



Conflict and Cultural Adaptation of the Aceh Rohingya Refugees in Media Opinion

Abdul Rani Usman¹, Azman Sulaiman², Muslim³, Teuku Zulyadi⁴

^{1,2,3,4}*Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, Indonesia*

*Corresponding author, e-mail: *¹arani.usman@ar-raniry.ac.id, ²azman@ar-raniry.ac.id, ³mus4004@gmail.com, ⁴teukuzulyadi@ar-raniry.ac.id.

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ABSTRACT

Increased political interests in a nation may lead to isolated citizens and conflicts of interest; so that ethnic minorities are oppressed, such as the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar. The Rohingya group as a minority in Myanmar, who fled to save themselves in Southeast Asia, were stranded in Aceh almost every year. The process of rescuing and sheltering the Rohingya refugees in Aceh experienced various problems, and one of them was cultural conflicts between the Rohingya refugees and the Acehnese people. The theory used in this study was a symbolic interaction with a descriptive qualitative method, and to understand the Rohingya issues through the mass media, the researchers used the media as data sources. The results of this study revealed that the Acehnese people were eager to save the Rohingya refugees due to religious similarities. Likewise, the regional government in coordination with the central government was also willing to save them on humanitarian grounds. In addition, UNHCR and volunteers from various organizations and non-governmental organizations were also working to serve and taking care of the needs of the Rohingya refugees. There were cultural conflicts between the Acehnese people and the Rohingya refugees due to cultural differences and mutual misunderstanding between their cultures. However, cultural adaptation could occur properly so that the refugees could survive and be comfortable in their daily lives in refugee camps. Cultural differences were an obstacle in the adaptation



of the refugees in Aceh, but the similarity of religion was one of the factors of the cultural adaptation.

INTRODUCTION

Conflicts, political chaos and peace often occurs in a country. Myanmar is a country in Asia with political phenomena so that conflict and peace occur and disappear in this country. Mentioned by Collin, 2010 in (Indrawan, 2019 :77), conflicts, disasters and various evil events that happen in parts of the world have increased the number of refugees and asylum seekers to find a decent life. This is because they are starving and marginalized in their own country; moreover, they were threatened with death. This condition resulted in migration of a large world's population to countries that are relatively safe and economically stable.

Increased political interests in Myanmar have made its citizens isolated and experience conflicts of interest in its authorities; therefore, ethnic minorities, such as the Rohingya group, are oppressed and marginalized. Thus, they flee to save themselves in Southeast Asia, to Aceh. In Aceh, Rohingya refugees were often stranded. This phenomenon occurred every year; on April 20, 2019,

there were 79 Rohingya refugees stranded on Kuala Raja Beach, Bireun. In 2019, the stranded Rohingya refugees increased by 99 people. The refugees were rescued by Acehese fishermen on the coast of Aceh Utara, on Wednesday, June 20, 2020. On June 4, 2020 81 Rohingya were stranded at Pandai Kuala Simpang Ulim, Aceh Timur. In the beginning of 2022, 115 Rohingya were found in Bireuen water and placed in

Balai Latihan Kerja/Vocational Training Center (BLK) of Lhokseumawe (Serambinews.com, 2021) (Anadolu Agency, 2020).

The attitude of the Acehese people to accept the refugees is interested to study. The adaptation of the refugees and the community are not only in convergence due to their religion, but also in cultural conflicts due to different goals and perceptions. The phenomenon occurs due to the refugees' emotional experience of religious and marginalized cultural backgrounds.

The logical consequence of the adaptation and arrogance of the refugees makes Acehese people difficult to treat them as Indonesian citizens. Their transit area is a cultural challenge, especially in terms of language and attitude. Based on these problems, the researchers aim to examine the cultural conflicts between the Rohingya refugees and the Acehese people. One of the adaptations made by the Rohingya refugees is to follow the language used by the Acehese community in general. From previous a previous study (Safrizal, 2018), the Rohingya refugees made the adaptation in the camp through intercultural communication for their survival while living in Aceh. For example, they were able to use Indonesian to communicate with volunteers.

The theory used in this study is symbolic interaction. Interaction is a term and work on sociology, while 'symbolic' is communicology in the development of

social psychology which leads to a perspective of symbolic interaction. To understand the symbolic interaction in social phenomena, Blumer suggests researchers direct or participatory observation in two ways. The first is to explore levels of understanding that can produce sensitizing concepts, or researchers can approach the object or subject to recognize and understand their actual context. Secondly, the researchers can conduct inspections by examining data and presenting empirical evidence. (Ahmadi, 2008) in (Mulyana, 2006:70), mentions that symbolic interaction is to understand human behavior from the point of view of the subject. According (Ian, 1994:112), the theory of human symbolic interaction is based on meaning and is the result of interactions that are modified through a process of interpretation by each individual.

