# The Analysis of Pros and Cons Regarding the Arrival of Rohingya Refugees: Religious, Humanitarian, and Socio-Economic Implication

# Hapid Durohman<sup>1\*</sup>, Fajar Andrian Sutisna<sup>2</sup>, Muhamad Ridho<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia

Received: December 18, 2023 Revised: March 22, 2024 Accepted: April 30, 2024

#### **Abstract**

The Rohingya refugee crisis has garnered global attention, eliciting both pros and cons to the dispersion of Rohingya refugees across different nations. The purpose of this This research is to analyzes the pros and cons of the Rohingya refugee situation and its implications for religion, humanity, society, and the economy. The research method uses qualitative descriptive analysis included in the literature review, which takes secondary data from sources such as the Immigration Detention Center, UNHCR, and IOM. The research result show four main backgrounds to the Rohingya crisis: religious, humanitarian, social, and economic. The study identifies numerous hoaxes and hate speech targeting the Rohingya, causing societal polarization and the disruption of social harmony. The same of religion and human values becomes the primary reason to assist Rohingya refugees. However, societal rejection also occurs due to the presence of certain Rohingya individuals who violate local norms and religious principles. From a social and economic perspective, helping the Rohingya refugees is an effort to prevent human trafficking transactions. However, it has the potential to cause social jealousy. Rohingya refugees negatively impact the economy, but in Malaysia, they contribute positively to the informal sector. Resolving this crisis demands international cooperation, humanitarian aid, diplomatic efforts, and a commitment to human rights for concrete solutions.

**Keywords:** Rohingya Crisis, Rohingya Refugees, Pros and Cons, Religious.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati, Indonesia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Siliwangi University, Indonesia, Indonesia hapidurohman010302@gmail.com

#### 1. Introduction

The Rohingya, a religious and ethnic minority group in Myanmar, have been victims of persistent geographical injustices that have led to systemic violence and persecution over the past three decades (OCHA, 2018). In Rakhine State, they have been living under strict restrictions and stringent regulations. They have endured decades of arbitrary nationality deprivation, threats to their life, liberty, property, and religious freedom, sexual and gender-based violence, and denial of their right to healthcare and education, among other human rights violations (UNHCR, 2017a). Since Myanmar won independence from the colonial power, they have been forced to evacuate their homes due to the atrocities committed by the military, and they have been stripped of their identity and fundamental rights (Laoutides, 2021). As a result of this oppression, many Rohingya refugees have fled to various countries, including Indonesia. However, their arrival is not fully accepted by the community; there are both pros and cons of the Rohingya refugees' arrival.

Human Rights Watch reports that after decades of discrimination under the Burmese government, the military's massive ethnic cleansing campaign drove more than 671,000 Rohingyas from Myanmar's Rakhine state into Bangladesh (Rafa et al., 2022). After deadly military operations, these folks fled their motherland, Myanmar. Even though the Rohingya refugees started to flee around 1970, most of them only arrived in 2017 following the Myanmar military's most recent wave of operations, which the International Court of Justice eventually deemed to constitute acts of genocide. To escape persecution, the Rohingya refugees migrated to Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines, among other countries in South and Southeast Asia. Rakhine State received the highest number because it is bordered by Bangladesh (Habib et al., 2018). Indonesia is also one of the migration destinations for Rohingya refugees, because they feel they have a common background as a Muslims, so Rohingya flock to Indonesia.

The government of Indonesia issued Presidential Regulation (PP) number 125 of 2016 concerning Handling Refugees from Abroad and a Circular Letter (SE) of the Minister of State of the Republic of Indonesia in response to many foreign refugees, including Rohingya Muslims, entering Indonesian territory. The Ministry of Home Affairs discusses how local governments handle refugee cases. foreign refugees. To manage refugees, the Indonesian government collaborates with the International Migration Organization (IOM), UNHCR, and other UN agencies (Irwanysah and Asya'ari Al Asya'ari, 2022). Indonesia on humanitarian grounds has helped many Rohingya refugees in Aceh. The provision of refugee camps or detention centers is one proof that Indonesia still cares about the fate of Rohingya refugees. But on the other hand, Rohingya refugees and refugees from other countries can also have a negative impact on Indonesia's security stability.

More than 1500 Rohingya refugees have arrived on the coast of Aceh province since mid-November 2023, in what the UN says is the largest influx of refugees in eight years. Some of their boats have been turned away by locals and in some cases have been ordered to return to the sea (AFP, 2023). The wave of Rohingya refugees came from the refugee camps of Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh as many of them experienced a lack of food, security, education, and job opportunities in the overcrowded refugee camps. The arrival of massive waves of Rohingya refugees has caused pros and cons from various parties

to the increasing issue of expulsion of newly arrived Rohingya refugees. From the pro side who received the arrival of the Rohingya, they explained that Indonesia saw it as a humanitarian issue as stated by the spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lalu Muhamad Iqbal (Indonesia, 2023). Furthermore, there is the principle of non-refoulement which is a foundation for refugee protection that forbids the receiving country from sending the affected individual to a place where he may face persecution (Utami, 2020). As part of the international community, Indonesia has shown a caring attitude and is willing to accommodate Rohingya refugees, even though Indonesia is not one of the countries that signed and ratified the 1951 UN Convention (on refugees), it could have been if Indonesia did not want to accept refugees in its territory and would not be subject to juridical sanctions (Moy and Kusuma, 2016). In addition, the same background in terms of religion, namely Islam, is the reason for those who accept the arrival of Rohingya because they assume that fellow Muslims are brothers and must help each other.

Although helping Rohingya refugees is a good thing, the fact is that the issue of rejection of the arrival of Rohingya refugees is increasing rapidly. Hundreds of Rohingya refugees on wooden boats landed in Bireuen and Pidei, Aceh on November 19, 2023. However, their arrival was rejected by the people of Aceh. The reason for the rejection is because the Rohingya refugees are said to give a bad impression to the community, their actions are not in accordance with the customs and norms of village regulations (detikcom, 2023). Currently in Indonesia, there are many statements against the arrival of Rohingya refugees, even to the point of hateful narratives. Negative comments related to the arrival of Rohingya refugees continue to flood social media, they refuse on the grounds that they are worried about becoming a burden on the country, have bad behavior, trigger crime, create their own country in Indonesia, and trigger social inequality. In addition, many people argued that Rohingya would seize Aceh's land like the Israeli-Palestinian case, become a burden on the state budget, Rohingya demanded a decent refugee location, dirty, often defecating in any place, throwing away food, and illegal immigrants entering illegally without visas and clear identity (bbcnews, 2017).

The main events that led to the Rohingya crisis encompass both political and humanitarian aspects. The impact of the Rohingya crisis extends widely across domestic and regional politics as well as relations with major world powers. Research conducted by Shahin and Hasan provides a crucial exploration of the Rohingya refugee crisis, delving into its complex political and humanitarian dimensions, offering fresh insights to address pressing global challenges (Shahin and Hasan, 2023).

Meanwhile, according to Pudjibudojo, the security approach is far more dominant in handling the Rohingya than humanism. The wave of Rohingya refugees is seen as a security threat, economic burden, potential cultural issue, and other negative factors that ultimately place the refugees in a worse position (Pudjibudojo, 2019). However, in Islamic terms, welcoming Rohingya refugees aligns with the concept of mutual assistance (najara ta'awun) to foster unity among humanity, consistent with the second principle of Pancasila—"Fair and civilized humanity"—aiming to ensure justice and well-being for all without causing harm to local residents. Consequently, the solution lies in governmental measures to control the influx of refugees and enforce stringent regulations on those who behave irresponsibly (Harsya et al., 2024).

