ROHINGYA AND ACEH: WHEN RELIGION AND CULTURE PLAY ITS ROLE

a Malahayati Rahman, b Laila Muhammad Rasyid, c Yulia Yulia

ABSTRACT

Objective: This research will explore the actor's perspective on the presence of Rohingya refugees in Aceh after the COVID-19 pandemic. We argue that the people of Aceh and Indonesia have generally accepted the Rohingya for reasons related to religion and local wisdom, where these two things are interrelated and cannot be separated in the life of the people of Aceh. This condition could be different if, one day, refugees come from different religious and cultural backgrounds from the people of Aceh.

Method: To prove this argument, the authors used mixed-method research by combining survey and interview data, analysing using a deductive approach and describing qualitatively. The survey was conducted on 267 respondents between June 2021 and August 2022.

Results: The results showed that although the majority of people accept Rohingya refugees in Aceh, temporarily or permanently, there are still a small number who reject them. The most dominant reasons for acceptance are humanity and morality based on religion and local wisdom. The reasons for refusal were generally due to the unsettled condition of the Indonesian people's economic welfare and the potential for conflict between refugees and the community around the shelter.

Conclusion: This condition proves that in Acehnese society, religious values and local wisdom are still very influential, especially in responding to the presence of the Rohingya in Aceh.

Recommendation: Based on the findings, it is recommended that policymakers, central government and regional governments should prepare proper regulations, treatment models and integration processes by taking into account religious values and local wisdom and involving local communities and religious leaders in the handling process.

Originality/Value: Findings contribute to a scholarly understanding of religious elements and local wisdom in the people of Aceh, especially towards the presence of the Rohingya.

Keywords: refugee, local wisdom, religious values, humanity, morality.
ROHINGYA E ACEH: QUANDO RELIGIÃO E CULTURA DESEMPENHAM SEU PAPEL

RESUMO

Objetivo: Esta pesquisa explorará a perspectiva do ator sobre a presença de refugiados rohingyas em Aceh após a pandemia da Covid-19. Nós argumentamos que os povos de Aceh e Indonésia têm geralmente aceitado os rohingyas por razões relacionadas à religião e sabedoria local, onde essas duas coisas estão inter-relacionadas e não podem ser separadas na vida do povo de Aceh. Esta condição poderia ser diferente se, um dia, os refugiados viessem de diferentes origens religiosas e culturais da população de Aceh.

Método: Para comprovar esse argumento, os autores usaram a pesquisa de método misto combinando dados de pesquisa e entrevista, analisando usando uma abordagem dedutiva e descartando qualitativa. O inquérito foi realizado em 267 inquiridos entre junho de 2021 e agosto de 2022.

Resultados: Os resultados mostraram que, embora a maioria das pessoas aceite refugiados rohingyas em Aceh, temporária ou permanentemente, ainda há um pequeno número que os rejeita. As razões mais dominantes para a aceitação são a humanidade e a moralidade baseadas na religião e na sabedoria local. As razões para a recusa foram geralmente devido à condição instável do bem-estar econômico do povo indonésio e ao potencial conflito entre os refugiados e a comunidade em torno do abrigo.

Conclusão: Esta condição prova que, na sociedade de Aceh, os valores religiosos e a sabedoria local ainda são muito influentes, especialmente na resposta à presença dos rohingyas em Aceh.

Recomendação: Com base nas conclusões, recomendamos que os decisores políticos, o governo central e os governos regionais preparem regulamentos adequados, modelos de tratamento e processos de integração, tendo em conta os valores religiosos e a sabedoria local e envolvendo as comunidades locais e os líderes religiosos no processo de tratamento.

Originalidade/valor: Os achados contribuem para uma compreensão acadêmica dos elementos religiosos e da sabedoria local no povo de Aceh, especialmente para a presença dos rohingyas.

Palavras-chave: refugiado, sabedoria local, valores religiosos, humanidade, moralidade.

