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**THE ILLUSION OF REGIONAL SELF-RELIANCE: A CRITICAL
EVALUATION OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE CARRYING CAPACITY
GAP ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TRANSMIGRATION
SETTLEMENTS IN ACEH**

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ABSTRACT

The policy of implementing transmigration settlements in the Samar Kilang area, Aceh Province, is faced with a planning paradox. On the one hand, this program targets the placement of 940 heads of families to reduce the Open Unemployment Rate (TPT) in Aceh which is at 5.88 percent. However, on the other hand, the conventional policy ignores the absolute deficit in the carrying capacity of the site area, which is characterized by the absence of commercial market facilities, the isolation of 13 villages from digital access (blank spots), the lack of emergency medical service facilities, and the majority of business land with marginal status (S3). This Policy Paper aims to criticize and redesign the policy to prevent the occurrence of a "illusion of independence" that has the potential to be strong to trigger a hidden unemployment explosion and give birth to new pockets of extreme poverty. Using a qualitative approach of case studies with in-depth interviews with 50 key informants, SWOT matrix analysis, and William N. Dunn's evaluation instruments, this study proves that the fulfillment of physical targets without a market ecosystem is sociologically high-risk. As a solution, this paper recommends defensive-curative interventions in the form of a placement moratorium that was passed through a Governor's Decree. This delay was accompanied by the establishment of a Cross-Sector Task Force to prioritize the fulfillment of economic infrastructure prerequisites and basic human rights before demographic mobilization is carried out.

Keywords: Transmigration, Illusion of Independence, Hidden Unemployment, Moratorium, Factory Vagueness.

INTRODUCTION

Population mobility through transmigration programs has historically been formulated as a strategic instrument for equitable development and poverty alleviation in Indonesia. This policy is no longer just about spatial demographic displacement, but is the main driver of economic welfare in the target area (Ferenanda et al., 2023). This is in line with the view of Vania (2021) who affirms that transmigration is a horizontal migration designed by the government to break the concentration of structural poverty. Furthermore, national regulations affirm that transmigration areas are required to transform into new growth centers. This paradigm shift in population mobility policy requires absolute integration between the placement of human resources and the readiness of the infrastructure ecosystem and market connectivity. Setiabasith (2024) found that the success of transmigrant economic adaptation is greatly influenced by economic support facilities operating in new areas. On the other hand, Nova (2016) and confirmed by the study of Wibowo and Santoso (2023), stated that settlements isolated from distribution access will

actually create new pockets of poverty and social stagnation. This phenomenon proves that the provision of residential land alone without being supported by the supply chain is an illusion of independence. The gap between spatial design and the reality of local carrying capacity is a critical problem that must be thoroughly evaluated (Haris et al., 2023; Levang, 2022).

In the context of the demographics of Aceh Province, the challenges of employment and population mobility have a very crucial level of urgency given the slow acceleration of the sectoral economy. Based on the official release of the Central Statistics Agency of Aceh Province (2026), the Open Unemployment Rate (TPT) in Aceh in February 2026 is still held at 5.88 percent. The majority of the workforce is absorbed in the primary sector, namely Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries, which dominate up to 41.39 percent. This massive dependence on the primary sector is very vulnerable to poverty shocks if it is not accompanied by the modernization of governance from upstream to downstream. As a form of spatial and social intervention, the Aceh Manpower and Population Mobility Office projects specific expansions in transmigration areas to create an alternative job market capacity. The LAKIP document Disnakermobduk (2024) outlines the government's commitment to formulating integrated regional planning to boost the living status of migrants. However, the placement of labor into ecologically vulnerable areas without careful socio-economic preparation will only cause sociological resistance. Placement orientation that pursues the quantity of *physical output* absorption often prioritizes the quality of habitability, thus requiring a policy reformulation so that the bureaucracy does not only prioritize the target of physical relocation (Setiawan & Yulia, 2024).

