

Community protection of medical facilities

Implementation of the principles of International Humanitarian Law



**Audience research conducted by PACT Radio
on storylines of Da Pulay Poray drama**

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Overview and background:

In February and March 2017, PACT Radio ran a compelling storyline in its popular day-to-day radio drama Da Pulay Poray. The storyline centered on the community's support for local medical facilities, the protection of these facilities from the ravages of war and the reaction of the community to implementation of the principles of International Humanitarian Law – care of the wounded, protection of medical facilities – in their midst. The storyline was rooted in two previous storylines of Da Pulay Poray drama. Firstly, there had been fighting in Kandao village, where Da Pulay Poray drama is set, between two rival groups. One of these rival groups had made a trench next to the local medical facility. Despite pleas to the leader of this group to vacate this position, which imperiled the medical facility, he stuck to his guns and refused to budge. Eventually, the outcome that was feared took place, with the clinic being damaged, some patients injured and the organization that ran the clinic vacating it, leaving the local population without a medical facility in their neighborhood.

Later on, the very same person who had been responsible for the damage to the clinic – a local strongman by the name of Zafar Khan, was approached by a person opposed to polio immunization and asked to kidnap the polio vaccination team that was about to do a tour of Kandao village. He did as requested. The only thing was that he captured the wrong people. Instead of capturing the polio immunization group, he captured another group, who happened to be heading to Kandao village at around the same time as the polio immunization group. This group, mistaken by Zafar Khan for the vaccinators, was a group from the organization operating the local clinic. They wanted to see if the security situation was good enough in the environs of Kandao village, for them to reopen the local clinic. Zafar Khan let them go, once he found out that they were not the vaccinators. However, the harm had been done and obviously the group reported back that the security situation around Kandao village was still bad, and not conducive to reopening of the medical facility.

Yet another storyline, set in the more recent past in Kandao village, also contributed to setting the scene for the current storyline on International Humanitarian Law. It concerned Kashmala, a local widow who had prevailed upon her maternal uncle to hand over to her her fair share in her mother's inheritance. Her uncle Malik Ghani did this unwillingly, and as a result relations between him and his niece soured. Relations deteriorated even further when Kashmala, besides living in the house that she had built on the land that she had inherited, also operated a women's learning and activity centre there. When Malik Ghani, in complicity with Zafar Khan, posed as an invading group and took over his own village, in a ploy to increase his own clout in the village, he also prevailed on Zafar Khan to burn down Kashmala's house.

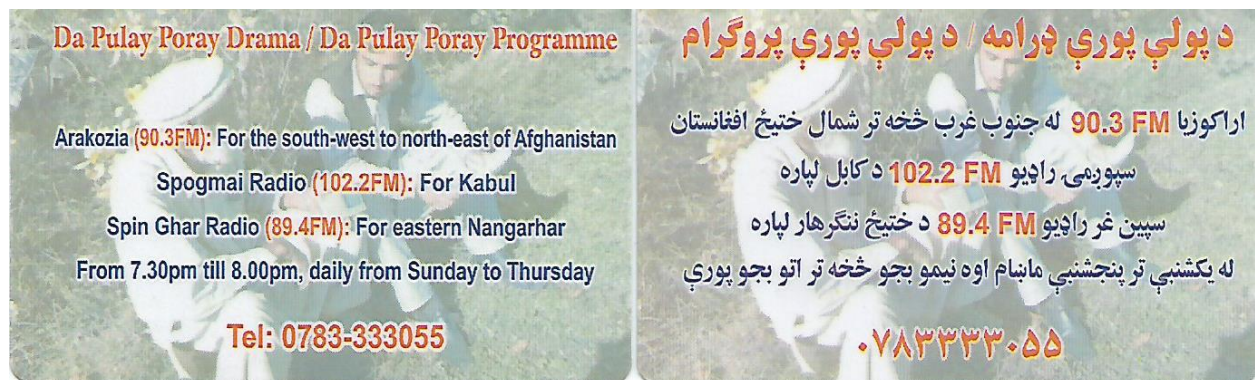
Zafar Khan had occasion to rue his actions when he found himself in dire need of medical attention. While trying to teach his friend, a local joker by the name of Matlab Shah, how to fire a gun, Matlab Shah inadvertently shot Zafar Khan in the leg. Zafar Khan was bleeding profusely and needed medical attention but of course, entirely due to his own actions, there was no medical facility operating in the vicinity. The only person who could administer emergency first aid to Zafar Khan – in particular to stop his bleeding – was Kashmala. Kashmala's younger sister Zarmina was dead against Kashmala administering first aid to Zafar Khan. The sisters had found out that it was Zafar Khan who had burned down their house. Are you saving the life of someone who has earned our enmity, Zarmina challenged her sister? Kashmala explained to her younger sister that now Zafar Khan lay wounded, in desperate need of medical attention, he was neither friend nor foe: he was just a wounded person who had a right to medical attention. So Kashmala saved his life, much to the chagrin of her sister.

