

Media Literacy and Moral Panic in the Acehese Community's Response to Rohingya Refugees: A Qualitative Case Study on the Implications of Critical Education

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Abstract

Purpose – This study aims to explore the interrelation between media literacy, moral panic, and the Acehese community's response to Rohingya refugees. Although the issue of Rohingya refugees has previously been examined from legal, social, and cultural perspectives, the role of media literacy—particularly within educational contexts—remains underexplored. This study is significant due to the widespread dissemination of hoaxes, such as claims that "Rohingya refugees are a diversion from the Palestine issue" and demands for "permanent resettlement," which have substantially influenced local public perceptions.

Methods/Design/Approach – This research employs a qualitative method with a case study approach in Aceh, Indonesia. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with 20 key participants, including local community members, Rohingya refugees, and practitioners in education and media; participatory observation; document analysis of media and international organizational reports; and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Data analysis was conducted using a thematic approach and verified through source and method triangulation.

Findings – The findings reveal that the initial solidarity of the Acehese community toward Rohingya refugees was shaped by local values and maritime customary law in the absence of formal state regulations. However, this positive perception shifted significantly due to the spread of hoaxes via social media, triggering moral panic, social segregation, political tensions, and collective acts of rejection against the refugees. The majority of respondents emphasized the need to integrate media literacy into both formal and informal educational systems to mitigate these negative impacts.

Originality/Value – This study makes a theoretical contribution by explicitly integrating the concept of critical media literacy into the analysis of moral panic surrounding the Rohingya refugee issue, an area previously underexplored in the literature. It also specifically documents the role of hoaxes in shaping public perception, offering new insights into the interaction between media literacy, moral panic, and social responses within the context of refugee crises.

Practical Implications – Practically, the findings recommend implementing critical media literacy within formal and informal education curricula, particularly at senior high schools and Islamic boarding schools (pesantren). In addition, community-based media literacy programs involving local leaders, as well as the synchronization of policies between central and regional governments, are crucial for enhancing critical awareness and social empathy in addressing global refugee challenges.

Limitations – This study is limited to the geographical context of Aceh and faced linguistic constraints during interviews with Rohingya refugees, which may affect the generalizability and depth of the findings.

Keywords Media literacy, moral panic, Rohingya refugees, critical education, Aceh

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1. Introduction

The arrival of Rohingya refugees in Aceh is a multidimensional phenomenon that interweaves humanitarian, social, and educational concerns and continues to draw sustained public attention. As an ethnic minority from Myanmar, the Rohingya have experienced systemic discrimination and severe human rights violations, forcing displacement across borders ([Usman et al., 2023](#)). Since 2015, Aceh's strategic maritime location has made it a recurrent point of refuge. According to UNHCR data (as of December 10, 2023), a total of 1,543 Rohingya refugees had arrived in Aceh since November 2023. Public responses to these arrivals have varied and are frequently shaped by information ecologies and media representations that influence community sentiment and policy debates.

Within this landscape, media literacy becomes pivotal for understanding—and potentially reshaping—public responses to the Rohingya issue. Media literacy entails the capacity to access, analyze, evaluate, and produce information critically; such competence is essential for countering misinformation and disinformation that can catalyze moral panic. Unverified negative reporting may distort perceptions of refugees and, in turn, affect both communal attitudes and institutional practices, including those within education. For instance, partial rejection by residents in Bireuen Regency of 249 out of 490 refugees who arrived in November 2023 illustrates how pre-formed negative perceptions can crystallize into exclusionary responses ([Setyad, 2023](#)). Recent studies of the 2023 Aceh arrivals demonstrate that media frames oscillate between humanitarian concern and security risk, with securitizing narratives strongly associated with shifts in public opinion and support for restrictive measures; they also foreground the corrective role of ethical journalism and media literacy in mitigating these adverse dynamics ([Fitrah et al., 2025](#); [Iqbal et al., 2024](#)).