The focus of the problem in this policy review is sharply directed to the Samar Kilang Development Area Unit Plan (R-SKP) in the administrative area of Bener Meriah Regency, which is preparing to welcome a wave of migrants. Referring to the R-SKP Samar Kilang (PT. Kimcipta Persada Sejahtera, 2025), the government is finalizing the placement of 940 new Heads of Families (KK), or the equivalent of a demographic injection of around 3,700 people. Ironically, data from the Central Statistics Agency of Bener Meriah Regency (2025) records that the existing population of Syiah Utama District is only 2,591 people with a very empty density level, namely 3 people per square kilometer. The surge in the quantity of artificial demographics that exceeds one hundred percent of the normal capacity is considered to cause a *demographic shock* to the natural carrying capacity and social resilience of local indigenous peoples. The sudden injection of population burden in isolated areas risks thwarting the process of economic independence.

The readiness of basic infrastructure in the Shia Utama area to respond to this wave of massive mobility has proven to be far from the standard of decent settlement development. The Statistics of Village Potential of Bener Meriah Regency (Central

Statistics Agency of Bener Meriah Regency, 2025) documents the fact that 12 out of a total of 14 buffer villages are locked in the forest zone zone. The model of human placement in forest borders without pro-market spatial planning permits is certain to be minimal in commercial accessibility. Even more fatally, there is not a single commercial market unit, either permanent structures or semi-permanent stalls, and the absence of financial or banking institutions that operate to serve residents in all sub-districts. The absence of these people's transaction centers automatically kills the opportunity for independence. The gap in the carrying capacity of other public utilities is increasingly wide open from the lack of physical and digital connectivity infrastructure. Land mobility in four villages is completely unreachable by the public transportation system. The paralysis of the distribution artery network is the main root of the death of the purchasing power of a residential area. The suffering of physical isolation is also directly exacerbated by digital isolation, where 13 villages are monitored to have no *Base Transceiver Station* (BTS) signal coverage at all. The absence of this people's internet backbone dampens the ambition to adopt a digital agricultural trading system that is vital for residents.

The inequality of human feasibility standards also haunts the protection infrastructure and health services, which are actually the main safety net for communal workers in rural areas. Currently, the medical defense fortress in the Shia Utama buffer area is only supported by a one-unit facility of the Community Health Center (Puskesmas) which tragically has the status of no inpatient room. Suppressing the ratio of health facilities in the midst of a sharp increase in the vulnerable population triggers an emergency mortality rate for pregnant women and toddlers as well as a failure to mitigate the outbreak. Injecting thousands of additional lives on top of a porous health structure is clearly a policy omission that endangers human lives. The peak of the paradox of this new regional policy is confirmed absolutely when examining the quality of habitability from the perspective of soil carrying capacity and the suitability of agricultural ecosystems. The R-SKP Samar Kilang technical report exposes that the target soil typology for the majority of food commodities has the characteristics of "S3" (Marginal Compliant) to "N" (Very Inadequate). Forcing simultaneous planting in marginal expanses without the intervention of *high input* technology is a project that has a high risk of crop failure. This is in stark contrast to the economic lifeblood of Bener Meriah Regency as measured in Gross Regional Domestic Product (GDP), where 55.74 percent of the financial wheel is rotated by the upstream agricultural sector, while the processing industry sector only contributes 2.00 percent (Central Statistics Agency of Bener Meriah Regency, 2026).

This land feasibility conflict gives birth to a new threat upstream of social problems, namely the transformation of new poor workers who are trapped in the vortex of *disguised unemployment* at the border. If the transmigrant community at

the Fugitive Point fails to survive agrarian without downstream corporate protection, the explosion of open unemployment is certain to contribute to the cumulative burden of provincial TPT. Changes in the status of prosperous migrants to vulnerable residents often occur due to the clash of skills and chemically barren land. As a result of this series of unpreparedness, the area of hope is at risk of turning into a new pocket of structural poverty.