Several people from civil society groups to academics believe that the rejection of Rohingya, which led to acts of intimidation, cannot be separated from the "narratives

of hatred, disinformation and fake news" that are widespread on social media. A study highlighting the narrative of spreading prejudice against the Rohingya ethnicity on social media also revealed the workings of the allegedly organized disinformation spreaders (bbc, 2024). Of the many pros and cons regarding the arrival of Rohingya refugees to Indonesia, of course, the best solution must be found regarding the handling of Rohingya refugees.

This paper will explain the analysis of the pros and cons of the arrival of Rohingya refugees. The analysis will be more in-depth in 4 sections namely Social, Economic, Humanitarian and Religious. Furthermore, conclusions will be drawn from the analysis on what steps are appropriate in handling Rohingya refugees and what policies need to be made. Apart from that, comparative analysis is also used to highlight the unique challenges or lessons learned from the Rohingya crisis compared to other refugees.

#### 2. Methods

This research employs a qualitative descriptive approach and is categorized as library research, which involves utilizing existing literature to gather information and support in various forms, such as documents, books, magazines, articles, journals, and relevant previous research. Library research activities are conducted systematically to collect, process, and synthesize data using specific methods or techniques to address the issues being discussed or faced (Peter, et al., 2021). The data collection method adopted in this study is the literature review method, which involves tracing documents related to the Rohingya refugee issue. The data utilized in this work consists of secondary data derived from various relevant literary sources and other references, including data from the Immigration Detention Center (Rudenim), UNHCR, and IOM.

The data collection methods utilized in this study employ the technique of theory triangulation. According to Hussain et al., 2020, this involves cross-verifying data or information from different sources to ensure its accuracy. The aim is to compare information regarding the same subject obtained from various references and literature sources to establish a level of trustworthiness. Theory triangulation offers several benefits, including enhancing research credibility, fostering innovative ways of understanding phenomena, uncovering unique findings, challenging or integrating theories, and providing a clearer understanding of the problem at hand. By employing various theories, researchers can gain a better understanding of the data sourced from literature and references, thereby providing a comprehensive description of the Rohingya refugee issue. This approach allows for a more robust and nuanced analysis, ensuring the reliability and validity of the study's findings. Triangulation is achieved by comparing several data sources, matching them with findings related to the research questions, and ultimately drawing conclusions to discover new insights in this paper. Here are the stages of triangulation:

- 1. Identification and compilation of all relevant variables sourced from statistical data, articles, and previous research related to the discussion on the Pros and Cons Regarding the Arrival of Rohingya Refugees: Religious, Humanitarian, and Socio-Economic Implications.
- 2. Once relevant information is gathered, the researcher reviews and organizes library materials based on their importance and relevance to the research problem.

- 3. The collected information is then carefully read, recorded, organized, and rewritten for clarity and coherence.
- 4. Finally, the research is synthesized from the collected materials, forming a cohesive research concept.

While this study provides valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of the Rohingya crisis, several limitations must be acknowledged. Firstly, the scope of the study is primarily focused on the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar and its immediate impact on neighboring countries, potentially overlooking nuances and dynamics present in other regions hosting Rohingya refugees. Secondly, the heavy reliance on secondary sources may introduce biases and limit the depth of analysis, particularly in the absence of primary data from field surveys or interviews. Additionally, the complexity of the crisis risks being oversimplified, potentially obscuring critical nuances and dynamics. Furthermore, the study offers limited specific policy recommendations, hindering its potential for guiding effective interventions. Lastly, the lack of a forward-looking perspective limits the study's relevance in anticipating future developments and challenges. Addressing these limitations through broader research scope, incorporating primary data, deeper analysis, more comprehensive policy recommendations, and forward-thinking perspectives would enhance the study's utility in informing policymakers and practitioners engaged in addressing the Rohingya crisis.

# 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1. Results

### 3.1.1. Religious Background of Rohingya Crisis

Over the past few decades, the Rohingya crisis has garnered significant global attention due to its intricate political history, relentless persecution scenarios, and extensive cross-border migrations. Nevertheless, since Myanmar gained independence in 1948, the conflicts that have occurred within the Rohingya refugees have been largely influenced by their religious differences. The Rohingya are one of the minority Muslim ethnic groups in Myanmar, while the majority of the country's population adheres to Buddhism. As a predominantly Buddhist country, Myanmar has manifested its nationalist ideology in the form of a hegemonic ideology (Washaly, 2019). Ultra-nationalists in Myanmar aimed to restore the country's pre-colonial glory, ensuring an uncontaminated Buddhist order free from foreign influences. While nationalists popularized the slogan 'Burma for the Burmans,' Buddhist Monks added a religious dimension by asserting 'to be Burman is to be Buddhist' (Ullah, 2017). These strong nationalist views supported by religion gradually marginalized other religious communities, especially the Rohingyas, leading to various forms of marginalization, stigmatization (I. Ahmed, 2009), and oppression, ranging from the denial of citizenship to mass killings.

Myanmar grappled with armed ethnic conflict and political instability for a prolonged period after gaining independence in 1948 (Smith and Hassan, 2012). Following the military coup in 1962, a socialist-informed military state governed Myanmar for the next sixty years. During this time, the Rohingya Muslim population faced severe abuse

from the military government (Abdelkader, 2013). Widespread killings, rapes, and torture resulted in two massive expulsions in 1977 and 1992, causing a chronic refugee crisis in neighboring Bangladesh (Smith and Hassan, 2012). However, this marked only the beginning of ethnic discrimination. The 1982 Citizenship Act in Myanmar identified 135 national races eligible for citizenship (Abdelkader, 2013). This act ultimately excluded Rohingya Muslims from citizenship benefits, categorizing them as "non-citizens," "aliens," and "illegal Bengali immigrants" (Adam et al., 2017). Such denial of citizenship opened new episodes of persecution for the Rohingyas. On the one hand, there was no state support to protect the Rohingyas from military abuse; on the other hand, religion-backed nationalist views made it challenging for Rohingya Muslims to live in Myanmar, which they have considered their homes for generations.

The Citizenship Act also ensured that Rohingya Muslims would be unable to create any political identity or voice in the governing system (Washaly, 2019). Although the development of Islam in Myanmar was not driven by any special movement or preachers but rather by the high birth rate among Muslims (Biver, 2014), the government often perceived it as a threat to political stability. Hence, when several nationalist monks successfully ignited discrimination against other religions and led the crisis of ethnic cleansing, the government remained inactive (Adam et al., 2017). Furthermore, government support toward Buddhist majority communities in establishing academic organizations of Buddha, funding religious community activities, maintaining pagodas, and setting up Buddhist shrines in non-Buddhist areas fueled discriminatory agencies (ibid.). The absence of institutional support from legal or religious institutions accentuated socio-political and cultural domination over the Rohingya Muslims.

Amidst numerous other issues, the eruption of sectarian violence in June 2012 was primarily fueled by discriminatory actions with religious backing (Zawacki, 2012; Kipgen, 2013; Bashar, 2012). At that time, President Thein Sein of Myanmar recommended that Rohingyas relocate to a "third country" or UNHCR camps (Abdelkader, 2013). In response, Bangladesh, a neighboring country, intermittently received hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees fleeing from Myanmar. Prior to the latest influx in 2017, approximately 400,000 refugees were already residing in Bangladesh (Hussain et al., 2020). The significant influx of 2017 resulted in a staggering number of 909,000 stateless Rohingyas settling in Ukhiya and Teknaf Upazilas of Cox's Bazar district in Bangladesh (ibid.). Most of these refugees are accommodated in 34 densely populated camps, facing an uncertain future as Myanmar continues to reject them as citizens.

