

The State of Aceh Before The Earthquake Driven Tsunami: Some Preliminary Research Notes

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Abstract: This article would like to give a concise background of Aceh for The BRR's [Badan Rekonstruksi dan Rehabilitasi, The Agency for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation] Proposal for Transformation and Sustainable Development which is framed, bringing together the goals and aspirations of many groups and sectors from Aceh society just in time of Islamic Sharia law initiated. In initiating this process, it assumed an enormous challenge, to seek a national consensus in a local government where the imposition of ideas has prevailed over dialogue and negotiation, frequently leading to force and violence. Aceh and Nias Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Agency – BRR is the sole agent for redevelopment of Aceh and Nias and without any public hearing or consultation, they are conducting many project of development in the aftermath of tsunami disaster in the region.

Keywords: Aceh tsunami, BRR, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, economic adjustment, gender inequalities

Introduction

With this, the dream shared by many in Aceh is coming true; that civil society has a shared vision of the sustainable development of our province. Fortunately, the earthquake driven tsunami did not sweep away this dream - but rather revived it. This article concludes the intense process of working together initiated in late 1998, when the Aceh Nias Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Agency (BRR, [*Badan Rekonstruksi dan Rehabilitasi, The Agency for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation*]) was created under the torrential rains and heavy currents of The Earthquake Driven Tsunami. The BRR is a coalition of more than 320 social movements, nongovernmental organizations, sectoral networks, territorial networks, producers' associations, unions and federations that decided to work together, actively participating

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in the emergency relief efforts.

The BRR brings together and combines knowledge, experience, global insight, specific viewpoints, sectoral visions, and the capacity to mobilize and to have an influence in the following areas: preventive and curative health (both physical and psycho-social); formal and informal education; the environment; the economy; childhood, adolescence and youth; community development and promotion; attention to and empowerment of women; sexuality; local power; housing; credit; nutrition; citizens' security; forestry production; rural and urban production; micro-business; cooperatives; human rights; research; communication; foreign debt; commerce; cultural promotion; church and pastoral work and many others.

The BRR seek a national vision that combines the specific realities of the different sectors of society, with accumulated knowledge and skills. It's convinced that the reconstruction of Aceh presents an extraordinary opportunity to set the foundations and create the necessary conditions for environmentally sustainable human development. In constant movement, working within various sectors and in practically all of the local government's departments and municipalities. The BRR knows and understand the interests, needs and demands of the social sectors with which it work on a daily basis and with whom it is in permanent dialogue. The BRR have the capacity to coordinate with all of the other social actors that contribute knowledge, experiences and resources towards reconstruction and growth. With all of this accumulated energy, it feel fully capable of participating actively in the formulation and implementation of a national development plan produced by consensus.

Background

The current national situation in Aceh has been determined by a combination of political and socioeconomic problems. Among these problems is the exclusionary character of the current economic model, which has led to an unequal distribution of the benefits of economic growth and to the

irrational exploitation of natural resources, which, in turn, caused an environmental crisis now worsened by the devastating effects of The Earthquake Driven Tsunami. The economic model defined our development according to external needs and promoted the exploitation of natural resources with no concern for the future. In the early 1970s, there were an estimated 22 million hectares of forestland in Aceh. This was reduced to some 10 million hectares of forests during the Soeharto family's regime.

By the late 1970s, the model of dependency on agricultural exportation was clearly structurally untenable, and the Green Revolution triumphed within this context. During the 1980s, an attempt was made to construct a model in which the State acted as the key actor in development, and attempts were made at a broad distributive policy, reinsertion into the world economy and the diversification of international economic relations. Military conflict among other things, weakened this model, making its continuation impractical. The conflict also caused damage that would be felt for years to come in all aspects of national life. The irrational exploitation of forestry resources was not contained during this period. As a result the local government was left with an inventory of some 4.5 million hectares of forestland. During the Soeharto administration, the forest inventory was further reduced to a mere 2.5 million hectares. The number of registered lumber companies grew from 22 in 1993 to more than 600 in 1995; these had no rational management plan, and thus environmental degradation increased. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government administration received a forestry inventory that, according to official government statistics, covered 3.2 million hectares. Environmental degradation continues however, contraband has increased as has the illegal exportation of lumber.

