



Afghan Media in 2010

Priority District Report Khogyani (Nangarhar)

October 13, 2010

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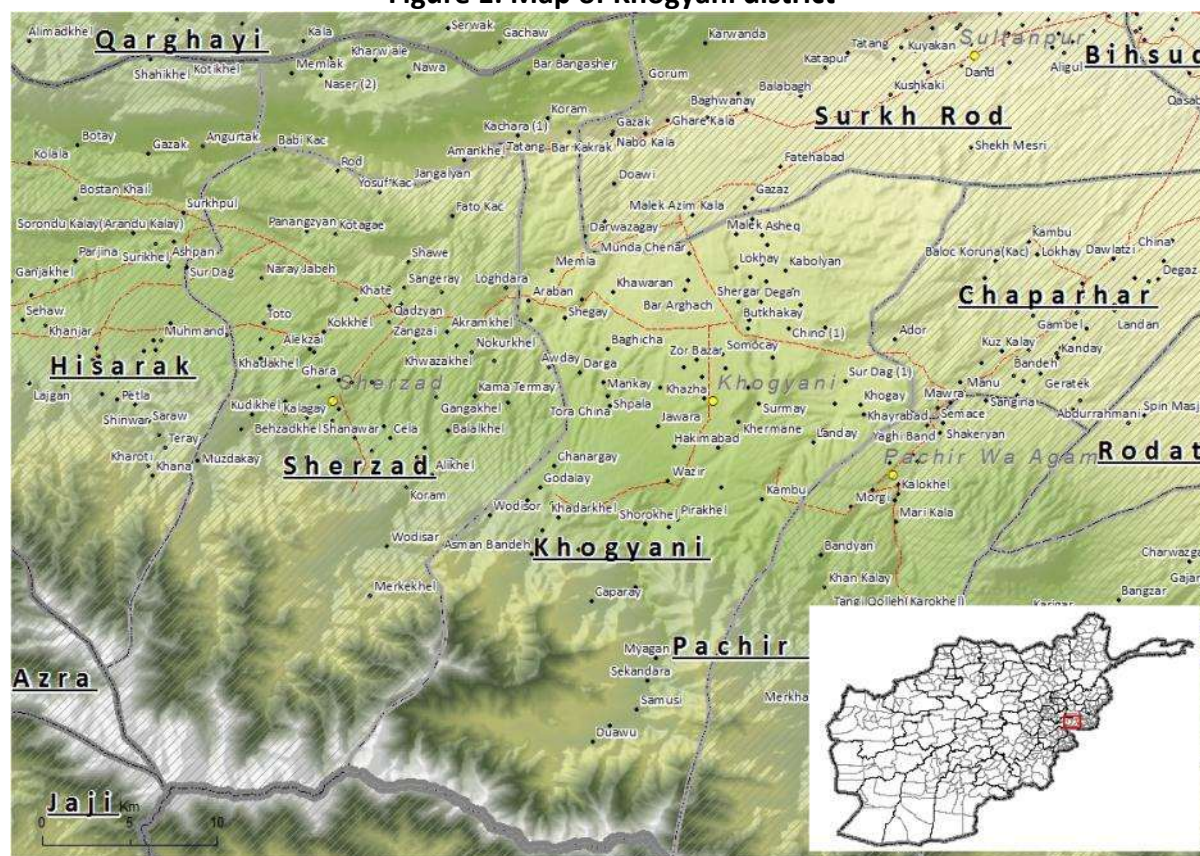
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1 Introduction

1.1 District profile

Khogyani is a very large district (673km²) located in southwest Nangarhar province, 50km from the provincial center, Jalalabad. Khogyani borders Pachir Wa Agam to the east, the very isolated Sherzad to the west, and Chaparhar and Surkh Rod to the north. To the south, it shares a 25km border with Upper Kurram Tehsil in Kurram agency, Pakistan, close to the town of Parachinar. Its southern areas, around the Spin Ghar Mountains (4,519m), are forested; its lower areas (789m) are fertile and well watered.

Figure 1: Map of Khogyani district



The district center is Khogyani village. The business center is Wazir, but the district as a whole leans economically towards Jalalabad, with goods imported mainly from Pakistan to Jalalabad and then to Khogyani. The district economy centers on agriculture (around 20% of the surface is cultivated, most of which is irrigated), with apparently thriving poppy cultivation and trading. There is no public electricity supply in Khogyani district.

The district population is estimated at 240,000 individuals¹. It is 100% Pashtun, and Pashto is virtually the only language spoken.

Instability in the district did not prevent researchers from collecting data, although it is a major issue. In early May 2010, 11 civilians were killed during a US military operation in

¹ According to Altai Consulting’s district profile for the US Agency for International Development’s Office of Transition Initiatives (USAID/OTI), February 2010.

Wazir village, and Wazir and Khuz Biar remain very dangerous areas for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and journalists, thereby limiting their presence in the area. Kaga (the main market town) and Basid are relatively safer areas.

1.2 Methodology

Fieldwork was conducted in April 2010 and covered Kaga, Bazed Khil (3km from Kaga), Khuz (6km), and Wazir (8km).

Key informant interviews (KIIs) were conducted with three journalists from Nangarhar Radio Television Afghanistan (RTA), four community leaders (*maliks* (village chiefs) from Wazir and Nurkorkhil, the head of the Allah Ma Reshad Institute, and an agriculture manager from Kaga), and two outlet managers over the phone (Sikaram magazine and Ghoshtana magazine).

Besides KIIs, 25 close-ended field interviews and 75 phone interviews were conducted. The audience section below also refers to audience data collected by means of a phone survey with 61 individuals living in Nangarhar province as a whole, which took place from July 9 to 23 and from August 22 to 28, 2010. See the general methodology section of the project research for more details on sampling and survey methods.

The interviewer who conducted the fieldwork is a native of Khogyani district, allowing for its relatively smooth completion.

2 Media landscape

There is very limited presence of local media in Khogyani, but good access to provincial media from Jalalabad, given the district’s proximity to the provincial capital, and to national media.

During the field visit, three video shops and around twenty Public Call Offices (PCOs) were seen, but no public spaces showing videos or TV, as in other areas of the country. There are almost no satellite dishes visible on rooftops.

A basic battery-run radio at the bazaar costs approximately \$3.50 and a crank radio \$10. The presence of solar radios was not reported.

