

**JOURNAL OF LAW, POLITIC AND HUMANITIES
(JLPH)**

E-ISSN: 2962-2816 | P-ISSN: 2747-1985

<https://dinastires.org/JLPH> dinasti.info@gmail.com +62 811 7404 455

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.38035/jlph>
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Analysis of Dynamic Framework to Prevent Potential Post-Migration Conflict of Rohingya Ethnic in Aceh

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Abstract: The lack of recognition for the Rohingya ethnic group by Myanmar and Bangladesh had led to the influx of Rohingya refugees into the Aceh region of Indonesia. This research aimed to analyze the dynamics of conflict post-migration of the Rohingya ethnic group by utilizing the Dynamic Framework, which identified components of escalation and de-escalation, conflict factors, conflict actors, stakeholders, and political will. The methodology employed in this research was a qualitative approach with data collected through a literature review related to the research topic. The findings indicated that the potential for conflict arose post-migration of the Rohingya ethnic group due to criminal activities committed by the refugees while in Aceh, resulting from the government's failure to impose strict sanctions and the unclear status of the Rohingya refugees. Local community and students, responded negatively to this situation, necessitating further involvement from the central and local governments to prevent potential conflicts between Rohingya refugees and local residents. Although Indonesia had not ratified the 1951 Vienna Convention and its 1967 Protocol, Indonesia, through Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016, continued facilitate the Rohingya ethnic group humanely without neglecting the interests of local residents to prevent potential conflicts from escalating.

Keyword: Rohingya, Aceh, Conflict Potential, Dynamic Framework

INTRODUCTION

The Rohingya ethnic group is considered by the government and residents of Myanmar as a Muslim ethnic group residing in the Arakan Province in the northwest side of Myanmar, bordering Bangladesh, now known as the Rakhine province (Husnul, 2023). Rohingya, as one of the minority ethnic groups in Myanmar with a total population of 1.1 million, often face violence from the Myanmar government, which has led to actions amounting to genocide, such as denial of citizenship, restrictions on freedom of movement,

reproductive restrictions, limitations in education, economic restrictions, marriage restrictions, as well as detention and torture of women (Mahmood, 2017). The Myanmar government undertakes these actions due to the belief that Rohingya are not part of their ethnic identity (Arianta et al., 2020).

Discriminatory actions by the Myanmar government against Rohingya stem from the perception that they are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, often referred to as Bengali due to shared cultural and physical characteristics with Bangladeshis (Andistan, 2016). On the other hand, Bangladesh also does not formally recognize Rohingya as part of its citizens (Arianta et al., 2020). The explicit denial of Rohingya citizenship status is governed by the Burma Citizenship Law of 1982, Chapter II, Articles 3 and 4, which regulate citizenship. Article 3 states, "Nationals such as the Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Chin, Burman, Mon, Rakhine or Shan and ethnic groups as have settled in any of the territories included within the State as their permanent home from a period anterior to 1185 B.C., 1823 A.D. are Burma citizens." Article 2 specifies, "The council of State may decide whether any ethnic group is national or not." (Slezak, 2015). In this context, the Myanmar Government Council rejects recognizing Rohingya as Myanmar citizens and considers them descendants of Bangladeshis (Arianta et al., 2020). Thus, despite Rohingya having lived in the region for a long time, the Myanmar Government Council officially denies Rohingya ethnic status.

The discriminatory actions experienced by Rohingya, leading to their unrecognized status by the Myanmar government as its citizens, indicate that Rohingya are unwelcome by the Myanmar government (Rifa'i, Yuhandra, Akhmaddian, 2023). Consequently, approximately 626,000 Rohingya have fled to Bangladesh, with others seeking refuge in neighboring countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and elsewhere (Mahmood, 2017).

Indonesia, geographically close to Myanmar, often becomes a transit point for Rohingya, with Aceh, one of its outermost regions, being particularly vulnerable (Hamdi, Maulidia, Firlana, 2023). The arrival of Rohingya in Aceh, perceived as illegal, raises concerns about potential conflicts with local communities (Alunaza & Juani, 2017). Therefore, it is crucial to conduct an analysis to prevent conflicts between Rohingya and the Acehese community using a comprehensive framework that can help develop future conflict prevention strategies, such as the Dynamic Framework developed by Ichsan Malik.