All this has taken place in the midst of strict stabilization and adjustment programs, the most evident results of which have been economic growth for a select few and increased poverty and inequality for the majority. Within this context, The Earthquake Driven Tsunami occurred as the climax to a long

story of impoverishment and deterioration of natural resources and of the quality of life and living conditions of the population. The devastating effects of The Earthquake Driven Tsunami in Aceh and Nias are intimately related to the consequences of the historical development model and the prevailing neoliberal economic model. The fundamental assumptions of the neoliberal proposal include the deregulation of market operations and, in this context, the liberalization of banking and commerce, a decline in the population's demand capacity, a reduction of the role and size of State and a closing of the fiscal deficit, all without concern for the human costs and without prioritizing the population's standard of living.

A national reconstruction proposal must respond to a medium- and long-term strategy for the Aceh's internal development, the reconstruction of the State for the good of the nation, and the strengthening of the democratization process. As fundamental goals, such a proposal must also focus on the inclusion of a gender perspective and environmental preservation. A perspective of equality is essential, centered on resolving the fundamental inequalities that affect our nation: those between men and women, between adults and children and adolescents - bases upon which other inequalities are founded. Most of the impoverished population in Aceh is made up of *women, children and adolescents*. For them, market liberalization and the reduction of public services have had devastating effects. The lives of these women, youth and children have been complicated by a deterioration in consumption levels and a lack of response to their particular needs. The inordinate increase in unemployment represents a breakdown in the entire system of social relations, graphically expressed through family crises and an increase in violence. As a whole, this situation reduces the opportunities to promote citizenship and encourages such things as emigration, social violence, drug trafficking, etc. One fundamental requirement for the construction of a development model with gender and generational equality is the design of a Population Policy that recognizes the rights of women and adolescents to control their own reproductive processes and that

identifies adult and adolescent women as active agents in the transformation and development processes, rather than as victims of the system whose condition must always be mitigated.

Aceh's reconstruction must be integral. Material reconstruction must be accompanied by the political/institutional reconstruction of the State, the psycho-social reconstruction of its population, the promotion of citizenship for men and women, adults, adolescents and children, the strengthening and participation of civil society, and by full guarantees of freedom of expression and respect for the rule of law. An adequate system of accounting and accountability must be established at the municipal, national and international levels, ensuring transparency in the use of funds obtained to finance the reconstruction program. Indicators must also be designed so as to measure fulfillment of commitments made by the central and municipal governments. The government must publish implementation reports regarding the nation's resources, thus ensuring the correct use of funds and providing continuity to the reconstruction program.

The mechanisms for popular participation must be institutionalized so as to ensure their permanence regardless of the normal fluctuations in politics. Reconstruction will occur to the extent that such mechanisms are created and legalized, thus ensuring participative and consultative processes for civil society in decision-making that involves State resources, the course of the nation and the development of a common agenda for action. Over the past 50 years, countless institutions have generated a great many analyses and theoretical proposals on development, especially with respect to the situation of so-called "underdeveloped" countries. Such proposals have aimed at decent and acceptable standards of living for the people of these nations.

Even though such proposals exist —and have been accepted and adopted by the international community through agreements, declarations or treaties— the gaps are constantly widening between such declarations and the characteristics of the socioeconomic models into which our countries are inserted.

Especially since the implementation of the neoliberal model, increased pauperization, environmental destruction and the marginalization of women, children and ethnic groups, among other effects, have been recognized as the primary factors negating the possibility of attaining not only sustainable levels of development, but the satisfaction even of basic needs for a large majority of the population. It has also often been stated that unequal trade relations between "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries are a significant cause of this problem.

In this context —and parallel to the promotion of the discourse on Human Rights in which the so-called "Right to Development" is located— in Aceh, especially since 1990, different agents of International Cooperation for Development have done their utmost to make more palatable the devastating effects of an economic model, promoted by the multilateral agencies, to which they themselves belong, without real investment for development. Thus, their declarations become mere rhetoric, ignoring even the boomerang effects that the socio-cultural, economic and political problems in our countries may have upon their own protected environments. An idea has surfaced that The Earthquake Driven Tsunami should be seen not as a disaster, but as an opportunity to define a Development Plan with which to enter the next millenium. We certainly approve of this perspective, but we also affirm that such an opportunity cannot be feasible unless the international community also views the earthquake and tsunami's effects as an opportunity to reconsider its own role in the future. We propose to the international community that Aceh, as well as Honduras, be considered a special case for the construction of integral and peaceful development alternatives that prioritize people and provide opportunities for international organizations to demonstrate their commitment to the discourse regarding the development of poor countries. In this context, it is essential that the cooperation model be focussed towards decentralized cooperation, that promotes to the greatest extent possible the capacities for local spaces and the participation of civil society.

