,7 million inhabitants. The capital in Maluku is Ambon on the small Ambon Island, whilst the capital in North Maluku is Ternate.

Maluku formed part of the Dutch-inspired, temporary autonomous state of East Indonesia in 1945 and existed as a separate colony of the Netherlands until 1949. With the declaration of a unitary republic in 1950 to replace the federal state, South Maluku attempted to secede. The revolt was led by Christian Ambonese from Pulau Ambon and they formed the short-lived Republic of South Moluccas, but finally ceded to the independent Republic of Indonesia. Since then, there has been intermittent ethnic and nationalist violence on the islands. Maluku formed one single province from 1950 until 1999. However, in 1999 the Maluku Utara Regency was split off as a separate province of North Maluku.

Recent conflicts in Maluku

For Maluku, the first major conflict came between February and April 1998, when the Moluccan Muslim leader in Jakarta, Deddy Hamdan, disappeared along with other pro-democracy activists. Next in January 1999, an argument in Ambon City between a Christian passenger and Muslim bus driver developed into a fight between largely local groups of Muslims and Christians. The fighting quickly spread to the surrounding islands. According to national Indonesian media reports, unsubstantiated and exaggerated gossip and rumours played a crucial role in this development.

In the early days of the conflict local media frequently stopped reporting for periods because of physical threats or warnings from the conflict stakeholders. In early 1999, no local radio stations in Ambon were broadcasting. The subsequent 18 months were characterized by fighting, the destruction of thousands of houses, the displacement of approximately 500,000 people, the loss of thousands of lives, and the segregation of Muslims and Christians. In May 2000, Laskar Jihad militia groups arrived in South Maluku, whilst tensions rose further between religious groups.

In June 2000, President Abdurrahman Wahid declared a state of civil emergency and by July there were approximately 14,000 troops in Maluku. In late 2001, a reconciliation process started making its impact. A turning point were the December 2001 meeting between approximately 200 Muslim and Christian leaders in Yogyakarta to explore the possibility of reach reconciliation in Maluku.

As the situation became calmer in the province, apart from Ambon City, people started to return home. However, in spite of numerous negotiations and the signing of a peace agreement in February 2002, tension on Ambon Island remained high until late 2002, when a series of spontaneous 'mixings' between previously hostile groups lead to a sporadic, but generally increasingly stable peace.

In April 2004, tensions again rose in Ambon in the build up to 25 April - the anniversary of the declaration of an independent state in Maluku, when members of the Maluku Sovereignty Front (FKM) raise independence flags (FKM has both Muslim and Christian members). Although the causes and perpetrators of the violence remain unclear, the result has been to re-inflate tensions between communities in the province.

5.3. Media Landscape

Ambon, which is the main urban area in Maluku and focal point for much of the violence, has an area of 377 square kilometres and 206,210 inhabitants. The city is divided along religious lines, with several quarters only inhabited by Christians and others by Muslims.

A new stage in the Ambon conflict began in 2002 as the violence acts undertaken by armed groups began to subside. At the same time, in February the government made a breakthrough by sponsoring peace talks held in Malino (a town in Gowa district in South Sulawesi). The two sides agreed on eleven

points, of which the most important was to cease violence, return the IDPs to their homes and respect for the law.⁶⁴

During the same year, several mass media publications appeared in Ambon. About thirteen newspapers were routinely published, representing their communities. In Christian communities, there were ten newspapers, published daily or weekly. Those papers were *Bela Reformasi*, *Dhara Pos*, *Masnait*, *Seram Pos*, *Suara Maluku*, *Siwalima*, *Tragedi Maluku*, *Tual Pos*, *Dewa* and *Metro*. In the Muslim community there were two newspapers, *Ambon Ekspres* and *Info baru*. *Metro* and *Info Baru* claim themselves as the neutral media. In the broadcast media there are radio *Dhara*, *DMS*, *Gelora Merpati Nusantara*, *Manusela*, *RRI*, *Sangkakala* and *Yournex*. Those radios are in the Christian community. There are also radio *Kabaresi*, *Naviri*, *SPMM* and *Suara Pelangi* in the Muslim community.⁶⁵ However, not all the print and broadcast media mentioned above survived to 2004.

Much of the local media in Maluku are currently organised along sectarian lines and has aroused considerable criticism for bias and provocative reporting. *Laskar Jihad* also controlled a radio station, *Radio Suara Perjuangan Muslim Maluku*, which is reportedly highly provocative in its broadcasts and, despite attempts by the authorities to close it down, continues to operate.

An initiative by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI Indonesia) and the peace movement, *Baku Bae*, to reconcile the Muslim and Christian journalists succeeded in establishing a joint media centre in the neutral zone at *Mardika*, which provides a place where journalists can meet and trade information, reduce occupational hazards and improve relations. The *Maluku Media Centre (MMC)* was attacked in August 2003 by a group of youngsters, who reportedly wanted to avenge a friend who claimed to have been beaten at the site.

National Media

Aside from local media, the general public in Maluku (especially in Ambon) also receives information from the national media. The national newspapers distributed in Ambon include *Media Indonesia* and *Kompas*. These two newspapers arrive in Ambon around 9 or 10am. However, there are no media from the neighbouring province, such *Makassar* and *Manado* in Ambon.

There is also access to national TV channels. Programmes from *TPI*, *SCTV*, *Indosiar*, *Metro TV*, and other national television stations can usually be watched by local people with TV satellite dishes. In certain areas, such *Urimesing*, *Hatalai*, *Negeri Lama*, there is also access to local *TVRI*, which both relays news programmes from Jakarta and covers local news.

5.4. Provincial Mainstream and Alternative Media

5.4.1. Mainstream Print Media

During the research period, only *Ambon Ekspres*, *Suara Maluku*, *Siwalima*, *Info Baru*, *Metro*, *Dewa*, *Koran Info* and the *Ekspresi* publication – calling itself an alternative media – were being regularly published in the province.

With the relaxation of publication laws, there has been a growth in print media in Ambon. The *Siwalima* paper was first published in October 1999 based on the motto “putting unity and brotherhood to the fore.” According to *Freedom Toumohu*, the acting editor of the paper, it was born from the ideas of several Christian and Muslim leaders who wanted to reunite the two communities.

⁶⁴ Eriyanto, *Media dan Konflik Ambon*, Jakarta, Radio 68H-MDLF, 2003, hal. 171

⁶⁵ See Annex: Table: Media map based on communities

When the media was being founded, leaders from both communities were present (the wife of previous Maluku governor Dr. Saleh Latuconsina was among the founders of the paper). However, as the paper is distributed in the Christian community, it is widely seen as a Christian paper. It is difficult to find the paper in the Muslim community, except in neutral areas such as government offices, where it can be seen alongside other newspapers.

Ambon Ekspres, which was also founded during the conflict period in July 1999 was at first owned by the Jawa Pos group. Most of the editorial staff of the Ambon Ekspres were former journalists of the Suara Maluku, who resigned due to pressures related to the conflict. At that time, Ambon Ekspres started by printing the weekly paper in Makassar. The news reports were sent by air or sea, depending on the situation. In peacetimes, news reports were put in diskettes and sent by plane, which depart and arrive in the Christian-controlled area. When the conflict heated up, the editors preferred to use ships, as the Ambon harbour is located in the Muslim-controlled area.

Suara Maluku is one of the oldest papers in the province, established for the first time in Ternate in 1956. In 1990's, Suara Maluku move to Ambon with the motto of "Develop Together To Have Fair and Prosper Society". Gradually it was changed into a broadsheet format, with a new motto of "From Maluku To New Indonesia". On May 1990, Suara Maluku Foundation started to work together with the Jawa Pos Group, but by June 2003 Suara Maluku decided to separate from the Group. According to the Suara Maluku managing editor, Novi Pinontoan, the disagreement started when the Jawa Pos management allegedly pushed Suara Maluku to change its name into Maluku Ekspres. Another alleged reason was that the Jawa Pos management had decided to support the former Muslim personnel of Suara Maluku in establishing the Ambon Ekspres.

Koran Metro was established in November 2003, when the situation in Ambon was more secure. This daily newspaper has only limited editorial facilities. They only have six computers, two printers, and one camera for 10 employees (6 persons in the editorial department, two circulation and marketing personnel, and two advertisement personnel). The newest paper is Dewa, established in January 2004. Its motto is "Critical, Objective, and Rational". This daily paper was created by former employees of Siwalima newspaper. The editors of the paper stated that, "at that time, we were accused of being silly persons. To be honest, we started the paper with only idealism and barely enough capital. But praised the lord, Dewa still exist until today"⁶⁶.

5.4.2. Alternative Print Media

No regular alternative print media are published in Ambon. Both Info Baru and Ekspresi tabloid described themselves as being alternative media, although per the definitions provided in section 2.2., they would be more accurately classified as mainstream media. Alternative media labour under financial, human resources and distribution obstacles that prevent them from having a significant impact. Moreover, local magazines or media published by NGOs with the objectives to campaigning for peace in Maluku are few. The appeal of such media was reportedly generally low amongst the public surveyed.

One source of alternative media during the heightened conflict periods was the Internet, which often published provocative news claiming to speak on behalf of certain religious groups (as further explained under 6.6.2). However, the majority of these have not been continued after the conflict.

5.4.3. Broadcast Media

⁶⁶ Interview with editor of Dewa newspaper.

Before the conflict in January 1999, there were three radio stations in operation in Ambon (not including RRI). These radios were Sangkakala, Manusela and Gelora Merpati Ambon. Sangkala was established in 1991. Most of its broadcasting was religious news and church services. Gelora Merpati focused on entertainment, as did Manusela. After 1999, there were five new radios established in Ambon. These radio were Dutama Musik Serasi (DMS), Naviri (broadcasting mostly preaching, songs and Al Quran readings), Yournex (focuses on religious news), Bhara (general broadcasting), and Suara Perjuangan Muslim Maluku (SPMM) – reportedly controlled by Laskar Jihad and declared to be fighting for Islam in Ambon. SPMM routinely broadcast ‘tablik akba’ (preaching and chanting of Quranic verses by a gathering of Muslim adherents) - to push and encourage the Islamic spirit to fight against Christians. Often, the tablik akbar was regarded by Christian listeners as the call to violence against Christians. The Christian community leaders even asked the Maluku Governor to ban the radio⁶⁷.

5.4.4. Media Content

The decrease in conflict has created more editorial freedom for the media in Maluku. John S. Uhurella, the King of Negeri Tuhulele, stated that editorial freedom in Ambon is much better than from 1999 to 2001. According to him, the news has improved and is more responsible.

“The journalist maybe tired of the provocative news. The news nowadays are much peaceful. Even when the RMS conflict took place, the news were very neutral”⁶⁸

The majority of media editors and owners interviewed professed to have the same motivation, which was to create a neutral media and contribute to conflict reduction and resolution. However, the reality has shown that this is hard to achieve due to underdeveloped professionalism, lack of resources, poor access to information and public pressure are among the causes.

The editor of *Suara Maluku* stated that although they are called a Christian paper, they have used various ways to maintain the balance of the news regarding the two communities. Editors of the paper have also participated in several trainings on conflict resolution and peace journalism. However, they felt they had insufficient capability to adequately address resurgences in the conflict as seen in April 2004. Several other editors in Ambon also stated that they would not report on incidents that might cause further unrest. However, in practice it is difficult, as one editors stated:

“The process is very complex, especially in the midst of an ongoing conflict. I always tell my journalists that although personal preferences do influence one’s reports, one should not be completely subjective”

The editors of *Koran Metro* stated that it was often difficult to prevent emotional content from its reporters. Aner Leunufna stated:

“We cannot deny that Maluku’s situation is very sensitive. We might not realize that during the conflict, emotional bursts of each community are transferred to reporters and then to the reports. It is the reality”⁶⁹

Most of the radio in Ambon usually presents their programmes in three forms. These are quoting the news from the print media in Ambon, making its own programmes or relaying national/international

⁶⁷ Media dan Konflik Ambon (ISAI, Eriyanto, Jakarta 2003)

⁶⁸ Wawancara John S Uhurelle, Raja Negeri Tuhulele Ambon, 10 Juni 2003

⁶⁹ Wawancara dengan Aner Leunufna, Redaktur Pelaksana Koran Metro, 1 Juni 2004

programmes, and broadcasting live news or delay broadcasting from mosques, churches, tablik akbar, and so forth⁷⁰.

Among the radio stations, both Duta Musik Suara (DMS) and Pelangi, sought to address conflict issues. However, most of the radios prefer to relay the news from both inside and outside the country, from networks including the BBC, KBR 68H and RRI. The reason behind this is that it is cheaper than to have reporters specially covering local news. Another reason was the lack of the operational resources. Furthermore, it seems that the stronger media are those that have linked themselves to wider networks, such as Jawa Pos Group and Radio, KBR 68 H, BBC, Voice of America (VoA) and so forth.

There have been a number of peace journalism training activities in the province. AJI has worked with the British Council to provide such activities. In Ambon, AJI's also established the Maluku Media Center (MMC), which indirectly monitor the media in Ambon.

5.4.5. Education and Skills

Many of the media have sought to increase the quality of their outlets by recruiting staff with university educations. The Ambon Ekspres Chief Editor informed the assessment team that when he recruit journalists at the first time, he often had to teach them how to type and give them basic journalism skills. Furthermore, as one editor stated:

“It is hard to find a journalist here. In Ambon, journalism is not very popular as a profession, because of the low income”

Many of the journalists in Ambon now have degree level education. In Ambon Ekspres, there is only one of ten journalists that have not finished his/her studies. The majority of employees in the layout and printing departments have graduated from senior high school. Staff at the paper are well-trained due to the involvement with the Jawa Pos Group, which holds regular sessions in Makassar and Surabaya. A number of journalists also routinely join trainings being run by professional bodies, such PWI, AJI, and Elsim (Makassar).

In Suara Maluku, five of eight journalists (including the chief editor) are Bachelor degree graduates.⁷¹ The three other are still doing their studies in the university. According to the editor, Novi Pinontoan, it is hard to find a well prepared journalist with a degree. That is why they open the chance for college students to work in the paper. This way they can be trained in-house.

For Siwalima newspaper, six of twelve editorial members have degrees. The rest have graduated from high school. According to Fredom Toumohu, Managing Editor of Siwalima, a few journalists have been trained by AJI about the news writing, news covering techniques, and how to write when the conflict occurs.

In Dewa newspaper, five reporters have their degree in undergraduate, diploma and high school. Nevertheless, Marthin Langoday, Chief Editor in Dewa, said he is still trustful of the abilities of his

⁷⁰ Media dan Konflik Ambon (ISAI, Eriyanto, Jakarta 2003)

⁷¹ See annex: Table: Journalist Professionalism

reporters. Trainings held by national and international organisations have been very useful in increasing the journalist's capacity. Mr. Langoday stated:

“Most of our journalists have joined the trainings, whether it is about peace journalism, journalist role in conflict area by British Council, the writing and covering techniques by AJI or even how to cover the election process”

Koran Metro has six editorial staff (including the editor), four of whom have degrees. However, none have joined journalism training, even when it was offered for free.

As a generalisation, it was found that the gradually increasing capacity of journalists in the province is substantially derived from the continued training activities of the professional bodies and national and international institutions.

5.4.6. Safety Issues

Working in Ambon poses considerable safety concerns for media practitioners. Pressure comes not only from groups in the community not satisfied with the content, but also from the authorities, who are allegedly hostile towards the media. However, in the last two years, pressure on the media has adapted somewhat compare to the intense periods of violence from 1999 to 2001.

The conflict has also forced many of the media to move their offices to the communities with which they are associated. Elly Sutrahitu, the general manager of *Suara Maluku*, stated that the difficulty in eliminating the traumas of the conflict forced the management to move its offices in October 2003 to a “safe” area, in this case, being in the Christian community.

Moreover, the threats posed to the security of the media still exist. During the latest surge in violence, the leader of an anti-RMS group, Salim Said Bahasoan, demanded that the military arrest the editor in chief of *Sivalima*, Selfanus Latekay, accusing him of supporting RMS. This allegedly surprised the editor since they had tried to maintain a balance in their news. The editor stated:

“We then reached the conclusion, that [regardless of the content of the media] in a conflict condition, no media will be seen as presenting completely objective news”

5.4.7. Associations and Networks

The Indonesian Journalist Association (PWI) is the only professional organisation for journalists with a local representative and branch in Ambon. The Ambon chapter of the Indonesian Independent Journalist Alliance (AJI) is not yet established. However, AJI has supported the establishment of the Maluku Media Center (MMC). AJI also undertakes advocacy for journalists through the MMC and encourages reconciliation through peace journalism. In addition to the print media, many of the broadcast media reporters are also members of the MMC.

Young journalists are reportedly not interested in joining PWI. As a generalisation, Ambon's young journalists seem to disagree with the previous involvement of PWI with the New Order and consider the association to be slow in keeping up with current trends. PWI is also seen as dominated an older generation of journalists who are no longer so active.

The MMC was founded by AJI and Baku Bae with support from the British Council based upon the concept of bringing Christian and Muslim journalists together, monitoring and advocacy and addressing the conflict. The MMC gradually provided training and news coverage on the situation in the province

to national and international media. In 2001, a number of Maluku journalists held a strategic planning meeting for the MMC and decided the new missions for the Centre would be:

1. Campaigning the improvement of journalist professionalism through training and education.
2. Strive for journalist professionalism improvement through training and education.
3. Assist and mediating the practice of peace journalism.
4. Advocacy for journalist.

Furthermore, under the auspices of the MMC, the Moluccan journalists community has committed itself to peace through a four points declaration, stating:

1. We, the Maluku journalist promise in encouraging the process of reconciliation and peace in Maluku.
2. We, the Maluku journalist promise to give priority in making the comfort and not provocative news.
3. We, the Maluku journalist promise to be professional in doing the profession.
4. Proclaim the government and security officers to solve the separatism issues, violence, and terror by enforcing the law consistently.

At the current time, MMC has adopted a role similar to that of the Indonesian Consumers Institute Foundation (Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia-YLKI) by receiving complaints. MMC also warns media allegedly breaking professional standards or harming sources by publishing irresponsible news.

The National Private Radio Association (PRSSNI) is present in Maluku, but is reportedly not very active. There are no services like the Indonesian Consumer Institution (YLKI) in the province working to defend the interest of consumers. The Press Worker Union (SPP) is also reportedly not very active in the province, although this institution is theoretically important for defending journalist's rights (particularly retain g to salary, subsidy, and so forth).

5.4.8. Media Policy and Legislation

The laws applied to media related cases by the local courts tend to be the criminal code (KUHP), which contradicts the Press Law (No 40/1999). Moreover, there is no independent ombudsman at the local level to focus on content and violations monitoring and advocacy for the local media. The Press Council in Jakarta, as the supervising institution, is limited since their function is only to accept review cases and provide support.

The electronic media (radio) is also in the same position. The Independent Broadcasting Committee (KPI) that should control the practices of the broadcast media is yet to be formed, creating an unregulated media environment open to manipulation and less able to play a professional role.

5.4.9. External Pressure and Legal Cases

The media in Ambon often experiences pressures from certain groups that are not satisfied with the content. Most of the pressure usually comes in the form of protest, including complaints to the police and acts of violence.

As an example for during the periods of heightened conflict, in August 2001 the Maluku Governor Saleh Latuconsina gave instructions that the media limit its coverage on the Maluku Sovereignty Front (Front Kedauletan Maluku—FKM) led by Alex Manuputty. The governor's reason was that the news about FKM could influence the security conditions. The governor even threatened to take legal

measures if journalists insisted on covering FKM and its activities. The decision No. 09a/PDSDM/IV/2001, dated 17 April 2001, was circulated among the media. At the same time, Polis Joris (Suara Maluku) and Lavy Kariu (Siwa Lima) traveled to Seram Island to cover a reconciliation meeting. While at sea, Joris and Kariu allegedly did not realize that they were in the same boat with FKM leader Alex Manuputty. When the speedboat pulled over, they were reportedly shocked and both decided to stay in the island due the security risk of being on the same boat as the FKM leader. Joris and Kariu then reported the presence of the FKM leader to the police, but as soon as they left the police station they were kicked and beaten by TNI/military members who suspected that they were FKM sympathisers.

At the current time, much of the pressure on the media comes from those who feel that their names or causes have been defamed. However, almost none of these cases are brought to court. Most of the cases are resolved through 'Letters to the Editor'. One of the biggest pressures allegedly experienced by the print and broadcast media is from the security personnel or government officials who claim that the media has published provocative news. Edmon Tupan, TVRI reporter in Ambon, was reportedly subjected to violent act by the security personnel when covering a riot in Urimessing and Ponegoro⁷².

5.4.10. Revenue and Income Generation

Of concern for the media in Maluku is the lack of a strong marketplace. Investors are reluctant to invest in the printing machines (due to the high cost), printing house's are averse giving credit to publishers (generally they want a cash payment) and it is hard for new media to compete since agents tend to support older newspapers.

The conflict has also significantly reduced the advertising market in Maluku. The main advertisers are local government and national and international conflict resolution organisations. As an example, one print media only earns Rp 6-7 millions per month from the advertisement.

The print media survives on an approximate readership of 30% of the inhabitants of Ambon and the districts of Tual, Masohi, Dobo, Namlea and MTB. Most of the media are sold by retail instead of subscriptions. According to Novi Pintontoan, the acting editor of Suara Maluku, it is more effective as there is no guarantee of security in Ambon. During the 1999 riots, Suara Maluku lost around 3,000 subscribers who left the region, not having paid their subscription fees.

After the conflict, Ambon Ekspres is reportedly the only media that survived with a circulation of 6,000. According to Ahmad Ibrahim, they could sell the paper to 5,600 persons, with the 3,000 regular readers in Ambon and 1,200 subscribers in other areas, such in Masohi, Tual, Dobo, and Namlea. Ambon Ekspres could therefore break-even (BEP).⁷³ Other media, such Suara Maluku were harder hit by the drastic decrease in circulation. This paper fell from a circulation of 11,000 to 1,500 - 1,200 as a result of the conflict.

Other papers, like Siwalima have a circulation of 4,000. The newspaper also chooses to use the government printing company (percetakan Negara). Most of the copies are distributed through agents in Ambon city. In addition, the paper is also sold in Saparua district, Tual, MTB and Masohi.

Info Baru newspaper chooses to market its product only in Ambon. Mochtar Touwe said they would like to try to attract more consistent subscriber inside the town rather than outside. At present, Info Baru prints around 3,000 copies in PT Ambon Press Intermedia. Potential readership in town

⁷² Media dan Konflik Ambon (Eriyanto, Jakarta, 2003)

⁷³ See Annex: Table: Media Business Side

reportedly includes both in Christian and Muslim communities. Metro prints about 1,500 copies, although usually only 1,000 are sold. Marketing activities are also undertaken in other districts, including Masohi, Tual, MTB and Namlea.

