

# Analysis of the Threat of Social Conflict on the Arrival of the Rohingya Ethnicity in the Aceh Province Region

Hilmansyah Hilmansyah<sup>1,a</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sekolah Tinggi Intelijen Negara, Bogor

<sup>a</sup>hobikerja84@gmail.com

\*Corresponding author

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## Abstract

The arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group in the Aceh Province region received a reaction of rejection from the local Aceh community. Changes in the perception of local Acehese people regarding the existence of Rohingya refugees have led to various demonstrations of rejection and expulsion of refugees from temporary shelters. The increasing wave of refugee arrivals landing in various areas of Aceh has had an impact on the escalation of social conflict between the local Acehese community and the Rohingya ethnic group. This research examines the causes of social conflict, analysis of the threat of social conflict, and intelligence strategies in resolving social conflicts that occur between the local Acehese community and the Rohingya ethnic group. The theories used in this research are conflict theory, threats, intelligence strategy, and Friedrich Glasl's conflict escalation model. The research method uses descriptive qualitative with collection techniques in the form of observation, interviews and literature study. The results of the research show that the causes of social conflict are the struggle for resources, conflicting values, and other factors including the effects of social media, indefinite handling time and budget, as well as the escalation of refugee arrivals. Threat analysis shows that the arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group is a threat to conflict because it fulfills the variables of ability, intention and opportunity. In this case, to overcome this threat, it is necessary to carry out an intelligence strategy including the implementation of Presidential Decree 125 of 2016 concerning Handling Refugees from Abroad, synergy and coordination, as well as diplomacy (means), carrying out relocation, economic empowerment and strengthening maritime security (ways), in the context of recognizing citizenship, minimizing social conflict, and cross-cultural understanding (ends).

## 1. Introduction

Rohingya is known as an ethnic group that occupies the Rakhine region in Myanmar. The name Rohingya itself was actually only discovered around the early 1950s when a British journalist wrote a book about ethnic minorities in Myanmar calling them Arakanese Muslims (Hossain et al., 2020). Discrimination against the Rohingya ethnic group is carried out systematically by the Myanmar government. The Rohingya are no longer granted basic human rights, including citizenship. For decades, they suffered brutal oppression, discrimination, violence, torture, unfair prosecution, murder, and extreme poverty (Shohel, 2023). Since 1962, both democratic governments and Myanmar's military have pursued policies that exclude Rohingya from politics, denying them the ability to join political parties. The government's rhetoric shows that the Rohingya are a threat to the integrity of the country as a country with a majority population in Myanmar (Jitpiromsri et al., 2020). Furthermore, the Rohingya have been stateless or "stateless" since

1982 when the government revoked their citizenship status through constitutional changes and the implementation of the Burma Citizenship Law (BCL) policy which recognized the existence of 135 ethnic groups in Myanmar and made the Rohingya ethnic illegal immigrants (Farzana et al., 2020).

The impact of the protracted Rohingya crisis has resulted in increasingly severe humanitarian problems which also have an impact on countries receiving the arrival of Rohingya refugees. The arrival of new refugee flows combined with those already in Bangladesh brings the total number of refugees to more than one million people occupied by 34 refugee camps spread across Cox's Bazar (Sadat al Sajib et al., 2022). The conflict in Myanmar forced thousands of Rohingya people to leave their homeland to flee to several countries such as Bangladesh, Malaysia, Thailand, including Indonesia, using unfit wooden boats to seek shelter. Indonesia, together with Thailand and Malaysia, are currently facing a refugee crisis due to internal dynamics in Myanmar (Tinumbang et al., 2023).

The first arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group in Indonesia occurred in 2009 when they were stranded on Sabang Island and East Aceh (Ishak, 2009; Rahman et al., 2023). The arrival of the next wave of refugees in increasing numbers occurred from 2012 to 2015 in connection with the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar which forced them to leave their country and become refugees in various countries. Aceh is the region with the most refugee arrivals due to its relatively close position to Myanmar (Alunaza & Juani, 2017). The next period of arrival in Aceh occurred at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 where the government and TNI officially rejected their presence, but fishermen and local community leaders gave permission for refugee boats to dock for humanitarian reasons and the policy values of the local Acehese community (Rahman et al., 2023).

The potential for conflict has actually begun to be detected during the period of arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group in 2021-2022, where based on research results (Usman et al., 2023) it is clear that the Rohingya ethnic group has attitudes and habits that are contrary to the local culture of the Acehese people. When the people of Aceh helped the Rohingya people, they dared to go against the ethics, manners and provisions made by the community or the provisions of the UNHCR such as fleeing from refugee camps, the culture of rebellion, fighting and arguing which was very different from the attitudes of the Acehese people or Indonesians in general. The attitude shown by Rohingya refugees reflects their lack of desire to build effective communication with officers, which is one of the causes of conflict (Gustin & Mufid, 2023). The arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group in the Aceh region will potentially continue to occur in connection with the new policy of the Myanmar military junta government which requires the Rohingya ethnic group to be involved in the military to face the civil war with the Three Brotherhood Alliance. This group has succeeded in seizing various territories and hundreds of military government posts (Brenner, 2024).