#### 3.1.2. Humanitarian Background of Rohingya Crisis

The humanitarian crisis that befell the Rohingya is not a secret. Through social media and mainstream media, information on the Myanmar government's ethnic cleansing of the Rohingya people has spread throughout the world (Novialdi, 2020). The Rohingya refugees in the Rakhine region of Myanmar is still the target of crimes against humanity. Amnesty International claims that since 1978, the military regime in Myanmar has violated the human rights of the Rohingya Muslims, many of whom have fled to Bangladesh. Since late August 2017, about 671,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled the Rakhine State of Burma to avoid the military's extensive ethnic cleansing campaign. Mass murders, sexual assault, and extensive arson are among the transgressions by Burmese security forces that qualify as crimes against humanity. Officials from the military and

civilian sector have consistently refuted assertions made by witnesses and a wealth of evidence suggesting security personnel engaged in the abuses during the operations (Smith and Hassan, 2012). Nearly all the refugees who were fleeing persecution took shelter in the Ukhiya and Teknaf sub-districts of Cox's Bazar owing to the unrest. With over 600,000 people residing in a 13km2 area, Kutupalong Refugee Camp grew to become the largest refugee camp in the world because of the influx (UNHCR, 2017b).

Teknaf and Ukhiya are two of the 50 most socioeconomically disadvantaged districts in the nation, while Cox's Bazar district performs worse than the national average in a number of social variables, with approximately 33% of its residents living in poverty (ACAP, 2017); (ISCG, 2018) The majority of people living in refugee-hosting areas depend on daily salaries and insufficient social security provisions, resulting in food security and nutritional status that falls short of national norms (ibid.). Since the start of the refugee crisis, locals and refugees have been vying for jobs in the unskilled daily labor market, which has resulted in a sharp reduction in the number of employment options for marginalized and extremely poor groups within the host community. Locals employed in the unskilled labor sector are poorer now than they were prior to the migrant inflow, but skilled laborers and certain traders profit from the increased resource flow (IOM, 2018).

The social and humanitarian issues between Rohingya refugees and the local population, such as the Cox's Bazar case, need to be addressed promptly, as they could have detrimental long-term effects if left unchecked. The restriction on Rohingya refugees from working in the camps has led to a rise in crime. Additionally, the sudden increase in population has caused a surge in the prices of daily commodities due to heightened demand in Bangladesh. This price hike has forced the Bangladeshi government to increase its national budget to provide food and accommodation for the Rohingya refugees (Ahmad and Naeem, 2020). Within just a span of six months, the estimated funding requirement is \$434 million USD for 1.2 million Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh (Khuda, 2020). Therefore, to prevent long-term adverse effects, there is a need for a robust humanitarian protection concept for refugees.

Through the UNDP's Human Development Reports, the late Dr. Mahbub Ul Haq initially brought the idea of human security to the attention of the world. The Human Development Report of 1994 placed a clear emphasis on human security, stating that, to the author's knowledge, the term of security has only been applied to conventional domains like hostilities and state threats. On the other hand, new worries that impact all of humanity daily include those related to job security, income security, health security, environmental security, and security against crime (Thomas, 2001).

In fact, the UNDP Report on the Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program from 1994 makes a stronger case for the concept of human security. According to the UNDP, security should shift from an approach that places an undue emphasis on national security to one that is people-centric and considers both human development (Fitrah, 2015). The 1994 UNDP Report lists seven elements of human security, all of which the governments of each nation are obliged to fulfill. Security of the economy, food, health, environment, individual, community, and politics are the seven components (Novialdi, 2020).

# 3.1.3. Social Background of Rohingya Crisis

The Rohingya conflict in Myanmar is partly caused by social conflict. Currently, the Rohingya refugees is under pressure from the Myanmar government. (Brown, 1997) explains that there are three levels of conflict roots. First, at the systemic level, it is due to the weakness of state authority, both national and international, to prevent conflicting groups. In the context of the Rohingya, the Myanmar government does not recognize the citizenship status of the Rohingya Muslim ethnic group. However, historically, Franchis Buchanan stated in his research in 1799 that the Muslim community had inhabited the Arakan region under the name "Rooinga," which over time changed to "Rohingya" (Buchanan and Charney, 2003). However, in 1982, the Myanmar government issued the Citizenship Law, which did not include the Rohingya as a minority ethnic group of Myanmar, thus denying Rohingya recognition as Myanmar citizens.

Second, at the domestic level, it involves the government's ability to meet the needs of its people, the influence of nationalism, inter-ethnic group relations within society, and the impact of democratization processes on inter-ethnic group relations. The wave of democratization in Myanmar has increased, posing significant challenges to the government. While military leadership has a positive effect on national security, authoritarianism prevails, and many communities face terrorism through kidnappings, detentions, and even killings (Irwanysah and Asya'ari Al Asya'ari, 2022). In many cases, minority ethnic groups are often scapegoats for these problems (Hartati, 2013).

Third, at the perception level, it is the cause of ethnic conflict. Anti-Muslim perceptions in Myanmar have persisted for centuries, reinforced by statements from Thein Sein, the president of Myanmar in 2012, stating that Myanmar would not grant citizenship to the Rohingya, considering them illegal immigrants and border crossers from Bangladesh. To this day, the Myanmar government has not recognized the Rohingya refugees as Myanmar citizens. Physically and culturally, the Rohingya ethnicity differs, with their darker skin making them easily identifiable and more like the Bengali people (Irwanysah and Asya'ari Al Asya'ari, 2022).

The social conflict in Myanmar has been escalating over the years, reaching a boiling point in 2017 with attacks against the Rohingya refugees. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) reported a minimum of 6,700 casualties in Myanmar bbcnews, 2017). The prolonged conflict has forced numerous Rohingya to flee Myanmar. Currently, Rohingya refugees are scattered across several countries. In June 2023, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) documented 1,721,150 Rohingya refugees and forcibly displaced individuals in Myanmar. Bangladesh hosts the largest number of Rohingya, totaling 961,700, followed by Myanmar with 630,000, Malaysia with 105,800, India with 22,100, Indonesia with 900, Thailand with 500, and Sri Lanka with 100 (UNHCR, 2017b).

As the influx of Rohingya refugees to Bangladesh increases, there has been considerable resistance from the Bangladeshi authorities. The rising number of refugees has disrupted the local population, as many Rohingya residents and a significant portion of the refugees are not registered in the refugee camps. On the other hand, Bangladesh faces limitations in providing a decent living for Rohingya refugees. Research by (Faisal and Z. Ahmed, 2022) reveals severe shortages in basic human needs and widespread human rights violations in the Cox's Bazar district refugee camps in Bangladesh. Poor health-care services, weak living structures, a scarcity of nutritious food, inadequate water, and

sanitation infrastructure, limited educational facilities, gender-based violence, insecurity, congestion, lack of privacy, restricted freedom of movement, and a high risk of landslides characterize the conditions in the Cox's Bazar refugee camps. Consequently, many Rohingya choose to escape from these camps in Bangladesh. By December 2023, UNHCR noted a significant influx of Rohingya to Indonesia, totaling 1,608 individuals (bbc, 2024). The arrival of Rohingya in Indonesia has sparked mixed reactions among the Indonesian populace.

#### 3.1.4. Economic Background of Rohingya Crisis

The Rakhine State, inhabited by the Rohingya refugees, possesses abundant natural resources, including reserves of oil and natural gas, as well as river, lake, and sea areas directly connected to the ocean, with the potential to serve as a trade route to the Ocean (Ismail and Sidabalok, 2018). This is what makes the Rakhine region an area with significant business potential. In the field of international trade, Rakhine engages in trade relations with several countries, including Bangladesh. The transactions for the export of fresh and wet fish from Rakhine during the 2016-2017 period reached \$3,224 USD. Rakhine also holds reserves of oil and gas amounting to 11 trillion and 23 trillion cubic feet, respectively. The region has several offshore gas fields, along with ongoing offshore oil exploration. Furthermore, the potential in the industrial sector serves as an attractive feature for foreign investments (Dariyanto, 2017).