To continue the storyline that ran on International Humanitarian Law, the impact of which was researched and is explained in this report – after Kashmala saved Zafar's life, by arresting his bleeding, he was taken to the hospital in the provincial centre – the sihat-e-aama as it is known in Afghanistan. His treatment was underway when Zafar Khan became paranoid due to what he perceived as the undue attention of the authorities. Zafar Khan was a notorious criminal – a proclaimed offender. The authorities had good reason to want to speak to him, in connection with a host of crimes, one of which was the kidnapping of the team that had come to survey the security situation in the neighborhood, with a view to reopening the local clinic.

Zafar Khan was sure he was about to be arrested. To escape arrest, with help from his henchman Matlab Shah, he escaped from the provincial centre hospital and returned to Kandao village. Since his wound had not had time to heal properly, and he left the hospital before his treatment had been completed, his wound became infected. So bad did the infection become that a doctor who visited him there advised him that his leg would have to be amputated, in order to save his life. Zafar Khan thought that the doctors must be trying to exact revenge from him, for having kidnapped their colleagues, but the doctors explained to him that they were only in the business of giving solid medical advice, not taking revenge from anyone. Zafar Khan had his leg amputated. Villagers assured the organization responsible for running the clinic that now that Zafar Khan had become an invalid, the threat to the medical facility no longer existed. They would provide the labour for reconstruction of the clinic and would guarantee security, if the organization would agree to reopen the clinic. The organization did so, and Kashmala was appointed as a health worker in the clinic, as reward for her efforts in the whole saga. This was the gist of the storyline, the impact of which we are looking at in the following pages.

Audience reaction to IHL storyline:

As well as doing regular research into listenership and impact of Da Pulay Poray drama storylines, PACT Radio also receives calls from listeners, on a dedicated phone number that is provided to listeners through the radio stations broadcasting Da Pulay Poray drama. The phone number is also advertised on a transmission card that is distributed widely in the regions where Da Pulay Poray drama is broadcast.



Transmission card of Da Pulay Poray drama

Calls are continuously coming through to this number from listeners. Many of the calls during the months of March and April 2017 were related to the ongoing storyline on International Humanitarian Law:

- A call came in from Gardi Ghaus, near the Torkham border with Pakistan, to say that the damage to the medical centre in Kandao village struck a chord with the inhabitants of Gardi Ghaus: 'It made us conscious of the fact that we do not have a clinic at all. When one of us falls sick, we have to take our sick person to Landi Kotal, on the other side of the border.'
- Mujahid from Nangarhar rang in to say that he had bought a new radio in order to listen to Da Pulay Poray Drama. While talking about various characters of Da Pulay Poray drama, he said that he was pleased when Zafar Khan got wounded, at the start of the current IHL storyline: 'He received the come-uppance for all his evil deeds.'
- Khalid rang in from Rodat to say that one thing he had learned from the drama was that where there is no peace, there can be no development.
- Juma Gul of Qarabagh was very impressed by the actions of Kashmala, in delivering first aid and saving the life of Zafar Khan, despite the fact that he had earned her enmity by burning down her house.
- Sifatullah from Battikot said that Zafar Khan would not listen to anyone, that was why he suffered.

- Riyazuddin from Rodat was especially impressed by the International Humanitarian Law storyline. He felt that Zafar Khan had received his just desserts: he beat up the health-workers, who had come to check on the possibility of reopening the clinic. Now he himself was suffering on account of his actions. 'This sequence of events contains a powerful message for all of us.'