This study will analyze of social conflict situations in the period massive wave of Rohingya ethnic arrivals to Indonesian territory at the end of 2023 by using Friedrich Glasl's Model of Conflict Escalation to understand the escalation of the conflict that is occurring. After understanding the stages of the conflict that occurred between the local community of Aceh and the Rohingya ethnic group, the study will then analyze the various main factors that caused the escalation of the conflict and the strategy in carrying out prevention and early detection to prevent potential escalation of social conflict that could threaten security.

## **2. Literature Review**

To examine this issue from an academic perspective, this study relies on concepts and theories that relevant to the topic being investigated. The first topic related to the causes of social conflict uses Behavioral Conflict Theory by Bartos & Wehr. This theory is the result of the extraction of various knowledge about conflict, where the results of this extraction obtain several fundamental insights that apply to all conflicts. This theory is presented in an easy to understand manner using two guiding principles namely focusing on general theories and then presenting those theories in a simplified manner. In Behavioral Conflict Theory there are a number of reasons why 2 actors in a conflict have conflicting goals. These reasons can be grouped into 3 main categories including: contested resources, conflicting roles, and conflicting values (Bartos & Wehr, 2002).

Meanwhile, to understand the level of conflict escalation that has occurred between the people of Aceh and the Rohingya ethnic group, Friedrich Glasl's concept of conflict escalation is used. Article entitled The Process of Conflict Escalation and Roles of Third Parties in 1982 explains that the process of conflict is

described as nine descending steps with three main phases. Phase I consists of stage 1, namely hardening, stage 2, namely debates and polemics, and stage 3, namely actions, no words. Phase II consists of stage 4, namely images and coalitions, stage 5, namely loss of face, and stage 6, namely strategy of threat. Phase III consists of stage 7, namely limited destructive blows, stage 8, namely fragmentation of the enemy, and stage 9, namely together into the abys.

In connection with the analysis of the threat of social conflict, this study uses threat analysis concept by Kevin P. Riehle. Riehle's threat calculation is based on the traditional equation which reads:  $\text{Threat} = \text{Intention} \times \text{Ability} \times \text{Opportunity}$ . Ability is an agent's physical means to perform an action. Intention is the desire to carry out an action. Opportunity is a spatial-temporal relationship between an agent and the element to be acted upon (Riehle, 2013). Meanwhile, the strategy concept for preventing social conflict uses the strategy concept from Colonel Arthur F. Lykke Jr. Lykke provides a description of the formula with the equation:  $\text{Strategy} = \text{Ends (goals to be achieved)} + \text{Ways (actions that must be taken)} + \text{Means (instruments or tools with which a goal can be achieved)}$  (Meiser, 2016).

### **3. Methods**

This study uses descriptive qualitative methods in order to describe the phenomenon of the arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group to the Aceh Province region which has caused friction with the local Acehese community. Moh Nazir explained that descriptive research studies community problems, procedures that apply in society, and certain situations and studies the relationship between actions, attitudes, perspectives, and time (Rusandi & Rusli, 2021). Descriptive research aims to describe existing phenomena. These phenomena can include forms, activities, characteristics, changes, relationships, similarities, and differences between phenomena. This research uses primary data originating from interviews and direct observation. Meanwhile, the secondary data used comes from books, research journals and related regulations. Data collection was carried out through observation, interviews and document study. The data was analyzed using data analysis techniques from Miles and Huberman, where data processing was carried out through 3 main steps, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions (Miles et al, 2014).

### **4. Results and Discussion**

The researcher carried out the study by employing data-gathering methods through interviews with multiple informants. The study data was collected from 18 informants who came from representatives of Kesbangpol Provinsi Aceh, BIN, Mako Lanal Lhoukseumawe, Kantor Imigrasi Kelas II TPI Lhoukseumawe, Persekutuan Adat Pengelola Hukum Adat Laot, UNHCR, Geutanyo Foundation and Government Relation, Rohingya Refugees, and Malikussaleh University. Besides conducting interviews, the researcher also gathered secondary data to reinforce the research findings, including books, journal articles, and organizational documents.

#### **4.1. Arrival Point for Rohingya Refugees**

The wave of Rohingya ethnic arrivals is increasingly entering Indonesian waters starting from November 2023 to May 2024. Referring to data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Indonesia, the number of Rohingya ethnic vessel arrivals consists of 12 ships anchored in various areas in Aceh Province. Total of refugees reached 1.807 around that period. The total number of Rohingya ethnic groups who anchored in that period had a composition of 48% boys and girls, 25% adult women, and 27% adult men. The Rohingya ethnic group who still survive are placed in various areas spread across Sumatra. They were placed in various temporary shelters and other places. In September 2024, all Rohingya refugees placed in the former Immigration Office in Lhoukseumawe City and Kuala Parek, East Aceh. The total number of refugees in the refugee camp which occupied the former Lhoukseumawe City Immigration Office at the time of the research was 325 people. This transfer is not only related to the implementation of PON activities in Aceh Province, but also because many refugees have left the temporary shelter.