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative descriptive method to comprehensively examine the post-migration Rohingya ethnic group in Aceh, aimed at preventing potential conflicts. Data collection and information interpretation utilized secondary sources including books, journals, reports, and various relevant data (Moleong, 2011). Data interpretation is supported by The Dynamic Framework for Conflict Prevention and Resolution theory developed by Ichsan Malik, which analyzes and offers alternative conflict resolution strategies for future occurrences (Malik, 2017).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Rohingya ethnic group has faced discrimination and violence from the Myanmar government following the implementation of the Burma Citizenship Law in 1982. This law effectively excluded Rohingya from the list of eight recognized ethnic groups (Karen, Kayah, Chin, Kachin, Shan, Mon, Rakhine, Bamar) acknowledged by the Myanmar government (Mangku, 2021). As a result of this non-recognition, approximately 250,000 Rohingya migrated to Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, in 1992 (Budaya, 2017).

On February 11, 2015, under the leadership of Thein Sein, the Myanmar government revoked the voting rights of the Rohingya ethnic group (Rosyid, 2019). This revocation led to

the withdrawal of White Cards (identity cards), which deprived Rohingya of their voting rights in general elections (Untoro et al., 2016). Consequently, the withdrawal of White Cards rendered them "Stateless Persons" and prompted Rohingya to leave Myanmar and migrate to neighboring countries such as Aceh, Indonesia (Asmara & Syahrin, 2019).

Table 1. Detailed Information on the Number of Rohingya Refugee Arrivals in Aceh

No.	Year	Total
1	2015	1365 People
2	2016	-
3	2017	-
4	2018	89 People
5	2019	7 People
6	2020	395 People
7	2021	186 People
8	2022	654 People
9	2023	1222 People

Source: Research data

Based on information gathered from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights Information and Documentation Center (PPID Kemenkumham), the number of Rohingya refugees arriving in Aceh has varied significantly from year to year. In 2015, approximately 1365 Rohingya arrived in Aceh, but this figure drastically decreased to 89 in 2018 and further to 7 in 2019. Subsequently, there was an increase to 395 arrivals in 2020, followed by a decline to 186 in 2021, and another increase to 654 in 2022. These data were obtained from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), then transmitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemenlu) based on the 2019 Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) (Hidayatullah & Novialdi, 2023).

In 2023, Aceh experienced another influx of 1,222 Rohingya refugees arriving in seven waves by boat, with two more boats expected to arrive in Indonesia. Despite the involvement of smugglers exploiting the vulnerabilities of Rohingya refugees, they had already entered Indonesia (BRIN, 2023). Handling Rohingya refugees in emergency situations is governed by Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016, which outlines procedures for handling refugees entering Indonesian territory.

Indonesia, as a country geographically adjacent to Myanmar, often serves as a transit point for Rohingya refugees (Hamdi, Maulidia, Firlana, 2023). Initially, Acehese communities welcomed Rohingya refugees (Walden, 2020). However, public sentiment shifted when many Rohingya refugees were involved in illegal activities such as prostitution and theft in Aceh (BBC, 2024). This triggered conflicts between Acehese communities and Rohingya refugees, leading to widespread rejection of their presence upon their return to Aceh (Detik News, 2023).

Tensions escalated further when Acehese students radicalized and expelled Rohingya refugees, potentially causing deep trauma, especially among refugee children and women (BBC, 2023). This reaction was driven not only by criminal activities contrary to Acehese laws but also by concerns over capacity constraints and socio-economic stability (KKR, 2023). Moreover, Indonesia lacks clear legal regulations for handling refugees because it has not ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Protocol concerning refugee status (Royyan, Rahayu, Kusumo, 2018). Consequently, Indonesia is not obligated to accommodate Rohingya refugees immigrating to Aceh (Chaterine & Ihsanuddin, 2023). Despite not ratifying these agreements, Mahfud MD, the Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs at the time, expressed commitment to finding humanitarian solutions for Rohingya (Hakim, 2021).