Characteristics of The Aceh's Economic System

Even before The Earthquake Driven Tsunami, Aceh was an extremely vulnerable and fragile region. The economic crisis of Indonesia and civil war which occurred for decades makes the Achenese economy unstable. Unskilled labor is predominant in the productive spheres, where salaries tend to be low, and lower still when women and children are hired. Harvests are mainly seasonal, so there is no permanent employment and the labor force lacks stability. Working conditions are deficient and, in general, workers do not benefit from the social security system. Reproduction of the workforce is, therefore, the responsibility of family units.

The breach between primary industry and the industrial sector, blocks the generation of value added on primary products. After tsunami, the small and medium scale enterprizes have level damages up to 65 % and large scale enterprizes 60 % include the governmental industry such as PT. Semen Andalus Indonesia, PT. Pupuk Iskandar Muda and PT. ASEAN Aceh Fertilizer. The Loss of assets manufacturer industry on medium scale average to 84 milyar rupiahs. Meanwhile it is estimated about 92.000 micro and small- scale industry in Aceh were damaged as impact of the natural disaster.

The averages of micro, small and medium scale enterprizes are 30 juta rupiahs which the total of loss values by tsunami disaster are up to 3,1 trilyun rupiahs.¹ Micro, small an medium scale enterprizes that damaged by tsunami estimated 20,88 % (5.176 unit), hotel 30,41 % (59 unit), restoran 17,20 % (1.119 unit), market 1,29 % (195 unit), and shop 16,71 % (7.529

¹Data Departemen Perindustrian dan Bank Dunia yang dikutip dari Republik Indonesia, *Rancangan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi Aceh-Nias, Buku V: Rencana Bidang Kelembagaan Daerah*, Maret 2005, hlm 8-12.

unit)²; trading centre 65, 54 traditional market, 69 supermarket, 19 fish market, 29 general bank, 59 hotel, and others.³

The industrialization that took place in the 1950s and 60s under the Southeast Asian Common Market was oriented towards nondurable consumer goods that were not competitive for the protected regional market. Such industrialization generated little employment. Together, the farmer and industrial sectors are not able to generate enough resources with which to obtain the hard currency required for the region and its economy to function in the global market. More specifically Aceh's vulnerability is related to the following realities:

Indonesia's foreign debt is unsustainable; according to official data from 1998, the debt currently totals some US\$ 6,290 million, representing three times the Gross Domestic Product and almost eight times the export value of non-industrial goods and services for that year. Annual debt servicing is also high, representing in 1998 27% of the export value for non-industrial goods and services. This severe indebtedness placed and has maintained strong pressure on the Aceh's fiscal accounts. Annual cash payments of interest and amortization included in Aceh's General Budget represent 20% of the central government's total expenditures, whereas allocations to the health and education sectors are around 12% and 10%, respectively. The "fiscal calamity" that results from this excessive payment of foreign debt makes it impossible to eradicate the extensive poverty and misery in Aceh. As Aceh's foreign debt payments have increased, so has its indebtedness as a result of an attempt to comply with these obligations, and thus a vicious circle has been formed: increased debt service — greater foreign debt — increased debt service, etc.

This limits the possibilities for increasing investment and economic growth, and at the same time puts price stability in the internal market at risk because of the decrease in international

²Berdasarkan data dari UNSYIAH for Aceh Reconstruction, 7 Maret 2005

³Data Mapframe ADB yang dikutip dari Republik Indonesia, *Rancangan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi Aceh-Nias, Buku V: Rencana Bidang Kelembagaan Daerah*, Maret 2005, hlm 8-12.

reserves. It is practically impossible for Aceh to escape underdevelopment with such a disproportionate foreign debt.

There has been a gradual development of an agrarian counter-reform via economic means. The reformed sector has sold off a little over one million *pek* (1 *pek* = 0.7 hectares) of land. The cooperative sector has decreased in number from 3,600 cooperatives in 1990 to only 350 today. Currently, small- and medium-scale producers in the countryside face the following main problems: the severe drop in international prices for certain products, thus lowering their profit margins; heavy indebtedness to the official and unconventional financial systems; high costs of production associated mainly with the high costs of money as reflected in the interest rates, the high costs of fuels because of heavy tax rates, the cumulative sales tax structure, high electricity costs, low technological levels, obsolete machinery and equipment, the effects of currency slippage, negative external costs (security, infrastructure, etc.); deficiencies in certain laws and the application of such laws; deficiencies in the structure responsible for applying the law (police, judges, etc.); and differential tariffs on certain goods that compete with national production.