Loudspeakers in the district are used for advertising purposes.

2.1 Media outlets

2.1.1 Television

There are no local TV stations in Khogyani district. The following provincial and national channels are received through terrestrial antennas:

Name	Scope	Ownership	Antenna location	Broadcast radius
Nangarhar RTA	Provincial	Government	Jalalabad	45-50km
Sharq	Provincial	Private	Jalalabad	40km
Lemar	National	Private	Jalalabad	35km
Tolo	National	Private	Jalalabad	50km
Shamshad	National	Private	Jalalabad	30-160km
Ariana	National	Private	Jalalabad	35-75km
Saba	National	Private	Jalalabad	45km

Saba’s signal is of poor quality, as it is broadcast from Kabul (for more details, please refer to the Jalalabad and Kabul reports).

2.1.2 Radio

Besides the shortwave radio stations available throughout Afghanistan, there is only one district radio station, Khogyani Ghag (“Voice of Khogyani”), a military outlet with an antenna located in Kaga.

Name	Scope	Ownership	Frequency	Antenna location	Broadcast radius
Khogyani Ghag	Local	Military	-	Kaga	-
Nangarhar RTA	Provincial	Government	93 FM	Jalalabad	50km
Sharq	Provincial	Private	91.3 FM	Jalalabad	60km
Nargis	Provincial	Private	88.6 FM	Jalalabad	60km

For further details on the provincial stations, please refer to the report on Jalalabad.

2.1.3 Newspapers

There is no local newspaper in Khogyani, nor are there any formal or regular distribution networks for national or regional newspapers. People who commute back and forth from Jalalabad and to other parts of the country occasionally carry newspapers and magazines back with them (for more details, please refer to the Jalalabad report).

2.2 New media

2.2.1 Mobile media

No presence of mobile media was reported in Khogyani.

2.2.2 Internet

An access point to the District Communication Network (DCN), set up by Afghan Telecom, functioned for approximately six months in 2008. Located in the government office but open to the public, it was used mainly for phone calls and secondarily for internet use. With the spread of mobile phones, it became unprofitable and was closed down.

There is currently no internet access in the district. Work on the optical fiber network is ongoing: the cable has been set up but not yet the optical fiber. Running from Jalalabad to Hisarak, the latter is expected to run close to Kuz Biar.

2.3 Media and information actors

2.3.1 Government

No representatives of the public Bakhtar New Agency (BNA) or the Ministry of Information and Culture (MoIC) appear to be based in the district. The closest university journalism department is located in Jalalabad.

2.3.2 Outlet managers and journalists

Approximately 10-12 journalists cover news from the district. Most of them, working for Nangarhar RTA, are based in Jalalabad and visit the district on an *ad hoc* basis. Those interviewed during this study (three from the provincial RTA) have four or five years of work experience each. Salaries range from \$220-280 a month.

Ajmal Aand (Azadi radio) and Mahmud Kuochai (the BBC) were identified as the two best-trained/most efficient journalists in the area. One of the interviewees mentioned a journalists' association in Khogyani (Khogyani Cultural Center).

Perceptions of security issues are quite varied: some mentioned permanent threats that hinder movement and travel in most places; others reported relatively moderate threats that do not impede travel or the ability to work.

Security issues do, however, limit the number of journalists based in Khogyani. Many journalists from Khogyani have families based in Khogyani while they work elsewhere.

Despite Wazir village being controlled at night by insurgents, no security incident has yet affected journalists in the district.

Insecurity related to insurgency, but also to common criminality, is the main obstacle to the reporting of quality information by journalists. Additional barriers include pressure exerted on journalists (by insurgents and coalition forces alike) regarding the reporting of sensitive combat activities. In some cases, self-censorship is practiced as well.

Certain outlets control their own journalists more tightly than others. Nangarhar RTA, for instance, has stricter policies than Muram radio. Announcements about US military casualties are banned, for the supposedly negative impact on troop morale. Nangarhar RTA has a board committee for peer reviewing news before broadcast, which inevitably inhibits the freedom of journalists.

Journalists reported having to submit stories to their manager before release, although two journalists noted that stories were almost never refused. No journalist reported having experienced formal censorship from regional or national government institutions or from other organizations.

Two of the journalists interviewed said there was no solidarity among journalists on freedom of expression and freedom of access to information. When asked whether there were any topics that the media could not address, community leaders in Khogyani said the state media did not report on problems affecting them, especially political issues, in a transparent manner.

The managers of Sikaram and Goghtana magazines said they did not experience pressure from insurgents or the government. Furthermore, they both expressed willingness for someone or some institution to check content beforehand so as to avoid possible negative impact on readers.

2.3.3 Media NGOs

German NGO Mediothek provides facilities and training for local journalists in its media house in Jalalabad (one of four it runs in Afghanistan), and some journalists from Khogyani have taken part in its training programs.

2.3.4 Traditional information sources

Besides media outlets, traditional sources of information play a considerable role in informing the population in Khogyani. Major sources include *shuras* (councils), *mullahs*, and qualified professionals such as doctors and agriculture engineers. Literate people, NGO employees, and, more generally, those who spend the week working outside of the district and returning home on Fridays represent a valuable source of information for residents. Traditional sources of information are the most utilized and trusted by the population. Radio remains important, but there is greater trust in traditional sources because it is possible to interact personally with them.

Traditional sources of information can sometimes cross over with official media, most importantly because media actors often approach community leaders when looking for local interviewees.

Major opinion leaders in Khogyani district include 18 *maliks* (chiefs) (for over 200 villages), over 100 *mullahs*, one district officer, and one police commander.

2.3.5 Insurgents

Insurgents inform the local media and journalists about their operations and related casualties by phone and, to a lesser extent, letters. Journalists feel obligated to report on such news in order to avoid threats to their safety. Interviews with community leaders showed that Khogyani inhabitants give more importance to, and place a greater deal of trust in, statements and information from insurgent groups, as opposed to those from coalition forces.

Of the three journalists interviewed, one mentioned occasional email contact with insurgents and deemed it relatively easy to contact them by internet or phone.

Most community leaders in Khogyani mentioned *shabnama* (“night letters”), often left on the doorsteps of mosques or houses, as the main tool the insurgents use to communicate with the population. *Shabnama* in Wazir, Barbiar, Kuz Biar, Bazed Khil, and Kilagho villages have warned people against working for NGOs, the government, and foreigners in general.