Referring to data from UNHCR Indonesia, the trend of arrivals of ships carrying Rohingya entering Indonesian territory from 2020 to the first quarter of 2024 tends to fluctuate. The highest number of

Rohingya ethnic arrivals occurred in the final period of 2023. The surge in Rohingya ethnic arrivals in 2023 reached 2,288 people, which experienced a sharp increase of almost 4 times compared to 2022. Arrivals of Rohingya ethnic groups continued to occur until October 2024, anchored in the Aceh Province region. On October 24 2024, 152 Rohingya refugees were evacuated from the waters of South Aceh and placed temporarily at the Labuhan Haji Type C Bus Terminal. Then on October 31 2024, 96 Rohingya ethnic residents again landed on the coast of Meunasah Asan Village, East Aceh.

## **4.2. Escalation of Social Conflict between Aceh Community and Rohingya Refugees**

The arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group from November 2023 to October 2024 was marked by various acts of rejection from the local community of Aceh. During the period of arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group at the end of 2023, there were 27 acts of rejection by local communities that occurred in various regions in Aceh Province (Murizal, 2024). According to Friedrich Glasl, phase I of social conflict shows the efforts of parties/groups to control every problem that arises rationally. It consists several stages in phase I (Jordan, 2000). When a conflict begins, the first stage is hardening. Rohingya refugees in Aceh create a situation of discomfort in the form of refugees disappearing and fleeing from shelters. This condition had begun to occur during the wave of refugee arrivals before the outbreak of resistance from the local Acehnese community.

In the second stage, debates and polemics, the conflict increases, where the parties involved in the conflict are involved in polemics by questioning the condition of the other party. The people of Aceh are starting to show their disapproval, debates are emerging, expressions of dislike are starting to emerge, and assumptions are starting to emerge about who is "in power" in this place. The Acehnese community's rejection of Rohingya refugees is increasing due to bad experiences with their behavior, especially in the cases in Pidie and Bireun, where refugees deliberately crashed their ships so that they sank on the coast with the intention of not being able to sail again or being expelled by the local community. Entering stage three actions, not words, actions and actions of several residents emerge, when the local community no longer likes them, then what happens is an attempt to "fight" their behavior. They began to complain to local government agencies, there were sporadic demonstrations of rejection in various areas, including the expulsion of Rohingya refugees at Balee Meuseuraya Aceh (BMA) in Banda Aceh by student groups. The conflict situation in Aceh, especially related to Rohingya refugees, shows the third stage pattern in phase I of conflict escalation according to Glasl.

## **4.3. Causes of Social Conflict between Local Communities and the Rohingya Ethnic Group**

Based on the results of data processing and validity tests carried out by researcher, the research results show that social conflict between the local Acehnese community and the Rohingya ethnic group occurred due to various factors, namely the existence of contested resources, conflicting values, and other factors. This is in line with the behavioral conflict theory of Bartos & Wehr (2002) which states that the causes of conflict between 2 actors are classified into the main variables, namely contested resources, conflicting roles, conflicting values. However, there is one thing that is different: conflicting role variables are not the cause of social conflict between the local Acehnese community and the Rohingya ethnic group, but rather there are factors outside the 3 main variables proposed in the behavioral conflict theory.

Based on the processing results, it shows that the cause of social conflict between the local Acehnese community and the Rohingya ethnic group is due to 3 main factors, namely contested resources, conflicting values, and other factors. Factors in the struggle for value include the emergence of sentiments of social jealousy and the interruption of economic interests. Then value conflicts include differences in standards of behavior, differences in refugee motives, and the issue of people smuggling. Meanwhile, other factors that cause social conflict are the impact of the development of social media, uncertainty regarding the timing of handling refugees and unclear budgets, as well as the uncontrolled escalation of the number of refugees.

### **4.3.1. Fight for Resources**

The first factor causing social conflict is related to contested resources, including sentiments of social jealousy and interference with economic interests. Social sentiment arose when local Acehese people felt that there was inequality in treatment when they received information that Rohingya refugees received various facilities such as monthly allowances, food and shelter. In the community's difficult economic situation, this information encourages resistance to the arrival of Rohingya refugees to land in their area. One of the efforts made by UNHCR to avoid social jealousy from the community around the shelter is through empowering the surrounding community to be able to contribute to handling refugees so as to gain economic benefits. However, this raises a new problem when the refugee shelter is located between several villages. This gives rise to conflicts due to competition to gain economic benefits from the presence of refugees around their area. This is certainly something that must be rethought by all parties involved to avoid the emergence of new problems that could disrupt security and order in the areas where refugees are sheltered. Factors related to the interruption of economic interests are one of the causes of conflict between local communities and the Rohingya ethnic group, where the presence of refugees has disrupted the livelihoods of communities around where the refugees have landed. The placement of Rohingya refugees in places that disrupt the economic activities of local communities has encouraged actions to reject the presence of refugees, as happened in Bireuen when a group of people took action to reject the refugees when they were placed around a fish auction, which of course disrupted the economic activities of fishermen.

### **4.3.2. Conflict of Values**

The variable that causes social conflict between the local Acehese community and the Rohingya ethnic group is related to the differences in values held by the two groups. Value conflicts that occur based on research results include factors such as differences in behavioral standards, differences in refugee motives, and the issue of people smuggling. Differences in standards of behavior are related to the behavior of Rohingya refugees which is not in accordance with the standards of behavior or norms that apply in the local community of Aceh. Based on research, there are 3 behaviors of Rohingya refugees that are the driving force for rejection, namely hygiene issues, tough/unruly character, and the fact that they ran away from shelters.