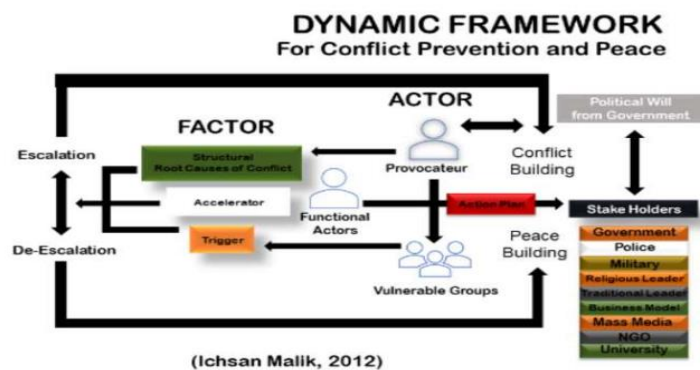
Due to widespread rejection by Acehese communities, some Rohingya refugees were relocated to the National Building in the Tanjung Pura sub-district office area (Sinaga, 2024). However, Rohingya refugees also faced rejection from Tanjung Pura residents through village and sub-district officials. Langkat District Government (Pemkab) continued to coordinate with UNHCR and IOM to address these issues (Sinaga, 2024). In recent news, Rohingya refugees housed in the West Aceh Regent's office building fled on Saturday, June 1, 2024 (BBC News, 2024). According to Faisal, a Protection Associate from UNHCR Indonesia, Rohingya refugee escapes from shelters in Aceh are not uncommon as Aceh is seen as a temporary transit point for them (Purba, 2024).

On Wednesday, May 29, 2024, out of a total of 57 Rohingya refugees housed in West Aceh, only eleven Bangladeshi nationals were officially relocated to Medan by migration authorities for deportation (Rosa, 2024). UNHCR was unaware of the Rohingya refugee escape and whether any were involved (BBC, 2022). Meanwhile, Regional Civil Service Units (Satpol PP) and Head of Security and Order Affairs (Trantib) considered the possibility that all Rohingya refugees fled their tents due to heavy rain showers (Aisyah, 2024).

Based on the conflict dynamics experienced by Rohingya refugees, from Myanmar government treatment to their arrival in Aceh, ongoing unresolved issues persist. Additionally, nearly every year, Rohingya refugees continue to arrive illegally in Indonesia, posing potential new conflicts between Rohingya and Acehese communities (Susetyo, 2023). Galtung (1996) suggests understanding conflict as a disease, distinguishing symptoms from the disease's source. A thorough analysis is needed to determine appropriate interventions, progressing step by step. Therefore, strategies for preventing future conflicts should be designed, referring to Ichsan Malik's Dynamic Framework (2017).

Despite the complexity and rapid changes in conflict situations, Malik (2017) emphasizes that conflict phenomena can still be detected early. One approach for conflict prevention and resolution is employing the Dynamic Framework for Conflict Prevention and Peace. This framework includes five interconnected components—escalation and de-escalation levels, conflict factors, conflict actors, stakeholders, and political will—that collectively contribute to conflict or peace outcomes.

Figure 1. Dynamic Framework



Source: Ichsan Malik (2017)

Based on the explanation of conflict dynamics above regarding the potential conflict post-ethnic Rohingya migration in Aceh, the author employs the Dynamic Framework for Conflict Prevention and Peace by Ichsan Malik and team (2017) as an analytical tool to address various potential conflicts that may arise during political contestation. The following outlines the identification of conflict dynamics potential post-ethnic Rohingya migration in Aceh based on the Dynamic Framework:

Component One: Escalation and de-escalation of conflict are the first components in the Dynamic Framework. Conflict escalation occurs when tensions and disputes, unable to be peacefully resolved, lead to mobilization of more intensive actions (Malik, 2017). The component influencing the escalation level in this context is the illegal entry of Rohingya ethnic refugees into Aceh. One trigger prompting Rohingya ethnic migration to Aceh is the revocation of the White Card by the Myanmar Government, rendering Rohingya status as "Stateless Persons" (Asmara & Syahrin, 2019). The arrival of Rohingya in Aceh, deemed illegal, has the potential to provoke conflicts with the government and local communities (Susetyo, 2023).