Education is a second, equally consequential axis in this debate. In Bangladesh—the principal host of Rohingya displaced from Myanmar—education has been framed in policy more as relief than as a development pathway, limiting integration prospects and dampening refugees' claims to dignity and self-respect; nevertheless, Rohingya themselves articulate education as a right and a means to restore agency ([Prodip, 2023](#)). Conditions in the camps further compound these tensions: provision is constrained, access is limited, and children face heightened vulnerabilities, underscoring how “education in emergencies” remains beset by structural gaps. Comparative work also indicates that policy architectures matter for educational and social integration: Turkey's blend of public-school access, language learning, mobility, and work permits has supported social cohesion among Syrian refugees, while Bangladesh's camp confinement and restrictions for the Rohingya have curtailed similar possibilities; these contrasts invite a critical-pedagogy lens that links emancipatory education with the cultivation of critical consciousness ([Suma, 2022](#)). Taken together, this scholarship suggests that how societies frame refugee education—relief versus development, control versus inclusion—bears directly on integration trajectories ([Prodip, 2023](#); [Shohel, 2022](#); [Suma, 2022](#)).

Despite a growing body of research on the Rohingya that spans legal, social, and cultural perspectives ([Missbach, 2019](#); [Rahayu et al., 2020](#); [Robbins, 2020](#)), the role of media literacy in shaping public responses—particularly within educational domains in host communities—remains underexplored. Building on evidence that media narratives can drive securitization and polarize attitudes in Aceh ([Fitrah et al., 2025](#); [Iqbal et al., 2024](#)), this study positions media literacy as a strategic lever: not only to discriminate between factual and manipulative content, but also to cultivate empathy, solidarity, and tolerance toward refugees in educational settings. By integrating insights from refugee-education policy debates in Bangladesh and comparative experiences elsewhere ([Prodip, 2023](#); [Shohel, 2022](#); [Suma, 2022](#)) with recent analyses of media framing and securitization in Aceh ([Fitrah et al., 2025](#); [Iqbal et al., 2024](#)), the present inquiry links information ecologies to learning ecologies in the local context.

Accordingly, this study examines the interrelationship between media literacy, moral panic, and the Acehnese community's response to Rohingya refugees. Specifically, it seeks

to: (1) identify the sources of hoaxes influencing public opinion; (2) analyze how these hoaxes shape public perceptions; and (3) evaluate their impact within the educational context, particularly in efforts to enhance social awareness through media literacy approaches. It is expected that the findings will inform context-sensitive educational strategies to strengthen media literacy in Aceh and, in doing so, foster more constructive and empathetic community responses to refugees ([Fitrah et al., 2025](#); [Iqbal et al., 2024](#); [Prodip, 2023](#); [Shohel, 2022](#); [Suma, 2022](#)).

2. Methods

This study employed a qualitative approach with a case study method to explore the relationship between media literacy, moral panic, and the Acehese community's response to Rohingya refugees. The selection of this method was based on the need to understand the phenomenon in depth within a complex social, cultural, and educational context ([Creswell, 2014](#); [Yin, 2018](#)). The case study was chosen as it allows for a focused analysis of the dynamics occurring in Aceh, a region characterized by intensive interaction between Rohingya refugees and the local community.

2.1 Research Design

This study was designed to identify, analyze, and evaluate the impact of media literacy on public perceptions regarding Rohingya refugees. It focused on three main aspects: (1) sources of hoax news influencing public opinion, (2) the influence of hoaxes on moral panic, and (3) educational implications for enhancing social awareness through media literacy. A descriptive-analytical approach was applied to examine relevant empirical data ([Miles et al., 2014](#)).

2.2 Participants and Data Sources

The study involved participants from three primary groups. First, members of the Acehese community, selected through purposive sampling to ensure diversity in social, economic, and geographical backgrounds. Second, the Rohingya refugee community, whose perspectives were gathered through interviews with their representatives in the shelters. Third, media and education practitioners, who served as key informants to provide insights into media literacy and its role in shaping public opinion. In addition to primary data, the study also relied on secondary sources, including official documents, reports from international organizations, and media coverage, including archives from UNHCR, IOM, and local media actively reporting on refugee-related developments in Aceh.

2.3 Data Collection

The data collection process involved a combination of several qualitative methods. In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 key participants, including local community members, Rohingya refugees, and education practitioners. The interview guidelines were developed based on media literacy and moral panic dimensions. In addition, the researcher engaged in participatory observation by directly involving in activities with both community members and refugees, including observing their interactions at shelter sites and in community discussion forums. Document analysis was conducted on UNHCR reports, relevant media coverage, and local policies concerning refugees. To deepen the understanding of the phenomenon under study, a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was also conducted, involving community representatives, local government officials, and organizations working on refugee issues. This FGD focused on exploring moral panic issues and efforts to promote media literacy within the community.