1 INTRODUCTION

This study is a continuation of the author's 2015 research on handling Rohingya refugees in Aceh (Malahayati, 2017c, 2017a, 2017b; Malahayati et al., 2017, 2019b). The Rohingya, a Muslim ethnic minority of an estimated 725,000 people, have lived in North Arakan (Rakhine) in Myanmar's Burma, next to Bangladesh, for millennia. Myanmar is in Southeast Asia, bordering China on the north and northeast, Laos and Thailand on the east and southeast, the Andaman Sea and the Bay of Bengal on the south, and Bangladesh and India on the west (About Myanmar, n.d.). The area of Myanmar is 677,000,000 square kilometres, the distance from east to west is 936 kilometres and from north to south is 2,051 kilometres. Since the 1970s, violence has been committed against Rohingya in Rakhine (Mohajan, 2018). Thousands of Rohingya were forced to flee the Rakhine region...
due to harassment by the military junta and the destruction of their mosques (Parnini, 2013). The Rohingyas fled Myanmar to numerous neighbouring nations, including Bangladesh, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia (Warr & Wong, 1997).

Rohingya refugees were stranded on Sabang Island and East Aceh, Indonesia, in 2009 (Ishak, 2009). Several waves of Rohingya refugees continue to be stranded in Aceh. The refugees at that time were accommodated in several locations in Aceh, including in Langsa City, East Aceh District, and North Aceh District. The 964 refugees from Myanmar were rescued by fishermen in Aceh in early May 2015 (McNevin & Missbach, 2018; Thom, 2016). Furthermore, 79 Rohingya were stranded again in April 2018 at Kuala Raja Bireuen Beach. Their presence in Aceh has had impacts in various fields, including issues of integration with the local population (Alunaza & Juani, 2017; Missbach, 2017b; Yasin et al., 2018).

The return of 94 Rohingya refugees to Aceh amid the COVID-19 outbreak, on June 24, 2020, to be specific, has prompted a variety of opinions from various groups. Initially, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Indonesian government denied their arrival. Nonetheless, Acehnese fishermen persist in landing them on Lancok Beach in northern Aceh. Until recently, groups of Rohingya refugees have continued coming to Aceh. (Pengungsi Rohingya Terdampar Di Aceh Dan “Ditolak Warga”, Pemerintah Indonesia Berencana “siapkan Lokasi Khusus” - BBC News Indonesia, n.d.; Ratusan Pengungsi Rohingya Ditolak Negara-Negara Karena Covid-19, n.d.).

At the end of June 2020, Myanmar boat people arrived again in Aceh. While the Covid-19 outbreak was occurring, the same problems recurred. The Indonesian government and the Indonesian National Army (TNI) refused to welcome Rohingya refugees, but fishermen and community leaders were moved by their humanity and accepted them. Even when the boat carrying Rohingya was permitted to float and was supposed to be pushed out of Indonesian waters, they protested with the security forces. Finally, fishermen and the local community brought the Rohingya refugees ashore, who provided them with unprompted aid. According to the Rohingya Information and Advocacy Center, the total number of Rohingya refugees from Myanmar who took asylum in the former Lhokseumawe Immigration Office was 99, including 17 men, 49 women, ten boys, 22 girls, and a baby girl.

The Rohingyas have received better minimum protection in Aceh than in other Indonesian provinces (Malahayati et al., 2019a). The engagement between refugees and
communities is moderately positive, which is influenced by the values of local wisdom in the Aceh community as well as the values of their home country (Malahayati et al., 2019c). On the other hand, the presence of Rohingyas also affects the inhabitants of the refugee camp, such as social jealousy and differences in customs and personalities (Thom, 2016).

The return of Rohingya refugees to Aceh has generated differing public sentiments. In June 2021 and August 2022, we surveyed diverse Indonesian actors and groups involved in the care of Rohingya refugees in order to examine these varying viewpoints. The goal of this survey is to determine the viewpoints of Indonesian players, both within and outside of Aceh Province, regarding the existence of Rohingya refugees in the wake of the COVID-19 outbreak. This article will also examine actors' viewpoints on what must be supplied for them in Aceh, including accommodation, food, clothes, education, health care, employment, and even citizenship.