5.4.11. Expenses and Institutional Resources

The radios in Maluku reportedly do not have high operational costs. However, the conflict has had lasting effects in undermining the institutional resources of the media. As the editor of Suara Maluku, said Novi Pinontoan, stated:

“To be honest, we need to refresh the modern paper management... We used to have good assets in Ambon. But when the conflict started, everything ruined. We need physical and material assistance”

For example, Koran Metro only has six computers, two printer, and one camera for 10 employees (6 persons in the editorial department, two circulation and marketing personnel, and two advertisement personnel). As stated by Aner Leunufna, the Metro managing editor:

“The limited equipments usually make the schedule late. Sometimes, the journalists have to wait for their office mates to finish their job”

5.4.12. Employment and ‘Envelope Journalism’

The growth in the media sector significantly expanded the number of media practitioners working in the province, with an average income of Rp 350-450 thousands. One major problem that has been bothering most of the media in Ambon is the lack of high quality of human resources. New media have raised with the instant journalists who are willing to work for only small pay check. The average income for reporter in Ambon is around Rp 350-600 thousands.⁷⁴ Most of the journalists also have other sources of income. Thus, much of the financial incentive for reporters comes from envelope journalism, whereby the journalist is paid to cover a certain issue by those he/she is reporting on. Journalists commonly justify this practice by saying that it does not influence the news. Likewise, they claim their involvement in negotiations for advertisement for their media also does not influence their reporting, for which they usually earn about 10 to 20 percent of the total.

Based on interviews with a number of media managers, accepting envelopes (money) was not a mistake if the news source was not directing the journalist on what to write. As such, this was considered to be transport money, rather than bribes.

Media managers have reportedly sought to diversify the backgrounds of their staff by recruiting from different communities. The Suara Maluku, regarded as a Christian paper, employs 2 Muslims to distribute its publications to Muslim areas. Ambon Ekspres, labelled as a Muslim paper, employs 6 Christians. Ahmad Ibrahim, the editor in chief of Ambon Ekspres, stated:

“We recruited them in order to show that this paper is owned by everyone, in order to balance the news. If there are news from the Christian point of view, we publish it”⁷⁵

5.4.13. Gender

There are only a few female journalists in Maluku. The Ambon Ekspres newspaper, for example, has only one female reporter who has been working there for three years. The same applies to Suara

⁷⁴ See annex: Table: Journalist Professionalism

⁷⁵ Wawancara Ahmad Ibrahim, Pimpinan Redaksi Ambon Ekspres, 28 Mei 2004 di Ambon

Maluku and Koran Info, both of which have only one female journalist. The same limited number of female journalist is seen in the broadcast media, such Suara Pelangi radio, which has one female journalist who doubles as a reporter and an announcer.

According to Ahmad Ibrahim, Chief Editor of Ambon Ekspres, his media gives priority to women to work in Ambon Ekspres. The problem is that only a few women apply for reporter positions. However, underlying attitudes amongst male journalist appeared to be that women had limitations, particularly when covering the news in conflict situation. Women are therefore more often assigned to cover 'softer' issues, for which they are considered more suitable. Moreover, much of the media in Ambon seems apathetic to women's issues. Most of the women who work in the print and broadcast media in Ambon are placed in the marketing, advertisement and financial sections. These jobs are considered more appropriate for women, who are apparently seen as being more meticulous in dealing with details.

5.5. Provincial Traditional Media

Conflict resolution through traditional media is not new to Maluku. Before the conflict in 1999, Ambon already knew the tradition medium to unite two fighting sides. According to Ichsan Malik, traditional media allows communities to fall back on common cultural and socialite values, such as Pata Siwa and Pata Lima (back as brothers and family)⁷⁶. Ichsan also asserted that these traditional mediums had been well integrated into contemporary societal and political systems and were central to mediating conflict.

5.5.1. Community Forums and Ceremonies

Tari Cakalele is one of the most performed dance ceremonies in the province. The dance is held at the Baileo (traditional house). The objective of this activity is to unite communities, which is called Pela Gandong⁷⁷. This traditional forum often allows for easier coordination and communication between community leaders, especially in times of tension⁷⁸. During the most recent violence in April 2004, community leaders from the villages of Desa Passo, Desa and Batumerah communicated directly to anticipate the spread of tensions in their communities. Theresia Maitimu stated:

“If the issues about this two villages raised, we could directly counter the issues, so that the heaving violence would not happen”

Communities in Maluku also apparently recognise the traditional ceremonies of 'pelagadong' and 'panas pela'. However, these ceremonies were apparently little known amongst youth and were considered rigid and unpopular. The youth seemingly preferred 'dangdutan' and commercial shows.

Before the 1980s, village heads used to be the traditional 'raja' in Central Maluku. Then the authorities introduced a new law on village government (Law No. 5 / 1979) that ruled all villages in Indonesia would be like a Javanese 'desa' with a 'kepala desa'. In some cases, such as Passo village, the 'kepala desa' is also the 'raja'. However, this is not always the case. There is also the 'latupati', which is the traditional leader associated with a collection of villages. Whilst the local authorities appoint the 'kepala

⁷⁶ Lihat Ichsan Malik, Menata Masa Depan Maluku Pasca Konflik, Makalah Diskusi, Juni 2004

⁷⁷ Please see <http://www.nunusaku.com/Research/R4c.htm> for a description of Pela Gandong.

⁷⁸ "Pela" or Pela Gandong is a kind of reconciliation ceremony used by both Muslim and Christian communities in Ambon. The ceremony itself reportedly derives from the story between Desa Paso (Paso village) under the Ternate Sultanate. The story states that a long time ago, when a delegation of Desa Paso was on their sea journey to pay tribute to Ternate Sulatanate (North Maluku), their boat capsized and they were washed ashore on an island called Tanjung Pela (sacred cape). There they declared brotherhood by turning over a rock. Since then it has been traditional to declare brotherhood or Pela Gandong.

desa', this is not the case for the 'rajah' or 'latupati'. In this regard, the authorities sometime act as the government apparatus that inaugurates local leaders and as such the traditional and government structures can work side-by-side in maintaining the traditional governance culture.

5.5.2. Organised Religion

After the conflict several religious and social figures of Ambon gathered in a forum to function as 'menggalang baku bae'. This forum was foreseen under the Malino agreement to serve the purpose of preventing violence in the conflict area. Although the role of this group was not to actually resolve the conflict, it nevertheless plays a role in preventing violence through dialogue. However, such dialogue forums between the religious communities at the grassroots level are rare, with the notable exception of the space created for journalists in the MMC.

5.6. New Information Technologies

5.6.1. Cellular Phone and SMS

Cellular phones are an increasingly significant form of communication in Maluku (especially in Ambon). The network in Ambon is run by Simpati Nusantara/ Telkomsel. Some shops in Ambon also sell cell phone vouchers. There is a strong signal in Ambon that can be easier received, both in Muslim and Christian area. The use of cell phones serve to increase the speed and breadth of person-to-person communication, the substance of which seem to mainly be similar to dialogue, rumour and gossip. In this regard, if based upon accurate information from the mass media, this form of speedy communication can serve a positive benefit, although if based on misinformation it could aggravate tensions at an alarmingly quick rate.

5.6.2. Internet

Access to information via the Internet is limited in Maluku. The majority of people receive news from newspapers, radio, television and SMS. There are not many Internet cafes in Ambon and access is often slow and problematic. In 2002, Ambon Ekspres opened an Internet cafe (for public use) using VSAT technology. Although the Internet access is good, it does not attract many members of the public. As a result in 2003 the cafe closed. Before it was closed, it often used by Ambon journalists to send news for media in Jakarta. However, most of the journalists in Ambon who work as correspondent for national media choose to send their stories by fax instead.

When the conflict was at its peak from 1999 to 2001, the majority of websites about conflict were set up by people outside of Ambon. Moreover, the 'information war' between Muslim and Christian communities was often conducted through the Internet. This started in March 1999, based upon websites and mailing lists. Each site consist of its own version (Muslim or Christian) of the chronological events in the conflict, photos from the battle field and the traumatic stories of atrocities.

There are many sites about the Ambon conflict made by Muslim and Christian groups. Of the Muslim sites, the most well known include the legal site of Laskar Jihad (www.laskarjihad.or.id). There is also the Karomah site (www.karomah.cjb.net). Others are Suara Ambon Online (www.come.to/suaraambon), Come and Save Muslims (www.connect.to/maluku) and Gema Khadijah (www.gemakhadijah.cjb.net). There were also Christian sites. These are often multi-lingual, in Dutch, Bahasa and English. These include the Voice from Maluku (www.geocities.com/chosye). This site compiles news clippings about Maluku. There was also Maluku 2000 (www.maluku2000.org). The provocative sites were also present at that time of conflict, such Ambon Berdarah Online (www.geocities.com/alifuru67) Lawamena Victoria site (www.geocities.com/jembong_710).

5.6.3. Handy Talky

At present handy talkies are used extensively for communication. In 1999 to 2001, handy talky became the main communication device, particularly when other forms of communication and mass media either broke down or were obstructed. The security forces also depended on handy talkies as their main form for communication.

5.6.4. Video Compact Disc (VCD)

VCD is one of the most accessible mediums in Maluku. In stores and markets, non-copyrighted movie and music VCDs are sold cheaply. Each costs around Rp 5.000 (less than US\$1). When conflict started, VCD became an effective medium in mobilizing the support. VCDs about 'enemy attacks' or victims of the violence were easily made and fuelled tensions. Of particular note on the Christian side was the VCD entitled, *Tragedi Maluku* (1999). This includes scenes such as burning churches and alleged partiality by the security forces towards the Muslim community. Another similar VCD entitled, *Ambon Berdarah* was also released in 1999.

On the Muslim side there was a VCD entitled *Jihad Fi Jazirah Al Mulk* made in June 2000. This depicts the struggle of the Muslims against Christians, showing attacks by Christian groups and the Muslim victims. Another VCD, *Jihad di Diponegoro* (2000) informs about the 'battle' against the Christian in the Diponegoro area of Ambon. Most of the Muslim VCDs are about the conflict in North Halmahera, Galela, Tobelo, dan Jailolo in early 2000. These VCDs include *Mujahidin Halmahera Bangkit* (2000), *Hidup Mulia atau Mati Syahid* (2000), *Halmahera Berduka* (2000) and *Maluku Berduka* (2000). Beside from these, other VCDs were produced showing pictures from the violence, such *Maluku Berduka* (2000) and *Konflik Berdarah Maluku 2000* (this VCD was also produced in an Arabic version).⁷⁹

5.7. Information Flows

5.7.1. Rumour and Gossip

Rumour and gossip seemingly carries significant influence in Maluku. A lot of the violence allegedly occurred due to the unchecked spread of false rumours. Such gossip seemingly spread quickly in Ambon due to the limited size of the communities. The most popular issues in Ambon appear to be alleged plans of one community to attack the other. The mediums for spreading these rumours are usually SMS, dialogue and 'hush-hush'⁸⁰.

5.7.2. Media to Consumer

During the conflict, bombastic news without clear verification became the mainstay of reporting distributed by many local media. This was often disseminated rapidly and without consideration for the violence it sometimes generated. Poor distribution and the partition of Muslim and Christian areas further weakened access to diverse information sources for the general public. In this regard, the conflict intensifying impact of the media was further reinforced as journalists used rumour and gossip as their factual basis for reporting. Thus much of reporting reflected the unsubstantiated gossip that was already circulating in the province, thereby reinforcing it and giving it added credibility. During this period the local government also involved itself, warning media against inflammatory and unsubstantiated reporting⁸¹.

There are also 'media vacuum' in Maluku. Firstly, those where there is extremely limited media access that leaves significant sectors of the population without accurate and timely information about local and

⁷⁹ Dikutip dari Eriyanto, *Media dan Konflik Ambon*, Jakarta, Radio 68H-MDLF, 2003, hal. 15-17

⁸⁰ Hush-Hush is the locally used term for false rumour or gossip that cannot be substantiated.

⁸¹ Wawancara Erenst Tanimahu, Wakil Kepala Dinas Informasi dan Komunikasi Ambon, 1 Juni 2004

national issues. Secondly, where there are only the small number of media focusing on the promotion of a culture of tolerance and non-violence. Under a UNDP grant, since May 2003 MDLF has been implementing a programme supporting media development designed to facilitate a return to long-term peace and stability in the province, while simultaneously responding to the above issues relating to media vacuums in the province. Some of the activities being covered under the programme include the establishment of three new public service oriented radio stations Radio Binaya (in Masohi, Seram island, Central Maluku), and two others in Namlea, Buru island, and in Soamlaki, Tanimbar islands. The aim of these activities is to provide media in areas that otherwise do not have a diverse and reliable access to objective professional media⁸².

5.7.3. Primary Source to Media

Fredom Toumahu, the managing editor of Siwalima, stated that it was hard to get verification from certain primary sources. That is why the media often published the news without any confirmation or verification. Fredom Toumahu stated:

“The reason is because of the condition. The sources are usually located in other communities and therefore difficult to access”⁸³

The trouble of accessing primary sources was a serious obstacle for all media in Maluku. Of note however, was the increasing use of SMS to get sources to confirm or deny factual information. However, another significant obstacle was that community leaders often did not agree to interviews with journalist from different communities. Some media had tried to get around this obstacle by using journalist from other communities.

It is also apparent that the media rely extensively on the local government and security forces as the main primary source of information. However, the ‘one door’ policy hinders the ability of journalists to both maintain professional standards and keep to their deadlines. Persons are often unavailable and dependency of single sources means that the same stories and angles are often repeated between media, thereby reducing reporting innovation and diversity in news content.

5.8. Additional Information

Please refer to the Annexes for further research information in tabulated form collected during on the research phase on the provincial mainstream, alternative and traditional media (as listed below).

Mainstream, Alternative and Traditional Media
Table: Media map based on communities
Table: Chief Executive/Editor-in-Chief
Table: Size, Total Pages and Publication Frequency
Table: Facilities Owned
Table: Journalist Professionalism

⁸² ‘Second Interim Narrative Report, Maluku Media development Program’, (MDLF, April 2004)

⁸³ Wawancara Fredom Toumahu, Redaktur Pelaksana Siwalima, 31 Mei 2004

Table: Media Business Side
Table: Staff Payment
Table: Income from Advertisements
Table: General Leader/ Radio Editorial
Table: Facilities
Table: Operational Cost.
Table: Education of Employees
Table: Income from Commercials
Table: Data Narasumber

6. North Maluku

The following chapter provides an overview of the five main assessment areas for North Maluku. These include the mainstream media, alternative media, traditional media, new information technologies and information flows.

The information presented in this chapter derives from the research data gathered by ISAI during the field assessments in June 2004. In this regard, it provides an overview of the media situation at that time, using selected examples to give the reader an overall impression of the circumstances in the province. However, it does not provide a holistic picture of all media outlets and forms, although additional in-depth information can be found in the Annexed tables.

6.1. Conduct of Research

The research undertaken by ISAI looked at the performance and development of the provincial mainstream, alternative and traditional media in North Maluku, as well as examined information flows from both local and national media and their respective influence on the general public. A sample of nine respondents representing provincial media stakeholders, community figures, religious leaders, security forces, government, private sector and the general public provided in-depth feedback on the role of the media relating to conflict.

The survey was carried out on six printed media (Maluku Utara Pos, Ternate Pos, Tabloid of Halut Press, Aspirasi, Mimbar Kieraha and Suara Pengungsi) and three radio stations (RRI, Radio Gema Hikmah and Radio Paksi Buana). It assessed the conflict resolution efforts by the media managers through the editorial policy in North Maluku. The assessment was also carried out on various media consumers (government, community figures, ordinary people, military, NGO's and media managers themselves).

A number of obstacles were encountered in conducting the research. The deployment of researchers to the three provinces before the research methodology had been finalised in Jakarta caused delays. Furthermore, the poor Internet connection in Ternate, as well as the weak mobile phone signal further hindered communication. In addition, the local researchers found that a lot of the requested data, such as on journalist trainings, was not well documented by the local media.

6.2. Background to Conflict ⁸⁴

Historical Background: North Maluku

Ternate/ Halmahera was the first part of the Maluku to accept Islam, and an important sultanate from the 12th to 17th century. The Portuguese came in 1512, leading to decades of conflict, first with the reigning sultans of Ternate and Tidore to ship cloves and construct a fort, later among the Spanish, English and Dutch. The natives conquered the fort and expelled the Portuguese in 1574 and in 1606 the sultan signed a treaty with the Dutch and granted them a spice monopoly. The sultan became a vassal of the Dutch East India Company. However, by the end of the 18th century the spice trade had greatly diminished and the area became an economic backwater.

⁸⁴ This section is based upon the following sources: Encyclopaedia Britannica 1999, Jakarta Post, OTI Field Report Indonesia (June 2000), Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research (Harvard University, USA), Human Rights Watch, Inside Indonesia, International Crisis Group.

Regional tensions were aggravated during the Suharto period, setting the stage for future conflict. In 1975, the exclusively Moslem Makians were resettled in the Kao District of northern Halmahera, due to fears of volcanic eruptions on their island. The Makians and Kao came into conflict because of a forced transfer of Kao land to Makians, cultural and religious differences and competition over scarce resources.

Recent Conflicts in North Maluku

The recent conflict in North Maluku occurred nearly simultaneously with the conflict in Maluku. However, different with the conflict in Central and South East Maluku, the initial motives of the conflict in North Maluku were apparently more related to territorial problems and competition between the local political elites.⁸⁵

The political conflict started in September 1999, when President B.J. Habibie agreed to separate North Maluku and the Maluku province. However, the idea of establishing the new northern province including the main islands of Halmahera, Ternate, Tidore and Bacan aroused an old rivalry between the Sultanate of Ternate and Tidore. The Ternate elites under the leadership of the Sultan of Ternate (Mudaffar Syah) allegedly wanted Ternate to become the transitional capital of the province before it was moved to Sidangoli, a village in North Halmahera. On the other hand, the Sultanate of Tidore insisted that Soasiu, the capital of Central Halmahera in Tidore Island, was made as the transitional capital, while Sofili, a village in Central Halmahera, which was nearer to Soasiu, would be made the capital.

The end result of the competition between Ternate and Tidore was a law, which made Ternate the transitional capital and Sofili the definitive capital. Those in Ternate reportedly considered that the movement of the capital to Sofili would harm their interests in the long run. On the other hand, Tidore, which up to that time lagged behind Ternate in terms of economic development, would change to become the more strategic region. However, the Tidore elites feared that the Sultan of Ternate would maintain Ternate as the permanent capital, if he were elected as governor in local elections in June 2000. Therefore, together with the Makian elites, the Tidore elites allegedly went into opposition against the Sultan of Ternate.

The conflict became violent when the enmity between the inhabitants of the Kao region were initiated by the controversy of the Government Regulation No. 42 of 1999, which developed Kao Sub-district to two Sub-districts, Sub-District of Kao and Sub-District of Makian-Malifut (containing the former Makian island inhabitants) by changing the administration of five villages in Kao Sub-district to join the villages with the majority of former Makian island inhabitants. The five villages refused to join, because they were 'tied to traditional unity with the other villages in Kao Sub-district due to their ancestors pledge', but also because the new administrative district centred on Malifut would allow the Makianese to take over control of a gold mine which was the main local source of revenue from the Kao villages.

Disregarding these objections, the Government unilaterally declared the establishment of Sub-District of Makian-Malifut in August 1999. That night Makian residents attacked two of the five Kao-villages, Sosol and Wangeorak, which rejected the policy of the Regional Administration. The attacking Makian residents were Muslim and the two villages of Kao were Christian.

⁸⁵ Please see the explanation and case chronology made by Yayasan Sagu (Sago Foundation), Maluku Report 30: Memahami Kompleksitas Konflik di Maluku Utara (Understanding the Complexity of Conflict in North Maluku), January 2000; Smith Alhadar, "The Forgotten War in North Maluku," *Inside Indonesia*, No. 63, July-September 2000, pp. 15-16; Thamrin Amal Tamagola, "The Bleeding Halmahera of North Mollucas," *Jurnal Studi Indonesia*, Vol 10, No. 2, 2000.

Convinced by the Ternate sultan, the Kao laid down their arms. However, hatred ran high and in October residents of Kao attacked Malifut, killing approximately 100 inhabitants and forcing 4,000 survivors to flee to Ternate and the neighbouring island of Tidore.

The Muslim flight to Ternate and Tidore was accompanied by a rise in religious hatred and in response the Makian's "cleansed" Ternate of Christians. The Ternate sultan reportedly refused to support the violence, so local group leaders turned to the sultan of Tidore, a traditional rival of Ternate. Due to his support of Christians, the sultan of Ternate was quickly labelled as anti-Islamic. On the other hand, the Sultan of Tidore with his allies used the jargon of 'Christianisation' to attract supporters. In this regard the conflict, which had seemingly started over competition for political control and economic resources, took on an increasingly religious perspective.

Fighting continued throughout the latter part of 1999, reaching a peak in December, with the military and police reportedly taking part in the violence. Another traffic incident involving a Christian and a Muslim in December 1999, led to the worst rioting in a year, including the burning of Silo church, the largest protestant church in the region. In the Tobelo District on Halmahera Island, north of the Kao area, Christians now attacked the local Muslim minority, reportedly killing 500 and 'cleansing' the district of over 10,000 persons. Moreover, there were calls amongst the Muslim community for a jihad to get land back and "cleanse" the area of Christians.

6.3. Media Landscape

Geographically North Maluku is an archipelago, with a numbers of small islands. The province is 22,427 sq. km and according to data from 1990 its population is 560,241. In 2000, that figure is assumed not to have increased much, since IDPs from other parts of Maluku were outnumbered by Ternate refugees seeking shelter in other provinces such as North Sulawesi. Ternate Island is the seat of government for nearly 320 islands and 4 sultanate regions, including Ternate, Tidore, Bacan and Jailolo. Christianity and Islam are the dominant organised religions, although in the interior many people are reportedly animists. The mainstream media in North Maluku is mainly concentrated in Ternate with its population of approximately 200,000, whilst other areas, such as Tobelo, also house a few outlets.

Administratively, North Maluku province is divided into eight districts. Those districts are Central Halmahera, East Halmahera, North Halmahera, South Halmahera, West Halmahera, Sula Island, Tidore Island, and Ternate City. Due to the significant distances involved, this make dissemination problematic as it must be mainly undertaken by sea, which is slow and unreliable. As a result, most media focus their marketing and base their content on Ternate. As an example, with the 2,000 circulation per day, *Mimbar Kieraha* focuses 70% of its marketing in Ternate and only 30% outside the city.

National Media

National media can be accessed easily in North Maluku, print as well as broadcast. Those national print media that can be found in North Maluku, are Kompas, Media Indonesia, Koran Tempo and the Jakarta Post, besides tens of magazines and infotainment tabloids. Television such as RCTI, TPI, SCTV and Metro TV are also accessible. There is no relay TVRI station in Ternate. The North Maluku Television (MUTV) - a local television channel - was apparently not well liked by audiences, due to the poor quality of programming and lack of fixed schedule. As a result, this channel reportedly no longer regularly functions.

The geographic condition of North Maluku, which consists of many small islands, also causes difficulties for the remote areas to be routinely accessed by national media. As a result, national newspapers are often simply stockpiled by newsagents, because it is hard to send them to other areas, some of which are only accessible by sea. Therefore, the local newspapers are considered more dominant than their national counterparts and the circulation figures for local newspapers are reportedly increasing.