2.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study adopted a thematic approach carried out through several stages. The first stage was data reduction, i.e., selecting relevant data from interviews, observations, and documents (Miles et al., 2014). This was followed by thematic coding, in which data were categorized into key themes such as “media hoaxes,” “moral panic impacts,” and “the role of media literacy.” To ensure data validity and reliability, triangulation techniques were applied by comparing results from multiple sources of information. Finally, a critical analysis of the findings was conducted using the theoretical framework of moral panic (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009) and the concept of media literacy (Potter, 2014). This theoretical approach enabled the researcher to interpret the impact of media and the construction of moral panic on the Acehese community’s response to the Rohingya refugees.

2.5 Research Ethics

This research obtained approval from the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas Al Washliyah Darussalam Banda Aceh, Indonesia. All participants provided informed consent prior to interviews and observations. The study also adhered to the principles of data confidentiality and participants’ rights to withdraw from the study at any time.

2.6 Research Instruments

This study utilized several qualitative instruments designed to capture the depth of data within context. The primary instrument was a semi-structured interview guide, systematically constructed to explore participants’ perceptions of the presence of Rohingya refugees and the level of media literacy in the community. This guide allowed for flexibility during interviews while maintaining focus on the central themes established.

Additionally, an observation guide was employed to document in detail the dynamics of interactions between local communities and refugee groups. This observation focused on social situations that reflected acceptance, rejection, or ambivalence toward the refugees.

Supporting instruments included tertiary documents such as scholarly journal articles, official reports from international institutions like UNHCR, and media data that had undergone verification processes. All these documents served as triangulation sources to enrich and reinforce the validity of field findings.

2.7 Data Validity

Data validity was ensured through source and method triangulation. Internal validity was further strengthened through in-depth discussions between the researcher and the supervisor to reduce interpretive bias.

2.8 Research Limitations

This study was geographically limited to the Aceh region and did not include other areas that also host Rohingya refugees. In addition, language barriers between the researcher and Rohingya refugees necessitated the use of interpreters, which may have affected the nuances of the data.

3. Results

3.1 *Dynamics of Initial Reception: Between Local Solidarity and Regulatory Ambiguity*

This study found that the initial reception of Rohingya refugees in Aceh was not mediated by formal state regulations, but rather driven by local values and customary maritime law. The spontaneous humanitarian response, particularly from the fishing community, represented a form of culturally rooted solidarity.

A representative from the American Friends Service Committee stated: "If someone needs help at sea, it is obligatory to provide assistance regardless of legal or national considerations." (Ruwaida).

This attitude constituted a form of moral resistance against the vacuum of national policy.

A local figure affirmed: "Fishermen insisted on rescuing Rohingya refugees despite initial rejection by the central government." (Aceh Community Center).

However, the gap between local solidarity values and the absence of national regulation has led to ongoing structural tensions. This highlights the importance of cross-sectoral learning within civic education and social ethics systems, particularly in understanding human rights within local-global contexts.

3.2 *Transition of Public Sentiment: From Empathy to Collective Discontent*

Although the initial response from the Acehnese community was overwhelmingly positive, over time there was a significant shift in public sentiment. Several incidents—such as refugees discarding food and attempting to flee to Malaysia—contributed to the emergence of negative perceptions.

A local anthropologist explained: "The Acehnese feel betrayed by the social and moral issues that have emerged among the refugees, eroding trust." (Tgk Muhajir Al-Fairus)

Social media narratives further reinforced this perceptual shift, indicating the need to integrate digital literacy and social empathy into formal education, especially in upper secondary schools.

3.3 *Dissemination of Hoaxes and the Construction of Moral Panic*

Social media and several online news portals played a pivotal role in disseminating hoaxes and generating collective fear (moral panic). Widely circulated examples of hoaxes include:

"Rohingya refugees are being sent to Indonesia to divert attention from the Palestine conflict." ([Tribunnews, 2024](#))

"Rohingya refugees are demanding land and permanent housing." ([RRI, 2024](#))

These constructions reflect mechanisms of marginalization ([Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009](#)). This phenomenon underscores the urgency of critical media literacy education ([Potter, 2014](#)), wherein learners are taught to identify bias, hidden agendas, and manipulative strategies within media content.