This paper opens with a brief overview of the academic literature on this topic, followed by a discussion of the study's methodology and data sources. The research outcomes will be examined in two parts: viewpoints on the presence of Rohingya during the pandemic and perspectives on meeting the fundamental needs of Rohingya refugees in Aceh. The remainder of this paper consists of a discussion, implications for future research, policy, and practice, and a conclusion.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW
Extensive research has been conducted on both negative and positive perceptions of refugees' presence in host countries (Arie Afriansyah, 2017; Dilsan Fidanoglu, 2015; Eric Schubert Ansah, 2016; Fitria, 2015; Klug, 2014; Lee & Ai, 2016; Linda Darnela, 2017; Loura Hardjaloka, 2015; Mahmood et al., 2017; Martin, 2018; Mathew & Harley, 2014; Mcauliffe & Mcauliffe, 2017; Mcnevin & Missbach, 2018b; Missbach, 2013, 2017a, 2018; Mohajan, 2019; Mohd Nur Hidayat & Ibnor Azli, 2017; Newland, 2011; Razali et al., 2015; Rodziana et al., 2017; Siti Khalijah Abdul Rahman, 2017; Syahrin, 2019; Yesmin, 2016; Yesmin et al., 2018; Zulkarnain, 2020; Böhmelt et al., 2019; Mcnevin & Missbach, 2018a; Mohajan, 2019; Yesmin et al., 2018). According to a substantial body of research, refugees have been linked to a greater likelihood of violent civil strife in their host nations. Rohingya is one of the most significant refugee crises in Southeast Asia.
Positive and negative impressions of the presence of refugees in a country are influenced by a variety of factors held by various parties. The presence of Syrian refugees in Germany illustrates society's rejection. The German government launched an open door policy to safeguard refugees, which Angela Merkel, the German chancellor at the time, referred to as a *wir schaffen das* or ‘We can do this’ (Khaira et al., 2022). This action precipitated a refugee crisis and many refugee attacks (Müller-Brandeck-Bocquet, 2022).

According to certain research, most Germans believe that their country cannot handle further increases in the number of immigrants and that this will continue to affect Germany in the future (Feischmidt & Zakariás, 2020; Mattson, 1995).

The residents of the Kalideres subdistrict in West Jakarta, another example, are pressing the authorities to regulate the gathering of asylum seekers occupying the pavements in front of the immigration detention centre (Rizki et al.). Residents complained when children encountered difficulty traversing sidewalks crowded with evacuees on their way to school in the morning. In addition, the immigrants were deemed unhygienic for defecating in the open, showering, cleaning clothes, and defecating in public restrooms without authorisation. It frequently causes additional issues, such as disruption of public order and security, the phenomena of contract marriages, and criminal acts such as drug trafficking and terrorism (Fitria, 2015).

In addition, some perspectives oppose the presence of refugees due to their economic impact. They believe a massive influx of refugees will increase competition between locals and migrants for land, water, food, and medical care (Murray, 2010). Even the regional government receiving refugees will give additional funding to address refugee challenges (Kumar, 2020). The provision of suitable housing and shelter, as well as specific educational care for refugee children, requires considerable thought. Refugees are frequently perceived as a challenge to national sovereignty and can result in socioeconomic and security costs for the state (Manthei, 2021). The presence of refugees can cause new problems in the host country. As Missbach stated, it could happen because of a lack of integration with residents around the refugee residences (Missbach, 2017a).

On the other side, many in the host countries accept it positively because refugees promote the creation of new jobs and the flow of aid funding to development organisations (Baloch et al., 2017; Kowarsch & Wang, 2022; Taylor et al., 2016). In Germany, for instance, the demographic component is one of the reasons for the country's acceptance of migrants, as the composition of the population, particularly those of
working age – the grey population – is declining (Meyer, 2016). It is significant due to the growing reliance on old age and the cost of pensions, as well as the shortage of employees, particularly those of productive age, which increases Germany's interest in the existence of immigrants (Salsabila, 2019).

In addition, the presence of refugees benefits the local economy since they can meet their daily needs by shopping at adjacent stores and markets (Zulkarnain, 2020). Considering the time required for refugees to be welcomed in the host country, this integration process can occur over time. Illana Feldman refers to it as *legitimacy to live in an abnormal space*. The anomalous place in this location is intended to be a refugee camp requiring care and necessities, as is customary between humans and society (Feldman, 2015). It might lead to disagreements between the local population and the government over the admittance of migrants.

After the COVID-19 pandemic, this study will give a fresh contribution and answer material truths regarding the existence of religion and local wisdom in accepting the return of Rohingya refugees to Aceh. This study employs a mixed-methods approach by integrating survey data with the results of direct interviews with a range of stakeholders directly involved in managing Rohingya refugees in Aceh. In the first section of this study, we will investigate the role of indigenous knowledge and religion in the community's response to the presence of Rohingya refugees following the pandemic. In the following section, this study will examine the perspective of the Acehnese people on providing the basic requirements of Rohingya refugees and the reasoning behind their perspective.