6.4. Provincial Mainstream and Alternative Media

6.4.1. Mainstream Print Media

Background

In 2000, there were 11 recorded major printed media in North Maluku. These included: Dodia, Fokus, Gema Nusantara, Info, Kabata, Koran Ternate, Mandiri, Mimbar Kieraha, Simpati, Sinter and Ternate Pos,⁸⁶ published in the form of bulletins, newspapers and magazines.

In this assessment about 35 different outlets were identified. However, many of these only appear on a very irregular basis. IDPs and investors from Ambon initiated many during the conflict in 1999⁸⁷. Generally the print media were published with minimal capital and whatever management resources were available. Based on the survey data it seems that journalists rather than businessmen ran the majority of these media. The majority of newspapers are published in Ternate in the form of tabloids and on a weekly basis. Out of these only Mimbar Kieraha and Malut Pos are published on a daily basis.

A wide range of these local and provincial print media reported on the riots, although this often lacked objectivity and was without verification of relevant sources. The majority tended to be partisan and acted as the mouthpieces for combatant groups. Those newspapers that declared themselves non-partisan were the Ternate Pos and Mimbar Kieraha. As a result, these newspapers came under pressure from the public, being accused of one-sided reporting.

The influence of the partisan media started to decline when the political tension began subsiding and many media closed due to lack of capital and limited marketplace. Currently, only 4 out of the 11 print media that were published in 2000 can be found on a frequent basis. The remainder are only published sporadically.

Brief Description of Print Media Outlets

As examples of the print media in the province, the daily, Ternate Pos was the first local print media in North Maluku, and has been published since August 1998. Its self-declared mission is to “make social control through presenting news in North Maluku”.

Recently the Jawa Pos Group extended its business by establishing a new newspaper in the area, The North Maluku Post (Maluku Utara Pos). The North Maluku Post’s mission is “together advancing - to develop society”. According to Tauhid Arief, the Chief Editor, the initiative to establish the newspaper started when the conflict in Maluku broke out. In those days, the majority of printed media were published in Manado, and could not be delivered to North Maluku due to disrupted transportation. The management in Manado Pos (North Sulawesi – member of the Jawa Pos Group) were concerned by this problem and proposed to establish a newspaper in Ternate. In addition, they felt that the people of North Maluku needed a professional impartial newspaper. Until becoming a daily in March 2003, The North Maluku Post was published weekly.

⁸⁶ See annex: Table: Printed media in Maluku Utara.

⁸⁷ As it is explained in Media Assessment Report of North Maluku by ISAI in 2001.

6.4.2 Alternative Print media

Suara Pengungsi, which is 32-page bimonthly publication, was established in July 2003 to provide advocacy for IDPs. At that time, very few newspapers published detailed news about assistance programmes or repatriation/ relocation programmes provided for IDPs. CARDI (Consortium For Assistance And Recovery toward Development in Indonesia), an INGO active in the area, cooperated with the European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office to support the establishment of this magazine. The magazine employs five staff (four in program division, with two of them are based in North Maluku and two others in North Sulawesi).

World Vision, an INGO active in North Maluku, produces an educational comic entitled 'Harmony' aimed at 9 to 12 year olds. This bi-monthly publication is prepared and published in Jakarta and distributed to 180 schools in Ternate Tobelo, Galela and Kao. It is accompanied by a teacher's edition to assist with use in classrooms and covers a range of conflict-resolution related topics, including appreciating diversity, working together, communication, creative problem solving and dealing with negative situations. The publication has a feedback component and is reportedly well received by the target group⁸⁸.

6.4.3. Broadcast Media

Radio is the most important regional broadcast media. The main obstacle for radio broadcast in the province are the geographical conditions. The territory of North Maluku consists of islands and a mainland archipelago. The distances from Ternate to the eastern coast of North Halmahera are considerable. Therefore, none of the independent radio broadcasts can be received in the entire province, except for the RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia), which is broadcasting both in FM, MW and SW. Some areas in North Maluku, including the conflict areas, are apparently complete 'media vacuums', when it comes to independent radio broadcasts.

The three main news stations, RRI (Radio Republika Indonesia), Radio Gema Hikmah in Ternate and Radio Suara Paksi Buana (SPB) in Tobelo, were initially assumed respectively as the "Government's Radio", the "Islamic Radio", and the "Christian Radio". During the conflict, the station with the most extensive broadcast reach, RRI, was often reportedly pressurised by the combatant parties to broadcast news in compliance with their interests. Several radio stations were attacked during this conflict period, amongst these was Radio Gema Hikmah (Ternate) and most commercial radio stations closed down in periods of fighting.

Brief Description of Broadcast Media Outlets

The survey focused on the three biggest radio stations in North Maluku, RRI, Radio Gema Hikmah and Radio Suara Paksi Buana (SPB). The remainders are predominantly entertainment based radio stations.

Radio Gema Hikmah first broadcasted in July 1994 on FM 103.0 MHZ. Its broadcast reaches Ternate and the surrounding West Tidore and West Halmahera. The main listening group was the Muslim community. Radio Gema Hikmah relays news from the 68H Radio News Agency, as well as BBC-London, Voice of America (VOA) and Trijaya FM. The station also runs talk shows in corporation with RRI.

⁸⁸ Interview with World Vision office in Tobelo (28 May 2004)

Radio SPB broadcasted for the first time in 1998, from Tobelo, a region with Christian majority. Radio SPB was established by Pastor Titus under Yayasan Bintang Laut (Star Fish Foundation, also meaning Saint Mary, who controls the sea, the Catholic schools in Tobelo also use that name), with the objective of reducing violence among the youth in Tobelo. The Yayasan Bintang Laut also published the Bintang Laut tabloid. The foundation is now in the process of giving the two media increased ‘distance’ from the church to avoid perceptions that it is a Catholic station.

RRI North Maluku is one of many provincial stations in the national RRI network, supposed to be friendly to the government, which is also their source of funding. RRI broadcasts a mix of national and provincial programmes. It is supposed to have a large audience, not the least in the remote areas of the province. The station has a number of talk shows, which reportedly involve a diverse range of stakeholders in the province.

6.4.4. Media Content

There seems to be no standards in the policy mechanisms applied in the respective media. Maluku Utara Pos tends to use policy mechanisms similar to the Jawa Pos Group. While the other media said that “they trusted their reporters”, so did not need to question issues directly related to the news coverage or bribery. In addition, separation between the editors and other sections of the media . was lacking with journalists also works for the advertisement ‘lobby team’.

Maluku Utara Pos has begun separating the editorial, administrative, advertisement, marketing and other processes. For the editorial system, the proposals and inclusion of news stories were decided through editorial meetings. However, it often cannot maintain this principle, because some of the journalists are reportedly not independent. In a region vulnerable to political conflict, a number of journalists seemingly do not exercise sufficient self-control and have been involved in political disagreements. This partisan attitude influenced the news.

6.4.5. Education and Skills

The basic education of journalists in North Maluku ranges from high school education to university degrees. The majority of the journalists work without any apprenticeship or media training, and as a result lack basic journalism, news writing, interviewing techniques and editing skills. However, some journalists from the larger newspapers have had in-house training.⁸⁹ As an exception, Jawa Pos, through its group, Manado Pos, has carried out training for those in its group. In this regard, staff at Maluku Utara Pos have received in-house training. Only a few journalists have received training outside North Maluku. Many have joined courses on peace journalism after the conflict, carried out by national and international organisations based in Jakarta, such as British Council, ISAI, LSPP, AJI and Internews.

A majority of the radio’s employees are high school and Bachelor degree graduates. Most of them have followed the peace journalism training. For the election coverage, Gema Hikmah recruited four high school graduates and five undergraduates, while Radio Paksi Buana recruited three high school graduates and one undergraduate. Most of the RRI employees have non-formal education held by RRI in Jakarta through in-house activities⁹⁰.

6.4.6. Safety Issues

The safety situation for journalists reporting on other communities was extremely hazardous during the heightened periods of conflict, with a number of media practitioners being attacked, including by their own communities. Although the security situation has significantly improved, many journalists

⁸⁹ See Annex: Table: Employee education and Training.

⁹⁰ See Annex: Table: Radio’s employee education.

seemingly nevertheless remain wary of travelling to, or reporting on, communities other than their own. Although with notable exceptions, this in turn increases the defacto segregation of the Christian and Muslim communities.

6.4.7. Associations and Networks

The only journalist association with a local representative and branch in the province is PWI (Indonesian Journalists Association). However, it does not include many young journalists and the majority are from pre-1998 or are correspondents for the Jakarta media in North Maluku.

Reportedly due to the administrative and technical obstacles to establishing a local branch of AJI, a group of local media practitioners instead opted to create their own association, the 'North Maluku Journalist Association', which is connected to AJI. Other organisations, such as the Indonesian Consumer Institution (YLKI) and Press Worker Union (SPP), are also seemingly relatively inactive.

6.4.8. Media Policy and Legislation

The application of the Press Law (UU Kebebasan Pers No.40/1999) in Ternate is problematic. This law should in theory make the journalists more responsible for their reporting and uphold ethical codes. However, it is the Criminal Code, not the Press Law, which is often applied by the law enforcement officials.

The Local Independent Broadcasting Commission (KPID) has not been established, so monitoring by such a body, as well as by the independent ombudsman (the Press Council), is not available yet in North Maluku. As a result of this unregulated environment, radio stations often broadcast news merely quoted from local print media (without check and re-check) and break the rules regulating frequencies.

6.4.9. External Pressure and Legal Cases

The external pressure on North Maluku media often comes from the (former) combatant parties, including threats of physical violence. Even when the aggrieved party is an acknowledge member of the public, the lack of awareness about alternative legal recourse other than face-to-face dialogue, creates incentives for alternative unacceptable methods to be used. In this regard, no legal cases were brought to the attention of the assessment team, whilst there have been a number of direct and indirect threats being made against media.

Media in North Maluku also faces external pressure from the regional authorities. The then Governor of North Maluku, Abdul Muhyi Effendie, for instance, in March 2001 issued a stern written warning and a threat of denial of coverage to five media outlets - two Jakarta-based TV stations, *RCTI*, *TPI*, and three local print media, *Ternate Pos*, *Mimbar Kieraha*, and *Fokus* - due to information that was "provocative" and "undermining the authority of the Government". All legal and information apparatuses were asked to monitor and take action against media that violated this regulation. The notification had a controversial effect on the Indonesian press at the time, as press freedoms had only recently been introduced in the country. AJI (Independent Journalists Alliance) and SEAPA (South East Asia Press Alliance) asked Muhyi Effendie "to revoke the notification". The journalists in Ternate also issued a declaration, signed by 17 journalists, asking the Governor to give an explanation on his accusation. They also threatened to "boycott the entire coverage" on the Governor, if he did not give an explanation.

In a dialogue with the Press Council in Jakarta, the Governor defended his action by charging that the media reporting in his province were sectarian, inaccurate and unbalanced. He refused to withdraw his warning order, but pledged to "make the effort" not to ban the press. "In a province where civil

emergency has been declared, the governor is the supreme authority and can issue regulations deemed necessary to maintain public order. That includes gagging the press”. By the end of the year, Governor Effendie kept his word in not issuing an outright gagging order.

6.4.10. Expenses and Institutional Resources

The cost of production for the radio stations in North Maluku is relatively small, being only around Rp 2.5 million to Rp 6 million a month. This amount is sufficient to pay operational costs and salaries – and the income from advertisements is also around that figure. The net income of radio in North Maluku is also not very large. Nevertheless, it does not discourage people from establishing stations and many are set up as a hobby⁹¹.

Although there are many newspapers, the majority do not have strong capital, and as a result are in a weak condition with poor infrastructure. Usually print media only have very simple facilities. Most often the media works from a leased building and only have a limited number of computers. Half out of 13 newspapers surveyed in this report do not have their own spatial arrangement section, which is often trusted to the printing shop. Out of these print media, only two have their own printing press. Many newspapers’ offices take the shape of a “home industry”. Halut Pers in Tobelo has, for example, only has three computers, one printer, and two recording devices⁹². For lay out and printing, most of the tasks on their weekly and monthly publications are done in Manado, North Sulawesi.⁹³

6.4.11. Revenue and Income Generation

The newspapers in North Maluku are all printed in less than 2,000 copies.⁹⁴ Even some big newspapers, published regularly, are only printed in between 500 and 1,000 copies. The biggest newspapers (such as Mimbar Kiereha and Malut Pos) are printed in about 2,000 copies with a selling price of Rp 2,000 per copy.⁹⁵ Newspapers in North Maluku therefore have a maximum daily income of Rp. 4,000,000 from sales and therefore cannot rely on sales as their only source of income.

These media often also depend on income from the advertisements. The majority of advertisement work comes not from businesses, but from the authorities. These types of advertisements are ceremonial, congratulation and public service advertisements. The only reliable income is therefore government advertisement, which unfortunately comes very infrequently. Only on special occasions, such as the General Election, Governor Election, or some big regional events, do the authorities purchase advertisements in local media. However, it has been noted that some media, which have not been published for long time, then suddenly reappear and obtain these advertisements. The average advertisement income per media is Rp 3.000.000 to Rp 5.000.000⁹⁶.

Some media, are receiving assistance from the Government of North Maluku. That assistance is provided on ad-hoc basis, based on requests proposed by media outlets for specific activities. This includes the commemoration of anniversaries, as well as transportation funds to attend events outside North Maluku. The amount of assistance is between from IDR 2 million to IDR 5 million. These funds are taken from the Regional Budget. However, it appears that not all media are granted equal access to this kind of assistance.

⁹¹ See Annex: Table: Salary system and income interval of the Radio employee.

⁹² See Annex : Table: Available facilities

⁹³ See Annex: Table: Lay out and printing.

⁹⁴ See Annex: Table: Readers base and distribution.

⁹⁵ See Annex: Table: Income and Circulation.

⁹⁶ See Annex: Table: advertisement income.

Other sources of external assistance include from religious institutions. In Tobelo funds have come from the local church through the Yayasan Bintang Laut to develop the tabloid of *Bintang Laut* and *Radio Suara Paksi Buana*.

6.4.12. Ownership, Employment and ‘Envelope Journalism’

The number of journalists in the respective newspapers in North Maluku varies from approximately 15 to 30. The status of the employees also varies. Some newspapers use the system of permanent employees, others have staff based upon honorariums. For instance, *Mimbar Kiereha* and *Malut Pos* use the system of permanent employees, whilst *Halut Pres* pays by honorarium. The journalists are paid with honorariums according to the number of articles being written. The standard salary of journalists in North Maluku is relatively small, from around Rp 300,000 to Rp 500,000⁹⁷ a month. Some journalists have side jobs as researchers, freelancers or correspondents for national media in order to maintain their income.⁹⁸

The number of radio employees also varies. *Gema Hikmah* has nine employees - two reporters, four announcers, and the rest in the administration department. *Suara Paksi Buana* has four in the news division - one editor and three announcers⁹⁹. In other radio stations employment is also based on an honorarium system, calculated by hours on air.

The practice of ‘envelope journalism’ is reportedly widespread in North Maluku. In general, most media practitioners seem to feel it is acceptable to receive money from vested interests as long they believe it does not influence the news.

6.4.13. Gender

According to the survey, only a few media in North Maluku give sufficient attention to gender issues. Women tend to have administrative and financial roles in the print media, or commonly work as announcers on radios, although without the prospective of being promoted to higher positions with the stations as granted to their male colleagues. News content relating to women is also mostly about IDP issues and crime (as victims). Gender issues are not considered important in local news and the biggest portions relate to politics.

6.5. Provincial Traditional Media

6.5.1. Community Forums and Ceremonies

There are various traditional media in North Maluku that have underlying conflict resolution connotations (please see traditional media table in Annex). The traditional media in general uses rituals to resolve inter-communal problems. However, unification ceremonies and movements, such as *Hibualamo*¹⁰⁰, which finds its roots in the province, apparently no longer influence the public as the traditional forms of government have been eroded by the onset of the modern state. In particular many of the younger generation are seemingly unaware of what these rituals entail.

6.5.2. Organised Religion

Muslim and Christian religious leaders have been involved with the establishment of “The Forum of Harmony and Communication Among the Religious Disciples” (FKKAUB), with the objective to

⁹⁷ See Annex: Table: Salary system and salary interval.

⁹⁸ Post the conflict, North Maluku is often made as the object of research with a number of topics. Many journalists in North Maluku work as interviewers or assist researchers, who carry out field research in North Maluku.

⁹⁹ See Annex: Table: Number of Radio employee.

¹⁰⁰ See Annex: Table: News Program in Radio.

unifying and resolving the conflict between the different communities. According to Reverend S. S. (Tot) Duan, the Church leaders often provide spiritual guidance for their congregations, as is also the case with the *ulamas* (Moslem Scholars) in the mosques. FKKAUB routinely discuss the problems in the region, which involves the local, provincial and central authorities. The activities of FKKAUB were considered effective as of 2001.

6.5.3. Communicative Art Forms

The combatant communities have reportedly undertaken informal direct reconciliation efforts at the grassroots level through communicative art forms¹⁰¹. In this regard, the *Sanggar Seni Gumarin* (Art studio of *Gumarin*) has used local theatrical arts, which reflected the diversity and interaction of communities in North Maluku.

6.6. New Information Technologies

6.6.1. Cellular Phone and SMS

Cellular phones are beginning to be a tool for communication in Ternate and Tobelo. However, the reach is still limited, particularly in Tobelo. For telecommunication, people still usually uses the landline phones, although this is expected to change as it has in other areas of the country.

Short Message Service (SMS) are also becoming an alternative way of delivering messages. "Currently SMS is becoming a necessity, because SMS is cheap and teaches the people to become smarter, because SMS invites the people to communicate with words," the Secretary of MUI (the Indonesian *Ulamas* Council) of North Maluku, Kasman Hi. Akhmat said. The main obstacle to using mobiles is the weak signal in many places. However, the perspectives for SMS to make the spread of rumours and gossip more rapid if not based on proper information are considerable. However, if there is access to objective mass media this may make SMS a key tool for resolving surges in tensions based upon misinformation.

6.6.2. Internet

Access to the Internet is very limited in North Maluku and the connection is slow. At the time of conflict in 1999, Internet access and usage was extremely limited and pamphlets were the main form of information dissemination. To date, access can be obtained through Internet shops in the Post Office of Ternate or in one of the few Internet cafes. Internet usage and access is more prevalent amongst media practitioners, although it seems that usage could be useful expanded for this groups as well.

6.6.3. Handy Talky

Handy-talky is used as a form of communication in the province. The geographical condition of North Maluku, with many islands and jungle areas, encourages people to choose handy-talkies as the means of speedy and cheap communication. At the time of conflict, they often reportedly became a source of irresponsible information dissemination, serving to fuel rumours and gossip rather than countering them, particularly as communication is not secure and easily listened in on.

6.7. Information Flows

6.7.1. Rumour and Gossip

At the time of conflict, it seems that the local communities were readily provoked by unsubstantiated rumour. The limited access to information through the media meant that the flow of information that

¹⁰¹ Interview with S. S. (Tot) Duan, religious figure from Forum of Harmony and Communication Among the Religious Disciples (FKKAUB) of Tobelo.

was available to the public came from a very small number of sources. Reverend S.S (Tot) Duan a religious leader from the FKKAUB in Tobelo stated:

“At the time of conflict, it was very difficult to filter the news, fortunately now people are not so easily provoked”

6.7.2. Media to Consumer

Generally the radio stations in North Maluku do not work with clear audience segmentation. They target all groups, from young to old, poor to rich. This means that there are no special youth stations or female stations, like in many other places in Indonesia. From the aspect of programme composition, the radio broadcasts are therefore comprehensive, mixing entertainment, information, spiritual programmes, and so forth. A number of radio stations, such as Gema Hikmah, Suara Paksi Buana (SPB) and RRI, have their own news programmes, although the majority of news is relayed from the Jakarta based radio services.

Although the media is increasingly spreading out from Ternate to other areas, such as Tobelo, there are still some notable ‘media vacuums’ in the province, or areas where the diversity of information access is extremely low. Halut Press Tabloid is starting a newspaper in Tobelo. At present the only other print media is Bintang Laut, although it is currently not in operation.

During the conflict these vacuums served to fuel tension through the inability of populations to access information. In this regard, in 2001 USAID/ OTI funded the distribution of Ternate / provincial papers to Halmahera to help get news of reconciliation out to the public. Although the conflict is now dormant, such problems relating to access to information still exist, particularly amongst semi-rural communities along the eastern side of Halmahera.

6.7.3. Primary Source to Media

The Government controlled the media by applying a ‘one door’ policy through the Information and Communication Bureau of the Provincial Administration of North Maluku (Biro Infokom). Local media managers consider these measures to be ineffective. As the Chief Editor of Maluku Utara Pos, Tauhid Arief stated:¹⁰²

“Sometimes the Infokom cannot cover all information to which the journalists would like to have access and our journalists are often hurried by the deadline”

Faiz Albaar, the General Manager of Mimbar Kieraha¹⁰³ also commented on this issue, saying:

“The high pressure of deadlines and lack of communication between the Government and the press caused difficulty, which was very disturbing. Because of this, the news in those two newspapers was often imbalanced”.

Faiz Albaar also said that his reporters often faced difficulty in the efforts to maintain checks and balance. The limitation of publishing time and inharmonious relations between the local press and government often made the editors of Mimbar Kieraha decide to publish the news as it was without trying to verify with the relevant institutions. Moreover, they also often found that when they did try to verify news, the resource persons often did not want to comment. The difficulty to access resource persons was also felt by the manager of Gema Hikmah News radio:

¹⁰² Interview with Tauhid Arief, Chief Editor of Maluku Utara Pos.

¹⁰³ Interview with Faiz Albaar, General Manager of Mimbar Kieraha.

“We need better balanced and honest information, in order to provide the public a balanced and fair coverage”¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, as with the other two provinces, information flows between civil society and the media seems to be significantly hindered by a lack of respect and trust between these communities and about the other professionalism. In addition, the media seem to be predominantly focused on the authorities and security forces in terms of accessing ‘trusted’ or ‘respected’ sources of information, potentially at the exclusion of other legitimate sources amongst academia and civil society.

6.8. Additional Information

Please refer to the Annexes for further research information in tabulated form collected during on the research phase on the provincial mainstream, alternative and traditional media (as listed below).

Print Media (Mainstream and Alternative)
Table: Printed Media in North Maluku.
Table: Chief Executive/Editor-in-Chief
Table: Owner and Profession of Media
Table: Facilities
Table: Lay Out and Printing
Table: Size, Total Pages and Publication Frequency
Table: Readership and Distribution
Table: Income and Circulation
Table: Advertisement Income
Table: Operational Cost
Table: Payment System and Range
Table: Education and Training Attended
Table: Total Employee and Employment System
Broadcast Media (Mainstream)
Table: Name of the Radio and First Time Broadcast
Table: Transmitter Power and Reachable Area

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Alwi Sagaf, news editor of Gema Hikmah Radio.