Rohingya refugees have hygiene standards that may not match the hygiene standards of the surrounding community. It must be understood that the Rohingya ethnic group is a group of people who do not have access to education in their home country of Myanmar, it could be said that they are an uneducated community. Then the Rohingya ethnic group is also a group of people who have been in a situation of war and prolonged conflict throughout their lives in their countries of origin and also in refugee camps, so that psychologically they have formed a different mindset from people who live in areas where there is no conflict. The Rohingya ethnic group tends to develop a lifestyle to survive. A tough character was formed because of the various difficult situations they had experienced. Regarding differences in hygiene standards, one of the sources stated that as an ethnic group, the Rohingya refugees are included in the racial group of people in South Asia. We must understand that they have hygiene standards that are not the same as the local community in Aceh.

Strengthening this statement, researchers carried out observation activities at Pasar Borong, Selayang, Kuala Lumpur, which is one of the settlement areas for Rohingya refugees who have lived in Malaysia for a long time. Observation results show that these areas do have differences in terms of cleanliness, where they tend to be dirtier. This condition is certainly not a generalization that all Rohingya ethnic groups have the same character and behavior, but in fact this is one of the factors that has become content on social media which has exacerbated the wave of rejection from society. The next problem is related to the fact that many Rohingya refugees have fled from shelters, which has also caused local people to lose sympathy for the refugees. Based on the fact sheet released by UNHCR, up to May 2024, there were 665 refugees who had fled from shelters. The next factor in the differences in values that is driving a change in the perspective of the local Aceh community towards the arrival of Rohingya refugees at the end of 2023 is related to differences in the motives for the arrival of the refugees. The change in the acceptance of the Acehese people towards the arrival of the wave of Rohingya refugees occurred because of the understanding that the Rohingya refugees fled from refugee camps in Bangladesh, different from the previous arrival where the refugees fled from Myanmar to save themselves from the war crimes of the Myanmar Military Junta

government. In this case, the people of Aceh no longer really sympathize with the Rohingya refugees, coupled with information that the arrival of the Rohingya refugees is taking advantage of international smuggling networks. What must be understood in this smuggling issue is that the refugees were consciously and voluntarily smuggled as the only way to leave their refugee camps in Bangladesh.

### **4.3.3. Other Factors**

The first factor that was the driving force for the sporadic demonstrations of resistance in various regions in Aceh during the wave of Rohingya refugees arriving at the end of 2023, several sources believed that this was the impact of the use of social media which quickly spread information to all levels of society. The various rejections that occur in various regions do not arise naturally from the perspective of society, but rather are movements that are by design. Provocations carried out by certain parties include using social media to spread various information that is deductive in nature, building false conclusions regarding Rohingya refugees, such as stereotypes of the Rohingya ethnic group as dirty, violent behavior, Rohingya motives to control the Aceh region, as well as other hate speech narratives which exacerbate the conflict situation between the local Acehnese community and the Rohingya ethnic group. Several sources conveyed the same thing regarding the use of social media which has become a driving force for resistance actions by spreading negative narratives related to the Rohingya ethnicity which are generalizing in nature. On the other hand, through social media, the public also received a lot of information regarding facts related to the arrival of the Rohingya ethnic group who were involved with international smuggling syndicates, the efforts of the Rohingya ethnic group to escape from shelters, as well as the motives for their arrival in the Aceh region. All of these things have an impact on decreasing the sympathy of Acehnese people towards the Rohingya refugees.

The next factor that drives conflict is related to the escalation of refugee arrivals, which suddenly increased compared to arrivals in previous years. The escalation of arrivals then became a problem related to other factors, namely the uncertainty of time and budget in carrying out the government's handling of Rohingya refugees who had reached land. When the arrival of refugees landing in various regions reached the highest numbers, people began to question the maritime area protection system and the government's ability to guard the country's maritime borders. At the same time, the fishing community has an obligation to help refugees regarding maritime customary law, where in economically limited conditions they still provide various humanitarian assistance to the refugees. This situation is a dilemma for the community and is coupled with narratives on social media which state that the refugees have a motive to control the land. With their continuous uncontrolled arrival, it certainly strengthens the community's thinking that it is true that they are coming to control the land. If in a month there are a thousand refugees coming, then you can imagine that in a year there will probably be tens of thousands. The narrative of the Rohingyas controlling land will become more logical, so that in the end this will encourage a community reaction to reject and expel the Rohingya refugees.

The problem of escalating refugee arrivals is exacerbated by the lack of clarity regarding the time and budget for handling Rohingya refugees. The lack of clarity in handling refugees is due to the government's unclear attitude towards the Rohingya refugee problem. In this case there is no clear coordination and it seems like there is a back-and-forth between the central and regional governments. The resolution of the Rohingya problem is in limbo because the central government's budget for handling foreign refugees is unclear and in fact there is no budget for them. This resulted in anger in the community because there was no solution, which ultimately encouraged them to take action on their own, including by holding various demonstrations against the presence of the Rohingya ethnic group in their area. Based on research results, various factors that cause social conflict between the local Acehnese community and the Rohingya ethnic group must be sought for solutions by all competent parties. If the escalation of social conflict is not prevented, it will increase the threat of social conflict which can disrupt national interests in economic and socio-cultural aspects.