Conflict de-escalation involves the involvement of the Government and UNHCR. The Government's role is to provide internal (micro-level) protection to handle communities potentially radicalizing against Rohingya ethnic groups, while UNHCR offers external (macro-level) protection by addressing Rohingya refugee actions involving Myanmar and Bangladesh, the primary triggers for Rohingya immigration to Aceh (Azizah, 2017). Additionally, UNHCR ensures that Rohingya refugees seeking asylum are not forcibly returned to their places of origin, which could endanger their lives, adhering to the principle of "non-refoulement" (Utami, 2020). This protection involves verifying asylum seekers' identities and ensuring refugees are registered to possess legal identities (Muthahari & Almudawar, 2021).

Component Two: Conflict Factors. The conflict is influenced by three categories according to Malik (2017): Conflict Triggers, Conflict Accelerators, and Conflict Roots. Initially, Aceh's community welcomed Rohingya refugees, but sentiments turned negative due to refugees' involvement in illegal activities like prostitution and theft, sparking conflict. This aligns with Malik's analogy where Conflict Triggers are likened to a spark igniting dry grass. Conflict Accelerators intensified tensions as Aceh students' radical actions gained international attention, demanding government action due to perceived inaction (BBC, 2023). Conflict Roots lie in Rohingya's uncertain legal status and welfare, exacerbating competition over resources and living spaces.

Initially, the Aceh community welcomed Rohingya refugees warmly. However, attitudes and reactions shifted negatively as many Rohingya refugees became involved in illegal activities such as prostitution, theft, and violating Aceh's regulations (Prabowo et al., 2022). This triggered conflict between the Aceh community and Rohingya refugees, leading to a majority of Aceh's population rejecting the arrival of Rohingya ethnicity. This aligns with Malik's analogy (2017) that conflict triggers are akin to a spark that can ignite dry grass.

The consequences of this spark spreading through dry grass, if not promptly addressed, could escalate further. The element of conflict accelerator drives tensions between Rohingya refugees and the Aceh community, exacerbated when Aceh students garnered international attention for radical actions potentially traumatizing children and women by forcibly expelling Rohingya refugees. The background and motivation behind these actions stem from perceived government inaction. Additionally, students staged demonstrations, urging the government to take decisive action against Rohingya refugees (Miranti, 2023).

The root cause of conflict represents the fundamental and underlying reason behind it. Malik (2017) analogizes it to a dry grassland prone to easy ignition. If Rohingya refugees lack clear legal status or adequate welfare from their destination country, categorized as "stateless persons," this can create tension between Rohingya refugees and the Aceh

community. It also triggers competition over resources and living spaces (Asmara & Syahrin, 2019). Coser (1956), for instance, explains in conflict theory that social structure often results from the domination of one group over another. Less fortunate groups strive to change the status quo, while dominant or larger groups maintain control over resources.

Component Three: Conflict Actors. The third component involves conflict actors who significantly contribute to conflict escalation. There are three crucial elements for conflict resolution and prevention (Malik, 2017). The first element is the provocateur actor directly involved in the conflict. The second element is vulnerable groups, characterized by easy provocation which can escalate conflict. The third element is functional groups responsible for preventing conflict escalation and violence, such as the Central Government, Local Government, and relevant parties according to the issues.