The government's policy regarding Myanmar citizenship, which excludes the Rohingya refugees, results in the non-recognition of the Rohingya as Myanmar citizens. Consequently, the Rohingya do not have access to rights over land, education, and suitable employment. Siegfried Wolf, the Head of Research at the South Asia Democratic Forum (SADF), states that the conflict in Myanmar is not only rooted in religious differences but also in economic issues. The Rakhine region is one of the states with a high poverty rate in Myanmar, despite its abundance of natural resources. Therefore, the Rohingya refugees is viewed as an additional economic burden, particularly when competing for jobs and business opportunities. Jobs and businesses in the region are predominantly controlled by the Myanmar elite (Welle, 2015).

The prolonged conflict has led to the mismanagement of the Rakhine region. The Advisory Commission for Rakhine acknowledges that Rakhine is undergoing a development crisis, with indications that nearly all areas in Rakhine are experiencing chronic poverty, causing suffering and loss of life within the community. The conflict has also adversely affected land ownership, making it insecure, and the lack of livelihood opportunities has resulted in significant migration out of Rakhine, reducing the workforce and hindering prospects for development and economic growth (Dariyanto, 2017).

#### 3.2. Discussion

# 3.2.1. Pros and Cons from a Religious Perspective

In Indonesia, some perceive the Rohingya crisis as a religious issue. An article by Fajri Matahati Muhammadin, a lecturer in the Department of International Law at Gadjah Mada University, published in the Republika daily, for instance, rejects the notion that the Rohingya crisis is not a religious conflict. According to him, the narrative "not

a religious conflict" is often employed to dismiss those who raise religious issues in the Rohingya matter, although a more critical approach would lead to a different conclusion (Muhammadin, 2017). Mahmuddin supports the above assumption by stating that in Islam, defending oneself from attacks is considered "jihad." In the case of the oppression of Rohingya Muslims, even the law becomes fardhu 'ain (an individual obligation) for Muslims there. Not only from an Islamic perspective, if understood also from a Buddhist perspective, basically, one of the main elements driving hatred leading to acts of violence against Rohingya Muslims is a group of Buddhist monks led by Monk Wirathu (ibid.).

In line with the arguments above, another writer, Fika Komara, presents two objections to those who think that the Rohingya issue is not a religious matter. First, the constitutional obligation of the state from an Islamic perspective is to protect the blood, property, and honor of its citizens, as well as defend the land of Islam; therefore, the problem of Rohingya Muslim life is an Islamic issue that is certainly related to religious matters. Second, the issue of the struggle for superpower influence, energy geopolitics, and access to natural resources in Rakhine; is a religious matter. Many similar views, especially among Indonesian Muslims, consider the Rohingya Muslim crisis as a religious issue. Additionally, we acknowledge that the Rohingya are refugees with a majority being Muslim and marginalized. In this context, religion plays a crucial role as one of the most influential social forces and a significant body of knowledge in the context of forced mobility and human rights (Ziebertz, 2020). According to (Mim, 2020), religious values and practices often help individual Rohingyas protect their cultural identities as 'Rohingya' during the transitional phase of their lives in the camps.

Amidst the hardships faced by Rohingya refugees, there has been a recent phenomenon of opposition to the arrival of these refugees in Aceh. This opposition has arisen due to the behavior exhibited by the Rohingya refugees towards the local community. These behaviors involve significant transgressions against societal norms and cultural customs. One such egregious example is the reported incidents of sexual assault against minors, alongside instances of discarding community aid into the sea, among other unacceptable actions. These actions not only violate local norms but also run counter to the fundamental values upheld by religious teachings. Such behavior has understandably led to a negative reaction from the local community in Aceh. The rejection of Rohingya refugees reflects a response to the perceived threat posed by the reported misconduct and an assertion of the importance of maintaining community standards and moral values.

Nevertheless, fundamentally based on the behaviors they have exhibited, it is imperative to refrain from generalizing that Rohingya refugees are inconsistent with religious teachings. The observed misconduct can be attributed to the actions of irresponsible individuals within their community. According to the findings of a UNHCR survey conducted in 2019 within the refugee camps in Bangladesh, it was revealed that the majority of Rohingya refugees displayed a high level of religiosity, reaching up to 98%. This is substantiated by their active engagement in religious activities and a strong trust in religious leaders or imams.

These survey results suggest that the overall religious commitment among the Rohingya refugee population is substantial. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that individual actions do not necessarily reflect the beliefs and practices of an entire community. In the context of the reported incidents, it is essential to recognize that such behaviors are likely perpetrated by a minority of individuals and should not be generalized to the

broader Rohingya refugee community.

Similar to the Rohingya refugees, the Uyghur minority ethnic group in China also experiences a humanitarian crisis by the Chinese government. The Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union prompted the Chinese government to change its policy towards the Uyghurs. The government began issuing permits for official mosques, appointed mosque imams, and launched atheist education campaigns (Amnesty International, 2002). The Chinese government strengthened its nationalism by promoting patriotism through schools and television (Human Rights Watch, 2005). Since September 2017, Chinese officials have confiscated religious items, such as prayer rugs and the Quran, in Xinjiang (Beydulla, 2019). The escalating situation has led Uyghur Muslims to flee to various countries, one of which is Turkey. Unlike the Rohingya refugees, who faced various rejections, such as in Aceh, Indonesia, the Uyghur ethnic group received Uyghur refugees and considered them as older siblings, as they are from the same Turkic lineage, implying linguistic dialects with the Turkish language, as well as cultural and religious similarities (Hakim et al., 2021). Although Uyghur refugees lack legal and social protection, Turkish society often provides donations (zakat) to meet the needs of Uyghur Muslims (Beydulla, 2019). Some financially affluent Uyghur Muslim communities send their children to Egypt to study Islamic sciences. It is estimated that more than three thousand students are studying in Egypt, making it the country that hosts the largest number of Uyghur students (Karluk, 2018).

# 3.2.2. Pros and Cons from a Humanitarian Perspective

Amidst the pros and cons of Rohingya refugees in Aceh, a boat carrying 50 refugees anchored in Gampong Seuneubok Baroh, Darul Aman District, East Aceh, Thursday, December 14, 2023. Currently, more than 1,600 Rohingya refugees are in Aceh. More than 1,600 Rohingya refugees have come since 2023. They traveled on wooden boats out of Bangladesh and Myanmar. Police have "smelled" illicit activity related to human trafficking and human smuggling behind the entrance of refugees. Residents of Aceh are currently responding to the entrance of migrants in a variety of ways. Some locals vehemently disagree with it, believing that smugglers transported the refugees on purpose. Some people think that humanitarian aid should be given to Rohingya refugees (ZULKARNAINI, 2023).

The pros and cons of handling Rohingya refugees are also caused by the behavior of some refugees who intersect with existing norms in society, such as wasting food and defecating anywhere. Indonesia has always been known for its friendly, helpful, and humanitarian behavior. But during this polemic, hoaxes about Rohingya refugees spread widely in cyberspace, adding a strong political dimension to the handling of the Rohingya issue in the country so that its handling tends to be complex. There are several issues behind the pros and cons of Rohingya refugees, including Indonesia's location as a transit point so that Indonesia often becomes a temporary stopping point for asylum seekers who intend to arrive at destination countries, such as Australia, by water. In addition, the central government's stance that contradicts Presidential Regulation 125 becomes the pretext for rejection from the local government, which also shows how the decentralization system can strengthen regional authority to not always be in line with central government policies. (Diah and Veronika, 2023)

Indonesia has responded quickly to the Rohingya situation by implementing humanitarian measures. Through bilateral and multilateral channels, Indonesia has provided humanitarian aid to the Rohingya. Indonesia has individually contributed to its human rights agencies under the bilateral system (Jati, 2017). Even Indonesian fishermen have ventured across the oceans to try to save women and children among the trapped Rohingya. The money is distributed by the Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) to help with the provision of clean water, sanitary facilities, medical attention, psychosocial support, and basic supplies including blankets and bedding, sanitary products, and personal protective equipment (Khan and S. Ahmed, 2020).