## **4.4. Analysis of the Threat of Social Conflict between the Local Aceh Community and the Rohingya Ethnicity**

Based on the results of data processing, it shows that the analysis of the threat of social conflict between the local Acehnese community and the Rohingya ethnic group fulfills the 3 main variables of Riehle's threat concept, namely ability, intention and opportunity. The variable of ability includes the

financial capacity of Rohingya refugees and the support system of Rohingya refugees to pay for travel to the destination country. The intention variable includes the intention of Rohingya refugees to travel to Aceh where some refugees make Aceh an intermediate destination, as well as a shift in the motives of Rohingya refugees who make Aceh their final destination as a place to live. Opportunity variables include the geographical location of Aceh, the religious and cultural values of the Acehnese people who are open to immigrants, people smuggling which is the only option for Rohingya refugees to be able to leave refugee camps in Bangladesh, as well as the weakness of maritime security around Aceh waters.

#### **4.4.1. Capability**

The wave of ethnic Rohingya entering the Aceh region in large numbers at the end of 2023 is a group of refugees who fled from refugee camps in Bangladesh. They left the refugee camp in Cox's Bazar for various reasons. Based on the results of interviews with representatives of Rohingya refugees at the former Punteut - Lhokseumawe Immigration refugee shelter, they said that they left the Bangladesh refugee camp because the security situation around the refugee camp was becoming less conducive with the birth of various terrorist groups such as ARSA and ARSU. Terrorist groups who are Rohingya refugees also carry out various criminal acts such as kidnapping and killing other Rohingya refugees to obtain ransom. One of the Rohingya refugee sources said that to leave the refugee camps in Bangladesh, they had to pay a certain amount of money to an agent who would take them by ship to their destination country. The money paid was around 70,000 Bangladeshi Taka paid by his family. Meanwhile, another refugee source said that the person concerned had a job while still in Bangladesh. The person concerned stated that to get out of the refugee camp he had to pay around 15 million rupiah. This shows that the refugees have the financial ability to leave for another country. From a threat perspective, this financial capability can be included in the capability category.

Rohingya refugees depart from refugee camps in Bangladesh by getting financial assistance from their relatives who are already abroad such as Malaysia where they already have an income. That not all refugees are in the same economic conditions; some of them have family backgrounds with adequate financial conditions. For example, in the Rohingya ethnic community, there are individuals from well-off families who were forced to flee due to conflict in their home country. Refugees who have property are usually able to finance their travel, while less well-off refugees often have to use alternative methods to finance their departure to destination countries, such as Malaysia.

There are several financing mechanisms that are generally used by Rohingya refugees with financial limitations. First, they may borrow funds, with the hope of paying off the debt after finding employment in the destination country, such as Malaysia. Second, for single women, especially those planning to go to Malaysia, financing is often obtained from their prospective husbands. In their culture, arranged marriages are quite common, and there is often an agreement between families regarding marriage, even before a direct meeting between the two parties. In some cases, marriages can be carried out over the telephone, although its validity from a religious perspective is not yet legally clear. After the wedding, prospective husbands who are already in Malaysia will cover their wife's travel expenses through certain agents. Third, with the model of providing loans by prospective employers in the destination country, where the refugees will then pay the debt by doing work within a certain period of time until it is paid off. These various financing methods become a support system for Rohingya refugees so that they have the ability to make payments to agents who will take them to their destination country.

The next factor related to the capability variable is the landing strategy of the ships carrying Rohingya refugees. They have knowledge about remote coastal areas or rat harbors that cannot be detected by security forces. Apart from that, they also have an understanding of the time to anchor when it is quiet in the early morning or when Acehnese fishermen are not carrying out fishing activities, where one of the maritime customary laws that applies in the Acehnese fishing community is that they are prohibited from going to sea every Friday. The latest motive for landing in the wave of their arrival at the end of 2023 is to deliberately damage ships or ship engines when they understand that there are various expulsions of ships that want to dock by local communities. One of the extreme incidents carried out by a Rohingya transport ship was deliberately crashing their ship into a land area in Bireuen, so that the community had no other choice but to help the Rohingya refugees to land. The various landing motives carried out by the Rohingya transport ships show their ability to land in the Aceh region.

#### **4.4.2. Intention**

Rohingya refugees use Aceh as a transit area before they reach their final destination country as a place of escape such as Malaysia or Australia. When the ship carrying refugees was rejected by Malaysian maritime security, they then headed for Aceh as an area that is relatively closer to Malaysia or Bangladesh. The two main factors motivating migration to Malaysia are the existence of kinship ties there, considering that Malaysia has hosted hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees in recent decades. Then Malaysia offers work opportunities, although they are informal and often illegal. This economic factor is closely related to the need for refugees to seek protection and obtain a more decent living. Although their main goal is protection, the economic aspect cannot be ignored, because after gaining a sense of security, they also need a livelihood to meet their daily needs. Malaysia has many industries, such as factories and plantations, that are willing to employ Rohingya refugees at low wages. Based on information obtained from interviews, the displaced Rohingya were generally willing to accept the job even though the working conditions were minimally standard.