Audience research into IHL storyline:

For the audience research , two districts were chosen in Nangarhar district, and two in Kabul district. The districts were chosen with several factors in mind: security, coverage of the radio stations broadcasting Da Pulay Poray drama and in Kabul a majority of Pashto speakers being present in the districts covered in the research. With this in mind, two districts were chosen in Kabul province and two in Nangarhar. The two districts chosen in Kabul were Deh Sabz and Paghman. Deh Sabz lies in the eastern part of the Kabul plateau, while Paghman is a mountainous region to the north-west of Kabul. In Kabul, Da Pulay Poray researchers went to the agricultural district of Kama, at the confluence of the Kunar and Kabul rivers, and Surkh Rud, to the west of Jalalabad city.



Central areas in Paghman, one of the areas where the research was conducted

An equal number of respondents were interviewed in the central area of each district – the district centre – and in the outlying parts. Interviewees were selected randomly, in clusters, using conventional cluster sampling technique.

Radio and Da Pulay Poray listenership:

Radio listenership was high in all the districts selected for the research.

80 persons were interviewed per province. In Nangarhar province, apart from the 80 persons interviewed regarding their recollection of Da Pulay Poray storylines related to protection of medical facilities and knowledge of International Humanitarian Law, eight individuals who had been selected for interview stated that they did not listen to the radio at all. Another five potential respondents said that they listened to Arakozia Radio, but not to Da Pulay Poray drama. Another seven said they were not Da Pulay Poray drama listeners at all. Those who were not listening to the radio, or to Da Pulay Poray drama, were not interviewed further. In other words, of 100 potential interviewees in Nangarhar province, 20 were either not radio listeners, or not Da Pulay Poray listeners.

Radio listenership, and listenership to Da Pulay Poray, was similar in Kabul province, where nine potential respondents said they did not listen to the radio at all. Another eleven respondents, who counted themselves as radio listeners, said they did not listen to Da Pulay Poray drama. So we can say that, in the small selected sample, 20 per cent of respondents were either not radio listeners, or not Da Pulay Poray listeners. These respondents were not interviewed further. So of all those polled, in four districts of Nangarhar and Kabul provinces, 80 per cent were either occasional or regular Da Pulay Poray drama listeners.

About half of all respondents selected for full interview – 51 per cent – said they listened to Da Pulay Poray drama every day, while 49 per cent were occasional listeners, who tuned into the radio drama two or three times per week.



Local people were most pleased to see an audience research team from Da Pulay Poray drama, one of their favourite radio programmes, and offered the research team heartfelt hospitality

Da Pulay Poray drama, along with its sister programme Da Pulay Poray programme is broadcast on three radio stations. The main broadcaster of Da Pulay Poray is Arakozia FM, part of the Moby Media Group that oversees Tolo TV – the main TV station in Afghanistan. The broadcast of Da Pulay Poray from Arakozia, which reaches all southern and eastern provinces of Afghanistan, in a south-westerly to north-easterly arc that stretches from Helmand to Kunar, is augmented in eastern Nangarhar by Spin Ghar radio, and by Spogmai radio in Kabul. Arakozia does not broadcast in Kabul, while in eastern Nangarhar their transmitter has been damaged, hence our recourse to Spogmai and Spin Ghar in those areas. However, in the two districts selected for the research – Kama and Surkh Rud – Arakozia has full coverage. All those interviewed in Kabul were listening to Da Pulay Poray from Spogmai radio.

Grasp of storylines on International Humanitarian Law:

By way of introduction, it was explained to respondents that Da Pulay Poray drama deals with a number of issues. One of these issues is International Humanitarian Law. International Humanitarian Law concerns the way wounded persons, civilians and prisoners should be treated in times of war, and how public utilities and medical facilities should be protected from the ravages of war.

It was explained to respondents that we would like to ask a few questions about how the issue of International Humanitarian Law had been dealt with in Da Pulay Poray drama, and what lessons listeners had learned from Da Pulay Poray drama's treatment of the subject of International Humanitarian Law.

For example, in the recent storyline, centering on implementation of International Humanitarian Law, Zafar Khan received a gunshot wound in the leg. There were three crucial factors here: for one, the nearby clinic, where Zafar Khan would normally have been taken for treatment, had been damaged in recent fighting that centered on the area around the clinic. One of the parties involved in this fighting had been a group led by Zafar Khan. Despite appeals to vacate the area, Zafar Khan stuck to his position in the vicinity of the medical facility. Predictably enough, the clinic was damaged in the fighting, some patients were wounded in the fighting, and the organization operating the clinic vacated the clinic, since from a security point of view it was not viable for them to operate the facility.