Religious conflict can be defined in two senses. First, religious conflict is a substantial incompatibility conflict. secondly, religious conflict is a conflict in which the actors involved adhere to different religious traditions so that they have different identities (Raharjo, 2015). The religious conflict in Myanmar is between Rakhine Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims; then, it is between the state's majority Buddhist population and Muslim minorities in the western part of Rakhine. Furthermore, some associate the conflict with the political struggles of the Rohingya Muslims in the late 1940s.

Providing support to Rohingya Muslims, Indonesia is one of the countries that provides solidarity support for the prolonged conflict in Rakhine where Rohingya Muslims are the main victims (Abdul Rahman & Baihaqie, 2017).

Understanding the Rohingya and Myanmar conflicts in the eyes of the mass media, the researchers examine daily news of Analisa Medan because this media often reports on aspects of humanity and the suffering of marginalized people.

METHODOLOGY

This study is descriptive qualitative research. It described the naturalistic perspective and interpretive perspective of human experience (K. Denzin & S. Lincoln, 1994:4). This research method was considered to be able to explain some phenomena of communication between refugees, officers (such as UNHCR and PMI) and the local community. According to Moleong (2000:5), A qualitative method directly presents the nature of relationships between researchers and respondents and is able to adapt to sharpening of shared influence and to value patterns encountered.

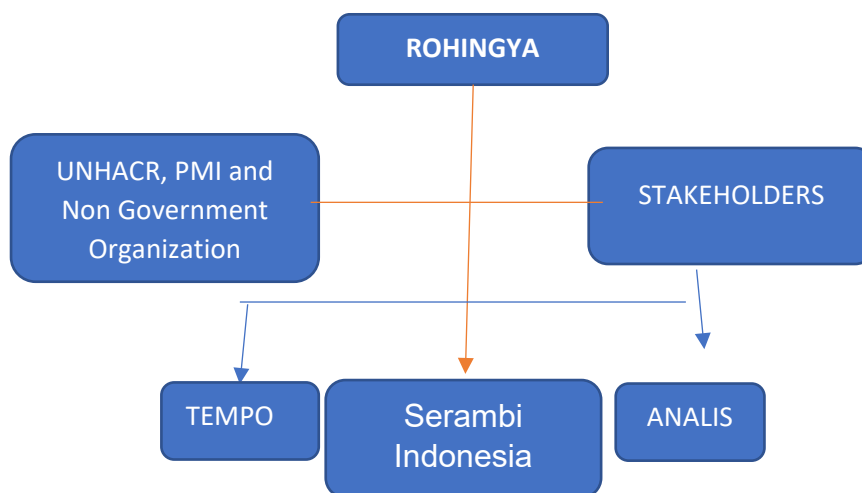
The media is mass communication that conveys messages that express meanings, have influence and reflect cultures of a society. It continuously provides information for a diverse public so that it becomes part of the society's institution. Particular messages in the media are usually demonstrated in a semiotic perspective because this semiotic tradition usually consists of symbols that come together to create influence, to transmit ideas or to evoke meanings in the public (Kristina Andryani, 2015).

The researchers conducted in-depth and unstructured interviews with refugees and officers who handled refugees. Information analyzed was in news from Tempo, Harian Analisa and Serambi Indonesia. The duration of this

study was 3 months because it focused on the contents of the news related to the Rohingya group, both who were stranded and who were sheltered in Aceh Utara. Finally, the researchers made arrangements based on some principles, and analyzed or interpreted based on obtained data. The researcher reduced, arranged and highlighted the data that were in accordance with the subject of this study. The information in this study was compiled and interpreted to produce a research report.

This study was conducted in Aceh, especially in the Rohingya refugee shelters in Kota Lhokseumawe. In addition to observing their interactions with the officers, the refugees in the shelters were interviewed according to their capacity. The researchers also used news on several national and local mainstream media, such as Tempo, Harian Analisa and Serambi Indonesia as sources and information to understand the existence of Rohingya refugees in Aceh.

Table 1. Research Model of Conflicts and Adaptation of Rohingya in Aceh



Source: Processed data from researchers

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Effects of Conflicts in Myanmar

Myanmar, a sovereign country in Asean, had attracted international attention, especially after the military coup on February 1, 2021. The people of Myanmar who live in harmony and peace were hurt by their own government during both Aung San Suu Kyi's era and Min Aung Hlaing's era. Changes of leaders and suspicion among them have made the Rohingya ethnic group suffered. The Rohingya group

who are not recognized by their nation and country are forced to flee abroad, especially to Bangladesh, Malaysia and Indonesia.

According to Swe Win, politically Aung San Suu Kyi's government cooperating with the military were included in the persecution of 100,000 Rohingya Muslims; some influential parties and the majority of its people were silent. The military was responsible for all these atrocities (Serambinews.com, 2021). The atrocities and violence perpetrated by the

Civil and Military Government in Myanmar against the Rohingya group was a systematic cooperation planned by the Myanmar Government. Consequently, the ethnic minorities in Myanmar are suffering, especially the Rohingya.