2.3.6 Military

Data suggest that the population does not trust news broadcasts from the military. Military outlets are listened to only for entertainment (music).

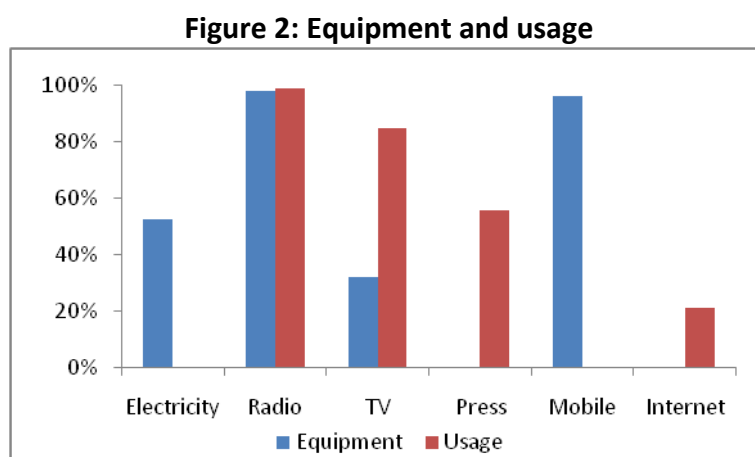
3 Audience

The following is a description of the audience in Khogyani district, based on a sample of 100 respondents. Audience data were also collected by means of a phone survey with 61 individuals living in Nangarhar province (not only in Khogyani district), which took place from July 9 to 23 and from August 22 to 28, 2010.

3.1 Equipment and usage

3.1.1 Household equipment

The general equipment rate, in comparison with the other 10 rural priority districts, is about average. Radio is prevalent, with 98% of interviewees owning at least one radio set. The TV equipment rate is quite high for a place without grid electricity (32%).



As in other districts, the TV equipment rate is closely related to electricity supply, and therefore to wealth. It is the running cost of a generator, much more than the price of a TV set, that brings the equipment rate down.

The discrepancy between equipment and usage rates can be explained by access to TV in other people's homes and in Jalalabad city.

Other reasons for not having a TV given by interviewees included lack of interest in TV (42% of non-owners) and preference for radio (25%).

Cultural barriers are not really an issue in Khogyani: only 10% stated that they disliked TV, whereas 90% enjoy it.

Figure 3: TV ownership and income

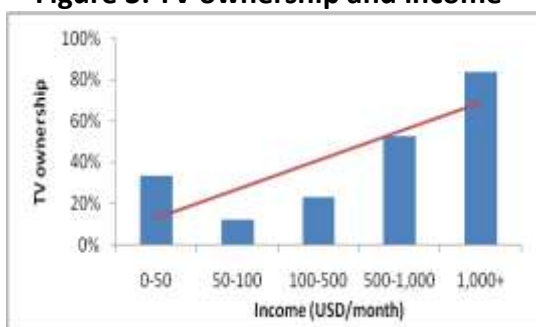
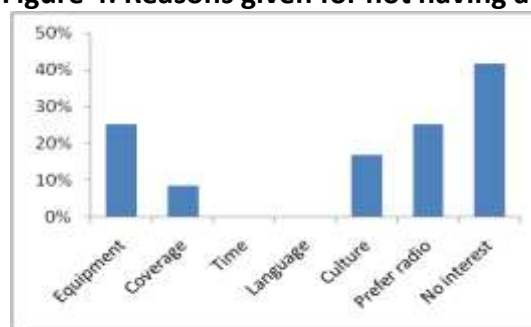


Figure 4: Reasons given for not having a TV



As the district is well covered by mobile phone networks, mobile phone penetration is nearing saturation (96% of interviewed households). Mobile phone operators serving the district are Roshan, MTN, and Etisalat. Phones are not used for news because video applications are scarce.

No household internet equipment was reported in the district.

3.1.2 Sources of information and media usage

Sources of information

For the vast majority of interviewees, and on virtually every topic (including religion), radio is the most common source of information. But TV is preferred over radio as a source of information whenever people have access to it. Radio is considered the best source by many, in particular on news, politics, and development issues. A significant number considered TV a good source of development information too. Newspapers are rarely mentioned as a source of information that interviewees turn to or trust.

People sometimes prefer traditional sources of information to official media with respect to issues like religion and land tenure, and in discussions on development and aid. Some said that the media is too general and unfocused on these topics. Traditional sources are more specific and more connected to the district, relatives, and family.

Media usage

As shown in Figure 2, interviewees in Khogyani are avid media users: 99% listen to the radio, 85% declared watching TV at least from time to time, 56% read the press, and 21% declared connecting to the internet. These last results are surprising on several accounts.

First, as in all districts visited, Khogyani interviewees are nearly all radio users. These are intensive users: 89% declared listening to the radio often. TV usage is just as intensive for those who own a TV set: 25% of all interviewees watch TV often and 13% sometimes.