Then, more recently, the organization responsible for the operation of the clinic sent a delegation to Kandao village. They wished to survey the security situation in the environs of Kandao village, with a view to reopening the clinic. This proved to be a false hope, since the group were kidnapped and beaten up by Zafar Khan's men. It proved to be a case of mistaken identity – Zafar Khan had been after some other people – but the harm had been done. The organization obviously decided that conditions were not suitable for reopening of the medical facility.

Then, even more recently, Zafar Khan combined with the village Malik to launch an attack on Kandao village. In the course of this attack, Kashmala's learning and activity centre, set up for the benefit of local women, was burned down. Kashmala was fully aware of all this background when she decided to treat Zafar Khan, and prevent the bleeding from his wounded leg, in the process saving his life. Kashmala's younger sister, the more hard-headed Zarmina, was against Kashmala doing this. But Kashmala insisted that now Zafar Khan was a wounded person. It was his right to be treated, so she overruled Zarmina and treated him.

Respondents were asked, **when Zafar Khan lay wounded, why Zarmina had been against Kashmala treating him.** Was it:

1. Because he had been responsible for burning down Kashmala and Zarmina's house cum learning centre, in the course of a recent attack on Kandao village;
2. Because Zafar Khan was a man and Kashmala a woman and a woman should not treat a man;
3. Because he should have been treated by a doctor, and Kashmala was not a doctor

Clearly, the first option was the correct answer. This answer was given by 80 per cent of all respondents, male and female, in both Kabul and Nangarhar. 12 cent of respondents gave the second answer, and six per cent the third answer.

Although the audience research was questionnaire-based, hence quantitative in nature, one option with each question enabled respondents to elaborate on answers they had given, or to give another answer. This option gave the audience research a qualitative element, in addition to the substantive qualitative nature of the research.



Featuring in large part female characters, and dealing with issues that are very relevant and important to womenfolk, Da Pulay Poray drama is highly popular among female listeners, who featured equally, along with men, in the research

Here are some of the typical comments of respondents with regard to the above question, why Zarmina had been against Kashmala treating Zafar Khan:

- Zafar Khan is not good man. The village is suffering because of his evil activities. He has burned down Zarmina's house that is why Zarmina was against Kashmala treating him.
- Kashmala was an educated woman that is why she treated Zafar Khan when he was wounded. Zafar is an uneducated man that is why he was involved in volatile activities. As a human being one should help others at times of difficulty. Due to lack of awareness and education some people develop feel pangs of revenge in such situations and neglect humanity. This was the opinion of Mirwais in Surkh Rud and Salman in Deh Sabz.

- Some listeners seemed to go along with Zarmina's hardline stance. For example, Nagina in Deh Sabz in Kabul said that Zarmina was against Kashmala treating Zafar Khan, 'because he deserves no treatment'.
- Some, such as Malik Shah Dost in Deh Sabz in Kabul, felt that it is not good 'for women to treat men in any case'. Three women in Surkh Rud went along with this and said that Kashmala should have waited for a doctor, and that women should treat only women, not men.
- Bibi Noor in Deh Sabz articulated what most respondents felt, that in the past she believed that people with a bad reputation should not be given kind consideration but now I understand that one should be kind with everybody. Another man in Deh Sabz expressed the same thoughts: 'It is good that Kashmala treated Zafar Khan.'
- Three women and two men from Surkh Rud echoed the same thoughts. 'When Zafar Khan lay wounded, Kashmala treated him because Kashmala was an educated woman and she ignored his volatile activities. She treated him purely on a humanitarian basis.
- Shekiba in Surkh Rud said that people do not like bad people, even if they are their relatives They keep their distance from such people. So Zafar Khan's attitude and activities were not acceptable to the community.
- However, even then, both Layla and Shabnam in Surkh Rud said that Kashmala was right: one should not be prejudiced even with bad people when they are suffering or injured. One should treat them on a humanitarian basis.
- Still, there was still some resistance among respondents as to whether Kashmala, being a woman, should have treated Zafar Khan. Three women in Surkh Rud said that women should not treat men. Kashmala should have waited for a doctor.
- Hamidullah in Surkh Rud went along with them: 'Women should treat women, not men.'
- The idea that women should not treat men was evident in people answers, and behind the sizeable minority of respondents – 12 per cent – who thought that this factor must have been behind Zarmina's opposition to her elder sister Kashmala's determination to treat Zafar Khan: 'In our tradition, it is not nice for women to treat men,' said Malik Shah Dost in Deh Sabz in Kabul, and Mrs. Khatira in Kama, Nangarhar. Another man in Kama said that from a religious point of view, it was not acceptable for a woman to treat a man. 'Afghans and Pashtoons do not accept that a woman should treat a man in any situation, or that men should treat women. Amanullah, Wahidullah, along with Ms.Khatira in Surkh Rud, were of this opinion. 'It is not allowed in Shariah. He has to visit a male doctor,' added Rohullah and Ms. Khatira in Surkh Rud.