Although a detailed census has yet to be carried out, it is estimated that micro- and small-scale businesses represent 95% of all businesses in the industrial and service sectors. A significant portion of these businesses have been marginalized from any real chance of access to market opportunities. Some of the most common problems they face as economic units include: low sales, lack of working capital, very high taxes, expensive bank credit, inappropriate repayment plans, high transaction costs and excessive service charges for small loans and for new borrowers. Economic policy over the last ten years has contributed greatly to increasing inequality. One example of this is the tax structure's extreme regressiveness and the strong dependence on a few indirect taxes (fiscal industry, fuels, etc.). The tax burden accounts for more than 30% of the GDP. Less than 3% of the GDP, however, corresponds to direct taxes, and a significant part of this is contributed by salaried workers who

cannot practice tax evasion. The rich —who are becoming extremely rich - pay practically no taxes at all. The burden is born by the population. If we were to make the conservative assumption that the high-income sector's share of total earnings in the Aceh is only 20%, and if this sector were to pay the corresponding income tax of 30%, its contribution would be at least 6% of the GDP. As mentioned above, however, current income tax proceeds scarcely account for 3% of the GDP

Labors Sector

The unemployment rate is extremely high, with, according to official data, 27% of the economically active population openly unemployed or under-employed in 1998, although independent estimates claim the rate to be closer to 50%. Each year, some 60,000 young men and women join the labor market in search of jobs. As a result a large part of the unemployed population seeks refuge in the informal sector, including a high percentage of women and children. Women especially have to look towards micro-businesses, usually as a form of self-employment that, in general, will only generate subsistence wages. Children and adolescents work in the cities and in the countryside in a variety of economic activities: street sales, shoe shining, hauling, singing, day labor, seasonal work, agricultural work and high-risk activities on plantations, trucking, and in mines.

In the 1990s in Aceh, micro-, small- and medium-scale businesses have been used not as a source of national development, but rather to prevent the social uprisings that could result from such massive under and unemployment. In comparative terms, most employment positions (75.1%) are located within the tertiary sector of the economy (commerce, government, transportation and communications, banks and insurance, energy and water services, housing, property and other services). In 1998, this sector generated 44.6% of the Gross Domestic Product. This fact suggests that the majority of the working population are not employed directly within the productive sector and do not generate the largest share of the

social wealth.

Worker-employer relations in Aceh have suffered a reversal and marked deterioration over the past eight years. During this period, successive government administrations have applied a strategy in favor of labor market flexibility, producing the following effects: Systematic violation of constitutional rights. Violation of union freedom and the right to collective bargaining. Disregard for standards for the protection of labor. Accelerated loss of social benefits. A 'dirty war' against union leaders who adopt critical and belligerent attitudes in defense of workers' rights. Persecution and mass layoffs of union leaders from the public sector and from public companies subject to the privatization process. The accelerated weakening and deterioration of the unions' capacity to protest. Weakening of the institutionalism of the union movement. Proliferation and promotion of "front" unions in support of the government. These tendencies seriously endanger democratic governability as more and more sectors are being affected and excluded from the benefits of economic adjustment, and in particular the middle sectors are experiencing a deterioration in their situation, mainly those linked to the government and laid off during attempts to reduce state bureaucracy.

Gender Inequalities

Severe gender inequality exists in Aceh. Achenese women contribute significantly to the Aceh's development, within both the productive and reproductive spheres. The contribution of women within the different branches of the economy has been differentiated as follows: 24% of agricultural production; 33% of livestock production; 47% of industrial production; 48% of commercial production. In addition, in terms of its opportunity cost women's reproductive work corresponds to 33% of the GDP. The invisibility of this contribution by women within the economic system has accentuated the inequalities they face with respect to access to land, credit, training and technical assistance. This, in turn, has excluded them from the benefits of development and from

access to markets, technology and information.