3.4 *Multidimensional Impacts of Moral Panic*

The escalation of moral panic triggered by hoaxes has produced wide-ranging repercussions across various aspects of society. On the social front, it has created segregation between local residents and refugees, thereby weakening the bonds of social cohesion. Economically, it has fueled local apprehensions over competition for scarce resources and humanitarian aid. Politically, the situation has sparked tensions between central and regional governments, particularly regarding the division of responsibility for

implementing response measures. From a security perspective, it has led to student protests and public rejection actions that have attracted global attention.

These developments underscore the urgent need to integrate multicultural and conflict resolution curricula into the education system. By doing so, students can cultivate a broader understanding of both global challenges and the complexities of local dynamics, equipping them to respond more constructively to such issues in the future.

3.5 *Expectations of the State and Media Literacy: Toward Educational Interventions*

In response to the research question on stakeholders' expectations regarding the role of the state and education in mitigating the spread of hoaxes and preventing moral panic toward Rohingya refugees, the empirical findings—drawn from in-depth interviews, participatory observations, focus group discussions, and document analysis—reveal a set of convergent demands. These demands were voiced across the three primary participant groups: Acehese community members, Rohingya refugee representatives, and media and education practitioners.

A predominant expectation, expressed by 17 out of 20 participants, concerns the synchronization of policies between central and regional governments. This theme was prominent among local community leaders, education officers, and NGO representatives, who noted that discrepancies in policy interpretation have led to delayed and inconsistent responses. During participatory observation at a coordination meeting between local officials and school administrators, repeated pauses occurred to clarify whether central directives should override local adjustments. A district education officer explained, *"When central and local policies are not aligned, schools and communities receive mixed messages, making coordinated action very difficult."* Rohingya representatives interviewed in the shelters also reported feeling the impact of such policy gaps, as inconsistent information from different levels of government created uncertainty in service delivery.

The second major theme is the strengthening of community- and school-based media literacy programs, which was emphasized by 15 participants, particularly education practitioners and pesantren leaders. Observations conducted in several schools and pesantren revealed a range of initiatives, from classroom-based fact-checking exercises to peer-led workshops on identifying credible sources. In one observed session, students worked in small groups to evaluate the reliability of online news stories, cross-referencing them with verified databases. A school principal commented, *"Students who receive consistent training in identifying credible sources tend to verify information before sharing it, even with their peers."* Teachers in multiple sites reported that such interventions reduced the spread of unverified content within student networks.

A third theme, raised by 12 participants, especially from humanitarian and legal aid organizations, focuses on legal protection advocacy for refugees, including the application of the 1967 Protocol principles in national and regional legal frameworks. Refugee representatives described how misinformation often exacerbated their vulnerability, with unverified stories leading to social exclusion or even hostility. At a community dialogue observed by the researcher, a volunteer coordinator recounted, *"False stories about refugees often go unchecked, and without legal protection, these narratives can lead to real harm."* Such accounts were corroborated by UNHCR reports and local media archives analyzed during document review, which documented cases of misinformation escalating into public protests.

Finally, embedding digital literacy as a preventive measure emerged as a widely supported recommendation, cited by participants across all three groups. A digital literacy activist stated, *"Media literacy is essential to combat hoaxes and prevent moral panic."* Observations in pesantren-based programs showed that students were trained to cross-check religiously framed news on social media against credible scholarly references. The FGD with community representatives and local government officials confirmed the

perceived value of integrating these competencies into both formal curricula and extracurricular activities.

Overall, these results present a coherent pattern of expectations:

1. A unified and coherent policy framework between central and regional levels.
2. Sustained, context-specific media literacy programs in schools and communities.
3. Enforceable legal safeguards for vulnerable groups, particularly refugees.
4. Early integration of digital literacy to build critical awareness and ethical responsibility.

These empirically grounded findings, supported by multiple data sources and validated through triangulation, offer a solid foundation for the development of localized, multi-dimensional educational interventions aimed at enhancing societal resilience against misinformation and its social consequences.