Figure 5: Radio usage frequency

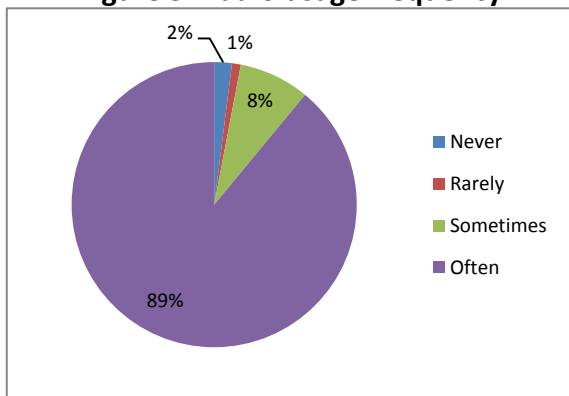
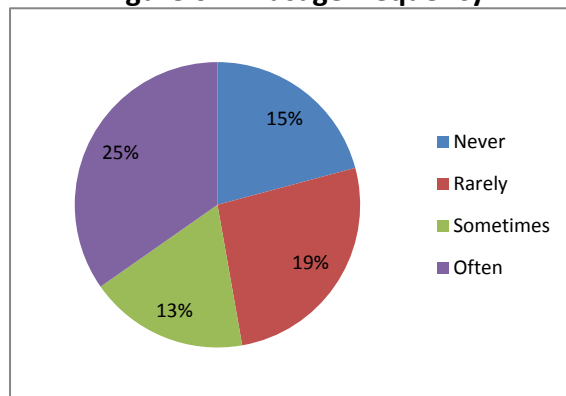
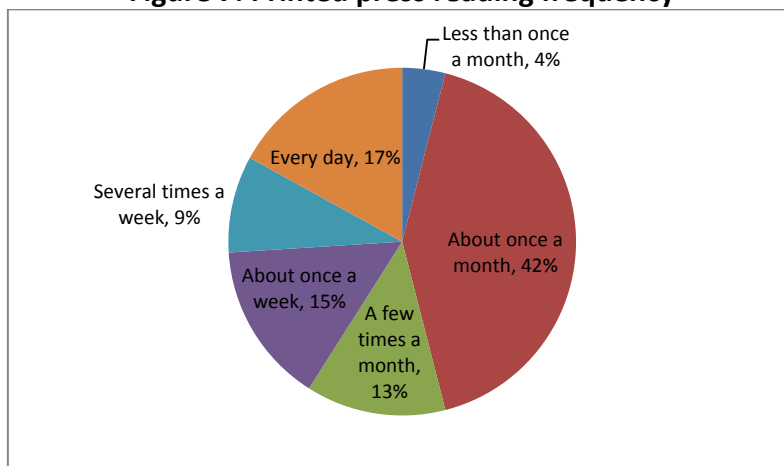


Figure 6: TV usage frequency



Printed press usage is relatively high, which is explained by the high literacy rate in Khogyani: 74% of interviewees claimed a “good” or “very good” literacy level (note that only men were interviewed) and only 15% are illiterate. However, the printed press is used far less often than the radio and TV: most read once a month or less. Still, 17% claimed that they read the printed press every day, which is quite unusual in a district that is not a provincial center. This can be explained by the rather large number of commuters who live in Khogyani and work in Jalalabad (a one-hour drive since the asphalt road was completed in 2008), where they have access to daily newspapers and can bring them back.

Figure 7: Printed press reading frequency



Internet usage is the most remarkable element here: 21% of our sample declared connecting to the internet at least from time to time. Most connect once a week or less from an internet café or a PCO, and two respondents use their mobile phone. Checks on professions, levels of educations, locations of interviews, and levels of income excluded a strong selection bias in the sample. Most internet users are educated and unemployed – former students and teachers. Without internet access in the district, usage must occur mostly in Jalalabad.

Table 1: Sample respondents

Profession		Income (\$ per month)	
Farmer/shepherd	11%	0-50	6%
Student	2%	50-100	16%
Teacher	9%	100-500	52%
Daily laborer	3%	500-1,000	19%
Government clerk	5%	1,000-5,000	6%
Clerk at NGO/company	1%	5,000+	1%
Police/army	2%		
Skilled laborer	12%		
Doctor or engineer	2%		
Shopkeeper	8%		
Scholar/ <i>mullah</i>	5%		
Businessman	2%		
Unemployed	36%		

3.1.3 Usage patterns

Preferred times of the day for radio and TV usage are consistent with those in other districts: mornings and evenings for radio and only evenings for TV (when the generator is on). Unlike in some other districts, there is significant consumption of both radio and TV during the day, but the times when people listen to the radio with the most attention remain 7-11am and 7-11pm.

Figure 8: Preferred times to listen to radio

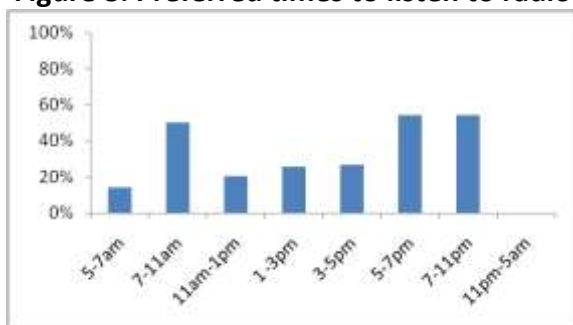
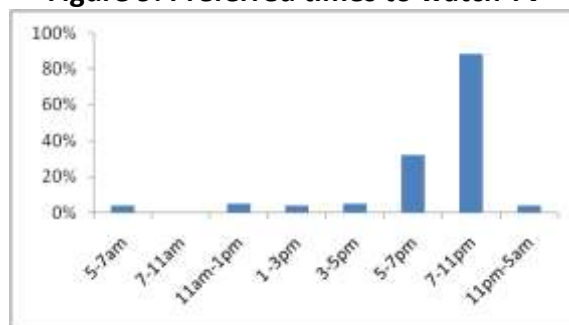
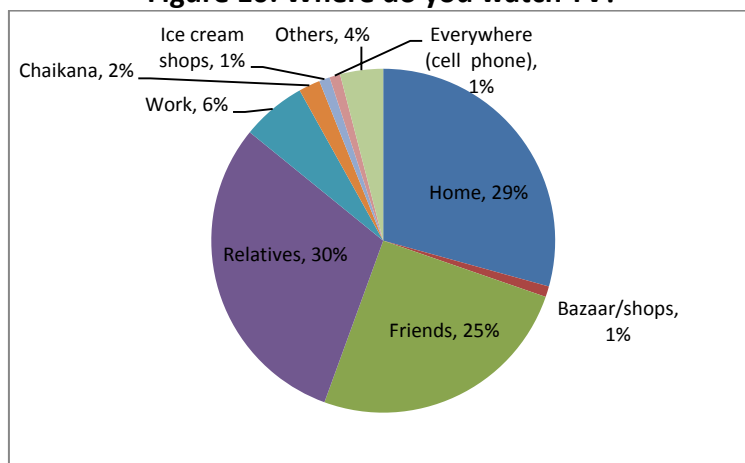


Figure 9: Preferred times to watch TV



Radio is used essentially at home, and to some extent in shops or at work (12% of respondents). As we have seen, TV is watched in a far more diverse set of locations. It is watched mainly in households, but not necessarily at the respondent’s own home: 55% watch TV at friends’ or relatives’ places. Another 10% declared watching TV in public places, such as at work or in *chaikhana* (tea houses), ice cream shops, or other shops (probably in Jalalabad, given the lack of these in the district center).

Figure 10: Where do you watch TV?