### 3 METHODOLOGY

The survey was conducted to find out the various perspectives of the community towards the return of the Rohingya and what fundamental rights must be granted while they are in Aceh. Two hundred sixty-seven people participated in the study, including 70.8% from Aceh Province and 29.2% from outside Aceh Province. Most responders (96.6%) were Muslims aged 15 to 60. The survey was performed for two weeks, from June 24 to July 8, 2021. Respondents were asked fifteen questions.

All participants were invited to complete a questionnaire voluntarily and informed that the poll aimed to determine the community's perspective on the repatriation of Rohingya to Aceh. In order to view the community's perspective, all replies will be
displayed as tables and infographics. The perceptions of the community towards the presence of Rohingya in Aceh during the epidemic were evaluated based on domicile, age, occupation, and religion.

There are numerous groupings of responders based on religion, age, place of residence, and occupation, as shown in the graph below:

Figure 1. Age and Religion of Respondents

![Age and Religion](image1)

Source: Data Collecting by Survey

Figure 2. Residence and Employment of Respondents

![Residence and Employment](image2)

Source: Data Collecting by Survey

Meanwhile, to determine the viewpoint on basic needs and the timing of their provision, these needs are categorised as follows: shelter, food, clothes, education, health care, employment, and citizenship. In addition to a list of fundamental necessities, the
questionnaire allowed respondents to list any extra needs that must be met for the Rohingya while they are in Aceh.

In addition to surveying the distribution of questionnaires, the author interviewed several parties directly involved in managing refugees in Aceh. In order to assess and present empirical data, survey data is blended with interview findings and information from other media sources using a mixed technique.

4 RESULT

4.1 PERSPECTIVES OF ACTORS IN INDONESIA ON THE EXISTENCE OF ROHINGYA REFUGEES IN ACEH

This research focuses on the actor's perspective on the return of the Rohingya to Aceh during the pandemic. The subject of whether they should be accepted or rejected in Aceh and the reasons for this will be explored in detail to form a conclusion on the viewpoints and reasons why the community supports or rejects the presence of the Rohingya in Aceh during this pandemic.

According to the poll, there are different factions of opinion regarding the Rohingya's presence in Aceh after the COVID-19 outbreak. The majority of the population accepted the temporary presence of Rohingya in Aceh. Only 38 (16.2 %) of the 234 responders who accepted could accept Rohingya as permanent residents. The remaining respondents got refugee status for less than one year (11.6 %), between one and five years (0.9 %), or without a specific time restriction; depending on Rohingya conditions, it was conceivable for them to be returned or moved to a third country (71.3 %).

Respondents' perspectives varied regarding their reasons for responding to the presence of Rohingya in Aceh. As depicted in the graph below, the respondents' reasons for welcoming Rohingyas can be grouped into numerous areas, including religious morality, religious humanity, religious brotherhood, humanity, legality, and morality.
Meanwhile, rejection happens due to health, economic, legal, and social concerns, as shown in the Figure below.

The first perspective is based on the findings of interviews with state and non-state actors or institutions and the community, which indicate that most Indonesians, particularly in Aceh, continue to accept Rohingya refugees for humanitarian and moral grounds. The author makes a distinction between religious and general motives. As for the general causes, such as humanity and morality, it is possible to assume that local knowledge values influence them (Safrijal et al., 2023). It indicates that nearly all respondents are highly impacted by religious values and local wisdom values. Abdul
Hamid, a traditional leader and Panglima Laot Kota Lhokseumawe, emphasised that, despite the poor condition of Aceh, it is our duty as human beings to assist one another. Abdul Hamid said, "If it does occur, we must assist in any way possible. It has become the norm among the citizens of Aceh. Everyone who arrives must be treated like a guest and honoured."

Fachrurrazi, a Yayasan Solidaritas Aksi Peduli (YSAP) humanitarian officer in Aceh, had a similar sentiment: "The people of Aceh tolerate them (Rohingya) for humanitarian reasons. It has been commonplace for us to assist those in need. However, we must also continue our efforts to fix the core cause of the issue that prompted their escape to Aceh. The offering of assistance and acceptance is restricted to meeting fundamental requirements." Meanwhile, other problems demand more consistent policies to avoid communal conflicts. It can be accomplished by incorporating local knowledge into handling refugees. According to Fachrurrazi, Aceh is an excellent location for a global study on the treatment of refugees based on indigenous knowledge.