- Still, the majority felt that ‘we should follow Kashmala in this situation, not Zarmina.’ (Jawad, Surkh Rud)
- We should follow Kashmala and always be kind to human beings. ‘When I listened about Kashmala, since then I am more concerned in taking care of people in crisis,’ a school teacher by the name of Mir Zaman Khan in Kama, Nangarhar explained. ‘If she did not treat him, he might have died,’ said Selgai in Kama (Selgai Kama)
- The fact that Kashmala was not a doctor was immaterial, said a man from Kama. ‘She was from a paramedical background.’
- However, as Mohammad Ismail in Kama pointed out, if a person is not doctor, he should not provide medical treatment. ‘In such cases an injured person may die.’

This led onto the next question, that **when Zafar Khan lay wounded, instead of being treated by Kashmala, why did he not go to a nearby clinic for treatment?** Again, three options were given:

- There was no nearby clinic
- There was a nearby clinic, but there was no doctor there
- The nearby clinic had been ruined in fighting

Strictly speaking, the third answer, that the nearby clinic had been ruined in fighting, was the correct answer, and 67 per cent of respondents gave this answer. However, to a certain extent, answer one was also correct, since irrespective of the fact that it had been destroyed in fighting some two years earlier, the fact of the matter was that there was now no nearby clinic. 19 per cent gave this answer. Another 11 per cent gave the third, incorrect answer, that there was a nearby clinic, but there was no doctor there. Just three per cent said they did not know.

- Men in Paghman were aware of the fact that the clinic in the village had been ruined during fighting and the person – Zafar Khan – who destroyed it was himself was facing difficulties, and was in dire need of medical care. Some other men in both Kama and Kabul added the name of Mukhtar also, since he had also been involved in the fighting that had damaged the clinic. ‘And the irony was that it was Zafar himself who needed treatment.’
- One Miss Shinwari, in Deh Sabz in Kabul, pointed out that, as in the drama the clinic had been ruined, the same was the situation in real life: ‘Several schools, clinics and roads have been destroyed during fighting in our country.’
- Sabira in Surkh Rud said that if there was no clinic nearby, then a wounded person should be given first aid treatment on the spot. It is not good for a wounded person to have to go far away for treatment. This might endanger his life.

- Shazia in Surkh Rud seemed to have things a little confused. She said that Zafar Khan was feeling guilty as he ruined the clinic and that was why he was scared to go to clinic. (In fact, this had been the reason why he ran away from the hospital, as we shall see later on). It is normal for listeners to maybe confuse one facet of a storyline with another in this manner. This shows how closely they are following the storyline and is not to be taken negatively.
- Similarly, one man in Kama also got these two strands of the storyline mixed up with each other. He said that Zafar Khan had harassed the medical personnel and that was the reason for him not going to the clinic, whereas in fact this was the reason for him running away from the provincial centre hospital, when he finally was taken there for treatment.