After the National Unity Government (NUG) was formed, civilians from various regions supported it, but the Rohingya was not included in it. A leader of the Arakan Rohingya Community for Peace and Human Rights (ARSPH), Mohib Ullah, assessed that the new government was unacceptable and unsuccessful without including representatives of the Rohingya group. "Kami berharap warga Rohingya bisa dilibatkan dalam Pemerintahan Nasional Bersatu (We hope that the Rohingya group can be involved in the NUG)" (Serambinews.com, 2021). The Civil Government was formed to the disappointment of the people of Myanmar, so a joint civilian government of ethnic minorities and a former Prime Minister Suu Kyi became a counterpoint to the military government. However, this government did not include the ethnic minorities, so it received criticism from the leader of ARSPH, Mohib Ullah.

This conflict had made Sangha Maha Nayaka monks urge the military to stop the violence, torture and detention of demonstrators. However, in his 2017 sermon, Sitagu Sayadaw, the monk who supported the coup stated that violence against the Rohingya Muslims was allowed. He said that the Rohingya group was not fully humans. At that time the Rohingya group were under military pressures. Moreover, the mosque was mentioned as a terrorist nest (Serambinews.com, 2021). Interestingly, this implied that interreligious communication had not worked yet in Myanmar. The clergies had different views on the military government.

The suffering of the Rohingya group in their own country seemed endless. The conflict between the military and the rebels in Arakan in 2016 resulted in 750 thousand Rohingya Muslims fleeing to Bangladesh. The results of the 2019 UN Commission' investigation of war crimes committed by the Myanmar Military pointed to genocide. Suu Kyi's government considered Arakan as a terrorist group (Tempo). The suffering felt by the Rohingya group had made the UN envoy to investigate the genocide in Myanmar.

According to UN, the violence that occurred against the Rohingya group led to ethnic cleansing. The violence committed by the Myanmar in 2016 became the basis for the UN to investigate the genocide in depth. However, the civil-military government conflict has never stopped. The ethnic minorities continue to flee, causing suffering for their relatives in Indonesia. However, the Indonesians are working with IOM-UNHCR to deal with the Rohingya refugees.

Political Communicator in Myanmar

The politics in Myanmar was widely discussed by influential political communicators, including religious leaders (Monks), Generals (Tatmadaw-military, Min Aung Hlaing) and a leader of the National League for Democracy/NLD (Aung San Suu Kyi). The Myanmar figures played politics for the sake of Myanmar's sovereignty. The figures, such as Min Aung Hlaing (senior general of the military), Aung San Suu Kyi (the leader of NLD), Sitagu Sayadaw (the monk) were known to be close to social worker associations. These political communicators became the main actors in triggering the conflicts, and at the same time they became the hope for the glorious nation of Myanmar.

Tempo reported on the political communication played by Tadmadaw



cooperating with Aung San Suu Kyi, including the military operations carried out in Rakhine in 2016-2017. The UN Fact-Finding Team found traces of military business in the genocide of Rohingya group in Rakhine in 2017. The report stated that the military used their fostered companies and arms sales contracts to support the military operation (Tempo, February 15-21, 2021). The Political communicator, Min Aung Hlaing, is a law graduate in Yangon and is known for his great business involving his daughter Khin Thiri Thet Mon and son-in-law Myo Yadanar Htaik. Min Aung Hlaing became a central figure in the political turmoil in Myanmar. Tempo published the atrocities committed by the military both during Suu Kyi's era and during the military operation 1 (February 1, 2021).

Demonstrations against the military coup continued to occur, supporting the release of Aung San Suu Kyi. The Karen National Union (KNU), the political wing of the Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA) protested against the attacks that sparked the humanitarian crisis (Tempo, April 12-18, 2020). The existence of the KNLA or armed militias became a dilemma for the Myanmar military in dealing with the demonstrators because the Kayin area had militias who also escorted the demonstrators. The Kayin militia demanded the establishment of a federal state. The Tempo's report was like an international human rights investigation. This meant that Tempo raised human aspects in Myanmar from time to time. The tempo's study demonstrated that human rights violations or genocide were spotlighted in Myanmar. However, Myanmar was very difficult to get out of the crisis because it was dealing with the military supported by China and Russia. Meanwhile, civil society was motivated by democracy from the West.

The military sleeked to embrace political power in Rakhine. The Arakan National Party (ANP), the strongest ethnically based political group in Rakhine, had also drawn criticism after it teamed up with the State Administrative Council, the State's military junta. The military appointed an ANP's spokesperson, Aye Nu Sein, as a member of the council (Tempo, March 8-14, 2021). The military lobby in Rakhine was a symbol that the military was overwhelmed by ethnic minorities and other militias, but the Rohingya group was an oppressed community due to the conspiracy of the military and Aung San Suu Kyi. Regret over the military's treatment in Rakhine in 2016-2017 was a political symbol. The Tempo's report for March 8-14 indicated that the collaboration between the Arakan National Party implied the government's political lobby which was overwhelmed by the issue of violence in Rakhine.