In handling the Rohingya conflict, Indonesia has contributed a lot to it, including through several diplomacy with the Myanmar government and Indonesia's position in ASEAN. With the principle of non-intervention among ASEAN countries enshrined in The ASEAN Charter, Myanmar refrains from intervening in the domestic affairs of other nations. Based on this, Indonesia uses a variety of diplomatic channels, including humanitarian channels as well as official G to G (government to government) channels between the Indonesian government and Myanmar and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. by aiding the Muslim Rohingya Ethnic group logistically. The diplomatic initiatives taken by Indonesia to end this vertical conflict. It is indisputable that there will be difficulty in quickly resolving this disagreement. This is one of the biggest and deadliest conflicts, according to the United Nations (UN). Being the biggest and most powerful nation in ASEAN, Indonesia has made this conflict a top priority in terms of foreign policy since it cares about humanitarian concerns as well (Rasyid et al., 2022).

Indonesia is one party that can have a conversation with Myanmar about how to handle the Rohingya issue. To identify humanitarian situations, Indonesia makes use of positive bilateral relations. As a result, Indonesia found it simpler to get in touch with Myanmar and start humanitarian talks. Additionally, Indonesia met with the government of Myanmar and developed ways to handle the situation. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia was able to arrange a meeting with the government of Myanmar and present solutions for resolving the situation. An indication of Indonesia's success in creating humanitarian space in Myanmar is this meeting. The government of Myanmar responded favorably to Indonesia's activities in the course of humanitarian diplomacy through humanitarian negotiations. This is proof that Indonesia has succeeded in opening humanitarian space in Myanmar through humanitarian negotiations. The Myanmar government is committed to distributing aid to refugees without discrimination through cooperation with the ICRC (Permata, Sinulingga, et al., 2019).

As a "quiet diplomacy" tactic, diplomacy was Indonesia's means of success in handling the Rohingya humanitarian situation. As per the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesia opted for "quiet diplomacy" as a non-violent means of advancing global peace. Indonesia was able to use diplomatic channels to deflect public criticism, which made its approach of sending help quietly effective. A variety of cooperative techniques, such as mediation and particular methodology, multi-stakeholder participation, structured discourse, and third-party involvement, have been employed to assist Indonesia in demonstrating the value of diplomacy (Fitria, 2023)

Although powerful diplomatic methods and temporary shelter of Rohingya refugees in Indonesia are successful, these methods have limitations to overcome the Rohingya crisis, because given the value of non-intervention in ASEAN, ASEAN member countries

cannot resolve human rights violations against Rohingya in Myanmar. UNAIR International Relations lecturer Fadhila said that there must be a regional mechanism that can make Myanmar not commit human rights violations against the Rohingya people, because ASEAN has not been able to provide the best solution to the Rohingya problem (NEWS, 2023).

# 3.2.3. Pros and Cons from a Social Perspective

The situation of the Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh is becoming increasingly concerning. Despite Bangladesh maintaining an open border, refugees are still denied formal legal status, leading them to be considered not as refugees but as Myanmar residents forced into displacement. Food scarcity in Rohingya camps is prevalent, as many families rely solely on food provided by donors. Research by the World Food Program reveals that at least 24% of children aged 6 to 59 months experience malnutrition in the Kutupalong area. Women and children in Rohingya camps face various forms of violence daily, such as torture, abduction, and rape. Additionally, they may suffer abuse from relatives or extended family members (Akter, 2022). There is a considerable human trafficking network for women and girls in South Asia, and if the camps on the Bangladesh-Myanmar border continue permanently, human traffickers may specifically target Rohingya refugees, using these camps as potential hubs for human trafficking (McCaffrie, 2019). Consequently, many Rohingya refugees in these camps escape and seek asylum in Indonesia.

The UNHCR report states that the arrival of Rohingya in Indonesia marks the tenth wave. President Joko Widodo revealed the existence of Human Trafficking crimes related to the significant number of Rohingya refugees arriving in (Humas, 2023). The Pidie Police arrested a Bangladeshi citizen acting as a smuggler. Upon investigation, the smuggler amassed substantial profits in the billions of rupiahs, and each refugee would be charged travel fees of Rp14 million for adults and Rp7 million for children (Erilia and Koesno, 2023).

The arrival of Rohingya refugees in Indonesia has sparked both support and opposition among the public. Proponents argue that the Rohingya refugees is a victim of genocide by the Myanmar military junta. Social media is flooded with narratives of hatred and hoaxes directed towards the Rohingya, including claims that Rohingya refugees staged protests demanding land in Malaysia, damaged apartments in Sidoarjo due to a power outage, and requested islands and identity cards to stay in Indonesia (Damarjati, 2023; Erilia and Koesno, 2023; tempo.co, 2023). The information and videos circulating on social media have had a negative impact and fueled hatred against the Rohingya in Indonesia. The video depicting the land protest in Malaysia was from a demonstration by the Rohingya protesting the violence inflicted by the Myanmar government on their community in 2017 (ibid.).

Furthermore, the proposal for an island for the Rohingya came from the Vice President of Indonesia, Ma'ruf Amin, who suggested relocating Rohingya to Galang Island (Pitaloka, 2023). The Head of Immigration Detention House Order sub-section clarified that the individuals responsible for damaging apartments in Sidoarjo were not from the Rohingya refugees. They stated that only five Rohingya individuals were present in the apartment and cooperated well with the government (Suparno, 2023).

In social observation, Rohingya refugees in shelter facilities interact with the Indonesian community, both through verbal and non-verbal communication, as they face

challenges related to language and culture from their home country. The new social life for Rohingya refugees in Indonesia requires them to adapt to survive amid the uncertainty of their citizenship status. However, Indonesia's highly multicultural social system necessitates Rohingya to adjust their lives through acculturation while preserving their inherited religious traditions (Irwanysah and Asya'ari Al Asya'ari, 2022). Nevertheless, the increasing number of refugees arriving in Indonesia has led to negative responses toward the Rohingya ethnicity.

The emergence of social envy and changing sentiments toward the Rohingya is due to the actions of certain Rohingya individuals. Research (Sopamena, 2023) refers to this as the concept of horizontal diversity, with the peak of public anger occurring when Rohingya refugees discarded relief aid as a form of protest, not allowed to disembark in Aceh. Some individuals who fled to Malaysia to reunite with their families were perceived by the public as not appreciating the aid from Indonesia. Even students from Aceh, part of the Executive Board of Student Affairs (BEM) Nusantara, staged a demonstration at a temporary shelter for Rohingya in Aceh, demanding the deportation of Rohingya refugees and forcing them to leave the shelter (jonisetiawan, 2023). The disruption caused by the Rohingya ethnicity has led the Indonesian community, especially in Aceh, to reject their arrival. Although Indonesia has not signed the UN convention, Minister of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Mahfud MD stated that Indonesia's diplomacy is based on humanity, and thus, everyone who arrives is accommodated (akbar, 2023).

# 3.2.4. Pros and Cons from an Economic Perspective

The presence of Rohingya refugees in several countries has become an unavoidable focal point of concern. The conflict in Myanmar is also attributed to an economic crisis. The Myanmar government's policies have continuously failed to improve the national economy, especially in the Rakhine region, where the economic conditions are lagging. The government's policies are highly ineffective, with regulations lacking stringent sanctions for violators, particularly when the violators are the military junta itself. The decline in real income has plunged Myanmar into economic chaos. In fact, during the rule of the Military Junta under Than Shwe in 1997, Myanmar experienced an inflation rate of up to 51.5% (Ismail and Sidabalok, 2018).

The government's comprehensive policy on land, which revokes ownership rights and the state's control over agricultural land under the Settlement & Land Record Department (SLRD) within the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, has resulted in the majority of the Rohingya refugees losing their agricultural land measuring 5 hectares. On the other hand, the military junta has entrusted the Rakhine ethnic group with cultivating the farmland that was previously owned by the Rohingya (jonisetiawan, 2023).