3.6 Reflections on Research Limitations

The findings above should be interpreted in light of the methodological limitations encountered in this study. Linguistic challenges and geographic constraints in accessing all affected areas may have led to partial representation of some community narratives. Additionally, interviews were conducted in Indonesian and Acehese with the aid of informal interpreters, which may have affected subtle nuances of meaning. Nonetheless, data triangulation was carried out through document analysis and observation to maintain validity. This reflection underscores the importance of intercultural education approaches in understanding the limits of communication and representation.

4. Discussion

This study aims to explore the relationship between media literacy, moral panic, and the public response in Aceh toward Rohingya refugees. Specifically, it identifies the sources of hoaxes influencing public opinion, analyzes the impact of misinformation on societal perceptions, and evaluates the implications of media literacy-based education as a strategy for addressing moral panic. The findings indicate that media literacy plays a crucial role in shaping social perceptions and mitigating the negative impacts of hoax dissemination related to Rohingya refugees in Aceh. The relevance of these findings is particularly significant for educational intervention strategies aimed at fostering empathy, solidarity, and community resilience against manipulative information.

The study found that the initial reception of Rohingya refugees in Aceh was strongly influenced by cultural values and local solidarity, particularly among fishermen, which served as a mechanism for spontaneous humanitarian response amidst the absence of clear national regulations. These findings align with previous studies indicating that local solidarity often constitutes a primary response to humanitarian crises before formal government intervention occurs ([Missbach, 2019](#); [Robbins, 2020](#)). However, the study also reveals a shift in public sentiment—from initial empathy to collective discontent—significantly shaped by specific negative incidents amplified by social media narratives. This presents a novel contribution that reinforces the conceptualization of how moral panic is constructed through media representations ([Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009](#)).

One of the key contributions of this study is its in-depth analysis of the role of hoaxes in shaping moral panic. Hoaxes such as claims that “Rohingya refugees are being sent to divert attention from the Palestine issue” or “demanding permanent settlements” significantly contributed to the formation of negative public sentiment. These findings are consistent with the concept of media literacy, which suggests that the lack of media literacy can increase public vulnerability to informational manipulation, thereby fueling moral panic ([Potter, 2014](#)).

In contrast to prior studies that focused more on legal and cultural aspects ([Rahayu et al., 2020](#)), this study specifically emphasizes the importance of integrating media literacy into both formal and non-formal educational contexts as an effective approach to reducing the adverse effects of hoaxes. Thus, this research provides a critical additional dimension

to understanding the nexus between media literacy, moral panic, and societal responses to refugees.

Theoretically, this study enriches the understanding of the relationship between media literacy and moral panic theory. It affirms the validity of the framework within a new context—namely, the refugee crisis in Aceh—while extending its theoretical scope by incorporating educational and media literacy dimensions into the analysis (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009). The findings demonstrate that media literacy is not only relevant as a technical competence but also as a critical instrument capable of building resistance to informational manipulation in times of social crisis.

Practically, the study offers concrete recommendations for policymakers and education practitioners. First, it recommends the strengthening of media literacy curricula holistically integrated into both formal and non-formal education, particularly in secondary schools and *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) in Aceh. Second, it advocates for community-based media literacy programs involving local leaders to counter the spread of hoaxes and reduce the potential emergence of moral panic. Third, policy synchronization between central and regional governments is proposed as a structural intervention to effectively address refugee-related issues, including through legal protection advocacy grounded in the 1967 Protocol.

Despite the significance of its findings, this study has several limitations that must be acknowledged. It is geographically limited to the Aceh region, and as such, its results may not reflect refugee reception dynamics in other areas. Language barriers during interviews with Rohingya refugees—conducted through informal interpreters—may have affected the depth of data collected. Nevertheless, data triangulation through observations, interviews, and document analysis helped to mitigate these limitations. To address this, future research is advised to involve native Rohingya speakers or researchers with stronger linguistic competencies.

Given these limitations, future studies are recommended to expand geographical scope through comparative research in various Indonesian regions that also host Rohingya refugees. Additionally, further research may explore the long-term effectiveness of media literacy interventions on public perception and response. Quantitative or mixed-methods research is also recommended to objectively measure the impact of media literacy programs on levels of moral panic within communities.