Along with the conflict in Myanmar, there was a dilemma for religious leaders to support the military or to support civilians against the military. They were divided into two groups. Those who opposed the junta were immediately hauled off to jail. Those who supported the junta also even went after the demonstrators. The Myanmar Government sentenced Monk Sitagu Sayadaw to three years in prison. The monk was arrested and forced to disrobe (Serambinews.com, 2021). Then the monks who opposed the military junta inspired the demonstrators to oppose the military. Tempo reported that the monks' anxiety caused them to split between supporting the demonstrators and supporting the military government. Politically the monks were divided in responding to political issues in Myanmar. However, the monks who were fanatics of Buddhism mentioned that Islam was the enemy and the mosque was a nest of terrorism.



However, Aung San Suu Kyi's government and the military operation in Rakhine had received support from monks, including the monk Sitagu Sayadaw. According to Sayadaw, reported by Tempo, April 19-25, 2021, violence perpetrated by the military against the Rohingya group in 2017 was allowed because the group was not fully human, thereby boycotting their businesses and called their mosque a nest of enemies. Because of his words, this Muslims were increasingly depressed. The Tempo reported the anxiety of religious leaders in the world, including in Indonesia. The attitude of the monks who supported the military actually supported the military operation in Rakhine while at the same time calling the mosque a nest of enemies. The words of the monks who were pro-military junta marginalized the Rohingya and other minorities.

Sitagu Sayadaw became an inspiration for Buddhists, promoting their enemies were Muslims. The socio-political dynamics that developed in Myanmar influenced this phenomenon and anxiety for the Indonesian Government. A lot of Buddhists in Indonesia disagreed with the statement of Sitagu Sayadaw. His statement worried the Indonesians, especially the Buddhist, but this phenomenon was a personal statement, not as a legality from the people of Myanmar.

Myanmar at the Democracy Intersection

The 2020 election won by Aung San Suu Kyi has become a continuous conflict in Myanmar. This situation is haunted by societal fears and civil-military conflicts that have spread to ethnic groups. The civil-military feud affected security operations in Rakhine, and 70.000 Rohingya Muslims fled to neighboring countries, such as Bangladesh, Malaysia and Indonesia (Tempo, February 8-14 2021).

The personal interests of political figures have injured the democracy and contributed misery to the Myanmar people, especially ethnic minorities. The Tempo's report for February 8-14, 2021 stated that military-civilian feuds had caused thousands of Rohingya refugees to flee to Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, especially Aceh. As a result of the power disputes in Myanmar, the Rohingya refugees fled to Aceh. In a symbolic conversation with a Rohingya's translator, it was stated that political phenomena in Myanmar forced them to flee, both the Rohingya and the Kayin ethnics.

Disputes and feuds between the civilians and the military influenced the education and the economy in Myanmar. A lot of university students and students demonstrated to demand the resignation of the military in the government. Meanwhile, the military argued that the leadership of NLD had cheated the 2020 elections. Tempo, February 15-21, 2021 reported that senior General Min Aung Hlang, led the Myanmar coup. This influential general in the military and business fields played a role and contributed to the genocide of the Rohingya. The military had taken control of business and made Aung San Suu Kyi's NLD jealous. Democracy developed by the Myanmar figures still leaves human rights issues in Myanmar. The Tempo's report for February 15-21, 2021 pointed out the military's dissatisfaction with Suu Kyi's leadership.

Rohingya Refugees di Aceh

The Analisa's report, for March 1, 2021, revealed that the Myanmar security forces were strongly suspected of using sharp bullets to disperse demonstrators. Police and security forces fired rubber bullets at the demonstrators resulting in the deaths of them. The violence seen in the media had become an international threat to



the military. Myanmar's military government also charged Suu Kyi with violating a colonial-era penal code that prohibited the publication of information that could incite fear or alarm and with breaking telecommunications laws governing licenses for equipment (Analisa, February 2, 2021). Daily report of Analisa for February 2, 2021 portrayed those human rights violations in Myanmar were a threat for democracy and freedom repression especially for ethnic minorities.

The Rohingya's Fate

Since the 2016 military attack on the Rohingya in Rakhine, millions of this minority citizens had been oppressed and had fled to a number of countries, such as Indonesia, including Aceh. The Analisa's report for September 8, 2020 noted that hundreds of Rohingya landed in Lhokseumawe. Some of them had already fled by July 2020. Meanwhile, those who landed on Monday September 7, 2020 were 297 people consisting of 181 women, 102 men and 14 children (Analisa, September 8, 2020). The Analisa's report on September 8, 2020 published news regarding the landing of 297 refugees of Rohingya in Aceh who were in a sad situation.