More than 53% of the Achenese population is under 18 years old, thus there can be no development in the Aceh if the needs and demands of this population group are not taken into account. A development plan that does not include the vision of children and adolescents is an extremely exclusive plan; it disregards more than half of the Achenese people. In Aceh today, there exists a series of inequalities: *social inequalities*, where capital, technology, knowledge and political power are concentrated in the hands of a few and the great majority have very little access to such material and spiritual resources; *geographic inequalities*, since most resources and investments are focused on urban areas and rural zones are marginalized; *gender inequalities*, where men enjoy privileged status and position in all aspects over women; *ethnic inequalities*, where certain ethnic groups have greater power in the processes of production and reproduction; and *generational inequalities*, where adults enjoy better conditions than do children and adolescents. Opportunity cost that which each woman would earn if instead of dedicating her time to domestic work, she carried out some activity in the productive sphere on her own account.

The indicators of poverty —lack of access to basic services, malnutrition, morbidity and mortality— are much higher among the child and adolescent populations than the adult population. Moreover, the economic and social contributions of children are not recognized. There are more than 300,000 boys and girls who work in the urban informal sector and in rural zones of Aceh, contributing to their family incomes and to community survival. No human development can take place without equality among generations. The capacities and potentials of the younger generations must be fully supported in order to ensure Aceh's present and future development.

Differential Impact of Economic Adjustments

Macroeconomic policies are usually implemented in a gender-neutral manner and with neutrality in terms of

generational differences also. However, although the entire Achenese population feels the effects of the adjustment policies it is women, children and adolescents who are suffering the greatest impact, reflecting the roles that they play within society. While the gendered division of labor (domestic work for women, productive work for men) has sometimes been modified by the specific needs of certain economic models, leading to the incorporation of women into the productive process, this has not occurred under the same conditions for women as for men. Women's incorporation has been characterized by their confinement to jobs that require fewer qualifications and that pay lower salaries; or their concentration in jobs that are an extension of the domestic work they carry out at home. Moreover, the fact that many women are heads of households (approximately 33% in Aceh) forces them to seek employment in order to maintain their children. As economic crisis worsens, women's participation in both the formal and informal labor markets increases, yet women also occupy a prominent place in the unemployment indices, especially those women between the ages of 15 and 19 years. The role given to women in development has meant that all of the activities they carry out outside of the home are considered to be complementary in nature and in most cases are defined as inactive or non-productive.

As Achenese government administrations have reduced social spending, and since the physical conditions in which domestic work is carried out do not offer even minimal levels of quality and suitability, women have been forced to invest a greater proportion of their time and energies in order to ensure the reproduction of the workforce in their households.

Young people in Aceh have no real prospects for the future. Large numbers of youth prematurely abandon formal education and are not able to integrate successfully into society, with rural and indigenous sectors the most affected. The school system is defective in carrying out its mission to equip young adults with essential cultural skills, especially at the secondary level. Training and apprenticeships are also insufficient for the

challenges that young people face today and in the future and there is a lack of training for the work environment, specifically training adapted to today's technological changes. Work training opportunities for young people are scarce, and in many cases directed towards the middle classes because of the costs, duration and types of training offered.

In general and with few exceptions, citizen participation in public administration is practically non-existent. At the central level, there are no spaces for the effective unification between civil society and governmental spheres. The initiatives for citizen participation that were developed in the 1980s and early 1990s have been extinguished over time. In recent years, those mechanisms that have been created have been considered to be exclusively for consultation, without possibilities for negotiation and compromise between government structures and organized citizens. In this way, such procedures continue to be vertical, with the government structures placed above the society. The few current examples of participation in public administration that might possibly be applicable have all occurred at the local level in municipalities. These have come about because of the determination by local residents and different organizations and groups to assert their rights and make use of the spaces granted them by the Constitution and Municipal Law.

Most impressive in this context, however, is the existence of innovative experiences of participation in the exercise of municipal functions, including: administration of community water services, solicitation of resources for public lighting projects in urban barrios, solid waste collection, housing construction, cleaning and paving of streets, and social infrastructure projects such as the construction and repair of schools, etc.

Delinquency is increasing, and although it is not linked only to criminal activities in situations of poverty, it does find fertile breeding ground in the related lack of alternatives and opportunities. According to official data from the National Police, approximately 26,000 crimes were committed in 1990 and 67,000 in 1998, signifying a 157% increase in only eight years.

This clearly demonstrates Aceh's alarming rate of social decomposition. High levels of intrafamily violence abuse and violence against women accompany this rise in crime.

This involves strong migratory currents towards other countries, mainly Malaysia and Saudi Arabia and the Middle Eastern Countries. It has generated different phenomena: on the one hand, it uproots the emigrants who usually must face discriminatory treatment at their final destinations and who are forced to adapt to different ways of life. On the other hand, it decapitalizes Aceh of the human resources that could be generating social wealth within the region. Finally, the remittances that emigrants send back to family members who have remained in Aceh are used mainly for consumption and do not generate productive activity.