The welcoming of refugees is a defining characteristic of the well-known Acehnese people (Mcnevin & Missbach, 2018). It is because Aceh, in the past, was a conflict area. There are many Acehnese seeking asylum. Iskandar, as a humanitarian volunteer at the Geutanyoe Foundation, stated, “Igob ka dibantu tanyoe, paken tanyoe han tabantu gob,” which means other people have helped us, why don't we help others? The term helping also has no time limit because getting countries willing to accept refugees can take quite a long time due to limited quotas from the receiving country. On the other hand, Iskandar questioned, "If the quota is insufficient, will they be expelled? It is also a violation of human rights."

According to the survey, Aceh's governmental institutions, including the police, have no objections to accepting refugees for humanitarian grounds. Aceh is quite receptive to newcomers. On the other hand, based on previous events, it appeared that the Rohingya refugees had intentionally stranded themselves in Aceh. Farida Hanum remarked, "Consider when they were transported to the camp; within days, some of them had already bolted and established their network." If Aceh continues to welcome refugees in the future, the government must at least be better equipped in handling and monitoring processes. It is intended to prevent refugees from leaving and becoming illegal workers.
Aceh already has Rohingya refugee shelters as a region that frequently accommodates Rohingya refugees. According to Missbach, the housing and care of Rohingya refugees in Aceh is phenomenal (Missbach, 2017a). Indonesia no longer has special shelters for refugees since the Indochinese refugees on Galang Island in 1970. Indonesia, UNHCR and IOM have started building special shelters for refugees in the last few years, especially in Aceh and the Riau Islands.

Maura Novstrilla of the Lhokseumawe City on Social Service and Empowerment of Women and Children indicated, based on a poll of apparatus opinions, that Indonesia is not required to admit refugees because it has not ratified the convention on refugee status. The Lhokseumawe Government has temporarily admitted Rohingya for passage before transferring them to other locations. It is appropriate as a member of humankind. As has occurred in the past, refugees who flee the shelter are granted permission to leave, and they frequently do so. Maura said, "This will further exacerbate the challenges and threats facing the neighbourhood."

In addition, some groups in Aceh are eager to accommodate the Rohingya for a more extended time. However, they necessitate extremely cautious rules and procedures. Fachrurrazi stated, "Refugees must be allowed to get formal and non-formal education so that they can later work and earn a good livelihood." According to him, they must be allowed to become citizens of Indonesia.

In addition, the party that desires to welcome the Rohingya for a while argued that, as humans, we should assist one another. Rozy Noval, an employee of the Indonesian Red Cross in Lhokseumawe City, observed, "Acceptance of the Rohingya is not limited to Aceh Province; other regions must also be willing to comply." Nevertheless, according to Rozy, Indonesia is not required to admit refugees because the country has yet to accept the agreement. Rozy recommended that the Government of Aceh assist for the allotted time, after which they might be relocated to another location. Rozy underlined, "Do not even work in Aceh, as the struggle to find a job in Aceh is fierce."

The subsequent viewpoint indicated that Rohingya refugees did not exist when the survey was conducted. Some believe that the Rohingya refugees are just adding to the burdens of the Indonesian and Acehnese governments since there are fears of societal conflict, problems with state security and order, and a belief that the Rohingya refugees are a burden on the governments of Indonesia and Aceh. Because it is a religious order, all responders understood that supporting one another among humans is fundamental and

essential. Moreover, the importance of local wisdom in Aceh, known as *peumulia jamee*, is the foundation for mingling with fellow humans, where guests must be treated respectfully. It is a local sage integrated with the community.

4.2 PERSPECTIVES OF INDONESIAN SOCIETY ON MEETING THE FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS OF ROHINGYA REFUGEES IN ACEH

This section examines the actor's perspective on addressing the fundamental requirements of Rohingya refugees in Aceh. The fundamental requirements of refugees will be categorised as accommodation, food, clothes, education, health care, employment, and citizenship. Several questions were posed to responders regarding the follow-up treatment of Rohingya refugees. It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to creating more effective processes for dealing with refugees.