3.2 Preferences

Foreign programs are more common on TV than on radio, and are accepted as long as they do not offend Afghan culture. The Turkish drama *Donyiaye Asrar* (“World of Secrets”), for instance, broadcast in Dari by Tolo and in Pashto by Lemar, is for the most part appreciated. The Indian drama *Toolsie*, broadcast by Tolo in Dari, with frequent scenes of Hindu rituals and a plot including an illegitimate birth, is less appreciated.

Moral censorship is thus accepted and supported, especially when it comes to female dress codes. Some people do not want women to be presenters and, more specifically, 80% of Khogyani villagers do not want local women to work in media outlets.

The Khogyani population wants more local news and educational programs. Private radio stations are generally preferred to government media and people want less foreign music (Indian, American, Arabic, Tajik, etc.).

People consider the national media to be too Dari-speaking.

One community leader mentioned Tora Bora magazine (pro-Taliban) as a particularly bad and problematic media source in the district.

3.2.1 Outlets

Radio

The BBC and Azadi are very popular radio stations for news, Sharq for music, and Nargis for religion.

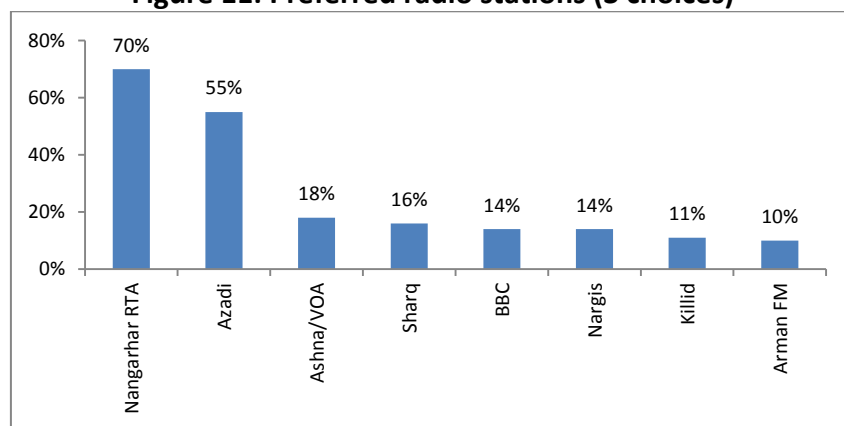
The general perception is that the government station Nangarhar RTA is not the only one with a political leaning. Private outlets can also have a more subtle but nonetheless equally political bias. Recently, private stations erroneously announced that victims of a US operation in Khogyani district were all Pakistanis, when they included Wazir villagers. Azadi radio is considered the most political among all radio outlets, followed by Nangarhar RTA. Two months before the study, Azadi incorrectly announced that, during the Taliban regime,

the Nangarhar governor had been captured by the Pakistan government. Not correcting the mistake has been perceived as a political act.

Localized media content is very limited. Foreign content can range from 20% of overall programming where news and reporting are concerned to 80% in the case of dramas and music.

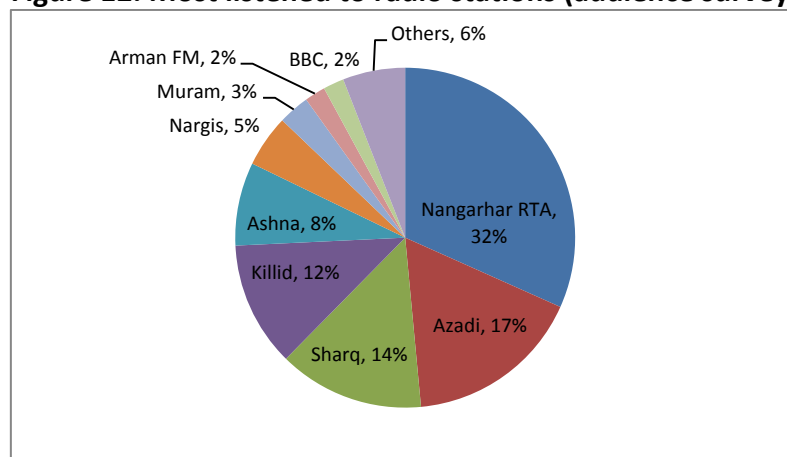
Preferred radio stations are Nangarhar RTA (mentioned by 70% of interviewees) and Azadi (55%). These are far ahead of the other stations, both provincial (Sharq, Nargis) and national (Ashna/Voice of America (VOA), BBC, Killid, Arman). Khogyani Ghag, the only properly local radio station, broadcast from the US military base, was mentioned by only 3% of interviewees.

Figure 11: Preferred radio stations (3 choices)



Audience survey data show that Nangarhar RTA features the largest audience share (32%), followed by Azadi (17%), Sharq (14%), and Killid (12%).

Figure 12: Most listened to radio stations (audience survey)

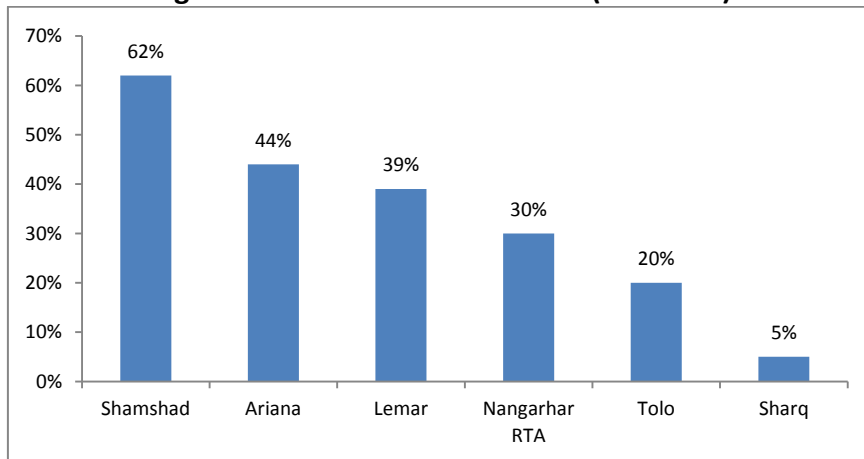


Television

Shamshad is the most popular TV channel (mentioned among favorites by 80% of interviewees), because it broadcasts almost only in Pashto, and more specifically in eastern/Pakistani Pashto (which explains why it was mentioned by only 9% in Lashkar Gah). Pashto-speaking Lemar scores lower here (39%) than in southern districts (59% in Lashkar Gah, for instance).