Pros and cons arise when the Rohingya refugees enters various countries. Circulating on social media are complaints from Rohingya refugees in Sidoarjo apartment complexes expressing dissatisfaction with the monthly aid of Rp1.25 million, which is deemed insufficient to meet daily needs. Various narratives of hatred and jealousy from the public, such as resentment towards Rohingya refugees who do not work but receive allowances, and the perception that these allowances come from the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, many Indonesians still experience hardships (Hariyanto, 2023).

The Tempo Fact-Checking Team revealed that the allowance is indeed true but comes from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), a non-governmental or-

ganization that channels aid to refugees (Tempo Fact-Checking Team 2023b). Nevertheless, in Bangladesh, Rohingya refugees still flee to other countries despite receiving \$8 USD or Rp124,000 per person for meals from the UN World Food Programme.

The arrival of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh has resulted in negative impacts on the economy, often seen as an economic burden for the country. According to the research by (Ahmad and Naeem, 2020), the presence of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh has negative effects on the country's economy, including:

- 1. Commodity prices have increased in the coastal areas of Bangladesh, particularly in the Cox's Bazar region, due to the rising demand. The Bangladesh government has to spend 712.6 trillion Taka annually.
- 2. There is a regional labor crisis, with a decrease in job opportunities, a decline in industrial sector employment, minimal changes in the agricultural sector, and a significant number of jobs in the service sector, mostly informal.
- 3. Price hikes have led to a decrease in daily wages, with 2,500 households falling below the poverty line, and the destruction of 5,500 hectares of living space.
- 4. Imbalance in commodity supply and demand. Supplies in the refugee camp areas are limited, but the demand is high, posing a worrisome issue for economic development in Bangladesh.
- 5. Marginal benefits for small-scale producers, traders, and domestic livestock production have decreased.
- 6. The tourism industry is under threat, as Cox's Bazar area is densely populated, slowly losing its appeal to tourists. This poses a disaster for the tourism sector, affecting the national economy in Bangladesh.
- 7. Increased government spending in various sectors due to the arrival of Rohingya refugees, requiring Bangladesh to enhance its healthcare and other services. There are also Rohingya youths involved in drug trafficking, with Yaba, a drug largely originating from Myanmar, becoming a major issue in Bangladesh.
- 8. The increasing number of Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh has raised the population burden, considering Bangladesh has 169.4 million inhabitants.
- 9. Suspected drug trafficking in Bangladesh coincides with the influx of Rohingya refugees into the country.
- 10. There is an increase in communicable diseases in Rohingya refugee camps.

Despite the numerous negative impacts on the economy of the countries hosting Rohingya refugees, there are also positive effects of the Rohingya refugees on the economy, especially in the informal sector. Research conducted by (Wahab, 2017) highlights positive impacts of Rohingya refugees in the Klang Valley, Malaysia. Malaysia has regulations prohibiting refugees from working, as stipulated in the Immigration Act 1959/63, the Employment Act 1995, and the Companies Act 1965. However, law enforcement officials often overlook or ignore reports of Rohingya individuals working illegally. Nevertheless, some law enforcement officials take advantage of this situation to extort money from Rohingya individuals. Generally, Malaysians are aware of and sympathetic towards the Rohingya refugees, enabling them to secure jobs or income.

Research (ibid.) indicates that some Rohingya individuals work as kitchen assistants in Malay-owned restaurants, earning salaries ranging from RM 1,400 to RM 1,500 per month. There are also Rohingya individuals employed as general cleaners at the Kota Kajang Selangor Hall, only required when their services are needed. Despite lacking academic certificates or formal skills, some Rohingya individuals report securing technical positions, such as in the automotive or construction sectors, based on their technical capabilities gained from prior experience. Most respondents in the study state that they work 12 to 14 hours a day without proper overtime pay, no social protection, including insurance coverage and compensation for injuries. Some Rohingya individuals also obtain permits for trading from local merchants to run their grocery stores. To engage in economic activities, they access microfinance facilities offered by various non-governmental organizations or borrow money from relatives and friends.

The active participation of the Rohingya refugees strengthens their social interaction with residents, influencing their way of life and enhancing their contributions to community development. This active participation has significant impacts on the lives of the Rohingya, such as access to education for children, administrative activities, religious or welfare-based activities, access to healthcare services, and even entrepreneurship.

The Rohingya refugee issue is a global problem because it involves a humanitarian crisis. Countries closest to Myanmar will certainly feel its impact, especially with an increasing number of Rohingya refugees seeking refuge in neighboring countries. Rohingya citizen, Rezuwan Khan, stated that every day Rohingya gather along the border seeking protection, but it's not possible to enter due to tight security (Syarif, 2024). In the long term, countries providing asylum to Rohingya refugees will face adverse effects. Socially, one of the negative impacts is the gap and jealousy among the local community towards Rohingya refugees, as seen in Indonesia. This social jealousy is partly caused by Rohingya not working but still receiving money. Additionally, Rohingya often engage in misconduct, such as stealing crops, escaping from refugee camps, and disregarding the norms of the host country. Similarly, economically, in the long run, Rohingya will have a negative impact on the economy of the host country, as seen in Bangladesh, which has to spend 712.6 trillion Taka annually and also affects the increase in commodity prices due to the high demand caused by the population surge. Therefore, diplomatic efforts to urge Myanmar to review regulations regarding the citizenship status of Rohingya refugees must continue so that Rohingya can return to their home country, thus avoiding adverse effects on neighboring countries.

#### 4. Conclusions

The Rohingya crisis is a complex and interconnected issue involving religious, humanitarian, social, and economic dimensions. The religious background illustrates how Myanmar's nationalist ideology, heavily influenced by Buddhism, has systematically marginalized and oppressed the Rohingya Muslim population. The denial of citizenship rights, fueled by discriminatory actions with religious backing, has led to mass migrations and severe humanitarian consequences. The humanitarian background sheds light on extensive crimes against humanity committed by the Myanmar government, leading to a massive influx of Rohingya refugees into neighboring countries, particularly Bangladesh. The overcrowded refugee camps face significant social and humanitarian challenges, ex-

acerbating tensions between the local population and the Rohingya refugees. The concept of humanitarian protection, as advocated by the UNDP, becomes crucial in addressing the immediate needs and security concerns of the displaced population.

Socially, the conflict is influenced by the Myanmar government's failure to recognize the Rohingya as citizens, perpetuating anti-Muslim perceptions and escalating ethnic tensions. The ongoing social conflict has led to a significant number of Rohingya refugees seeking shelter in various countries, posing challenges for both the displaced population and host nations. Economically, the Rakhine region's abundance of natural resources, including oil and gas, creates economic incentives and competition. Myanmar's discriminatory policies, rooted in nationalist ideology and religious bias, have led to mass displacement and widespread human rights abuses against the Rohingya population. The humanitarian response has been crucial in providing immediate assistance to refugees, but long-term solutions require addressing underlying social and economic factors. Social tensions between refugees and host communities highlight the importance of social integration programs and promoting understanding and tolerance. Economic disparities in the Rakhine region exacerbate the crisis, emphasizing the need for targeted development initiatives and investment. Diplomatic efforts must continue to pressure Myanmar to recognize Rohingya citizenship rights and ensure their safe return. Additionally, regional cooperation and sustained research and monitoring efforts are essential for addressing the crisis comprehensively. To effectively address the Rohingya crisis, stakeholders must prioritize human rights, social cohesion, and economic development, working together to create lasting solutions that promote peace and stability in the region. The mismanagement of the Rakhine region due to the prolonged conflict has led to a development crisis, hindering economic growth, and further contributing to the complex web of issues surrounding the Rohingya crisis.