It is normal for whole families – like this kochi family in Deh Sabz near Kabul – to listen to Da Pulay Poray drama

Indeed, the next question dealt with this point: **why Zafar Khan had run away from the hospital, before his treatment had been completed?** As with other questions, three options were given, one of which was correct, while the others were not in line with Da Pulay Poray storyline. The three options given were as follows:

- The doctors were not treating him, since he had kidnapped their colleagues
- Zafar Khan had kidnapped their colleagues, so he was afraid that he would be arrested
- Zafar Khan was not happy with his treatment

Here the second option, that Zafar Khan was afraid he might be arrested, was the correct answer and 72 per cent of respondents gave this answer. Quite a sizeable minority of respondents – 17 per cent – gave the third option, that Zafar Khan was not happy with his treatment, while nine per cent said that the doctors were not treating him, since he had kidnapped their colleagues. Most of the respondents stated that Zafar Khan was afraid that he might be arrested as the clinic had been ruined because of his actions. So it is that whoever does bad things in life always has to live with that guilt and feel insecure. Zafar Khan thought that the medical personnel must be like him and might take revenge from him. That was why he ran away from the hospital. Such was the gist of the comments of respondents to this question, some of which are mentioned below:

- A man in Kama said that Zafar was afraid that he might be killed, he felt guilty as he was aware of his crime.
- Five men in Kama said that people who are normally involved in hostile activities are conscious of their wrongdoing and have a guilty conscience. It was this guilty conscience that led Zafar Khan to run away from the hospital.
- ‘Whoever does bad things in life always feels insecure like Zafar Khan, who even in the clinic had fear of being arrested.’
- A man in Paghman said that Zafar Khan was afraid as he had ruined the clinic.

The final question that was asked, with regard to the storyline on International Humanitarian Law in Da Pulay Poray drama, **was why the doctors told Zafar Khan that his leg had to be amputated.**

- His wounded leg became infected due to him leaving hospital before the completion of his treatment
- They had a grudge against him, since he had kidnapped their colleagues
- From a medical point of view, they were giving him the wrong advice

Here, the first option was the correct option. Zafar Khan had run away from the hospital before his wound had properly healed. Back home in his village, the wound slowly festered and became infected. Amputation was the only option.

89 per cent of respondents gave the correct answer. A small number – 8 per cent – said that the doctors had a grudge against Zafar Khan, since he had kidnapped their colleagues.

Most people were clear that Zafar Khan's leg infection was spreading in his body. From a medical point of view his leg needed amputation. There was no other way to save his life. The doctor's advice was right. Zafar was a bad person and that was why he was looking at other people also in a negative light. He thought that all people were like him. Doctors are professional and treat all the patients accordingly. They do not deal with people – patients in particular – on the basis of personal enmity.

- Salman and Mirwais in Paghman pointed out that when a person wrongs another, he faces the consequences in life, if Zafar Khan had been a good person his wounded leg would have not become infected.
- The infection was spreading in his body from his leg that is why doctor advised him to amputate.
- Laylo in Surkh Rud said that from a medical point of view, the doctors were giving him the right advice. Zafar Khan had a guilty conscience and that is why he was taking their advice negatively.
- The Imam of a mosque in Kama – Mohammad Jan – said that a doctor is motivated by humanitarian principles. Doctors treat friends, normal citizens and enemies equally.



A typical cluster. This cluster is in Surkh Rud, Nang

Understanding of International Humanitarian Law:

Finally, three questions were asked of respondents, in order to gauge their understanding of Humanitarian Law, in the light of the conflict in Afghanistan. These questions were asked more to get a feeling of areas that Da Pulay Poray should be covering in the future, rather than measuring the impact of any particular storyline.

The first question to be asked in this regard was: **What do you understand by International Humanitarian Law?** As with other questions posed, three options were given, one considered correct while the other two were considered more or less erroneous. Here, the three options given were as follows:

- How can the rights of civilians, prisoners and wounded people be protected during conflict?
- Men and women should take equal part in fighting
- How can crops and trees be protected in times of conflict?

75 per cent of respondents chose the first, correct answer. The third answer also expressed one angle of International Humanitarian Law and was chosen by 13 per cent of respondents. The second, less desirable option was chosen by just 6 per cent of respondents.

Many respondents stated that war must be avoided as it always brings destruction, displacement, poverty and disease. Many people become homeless and refugees because of war. In a conflict situation, the guilty and innocent suffer equally. People who are not involved in hostilities should be protected. According to international law, vulnerable persons – women, children and old people – should not be harmed. Crops and trees must not be destroyed. Chemical weapons should not be used.