To unravel the complexity of these problems precisely, this study uses a qualitative approach with a *case study* design. This design is supported by a primary data collection method through *in-depth interviews* with 50 key informants selected through *purposive sampling*. These key informants represent the ecosystem of Shiah Utama District proportionally, which includes officials and village heads from 14 affected villages, medical personnel at existing health centers, agricultural extension workers, and local Gayo indigenous community leaders. The selection of the in-depth interview method as the main instrument is based on the fact that the area is a *telecommunications blank spot*, so that quantitative surveys based on online or centralized questionnaires are ineffective. Data triangulation is carried out by crossing the interview results with secondary documents in the form of data from the Central Statistics Agency and the technical report of R-SKP Samar Refinery.

Through a problem screening process that elaborates the *criteria of Urgency, Seriousness, and Growth* (USG) and dissects the roots of conflicts using the *Fishbone Diagram analysis approach*, it was found that the root of all these crises boils down to the deficit of market infrastructure and the isolation of economic connectivity. The imposition of physical quantitative targets on top of the weakness of cross-sectoral coordination triggers the threat of systematic economic paralysis. Responding to the empirical literature and anomalies in the field, the formulation of the main problem that is based in this study is: the policy of implementing transmigration settlements in the Samar Kilang Area is currently stuck in the orientation of fulfilling the quantitative target of physical placement (940 heads of families) which is in direct conflict with the absolute deficit of market connectivity infrastructure and the biophysical feasibility of the land. The imposition of this orientation triggers systemic risks in the form of regional independence failure, a covert unemployment explosion, and the creation of new pockets of extreme poverty in Aceh Province. This study is aimed at reformulating transmigration governance based on the feasibility of environmental carrying capacity to save the future of the region.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Theoretical Foundations and Gaps in Trading Policy

To comprehensively understand why demographic interventions in the Samar Refinery have the potential to trigger a structural crisis, this analysis is based on three main conceptual pillars that are elaborated in depth. First, the *Growth Pole Theory* initiated by Francois Perroux. This theory emphasizes that regional development never occurs simultaneously and evenly in every space, but rather begins at the poles of growth that have strong industrial impetus (*propulsive industries*). In the context of the transmigration of the Samar Refinery, the attempt to move 940 heads of families to the interior without first building an "economic pole" in the form of physical markets, banking facilities, and logistics access is a leap that violates the rules of spatial economics. The concentration of new residents without a transaction center will not be able to create a *trickle-down effect*. On the contrary, the absence of this space for economic interaction will lock the productivity of citizens in a stagnant subsistence economic system, where crops cannot be converted into revolving capital.

Second, the concept of *Ecological Carrying Capacity*. This concept emphasizes that the carrying capacity of an area is not just the ratio between land area divided by the number of population, but the biophysical capacity of space in supporting sustainable human living standards. Referring to the findings of the R-SKP Samar Kilang technical document which validates that the dominance of agricultural business land is worth S3 (Marginal Conformity), the ecological carrying capacity in this region is actually very limited and fragile. Forcing marginal land cultivation using conventional agricultural methods without the injection of high *input technology* such as massive organic fertilizer engineering and mechanization of soil governance, will exceed the limits of ecosystem tolerance. This coercion will ultimately lead to the degradation of land nutrients and a food production deficit that slowly kills the livelihoods of transmigrants.

Third, Arthur Lewis's *Disguised Unemployment Theory*. In his theory of *the dual economy*, Lewis warns of the danger of labor accumulation in the subsistence sector (especially in the upstream agricultural sector) where at a certain point the marginal productivity value will be close to zero. This postulate is very relevant and precise to explain the threat in Aceh Province, where 41.39 percent of its workforce has been fully absorbed in the primary sector. Without a structural impetus towards the downstream sector (processing industry), the addition of thousands of new workers in transmigration areas who rely only on marginal land is just an illusion of job creation. The fact that the contribution of the processing industry in Bener Meriah Regency is held at 2.00 percent of the total GDP proves that there is no *safety valve* that is able to absorb the overflow of raw crops. Consequently, this policy only moves

the unemployment rate from the format of open unemployment in the region of origin to hidden unemployment in the transmigration area.