Based on the three elements described above, it can be analyzed that Rohingya refugees engaging in criminal activities serve as provocateurs causing tension with the Aceh community. Furthermore, the escape of Rohingya refugees from shelters unnoticed by authorities triggers conflict escalation with the Aceh community. It is noted that post-migration, Rohingya refugees have been involved in criminal activities such as drug trafficking, sexual assaults on minors, indiscriminate waste disposal, and even aid provided by the Aceh community being discarded into the sea (Aisyah, 2024). Sandage & Wiens (2001, Cited in Malik (2017)), for example, describe crises in interpersonal conflict related to "social face." "Social face" refers to an individual's self-esteem and dignity. "Loss of face" identifies individuals or groups experiencing condemnation and loss of dignity in front of others. Therefore, if food, goods, medicine, or anything given to Rohingya refugees by the Aceh community is discarded into the sea, it can escalate prolonged tension and conflict due to issues of dignity.

Vulnerable groups easily provoked include the Aceh community, Tanjung Pura community, and Aceh students. This is stated because of the rejection by the Aceh community and students due to issues of criminal activities committed by Rohingya refugees, resulting in the Tanjung Pura community also rejecting the arrival of Rohingya refugees. When negative issues from one individual are accepted by others, Taylor & Moghaddam (1994) state that it can lead to stereotypes and discrimination that can escalate conflict.

Subsequently, the functional group in this context includes the Indonesian Government (Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Ministry of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Langkat Regency Government, Aceh Regent, Public Order Agency, and Local Security) and NGOs (UNCHR and IOM) playing a role in resolving and preventing Rohingya refugee conflicts. Interagency interactions in handling potential conflicts post-Rohingya migration to Aceh by perceiving functional groups as "we" rather than "us" and "them" become more inclusive (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman (1996) cited in Malik (2017)).

Component Four: Stakeholder. The fourth component of the Dynamic Framework is stakeholders or interest holders. Stakeholders have the function of preventing and managing conflicts before they escalate. The stakeholders in the Rohingya ethnic conflict post-migration to Aceh include the Aceh Regent and Regional Government, UNCHR, IOM, Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham), Public Order Agency (Satpol PP), and Local Security (Trantib). Stakeholders handling Rohingya ethnicity in Aceh are motivated to alleviate tension between the Aceh community and Rohingya refugees while providing protection to Rohingya ethnicity without disadvantaging the local community. By employing legal (interest-based) and community interest (interest-based) approaches, efforts can be made to resolve conflicts in the Aceh region with solutions beneficial to all parties involved. This approach aims to create mutually beneficial outcomes or a win-win solution for all parties involved in the conflict (Malik, 2017).

Component Five: Political will is the fifth and final component of Ichsán Malik's Dynamic Framework (2017). The fifth component can be evaluated through two aspects: firstly, the initiative of rulers to completely resolve conflicts, or in this case, potential conflicts. Secondly, the formulation of policies or laws to prevent conflict escalation. Various dynamics of conflict experienced by Rohingya refugees in Aceh are diverse, ranging from non-recognition as citizens of Myanmar and Bangladesh, migration to neighboring countries, acceptance or warm reception by the residents of their destination countries, to rejection due to criminal activities committed by Rohingya ethnicity (Aisyah, 2024). Regardless of the criminal actions committed by the Rohingya ethnicity. Handling Rohingya ethnicity, in emergency situations, is regulated by Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016, which serves as the basis for implementing procedures when refugees enter Indonesian territory. Although Indonesia has not ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Protocol, Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD, is committed to seeking solutions for Rohingya ethnicity for humanitarian reasons (Hakim, 2021).

The Indonesian government must handle Rohingya refugees in accordance with humanitarian principles, international legal instruments, and Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016. In addition, Indonesia upholds humanistic values in line with the Pancasila ideology, thus demonstrating positive commitment in efforts to resolve Rohingya ethnicity issues by upholding every human right (Ajawaila et al., 2022). In a democratic system, the reason why the Indonesian government has not ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Protocol is due to difficult-to-achieve interests if Indonesia were to ratify the 1951 convention, potentially triggering disparities among Indonesian society, especially in Aceh (Royyan et al., 2018).