Overall, this study affirms that media literacy plays a central role in shaping public perceptions concerning the Rohingya refugee issue in Aceh. It successfully identifies the mechanisms through which hoaxes contribute to the construction of moral panic and underscores the urgency of educational media literacy interventions as both a preventive and responsive strategy. The study's primary contribution lies in the development of a critical media literacy model as a strategic educational instrument to strengthen social awareness and public empathy in addressing global challenges such as humanitarian crises.

5. Conclusion

This study has thoroughly examined the dynamics of the relationship between media literacy, moral panic, and the response of Acehnese society to the arrival of Rohingya refugees. The findings indicate that media literacy significantly influences the public's social perception of the refugees. In the initial phase of the refugees' arrival, the people of Aceh demonstrated strong solidarity grounded in local values and customary maritime law; however, the absence of formal state regulation resulted in persistent structural tensions. Over time, public sentiment shifted from initial empathy to collective discontent, triggered by specific incidents and exacerbated by misinformation disseminated through social media and online news platforms. This phenomenon aligns with the moral panic theory, which illustrates how negative public perceptions can be systematically constructed through manipulative media representations (Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009).

The primary contribution of this study lies in its identification of the sources and mechanisms of hoax dissemination that significantly contribute to the formation of moral panic within society. Several misleading narratives, such as claims that the Rohingya refugees were deliberately brought in to divert attention from other issues or that they demanded permanent settlement, were shown to be principal triggers of negative perception. The critical analysis confirms that low levels of media literacy in society are a key factor in increasing vulnerability to disinformation. Therefore, media literacy must be regarded as a crucial instrument within educational strategies aimed at strengthening critical awareness and social resilience.

In terms of practical implications, these findings provide strategic recommendations for policymakers and education practitioners. First, stronger integration of media literacy into both formal and informal education curricula is urgently needed, particularly at the senior secondary school and pesantren levels. Second, community-based media literacy programs should be implemented with the involvement of local community leaders to more effectively mitigate the potential emergence of moral panic. Third, policy advocacy is necessary to enhance coordination between central and regional governments in order to ensure clear responsibilities in refugee management and the implementation of legal protections aligned with the principles of the 1967 Protocol.

Nevertheless, this study acknowledges several important limitations. The geographical scope was limited to the Aceh region, and linguistic barriers during interviews with Rohingya refugees posed significant challenges that may have affected the generalizability and depth of the data collected. Although data triangulation was employed to ensure the validity of the findings, future research should address these limitations by expanding the geographical scope and improving cross-linguistic communication quality.

Theoretically, this study offers a significant contribution to the literature on the relationship between media literacy, moral panic, and societal responses to humanitarian crises. Future research is encouraged to conduct comparative studies across other regions in Indonesia that host Rohingya refugees, and to evaluate the effectiveness of educational media literacy interventions longitudinally using quantitative or mixed-methods approaches.

Overall, this study underscores the urgency of integrating critical media literacy into education as a strategic approach to enhancing social awareness, empathy, and critical thinking among the public in confronting global challenges such as the Rohingya refugee issue. Through such efforts, it is hoped that a more resilient, humanely responsive, and socially cohesive Acehese society can be fostered amid the complexity of global refugee issues.

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Declarations

Author contribution statement

Rahma Salbiah: Conceptualization, Methodology, Data Collection, Writing – Original Draft.

Yudasril: Theoretical Framework, Validation, Supervision, Writing – Review & Editing.

Nauwal Aufa: Data Curation, Formal Analysis, Visualization, Writing – Review & Editing.

Khabin Al Ansari: Investigation, Resources, Project Administration.

Intan Wahyuni: Software, NVivo Coding, Data Management, and Technical Support.

Miftahul Jannah: Literature Review, Editing Support, and Documentation.

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Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Ethical Approval and Informed Consent

This study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of Universitas Al Washliyah Darussalam Banda Aceh, Indonesia (Approval No. 26). All procedures complied with institutional and national research ethics guidelines and the 1964 Helsinki Declaration (and its later amendments). Written informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to interviews and observations. Confidentiality was maintained, and participants were informed of their right to withdraw at any time without penalty.

Declaration of interest statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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