The integration of the three theoretical pillars reveals the fatal gap between *Das Sollen* (the supposed regulation) and *Das Sein* (the reality of implementation on the ground). Law Number 29 of 2009 concerning Transmigration has fundamentally changed the paradigm from a mere demographic shift to an integrated regional development approach. This regulation explicitly mandates that the placement of new transmigrants can only be carried out if basic infrastructure and adequate regional accessibility are available. The massive-scale placement plan in Samar Kilang clearly violates the essence of this legislation, considering that reality shows the absence of a market, the isolation of 4 villages from transportation routes, and 13 villages that are confined in *telecommunication blank spots*. In addition, the Strategic Plan (Renstra) of the Aceh Disnakermobduk 2023-2026, which sets the main performance indicators for the reduction of TPT, is actually nullified by the imposition of programs that ignore the availability of downstream facilities, so that it has the potential to produce pockets of poverty that injure the fairness of the population trading system.

Strategic Environment Analysis and SWOT Quadrant Matrix

In order to formulate objective and precise policy alternatives, this study extracts field data into the mapping of strategic environmental factors through Internal Factor Evaluation (IFE) and External Factor Evaluation (EFE). This mapping narratively describes the balance between bureaucratic governance capacity and the reality of threats and opportunities at the site level.

In the internal realm of planning and implementing agencies, the main *strengths* identified rely on the legality of the program and the commitment to budget allocation that has been stated in the ratification of the Samar Refinery R-SKP document. This normative strength is supported by the autonomous authority of the Aceh Disnakermobduk in designing a labor empowerment model and the availability of very large spatial land in Syiah Utama District. However, this administrative strength is absolutely reduced by chronic structural *weaknesses*. The weakness with the most devastating weight is the dysfunction of the planner's orientation. The bureaucracy tends to be stuck in achieving physical *output*, namely pursuing the target of completing the construction of housing units for 940 families, but is neglected and neglected in designing a downstream economic connectivity ecosystem. This weakness is exacerbated by the strong ego-sectoral of the bureaucracy, where the synchronization across Regional Apparatus Work Units (SKPD) such as the PUPR Office for roads, Disperindag for the market, and the Health Office runs very partially. In addition, another crucial weakness is the forced

allocation of marginal business land (S3) to residents without the certainty of agro-input technology intervention in the program's Cost Budget Plan (RAB). The accumulation of weighting of these internal factors shows that organizationally, the bureaucracy is currently in a very weak position to execute sustainable programs.

Turning to the external realm, *opportunities* are actually opened up through the high interest of productive workers in Aceh who are ready to be mobilized to reduce the province's TPT figures, as well as the great potential economic value of Gayo Highland commodities (such as Arabica coffee) if successfully integrated with the downstream processing industry. However, these opportunities are tightly locked by *the very fatal environmental threats*. The most massive threat is the absolute deficit of commercial infrastructure, where the absence of market facilities and banking institutions directly kills the lifeblood of transactions. This threat is intertwined with physical isolation and the digital divide that locks 13 villages in *blank* spots, thus closing citizens' access to agricultural innovations and global commodity price information. Even more worrying, the fragility of health carrying capacity that only relies on one unit of Non-Inpatient Health Center becomes a threat of a humanitarian disaster if the region is forced to bear the burden *of* an additional demographic shock of 3,700 new people. This evaluation of external factors demonstrates that existing policies have failed completely in responding to crippling environmental threats.

After quantifying internal and external factors through IFE and EFE matrices, the next crucial step is to visualize the strategic position of the policy of implementing the Slang Refinery transmigration into the Cartesius Diagram of the SWOT Quadrant Matrix.