The key findings of the paper highlight the complex nature of the Rohingya crisis, encompassing religious, humanitarian, social, and economic dimensions. The systematic marginalization of the Rohingya by the Myanmar government, fueled by nationalist and religious ideologies, has led to mass displacement and severe human rights violations. Humanitarian responses have provided crucial aid, but long-term solutions require addressing social tensions, economic disparities, and diplomatic challenges. The implications of these findings underscore the urgent need for comprehensive approaches that prioritize human rights, promote social integration, address economic disparities, and advocate for diplomatic solutions to ensure the safety and well-being of Rohingya refugees.

# 5. Acknowledgments

This article would not be completed without the assistance and support from various parties. Therefore, we would like to express our gratitude for the collaboration of three universities, namely Universitas Padjajaran, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, and Universitas Siliwangi for their dedication to knowledge, enabling this article to be completed after going through the stages of research and writing.

#### References

- Abdelkader, Engy (2013). "The Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar: past, present, and future". In: *Or. Rev. Int'l L.* 15, p. 393.
- ACAP (2017). URL: https://www.acaps.org/en/thematics/all-topics/rohingya-crisis.
- Adam, Fadzli et al. (2017). "Myanmar's religious crises: Proposed solution through the concept of muhibbah". In: *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 7.8, pp. 2222–6990.
- AFP (Dec. 2023). *Ratusan Mahasiswa Usir Rohingya di Aceh*. URL: https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/ratusan-mahasiswa-usir-rohingya-di-aceh/7414264.html.
- Ahmad, Syed Magfur and Nasruzzaman Naeem (2020). "Adverse economic impact by Rohingya refugees on Bangladesh: some way forwards". In: *International Journal of Social, Political and Economic Research* 7.1, pp. 1–14.
- Ahmed, Imtiaz (2009). "The Rohingyas: From stateless to refugee". In: *Dhaka, Bangladesh: University of Dhaka*, pp. 285–301.
- akbar, Adrial (Dec. 2023). *Mahfud: RI Berhak Usir Pengungsi Rohingya, tapi Diplomasi Kita Kemanusiaan*. URL: https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7089992/mahfud-ri-berhak-usir-pengungsi-rohingya-tapi-diplomasi-kita-kemanusiaan.
- Akter, Marufa (2022). "Sexual/Gender-Based Camp Violence and Institutional Response Limits: Rohingyas in Bangladesh". In: *Rohingya Camp Narratives: Tales From the 'Lesser Roads' Traveled*. Springer, pp. 167–188.
- Bashar, Iftekharul (2012). "Rohingyas in Bangladesh and Myanmar: quest for a sustainable solution". In.
- bbc (Jan. 2024). Disinformasi pengungsi Rohingya: Apa benar mereka membebani negara? URL: https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/ c03y7n3k12lo#:~:text=Kenapa%20Rohingya%20ditolak%3F, Indonesia%2C%20dan%20memicu%20kesenjangan%20sosial..
- bbcnews (Dec. 2017). Sekitar 6.700 Muslim Rohingya tewas dalam waktu sebulan, kata MSF BBC News Indonesia. URL: https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-42351386.
- Biver, Emilie (2014). "Religious nationalism: Myanmar and the role of Buddhism in anti-Muslim narratives". In.
- Brown, Michael E (1997). "Causes and implications of ethnic conflict". In: *The ethnicity reader: Nationalism, multiculturalism and migration*, pp. 80–100.
- Buchanan, Francis and Michael W Charney (2003). "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire by Francis Buchanan, edited by Michael W. Charney". In: *SOAS bulletin of Burma research* 1.1.
- Damarjati, Danu (Dec. 2023). *Menyeruak Hoax Soal Rohingya di Aceh dan Penjelasan UNHCR Indonesia*. URL: https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7081308/menyeruak-hoax-soal-rohingya-di-aceh-dan-penjelasan-unhcr-indonesia.

- Dariyanto, Erwin (Sept. 2017). Kekayaan Rakhine, Kota "Rohingya" yang Tersandera Konflik. URL: https://news.detik.com/internasional/d-3629853/ kekayaan-rakhine-kota-rohingya-yang-tersandera-konflik.
- detikcom, Tim (Nov. 2023). Mengapa Pengungsi Rohingya Ditolak Warga Aceh? Ini Penjelasannya. URL: https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7048044/ mengapa - pengungsi - rohingya - ditolak - warga - aceh - ini penjelasannya.
- Diah, Istri and Nuri W Veronika (Dec. 2023). Politisasi isu pengungsi Rohingya jelang Pemilu 2024: 5 hal yang perlu kita ketahui. URL: https://theconversation. com / politisasi - isu - pengungsi - rohingya - jelang - pemilu -2024-5-hal-yang-perlu-kita-ketahui-219605.
- Erilia, Erika and Dhita Koesno (Dec. 2023). Fakta Terbaru Pengungsi Rohingya di Aceh, Benarkah Minta Pulau? URL: https://tirto.id/fakta-terbarupengungsi-rohingya-di-aceh-benarkah-minta-pulau-gTa7.
- Faisal, Md Mostafa and Zobayer Ahmed (2022). "Stateless Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh: Life and Livelihood Challenges". In: Journal of Social and Development Sciences 13.4 (S), pp. 11–23.
- Fitrah, Elpeni (2015). "Gagasan Human Security Dan Kebijakan Keamanan Nasional Indonesia". In: INSIGNIA: Journal of International relations 2.01, pp. 27–41.
- Fitria, Naeli (2023). "Indonesia's Quiet Diplomacy Towards Rohingya: An Effective Way In Resolving Humanitarian Crisis". In: Journal Research of Social Science, Economics, and Management 2.12, pp. 3011–3020.
- Habib, Mohshin et al. (2018). "Forced migration of rohingya: an untold experience". In: Available at SSRN 3242696.
- Hariyanto, Aris (Dec. 2023). Pengungsi Rohingya di Sidoarjo Mengeluh Uang Saku 1 Juta Per Bulan Kurang, Warganet Kesal : Iya Pasti Gak Cukup, Kalo buat Beli Pulau - Radar Semarang. URL: https://radarsemarang.jawapos. com/nasional/723452001/pengungsi-rohingya-di-sidoarjomengeluh - uang - saku - 1 - juta - per - bulan - kurang - warganet kesal-iya-pasti-gak-cukup-kalo-buat-beli-pulau..
- Harsya, Rabith Madah Khulaili et al. (2024). "Advantages And Disadvantages Of The Existence Of Rohingya Refugees In Indonesia (Perspective Of Islam, Pancasila And Law)". In: Innovative: Journal Of Social Science Research 4.1, pp. 7660–7671.
- Hartati, Anna Yulia (2013). "Studi Eksistensi Etnis Rohingya di Tengah Tekanan Pemerintah Myanmar". In: *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 2.1, pp. 7–17.
- Humas (Dec. 2023). Ungkap Dugaan TPPO Terkait Pengungsi Rohingya, Presiden: Akan Ditindak Tegas. URL: https://setkab.go.id/ungkap-dugaantppo-terkait-pengungsi-rohingya-presiden-akan-ditindak-
- Hussain, Faheem et al. (2020). "Infrastructuring hope: Solidarity, leadership, negotiation, and ict among the rohingya refugees in bangladesh". In: Proceedings of the 2020 International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies and Development, pp. 1–12.
- Indonesia, CNN (Dec. 2023). Kemlu Beberkan Alasan RI Tampung Pengungsi Rohingya di Aceh. URL: https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/