Table: Radio's Owner and Manager
Table: Facilities owned by the radio
Table: Total Employment
Table: Education and Training Attended
Table: Payment System and Range
Table: Listenership and Program Composition
Table: The Existence of the News Program in Radio
Traditional Media
Table: Communicative Art Media in North Maluku

7. Activity Recommendations for Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku

Parameters for Recommendations

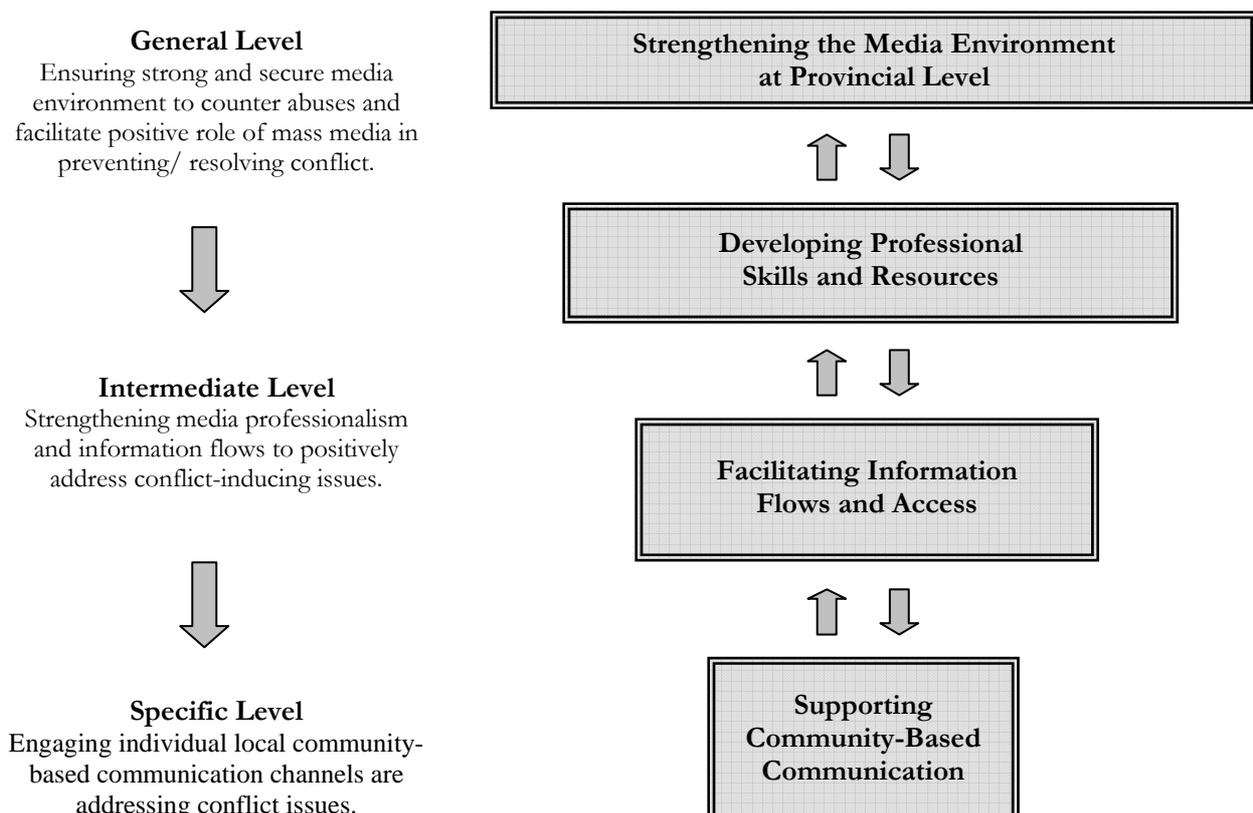
The recommendations outlined below are aimed at achieving a long-term reduction in the potential for conflict, based upon the specific circumstances of each province as laid out in the previous sections. They include specific targeted activities and should not be seen as an exhaustive list of all the local media’s needs vis-à-vis the conflicts.

The activities are suggested within a prospective implementing timeframe of approximately three to five years and should be addressable within reasonable budgetary limits. In regard to the latter point, it is noted that a number of the suggested activities can be achieved through single multi-layered interventions and do not therefore require individual interventions. Furthermore, the recommendations seek to build upon what national and international media development and freedom of expression actors have already undertaken in the three provinces, utilising existing resources and reinforcing best practices. It is also suggested that prior to any programme development based upon this report, ISAI undertake a consultative process with the wider national and provincial media communities.

Holistic Approaches

A holistic approach is required for a programme addressing media and conflict. This should range from the broadest level of developing a strong and vigorous media environment, to the most specific level of utilising local channels of grassroots communication. Such an approach thus ensures that individual traditional and alternative media can be engaged in addressing conflict related issues in a manner unique to the local environment, and the inherent long-term role of the mainstream and alternative mass-media for preventing and resolving conflict can be secured through countering manipulation and abuse, diversifying information access and dissemination, and providing skills and resources. The diagram below outlines these considerations.

Table: Holistic Approaches to Media and Conflict



In this regard, the focus areas in the first and broadest of the activity recommendation groups – Strengthening the Media Environment at Provincial Level – are generically applicable in all three provinces, whilst those in the last and most specific of the groups – Supporting Community-Based Communication – are generally unique to each province.

Parallels between Provinces

As indicated below, the research undertaken in Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku indicates clear parallels between the three provinces in terms of the broad issues that should be addressed in order for the media to better engage in conflict resolution and prevention. In this regard, the recommendations for all three have been combined into one section. However, this is not to say that all the provinces have identical circumstances and the recommendations should therefore not be implemented in identical formats in each. Obvious divergences are indicated in the sections below where applicable and the project formulation stage following on from this assessment should tailor the recommended fields to the individual situation in each province.

7.1. Strengthening the Media Environment at Provincial Level

Location: Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi

Target Media: Mainstream and Alternative Media

Categorisation: Media Development – Structural Issues

Overall Rationale

A vigorous and strong media environment should solidify the long-term sustainable role of the media in its function as the ‘fourth estate’. In this regard, a secure and balanced environment is not only a necessity for a functional and secure media, but is also required to ensure the media’s ability to perform conflict prevention and resolution roles as an inherent function derived from its professionalism, as well as being a strong basis for preventing the types of manipulation and abuse of the media that can fuel tensions.

7.1.1. Media Policy and Legislation

Specific Rationale

Legislation relating to the media must be fair, effective and enforceable, offering both checks against the excesses of the media (in particular relating to hate speech and antagonistic reporting), as well as protecting the media against harassment and attack. Likewise, the mechanisms and manner in which licences are allocated to the media must be undertaken in a transparent and balanced manner. Effective and realistic self-regulatory mechanisms should also ideally be utilised, thereby allowing issues to be dealt with by the media community itself in the first instance.

Summary of Findings

Despite the presence of a Press Law and Broadcast Law in Indonesia, these are often not being applied by law enforcement agencies and the judiciary at either the national or provincial level. Rather, libel laws are predominantly being applied to cases involving the media. Moreover, although only a few legal cases have been undertaken in Central Sulawesi and Maluku, and even less in North Maluku, the current precedent being set at the national level indicates that this phenomenon may be increasing and that vested interests are manipulating legal procedures to intimidate and silence media institutions. Such practices may soon be mirrored at the provincial level.

Furthermore, a significant number of disputes between the media and other parties are being settled outside of any legal or self-regulatory mechanism. Although this can lead to amicable resolutions of grievances for both the aggrieved party and media, it also engenders the use of unacceptable methods based upon intimidation and harassment. The presence of the Press Council offers an alternative regulated process through which disputes can be addressed, without removing the potential for recourse to legal channels at a later date if resolution is not found. If used in an objective manner, this could therefore be beneficially utilised by the provincial media, although it will of course not prevent the recourse to unacceptable methods for those to explicitly seek to use manipulative or violent means.

In addition, there are numerous laws applicable to the media, including the Press Law, Broadcast Law, Proprietary Limited Company Law, and so forth. This creates complex environments in which the media must operate, which are often beyond the capacities of single outlets to following and adhere to.

The Independent Broadcast Commission (KPI) has been created to regulate and monitor the broadcast media. The KPI should also be established at the provincial level (KPID) in order to give recommendations on broadcast licences to KPI and also make recommendations to the Department of Communication about the issuance of frequency licences to local broadcast media once every three years. Moreover, it will monitor the content of the media, including a requirement for outlets to retain copies of all broadcasts, as well as review complaints and recommend penalties. However, due to delays in the establishment of the KPID, a number of broadcast media have begun and/or continued activities without licences. The establishment and work of the KPI and KPID will therefore be central to the creation of secure and fair media landscapes and environments at the provincial levels.

Potential Approaches

1. Facilitate access for provincial media to advice and support relating to legal requirements and processes, as well as existing national and international legal-aid mechanism;
2. Raise awareness amongst the media at provincial levels about available self-regulatory mechanism;
3. Support self-regulatory mechanism in establishing a presence at the provincial levels;
4. Raise awareness with the authorities and civil society at provincial levels about relevant national media legislation and self-regulatory mechanisms;
5. Through national professional media bodies, support the local broadcast media in relation to the establishment and conduct of the KPI;
6. Support the KPI with executing its functions with specific consideration of special needs and circumstance created in conflict prone environments.

7.1.2. Associations and Networking

Specific Rationale

Networking and association between journalists both within their immediate communities, as well as regionally and internationally, provides linkages amongst practitioners and outlets both locally and nationally, and facilitates exchange of experiences, promotion of best practices, agreement on collective needs and stances and provides for 'strength in numbers'. This serves to reinforce the confidence and abilities of media practitioners to uphold professional standards and defend media rights.

Summary of Findings

Whilst in both in Central Sulawesi there are local representatives of a number of professional media bodies, including the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), Indonesian Journalist Association (PWI), Association of Private Radios (PRSSNI) and others, in North Maluku and Maluku such official local representatives are on the whole absent. This is apparently due to the administrative, technical and

financial obstacles to establishing local branches. In North Maluku the local media practitioners have instead opted to create the ‘North Maluku Journalist Association’, whilst in Maluku AJI has a strong influence through the Maluku Media Centre (MMC). Other organisation like the Indonesian Consumer Institution (YLKI) and Press Worker Union (SPP) were also relatively inactive in the three provinces. There are also other professional groups, such as the DPR3 in Central Sulawesi¹⁰⁵, in which the participation of the active media could have positive benefits. Where local representatives were not present, the view of many media practitioners was that the influence and the benefits of professional organisations were limited.

Potential Approaches

1. Address obstacles and support professional media bodies with the establishment of local representatives and/or linkages with local media communities;
2. Support capacity development for professional media bodies at local levels, including cooperation on implementing media development activities;
3. Assist role of professional bodies in monitoring and advocacy in support and defence of local media communities.

7.1.3. Monitoring and Advocacy

Specific Rationale

Monitoring the content of the media can serve both as an early warning of potential conflict-inducing practices, as well as growing threats against the media. Furthermore, monitoring should be linked to ‘action orientated’ advocacy and conflict early-warning mechanisms. In this regard, monitoring and advocacy provides indicator of when there are increasing unwarranted restrictions and controls on the media; indirect and self-censorship of media practitioners and outlets; suppression of external media sources; and media polarisation, including increased stereotyping and hate-speech.

Summary of Findings

At presents there seems to be only limited participation in media monitoring and advocacy mechanisms in Central Sulawesi and North Maluku. Such involvement that does exist is predominantly done through national institutions in Jakarta, thereby reducing and delaying direct access to information about circumstances in the provinces. In Ambon, the Maluku Media Centre (MMC) is reportedly substantively engaged together with AJI in media monitoring and advocacy activities.

Potential Approaches

1. Develop more effective and responsive media monitoring activities in North Maluku and Central Sulawesi and build upon those already established in Maluku, to be linked with national and international advocacy mechanisms;
2. Enhance capacity of local media to pursue advocacy at both provincial and national levels to address pertinent media related issues;
3. Link monitoring to national and international conflict early warning mechanisms and institutions.

7.2. Developing Professional Skills and Resources

Location: Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi
Target Media: Mainstream, Alternative and Traditional Media
Categorisation: Media Development – Content and Structural Issues

¹⁰⁵ ‘DPR3’ is an informal weekly gathering of people from various professions, which the members themselves refer to as DPR3

Overall Rationale

The development and/or restoration of professional skills and resources fosters the ability of the media to research, interpret and communicate about conflict in an objective, reliable and accurate manner. In addition, it provides an enhanced understanding of the media's role and inherent responsibilities as the 'fourth estate' in conflict prone environments.

7.2.1. Content Transformation*Specific Rationale*

Research into professional training for journalists in conflict affected areas has been taken a step further with initiatives to facilitate the media's potential to communicate and relate information in a style specifically orientated towards the peaceful resolution of conflict. The media thus becomes a facilitator of conflict reduction, rather than a professional unattached observer. Content transformation activities such as this aims to assist media practitioners tackle those economic, social, political and religious issues considered too sensitive to address during periods of conflict¹⁰⁶. Not to tackle such issues means that the root causes of the conflict are not addressed and the original status quo theoretically persists with the associated threat that conflict may re-emerge. However, if this approach is used, the challenge lies in ensuring that the media is not 'manipulated' to promote pre-set agendas or simply disseminate information in place of professional journalism.

Where hate speech exists, such interventions are often ineffective, as the propagator is usually making a conscious decision to produce such rhetoric. The challenge is to use both persuasive and coercive methods, ranging from entering into a dialogue with the media and creating a critical mass of public and professional pressure, to facilitating national and local actors to pursue necessary self-regulatory and/or legal recourses.

Activities should seek to enable media outlets and practitioners, both from within an area and between areas, to share experiences, work together and utilise innovative reporting and 'clever' publication techniques, such as having controversial articles 'vetted' by a lawyer prior to publication or having it published in another province and republished in the applicable province. In addition, they can serve to bring together a variety of media practitioners, such as journalists, editors and owners, thus facilitating the exchange of ideas and views over religious, political and ethnic divides, thereby enhancing media professionalism through diversifying information sources and knowledge. In this regard, media outlets should also seek to reflect diversity in terms of regional, ethnic, political and religious composition of society.

Summary of Findings

Despite inflammatory reporting during previous periods of overt conflict, current professional standards in the three provinces appear to be reasonable when considered vis-à-vis the regional media environments and underdeveloped access to opportunities and resources. The increasing presence of national media groups and inclusion of local outlets has also served to heighten professionalism in local media institutions. However, the use of advanced professional skills, such as conflict sensitive journalism and investigative journalism, appears limited. Moreover, knowledge about conflict related topics and the ability to tackle them in a constructive manner remain insufficient.

There have been a number of training activities in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi on peace journalism (also referred to as conflict sensitive reporting) during the years, to a degree where

¹⁰⁶ Although this is predominantly orientated towards journalism, the use of entertainment style programmes should also be considered, such as soap operas and other forms.

considerable duplication can be noted. Repetition in these activities has been heightened by the attendance of the same ‘elite’ journalists at the different trainings. As a result, many of the more experienced and senior journalists have a relatively good knowledge of what this style of reporting entails and how it should be conducted. However, these skills are apparently nevertheless little-used in the local media. In specific, this seems to be because of five main obstacles:

Applicability to Local Context: Although many of the training activities have been conducted by well-versed proficient individuals, often from outside of Indonesia, they have often not been adequately grounded in local reality. The theoretical nature of such activities have made them difficult to apply to local circumstances where media practitioner may not have the breadth of experience to automatically interpret them. In addition, although this could be gained through follow-up activities whereby the trainer liaises with the local journalists and provides practical assistance in applying such skills, this has regularly not been the case.

Resources and Opportunity: Although many media practitioners, from journalists to editors, express an interest in practicing ‘peace journalism’, it seems that workplace realities significantly restrict this. This is because the production of peace journalism requires additional time and resources, both in terms of undertaking the necessary research and having the funds to travel to and report from conflict-affected communities. Moreover, in circumstances where an editor or journalist has received training, whilst the other has not, this may create purposefully obstructive or inadvertent resistance to the practice of new skills.

Access to Information: In combination with the point above, the media are substantially dependent on the authorities to provide information. However, whether inadvertently or not, the local government and security forces often pursue restrictive and cumbersome information policies hindering efficient and timely access (see following section).

Centralised and Self-Censored Editorial Policy: A number of local media are centrally owned by Jakarta-based media companies. Although this provides access to resources and training, the editorial policies of the local media are sometimes hemmed in by the interests of these companies. Although no overt editorial control was highlighted, this nevertheless can favour not upsetting the status quo, as well as ensuring commercial success. Furthermore, self-censorship also appears to be exercised by the local media regarding sensitive issues (see following section).

Safety Concerns: Although few media professionals were reportedly injured or killed during the violence, some understand continued to feel threatened by the prospect of reporting from unfamiliar surroundings in areas where opposing communities reside (see following section).

Although during the conflict period all three provinces experienced degrees of inflammatory reporting, mainly due to inadequate professional skills and poor isolation from prevalent opinions in the local communities, the majority now appear to have adopted editorial policies aimed at avoiding an inadvertent repetition of such reporting. This in practice has led to self-censorship on a number of key topics necessary for conflict resolution and prevention, including what are referred to as SARA issues (ethnicity, religion, race and inter-community groups).

Potential Approaches

Skills Development

1. Build upon the existing pool of expertise in conflict sensitive journalism through addressing obstacles to the practice of such skills (Please note that the issues of resources, income

- generation, access to information, safety and self-censorship are also dealt with in previous and following activity recommendations).
2. Establish activities and networks in advanced journalism skills, such as investigative journalism, for 'elite' media practitioners, utilising innovative reporting and publication techniques (as described below).
 3. Provide training for those who have not been engaged in conflict sensitive journalism, preferably through feedback-based in-house processes, incorporating a training-of-trainers component with a provincial partner where possible;
 4. Assist media with establishing the balance between entertainment and news content, as well as the use of entertainment formats for addressing conflict related issues (please refer to the section on Supporting Community Based Communication - Civil Society Initiatives).

Knowledge Development

5. Develop awareness and knowledge on key conflict related topics (SARA issues) and provide skills and resources for reporting on them in a professional and conflict reducing/ preventing manner (as described above).
6. Facilitate cross-cutting linkages to expert sources on other thematic areas being addressed by UNDP (including good governance, access to justice, natural resources, local economic development, social cohesion and gender).

Innovative Reporting and Publication Techniques

7. Establish intra and inter-provincial team reporting activities including all three provinces and crossing ethnic, religious and regional boundaries (in connection with knowledge and skills development activities outlined above);
8. Facilitate 'clever' publication techniques for media outlets, particularly relating to investigative journalism (in connection with knowledge and skills development activities outlined above);
9. When possible, promote religious, ethnic and gender diversity and plurality amongst staff in media outlets.

7.2.2. Institutional Capacity-Building

Specific Rationale

The range and scenarios in which support can be provided to media institutions and practitioners to facilitate the production of professional journalism are numerous. Such activities may seek to provide financial and/or organisational assistance to media institutions already having a positive impact on conflict reduction and prevention, or with the potential for having such an impact. The aim of such action is to overcome obstacles and enhance access to those essential resources that allow media practitioners to undertake their work in accordance with professional standards and practices.

In a post-conflict situation, external assistance can create alternative mechanisms for media production, relocate outlets and introduce innovative working methodologies more suited to post-conflict environments. It may also involve the provision of media infrastructure that has either been destroyed or forcibly removed, or core financial support to replace lost revenue as a result of reduced advertising or circulation. Furthermore, longer-term perspectives should also aim to strengthen income generation and financial self-sustainability, thereby reducing dependency on external sources of income and practices such as 'envelope journalism' (whereby journalists or media outlets are paid to cover certain issues in a favourable manner).

Summary of Findings

Although in both Central Sulawesi and North Maluku the periods of time since the main conflict can be measured in years rather than months, the lasting impact of the conflict still remains. For example, in the Tobelo area of North Maluku before the conflict there were a number of local radio stations, whilst in the post conflict stage one is active at the local level. The other stations either closed after the conflict or had their equipment destroyed as a result of the violence. In Maluku the escalation of violence just prior to this assessment indicates that the immediate threats to the media institutions remains present.

The conflict has also had a significant impact on the local economic situation, with the effect of reducing advertising marketplaces and restricting the potential for financial self-sustainability. This has the effect of creating financial dependency on external sources of income, including vested economic and political interests and development aid funding, as well as practices such as ‘envelope journalism’. Moreover, the poor financial condition of many broadcast media means that the production of local news or other programme formats aimed at addressing the conflict are often prohibitively high.

Potential Approaches

1. For those local independent professional media engaged in other aspects of the suggested activities, provide institutional and financial support (particularly for the broadcast media) in terms of production costs, equipment and access to new information technologies, including the Internet;
2. For those local independent professional media engaged in other aspects of the suggested activities, provide financial management and income generation techniques to develop self-sustainability and reduce dependency on external sources;
3. Facilitate access to national and international loan mechanisms supporting local independent professional media.

7.2.3. Safety Issues*Specific Rationale*

Safety concerns often hinder and create barriers for the work of media practitioners. In this manner, safety orientated interventions provide awareness for those working in conflict-affected areas or for individuals who find themselves specifically under threat as a result of their work. It thereby facilitates the personal and institutional safety of media and allows them to more quickly and effectively address those inhibiting security constraints created by conflict.

Summary of Findings

During the period of overt conflict in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi, safety for journalists was severely reduced. Travel in the conflict-affected areas became extremely hazardous and some of those who did so were reportedly attacked, with a few losing their lives. In Maluku, the recent resurgence of violence again placed such restrictions on journalists. The longer-term effects of this have been continuing concerns amongst the media community about travelling to and reporting first-hand from ‘other’ communities.

Potential Approaches

1. Provide safety training for local and national journalists in Maluku reporting on conflict;
2. Develop responsive safety advice mechanism for local journalists, possibly through professional media associations;
3. Through ‘innovative reporting’ techniques (as described above) encourage media community to travel to and report on other communities (taking safety considerations into account).

7.3. Facilitating Information Flows and Access

Location: Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi

Target Media: Mainstream, Alternative and Traditional Media

Categorisation: Media Development and Information & Communication – Structural Issues

Overall Rationale

Efficient and effective information flows and access both from the media to consumers, and primary sources to the media are essential for the media to play a constructive role in conflict prevention and resolution. Where these flows are restricted or simply do not exist, this may significantly fuel tensions as other forms of unreliable information flows become prevalent, including rumour and gossip, as well as inflammatory information providers and ‘agent provocateurs’ acting outside of formal professional ethical codes and structures.

The key to such interaction is ensuring that there are productive and mutually beneficial flows of information between these groups. Misunderstandings often obstruct such information flows, hindering the ability of the media to communicate an objective and accurate picture, the importance of which is paramount for addressing conflict. Unobstructed flows of information can also open up innovative avenues and methods for accessing objective and accurate information and methods for reporting during times of conflict.

7.3.1. Media to Consumer

Specific Rationale

By supporting the creation of a plural independent media environment, choice and diversity are added to the media landscape and information access is enhanced for the general public, particularly in isolated areas. In this regard, where the sole media might be aligned to a political, religious, ethnic or economic interest, creating sustainable plurality provides more voices and points of view, which in turn lessens the potential influence of a single outlet.

Furthermore, where ‘media vacuums’ exist and the local population have no, or extremely limited, access to objective, reliable and objective information, rumour and gossip is left unchallenged as the main form of information dissemination. However, an intervention to fill a media vacuum should not create unsustainable media outlets vis-à-vis realistic prospects within the marketplace. Such interventions should also not be at the expense of existing professional media that might be in a position to expand dissemination and/or broadcast range.