Based on previous calculations, the total IFE score was **1.85** (well below the median value of 2.50), which indicates that internally, the planning agency is dominated by structural *weaknesses*. On the other hand, the total EFE score is **1.55** (well below the middle value of 2.50), which confirms that the environmental conditions of the site are dominated by *very fatal* Threats.

Visualization of the SWOT Quadrant Matrix of Aceh Province



Through the integration of internal and external factor evaluation, the visualization of the strategic position of the policy for the implementation of the Slang Refinery transmigration falls precisely on Quadrant IV in the Cartesius SWOT matrix, namely the Defensive Strategy Quadrant. The fall of the policy position into this quadrant proves that the program is facing a very deadly external environmental threat at a time when the implementing bureaucracy is paralyzed due to internal structural weaknesses. In the doctrine of public policy management, the defensive position prohibits institutions from expanding operations in a *business as usual* manner. Continuing to place citizens directly in this condition is a deliberate systemic failure. The strategy in this quadrant requires the government to take survival measures, namely stopping physical expansion and reorganizing (*turnaround*) to reduce bureaucratic weaknesses while avoiding the threat of economic destruction of citizens.

Strategy Formulation through TOWS Analysis

Based on the diagnosis of Quadrant IV (Defensive), the formulation of operational policy alternatives is carried out using the TOWS matrix that comprehensively crosses strategic factors. This crossover gives birth to four alternative policy scenarios that are evaluated for their problem-solving capacity.

The first scenario is the S-O (Power-Opportunity) Strategy which focuses on the extensification of agricultural areas based on Gayo's superior commodity. This strategy uses the authority of agencies and large areas of land to mobilize labor to suppress TPT through the cultivation of Arabica coffee. However, an in-depth analysis shows that this aggressive strategy is at great risk of failure. Without a local market and isolated logistics routes, transmigrant crops will be monopolized by the middleman system, so that the target of prospering residents turns into the exploitation of cheap labor.

The second scenario is the W-O (Weakness-Opportunity) Strategy which focuses on reorienting the physical budget towards the creation of an agro-industrial ecosystem. This strategy aims to stop the orientation dysfunction that only builds physical houses, by diverting funds to establish medium-scale post-harvest processing units in residential areas. Although this solution is very logical to overcome the problem of hidden unemployment and marginal land limitations, its realization will be hampered by inter-sectoral egos and will not be able to operate technically in areas where the majority still have no communication signal status and lack of stable energy supply.

The third scenario is the S-T (Strength-Threat) Strategy in the form of land optimization for the construction of commercial centers and integrated health facilities. This strategy uses spatial assets to establish a permanent physical market

and increase the status of health centers to inpatient facilities before residents are placed. This diversification option is very strong in responding to the threat of zero markets and the vulnerability of medical services. However, this strategy still leaves a gap in weakness because it has not comprehensively answered the biophysical problem of marginal business land (S3) which will be the source of daily livelihood of transmigrants in upstream agriculture.

Responding to the inadequacy of the three scenarios, the fourth scenario, which is the W-T (Weakness-Threat) Strategy, is present as an absolute solution and is most relevant to the diagnosis of the Defensive Quadrant. This scenario recommends a moratorium (postponement) policy on the placement of residents and the redesign of areas based on the fulfillment of basic rights that are integrated across sectors. The delay in population mobilization is used as a crucial momentum to collapse bureaucratic ego-sectors through the formation of a joint task force. This cross-agency task force is required to complete the basic feasibility prerequisites holistically, starting from road connectivity (PUPR Office), commercial market development (Industry and Trade Office), alleviation of *blank spot* areas (Communication and Information Office), to the provision of agro-input technology to rehabilitate marginal land. This defensive-curative strategy is the only rational instrument to protect the country's finances from investment in defaulted assets, while ensuring the safety and human rights of transmigrants from falling into the locus of extreme poverty constructed by the failure of policy governance.