- ‘All the women should take equal part in fighting, as Malalai took part in fighting against the British, (on the field of Maywand in the Second Afghan War). This was the opinion of Malik Shah Dost in Deh Sabz in Kabul.
- Gulistan and Majrooh in Kama went along with him: ‘As this country belongs to all – both women and men – so both genders should take equal part in war or fighting.’
- Mirwais in Deh Sabz said that those people who were not involved in war should be moved or shifted to a safe place according to International Humanitarian Law.
- One man in Surkh Rud was sceptical. He said it was just empty words for people to say that the rights of civilians, prisoners and wounded people be protected in times of conflict. People involved in war do not care about innocent people. These words should be put into action. Civilians should be protected in times of conflict according to international law.

- Ismail from Kama said that trees should be protected in times of conflict because trees praise God.
- Chemical weapons should not be used during war. (Lal Gul, Kama)
- Saeeda from Surkh Rud felt that any conflict brought destruction: 'No one should engage in conflict.' Two other women in Surkh Rud agreed with her: War is tawan – damage and destruction. No one is protected from its destructive impact. It must be stopped.'
- 'Innocent children, women, old people and green trees should be protected in times of conflict, because trees are the beauty of nature and keep the environment clean and healthy.' (Hayya from Kama and two women in Surkh Rud)

The next question to be asked with regard to the observance and non –observance of International Humanitarian Law was in the context of the conflict in Afghanistan: **As you know, there has been conflict in Afghanistan for a long time. What do you think about the implementation of International Humanitarian Law, in the course of this conflict?** The three options given to respondents were as follows:

- It has not been observed at all
- Some groups have observed it, others have not
- There has been an effort to observe it, but it is impossible to observe IHL with modern weaponry

62 per cent of respondents chose the first option, while 25 per cent gave the second answer that some have observed it, and some have not observed it. 10 per cent felt that there had been some attempt to observe it, but observance was not possible with modern weaponry.

- Najibullah in Paghman pointed out that in war time different factions killed each other and the majority of the warriors did not respect humanitarian law.
- Ms. Shinwari in Deh Sabz agreed. International Humanitarian Law has not been observed, a majority of the warring groups gave trouble and were cruel to Afghans according to their power.
- International Humanitarian Law has not been observed during war because of such mind trend innocent people are dying / killing. (Nangarhar, two man in Kama)
- Mohammad Hasan Jan, Imam of a mosque in Kama, said that some groups do respect International Humanitarian Law, while some do not. He gave the example of recent massacres in Helmand and Kandahar, where innocent people were killed.
- Mohammad Ismail in Kama and Mir Zaman Khan, a teacher in Kama, pointed to instances of spraying on people's crops in time of conflict – to their mind a violation of International Humanitarian Law.

- A few womenfolk in Surkh Rud and Kama said that if International Humanitarian Law had been observed, then their countrymen would have not suffered, 'our innocent people would not have been killed, and our country might not have been destroyed.'
- A few women in Surkh Rud said that International Humanitarian Law had not been observed in their country. War had destroyed almost everything. Many innocent people died and many women became widows, the country still lies in ruins.

Finally, with a look to the future, the question was asked: **What steps should be taken, to ensure the observance of IHL?**

- There should be no war, that is the only way for IHL to be observed
- Warring groups should use ancient weapons, then it would be possible to observe IHL
- There should be no foreign interference in Afghanistan, then IHL would be observed

The first option was the most popular among respondents, with 56 per cent preferring this option. However, a sizeable minority – 31 per cent – thought that if foreign interference in Afghanistan comes to an end, then International Humanitarian Law would be observed. This is part of a general trend in Afghanistan, to blame all hostilities in Afghanistan on foreign interference whereas in fact, if Afghans were not complicit and active partners in these machinations, no foreign power would be able to engineer conflict in the country. Only eight per cent chose the second option, that warring groups should use ancient weapons, then it would be possible to observe IHL. However, this is also a sizeable body of opinion who feel that IHL can only be observed if ancient weapons are used. This is significant, particularly given the strong Islamic position that one is only entitled to fight against those who are actively engaged in hostilities against you (Quran, 2:190). With modern weaponry, how is it possible to avoid collateral, civilian casualties? Given that it is not practical to revert to ancient weaponry, perhaps the only way to ensure observance of IHL is to put an end to war entirely? These are the kind of questions and issues that we intend to raise in upcoming Da Pulay Poray programmes.