Regarding the management of the Rohingya refugees in Lhokseumawe, UNHCR asked for support from the Kota Lhokseumawe Government. The mayor of Kota Lhokseumawe was ready to provide support to refugees but by making certain cooperation with the government and by mental development, through a MOU (Analisa, November 18, 2020). The Aceh Government, the community and their staff were ready to help the Rohingya refugees who were stranded in Aceh. According to printed news by Analisa, the mayor of Kota Lhokseumawe was ready to ease the burden on the refugees in accordance with procedures set by the government.

The grief of the Rohingya refugees who fled from their origin was very miserable. Analisa reported that Human Rights Watch (an activist group) and Rohingya Muslim refugees in India urged the India Government to provide protection to 81 Rohingya whose boats had been floating in the Andaman Sea for more than two weeks (Analisa March 2, 2021). The Indian Government had provided food to the ship's occupants who continued on to Malaysia. Analisa paid attention to humanitarian news related to the Rohingya.

Rohingya refugees who fled abroad left a number of problems. Some of them got pregnant before leaving, so they were forced to give birth at the shelters. One of the phenomena of joy was experienced by the couple M Yunus and Anjunah on Tuesday, March 16, 2021 (Analisa, March 18, 2021). Meanwhile, the grief experienced by refugees overseas was that some of them died on September 11, 2021. One of them died while being treated at the Cut Meutia Buket Rata General Hospital in Aceh Utara; his name was Senuwara Begum (19 years) due to shortness of breath and high fever (Analisa, September 12, 2021). The misery was felt by the Rohingya refugees along their journey before reaching their destination country.

The Indonesian Government was very concerned about the condition of the refugees until good cooperation could be fostered with UNHCR, especially building shelters in Mee Kandang, Muara Dua, Kota Lhokseumawe. The building was inaugurated by the Mayor of Kota Lhokseumawe, Suaidi Yahya (Analisa, February 25, 2021). The cooperation between the local government and UNHCR is proof that Indonesia has not abandoned its brothers who fled from Myanmar.

Cultural Conflicts of the Rohingya

Islam is a religion that is *rahmatan lil'alamin* (Islam is a mercy for the universe); in fact, we currently see that everywhere Muslims live are not in a happy condition. This can be seen in terms of economic, political and other social life. In various Muslim-majority countries are Muslims who live in poor conditions, limited economy and improper education (Amiruddin, 2014)

To gain recognition in a larger community, every community must be more able to establish communication between people so that there are no conflicts between the Acehese people and the Rohingya refugees. Understanding symbols in interaction can be done with effective communication. Communication patterns must understand symbols in interactions (symbolic interactions) to make communication effective and presented in such an interesting way (dramaturgy). Symbolic interaction can be defined as a communicator's way of interpreting and giving meaning their surrounding (Rizha et al., 2020)

The Rohingya refugees who arrived in Aceh were afraid because they were not handled properly on the way; they were trafficked and enslaved by some mafia. This phenomenon was told by Khalid as an administrator of the Geuntanyo Foundation on the event of releasing refugees to Medan, April 29, 2021. Khalid added that a lot of bitter experiences on the ship were told by the refugees. This phenomenon had attracted the attention of UN agencies or NGOs dealing with refugees in both Aceh and Medan. Moreover, according to Khalid, after arriving in Medan, some girl lost their virginity because looking for a bite of rice (*Wawancara Khalid Pengurus Yayasan Geutanyoe Pada Malam Pelepasan Pengungsi Rohingya Dari Pemerintah Kota Lhoksemawe*, n.d.).

The face expressions of the Rohingya refugees have some similarities to the Acehese people. This phenomenon can be seen from their faces, especially when they wear sarongs. The researcher's conversation symbolically demonstrated that they were comfortable living in Aceh because they shared the same culture. However, the researcher's conversation with the refugees showed that they were like uninvited guests who could ask the officers anything they wanted. This symbolic phenomenon can be seen when they seemed intimate, but at the same time they spoke and asked for something as if they spoke with their relatives and not with the officers. In terms of culture, this is very contrary to Acehese culture and Indonesian culture in general. Likewise, if they talked each other, they often fought during bath time and at mealtime. Symbolically they seemed difficult to regulate, resulting in a conflict with the local culture, especially regarding speaking ethics.

The Rohingya culture is almost the same as the culture of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Regarding their behavior, they seemed rude, in talking to officers and they also sometimes snapped at the officers in their departure arrangements. According to researchers' observation on April 29, 2021, general they could not be controlled but did not follow the instructions of officers in the field, both PMI and UNHCR. A cultural conflict had ever occurred as reported in Serambi Indonesia on Friday, February 11 2022. According to Marzuki Juri, a spokesperson of Task Force for the Rohingya, some refugees fled by damaging the zinc fence behind the BLK. The zinc was cut, so they ran away from the hole where the zinc was cut ("31 Rohingya Kabur Dalam Sehari Dengan Membobol Pagar Di Belakang Kamp, Kasus Keenam Sepanjang 2022," n.d.).