Making Aceh an intermediate destination certainly shows the refugees' intention to enter the Aceh region as a backup plan when they fail to enter Malaysia directly. This intention will certainly encourage more Rohingya refugees to enter the Aceh region, which will potentially increase the number of objections from the local Acehese community who oppose the presence of Rohingya refugees around their area. The wave of Rohingya refugee arrivals at the end of 2023, dominated by women and children, has encouraged a shift in motives. Among refugees, those with intact family status have different priorities compared to those who are single or without a family. Intact families tend to only think about security and survival in a place they consider safer, so they have the desire to make Aceh or Indonesia more broadly their final destination. The shift in the motives of the Rohingya refugees is a factor in the intention variable which has the potential to encourage an escalation of social conflict with the local Acehese community.

#### **4.4.3. Opportunity**

The first factor that provides opportunities for Rohingya refugees to enter various coastal areas in the Aceh region is related to geographical conditions. The geographical location of Aceh Province, which is the northernmost region of Indonesia, makes it closest to the refugee camp area for Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar - Bangladesh. Aceh Province also has a geographic location that is quite close to Thailand and Malaysia, which is an opportunity for ships carrying Rohingya refugees to make Aceh the main area to land when they receive direction from Thai and Malaysian maritime security guards. The eastern region of Aceh has a wide and long coastal area, which provides an opportunity for ships carrying refugees to choose a landing site. The outer coastline has many remote areas that are difficult to closely monitor which are used as rat harbors. This makes monitoring small boats carrying refugees more difficult, which in turn makes it easier for refugee boats to infiltrate the Aceh region without being detected. Another geographical factor that is an opportunity for Rohingya transport ships to take advantage of is related to weather conditions where in certain months the sea around the Aceh region is relatively calmer and wind conditions also encourage them to be able to anchor more quickly to various coastal areas of Aceh.

The second factor that is an opportunity utilized by Rohingya refugees is related to religious values. They have understood that Aceh applies Islamic law, so it is an opportunity for them to be accepted by the local Acehese community with a background of shared religious identity. The people of Aceh have a strong religious identity which provides a sense of closeness and comfort for Rohingya refugees. This was actually reflected in the reception of the Rohingya ethnic group during the Rohingya massacre in Myanmar where the Rohingya refugee ships that landed in Aceh in 2015 and 2017 were welcomed and provided with various humanitarian assistance, then during the 2020 COVID-19 outbreak, when the government strictly prohibited the arrival of Rohingya ships, the people of Aceh with open arms still welcomed them to land and be accommodated. In the wave of refugee arrivals at the end of 2023 which received a lot of resistance from the community, there was a perception among the Rohingya community regarding Aceh as a region that implemented Islamic law. This assumption is based on the large number of Rohingya refugees stranded in Aceh consisting of women and children. One of the interesting things is that almost all of the children among them have the ability to read the Koran. This may have created a psychological perception among them that Aceh is a safe place, based on Islamic principles. This perception appears to be reinforced by communication between those who arrived early and conveyed the news to the community in their place of origin.

The third factor that is an opportunity is related to Peumulia Jamee cultural values and Laot Customary Law. Peumulia Jamee is a tradition of glorifying guests that has been around for generations in Acehese society. Basic principles for welcoming guests and treating them with respect. This culture is very closely related to the Islamic religious values of the Acehese people who apply the principles of Islamic law. For the Rohingya community, the warm welcome from the people of Aceh was previously one of the factors that encouraged them to land in the Aceh region. This perception was then also strengthened by communication between those who arrived earlier and conveyed the news to the Rohingya community who were still living in refugee camps in Bangladesh.

The next opportunity that Rohingya refugees can take advantage of is the wrong rules in the Laot Customary Law which regulates rules and practices relating to coastal and marine life. One of the very strict rules that apply in the Laot Customary Law is that every fisherman is obliged to help anyone, including animals, who need help or help when they are at sea. Apart from that, the Laot Customary Law clearly states that it is unlawful for fishermen to evict people in need who have set foot on land. In practice, when the Rohingya refugees have landed, the fishing community will provide assistance as best they can, then all arrangements related to the refugees will be handed over to the authorities. This law not only reflects the ethic of saving lives, but is also a form of solidarity for those experiencing difficulties. With regulations that prioritize safety at sea, Rohingya refugees see Aceh as a safe place to seek refuge. The combination of peumulia jamee customs and laot customs in Aceh creates a supportive social environment for refugees. They feel more accepted and protected in this region than in other areas. These customary rules that uphold the principles of humanity and solidarity are the main attraction for Rohingya refugees, who see Aceh as a potential place of refuge in facing the emergency situation they are experiencing.

The fourth factor is related to people smuggling. The existence of cross-border smuggling is an opportunity for the Rohingya community to leave Myanmar or refugee camps in Bangladesh. That they consciously become part of the system because they have no other choice. Rohingya refugees as a stateless or stateless community will of course not have official documents that they can use to travel across national borders. When they want to get out of various kinds of oppression and inadequate living situations in their home region, of course they voluntarily pay a certain amount of money to the smugglers and they are prepared for the various consequences they will face when traveling by sea using smugglers' ships with limited facilities. It can be said that these smuggling agents have become heroes for the Rohingya community who intend to escape. In connection with the existence of smuggling agents in the Aceh region, these agents have actually existed since before many refugees entered the Aceh region. They are smuggling agents who offer services to Acehese people who want to enter Malaysian territory to become illegal workers. When the refugees then became crowded, the actors who played a role in transporting the Rohingya refugees who had fled from shelters in Aceh were those who also increased the higher prices that had to be paid for the Rohingya ethnic group who intended to enter Malaysian territory.