Summary of Findings

In Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi there are clear examples of low media plurality and diversity in conflict-affected areas, as well as ‘media vacuums’ both existing before the conflict and created as a result of it. Although many have been, or are being, addressed (as per the current UNDP activities in Maluku being implemented by the Media Development Loan Fund) a number of key areas continue to remain in the same situation. As examples in Tentena in Central Sulawesi there is very limited access to professional media, whilst in Tobelo in North Maluku there is only one irregular local newspaper and one entertainment-based local radio station.

Potential Approaches

1. In areas where there is poor access to professional media, assistance to be provided to facilitate existing local independent professional media to extend their coverage to incorporate these

areas, or where this is not possible, to establish independent outlets in these areas (in this regard consideration should be given to community radio and TV, utilising existing broadcast legislation on community broadcasters);

2. Promote diversity and plurality in those existing local professional media accessible in isolated areas.

7.3.2. Primary Source to Media

Specific Rationale

The media does not act alone in society, but forms a part of the larger community. In this context, interaction between the media and other civil society actors, whether they be academia, civil rights groups or NGO's, is important for developing a broad understanding of key dynamics and issues, as well as being able to reflect diversity in reporting.

Dialogue and interaction with local and central government, as well as security forces, is helpful for media communities in conflict-affected areas, in particular to further access to information. This can serve to create greater understanding of the roles and needs of the media, as well as pre-empt or reverse restrictions imposed by the authorities.

Summary of Findings

Access to information from local government in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi appears somewhat restricted. Although this is not always apparently a result of purposeful obstruction, the use of 'one door' information policies results in bottlenecks and insufficient information reaching the media. In all the provinces, local government have information officers (Biro Infokom), but channels between them and the media are not always fluid. The same situation was found for the security forces.

One of the key reasons found amongst authorities for not providing information was poor professionalism amongst the media and their assumed inability to accurately and responsibly convey news, as well as the continuing institutional culture amongst civil servants of avoiding putting information in the public domain. For obvious reasons, it was assessed that the legislative branches of local government were more open to exchanges with the media.

The national news agency – Antara - also provides national information. However, at the provincial level it was found that media did not usually directly subscribe, although they did access information through the Antara website (www.antara.co.id).

Linkages between civil society and academia were seemingly more productive, although information flows were also apparently somewhat limited. Moreover, relations between the international aid community and local media do not always appear productive, due to media perceptions that these organisations were not forthcoming with information, and perceptions amongst the international community that reporting is of low professional quality and often inaccurate.

Potential Approaches

1. Engage local executive and legislative branches of the government and security forces in developing mutually beneficial information flows;
2. Raise awareness amongst the media about rights regarding information access, as well as professional techniques for accessing and interpreting information (including the use of new information technologies, such as Internet and SMS);

3. Facilitate linkages between civil society and academia with the media for the more effective flows of information, as well as utilisation of experts (other than just the authorities) as sources of information and resource persons for quotation or inclusion in broadcasts.

7.4. Supporting Community-Based Communication

Location: Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi

Target Media: Alternative and Traditional Media

Categorisation: Information & Communication – Content and Structural Issues

Overall Rationale

In conflict situations, information is the basis for the coordination of humanitarian assistance and public communication of messages aimed at reducing and preventing conflict. Vulnerable populations need accurate and timely information in order to function and survive in the new conditions created by conflict. However, it is during conflict that information often becomes confused, both in terms of knowledge about what assistance can be sought, as well as what is happening in the conflict. The lack of such information fuels insecurity and tensions, leading to the prevalence of rumour and unsubstantiated information, which is often inflammatory and inaccurate. In this regard, the communication of accurate, reliable and objective information can serve to reduce fears and the perceived need to take pre-emptive action in self-defence.

Based on the same logic, public communication is equally applicable in post-conflict periods when underlying conflict-inducing tensions remain and knowledge about, as well as understanding of, other communities is limited. As outlined in the DFID 'Working with the Media in Conflicts and other Emergencies' publication:

'Mass media can help to deliver a flow of objective and accurate news and comment to people caught up in conflicts. This provides communities with a basis on which to take decisions in response to the crisis affecting them. Objective reporting can also counter propaganda and hate messages which fuel conflict'.¹⁰⁷

7.4.1. Community Forums

Specific Rationale

A number of important communication channels exist outside of the mainstream and alternative mass media that are influential information and communication mediums at the local community level. Such forums often play a central role in determining opinions and offer the perspective of receiving information through a local trusted source. These channels also often bring the added weight of tradition and/or deep-seated beliefs, which the mainstream and alternative media normally cannot achieve. As such, local forums are powerful and influential tools for communication. However, unlike the mainstream and alternative media, communication through such channels also bring complex socio-religious connotations and nuances and are therefore not as readily interpretable for those outside the local community.

Summary of Findings

Traditional community forums exist in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi, both through organised religion and long-standing communal practices and ceremonies. As outlined in the province

¹⁰⁷ 'Working with the Media in Conflicts and other Emergencies' p. 18 (Conflict and Humanitarian Affairs Department and Social Development Department, DFID, September 2000)

specific sections, these include local discussion forums led by traditional community leaders, religious ceremonies and teachings, conflict resolution ceremonies, gatherings to mark significant occasions, and so forth. Amongst other functions, such forums are used to spread information and engage in community dialogue and consensual decision-making. Moreover, they are also used for preaching and the communicating set messages often based on longstanding community or religious doctrine.

Potential Approaches

1. Community and religious leaders to be engaged in dialogue with local authorities and national and international project partners on the use of traditional media for conflict resolution and prevention;
2. Community and religious leaders to be provided with tools for interpreting and communicating on conflict related issues, including knowledge development on key conflict-inducing issues;
3. Where applicable, traditional and non-conventional media to be linked with mainstream and alternative media;
4. Community and religious leaders to be brought into broader processes and advise on development and implementation of conflict resolution and prevention activities.

7.4.2. Arts, Music and Literature

Specific Rationale

Both contemporary and traditional music, arts and literature play an influential role on communities. These may derive from popular culture at the national level or from long-standing local traditions. In Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi music and dance are predominantly used as a form of entertainment, which itself are channels for communication. Likewise, arts and literature also entail either explicit or implicit messages that may have societal implications, including conflict resolution based upon subjects such as social tolerance, harmonious communal relations and human suffering as a result of conflict.

Summary of Findings

In all three provinces contemporary and traditional music, arts and literature deriving from both the local and national levels play an important role in social interaction. In particular, music and associated forms of dance provide common ground for communities to come together, thereby facilitating inter-community relations and building trust and mutual awareness. Local and national artists also carry influence and a number are seemingly well-disposed to using their talents for the purpose of further community relations and addressing conflict.

Potential Approaches

1. Local and national traditional and contemporary artists, musicians and writers should be assisted in using their talents to address conflict related issues;
2. Music and art festivals and events should be supported addressing conflict issues and providing forums for communities to come together based upon common interests and appreciations.

7.4.3. Civil Society Initiatives

Specific Rationale

Organised civil society plays a strong role in alternative media. In addressing specific issues of interest or providing forms of grass-root communication, it is civil society that is often best placed to work with local communities. Moreover, civil society also has the potential to identify and address subjects as they arise. Although such initiatives normally have preset agendas and are designed to communicate specific messages, they offer ideal platforms for communication, with the additional strength of bringing local commitment and participation

Summary of Findings

A number of local, national and international civil society and non-governmental initiatives are ongoing in Maluku, North Maluku and Central Sulawesi. Some of these have been formed as a result of the conflict with the aim of avoiding the re-emergence of violence and have utilised alternative communication techniques to spread their messages amongst local communities. These include publications, posters and public dialogue forums, as well as more developed tools that often use entertainment based mediums as conduits, such generic soap operas and inter-active learning comics for children. These latter activities are often undertaken either directly by, or conjunction with, an international partner.

Potential Approaches

1. Whilst avoiding duplication, support should be provided to existing civil society and non-governmental information and communication initiatives that have proven effective thus far, such as magazines, comics, radio soap operas, media centres, and so forth;
2. Civil society and non-governmental information and communication initiatives that are supported should be assisted to ensure that they are:
 - Specifically grounded to local circumstances and reflect local realities;
 - Disseminated as effectively and widely as is possible;
 - Inter-active and allow for incorporation of feedback from communities;
 - Linked to other civil society initiatives both within and between provinces to ensure coordination and sharing of lessons learnt and development of best practices.
3. Assistance with developing institutional and financial sustainability for civil society and non-governmental information and communication initiatives.
4. When undertaken in conjunction with activities, poster and flyers should be produced high conflict resolution activities and concepts. These should be aimed at both public display and for use as 'decoration' in private homes.

8. Implementing Considerations

1. Activities in the provinces need to be ‘mirrored’ in Jakarta, thereby providing a local, regional and national context (and international if appropriate). This approach is particularly relevant when addressing media policy issues and engaging national media, as well as local media owned by or included in national media networks and companies.
2. In order that those supported in interventions can use the skills and knowledge gained during the activities, the preparation stages of projects must entail carefully orientated and separate approaches to journalists, editors and owners/publishers, as all three groups are crucial for the successful utilisation of training and other forms of support. To address only one of these groups can mean that there is not a general understanding within a media outlet concerning the benefits to be gained. As an oft-seen example, journalists who receive training may not be able to use their new skills, because editorial staff are either unaware of, or hostile to, the news-gathering or reporting concepts being introduced.
3. Long-term inter-active activities are essential for reinforcing skills learnt and resources provided, whilst in contrast ‘parachute training’ often leaves little lasting impact. Furthermore, skills development and training must be grounded in the local context in order that participants find them practically applicable to their local needs.
4. Accurate audience research needs to be undertaken to establish the balance between TV and radio in urban and rural areas.
5. When possible, activities should not start new media outlets as the marketplace for revenue generation is already tight. Internationally funded institutions might therefore force existing committed individuals out of the media. In this regard, support should be channelled through those that have already shown a serious commitment in conflict prevention and resolution in their local communities.
6. Regarding media centres, although the Maluku Media Centre (MMC) presents a positive model for such activities, caution is expressed about trying to reproduce such facilitates in North Maluku and Central Sulawesi. Ambon presents a unique environment where the opposing communities are in close proximity and the city potentially has a large enough centralised media community to sustain the Centre. In this regard, the MMC should continue to be supported. However, the effectiveness and sustainability of such a media centre could be more problematic in the other provinces and might also undermine the current donor-based funding for the MMC. Furthermore, the networking and resource benefits deriving from a media centre can be achieved through other mechanisms, as outlined in the activity recommendations.
7. Involvement by the public service media (RRI) in the activities should be supported. However, the activities should not seek to engage in the transformation of RRI from a state to a public service broadcaster, which is a substantive programme to be addressed in its own right.
8. Information and communication is unlikely to develop core journalism skills or have lasting capacity-building impact on the wider media community’s ability to professionally address the potentially sensitive issues about which they write and broadcast. Media development aims to solidify the longer-term role of the media in its function as the ‘fourth estate’. In this manner, the long-term ability of the media to perform conflict prevention and resolution roles as an

‘automatic’ function of its professionalism, without the requirement of external interventions or funding, should ideally derive from the creation of stable and strong media environments, skills and resources.

9. Information and communication activities that address urgent conflict-related issues can sometimes create inertia. Such activities build the expectation that the local media will be paid to address urgent conflict-inducing issues, thus undermining self-initiative to take action, as to do so might deny potential income¹⁰⁸. On the other hand, such activities also provide valuable sources of income to independent media in underdeveloped economic markets.

¹⁰⁸ It is often the local media that first observe tensions rising and are therefore in a position to take action first.

Annex 1: Additional Information about Media

A) Central Sulawesi

Print Media

Table: Growth of Printed Media in Central Sulawesi between 2000-2002

City	Number of Media	Published	Not Published
<i>Palu</i>	25	9	16
<i>Poso</i>	2	1	1
<i>Morowali</i>	1	1	0
<i>Luwuk</i>	7	3	4
<i>Tolitoli</i>	3	2	1
<i>Buol</i>	1	0	1
Total	39	16	23

Source: Kota Palu chapter of *AJI*

Table: Chief Executive/Editor-in-Chief

Newspaper				
Name	Editorial Address	Chief Executive	Editor-in-Chief	First Issue
Radar Sulteng	Jl. Yos Sudarso No.9, Palu-Sulteng. Tlp. (0451) 454306 Fax. (0451) 424054 Website: www.radarsulteng.com Email: redaktur@radarsulteng.com	Jawa Pos Group	Kamil Badrun	Weekly publication, the first issue was published on 1 September 1969 with the name of <i>Mercusuar</i> . Merged with <i>Jawa Pos Group</i> in 1992. In 2002 it changed its name to Radar Sulteng
Nuasansa Pos	Jln. Pulau Halmahera No. 64 Maesa – Palu, Sulteng. Tel. (0451) 429341. Fax. (0451) 421745.	Bayu Alexander Montang	Andi Attas Abdullah. Email: mattasabdullah@yahoo.com	The first issue was published on 13 November 1998 as a weekly tabloid. Presently it's published in colour as a daily newspaper
Koran MAL	Jl. Bakuku No.1, Palu – Sulawesi Tengah. Tlp/Fax. (0451) 455719. Email: redaksi@alchairaat.8m.net	Yayasan Alchairaat Press (under the administration of Yayasan Alchairaat which is chaired by HS Saggaf Aldjufrie).	Hi. Hamid Rana	First publication was in 1972 as handout to afterwards change format as a weekly tabloid. Is presently published weekly, with plans in place to turn it into a daily newspaper
Poso Pos	Jl. P. Bali No. 3B, Poso – Sulteng. Tlp. (0452) 22234	Husrin Ahmad, SH.	Husrin Ahmad,SH	First issue (and consequent issues up to now) was published on 10 November 1999 as a tabloid

Alternative Media				
Sangkopo	Jl. KS. Tubun No. 28, Palu – 94112. Tlp/Fax: (0451) 422229 Email: sangkopo@telkom.net	Pokja RKP	Darwis Waru	First issue was published in 2002
Baruga	JL. S. Parman No. 2 Palu-Sulteng. Tlp/Fax: (0451) 4223322 Email: resolusi@telkom.net	Person in charge: Executive Director of LPS-HAM CS	Husrin Ahmad	First issue was published in 2001

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Owner and Profession of Media

Newspaper			
Name	Owner	Profession	Other Profession(s)
Radar Sulteng	Jawa Pos Group, cq. Dahlan Iskan (JP), Zainal Mustaagin (JP), Alwi Hamu (Fajar Makassar daily), Kamil Badrun	Media Business	PWI Businessman Contractor
Nuasansa Pos	Bayu Alexander Montang	Stint as reporter for FAKTA. VCD rental owner Printing works owner Fish pond owner Golkar Party legislative candidate	Member of AJI Palu
Koran MAL	Yayasan Alchiraat, Chair: HS Saggaf Aldjufrie	Overall Chairman of Yayasan Al Khairat Chair of CS chapter of MUI Former MPR-RI member	Board member of AJI Palu Board member of the Local Art Council
Poso Pos	Husrin Ahmad, SH	Former Marhaenisme Indonesian National Party (PNI Marhaenis) legislative candidate	Former PNI Marhaenis legislative candidate
Alternative Print Media			
Sangkopo	LPS-HAM CS	NGO	NGO Member of AJI Palu. Works for Radio Nebula FM and is positioned as one of the decision makers
Baruga	Pokja RKP	NGO	NGO Former reporter

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Size, Total Pages and Publication Frequency

Newspaper			
Name	Size (cm)	Total Pages	Publication Frequency
Radar Sulteng	Newspaper (34,5x57,5)	16 pp, from 1 June 2004 onwards 20 pp	Published daily, except on Sunday
Nuasansa Pos	Newspaper (34,5x57,5)	16	Published daily, except on Sunday
Koran MAL	Newspaper (34,5x57,5)	12	Weekly
Poso Pos	Tabloid (30,5x43,5)	12	Weekly
Alternative Print Media			
Sangkopo	Magazine	24	Monthly
Baruga	Magazine	20	Monthly

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Readership and Distribution

Newspaper			
Name	Print Run (Copies)	Readership (Loose copies/Subscription)	Area of Distribution
Radar Sulteng	10,000 copies	40% subscription, 60% loose copies	6000 copies are distributed in Palu, the rest goes to other districts
Nuasansa Pos	5000 copies	30% subscription, 70% loose copies	Each bureau (districts) receive 100 copies, the rest goes to Palu
Koran MAL	2500 copies	60% subscription, 40% loose copies	1000 copies are distributed to Palu with subscribers based in all Al Khairat branches in CS and outside CS: E Kalimantan, N Sulawesi and Java. The rest are sold as loose copies in Palu and other districts in CS
Poso Pos	3000 copies	70% subscription, 40% loose copies	Distributed to 3 districts: Morowali 150 copies, Tojo Unauna 100 copies, Palu 100 copies. The rest goes to other districts
Alternative Print Media			
Sangkopo	2500 copies	Free of charge: Public	Poso 2000 copies, Morowali 50, Luwuk and Ampana 50, Palu 150. The rest goes to other institutions and the public.
Baruga	2000 copies	Free of charge: Public 50 loose copies were once offered commercially with some sold	Distribution is focused in Poso, Palu and surrounding areas. In Poso, coordinators in each sub-district supply 10 copies to each village

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Facilities Owned.

Newspaper	
Name	Facilities Owned
Radar Sulteng	Holds ownership of office space and assets, with an area of more than ½ Ha (250x150 sq m). Facilities: 4 printing machines, 20 computers, VSAT Internet, telephone and fax, scanner, digital camera, 3 cars and motorcycles. The office offers motorcycle loans of which employees can repay in interest-free instalments.
Nuasansa Pos	Holds ownership of three-story office building with an area of 1,959 sq m, which holds a newsroom, editorial office, administration office, conference room cum café, sport room. One colour printer, computer with Internet facility, telephone and fax, scanner, digital

	camera, 1 vehicle, motorcycles for employees and reporters.
Koran MAL	Ownership of office building and premises, with a total area of 9x30 sq m, held by the Overall Chairman of Yayasan Alchairaat will be handed over to management. Six computers, 2 printers, Internet connection, 1 scanner, 2 digital cameras, telephone and fax machine, 14 desks and 2 cabinets, 1 office cabinet, 1 editorial cabinet, and cabinets for marketing and distribution. About 13 plastic chairs, 5 metal chairs, 6 wooden chairs.
Poso Pos	Office space of 35 sq m is leased. Seven computers, 2 printers, 1 scanner, telephone and fax machine.
Alternative Print Media	
Sangkopo	Office space of 3x4 sq m is leased. One computer, 1 handy cam, 1 tape recorder.
Baruga	Office space of 3x4 sq m is leased from Pokja RKP. Three computers, 1 laptop, 1 telephone and fax machine.

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Layout and Printing Works

Newspaper		
Name	Layout	Printing Works
Radar Sulteng	Self-done	Self-owned
Nuasansa Pos	Self-done	Self-owned
Koran MAL	Self-done	State-owned printing company, Palu
Poso Pos	Self-done	State-owned printing company, Palu
Alternative Print Media		
Sangkopo	Self-done	Jakarta
Baruga	Self-done	Makassar, South Sulawesi

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Number of Employees and Employment System

Newspaper		
Name	Number of Employees	Employment System (Permanent/Contracted)
Radar Sulteng	20 editorial staff, 5 marketing staff, 4 finance staff	Permanent
Nuasansa Pos	Total 30 staff: 10 administration staff, 7 printing staff, 13 reporters and respondents	Organic employees, excluding trainees
Koran MAL	Total 15 staff, 2 layout staff, 8 editorial cum management staff, 5 reporters	15 organic staff are on fixed salaries, 8 respondents are paid per news article
Poso Pos	Total 16 staff: 4 employees, 12 reporters	4 employees, 12 honorary reporters
Alternative Print Media		
Sangkopo	2 staff members of the Poso consulate, 7 writers, 38 volunteers	DSA for writers
Baruga	8 Pokja RKP members are morally involved with Baruga (management and editorship is made up of 4 Muslims and 4 Christians, which are composed of 4 males and 4 females). Correspondents based in each sub-district (number is not specified)	Management's honorarium, contributor's honorarium (respondents), and transportation costs

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Education and Training Courses Attended by Employees

Newspaper		
Name	Education	Training Attended
Radar Sulteng	20 reporters, all holding bachelor (S1)	20 reporters and 9 employees attended training

	degrees	from Jawa Pos. Some reporters attended trainings organized by NGOs
Nuasansa Pos	70% are senior high school graduates, the rest either holding bachelor (S1) degrees or still attending college	5 persons attended training organized by AJI, British Council
Koran MAL	1 editorial staff holds bachelor degree (S1), others are still attending college. 1 honorary staff holds master's degree in communication. 4 reporters served as members of district and city level Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu), 1 reporter as General Elections Commission (KPU) member	90% of city-based reporters attended training on peace journalism organized by LSPP, British Council National-level training for reporters and press marketing staff in Jakarta organized by PWI Jakarta and LP3ES
Poso Pos	3 holders of bachelor degrees (S1), 13 senior high school graduates	Most have attended training at one point in time (not specified)
Alternative Print Media		
Sangkopo	40 senior high school graduates 10 bachelor degree (S1) holders 2 master's degree (S2) holders	Trainings focused on volunteers. One layout staff attended 2 training courses, i.e. training on news content/writing and training on alternative education media. Other trainings include Investigator, News Reportage and Analysis
Baruga	3 Pokja RKP hold bachelor degrees (S1). Others hold college diploma degrees (D3) and are senior high school graduates	Though not mentioned, but Pokja RKP once facilitated a number of training courses in cooperation with amongst others AJI, e.g. <i>Training Communication For Peace</i>

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Payment System and Payment Range

Newspaper			
Name	Payment System	Payment Range	Other benefits
Radar Sulteng	Monthly	IDR 600 thousand-1 million	Motorcycle loans and performance-based incentives
Nuasansa Pos	Organic staff are paid monthly salaries, correspondents are paid per article	IDR 300-425 thousand (local minimum wage): Trainee reporters are paid IDR 300 thousand a month, organic staff receive fixed salaries as (within the minimum wage range) that is exclusive of benefits	Motorcycle facility and performance-based incentives
Koran MAL	Organic staff are paid monthly salaries, correspondents are paid per article	Basic salary of IDR 200-300 thousand	All reporters are allowed to acquire advertisement deals and are rewarded proportionally (30-35% commissions)
Poso Pos	Employees are paid monthly salaries, correspondents are paid per article	IDR 200-300 thousand	None
Alternative Print Media			
Sangkopo	Honorarium and transportation costs coverage for	> IDR 200 thousand	None

	volunteers and writers on duty		
Baruga	Monthly honorarium for Pokja RKP, correspondents are paid per article	IDR 500-800 thousand, honorarium for Pokja RKP covering editorial duties. Correspondents are paid per article (nominal amount is not specified).	None

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Operational Costs

Newspapers		
Name	Operational/Monthly Costs	Description
Radar Sulteng	Approx. IDR 200 million/month	Includes printing costs, salaries and operational costs
Nuasansa Pos	Approx. IDR 250 million/month	45% goes to printing costs, the rest to operational costs and salaries
Koran MAL	Approx. IDR 10 million/month	65% goes to editorial and production costs, the rest to managerial costs
Poso Pos	Approx. IDR 8 million/month	Includes all monthly production and operational costs
Alternative Print Media		
Sangkopo	Approx. IDR 20-30 million/month	Printing costs for 2500 copies @ IDR 1000/copy = IDR 2 million, which are covered by the funding KPS-HK covers transportation and printing costs in Jakarta as well as editorial and operational costs
Baruga	Approx. IDR 7 million/month	Printing costs for 2000 copies @ IDR 2000/copy = IDR 4 million. The rest includes Pokja honorarium and writing honorarium.