Based on the observation and interview by researchers with Dollah at the time of departure to be transferred to Medan, the refugees were very closely guarded by the local police and the Indonesian Army so that they would not run away into the bushes. The refugees who were stranded in Aceh actually fled from the pursuit of the Myanmar Military Government. If we looked at them, they seemed fear.

According to reports from Aceh Tribun and Analisa, the refugees who entered Indonesian waters were pulled by Indonesian warships on December 30, 2021; there were 115 refugees at that time. However, after two months of living at the BLK they fled starting January 18 (30 people), January 30 (4 people), January 31 (9 people), February 1 (8 people), February 1 (8 people), February 2 (7 people) and February 10 (31 people). The cultural conflict also could be seen from the extraordinary courage of the Rohingya women. When the Acehnese people helped them, they dared to go against the ethics, manners and provisions made by the community or from UNHCR.

Both attitudes and behavior of the Rohingya refugees were contrast to the customs of the local community. Resisting against tradition, running away and not wanting to be thankful were very different from the attitude of the Acehnese people or of Indonesians in general. The researchers also observed a cultural conflict that were resistant and confrontational when the Rohingya refugees departed on April 29, 2021. Before their departure, some of them were still disputing about sports equipment that was not allowed to be taken on the bus. However, one of them still insisted on bringing it, triggering the attention of the ushers from local residents and from UNCHR officers.

It is an interesting phenomenon when looking at the interactions between the Acehnese people, the officers and the Rohingya refugees. The interactions did occur naturally. The cultural conflicts were emotions from the Rohingya who could not be stopped if they wanted something. Cultures of rebelling, fighting and arguing was just like their culture. These were the symbolic phenomena when researchers observed their interactions with their fellows and with officers from PMI and with the Acehnese people around them.

Since the 2016 military attack on the Rohingya in Rakhine, millions of minorities have been oppressed and have fled to a number of countries, such as Indonesia, including Aceh. The Analisa's report on September 8, 2020 uncovered hundreds of Rohingya refugees who landed in Lhokseumawe. Some of them had already fled by July 2020. Meanwhile, those who landed on Monday September 7, 2020 were 297 people consisting of 181 women, 102 men and 14 children (Anadolu Agency, 2020).

Regarding the management the Rohingya refugees in Lhokseumawe, UNHCR asked for support from the Lhokseumawe City Government. The Mayor was ready to provide support to the refugees but by making certain cooperation with the government, including mental development, through an MOU (AnadoluAgency, 2020). The Aceh Government, the community and their staff were ready to help the Rohingya refugees who were stranded in Aceh.

Rohingya refugees who fled abroad left a number of problems. Some of them got pregnant before leaving, so they were forced to give birth at the shelters. One of the phenomena of joy experienced by the couple M Yunus and Anjunah on Tuesday, March 16, 2021 (AnadoluAgency, 2020).

Regarding the phenomenon on the event of the transfer of the Rohingya refugees to Medan on April 29, 2021, the researchers observed that Anjunah was symbolically seen carrying her baby towards the bus provided by UNHCR. She seemed to be very secretive and afraid of being exposed by the mass media. However, the researchers, while acting like an officer, observed her as a beautiful and young woman, accompanied by her husband in a car heading to Medan, North Sumatra.

Otherwise, some of them experienced grief overseas, and some died on September 11, 2021. One of them died while being treated at the Cut Meutia Buket Rata General Hospital in North Aceh. His name was Senuwara Begum (19 years) due to shortness of breath and high fever (Analisa September 12, 2021). This misery was felt by the Rohingya refugees along their journey before reaching their destination country.

The Indonesian Government was very concerned about the condition of the refugees until good cooperation was fostered with UNHCR, especially in building shelters in Mee Kandang, Muara Dua, Kota Lhokseumawe. The shelter was inaugurated by the Mayor of Kota Lhokseumawe, Suaidi Yahya (Analisa February 25, 2021). The cooperation between the local government and UNHCR was a proof that Indonesia has not abandoned its brothers who fled from Myanmar.

Suaidi Yahya as the mayor of Lhokseumawe was very concerned about social activities, especially related to the refugees. While shortly talking with the mayor's staff on the departure, researchers identified the interest of the Lhokseumawe Government apart from a sense of mutual help; this is in line with the Acehnese people who in the past often experienced

conflicts so that solidarity grew higher towards the suffering of others.

The Adaptation of Rohingya Refugees in Aceh

During the 2016-2017 conflict in Myanmar and after the 1 February 2021 coup, Indonesia suffered from a lot of refugees. They were stranded in Aceh almost every month. The suffering of Myanmar is also the suffering of Indonesia, especially Aceh. Therefore, the Myanmar Government, both civil and military, was hastening to solve the political crisis.