According to the study results, Rohingya refugees need homes, food, clothing, education, health services, jobs, and possibly citizenship. The following graph demonstrates this:

![Figure 5. Basic Need for Refugees](source: Data Collecting by Survey)

4.2.1 housing

Indonesia exists for refugees, although it has not ratified the convention, in accordance with the spirit of its 1945 constitution and the feeling of humanity that has become local wisdom in many places. Compared to Indonesia's neighbours, the number
of asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia remains relatively modest (Missbach, 2017a).

In accordance with Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 125 of 2016 on the Treatment of Refugees, some housing requirements exist for refugees in Indonesia. The need to provide shelter for refugees is stipulated by Perpres 125/2016, which considers humanitarian considerations, human rights, and social integration. Under the rules of the regulation, the Indonesian government is required to carry out and ensure compliance with this obligation. The government must also ensure that refugees are not subject to housing discrimination based on their origin, religion, race, or gender. Internally displaced persons are placed based on family characteristics, gender, age, nationality, race, ethnicity, and religion. In addition, the Presidential Decree underlines the necessity to refer refugees with infectious and hazardous diseases to hospitals and other healthcare institutions.

In this circumstance, adequate and secure shelter for Rohingya refugees is essential. According to interviews, Maura, a state apparatus, feels that providing camps or housing for Rohingya migrants should be limited to a maximum of six to twelve months. However, Rozy Nouval expressed a somewhat different viewpoint, stating that the period of stay depends on the international organisation (UNHCR), the Indonesian government, and the receiving countries. It could be longer than one year and will depend on the availability of quotas in the destination country. Although the duration of refugees' stay in Indonesia cannot be determined, accommodation for refugees must still be supplied, according to Rozy. However, the Aceh local government should focus on the planning, regulation, and continuity of housing provision for Rohingya refugees. Security for refugees must also be considered, as there are several incidents of refugees fleeing the allocated housing.

According to Iskandar of the Geutanyoe Foundation, the perspective of non-state actors on this residential policy is that residential houses should not have time and space constraints because refugees are free to travel wherever. “If we evict them from Aceh, we are violating their human rights,” according to Iskandar. According to him, refugees should be allowed between one and three years for a sufficient period of rehabilitation, and the institutions authorised to handle them (UNHCR and IOM) must also be responsible for meeting their other fundamental needs.
In contrast, Abdul Hamid, Panglima Laot of Lhokseumawe City, indicated that the duration of refugee presence could not be determined. Hamid said, "Many people already recognise the motivation of the migrants stuck in Aceh for what it is, so we must seriously consider the situation and prevent the refugees from colonising us." For some Acehnese, the Rohingya's presence in Aceh is merely a transit stop before they travel to Malaysia or Australia.

### 4.2.2 food

In accordance with Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 125 of 2016 on the Treatment of Refugees, Indonesia is required to provide food for refugees. The need to provide food for refugees is governed by Presidential Regulation 125/2016, which considers health, food security, and equality of access. The Indonesian government is obligated to execute and ensure compliance with this requirement in line with the provisions of the rule.

According to Fachurrurazi, Rohingya refugees can adjust their needs because they are free to cook and choose the menu they will eat. Based on Fachurrurazi's experience in the shelter, "Rohingya refugees can be empowered to prepare and provide their own food needs because they are experts in cooking." Iskandar from the Geutanyoe Foundation added, "The assistance provided in the form of food refers to the minimum standards that apply to just survive, not excessive and even to the point of being thrown away, while the residents are also in poor condition."

Hanum said, "The amount of assistance provided by UNICEF and other national and international institutions is extraordinary; some have even given cash, too." Meanwhile, Maura believes that the Regional Government has only organised food for refugees so far. It depends on the capacity of international organisations (UNHCR and IOM) in the field, "So the regional government is sufficiently organised, so that there is no misappropriation of aid, and due to inadequate financial capacity the local government may refuse to provide food regularly."

### 4.2.3 apparel and health services

The provision of clothing to the refugees, according to the informants, was adjusted to the needs they first landed and the conditions in the camp. Maura's experience as an implementing apparatus in handling refugees in the field, “So far many parties have
provided clothing assistance so that refugees are only used once and then thrown away, which causes dirty clothing waste that interferes with cleanliness around the refugee camp.” According to Maura, this assistance is adjusted according to the ability of third parties. Clothing assistance is usually accompanied by health services, a collaboration between the local health service, the Immigration Detention Center (RUDENIM) health clinic and UNHCR, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. It is done to prevent more comprehensive transmission of the disease. The Langsa City Immigration Office even tried to vaccinate the refugees to prevent the spread of the virus.