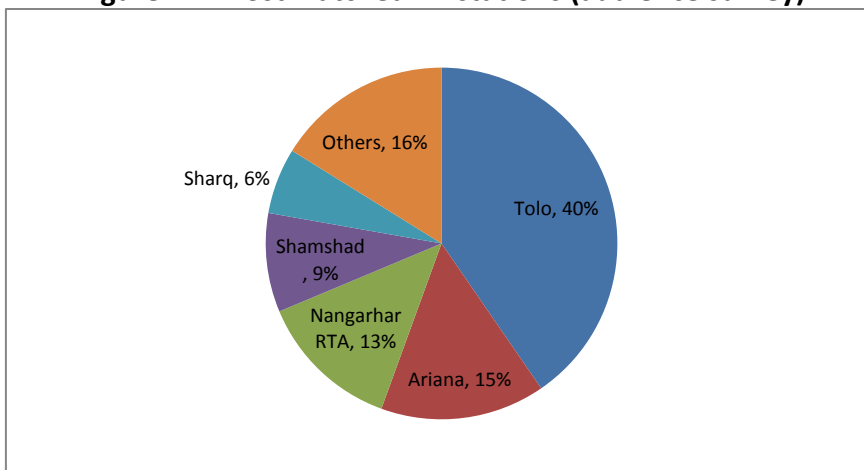
The success of Ariana TV probably owes to its carefully balanced use of Dari and Pashto, as well as its rather conservative stance in terms of entertainment programs. It should be noted that this channel is by and large pro-government and pro-Karzai (unlike Tolo and Lemar, for instance). The provincial state television, Nangarhar RTA, comes fourth (30%).

Figure 13: Preferred TV channels (3 choices)



Audience survey data suggest that Tolo is the channel with the largest audience share (40%), followed by Ariana (15%) and RTA (13%). Shamshad, at the top of self-declared preferences in Khogyani, ranks only fourth with respect to audience share in the province (9%).

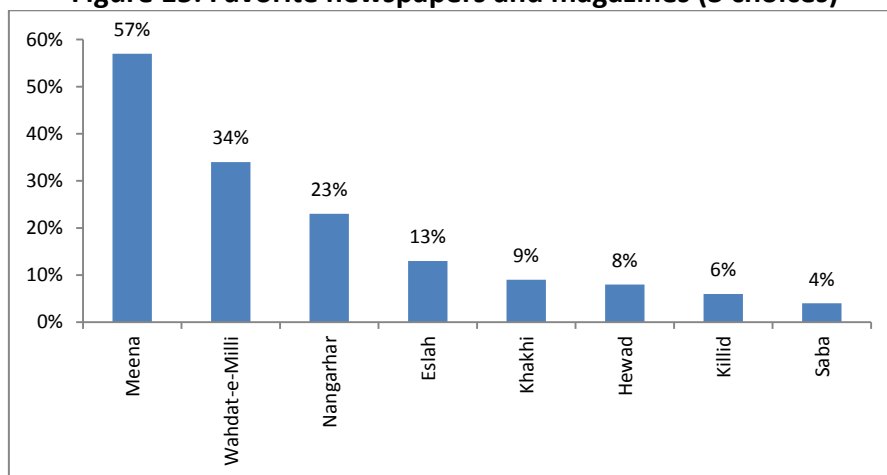
Figure 14: Most watched TV stations (audience survey)



Printed press

In a sample of 53 press readers, 57% favored the provincial magazine Meena and 34% Wahdat-e-Milli. The government provincial newspaper, Nangarhar, was mentioned by 23% of interviewees.

Figure 15: Favorite newspapers and magazines (3 choices)



Websites

Among the most popular websites are search engines such as Yahoo! (55% of respondents) and Google (45%). The first Pashtun-interest website is Benawa (www.benawa.com), an informative and cultural website entirely in Pashto, created in 2004. This was mentioned by six of the twenty internet users interviewed in Khogyani. The BBC website is also used, as it has a well-informed and frequently updated Pashto service.

3.2.2 Programs

On TV, dramas are the most popular type of program (71% of interviewees). As on the radio, Khogyani interviewees show a large preference for national news over local news.

Figure 16: Preferred TV programs (3 choices)

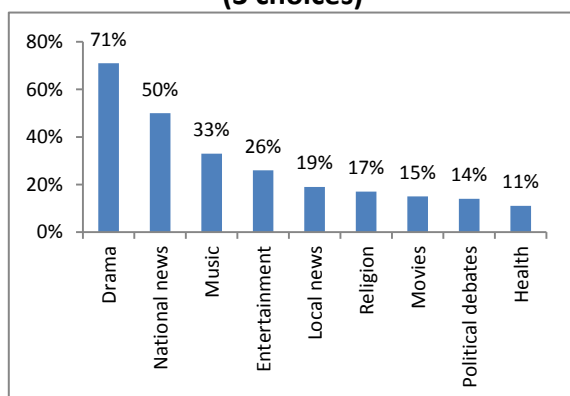
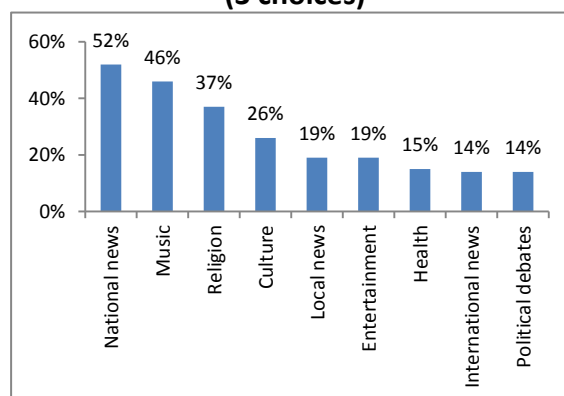


Figure 17: Preferred radio programs (3 choices)



According to KIIs, women listen mostly to cooking and religious programs on the radio. Nargis radio is thought to be popular among women (the manager and all announcers are women and it has specific women’s programs). Older age groups listen mainly to news, sometimes music, preferably on the BBC, Azadi, Nangarhar RTA, or Killid. Khogyani Ghag is popular mostly for music, but it is not considered trustworthy for news. Live programs on agriculture are broadcast on most radio stations and are popular.