In 2016 the military carried out a security operation in Rakhine and forced 70 Rohingya Muslims to flee to neighboring countries, such as Bangladesh, Malaysia and Indonesia. In 2017 the military invaded Rakhine again, and more than 750 thousand of them fled to Bangladesh (Serambinews.com, 2021). The Rohingya group were being always oppressed, pressured, marginalized, marginalized, tortured and even killed. Because they were threatened with death, they fled abroad, including to Aceh.

According to the BBC news on May 10, 2015, four ships carrying 500 people of Rohingya were stranded in Aceh Utara, (Sunday May 10, 2015). According to Darsa, the commander of the search and rescue team for the North Aceh Regional Disaster Mitigation Agency, the four boats carrying hundreds of Rohingya refugees ordered them to throw themselves into the sea and to swim to the shore. The desire to leave Myanmar in search of a new hope for life did not necessarily become a reality for them after crossing the sea and being facilitated by the mafia who trade them. They were facilitated by agents, but they were not fully responsible, so they were ordered to throw themselves into the sea.

297 Rohingya refugees consisting of 181 women, 102 men and 14 children landed in Ujong Blang, Banda Sakti, Kota Lhokseumawe on a wooden boat with a number TRN,U/1100. Previously, 98 refugees had been accommodated at the BLK of Lhokseumawe, but 5 people had fled. Most of them who were at the land were running like they were scared (Analisa, September 8, 2020). Fear, anxiety and worry were not only experienced in their country but after arriving in their transit country; especially, the women looked traumatized as they always avoided other new people, and they were very reluctant to discuss. Symbolically, this phenomenon was symbolically still traumatized even though they were already in an evacuation center, according to the researcher's observation on April 29, 2022.

Regarding the frequent strandings of the Rohingya refugees in Aceh, their detail arrival since 2009 are below:

On January 7, 2009 were 197 people. On February 3 2009 were 198 people in Idi Rayeuk. On February 15, 2011 were 129 people in Peudada, Bireuen. On February 1, 2012 were 54 people in Krueng Geukueh. On February 26, 2013 were 127 people in Muara Batu, Aceh Utara. On February 28, 2013 were 63 people in Idi Rayeuk, Aceh Timur. On April 7, 2013 were 80 people in Pulo Aceh. On July 27, 2013 were 68 people in Teunom. On May 10, 2015 were 582 people in Seunudon. On May 15, 2015 were 49 people in Kuala Simpang, Aceh Tamiang. On May 15, 2015 were 628 people in Langsa. On May 19, 2015 were 409 people in Julok, Aceh Timur. On April 2, 2018 were 5 people in Idi Rayeuk, Aceh Timur. On April 20, 2018 were 76 people in Kuala Raja Bireuen. On December 4, 2018 were 20 people in Kuala Idi Aceh Timur. On June 24, 2020 were 99 people in Seunudon, Aceh Utara. On September 7, 2020 were 297 people in Ujong Blang

Lhokseumawe. On June 4, 2021 were 81 people in Pulau Idaman, Aceh Timur. On December 26, 2021 were 105 people in Bireuen. On March 6, 2022 were 114 people in Kuala Raya, Jangka Bireuen. (Kompas.com, n.d.) (Iskandar, 2022:2, at, all).

Thousands of Rohingya fled to neighboring countries in search of new hope in European countries, but Aceh was not their designated area. Due to non-definable and unpredictable process, they were in Aceh. Their destination was Malaysia, and Aceh was a place that was considered close to Malaysia, so Aceh became a place for transit while heading to Malaysia. Psychologically, this phenomenon had made Aceh the Aceh Government and the people receive them. The Acehnese people were friendly so that they accepted them happily. From 2009 to 2022 Aceh always received them using boats from Myanmar.

Aceh accepted the refugees because of humanity. UNHCR asked for support from the Lhokseumawe City Government in handling them who were in refugee shelters at the Kota Lhokseumawe Vocational Training Center (BLK) (AnadoluAgency, 2020). UNHCR as a UN agency dealing with refugees asked for help from the Lhokseumawe City Government and the surrounding community. The arrival of refugees to Aceh added to the government's burden. However, the government was very respectful of the problems faced by the Rohingya refugees.

While interacting with refugees, on April 29, 2021, the researchers found that officers from the Lhokseumawe City Government, the police and the Indonesian Army always accompanied them. The presence of officers from various elements made the refugees more controlled. Then the adaptation of refugees can be seen from



their religious activities such as Friday prayers at the Mosque of Kandang Lhokseumawe Mosque. Meanwhile, the adaptation to the Acehese people could be seen from talking to them who often visited them while walking. Occasionally they also drunk coffee at coffee shops, but with the guard and supervision of the officers.

Refugee affairs in Lhokseumawe were handled by the government, NGOs and the community, so the refugees felt comfortable and secure while in exile. UNHCR, IOM and the Indonesian Government were serious about dealing with the Myanmar refugees.