The final factor that is an opportunity for the Rohingya is related to Indonesia's maritime security system. Facts on the ground show that all Rohingya refugee arrivals recorded by UNHCR use the sea as the main route to enter Indonesian territory. This is something that is being questioned by many parties, why are refugee ships so easily entering Indonesian waters. Various factors then make the water security system around Aceh weak. The geographical conditions of the Aceh region, such as the east coast of the Aceh region, are a challenge in themselves. Sea patrols with the leading sector of the Navy (AL) and the Maritime Security Agency (Bakamla) have carried out patrol activities around the Aceh sea area since the 2018–2019 period, but have experienced operational problems. With a limited number of fleets, namely only around 5 to 8 units, and the large area of water that must be guarded, the duration of patrols does not allow them to be carried out continuously or mobile. This limitation is exploited by certain syndicate networks, which work together with fishermen on the coast of Aceh. They already know the patrol schedule and locations, so they can avoid surveillance.

Weaknesses in the maritime territorial security system which have become an opportunity for Rohingya immigrants to enter Indonesian territory are certainly a threat related to violations of state sovereignty. If related to the categorization of threats according to Soegirman (2012), this condition can be categorized as critical because the threat is a threat that concerns the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

## **4.5. Scenario Planning in Anticipating the Impact of the Death of Leaders of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to Mitigate Terrorist Attacks in Indonesia**

In this variable, researcher use indicators in the Lykke model as indicators of research questions asked to informants. The research results show that there are four “means” of strategies in resolving social conflicts between the local Aceh community and the Rohingya ethnic group, namely Presidential Regulation Number 125 of 2016 concerning Handling Refugees from Abroad, synergy and coordination, high-level diplomacy, and the ASEAN Summit. “Way” variables include relocation of Rohingya refugees, repatriation of Rohingya refugees, resettlement of Rohingya refugees, economic empowerment of local communities, strengthening maritime fleets, and social integration. “Ends” variables include recognition of Rohingya ethnic citizenship, preventing the arrival of Rohingya immigrants, minimizing social jealousy, clarity of budgeting, and cross-cultural understanding.

### **4.5.1. Means**

Indonesia is a country that has not ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol. In this regard, Presidential Regulation Number 125 concerning Handling Refugees from Abroad has become the legal basis for various government and non-government institutions in handling the arrival of Rohingya immigrants in the Aceh Province region. This Presidential Decree establishes various procedures and coordination between government institutions in handling refugees who come from abroad, including the identification process, providing assistance and meeting their basic needs.

This Presidential Decree stipulates that coordination and synchronization between government agencies is necessary to ensure the fulfillment of the basic needs of refugees, from security, health, to social care, as well as ensuring that the handling of refugees is carried out effectively and in accordance with international standards. This presidential decree also encourages collaboration with international organizations, such as UNHCR and IOM, which have capacity in refugee management, including providing temporary shelter, health services and legal assistance for refugees.

In the implementation of Presidential Decree 125 in the field regarding handling the arrival of Rohingya refugees in the Aceh region, there are still several shortcomings that can be corrected through a revision mechanism so that it can be used as a more comprehensive guide. The first problem is related to the unclear budget for handling refugees, so that several security functions such as patrol activities in Aceh's territorial waters are not optimal. The use of budgets in the regions so far has been using emergency budgets, where these budgets are of course very limited. The next deficiency relates to clarity of authority in services and emergency response times for refugees. This condition in the field results in a shifting of responsibilities, which ultimately results in the government's absence in handling refugees. This situation resulted in confusion in society when refugees arrived uncontrollably, which ultimately resulted in an escalation of local community rejection of the Rohingya refugees.

Presidential Decree 125, synergy and coordination are the tools used in strategies for handling social conflict at the national level which are only temporary solutions, because as long as Rohingya immigrants are still entering Indonesian territory, of course the same problems will arise. In this regard, the resolution of the problem of social conflict between the local community and the Rohingya ethnic group will be completed comprehensively if the main root of the problem of their arrival can be resolved at the international level. The means used are high-level diplomacy and ASEAN high-level conferences. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs must make efforts to mobilize at the international level to put pressure on Myanmar to resolve their domestic problems with the Rohingya ethnic group. The ASEAN High Level Conference (Summit) should play an important role. Through these diplomatic efforts, ASEAN countries can jointly pressure Myanmar to take action to prevent a prolonged refugee crisis. Although ASEAN puts forward the principle of non-interference, which limits direct intervention in Myanmar's domestic affairs, the ASEAN Summit allows for constructive dialogue with a focus on regional solutions.

#### **4.5.2. Ways**

The first social conflict resolution strategy is the relocation of Rohingya refugees. All policies implemented in Aceh so far have been conflict sensitive. This is related to the security situation and conditions in Aceh which have not fully recovered from the 30-year long conflict. Security in the social, economic and political sectors is still not completely stable. The arrival of Rohingya refugees certainly opens up opportunities for various social disturbances, cultural frictions and other things that can add to new problems. In this regard, relocating Rohingya refugees to other provinces is a solution that must be implemented immediately to avoid conflicts with local communities.