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Income and Circulation

Newspaper				
Name	Retail and Subscription Price	Actual Copies Sold	Price for Agent	Income from Circulation
Radar Sulteng	IDR 3500/copy	7500 copies	IDR 3000/copy	Profit of IDR 500/copy, inclusive of agent's share
Nuasansa Pos	IDR 2500/copy	3500 copies	IDR 2000/copies	IDR 500, after cut by agent's share becomes IDR 400/copy
Koran MAL	Rp. 2000/edisi	3000 copies	Rp 2500/eksemplar	Profit of IDR 500/copy, inclusive of agent's share
Poso Pos	Rp 2500/edisi	3000 copies	Rp 3000/eksemplar	Profit of IDR 500/copy, inclusive of agent's share
Alternative Print Media				
Sangkopo	Free of charge	2500 copies	Free of charge	Campaign ads and PSAs from supporting agencies
Baruga	Free of charge	2000 copies	Free of charge	Campaign ads and PSAs from supporting agencies

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Income from Advertisements

Newspaper		
Name	Advertisement Rates	Monthly Income from Advertisement
Radar Sulteng	As per Jawa Pos standard: IDR	Not specified

	8000/mm Personal ad: IDR 5-10 million	
Nuasansa Pos	Covers 50% of monthly operational costs	Average income rates becomes IDR 75 million
Koran MAL	Full-page advertisement IDR 2-4 million. Per mm 2000-3000 Personal ad 50,000-500,000	Approx. IDR 10 million/month
Poso Pos	Promotional advertisement IDR 2000/mm. Personal ad, on average IDR 200,000 per column	Not specified
Alternative Print Media		
Sangkopo	Non-profit	Non-profit
Baruga	Non-profit	Non-profit

Source: Data research collected

Broadcast Media

Table: Commercial Broadcasters holding Frequency Permits in Central Sulawesi

No	Radio Station	Frequency	Region
1	<i>Nugraha</i>	FM 102.6 MHz	Palu
2	<i>Best</i>	FM 101.8 MHz	Palu
3	<i>Nebula</i>	FM 101.0 MHz	Palu
4	<i>Sich</i>	FM 102.6 MHz	Luwuk
5	<i>Bulava</i>	FM 101.0 MHz	Poso
6	<i>Topsi</i>	AM 14.94 MHz	Palu
7	<i>Ramayana</i>	AM 14.04 MHz	Palu
8	<i>RAL</i>	AM 11.70 MHz	Palu
9	<i>Setia Nada</i>	AM 14.40 MHz	Luwuk
10	<i>Magaga</i>	AM 14.22 MHz	Tolitoli
11	<i>Mayaprasta</i>	AM 13.86 MHz	Poso
12	<i>Bittara</i>	AM 13.41 MHz	Tolitoli
13	<i>Arista</i>	AM 12.68 MHz	Donggala

Source: Central Sulawesi chapter of PRSSNI

Table: Radio Stations and Occasion of On-Air Debut

Radio Station	Address	On-Air Debut
Nebula	Jln. Rajawali No. 28, Palu-Sulteng Tel: (0451) 423028, 427028. Fax: (0451) 424828. Email: radionebula@yahoo.com	19 November 1985
Nugraha	Jl. Kijang II no. 12, Palu – 94114, Sulteng Tel/Fax: (0451) 481916 / 483360	1993. Made its debut on AM wavebands. Has since 1997 aired on FM wavebands.
RAL	Jl. Bakuku No.1, Palu – Sulteng. Tel/Fax: (0451) 455719	Circa 1994
RRI Programa 1,2,3	Jl. R.A. Kartini No. 39. Palu – Sulteng Tel/Fax: (0451) 422452, 421621	Circa 1970s-1980s
Bulava	Jl. KH. Salim Lt II No. 47, Poso Kota-Sulteng Tel/Fax: (0452) 22595	Circa 1996

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Wattage and Broadcast Range

Radio Station	Frequency	Wattage	Broadcast Range
Nebula	FM 101.0 MHz	1500 watt-optimal 800 watt-efficient	Kota Palu, part of Donggala District and part of Parigi Moutong District
Nugraha	FM 102.6 MHz	1000 watt	Up to 30 km
RAL	AM 11.70 MHz	1000 watt	Palu District and surrounding districts
RRI Programa 1,2,3	<u>Programa 1:</u> AM 75.75 MHz & SW 41 MHz FM: 90.6 MHz <u>Programa 2:</u> FM 105 MHz <u>Programa 3:</u> FM 93 MHz	10,000 watt 5000 watt 3000 watt 3000 watt	Prog. 1: Entire District, even cross-provincial boarder Prog. 2: Palu District and surroundings Prog. 3: Palu District and surroundings
Bulava	FM 102.3 MHz	less than 500 watt	Kota Poso only

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Radio Owner and Manager

Radio Station	Owner	Manager	Other Professions
Nebula	Tahmidi Lasahido, through PT Nebula Nada	Tasrif Siara	Owner: Social and Political Science Lecturer at Tadulako Univ. CS Malino Declaration Working Group Manager: General Secretary of CS chapter of PRSSNI Member of AJI
Nugraha	PT Swara Nugraha Perdana, a Media Network Consolidate (a group of radio media networks in Jakarta) Initial investor was Natsir Umar	Michael Haden	Owner: Radio media network business Manager: None
RAL	PT Radio Alchairaat (under the administration of Yayasan Al Khairat which is chaired by HS Saggaf Aljufrie)	Executive Director: Salim Muhammad BSC Editor-in-Chief: Iwan Laki	-
RRI Programa 1,2,3	RRI Departmental Agency Managed by Palu chapter of RRI Head of Branch Office: Drs. H. Moch Saleh, MBA	The News Desk is managed by Muh. Natsir M. Diah Spd supplies news to	Since turned into a Departmental Agency, employees now are civil servants detailed to RRI Manager of News Desk: Teaches at the Faculty of Dakwah, Information Department at Palu Muhammadiyah Univ. Active with local organization FATRAH (Forum Against Violence, Corruption and Drugs)

		Programa 1, 2, 3	
Bulava	Fajriah Betalembah	PT Radio Bulava Ruspa	-

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Facilities

Radio Station	Facilities
Nebula	Office space measuring 20x20 sq m is self-owned (PT Nebula Nada), and is partitioned off into: guest room, meeting room, management office, broadcasting studio and editing room. Broadcast equipment: 1 standard transmitter, 25m tower, 1 mixer and studio equipment, 3 computers
Nugraha	Office building (30x40 sq m) is self-owned, and consists of: guest room, director's office, management office, marketing and editorial offices, editing room, broadcasting studio. Tower: 60m. Build-up transmitter (RVR, made in Bologna, Italy), mixer and broadcasting studio equipment, 1 computer for the studio and 1 for production and management, 2 tape recorders used alternately by reporters
RAL	Office building and studio are owned by the company. Transmitter with 25m tower. Studio broadcasting equipment: 2 mixers, 4 computers, 1 printer
RRI Programa 1,2,3	Fully equipped office building and infrastructure. The News Desks lacks equipment, with existing equipment being out of date (6 decrepit typewriters)
Bulava	Office space (200 sq m) is leased. 20m tower, broadcasting studio and equipment, 2 computers, 1 printer

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Number of Employees

Radio Station	Number of Employees	Advertisement Staff
Nebula	12, i.e. 3 reporters, 2 administration staff, 1 production staff, the remaining being broadcasters. Reporters double as broadcasters	3 persons
Nugraha	Approx. 13, including 4 fulltime office boys, the remaining being part-timers (broadcasters and reporters)	4 persons (multi job)
RAL	20 persons: 5 management staff, 5 reporters, 10 part-time broadcasters	Staff outside advertisement (e.g. reporters) assist in netting advertisements
RRI Programa 1,2,3	News Desk: 15 employees: 1 manager, 3 assistant managers, others being editorial staff cum reporter	Managed by separate division
Bulava	7 employees: 2 reporters, 2 administration staff, 1 finance staff, 2 broadcasters	None

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Education of Employees

Radio Station	Education	Training Attended
Nebula	Not specified, stating that most held bachelor degrees (S1), with the rest being senior high school graduates. Some were still attending college	Most of the employees have attended training: Internews, KBR 68H, British Council, LSPP, AJI Technicians have yet to receive training
Nugraha	Not specified, stating that most were	The studio manager attended a training

	senior high school graduates and college diploma degree (D3) holders. The rest were still attending college (students)	course by LSPP, while the manager attended two training courses held by Internews Peace journalism: 1 person is currently attending a training course by AJI in Makassar on general elections coverage
RAL	On average bachelor degree (S1) holders and senior high school graduates	Most of whom have attended trainings have S1 degrees, 2 reporters have attended trainings
RRI Programa 1,2,3	News Desk: Reporter Assistant Manager has law degree, News and Analysis Assistant Manager has law degree. Assistant Manager for Actual Affairs has diploma degree in social sciences. 2 staff members have degree in communication, 1 in publishing.	Most of the staff have attended professional training held by HQs in Jakarta and Jogja: Multimedia Training Center. RRI Palu organized 2 training courses for broadcasters. A number of staff has also attended training on peace journalism held by the British Council and LSPP.
Bulava	Not specified, mostly senior high school graduates, diploma degree holders, or college students	-

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Payment System and Salary Range

Radio Station	Payment System	Salary Range	Other Benefits
Nebula	8 permanent employees receive monthly fixed salaries, the rests are paid honorariums Salaries are paid per month per hour of broadcasting, meaning that employees work on a part-time basis or are paid based on news produced or hours of broadcasting	IDR 100-600 thousand. Salary of editor-in-chief IDR 575,000/month, salary of reporter IDR 100,000/month, fee per article IDR 7,500. Fixed salaries are adjusted to work duration.	Transportation costs
Nugraha	Fulltime employees receive fixed salaries, part-time employees are paid per broadcasting hour or per news article.	IDR 100-500 thousand Honorarium/broadcasting hour IDR 5000 Honorarium/news article IDR 5000	Transportation costs
RAL	10 permanent employees are paid per month, 10 honorary workers are paid on a part-time basis	Monthly salary of permanent employees IDR 130 thousand/month Honorarium per news article and broadcasting hour IDR 1500 + DSA and transportation cost coverage	-
RRI Programa 1,2,3	Employee salaries of RRI Palu are as set by the RRI Departmental Agency for civil servants detailed under the Ministry of Finance	Not specified	Pension and health insurance (Askes)
Bulava	5 permanent employees receive monthly payment, 2 are paid honorariums	Not specified Broadcast honorarium/hour IDR 1500	-

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Operational Costs

Radio Station	Monthly Operational Costs	Description
Nebula	IDR 15 million/month	Inclusive of salaries of reporters and employees, electricity and telephone costs, CD and cassette purchases, and reportage costs
Nugraha	IDR 10 million/month	IDR 5.5 million are spent for salaries and honorariums, the rests goes to operational costs
RAL	IDR 5 million/month	Not specified
RRI Programa 1,2,3	Routine budget for operational costs is allocated on a monthly basis	Not specified
Bulava	Not specified	Not specified

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Income from Commercials

Radio Station	Commercial Rate/Spot	Average Monthly Income Rate from Commercials
Nebula	National commercial standard: IDR 35 thousand/spot. Local commercials: IDR 10 thousand/spot	91 commercials per broadcasting hour. Income ranges between IDR 10-15 million/month. During slow months income rates will dip to below IDR 10 million
Nugraha	2 modes. Local rate is IDR 10 thousand/minute. National rate is IDR 35 thousand/minute. Discounts are up to 30%	Approx. IDR 10 million/month. Income rates are lower during slow months
RAL	Adlib rates is IDR 5000/time, IDR 10,000/spot, per spot production IDR 500,000 due to production costs	Approx. IDR 3- 5 million
RRI Programa 1,2,3	Since changed into a Departmental Agency (Perjan) and forced to achieve independency, RRI has to rely on income from commercials. Rates: IDR 15,000/minute Regular time IDR 7500/minute Blocking time IDR 350 thousand/h Live (OB Van) IDR 500/90 minutes	Not specified
Bulava	IDR 5000/spot	IDR 7 million

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Audience Segmentation and Program Composition

Radio Station	Audience Segmentation	Program Composition
Nebula	Audience aged 20-45 years old. Nebula targets a productive-age audience that are economically and socially established	25% information, 50% entertainment, 25% commercials
Nugraha	Young people and adults	50% news and information, 50% music, entertainment and commercials
RAL	Young people and adults	50% news and information, the remaining percentage constitutes entertainment and commercials
RRI Programa 1,2,3	Prog 1: all age Prog 2: school and college students, young professionals	Prog 1: 50% news and information, 40% entertainment, 10% commercials Prog 2: 30% news and information, 60%

	Prog 3: adults and executives	entertainment, 10% commercials Prog 3: 50% news and information, 40% entertainment, 10% commercials
Bulava	Young people and adults	Not specified in detail. Each day, 4 hours are allotted to information and news broadcasts

Source: Data research collected.

Table: Presence/Absence of News Programs

Radio Station	News Program	Own News/Relay	Description
Nebula	Present	Own news KBR 68H relays VoA relays	Produces own news program named “Berita Menit ke-30” (30th Minute News) VoA relays for 1.30 minutes a day at random timings Radio 68H News Agency relays for 3 hours a day at timings
Nugraha	Present	Own news BBC London relays	Broadcasted every day during morning and afternoon hours with 15-20 minute durations News relays are broadcasted every day for 2.15 hours at random timings (“Berita Aktual” and “Buletin Berita” or Actual News and News Bulletin)
RAL	Present	Own news KBR 68H-Jakarta relays	Own news is broadcasted in the afternoon at 05.00 pm with 15-20 minute durations
RRI Programa 1,2,3	Present	Own news RRI Jakarta relays	15-20% of overall content of Programa 1 and 3. Programa 2 adjusts the content to its segmentation 5 self-produced programs, 4 news programs with 1 repeat broadcast: “Infotama” (“Informasi Utama” or Headlines) is broadcasted at 06.30 am; special news broadcast in Kaeli language at 11.00 am; “Info Siang” (Noon Info) at 02.30 pm; “Infotama” at 4.30 pm; “Lintas Sulawesi Tengah” (Cross Central Sulawesi) at 07.00 pm. Each has a duration of 30-60 minutes
Bulava	Present	Own news	Name of program is “Bulava Aktual”, which quotes news articles from local print media and own reportages. Duration of the program was not specified

Source: Data research collected.

Traditional Media

Table: Communicative Art of Central Sulawesi

Name	Form and Activity	Activity Item	Information Flow	Regional Scope
Baode	Performance using traditional music instruments	Lyrics and song	One-way to audience	Banggai community in Buko Sub-district. Staged during various events
Bolin Goni	Performance using traditional music instruments	Lyrics and song	One-way to audience	Pamona community (Poso District) Staged during various events
Dante-Dante	Performance using traditional music instruments	Lyrics and song	One-way to audience	CS community Staged during various events
Dero	Communal dance	Publicly known steps and	Interchange of information via	CS community, particularly in Poso

		dancing accompanied by music instruments, occasionally by lyrics and song	informal communication, and one-way flow via song lyrics or event	Staged during various events
El-El	Performance using traditional music instruments	Lyrics and song	One-way to audience	Well-known by CS community, particularly in remote areas Staged during certain rituals only
Geso	Music instruments accompanied by lyrics	Lyrics and song similar to Dante	One-way to audience	Poso District community Staged during various events
Katuntun	Performance using traditional music instruments	Lyrics and song	One-way to audience	Una-Una Sub-district community
Kayori	Performance using traditional music instruments	Lyrics and song	One-way to audience	Poso District community and CS in general
Legelehesen	Performance using traditional music instruments	Lyrics and song	One-way to audience	Donggala community
Modabang	Performance using traditional music instruments	Dancing and play	One-way to audience	Staged during certain rituals

Source: Paper on 'Communicative Art of Central Sulawesi', published in 1980/1981 by Central Sulawesi's Department of Education and Culture

B) Maluku

Table: Media map based on communities

Media	Christian communities	Muslim communities
Newspaper	Bela Reformasi Dhara Pos Masnait Seram Pos Suara Maluku Siwalima Tragedi Maluku Tual Pos Metro (claimed neutrality) Dewa (claimed neutrality)	Ambon Ekspres Info Baru (claimed neutrality)
Radio	Bhara DMS Gelora Merpati Ambon Manusela	Kabaresi Naviri SPMM Suara Pelangi

Media	Christian communities	Muslim communities
	RRI Sangkakala Yournex	

Table: Media Management Policy in Ambon

Media	Editorial Policy
Ambon Ekspres	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Choose sources from military or government officer for conflict news. * For the Christian community news, the verification do by the Christian journalist that work for Ambon Ekspres. * Refuse the source from the frustration group—the group that often make chaos in Ambon * Daily editorial meeting
Suara Maluku	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Choose sources from military or government officer for conflict news. * Using the Muslim journalist network for news that related to Muslim community * Limited the less data news.
Info baru	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Choose sources from military or government officer for conflict news. * Not publishing the religion conflict matters. * Daily editorial meeting
Metro Siwalima Dewa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Doing check and recheck. But If the source doe not have any comment the paper would still publish the news. * Doing check and recheck. But If the source doe not have any comment the paper would still publish the news. * Using the formal source, government, and police department. * Routine editorial meeting to decide the publishable and not publishable news.

Table: Chief Executive/Editor-in-Chief

Newspaper Name	Editorial Address	General Leader	Chief Editor	First Publishing
Ambon Ekspres	Jl Sultan Babullah No 9 Ambon Telp : 0911--354449-342852	Machfud Waliulu	Ahmad Ibrahim	July 12 th 1999
Suara Maluku	Jl Anthonie Rhebok No 7 Ambon Telp : 0911--349571 Email : Suaramaluku@yahoo.com	Elly Sutrahitu	Novi Pinontoan	1957
Siwalima	Jl Diponegoro Lorong Mayang No 20 Ambon		Selfanus Latekay SH	

Info Baru	Jl Pantai Mardina Blok D2 No 8 Ambon Telp : 0911- 310653 Email : infobaruambon@yahoo.com	M Daud Sangaji	Mochtar Touwe	21 April 2003
Metro	Jl Said Perintah No 48 Tlp :352960,Email :metro_maluku@plasa.com			November 17 th 2003
Dewa	Jl Setia Budi No 56 (Lorong Sagu), RT 003/RW 03, Ahusen Kecamatan Sirimau, Kota Ambon.	Drs Rolly Ubro	Marthin Langoday	January 15 th 2004

Alternative Media

Media Name	Editorial Address	General Leader	Chief Editor	First Publishing
Tabloid Ekspresi	Jl Dr Latumeten No 46 Prigi Lama Ambon	Yusnita Tiakoly	Moh Hanafi Hafidz Holle	1999

Table: Size, Total Pages and Publication Frequency

Newspaper	Form (cm)	Number of Pages	Publishing Schedule	Lay out	Printing Company
Ambon Ekspres	Newspaper 35,5 x 57,5	12 pages	Daily	By itself	PT Ambon Press Intermedia
Suara Maluku	Newspaper 35,5 x 57,5	8 pages on Monday and 12 pages on Thursday	Daily	By itself	Percetakan Negara
Info Baru	Koran 35,5 x 57,5	12 pages	Daily	By itself	PT Ambon Press Intermedia
Siwalima	30 x 50 cm	12 pages	Daily	By itself	Percetakan Negara
Metro	60x30 cm	8 pages	Saturday-Monday	By itself	Percetakan Negara
Dewa	30 x 50 Cm	8 pages	Daily	By itself	Percetakan Negara

Table: Facilities Owned

Newspaper	Facilities	Notes
Ambon Ekspres	Rented office 15 computers. 2 Printers 2 machintosh Printing machine One delivering auto mobile Television	The cost of the rent is Rp 19 million. This building—ruko—is owned by a Chinese businessman who went away during the riot. The facility is only the electricity.