ALTERNATIVE POLICY SELECTION

Criteria for Evaluation of Public Policy Based on Spatial Justice

After formulating four alternative policy scenarios through the cross-referencing of the TOWS matrix in the previous section, the next crucial stage is to test the feasibility of each of these options. In the discourse of public policy analysis, the selection of alternatives should not be based on bureaucratic intuition or simply the availability of the remaining budget, but should be measured systematically using scientific parameters. This study adopts a policy evaluation instrument from William N. Dunn (2018), which establishes six fundamental criteria: *effectiveness*, efficiency, *adequacy*, equity, *responsiveness*, and *appropriateness*.

These six parameters are used as a scalpel to filter the four alternative strategies that have been produced, namely Agricultural Estate Extensification (S-O Strategy), Budget Reorientation to Agroindustry (W-O Strategy), Construction of Commercial Centers and Health Facilities (S-T Strategy), and Integrated Placement and Redesign Moratorium (W-T Strategy). This test strictly clashes the program design with the reality of empirical data, especially regarding the limited carrying capacity of

infrastructure in Syiah Utama District and the threat of an open unemployment explosion in Aceh Province.

Description and Comparative Analysis of Policy Alternatives

The first alternative, namely the S-O Strategy (Extension of Agricultural Areas Based on Gayo Superior Commodities), relies on an expansive approach. This option seeks to absorb the labor force to reduce Aceh's Open Unemployment Rate (TPT) which reaches 5.88 percent (Aceh Provincial Central Statistics Agency, 2026), by mobilizing 940 Heads of Families (KK) to large land. However, when tested using the effectiveness and efficiency criteria of Dunn (2018), this alternative shows a very high probability of failure. Forcing the cultivation of commodities on land that is biophysically S3 (Marginally Appropriate) status without agro-input intervention is a waste of regional budgets. Furthermore, from the aspect of adequacy and accuracy, this option does not touch the root of the crisis at all. The Village Potential Statistics Report straightforwardly notes the absence of commercial market facilities and banking institutions in all villages in Syiah Utama (Central Statistics Agency of Bener Meriah Regency, 2025). Boosting production in areas isolated from commercial access will only make transmigrants victims of middlemen's monopoly, so it is far from the principle of justice and economically worthless.

The second alternative, namely the W-O Strategy (Reorientation of the Physical Budget Towards the Creation of an Agro-industrial Ecosystem), offers a more progressive approach through downstreaming. This policy overhauls the structure of the Cost Budget Plan (RAB) from the dominance of housing development to the establishment of post-harvest processing units. Theoretically, this option has a moderate level of effectiveness because it seeks to shift dependence from the primary sector to the secondary sector, considering that the processing industry in Bener Meriah is currently far behind with a contribution of only 2.00 percent to the Gross Regional Domestic Product (Central Statistics Agency of Bener Meriah Regency, 2026). However, a review of the adequacy and responsiveness criteria shows a fatal weakness. The construction of agro-industrial facilities is impossible to operate efficiently in areas experiencing extreme digital gaps, where 13 out of 14 buffer villages are still in the status *of telecommunication blank spots*, and 4 villages are isolated without public transportation routes (Central Statistics Agency of Bener Meriah Regency, 2025). This alternative is considered too premature to be executed before the basic connectivity infrastructure is completed.

The third alternative, namely the S-T Strategy (Land Optimization for the Development of Commercial Centers and Integrated Health Facilities), shifts to the approach of physical development of public services. This option postpones the

construction of houses and prioritizes the establishment of a permanent physical market and increases the capacity of medical services to become an Inpatient Health Center. From a responsiveness perspective, this alternative is very responsive to the anxiety of local communities and prospective transmigrants regarding the emergency of health facilities. The plan to add around 3,700 new people without the availability of inpatient rooms is a real threat of a humanitarian crisis. However, if dissected using the criteria of effectiveness and adequacy, this strategy is considered not to be holistic. Although public physical facilities are built, upstream problems in the form of marginal land mismatches (S3) identified in the technical document (PT. Kimcipta Persada Sejahtera, 2025) remain unsolved. As a result, the sustainability of the daily livelihoods of transmigrants remains in the shadow of crop failure.