3.2.3 Advertising

Khogyani's population is exposed to advertising, and most people like it. Telecom commercials (Roshan, MTN, Etisalat), food items (Dalda oil, Spin Ghar), vaccination programs (promoted by the Ministry of Health and the World Health Organization (WHO)), banks (Kabul Bank), and real estate companies (Ghazi Ama Nulla Khan) have the most remembered adverts.

The biggest advertising campaigns have been launched by mobile phone companies (Roshan and Etisalat). Evidence suggests that these have an impact on the purchasing patterns of Khogyani's population. People are generally aware of Roshan's and MTN's promotions.

3.2.4 Personalities

A former famous Nangarhar RTA announcer, now an MP, is originally from Khogyani (Saima Khogyani).

Journalists interviewed mentioned the following as the most popular people on local media: Mohammad Hashim Ghamsharik (former head of the Department of Culture and Information in Nangarhar, now adviser to the provincial governor), Aman (elder in Khogyani village), and Sher Alam Amlawal (political analyst).

The journalists identified the following personalities as those most popular on the national media scene: Ali Shah Paktiawal (former chief of Kabul police), Zemarai Bashari (Ministry of Interior spokesperson), Gul Agha Sherzai (Nangarhar governor), and Mohammed Ismail Yun (writer, intellectual, university professor, and political adviser to President Karzai).

Khales Baba, recently deceased, a religious figure (head of the Hezb Islami-Khales), was also quoted by the local people as an important personality.

In the sample of 100 interviewees, the personalities mentioned the most were President Karzai (23%), Nangarhar governor Gul Agha Sherzai (8%), and former Minister of Finance and presidential candidate Dr. Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai (7%).

3.3 Perceptions and impact

3.3.1 Comprehension

A large part of the sampled population (male only) in Khogyani district is literate and comprehension problems are rather low: almost none of the interviewees had any issue understanding radio, and only 22% mentioned difficulties understanding TV programs.

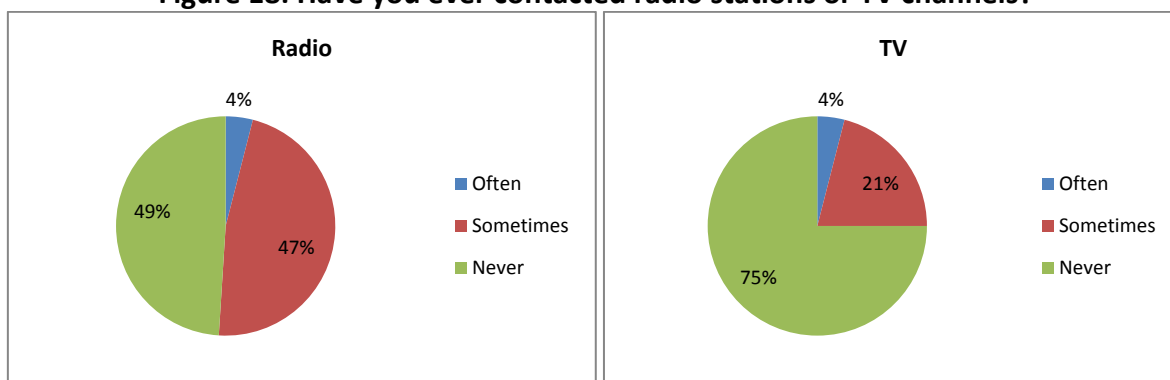
Difficulties are mostly because of language (half of the population does not understand Dari). Complex terminology can represent an additional barrier to full comprehension. This usually occurs with reporting on politics or current affairs. Shamshad TV, Nangarhar RTA, Lemar, and Sharq are well understood, as they use Pashto.

3.3.2 Participation

Most people enjoy interactive programs (which invite callers) for entertainment or discussion. Examples include *Musafer Ghag* (“Voice of Travelers”) by Nangarhar RTA, a program requesting poems (Abasin radio), and *Khanda* (“Laugh”) (Sharq). A significant portion of Khogyani’s population takes part in these. Tradition generally prevents women, children, and the elderly from participating, although in some cases barriers are overcome. The vast majority of women do not own a mobile phone, but they may use their husbands’ or brothers’ to call media outlets and avoid mentioning their names when participating.

Contacting the media is generally preferred to contacting the government in making complaints or conveying sensitive messages. People feel that high levels of bureaucracy in government bodies slow down the process and also that, through wider outreach, which includes donors, NGOs, etc., the media can be more effective in solving specific problems.

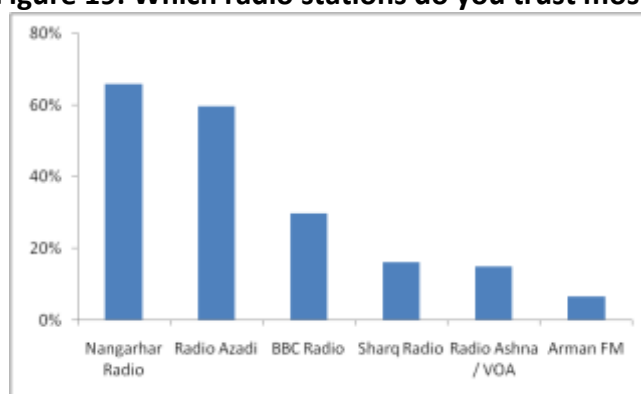
Figure 18: Have you ever contacted radio stations or TV channels?



3.3.3 Trust

Trust patterns closely follow usage and preferences: the most trusted radio stations are Nangarhar RTA, Azadi, the BBC, and Sharq.

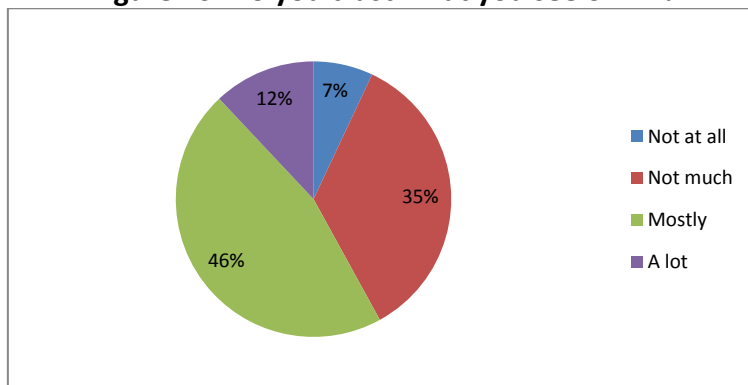
Figure 19: Which radio stations do you trust most?