Suara Maluku	Rented office for two years 1 mac tosh 1 printer 6 computers	The office wide is 6 x 10 m. Not well maintain with leaking roof.
Info Baru	Rented office with six room, ten computers, facsimile machine, telephone line, and television.	-
Siwalima	Rented office 10 computers 2 unit printers 1 television	This office is wide enough with four rooms.
Metro	Rented office 6 computers 2 Printers 1 camera	This editorial office located in the same building with Ambon KNPI.
Dewa	Own the building 4 computers 1 scanner television 1 unit of motorcycle	Rented land for five years with the agreement of building its own office of 9 x 6 meter

Table: Journalist Professionalism

Media	Total Employees	Education	Trainings	Income
Ambon Ekspres	23 employees. Ten of them are in editorial department. The rest is in distribution, general affairs, advertisement, and treasury departments.	16 hold the undergraduate degree, 7 high school graduate and some still in the college.	80 percent of them ever join the training	Rp 600 thousands - Rp 2 millions
Suara Maluku	10 employees. Only three of them still active as journalists	7 S1, sisanya masih kuliah	80 percent of them ever join the training	Rp 350 thousands - Rp 1 million
Info Baru	33 employees. 15 of them are journalists, four in the distribution department, two in advertisement, 2 in GA department, and 2 in treasury department.	Untuk wartawan, hanya 2 tamatan SLTA, selebihnya S1. Iklan, 1 lulusan SLTA, 1 lulusan S1 Distribusi Pemasaran 2 lulusan S1, sisanya lulusan SLTA.	40 percent of them ever join the training	Rp 450 thousands - Rp 2 millions
Siwalima	21 employees. 12 in editorial department. The rest in GA, pre printing, advertisement, treasury, and printing divisions.	6 journalists hold undergraduate degree and the rest are high school graduate	60 percent of them ever join the training	over Rp 475 thousands

Dewa	16 in editorial division, 2 in pre printing, 2 composing, 1 editorial secretary, 1 advertisement division.	5 reporter hold undergraduate degree, diploma 3, and high school graduate.	50 percent of them ever join the training	over Rp 350 thousands
Metro	10 employees, including the journalists.	2 high school graduate, the rest are undergraduate	30 percent of them ever join the training	Not answer

Table: Media Business Side

Newspaper	Last Printing (Exemplar)	Readers Base (Retail/Subscriber)	Distribution Area
Ambon Ekspres	6000 exemplars Sold around 5600	30 persen langganan 70 persen eceran	Sebanyak 1200 eksemplar disebarikan di kabupaten-kabupaten dan sisanya Dikota Ambon. Pembaca potensial diperkirakan mencapai 3000
Suara Maluku	2000 exemplars	30 persen langganan 70 persen eceran	Dobo, Saumlaki, tual dan wilayah koresponden. Tiap wilayah antara 100 sampai 150 dan kota Ambon
Info Baru	2000 exemplars	40 percent subscribe 60 percent retail	Ambon
Siwalima	4000 exemplars	30 percent subscribe 70 percent retail	Around 2000 distribute in Ambon city and also in Saparua, Tual MTB and Masohi.
Metro	1500 exemplars	20 percent subscribe 80 percent retail	Ambon city Masohi, Tual, MTB. Namlea
Dewa	1000 exemplars	90 percent retail 10 percent subscribe	Tual and Dobo

Table: Staff Payment

Newspaper	Operational Cost per Month	Explanation
Ambon Ekspres	Rp 95 millions	Salary and office cost
Suara Maluku	Rp 35 millions	Rp 15 millions for salary Rp 20 millions for printing, transportation and other costs.
Info baru	Rp 45 millions	Salary and office cost

Siwalima	Rp 60 millions	For the printing materials, paper, kalkir, plate, and printing fee.
Metro	Not answered	Not answered
Dewa	Rp 17,5 millions	Salary and office operational cost

Table: Income from Advertisements

Newspaper	Advertisement Price	Average Advertisement Income per month
Ambon Ekspres	General advertisement (colour) Rp 11.000/mm column, BW Rp 4000/mm column, social adv Rp 3000/mm column, line adv Rp 3000/mm column (minimum 2 lines, max. 10 lines)	unpredictable
Suara Maluku	General advertisement /bw Rp 3500/mm column, iklan baris Rp 10.000/mm column, family adv Rp 3000/mm column, colour adv Rp 11.000/mm column (minimum a quarter of page) Pariwara adv Rp 3000/mm column	unpredictable, sometimes around Rp 5-6 millions
Info Baru	General advertisement (colour) Rp 15000/mm column (minimum 1/2 page), BW Rp 4500/mm column Iklan sosial Rp 3500/mm column, line adv Rp 3500/mm column	30 millions
Siwalima	Not answered	Not answered
Metro	General advertisement (warna) Rp.11.000 mm, BW Rp 4000/mm column, Social adv Rp 3000/mm column, line adv Rp 3000/line (minimum 2 lines and max 10 lines)	Unpredictable
Dewa	Not answered	Not answered

Table: General Leader/ Radio Editorial

Radio	Editorial Address	General Leader	Chief Editor	Broadcast for the first time
Radio Suara Pelangi	Jl Anthonie Rhebok No 4 Ambon 0911-354188-349594	Ongki Louhenapessy	Anwar Zein	February 22 nd 2000
Radio Duta Musik Suara	Jl Benteng Kapaha No 23 ambon 0911-354869			May 25 th 1994

Table: Facilities

Radio	Facilities	Notes
Radio DMS	Monthly rented office 6 computers Own tower 1 diesel machine with power of 7 kilowatt	wide 12 x 10 meter

Radio Pelangi	Own office Own tower 5 computers	
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Table: Operational Cost

Radio	Operational Cost per Month	Explanation
Radio DMS	Rp 3 millions	Wages
Radio Pelangi	Not answered	Not answered

Table: Education of Employees

Radio	Total Employee	Educational Background	Trainings	Income
Radio DMS	11 employee, 3 in the advertisement division		40 percent ever join the training	Honorarium and fix wages Rp 700 thousands
Radio Pelangi	Not calculated	2 graduated from senior high school, the rest hold undergraduate degree	40 percent ever join the training	over Rp 500 thousands

Table: Income from Commercials

Radio	Advertisement Price	Average Advertisement Income per Month
Radio DMS	Not explain	Not explain
Radio Pelangi	Not explain	Not explain

C) North Maluku**Print Media****Table: Printed Media in North Maluku.**

No	Newspaper	Established in the year of	Publish
1	Dodia	March 2000	Monthly
2	Fokus	November 2001	Weekly
3	Gema Nusantara	Early October 1993	Every Two Weeks
4	Info	May 2001	Weekly
5	Kabata	December 1999	Weekly
6	Koran Ternate	June 2001	Daily
7	Mandiri	December 2001	Weekly
8	Mimbar Kieraha	November 15th 2001	Daily
9	Simpat	January 2001	Monthly
10	Sinter	Early 1999	Every two weeks
11	Ternate Pos	Early 1998	Weekly

Table: Chief Executive/Editor-in-Chief

Mainstream Print Media				
Name	Editorial Address	Chief Executive	Chief Editor	First Issue
Aspirasi	Graha Aspirasi JL. Yos Sudarso No. 555 Ternate 97714. Ph: (0921) 328711. E-mail: aspirasi_ news@hotmail.com , redaksi_aspirasi@yahoo.com	Murid Tonirio	Abdurachman Samilun	January 1 st 2003
Mimbar Kieraha	Jl. Kapitan Pattimura No. 49 Kalumpang Ternate, Maluku Utara. Ph: (0921) 328516. Website: www.mimbarkieraha.com , info@mimbarkieraha.com E-mail:	Faiz Albaar	Faiz Albaar	November 15 th 2000
Ternate Pos	Jln. Stadion No. 17 Ternate	Abdurrachman Lahabato	M. Nadir Assegaff	August 18 th 1998
Malut Post	Jl. Hasan Esa, Takoma-Ternate. Ph: (0921) 327055, 327210. E-mail: malutpost@mdopost.net , malutpost@ternate.wasantara.net.id	M. Tauhid Arief	M. Tauhid Arief	March 26 th 2003
Cermin Reformasi	Jl. Juang no. 36 Kel. Kayumerah Ternate Selatan. Ph/Fax: (0921) 24351, E-mail: cerminreformasi@yahoo.com	Taraweh Djamaluddin	Taraweh Djamaluddin	No data available
Sinter	Jl. Ubo-Ubo Lapangan Rt 12/ RW 4 no. 370 Kel. Ubo-Ubo Ternate Selatan. Ph/Fax: (0921) 21254 – 081340013265. E-mail: a_rada@kompascyber.com	Drs. Arifin Rada	Drs. Arifin Rada	Early 1999
Fokus	Jl. Ranbutan Kel. Makassar Barat, Ternate	Anwar Hanafi	Mayruddin Maende, SAg	November 2001
Media Gamalama	Jl. AM Kamaruddin 14, Koloncucu Kel. Tobelo Kota Ternate. Ph/Fax (0921) 24025. E-mail: media@ternate.wasantara.net.id	Mayruddin Maende	Mayruddin Maende	
Marimoi	Jl. Pahlawan Revolusi, Ternate. Ph/Fax: (0921) 326155	Drs. Umra Langasa	Abdullah Ibrahim, BA	At the end of 2000
Pancona	Jl. Ketilang no. 70 Gamalama, Ternate. Ph: (0921) 24103. E-mail: tpancona@yahoo.com	Muhlis Assagaf	Mohammad Reza	At the end of 2002
Sorot	Jl. Sungai Membrano Ketang Baru Ling. V no. 23. Ph: (0431) 85732 – 857756	H. Ali Rachman	Midun Loho	January 2001
Bintang Laut	Gura Belakang Tobelo	Silverius Lasan Bataona	Silverius Lasan Bataona	
Halut Pres	Jl. Kemakmuran (Samping Toko Tondano) Tobelo Utara (Kantor Tobelo)	Mukhlis Tapi	Syarif Chan, ST	
Alternative Print Media				
Swara Pengungsi	Jl. Arnold Mononutu No. 111/14 Tanah Raja Ternate - Maluku Utara.		Penanggung jawab program PIA	July 2003

Table: Owner and Profession of Media

Newspaper			
Name	Owner	Profession	Other Profession(s)
Aspirasi	M. Syahril Abd. Radjak	Publishing Businessman	journalist
Mimbar Kieraha	Faiz Albaar	Journalist/Magazine Agent	TPI correspondent and Jakarta newspaper and magazine agent
Ternate Pos	M. Nadir Assegaff	Transportation businessman	No answer
Malut Post	Jawa Pos Grup	Pers publishing business	No answer
Cermin Reformasi	Basri Hasan	No data available	No data available
Sinter	Drs. Arifin Rada	Teacher, Area Chairman of North Maluku Muslim Brotherhood Organization	Teacher, Area Chairman of North Maluku Muslim Brotherhood Organization
Fokus	Anwar Hanafi	Publishing Businessman	No answer
Media Gamalama	Gajali Abdul Mutalib	Publishing Businessman	No answer
Marimoi	Biro Humas Propinsi Maluku Utara	Public Relation Bureau of North Maluku Province	Public employee
Pancona	Deddy F. Dano dasim	Publishing Businessman	No answer
Sorot	Yayasan Pikiran Baru-Menado (H. Ali Rachman)	Publishing Businessman	Foundation chairman
Bintang Laut	Pastor Titus Rahail	Chairman of Bintang Laut Foundation that lead Radio Paksi Buana and Tabloid Bintang Laut. Other profession is as Catholic priest in Catholic church Amboina Bishopric (Vice Bishop of Catholic church in North Maluku).	No answer
Halut Pres	No data available	No data available	No answer
Alternative Print Media			
Swara Pengungsi	CARDI NGO cooperate with ECHO (European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office)	--	--

Table: Facilities

Newspaper	
Name	Available Facilities
Aspirasi	Own office, printing machine–Komori, computer
Mimbar Kieraha	Rented office, 20 Computers, 2 unit lay out computers, one computer for advertisement division.
Ternate Pos	No data available
Malut Post	12 computers, 3 printers and 1 printing machine
Bintang Laut	Rented office, 6 x 10 meters, 5 computers, 3 printers, 1 telephone and fax.
Halut Pres	3 computers, 1 unit printer and 2 tape recorders
Alternative Print Media	
Swara Pengungsi	Rented office, 15x30 Meters, 4 computers + printer.

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Table: Lay Out and Printing

Newspaper		
Name	Lay out	Printing Company
Aspirasi	By itself	By itself (Ternate)
Mimbar Kieraha	By itself	By itself
Ternate Pos	By itself	Ternate
Malut Post	By itself	Ternate
Bintang Laut	By itself	Manado
Halut Pres	By itself	Ternate
Alternative Print Media		
Swara Pengungsi	No data available	Ternate

Table: Size, Total Pages and Publication Frequency

Newspaper			
Name	Size (cm)	Total Pages	Publication Frequency
Aspirasi	Tabloid (42.5x30.5)	16	Weekly, and daily starting from June 7 th 2004
Mimbar Kieraha	Newspaper (55.7x34.2)	8	Daily
Ternate Pos	Tabloid (44.4x30.8)	16	6 times a week (except for Sunday and vacation day)
Malut Post	Newspaper (60x32.2)	12	Daily
Bintang Laut	Tabloid	18	
Halut Pres	½ Plano	16	Weekly
Alternative Print Media			
Swara Pengungsi	Magazine, A4	32	Every two months

Table: Readership and Distribution

Newspaper				
Name	Print (Copies)	Run	Readership (Loose copies/Subscripti on)	Distribution Area
Aspirasi	300		2250 copies for subscription and 750 copies for retail	60 % in Ternate, 40 % out side Ternate (North Halmahera, West Halmahera, Sula islands, Makassar and Jakarta)
Mimbar Kieraha	2000		80 % subscription 20 % retail	70 % in Ternate, 30% out side Ternate
Ternate Pos	No data available		No data available	Ternate City: 30% Tidore City/Central Halmahera: 20% Tobelo/North Halmahera: 15% Bacan/South Halmahera: 10% Sanana/Sula Islands: 10% Jailolo and Sidangoli/West Halmahera: 15%
Bintang Laut	1000 copies. Only 70% sold.		No answer	Tobelo, Morotai and North Halmahera and also Ternate City. It is also send to newspaper relations in Jakarta, Ambon, and Manado.
Halut Pres	No data available		No answer	North Halmahera Utara per district is 10-20%. In Ternate 10%.
Alternative Print Media				
Swara Pengungsi	No	data	To	NGO, North Maluku and North Sulawesi

	available	government and refugees	
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Table: Income and Circulation

Newspaper				
Name	Retail and Subscription Price	Actual Copies Sold	Price for Agent	Income from circulation
Aspirasi	Rp. 2000 / copy	Between 300-500 copies	No answer	No answer
Mimbar Kieraha	Rp. 2000 / copy	90 % sold	Rp. 1.500	No answer
Ternate Pos	Rp. 2000 / copy	No data available	No data available	No answer
Malut Post	Rp. 2000/ copy	Circulation per day is 4000 copies. It usually sold around 3000 copies	Rp. 1350,-	Around Rp. 100 millions per month
Sorot	Rp. 3.000,-	No answer	No answer	No data available
Bintang Laut	Rp. 3.500/ copy	600 – 700 copies	Rp. 3.000	Around Rp. 1.500.000,-
Halut Pres	Rp. 3.500,-/ copy	800 copies	Rp. 3.000,-	No answer
Alternative Media				
Swara Pengungsi	For free		For free	None

Table: Advertisement Income

Newspaper		
Name	Advertisement Rate	Monthly Income from advertisement
Aspirasi	No answer	Rp. 3.000.000-Rp.5.000.000
Mimbar Kieraha	Black and White (BW) Rp. 2500/mm/column Color Rp. 7500/mml/column	Rp. 30.000
Ternate Pos	Public/Display Black and White Rp. 5.000,-/mmk Color Rp. 7.500,-/mmk	No answer
Malut Post	Black and White (BW) : Rp. 7000/mmk. Color (FC) : 11.000/mmk	No answer
Bintang Laut	No fix price for advertisement. Depend on negotiation	No answer
Halut Pres	There is a formal price for advertisement. But the price is negotiable	No answer
Alternative Print Media		
Swara Pengungsi	No commercial advertisement	None

Table: Operational Cost

Newspaper		
Name	Operational Cost/Month	Description
Aspirasi	Around Rp. 7 millions per month	Last production cost was Rp. 4.750.000 per edition. Other fee including printing, wages, and office.
Mimbar Kieraha	Around Rp. 50 millions per month	Wages: Rp. 15.000.000, over head, Rp. 5.000.000, Production cost around Rp.35.000.000.
Ternate Pos	No answer	No answer
Malut Post	Around Rp 90 millions per month	No answer

Bintang Laut	r month	Production cost Rp. 2.500.000,- per month, The rest is use to pay the wages, transportation, electricity, water, telephone, and printer ink.
Halut Pres	Estimation per edition is Rp 5 millions	Printing cost: Rp 2,5 millions and for the employee: Rp 2,5 millions
Alternative Print Media		
Swara Pengungsi	No data available	No data available

Table: Payment System and Range

Newspaper			
Name	Payment system	Payment Range	Other benefits
Aspirasi	Monthly	Rp. 300.000 per month.	No answer
Mimbar Kieraha	Permanent payment about 95 %, 2 persons from advertisement division get paid when they get the advertisement	Rp. 500.000 per month for journalist	No answer
Ternate Pos	No data available	No data available	No data available
Malut Post	Given every month with three deadline of writing per day	Standard salary based on regional minimum income plus incentive.	No answer
Bintang Laut	Permanent	Rp. 500.000 per month. No interval, because this media still new	No answer
Halut Pres	Honorarium-base on the work of the employee.	Rp 300.000 per edition (based on the news, this number is for the journalist who done a lot of writings). If there the writing is not much, the journalists only have Rp 200.000 without transportation fee.	No answer
Alternative Print Media			
Swara Pengungsi	Per article	200.000	No answer

Table: Education and Training Attended

Newspaper		
Name	Education	Training
Aspirasi	No data available	No data available
Mimbar Kieraha	40% hold first degree (editorial, advertisement, and marketing). 60 % High Scholl graduate	5 persons ever follow the training.
Ternate Pos	No data available	No data available
Malut Post	20 % high school graduate. The rest hold first degree. All the journalists hold first degree or at least a college student.	All of the journalists have followed the training in Manado Post. Besides that training, one journalist also ever follows the training.

Bintang Laut	3 persons hold first degree. One person has not finish the study in the university. The rest are high school graduate.	No answer
Halut Pres	11 persons hold first degree and 3 persons high school graduate.	Not yet
Alternative Print Media		
Swara Pengungsi	All the employees hold first degree	No answer

Table: Total Employee and Employment System

Newspaper		
Name	Total Employee	Employment System/Journalist (Permanent/Contract)
Aspirasi	26 employees (3 persons in marketing division, 2 persons in advertisement marketing, 2 persons in administration division and treasury, 6 persons in printing division and 13 journalists)	Permanent
Mimbar Kieraha	10 journalists, 7 persons in advertisement division, 3 persons in distribution division, 2 lay outers, 3 persons in printing division. 2 correspondent in Bacan.	Permanent employee. This system is applied base on the minimum regional payment (UMR).
Ternate Pos	8 journalists.	No data available
Malut Post	25 employees (11 journalists, 4 in advertisement division, 2 in administration/treasury division, 2 lay-outer, 4 in printing division, 2 in distribution).	3 honorarium employees
Bintang Laut	11 employees (1 chief editor, 1 vice chief editor, 1 managing editor, 2 editors, respondent: 1 in Morotai, 1 in Kao Malifut, 1 in Galela, 1 Secretary & Administration & treasury, 1 Marketing/advertisement and distribution, 1 in Graphic design).	The employee status is not clear. The principal lies as long as they work for the tabloid they get paid monthly.
Halut Pres	2- 3 journalists taken from well-established newspaper (per publish / not permanent). 4 in advertisement and two in distribution (not separate yet. There are still amateur correspondent. 2 in Lay-out division (part timer).	Not permanent
Alternative Print Media		
Swara Pengungsi	5 employees (Program Manager, 4 staff program-2 for North Maluku and 2 for North Sulawesi). Journalist is not employee but as work partner—contract base on the need.	Permanent, monthly payment

Broadcast Media**Table: Name of the Radio and First Time Broadcast**

Name of Radio	Address	First Time Broadcast
Gema Hikmah	Jln. Ketilang No. 24 Santiong Ternate Tlp. (0921) 97722, 24103-327020-22127 Fax (0921) 24103 Email: hikmahfm@ternate.wasantara.net.id	July 23 rd 1994

Suara Paksi Buana	Jl. Konsalo No. 1, Gura Belakang Tobelo.	December 1998
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	Jln. Sultan Khairun, Ternate – Malut. Tlp. (0921) 25525	Not explain

Table: Transmitter Power and Reachable Area

Name of Radio	Frequency	Transmitter Power	Reachable Area
Gema Hikmah	FM 103,0 MHZ	100 Watt	Ternate City and surrounding, West Tidore, West Halmahera.
Suara Paksi Buana	FM 105,8 MHZ	300 Watt. The transmitter was used by Radio Merpati.	Tobelo City – North Halmahera Utara.
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	<u>Programa 1:</u> AM 3345 MHZ. FM 95,1 MHZ. <u>Programa 2:</u> FM 101,8 MHZ FM 89,2 MHZ	10.000 Watt 3.000 Watt 200 Watt 100 Watt	<u>Programa 1:</u> All area in North Maluku province, Maluku land and Papua and Sulawesi, Some areas in Kalimantan, Malaysia (Sabah). <u>Programa 2:</u> Ternate and some land in North Maluku islands.

Table: Radio's Owner and Manager

Name of Radio	Owner	Manager	Other Profession
Gema Hikmah	Mahmud Albaar	Mahmud Albaar	The owner is the Director of PT Radio Gema Hikmah and also the manager (Chief program and chief editor).
Suara Paksi Buana	Pastor Titus Rahail	Patrisius Anselmus Jeujan	Owner: Chairman of Yayasan Bintang Laut which coordinating the Radio Paksi Buana and Tabloid Bintang Laut. Other profession is as Priest in Catholic church of Amboina Bishops (Vice bishop of Catholic church in North Maluku). Manager: Become a priest, vice chief editor in Tabloid Bintang laut.
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	Perjan RRI. Manage by RRI young branch in Ternate. Head branch office is Drs. Andi Daulat.	For news division is manage by Taha Ismail who supply local news to Programa 1 and 2.	The RRI employees are the public employees.

Table: Facilities owned by the radio

Name of Radio	Facilities owned by the radio
Gema Hikmah	Rented office and studio. Wide: 8x6 m2 in good condition. The radio has 3 computers, 1 Printer. Self owned transmitter with less good condition. It also has back up generator.
Suara Paksi Buana	The office and the studio is a loan from Paroki Santa Maria Tobelo Catholic church. The church is not involved in the management. Wide: 5M X 5 M, Condition: Permanent / good condition Facilities: 1 computer, 1 printer owned by Tabloid Bintang Laut. 1 mixer, 3 microphones, old devices from radio Merpati Ambon, 1 compact disc player and radio player , 3 cassette

	container, 1 set furniture. Transmitter status: old devices from radio Merpati Ambon
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	Building and Infrastructure facilities are complete (Perjan RRI assets). The news division work with typewriter and 7 computers and printer. Owned 1 OB Van with 100-watt transmitter on 2 frequencies.

Table: Total Employment

Name of Radio	Total Employee	Advertisement Division
Gema Hikmah	9 persons (2 reporters, 2 in advertisement division, 1 in administration division, and 4 announcers).	1 person in advertisement division
Suara Paksi Buana	4 persons (3 announcers, 1 announcer also works in advertisement and administration division, 1 managing editor and also as the announcer) Just employed 1 person for advertisement division (free lancer)	1 works for advertisement and marketing division (double division)
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	The total employees of RRI are 86 persons (public employees): Broadcasting division: 17 persons News division: 15 persons (8 persons working as reporter and the rest work in the studio as news announcer). Technical division: 28 persons Administration and treasury division: 16 persons Business developing and marketing division : 5 persons	No special division for advertisement division.

Table: Education and Training Attended

Name of Radio	Education	Training
Gema Hikmah	4 high school graduates (including the manager), 5 persons hold first degree	5 persons ever follow the peace journalism training.
Paksi Buana	3 high school graduates and 1 person hold first degree	2 persons sent to Ternate to follow the training for 2004 election preparation. 1 person followed the peace journalism training in radio 68H in Jakarta.
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	11 announcers are high school graduate and 1 holds first degree. 22 technicians/ operators are high school graduate. 43 persons in management are high school graduate and 5 hold first degree.	Most of the ever follow the professional training in Jakarta and Jogja: Multi Media Training Centre.