The second way is through economic empowerment of local communities. Empowering the local community environment around the area where refugees are accommodated is very important to avoid social jealousy. The position of Rohingya refugees who receive various assistance and facilities without having to work will of course give rise to a negative perspective for local communities around refugee shelters. One of the programs that has been carried out by UNHCR to empower the local community's economy is through collaboration with BUMDes and the establishment of community housing. They provide food for Rohingya refugees. In this way they gain economic benefits from the presence of Rohingya refugees. Some of the profits from food management for refugees are used to provide basic food assistance to communities around the refugees as well as other empowerment programs that can help local communities.

Social integration is the next way to handle social conflict. The importance of social integration between refugees and local communities to create harmony. The process of interaction between local communities and Rohingya refugees to introduce each other to local wisdom values. Increasing understanding of cultural values between these two groups can also erode the misunderstandings that often occur through social media. The next strategy is related to the maritime security system. The water area is the main route for Rohingya refugees to enter Aceh. The emergence of social conflict will be minimized or will not even occur when there are no immigrants entering Indonesian territory. Tightening maritime security by the authorities can of course be done by increasing the intensity of patrols around border areas. However, the classic problems faced are related to budget and fleet limitations. This of course must be a major concern considering that the nation's sovereignty is being threatened by the influx of Rohingya refugees. Joint seriousness is needed from all relevant parties to improve the ability to protect Indonesia's maritime areas.

The next way is through repatriation of Rohingya refugees. Returning the Rohingya ethnic group to their country of origin is one method that can be taken when the situation in Myanmar is conducive. Repatriation can be carried out when the Myanmar Government is able to provide security guarantees and basic rights for Rohingya refugees. The current conditions are very unlikely given the prolonged civil war situation that is occurring in Myanmar. Resettlement of Rohingya refugees is the next way to resolve social conflicts that have occurred. Placing Rohingya refugees in countries that have ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention is the best solution, however, the problem faced is that the placement process is not simple. The first is related to quotas, Indonesia, with a relatively small number of refugees compared to other countries, does not receive a large placement quota. Furthermore, Resettlement was greatly influenced by political lobbying between countries. So, in this case, efforts are needed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enforce quotas for placing refugees in third countries. Another thing that must be understood is that resettlement is not a refugee's right.

#### **4.5.3. Ends**

The various objectives of the research strategy are of course very closely related to the means and methods described previously. The goals that must be achieved in efforts to handle social conflicts between local Acehnese people and Rohingya refugees include recognition of Rohingya ethnic citizenship, preventing the arrival of Rohingya immigrants, minimizing social jealousy, clarity in budgeting, and cross-cultural understanding. Recognition of Rohingya ethnic citizenship by the Myanmar Government is the main goal that must be achieved considering this is one of the key problems of Rohingya refugees. When their citizenship rights and security guarantees are recognized, this opens the way for the repatriation of Rohingya refugees. Efforts to obtain this recognition can of course be carried out through high-level diplomacy or high-level conferences to put pressure on the Myanmar government.

The aim of preventing the entry of Rohingya immigrants is certainly crucial for Aceh in particular and Indonesia in general. This is related to the issue of security and sovereignty of the Indonesian state. Better security will be realized if it is supported by supporting facilities and infrastructure. This is also related to the availability of a budget for handling foreign refugees. Presidential Decree 125 as the legal basis for handling refugees still does not regulate in detail regarding this funding. In this regard, the revision of Presidential Decree 125 is to regulate budgeting issues in order to support the optimization of the role of related agencies.

The aim of minimizing the occurrence of social jealousy and cross-cultural understanding is achieved through economic empowerment of local communities and social integration between local communities and the Rohingya ethnic group. One thing that must be paid attention based on previous experience is that refugee accommodation locations must receive special attention to avoid new conflicts between local communities. When refugee shelters are located between several villages, this has the potential for conflict over the economic benefits of the local community's economic empowerment program.

## 5. Conclusion

The social conflict between the local Acehese community and the Rohingya ethnic group was triggered by three main factors: competition for resources, conflicting values, and other external factors. Economic rivalry and social jealousy exacerbate tensions, while differences in values and people-smuggling issues complicate relations between the two groups. Apart from that, uncertainty in handling refugees, the role of social media, and the escalation of Rohingya arrivals further increase the potential for conflict. From a security perspective, this phenomenon fulfills threat variables that include capabilities, intentions, and opportunities. Financial support and the refugee network system are supporting factors, while the motive for shifting from transit to permanent settlement adds to the tension. Aceh's geographical location and weak maritime surveillance also provide opportunities for the arrival of more refugees in the future.

To overcome this threat, a strategy based on means, ways and ends is needed. Means include legal regulations, coordination between institutions, and high-level diplomacy, including through ASEAN. Implementation strategies include relocation, repatriation, resettlement of refugees, as well as economic empowerment of local communities and strengthening maritime supervision. The ultimate goal is to achieve citizenship recognition for the Rohingya, control their arrival, minimize social jealousy, and create cross-cultural understanding. With this strategy, it is hoped that social conflict can be minimized and Indonesia's national interests are maintained.

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