4.2.4 education

Another significant issue is regarding education because, based on previous studies, it was found that the educational level of Rohingya refugees was low; many could not read. Some people see that education is essential; it can be given to Rohingya refugees. So far, refugees have been given a non-formal education while they are in the camp. However, if formal education facilities are provided, there will be problems with the inadequate regulations in Aceh and Indonesia. Hanum, as a state apparatus, questioned again, "Are we ready for the supervision carried out? What about immigration? How about other related institutions?"

Apart from that, Maura believes that language issues are also one of the obstacles in the educational process. The hope is that being given access to education will make it easier for refugees to develop their potential. As a humanitarian volunteer, Mariana added, "Actually, this is complicated, especially since our education level and theirs are very different; the policies are also different, so educational assistance is needed to see their abilities." For this reason, according to her, more comprehensive regulations are needed to open formal educational opportunities for the Rohingya in Aceh.

Rozy has a different view. According to him, Indonesia had ratified the issue of children's and women's rights, so it was supposed to provide access to education from elementary to high school levels for the Rohingya in Aceh. He said, "By rights, they should have equal educational opportunities." Nevertheless, all of that depends on the good intentions of the Indonesian and Aceh governments. One alternative is collaborating with humanitarian agencies engaged in education to help provide non-formal education as a first step to entering formal education. Fachrurrazi said, How about making a kind of MoU with several schools by developing learning methods for child refugees? Clear rules
and an integrated system between institutions and the government are needed to overcome this problem. Efforts being made by the Geutanyoe Foundation are pushing policies to provide special education for refugees. Iskandar said, "We cannot equate education standards in Indonesia with Rohingya refugees. We need to think about how when they leave Indonesia, they can get an acknowledgement through the education they have received while in Aceh."

### 4.2.5 employment and citizenship

Rohingya refugees need the right to employment and citizenship, so they travel to leave their country. As a country that has not ratified the convention, Indonesia has no obligation to facilitate it (Allerton, 2017). Based on the survey results, people's opinions vary regarding fulfilling the right to work and citizenship for refugees. Some consider this right to threaten local people, as stated by Iskandar, "do not get the opinion that we care more about refugees than our citizens." So, the opportunity to work formally to make money must not be fulfilled for refugees because they are migrants. In line with Iskandar, Hanum added that this can be allowed if the work is informal, such as growing vegetables or gardening for daily needs.

Marliana expressed the view that it would be challenging to provide job opportunities if the refugee's stay in the camp was limited. However, if they have expertise, such as in a workshop or barber shop, and residents are willing to accept it, then this can be done. Hamid gave the reason that all of these things depended on the readiness of rules or regulations from the government, and for these conditions, monitoring and evaluation must be carried out continuously. If there are obstacles in its implementation or it can have an unfavourable impact, then it is better not to allow refugees to work (Suryaningsih et al., 2023).

As for the community's response to the possibility of granting Indonesian citizenship to refugees, they generally agree that this issue requires an in-depth study. It must consider the legal consequences of granting citizenship, affecting the rights and obligations protected by law. Comparisons can be made with Indonesia's policy towards foreign athletes who have extraordinary achievements so that they are deemed worthy of becoming Indonesian citizens. However, restrictions on acceptance quotas as citizens must also be minimal.
5 DISCUSSION

The study shows different perspectives on the presence of the Rohingya in Aceh among the people, both people living in Aceh and outside Aceh. Even though most people can accept their presence in Aceh during this pandemic, both temporarily and permanently, a small number of groups reject their presence in Aceh. The group that accepts makes humanitarian reasons, a culture of helping each other and human rights the basis for their acceptance in Aceh, even though it is during a pandemic. It is in line with the findings of previous studies, which state that the values of local wisdom that have existed in Aceh since ancient times, which originate from the values of Islamic teachings in Aceh, namely the peculiar jamee custom, are local wisdom values sought out by the Acehnese on Rohingya (Rahman et al., 2022). The perspective of the Acehnese people towards Rohingya refugees based on the survey above and the results of previous research are still due to solidarity and togetherness, in this case, because they are both Muslim (Mappong & Lili, 2023). Having the same belief made people want to help refugees from 2015 until recently. The experience here is because Aceh has also been in a period of conflict before.