- 20231207144641 106 1034173 / kemlu beberkan alasan ri tampung-pengungsi-rohingya-di-aceh.
- IOM (Oct. 2018). URL: https://reliefweb.int/report/bangladesh/
  iom bangladesh rohingya refugee crisis response situation-overview-human.
- Irwanysah, Irwansyah and Al Asya'ari Al Asya'ari (2022). "Rohingya Muslims in Indonesia: Interaction, Stigmatization and Religious Response". In: *FIKRAH* 10.2, pp. 241–258.
- ISCG (June 2018). URL: https://reliefweb.int/report/bangladesh/
  iscg support bangladesh host communities and institutions-joint-response-plan.
- Ismail, Amrizarois and Hotmauly Sidabalok (2018). "Kajian Environmental Justice dalam Konflik Rohingya". In: *Praxis: Jurnal Sains, Teknologi, Masyarakat dan Jejaring* 1.1, pp. 93–107.
- Jati, Irawan (2017). "Comparative Study of the Roles of ASEAN and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Responding to the Rohingya Crisis". In.
- jonisetiawan (Dec. 2023). Diusir Paksa Mahasiswa, Tangis Pengungsi Rohingya Pecah, Kini Trauma Berat, UNHCR Prihatin. URL: https://trends.tribunnews.com/2023/12/29/diusir-paksa-mahasiswa-tangis-pengungsi-rohingya-pecah-hingga-trauma-berat-unhcr-kecewa.
- Khan, Mohammad Tanzimuddin and Saima Ahmed (2020). "Dealing with the Rohingya crisis: The relevance of the general assembly and R2P". In: *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 5.2, pp. 121–143.
- Khuda, KE (2020). "Air pollution in the capital city of Bangladesh: its causes and impacts on human health". In: *Pollution* 6.4, pp. 737–750.
- Kipgen, Nehginpao (2013). "Conflict in Rakhine State in Myanmar: Rohingya Muslims' Conundrum". In: *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 33.2, pp. 298–310.
- Laoutides, Costas (2021). "Ethnoreligious conflict and populism: emotive political response in the Rohingya conflict". In: *Religions* 12.10, p. 816.
- McCaffrie, Caitlin (2019). "Displaced Rohingya children and the risk of human trafficking". In: *Journal of Human Rights and Peace Studies* 5.1, pp. 47–47.
- Mim, Nusrat Jahan (2020). "Religion at the margins: Resistance to secular humanitarianism at the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh". In: *Religions* 11.8, p. 423.
- Moy, Lay Yang and Ardli Johan Kusuma (2016). "Latar belakang Indonesia menerima pengungsi Rohingya pada tahun 2015 (analisa konstruktivis)". In: *Global Insight Journal* 1.1.
- Muhammadin, FM (2017). Apakah Pembantaian terhadap Rohingya adalah Konflik Agama? Republica.
- NEWS, UNAIR (Jan. 2023). Mengurus Pengungsi Rohingya, Indonesia Dinilai Berpotensi dapat Rekognisi Internasional Universitas Airlangga Official Website. URL: https://unair.ac.id/mengurus-pengungsi-rohingya-indonesia-dinilai-berpotensi-dapat-rekognisi-internasional/.
- Novialdi, Risky (2020). "The Failure of Providing Human Security For Rohingya Refugees (Case Study: Escaping Rohingya Refugees From Shelter In Skb Bireuen,

- Aceh Province)". In: Indonesian Journal of Peace and Security Studies (IJPSS) 2.1, pp. 49–62.
- OCHA (June 2018). URL: https://reliefweb.int/report/ world / ocha - annual - report - 2017 ?  $_{gl} = 1 * us98t5 *$ \_ga \* MTgzNDY5NTk1Mi4xNzE0NjQxNjQw \* \_ga \_ E60ZNX2F68 \* MTcxNDY0MTY0MC4xLjEuMTcxNDY0MTY4MS4xOS4wLjA..
- Permata, Inda Mustika, Anita A Sinulingga, et al. (2019). "Humanitarian Diplomacy: Indonesia's Response Toward Rohingya Humanitarian Crisis". In: Journal of Diplomacy and International Studies 2.01, pp. 1–12.
- Pitaloka, Putri Safira (Dec. 2023). Wapres Ma'ruf Amin Usulkan Pulau Galang Jadi Tempat Pengungsi Rohingya, di Manakah Lokasinya? URL: https://nasional. tempo.co/read/1807185/wapres-maruf-amin-usulkan-pulaugalang - jadi - tempat - pengungsi - rohingya - di - manakah lokasinya.
- Pudjibudojo, Widya Priyahita (2019). "Criticizing the Handling of Rohingya Refugees in Southeast Asia by ASEAN and Its Members". In: *POLITIKA* 10, p. 2.
- Rafa, Nazifa et al. (2022). "The pursuit of energy in refugee contexts: discrimination, displacement, and humanitarian energy access for the Rohingya refugees displaced to Bangladesh". In: *Energy Research & Social Science* 83, p. 102334.
- Rasyid, Sulaiman et al. (2022). "The Role of Indonesian Diplomacy in Managing the Conflict between The Myanmar Government and The Rohingya Muslim Ethnic". In: *Unnes Law Journal* 8.1, pp. 159–178.
- Shahin, Kabir Md and Moyenul Hasan (2023). "The Rohingya refugee crisis: political and humanitarian perspectives". In: Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal 23.3,
- Smith, Matthew F and Tirana Hassan (2012). " The Government Could Have Stopped This": Sectarian Violence and Ensuing Abuses in Burma's Arakan State. Human Rights Watch.
- Sopamena, Chairussani Abbas (2023). "PENGUNGSI ROHINGYA DAN POTENSI KONFLIK & KEMAJEMUKAN HORIZONTAL DI ACEH". In: Caraka Prabu: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan 7.2, pp. 85–115.
- Suparno (Dec. 2023). 4 Fakta Rusun Jemundo di Sidoarjo Dirusak Pengungsi WNA. URL: https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7083003/4-fakta-rusunjemundo-di-sidoarjo-dirusak-pengungsi-wna/2.
- tempo.co (Dec. 2023). URL: https://cekfakta.tempo.co/fakta/ 2656/keliru-video-yang-diklaim-pengungsi-rohingya-dimalaysia-demo-tuntut-tanah.
- Thomas, Caroline (2001). "Global governance, development and human security: exploring the links". In: *Third World Quarterly* 22.2, pp. 159–175.
- Ullah, AA (2017). Rohingya Migration: Is It a Function of Persecution.
- UNHCR (June 2017a). URL: https : / / reliefweb . int / report / world / unhcr - global - report - 2016 ? gad \_ source = 1 & gclid = CjwKCAjw88yxBhBWEiwA7cm6pS4eniqhjUnVkYPyOckvxVu20k6rQQIlF-A0ixRdNTbfcZJwK1t-5hoCRssQAvD\_BwE.
- (2017b). URL: https://www.unhcr.org/emergencies/rohingyaemergency.

- Utami, Mumpuni Tri (2020). "The Implementation of Non-Refoulement Principle in Case of Rohingnya". In: *The Digest: Journal of Jurisprudence and Legisprudence* 1.2, pp. 197–222.
- Wahab, Andika Ab (2017). "Rethinking refugees as economically isolated: The Rohingyas participation in informal economy in Klang Valley, Malaysia". In: *Journal of ASEAN Studies* 5.2, pp. 100–118.
- Washaly, Najeeb (2019). "Rohingya: The identity crisis". In: Ecos de la Academia.
- Welle, Deutsche (Aug. 2015). *Rohingya: Konflik Ekonomi bukan Agama*. URL: https://www.dw.com/id/rohingya-sebenarnya-bukan-konflik-agama/a-18683571.
- Zawacki, Benjamin (2012). "Defining Myanmar's Rohingya Problem". In: *Hum. Rts. Brief* 20, p. 18.
- Ziebertz, Hans-Georg (2020). *International empirical studies on religion and socioeco-nomic human rights*. Vol. 5. Springer.
- ZULKARNAINI (Dec. 2023). Amid the pros and cons, the Rohingya ship returns to anchor in Aceh. URL: https://www.kompas.id/baca/english/2023/12/14/en-di-tengah-pro-dan-kontra-kapal-rohingya-kembali-berlabuh-di-aceh.