Table: Payment System and Range

Name of Radio	Payment System	Payment Range	Other Benefits
Gema Hikmah	9 permanent employees paid from advertisement income because the income of the radio only from advertisement	IDR 300 thousand.	None
Paksi Buana	4 person impermanent paid because they are volunteers.	IDR 100 – 300thousand.	None

RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	The wages of RRI Ternate base on the government office in the central. As public employee, RRI employees are below the Indonesian Treasury Department.	Not explain	Pension and health insurance.
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Table: Listenership and Program Composition

Name of Radio	Listenership	Program Composition
Gema Hikmah	teenage – adult	Entertainment (9 hours), Information (7 hours, Niaga (2 hours)
Paksi Buana	70% teenage-adult, 30% old people	Religious (4 hours), Information and news (4 hours), entertainment (7 hours).
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	Prog.1: all ages. Prog.2: student, college student, and young professional.	From 19 hours broadcasting everyday and 570 hours per month: - Entertainment: 204h 38m - News/information: 138h 49m - Education: 75h 15m - Advertisement and others: 45h 2m - Culture: 6h 16m

Table: The Existence of the News Program in Radio

Name of Radio	News Program Existence	Own News/Relay	Discription
Gema Hikmah	Yes, there is news program.	Own Program and Relay: KBR 68H Jakarta, BBC-London, Voice of America (VoA), Tri Jaya FM Jakarta.	Own production of local news, Maluku news, National, some areas, international, economy, and sports for one hour—time: 14.00-15.00 WIT. Relay from 68 H Jakarta News Agency for 1h per day (morning 08.00-08.30) and evening (18.00-18.30). Radio Trijaya 1h per week (Wednesday, 19.00-20.00 WIT) BBC London 1h per day (20.00-20.30 dan 22.00-22.30 WIT) and VoA 1h per day (07.00-08.00 WIT)
Paksi Buana	Yes, there is news program.	Relay from KBR 68H Jakarta and from its own news program	The news program is minimum –incidental and per event. Most of the news quoted from Tabloit Bintang as the news source (under the same umbrella). 4h a day relay from news program of KBR 68H Jakarta.
RRI Cabang Muda Ternate, Pro1 & Pro 2	Yes, there is news program.	Relay and from its own news program	Owned news program. Broadcast at: 06.30 – 07.00 WIT; 14.30 – 15.00 WIT; 18.00 – 18.15 WIT; 20.00 – 20.10 WIT Special news program (lintas gamalama) use many kind of languages of Ternate. Its duration is 85m per day.

Traditional Media

Table: Communicative Art Media in North Maluku

Name	Form and activities	Kind of Activities	Information flow	Area
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YANGERE	Entertainment with traditional music instruments	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	In Tobelo Much kind of events held.
Hibualamo	Traditional house for meeting	Meeting and discussion	Multy ways messages	In Tobelo Many kind of events held.
Bambu Gila	Entertainment with traditional music instruments (dance with moving bamboo)	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Most of the Ternate-Tobelo and Maluku people do certain ritual.
Soya-Soya	Entertainment with traditional music instruments	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Most of the North Maluku people do certain event.
Poco-Poco	Pop social dance	Well known movement and dancing usually with music and sometimes with verse and song.	The information mixing through informal communication and also one-way message through verse and song or the event holder.	Well known by Ternate-Tobelo, Maluku people Do in many kind of events.
Salai Jin	Entertainment with traditional music instruments	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Well known in Ternate-Tobelo, and Maluku people. Do in certain ritual.
Badabus	Entertainment with traditional music instruments	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Well known in ternate-Tobelo, and Maluku people. Do in certain ritual.
Cakalele	Entertainment with traditional music instruments	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Well known by North Maluku people
Dola bololo	Wise words from ancestor	Verse and song	One-way message.	Well known by North Maluku people
Dalaimoro	Wise words from ancestor	Verse and song	One-way message.	Well known by North Maluku people
TIDE	Music instruments with verse	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Well know by North Maluku people and do in many kinds of events.
Lala	Music instruments with verse	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Well know by North Maluku people and do in many kinds of events.
Togal	Music instruments with verse	Verse and song	One-way message to the audiences.	Well know by North Maluku people and do in many kinds of events.
SANGONG	Children play	Simple wooden tools	Brotherhood play	In some areas in the suburb of North Maluku
Balenggong	Children play	Simple wooden tools	Brotherhood play	In some areas in the suburb of North Maluku
Kora-Kora	Children play	Wood stem	Brotherhood play	In some areas in the suburb of North Maluku

Annex 2: List of Local Researchers

A) Central Sulawesi

Table: Local Researchers

Name	Mobile Phone	Email	Address	Profile
Jafar G. Bua	081341045728	igbua@yahoo.com	Jl. Bakuku No. 1, Palu. Sulteng.	Head of AJI Palu Region. Respondent of Detik Kom (News Web Site). Respondent of Trans TV (Commercial TV Channel in Jakarta).
Iskandar	081524525068	rano_lei@telkom.net	Jl. Tombolotutu No. 9A. Palu. Sulteng.	NGO: PASAK-Palu. Participant of WALHI (National NGO Forum).
Amran Amier	08124101785	amran_amier@yahoo.com	Jl. Ahmad Yani Irg. III 59. Palu. Sulteng.	Members of AJI Palu. Respondent of TV7 (Commercial TV Channel in Jakarta).
Ruslan Sangadji	081341011923	ruslan251075@yahoo.com	BTN Kelapa Mas Permai, Blok H2/15 Kalukubula, Palu, Sulteng.	Members of AJI Palu. Respondent for Associated Peers Respondent for The Jakarta Post (National English Newspaper).
Herman	081341011779	stn_sulteng04@yahoo.com wildan128@yahoo.com	Jl. Tombolotutu No.94 A, Palu, Sultenga.	NGO: Serikat Tani Nasional (National Labour Organization) in Palu-Central Sulawesi.
Hasan S. Bunyu	081524020434	Hasan_palu@yahoo.com	Jl. Bakuku No.1, Palu-Sulteng.	Member of AJI Palu. Journalist of MAL Newspaper (Local weakly newspaper).

B) North Maluku

Local Researchers:

Name	No Tlp & HP	Profession
Murid T	081340035893	Chief Editor of Aspirasi
Asghar Saleh	08124453772	Journalist of Aspirasi Member of PSSI Ternate
Rizal	081340088887	Fotographer Associated Press
Asri	081340073898	Journalist of Halut Press
Fahmi	081340016206	Stringer Radio Sonora Journalist of Suara Pengungsi

Annex 3: List of Interviewees

A) Central Sulawesi

Table: Respondent and Interviewees

Name	Profile	Contact Details
Ustad Abdul Gani T. Israil	Ketua Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) Poso Kota. Ketua II Pengurus Daerah (Pengda) Alkhairaat Poso Ketua Pengurus Pondok Pesantren Alkautsar Poso Kepala MTsN Posos Pesisir	-
Yan Patris Binela	Pendeta di Tentena	-
Hj. Hadijah Toana	Tokoh Masyarakat Sulteng	Jl.Hang Tua No79, Palu - Sulteng Telp: (0451) 429 458
Pendeta Nansi Santoso Potaka, STh.	Gembala Jemaat Gerje Sion Poso Pendeta Pembina Sekolah Minggu Remaja Klasik Poso Kota	-
Pendeta Dharma Salata	Tokoh Masyarakat Kristen. Anggota KPU (Komisi Pemilihan Umum) Kabupaten Poso.	-
Arianto Sangadji	Aktivis LSM, Yayasan Tanah Merdeka (YTM).	Jl. Tanjung Manimbaya III B. Palu-Sulteng. Telpon: 0451-425892. Email: ytm@ytm.or.id
Soraya Sultan	Aktivis Gender. Direktur KPKP-ST (Kelompok Perjuangan Kesetaraan Perempuan).	Jl Lasoso no 25, Palu-Sulteng. Tlp. 0451-427954 HP: 081341017742
Nasrul Jamaludin	Aktivis LSM. Presidium Lembaga Pengembangan Studi Hukum dan Hak Azasi Manusia (LPSHAM)	-
Haris Tandimuso	Koordinator Satkorlak PBP (Penanggulangan Bencana dan Penanganan Pengungsi)	Kantor Gubernur propinsi Sulteng.
Amirulah Sia	Kepala Kesbang, Kab. Poso - Sulteng.	Kantor Bupati Kab. Poso.
Brigda Sudirman	Polisi	Jl. Danau Lindu, Palu – Sulteng. e-mail: diman@yahoo.com HP: 081341023440
Martin	Masyarakat Umum Kota Palu (Ibu Rumah Tangga).	Jl.Sri Wijaya Besusu PaluTimur-Kodya Palu Sulteng. HP: 0815 24520236
Muslimun	Masyarakat Umum Kota Palu (Pengusaha).	Jl Sis Al-Djufri no: 12, Palu-Sulteng. Hp: 081524531853
Samuel Limbara	Masyarakat Umum Kota Palu (Wiraswasta).	Jl.Gajah Mada No.36 Palu Barat-Kodya Palu - Sulteng HP: 0816 4300092
Robert Rombot	Masyarakat Umum Kabupaten Poso (Poso Tentena).	Tentena Belakang kompleks banua pogombo GKST Tlp: (0458) 21202 Hp: 081341000685

		Email: torandaowe@telkom.net
Wiwianita Selviana	Masyarakat Umum Kabupaten Poso/Tentena. (Mahasiswa)	Jl.torulemba No 17. Tentena Jl.KSTubun28,Palu-Sulteng. Hp: 081555657071 Email: polalize@yahoo.com .
Ibu Mobose	Masyarakat Umum Kabupaten Poso. (Ibu Rumah Tangga).	Desa Tagolu, Kec.Lage Poso.
Oktris Aristya Wande	Masyarakat Umum Kabupaten Poso (Poso Kota), Lulusan S1 pengangguran.	-
Amarun P	Masyarakat Umum Kabupaten Poso (PNS).	Moengko baru, Poso Kota, Sulteng.
Muhammadong	Masyarakat Umum Poso Kota.	Kelurahan Bonesompe, Kecamatan Poso Kota, Sulawesi Tengah.
Syamsudin	Masyarakat Umum Kabupaten Poso (Poso Kota).	Kelurahan Kayamanya, Kecamatan Poso Kota, Sulteng.

B) Maluku

Table: Data Narasumber

Daftar Narasumber Pemetaan Media di Maluku

No	Narasumber	Media/organisasi	No kontak	Keterangan	Pewawancara
A					
1	Polly Joris	Suara Maluku	0911-3449571	Redpel	Yusrianti, Makassar
			81343046051	hariansuaramaluku@yahoo.com	
2	Novi Pinontoan	Suara Maluku	81343012895	Pimpinan Redaksi	Indar, Ambon
3	Elly Sutrahitu	Suara Maluku	81343012895	Pimpinan Perusahaan	Indar, Ambon
4	Petrus R Rusin	Radio DMS Ambon	0911-354864	pengelola radio	Nurliah S, Makassar
5	Anwar Zein	Radio Pelangi Ambon	0911-315883	pengelola radio	Nurliah S,Makassar
			81343048893		
6	Ahmad Ibrahim	Ambon Ekspres	81343022666	Pemred	Indar, Ambon
7	Machfud Waliulu	Ambon Ekspres	81343000448	Pimpinan Perusahaan	Indar, Ambon
8	Mochtar Touwe	Info Baru	811470091	Pemred	Indar, Ambon
9	Freedom Toumahuw, SH	Siwalima	81343008441	Redaktur Pelaksana	Mey Cresentya Rahail
10	Marthin Langoday	Dewa	81343046769	Pimpinan Redaksi	Sahira Sangaji
11	Aner Leunufna	Metro	0911-352960	Redaktur Pelaksana	Sahira Sangaji
12	Akmal Syarief	Tabloid Ekspresi	81343044767	Reporter	Yusrianti

B	Konsumen Media				
13	Ali Bafagih	Tokoh agama Islam	Batumerah, samping Rumah Sakit AL-Mukadam Galunggung	Ketua Majelis Muslim	Sahira Sangaji
				Indonesia, Maluku	
14	Pdt John Ruhlessin	Tokoh agama Kristen	081343004773	Ketua Angkatan Muda Gereja Protestan Maluku	Mey Cresentya Rahail
15	Iwan Rumalean	Aktivis LSM	0911-355131	Lakpesdam NU-Maluku	Ummi Athiyah
16	Dino Umahuk	Aktivis LSM		Fixer Crisis Center	Yusrianti, Makassar
17	Syarief Tuasikal SH	Pemerintah	81343004778	Kepala Dinas Perhubungan Kota Ambon	Sahira Sangaji
18	Erenst Tanimahu SH	Pemerintah	81343011103	Wakil Kepala Dinas Informasi dan Komunikasi Kota Ambon	Sahira Sangaji
19	Kom Polisi Endro Prasetyo,SIK	Polisi	81343024971	Kabid Humas Polda Maluku	Mey Cresentya Rahail
20	Hellen Sarina Delima SH	Konsumen Media	81343043600	Pengusaha	Sahira Sangaji
21	Desy Patty	Konsumen Media		Aktivis Gender	Mey Cresentya Rahail
22	Nurhana	Konsumen Media	81343009703	Aktivis Gender	Ummi Athiyah
C	Wawancara Mendalam				
	Untuk Media Lain SMS-HT				
23	Lucky Pattianakota	Masyarakat umum	81343054903	Anggota Komunikasi Bankom	Mey Cresentya Rahail
24	Nanang Kosim	Masyarakat umum	81343025049		Ummi Athiyah
25	Theresia Maitimu	Pengamat	81343031223	Raja Paso di Ambon	Mey Cresentya Rahail
		Media tradisional	911361662		
26	H Latief Hattala	Masyarakat umum	0911-354443	Mantan Raja Desa Batu Merah	
		media tradisional		Kecamatan Sirumau Kotamadya Ambon	Sahira Sangaji
27	Rovik Akbar Afifuddin	Masyarakat umum	911342377	Aktivis Pemuda	Indar, Ambon
		media tradisional			
28	A Siraj Rifamole	Pengamat	81343013501	Pengurus Gerakan Pemuda (Anshor)	Ummi Athiyah
		Rumor/gosip		Maluku	
29	Dino Pattisausiwa	Masyarakat umum	0911-315717	Mahasiswa	Sahira Sangaji
		(rumor/gosip)			

30	Hilda L	Masyarakat umum		Aktivist Gender Yayasan Pengembangan dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Ambon	Indar
31	John Uhurella	S Media tradisional		Raja Negeri Tuhulele	Indar

C) North Maluku

List of the Interviewees

Name	Profession	Address	Telp./HP
Alwi Sagaf	Commissioner of PT Radio Gema Hikmah	Jln. Ketilang No. 24 Santiong Ternate 97722 (0921) 24103-327020-22127 Fax (0921) 24103 Email: Hikmahfm@Ternate.Wasantara.Net.Id	0815 2313 535
M. Tauhid Arief	Editor/Chief Executive of Maluku Utara Post Newspaper	Harian Malut Post Jl. Hasan Esa Kelurahan Takoma Telp. (0921) 327055, 327210 Ternate - Maluku Utara.	-
Ashari Anwar	Member of Yayasan Sandro NGO	Jl. Kesatria Komp. Kampung Cina - Tobelo Halmahera Utara	081340019004
Silverius Lasan Bataona	Chief Editor of Tabloid Bintang Laut	-	081340222959
Elva Ch. F. Rori	Project Manager Protection Information & Advocation Program CARDI NGO	LSM CARDI Jl. Arnold Mononutu No. 111/14 Tanah Raja, Ternate, Maluku Utara	(0921) 23964 08124401531
AKBP Andi Bambang Sky	Chief Police Precinct of North Maluku	-	08124751086
Ny. Rahmiati Sundah	Kasturian citizen – Ternate	-	-
Drs. Fachry Ammarie	Sekretary of Daerah Kota Ternate	-	08124750293
Riswan H. Kadam	Konsorsium YPCSM North Maluku	-	-
Ny. Siska Ayawalia	Person who live in evacuation camp of Gudang Bimoli – Ternate	-	-
Fadila Mahmud	Director of Daulat Perempuan Maluku Utara (Daurmala) Member of Election Commission Kabupaten Halmahera Utara	Gambesi, Ternate Selatan	0812440408
Faiz Albaar	Chief Executife of Mimbar Kieraha	Ubo-Ubo Ternate	0815828939

Ir. Yessayas Banari	Chief of Art workshop of Gumi Guranci (Lecturer of Lembaga Politeknik Padamara-Tobelo-Vice Director of Students division)	Jl. Kemakmuran Desa Gura-Tobelo	-
Tengku	Muslim person in Tobelo	Tobelo	-
Taha Ismail	Head of Ternate RRI station	-	0921- 25525
Syarif Chan, St	Chief Editor of Halut Pres	Jl. Siswa No. 232 Kelurahan Takoma Ternate Selatan Halut Pres Jl. Kemakmuran (Samping Toko Tondano) Tobelo Utara	(0921) 25289
Sadrak Koloba	Christian Young Figure (Pinatua Majelis)	Desa Gura	081340167944
Roslina Sudirman	Pengungsi Muslim Asal Desa Gamsungi Tobelo	Tempat Penampungan Pengungsi Rumah Ibadah Kong Hu Chu	-
Ronald Tadubun	Christian person	Kelurahan Muhajirin	081340117586
Rahman Mahfud	Muslim person	Santiong Ternate	081340031074
Pendeta S. S. (Tot) Duan	Religious figure of Forum Kerukunan Dan Komunikasi Antar Umat Beragama (FKAUB) Tobelo (Chairman in Halmahera Utara)	Tobelo	-
M. Nadir Assagaf	Chief Editor of Ternate Pos	Ternate Pos Jln. Stadion No. 17 Ternate	08124464331
Mujaim Suaib	Islam person	Kel. Tanah Tinggi Ternate	081340186132
Maria Tongo Tongo	Christian person in Tobelo	Jl. Bayangkara, Desa Gamansungi, Kec. Tobelo	(0924) 21911
Leni Iring	Christian refugee from Ternate	Tempat Penampungan Pengungsi Bioskop Benteng Ternate	0815 236 338
Kasman Hi. Akhmat	Sekretary of MUI Maluku Utara	-	08124455823
Patrisus Anselmus Jeujan	Chief Editor of Radio Paksi Buana	-	0813402104 03
Iswan Lolahi	Refugee's coordinator	Samping Penginapan Alfa Mas- Desa Gosoma Barat Rt 01 Tobelo-Halut	081340168081
Ihsan Arsad	Employee of Infokom In North Maluku Governor office	-	08124405814
Hans	former Chairman of	Tobelo	08124751813

Lelong, S.Ag.	HMI—Ternate branch		
Gufron Ali Ibrahim	Lecturer in Culture Science Faculty in Khairuddin University in Ternate/ Local Intellectual	-	081340142652
Yos Talingka	Public and religious figure	Kompleks TPI Rt 01 Tobelo Selatan-Halut	-
Murid Tonirio	Chief Executife of Aspirasi	-	081340035893
Secondary Study of the Media: Aspirasi Media Gamalama Mari Moi Sinter Cermin Reformasi Sorot Pancona Fokus			

Annex 4: Overview of International Media Development Activities

Overview of International Media Development Activities

The following section provides a brief overview of the main media development and freedom of expression international stakeholders active in Indonesia. Rather than listing the activities per organisation, the section is based on broad activity categories. This list is not exhaustive and further specific information can be obtained from the respective organisations.

Professional Development

Training focusing mainly on adherence to basic professional criteria such as balance, objectivity and accuracy, as well as methods and techniques for assessing information and how it should be used in preparing materials: BBC World Service Trust, British Council (BC), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, IMS, Internews, Media Development Loan Fund (MDLF), The Asia Foundation (TAF), International Centre for Journalists (ICFJ), UNESCO, USAID.

Core Funding

Mainly focused on providing funds to sustain prominent independent media and support the work of media resource centres/ for staff salaries, printing, computer equipment and so forth: British Council, European Commission (EC), MDLF, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), TAF, UNDP, USAID.

Monitoring and Advocacy

Monitoring violations against the media and access to information; training for national organisations to work on legal issues pertinent to the protection of media related freedoms and rights; and linkage to conflict early warning mechanism: British Council, CAF/SCO (FreeVoice), Human Rights Watch (HRW), International Crisis Group (ICG), MDLF, Southeast Asian Press Alliance (SEAPA), USAID.

Media Policy

Working with the authorities and civil society in order to reform the judicial basis and legislative framework for the work of the media: Internews, MDLF, USAID.

Networking and Linkage (including Association Building)

Developing structures and building cooperation between media organizations and associations: International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), TAF, UNESCO.

Safety Issues (including training and safe-havens)

Providing journalists with the skills and knowledge necessary to reduce their exposure to both direct and inadvertent physical threats as a result of their work: CAF/SCO (FreeVoice), IFJ/INSI, IMS.

Financial Sustainability

Supporting the development of financial self-sustainability, in part based upon the link between financial (in)dependence and (in)dependent journalism: ICCO (Interchurch Organisation for Development Co-operation), MDLF, TAF, USAID.

The main Indonesian partners for the activities listed above have included:

AJI, ISAI, Dr Soetomo Press Institute (LPDS), Local Radio Network for Democracy (LRN), Institute for Press and Development Studies (LSPP), Maluku Media Centre (MMC), Press Council, Radio 68H, Newspaper Publishers Association (SPS).

Annex 5: UNDP Media Activities

North Maluku Media Campaign

UNDP has engaged in a media campaign for North Maluku in support of the peace and reconciliation objectives covering the province as a whole, undertaken over five weeks in partnership with KBR 68H (Radio68H News Agency) between December 2003 and January 2004. The primary target audiences of the campaign were conflict-affected communities in North Maluku and displaced persons in North Maluku and neighbouring areas such as North Sulawesi and Maluku.

Radio was chosen as the main media outlet to disseminate the campaign messages, as it was believed to be the most accessible means for getting information in those parts of the country. Eighteen radio stations and eight newspapers in North Maluku, North Sulawesi and Maluku were used to disseminate the messages. At national level, Radio 68H also broadcast the audio messages, which were relayed by 80-120 of its radio network throughout Indonesia, while two national dailies, Kompas and Jakarta Post, published selected number of the print messages. (UNDP - Crisis Prevention and Recovery Unit)

Maluku Media Development Programme

This programme, which supports media development in Maluku, is being undertaken by MDLF and comprises of six project activities designed to facilitate a return to long-term peace and stability in the province, while simultaneously responding to three areas of greatest need with respect to the media in Maluku. This programme address three main issues. Firstly, limited media access that leaves significant sectors of the population without access to accurate and timely information about local and national issues. Secondly, the relatively low level of skills and experience of those working in the local media. Thirdly, the small number of media focusing on the promotion of a culture of tolerance and non-violence. (UNDP - Crisis Prevention and Recovery Unit)

School for Broadcast Media

The project aims to contribute to developing the standards of professionalism in the broadcast media, and includes the establishment of a broadcast media centre that will link closely to the media industry and professional associations to guarantee both quality and relevance of training, as well as recognition and certification of training undertaken. The implementing partner for the three-year project, which is expected to start soon, is ISAI. (UNDP - Governance Unit)

Support to the 2004 Indonesian Elections

This project aims at ensuring that the public is aware of how to utilise their vote. This will be accomplished by providing and discussing relevant voter information nationwide. Establishing a Media Centre has been essential to this. The Centre, located in the General Election Commission (KPU), is used by more than 100 journalists on a daily basis. The programme also assists the KPU in designing, producing and disseminating voter information through print and electronic media. (UNDP - Governance Unit)

Support to the Application of MDGs and the Development of Poverty Reduction Strategies in Indonesia

There will be components of media events and campaigns under this project's two-year implementation period, which aim at building broad awareness at national and regional levels about the poverty reduction strategies (PRS) process and the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) through public information messages. Eight nationally televised talk shows and a series of monthly radio talk shows will be broadcast during the program period. In addition, there will be training of local media representatives aiming at increasing their awareness and capacity on reporting issues related to poverty, the PRS and MDG. The program will start in August 2004. (UNDP - Community Initiatives Unit)

Anti-Corruption Campaign

UNDP funded the Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia, including an anti-corruption campaign between March 2002 and February 2003. The campaign messages were disseminated nationally through Radio 68H and its network. (Partnership for Governance Reform in Indonesia).