Respondents elaborated on their feelings along the following lines:

- Mirwais in Deh Sabz asserted that there was foreign intervention in Afghanistan, they encouraged warring groups to fight and kill each other. International Humanitarian Law implied taking the initiative to stop war or conflicts. If there was no foreign intervention in Afghanistan then there would be no war.
- First of all there should be no war; if there is war, the warring groups should use ancient weapons then it would be possible to observe international Humanitarian Law. Non-Muslims should also protect the rights of civilians, children, women and

old people, health-care centers, schools and wounded people, said Imam Mohammad Hassan Jan in Kama, Nangarhar)

- Sultan Mohammad in Kama, Nangarhar, had another option, that one should create awareness about International Humanitarian Law so that ordinary people could understand it and practice it. (Sultan Mohammad, Kama)
- 'It would be possible to observe International Humanitarian Law if war is stopped and a solution was found to internal conflicts to bring peace in the country. War only brings destruction. (Mir Zaman Khan, teacher in Kama)
- Layla in Surkh Rud thought that one should start from oneself, do hard work for peace and observance of IHL, then it would be observed.
- Salgay in Surkh Rud thought that if people studied the Quran and religion properly then they would understand that war was a bad thing.
- Basira in Surkh Rud felt that the entire problem was due to war, how could someone implement International Humanitarian Law when rockets and missiles were being fired?
- The idea that the whole problem was because of foreign interference was articulated by Gul, in Kama. He thought that International Humanitarian Law could only be observed if foreign and Pakistan interference in Afghanistan stopped.
- Mirwais in Deh Sabz also echoed this: foreigners interfere in Afghanistan, and motivate people to kill each other, if war stopped then International Humanitarian Law would be observed.

Radio listenership:

Since Da Pulay Poray programmes are broadcast on different radio stations in Nangarhar (Arakozia and Spin Ghar) and Kabul (Spogmai), the options – the list of alternative radio stations – given for both Kabul and Nangarhar were different. Respondents were also encouraged to mention other preferred radio stations. In Kabul, of the three options mentioned – Shiba, Shamshad and Spogmai – the radio station broadcasting Da Pulay Poray programmes, Spogmai FM, was the most popular, being the preferred choice of 50 per cent to respondents in Kabul. The other radio stations mentioned, Shamshad (31 per cent) and Shiba (16 per cent) were comparatively less popular.

In Nangarhar also, the main broadcaster of Da Pulay Poray programmes, Arakozia FM, was the most popular radio station with listeners, being the preferred choice of 48 per cent of respondents. The other two mentioned options were comparatively less popular, with six per cent opting for Spin Ghar and 10 per cent for Inikas. Spin Ghar is also broadcasting Da Pulay Poray programmes, but since Spin Ghar broadcasts for the ten/eleven districts that comprise eastern Nangarhar, and the research was conducted in Surkh Rud in western Nangarhar, where the signal of Spin Ghar Radio is not even audible, and Kama, the listeners to Spin Ghar listed in this research were comparatively less.

Listenership to international radio stations, long the stalwart of radio listenership in Afghanistan, remains high, but whereas these radio stations used to have a monopoly on radio listenership, now they are operating in a level playing field, along with local radio stations. In Kabul, there is still considerable listenership to Radio Azadi and BBC, the two international radio stations that Afghans traditionally tune into for news. Radio Arman, the sister station of the main broadcaster of Da Pulay Poray drama, Arakozia FM, has high listenership among both men and women. Radio Arman is famous for its music output, but also has a number of other popular programmes, including its breakfast show.

Education and age of respondents:

The respondents were chosen randomly, so the education level of respondents would seem to be indicative of the education level generally, at least in the districts where the research was conducted. As expected, those who said they had no education were higher among women (56 per cent) than men (26 per cent). 15 per cent of all respondents said that they had religious education, though the level of religious education was not specified. Due to this factor, the number of women saying they had religious education – 14 per cent – was almost as high as the number of men with religious education – 15 per cent.

30 per cent of respondents were young – between 21 and 25 – and there were progressively less respondents, the older the age groups, the exception being the 41 to 45 age group, who comprised 13 per cent of the respondents.