Based on the observation of the researchers in the refugee shelters, the intimacy of the refugees with the officers was a symbol of the adaptation of the refugees to their surrounding community. The adaptation of them to the surrounding community was also confirmed by the PMI secretary of Kota Lhokseumawe. According to the Rohingya guardian, they were depressed and traumatized while in their country and at sea and when arriving on land. However, after the Acehese people accepted them with an open heart, the Rohingya refugees were very comfortable in Aceh.

Solidarity between the refugees and the Acehese people occurred naturally; the human instincts of the Acehese people accepted the poor refugees. According to the researchers' observation when the Rohingya refugees were transferred to Medan on April 29, 2021, it could be seen that Acehese people accompanied them before leaving for Medan. There were also who gave them gifts as memories. The management of refugees became the concern of the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) in Lhokseumawe, to help the Rohingya before any aid from UNHCR. Solidarity and care expressed by the Acehese people,

the guardian and secretary of PMI Lhokseumawe City were very visible when the refugees were accommodated in the shelters. They were enthusiastic about helping with food needs before UNHC and IOM handled them (Interview with Wali, Secretary of PMI Lhokseumawe City, April 29, 2021). This means that the cooperation between PMI and the community for refugee-temporary handling was based on human values.

Regarding the adaptation that took place in the refugee shelters, an interpreter, Shakila, told that there were no problems because Acehese people and the Rohingya refugees had similar face and religion. This phenomenon was explained by a person who was considered a figure by the Rohingya group whose name was Dullah (Interview with Shakilla, an interpreter who is fluent in Indonesian and Rohingya, April 29, 2022 before Eid al-Fitr, 2022). Besides that, the researchers observed the remaining 9 refugees who were very closed with the officers. However, the officers were very strict towards foreigners other than officers. Because the researchers used an identity of Postgraduate Lecturers, it was easier to observe and interview them, but its time was very limited.

Furthermore, Shakilla also said that they were very safe even though they were controlled. She also mentioned that the Rohingya refugees could adapt comfortably to the surrounding community. In addition to being familiar with the refugees, she was also closed with the refugees, officers and the surrounding community.

An interesting phenomenon was that they seemed very comfortable living in the refugee shelters while waiting for their transfer from Lhokseumawe to a shelter in Medan funded by UNHCR and IOM. According to Shakila's account, they were given living expenses apart from food, but

the amount was not stated. According the researchers' observation at the shelters, some of them had already gone to Malaysia and worked. Those who already understood the conditions of Malaysia would pick up their relatives to flee to Malaysia. An interesting discussion was that they already have had good networks in Myanmar and in Malaysia, making them easier to flee from their countries to foreign countries.

Analyzing social phenomena on the refugees, it indicated that they had international networks to flee to other countries. There were indications for a demographic transformation as the wave of urbanization and globalization (Asrobudi, 2017). The existence of the international network will be a psychological burden for the Indonesian people. In addition, the challenge for the Indonesian nation is to accept an increasing number of refugees. This fact was experienced by Aceh Province which received refugees from 2009 to 2022.

The National Defense Institute of Indonesia (Lemhanas) has examined the challenges faced by the Indonesian nation in recent years. According to UNHCR, hundreds of Rohingya previously traveled by using two routes: via the Bay of Bengal or the Andaman Sea. However, these Rohingya refugees have chosen the Malacca Strait as their new route for security reasons (Asrobudi, 2017:83). The strategic analysis of Lemhanas is important for the study of the Rohingya refugees as a phenomenon of human trafficking from abroad transiting in Indonesia. The logical consequence of Indonesia, Aceh, is to accept them temporarily while receiving assistance from UNHCR.

CONCLUSION

The Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar suffered; they were chased and

killed, so they fled to Aceh. Aceh almost every six months received the Rohingya refugees who come down from wooden boats in the coast of Aceh. The Acehnese people temporarily accommodated them at BLK of Lhokseumawe before being handled by UNHCR. However, the refugees often run away either by jumping the fence or running in the dark of night. This phenomenon became a cultural conflict with Acehnese culture.

The conflict in Myanmar has received attention from various mass media in Indonesia, especially Tempo and Harian Analisa Medan. Tempo' reports were on human rights violations in accordance with the facts on the fields. Meanwhile, the Analisa's news highlighted human aspects. Tempo and Analisa's reports become an interesting study so that the news frame is in accordance with the values of human rights violations and humanity, including the cultural conflict that exists between the Acehnese people and the Rohingya refugees.

CREDIT AUTHORSHIP CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Abdul Rani Usman, the first author who managed the idea of research, introduction, writing-conceptual or theoretical, and data analytics in modeling. **Azman Sulaiman** and **Muslim** the second and third author who managed analysis, and interpretation. **Teuku Zulyadi** the fort author who managed to write methodology, processing in data acquisition, and data processing

DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

We certify that there is no conflict of interest with any financial, personal, or other relationships with other people or organizations related to the material discussed in the manuscript.



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