The military is not a widely trusted source of information: only 2% of Khogyani interviewees consider it among trusted radio stations.

Interviews with community leaders showed a higher degree of trust in insurgents’ communications than in US military media, the latter often being perceived as misreporting information (especially on military operations).

Figure 20: Do you trust what you see on TV?



3.3.4 Perceptions of the local media

The only local station, Khogyani Ghag, is of small importance to interviewees, who cited Nangarhar RTA as their local station. A total of 76% found the latter “very good” and 18% “good.” It is particularly appreciated for bringing local news and public announcements and is perceived as independent.

3.3.5 Circulation and impact

News on the radio is the most discussed item. Songs and funny videos are shared perhaps once or twice a week by those who own mobile phones with video applications.

The media is generally perceived as a positive source of information, especially valuable in the fields of culture, education, health, and religion. People are aware of censorship and pressure received from the government and the US military.

Figure 21: Does local radio have an impact on your community?

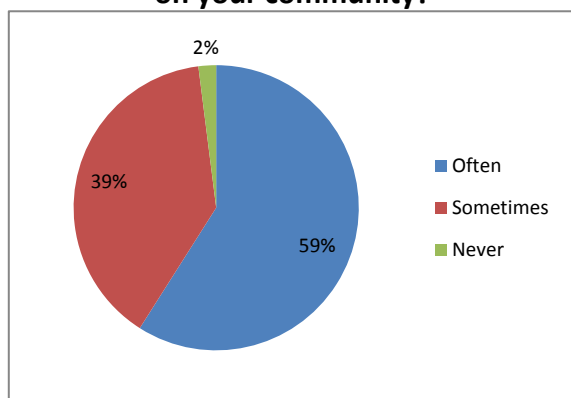
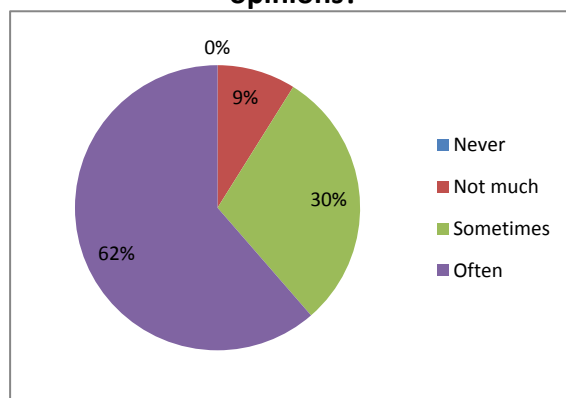


Figure 22: Can TV make you change your opinions?



3.3.6 Development project communication and educational campaigns

Recent educational campaigns have included those conducted by the provincial governor to counter poppy cultivation. These long-term campaigns started as early as 2002 and intensify during the poppy harvesting season. *Shura* decisions are sometimes announced on the radio and on banners displayed along the main roads.

Interviewed journalists mentioned government blood donation campaigns and clean-up initiatives. Community leaders referred to campaigns on crop treatment and deforestation.

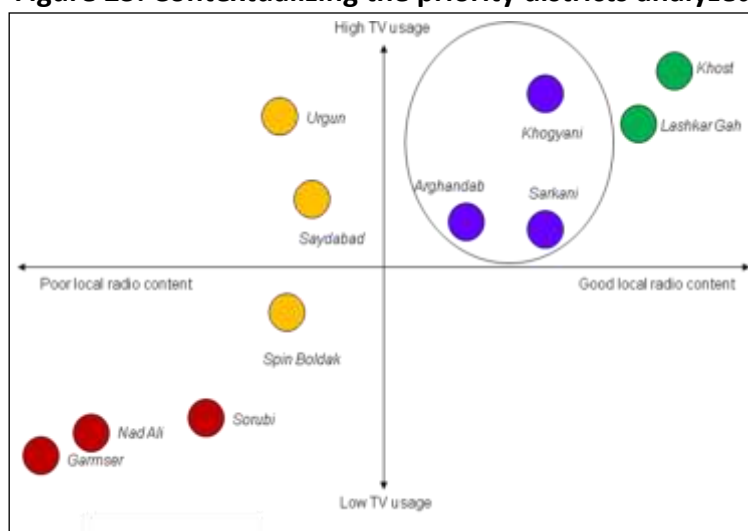
4 Conclusions and areas of opportunity

Khogyani is not a completely isolated area in relative terms, although local media are limited in the district, which has only one military radio station (and one small magazine published in Jalalabad by Khogyani students). The radio station is not trusted or popular among the district's inhabitants; its audience is very low.

General exposure to media in the district is not particularly constrained, however, given its proximity to Jalalabad. Indeed, Khogyani's inhabitants take advantage of nearby Jalalabad through their access to its broadcast media, as well as newspapers and internet. Terrestrial coverage is varied: areas close to the district center generally have good reception of media signals; the entire area south of Wazir Zawa (11-15km from the district center) and Wazir Tanghei experiences poor reception, mainly because of its distance from transmitters and interruptions caused by the mountains.

Figure 23, which classifies the districts analyzed for this study into four groups on the basis of TV usage and quality of local radio content, illustrates the district's positioning in relation to the others.

Figure 23: Contextualizing the priority districts analyzed



Women especially seem to have little access to TV, and virtually none to the internet. Men are more exposed to different sources of media and appear to be more avid media users. Cultural constraints and traditions (over 80% interviewees think that women should not watch TV without supervision), confinement in the home (men travel outside the district and take part in meetings), and generally differentiated literacy rates (not tested in this study) further contribute to women's limited media use.

Key areas of opportunity include strengthening buy-in of the military radio station. Although recommendations as to content cannot be made, owing to limited information in this respect (the radio station was not accessible during the fieldwork), the local community could be included in content production, reporting, and interaction (although working for or interacting with the military on a military base may be a security concern for local people). Supporting the creation of a network of military radio stations could be another way to provide alternative content for an unpopular radio station. Additional repeaters located in

the entire area south of Wazir Zawa and Wazir Tanghei could address any coverage problems caused by distance and the mountainous terrain.

In a district with no grid electricity, strengthening electricity coverage is necessary to boost TV ownership.