The Impact of The Earthquake Driven Tsunami

It is estimated that 126. 602 people lost their lives affected by The Earthquake Driven Tsunami in Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam Province (NAD), of which 93, 638 are missing⁴, with total refugees more than 500.000 people in the 21 municipalities. Total damages and loss in the region Rp 41,4 triliun, which 78 % are people assets and the rest are belong to government.⁵ The impact of the earthquake driven tsunami affected a big and huge damages of infrastructures such as road, bridge and communication line. The worst is, schools as a part of education sector lost one generation of their human resources.⁶ In education aspect, it is estimated 1.168 school affected by the earthquake driven tsunami. It is as much as 16,1% of the entire schools which existed before the natural disaster and it cost about 1 Triliun rupiahs.⁷

After the natural disaster, the population of refugee is

⁴Data Departemen Dalam Negeri per tanggal 9 Maret 2005.

⁵Data Bakornas Badan Koordinasi Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana dan Penanganan Pengungsi (PBP, 14 Maret 2005.

⁶Data Bakornas PBP, 14 Maret 2005

⁷ Republik Indonesia, *Rancangan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi Wilayah Aceh-Nias, Sumatera Utara, Buku Utama*, Maret 2005, bab 2 p. 3.

now exposed to the onslaught of epidemics of acute respiratory diseases, diarrhea, conjunctivitis, leptospirosis, malaria, dengue, infectious hepatitis, etc., all as a consequence of the acute decline in hygiene and sanitary conditions, as well as changes in the natural environment. With regard to nutrition, the child population is now at greater risk of suffering from malnutrition, given difficult access to many localities, lack of food and the decline in productive capacity as a result of the meteorological phenomenon. Studies regarding disaster situations also show that these circumstances have an impact on gender relations. Unless intervention include an analysis and a perspective that takes account of the differentiated situations of men and women and also those of age and social group, existing inequalities will tend to be exacerbated. Moreover, although no statistical information has been gathered concerning the effects upon persons with disabilities and their families, it is safe to assume that the earthquake and tsunami has increased the population with some degree of disability.

There is a differential impact on women. The consequences of the earthquake and tsunami represent greater problems in terms of damage to women's mental health, the postponement of their needs, greater impoverishment of families and thus a larger share of the work burden carried by female adults, adolescents and children. This implies the reduction of citizen participation on the part of women, as well as the relegation of priorities regarding their rights in terms of sexual and reproductive health. There is also a tendency toward a worsening of intrafamily violence and damage to the mental health of all members of the domestic unit.

Of the total number of victims, 45% were younger than 15 years of age. As this figure does not include the adolescent age group (up to 18 years of age), it implies that in real terms more than 50% of the population affected by the earthquake and tsunami are children and adolescents. Their schooling has also been affected, through the destruction of schools, the interruption of the school year and the use of schools as refugee centers. They were further affected within the communal space

as recipients of the anguish and fears expressed by adults, being severely affected psychologically due to their biological and social characteristics.

Conclusion

The Earthquake Driven Tsunami occurred as the climax to a long story of impoverishment and deterioration of natural resources and of the quality of life and living conditions of the population. The devastating effects of The Earthquake Driven Tsunami in Aceh and Nias are intimately related to the consequences of the historical development model and the prevailing neoliberal economic model. The reconstruction development project cannot exclusively seek to insert the national economy into the international market, with a strong bias towards the development and consolidation of the commercial export activities favored by globalization and the infrastructural modernization necessary for such activities. It must not ignore the possibility of forming and developing an internal market that would make viable in human terms the transformation.

Establishing programs to "mitigate" extreme poverty and the severe vulnerability that such poverty causes for the population does not allow for the construction of viable national states with sustainable economies and democratic and governable societies. Rather, it only prolongs the existing structural problems. The need to provide the basic elements necessary for human survival (basic consumer goods and sufficient food products) cannot be ignored. Nor can the satisfaction of the Acehnese population's pressing needs be set aside. The crisis caused by the earthquake and tsunami demonstrated that the centralist model developed by the State is exhausted in terms of providing effective responses to the citizen's problems. To that effect what is needed are coordinated actions and cooperation between the different levels of the State and between the State and organizations from civil society, as well as overcoming the exclusion that divides the various sectors in the region for political, religious or other reasons.

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