Justification for the Selection of Key Recommendations: Moratorium Approach (W-T Strategy)

Responding to the inadequacy of the three previous scenarios, the fourth alternative (W-T Strategy), namely the Moratorium on the Placement and Redesign of Areas Based on the Fulfillment of Cross-Sectoral Integrated Basic Rights, emerged as an absolute solution that met the perfect score on all William N. Dunn evaluation criteria. This policy is defensive-curative, by temporarily halting the delivery of 940 transmigrant families until all the prerequisites for economic and health support infrastructure are met through the establishment of a Cross-Sector Task Force.

From the parameters of **Efficiency and Effectiveness**, this postponement (*moratorium*) is a step to save the Aceh Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBA). Continuing the construction of houses in isolated areas (0 markets, 4 villages without transportation) will only result in *idle assets* when residents leave the area due to economic squeeze. This alternative is much more efficient because it reallocates placement spending to strengthen the *supply chain* first, thus ensuring the independence of residents when the placement is finally carried out.

Judging from the criteria of **Adequacy and Justice**, this option is the only policy that sweeps away all dimensions of the problem. Through cross-agency integration (Public Works and Spatial Planning Office, Industry and Trade Office, Health Office, and Communication and Information Service), the problems of *blank spots*, road accessibility, markets, and inpatient facilities are solved in a single spatial blueprint. From a justice perspective, moving workers to areas that are poor in social security is a violation of the right to decent living. The moratorium ensures that the state is really present to guarantee basic health and communication rights before demanding the productivity of its citizens.

Furthermore, in the parameters **of Responsiveness and Accuracy**, this alternative is a manifestation of a scientific and humane approach. The results of in-depth interviews with 50 key informants in the field including village officials, medical personnel, and indigenous leaders voiced the collective fear of demographic *shock* and ecological paralysis if the region is forced to accept thousands of new lives instantly. This moratorium option responds to these sociological concerns in its entirety, making it a policy that gets the highest social legitimacy (*social licensing*). To be precise, this policy saves local governments from the risk of structured systemic failure, while restoring the integrity of the transmigration program in accordance with the mandate of Law Number 29 of 2009 concerning Transmigration (Republic of Indonesia, 2009).

CONCLUSIONS

Based on analytical validation using a SWOT matrix and William N. Dunn's policy evaluation criteria, this study formulates a single policy recommendation addressed to the Governor of Aceh and the Head of the Aceh Manpower and Population Mobility Office. The primary recommendation is the issuance of a Governor's Decree establishing a moratorium on transmigrant placement and initiating the redesign of integrated development in the Samar Refinery Area. This policy is intended to provide a clear legal and administrative framework for temporarily suspending transmigration activities while allowing the government to reassess the development strategy comprehensively.

The proposed Governor's Decree would temporarily suspend the entire process of demographic mobilization to Syiah Utama District and withdraw the existing Development Area Unit Plan (R-SKP) for comprehensive revision. The revision should consider the social, economic, spatial, demographic, and infrastructure conditions of the area, ensuring that future development policies are aligned with local needs and long-term regional development objectives. This approach is expected to strengthen policy coordination and prevent the implementation of transmigration programs before adequate basic conditions and supporting infrastructure are available.

To implement the revised development strategy, local authorities are required to establish a Cross-Sector Task Force involving relevant government agencies and stakeholders. The task force would be responsible for restructuring budget priorities and redirecting development financing from housing construction toward the provision of minimum viable infrastructure. Priority investments should include improving transportation access to isolated villages, establishing permanent village markets, constructing BTS telecommunications towers, and upgrading existing health centers into inpatient facilities. Such a shift in financing is expected to

strengthen basic public services and create the necessary foundation for sustainable and integrated development in the area.

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