Table 2. Analysis of Potential Rohingya Conflict Post-Migration in Aceh using the Dynamic Framework

Dynamic Framework Components	Issue	Cause	Solution
Escalation and De-escalation Levels	Illegal entry of Rohingya refugees into Aceh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Uncertainty of Rohingya refugee status in Myanmar and Bangladesh ● Withdrawal of White Card (Identity Card) by Myanmar 	UNHCR needs to take action involving Myanmar and Bangladesh
Conflict Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Conflict Trigger: Negative reactions and rejection of Rohingya ethnic refugees by Aceh's community ● Conflict Accelerator: Radical actions by Aceh students expelling Rohingya refugees ● Conflict Root: Uncertainty in legal status and welfare of Rohingya ethnic refugees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Involvement of Rohingya ethnic refugees in criminal activities ● Government perceived as not taking decisive actions on this issue ● Rohingya ethnic status remains "Stateless Person" 	Urgently pressing the Central and Local Governments to promptly and systematically address Rohingya refugees without endangering them and without disadvantaging the local community.

Conflict Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Provocative Actor: Rohingya ethnic refugees. ● Vulnerable Groups: Aceh community, Tanjung Pura community, Aceh students. ● Functional Groups: UNHCR, IOM (International Organization for Migration), Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham), Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Menkopolhukam), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kemenlu), Langkat Regency Government (Pekab Langkat), Aceh Regent (Bupati Aceh), Public Order Agency (Satpol PP), Village Supervisory Non-commissioned Officer (Trantib). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Involvement in criminal activities in Aceh and Rohingya refugees escaping from tents without the knowledge of authorities. ● As a result of rejection by the Aceh community and Aceh students due to concerns over criminal actions by Rohingya refugees, the Tanjung Pura community also refuses the arrival of Rohingya ethnic refugees. ● The Indonesian government and NGOs play roles in resolving and preventing conflicts involving Rohingya refugees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Firm actions against Rohingya refugees engaged in criminal activities, including prosecution and imposing strict sanctions. ● Providing guidance to Aceh students to refrain from engaging in anarchic actions and to protect local residents. ● Urging the government and NGOs to promptly address post-Rohingya ethnic migration conflicts in a structured and systematic manner, while also protecting vulnerable groups.
Stakeholder	<p>The District Head (Bupati) and Local Government of Aceh, UNHCR, IOM, Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham), Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Menkopolhukam), Public Order Agency (Satpol PP), and Village Supervisory Non-commissioned Officer (Trantib)</p>	<p>Stakeholders have interests in mitigating tensions between the Aceh community and Rohingya ethnic refugees, while also providing protection to Rohingya ethnic refugees without disadvantaging the local community.</p>	<p>Educating the community to foster a culture of tolerance.</p>
Political Will	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Indonesia has not ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Protocol. ● Indonesia demonstrates intention to assist Rohingya refugees while they are in Indonesia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Indonesia does not have the obligation or authority to accommodate Rohingya refugees. ● There are challenging interests if Indonesia were to ratify the convention. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Involving stakeholder initiatives and community efforts to comprehensively address and resolve potential conflicts. ● Providing assistance to Rohingya ethnic refugees while

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- Indonesia still considering upholds every the interests of human rights local residents. including Rohingya ethnic refugees.
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Source: Research result

CONCLUSION

Based on the above discussion, it can be concluded that the post-migration conflict dynamics of the Rohingya ethnic group involve various complex elements that trigger escalated conflict into social conflict between the Acehese community and Rohingya refugees. This conflict is caused by several factors, such as the "stateless person" status of the Rohingya ethnic group, social tensions between the Acehese community and the Rohingya due to illegal activities, and legal uncertainties regarding Indonesia's non-ratification of the 1951 Vienna Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Although Indonesia has taken humane steps through Presidential Regulation No. 125 of 2016, demonstrating its commitment to balancing the interests of Acehese residents and the needs of Rohingya refugees, the potential conflict remains unresolved due to the failure of functional groups to stop student actions in expelling Rohingya refugees in a radical manner and the unknown whereabouts of refugees fleeing from shelters, escalating the conflict with Acehese residents.

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