Solidarity, according to Durkheim’s theory of solidarity in his book *The Division of Labor in Society*, distinguishes between groups based on mechanical solidarity and groups based on organic solidarity (*The Division of Labor in Society* (1893), n.d.). Mechanical solidarity connects the individual to society without any intermediary. Society is organised collectively, and all group members share the same set of tasks and core beliefs. What binds the individual to society is what Durkheim calls the collective consciousness, sometimes translated as conscience collective, meaning a shared belief system.

Concerning organic solidarity, on the other hand, society is more complex—a system of different functions united by definite relationships. Each individual must have a distinct job or task and a personality that is their own. Here, Durkheim was speaking specifically about men. Of women, the philosopher said: "Today, among cultivated people, the woman leads a completely different existence from that of man. One might say that the two great functions of the psychic life are thus dissociated, that one of the sexes takes care of the effective functions and the other of intellectual functions."

Framing individuals as men, Durkheim argued that individuality grows as parts of society become more complex than women. Thus, society becomes more efficient at
moving in sync, yet at the same time, each of its parts has more distinctly individual movements. According to Durkheim, the more primitive a society is, the more it is characterised by mechanical solidarity and sameness (Durkheim, 2019). As societies become more advanced and civilised, the individual members of those societies become more distinguishable from one another. People are managers or labourers, philosophers or farmers. Solidarity becomes more organic as societies develop their divisions of labour.

This study uses a framework of thinking, namely Emile Durkheim's social solidarity theory, which in this thinking has a considerable influence because it has strong thinking tendencies to analyse research to be able to describe the problems faced. Mechanical solidarity is based on a shared collective consciousness that refers to the totality of shared beliefs and sentiments that generally exist among the same members of society; the primary bond is shared belief, ideals and moral commitment. Organic solidarity is a form of solidarity that binds complex societies. People recognise a detailed division of labour and are united by a high sense of interdependence between parts (Longhofer & Winchester, 2016).

A society that is still simple is a characteristic that indicates that this society is a group based on mechanical solidarity. Durkheim also mentions that mechanical solidarity in remote village communities usually has a stronger bond inward than outward. Attention is more local and focused on village life with an attitude of avoiding conflict and uniting more with those who agree. Emili Durkheim's theory states that social solidarity is a relationship between individuals and groups based on moral feelings and beliefs that are held together and strengthened by emotional experiences with the community.

In the theory of solidarity, Durkheim explained that solidarity emphasises the relationship between individuals and groups that underlies a common bond in life supported by moral values and beliefs that live in society (Kaliaeva, 2018). Awareness here is an awareness to help each other, and with that awareness, we will be involved or participate voluntarily without coercion. However, over time, there has been a shift in this type of solidarity in society; that is, they still have a sense of solidarity and help because of moral feelings, but this trust has been undermined by refugees by making Aceh only a place for transit before they flee to another country.

Based on the survey that has been carried out, it can be concluded that solidarity to help refugees still exists because it is a local value embedded in every Acehnese person.
However, the limitations of assistance and its type must also be considered. The integration process of refugees and residents should not cause jealousy because outsiders receive more help and attention, whereas local people also need the same thing. Refusal to become a citizen and entitled to a job simply because the regulations governing this matter still need to be created, which requires more research in the future. A solidarity that emphasises relationships between individuals supported by moral values and trust is still found in the North Aceh District. However, there is a lack of integration and lack of regulation that requires the government's attention.

6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the results of the study show that even though the majority of people accept Rohingya refugees in Aceh, both temporarily and permanently, a small number still reject them. The most dominant reasons for acceptance are humanity and morality based on religion and local wisdom. At the same time, the reasons for refusal were generally due to the unsettled condition of the Indonesian people's economic welfare and the potential for conflict between refugees and the community around the shelter. It proves that in Acehnese society, religious values and local wisdom are still very influential, especially in responding to the presence of the Rohingya in Aceh. Based on the findings, it is recommended that policymakers, central government and regional governments should prepare proper regulations, treatment models and integration processes by taking into account religious values and local wisdom and involving local communities and religious leaders in the handling process. Findings contribute to a scholarly understanding of religious elements and local wisdom in the people of Aceh, especially towards the presence of the Rohingya.
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