

# COMMUNITY-BASED PROTECTION UNHCR IN REALIZING COMMUNITY SECURITY ROHINGYA REFUGEES IN MALAYSIA 2018-2021

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Abstract:

The Rohingya refugees face significant challenges in seeking Protection and security, both in their country of origin and in the countries where they seek refuge. In this context, the Community-Based Protection approach, promoted by UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) in Malaysia between 2018 and 2021, plays a crucial role in creating a protection system based on community involvement in the design and implementation of policies. This approach emphasizes the importance of community security, which relies on state structures and involving refugee communities in safeguarding their safety. From the perspective of Institutional Liberalism, the international system, driven by multilateral institutions like UNHCR, can play a key role in ensuring effective Protection for refugees by facilitating cooperation between countries and other international actors. This study aims to analyze how the communitybased and community security approach to the safety of Rohingya refugees can enhance their sense of security and trust within the larger system. It also explores the relationship between the theory of Institutional Liberalism and the policies implemented by UNHCR to protect this vulnerable group.

**Keywords**: Rohingya refugees, Community-based Protection, UNHCR, Community security, Institutional Liberalism

#### **INTRODUCTION**

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In the contemporary world, humanitarian issues are very important in international relations; they are no longer just discussing state security but have shifted to issues related to human security. In addition, humanitarian issues are very important in international relations because they reflect universal values, form global solidarity, and play a key role in maintaining international stability and security. Humanitarian issues not only reflect universal humanitarian values but also have a direct impact on relations between countries, global stability, and sustainable development. Several urgent humanitarian issues are occurring in various world regions, involving human rights violations, conflicts, and the impacts of social, economic, and environmental changes. There are several general descriptions of humanitarian issues that occur in the world, such as global conflicts and crises: Armed conflicts in regions such as Sudan and Palestine continue, causing civilian casualties, mass displacement, and violations of the rules of war. In Sudan, the escalation of the conflict was also exacerbated by the use of weapons allegedly involving international parties (Amnesty International, 2024). Impact of the Climate Crisis: Climate change and environmental degradation disproportionately affect marginalized communities. Population displacement due to climate disasters, such as drought in Somalia, further increases injustice (Amnesty International, 2024). In addition to global humanitarian issues, humanitarian issues in Southeast Asia, including Thailand and the Philippines, are experiencing issues of democratic decline and authoritarian regimes. Several countries have shown increasing authoritarianism threatening freedom of expression, assembly, and political freedom. (Human Rights Watch, 2024).





Entering the humanitarian issue experienced by the Rohingya ethnic group, which is a Muslim community of South Asian descent that is closely related to the Chittagonian Bengali ethnic group from neighboring Bangladesh. The two ethnic groups have similar religions and languages; around one million Rohingya live in Rakhine State, Myanmar today. UNHCR reports that there are 4.4 million stateless people worldwide. Around 1.3 million of them have also experienced forced displacement. Most of them are Rohingya, either internally displaced in Myanmar or refugees in neighboring countries. Of the 1.3 million, they are only counted as forcibly displaced refugees when calculating the total population protected and assisted by UNHCR to avoid double counting. (UNHCR Report, 2022).

Moving from the breadth of the Rohingya refugee problem in various countries, the researcher focuses on discussing Rohingya refugees in Malaysia. When Rohingya refugees first arrived in Malaysia, the Government's response was more humanitarian, even though the country is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention. Malaysia was considered a destination because of its relative stability compared to countries of origin or transit. However, refugees in Malaysia are not officially recognized as refugees and are often treated as illegal immigrants without full access to formal employment, education, or legal Protection. Initially, the Malaysian Government provided space for refugees to receive humanitarian assistance from international agencies such as UNHCR. However, there is no clear domestic legal framework to protect refugees, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation and discrimination. Most refugees live in Uncertainty, often working in the informal sector without Protection. (Mixed Migration, 2021).

Given the problems faced by refugees, especially the Rohingya ethnic group, UNHCR launched a community-based protection (CBP) program, which experienced gradual development and became a core part of the humanitarian response carried out by UNHCR. Although the principles of community involvement in protecting themselves have long been part of UNHCR's strategy, CBP was only formalized in the early 2000s and became more structured around 2013 by issuing specific guidelines and tools. These documents were designed to integrate community-based methods more systematically into UNHCR programs to ensure sustainable and inclusive programs. (UNHCR, 2015). For example, in 2008, UNHCR began implementing participatory assessments as a key element of the CBP approach, which aimed to understand community needs better and actively involve them in response planning. This step was then strengthened through a more detailed protection framework launched in 2013 to simplify existing practices and support community-driven initiatives. (UNHCR doc, 2014).

Although this program has long been operating in various countries, collaborating with UNHCR, Community-based Protection (CBP) is a UNHCR program that has only been operating in Malaysia since 2017. (UNHCR Malaysia, 2017). The purpose of Community-based Protection (CBP) is to protect refugees who are vulnerable to abandonment and who do not have citizenship. UNHCR's Community Protection (CBP) has the best understanding of the threats that will be faced, as well as their causes and impacts, so it can contribute to handling them. Therefore, UNHCR workers or members involved in realizing this program must listen to and understand the communities they help to ensure that their programs do not weaken the role of the community as protectors or inadvertently worsen their situation.

Looking back, there are many refugee problems that UNHCR has handled through programs created; one of the programs created is community-based Protection (CBP). Community-Based Protection (CBP) places the capacities, roles, rights, and dignity of forcibly displaced and stateless people at the center of programming; the focus of this program is from 2018 - 2021. This approach produces more effective and sustainable protection outcomes by strengthening local resources and





capacities and identifying protection gaps through regular consultations. With this community-based Protection, researchers will examine more deeply the correlation of the program with the concept of community security and the theory of institutional Liberalism, according to Robert Keohane.

**Institutional Liberalism (Robert Keohane).** Institutional Liberalism is a derivative of the basic concept of Liberal theory pioneered by Robert Keohane. The idea of the involvement of an institution in responding to an issue theory is optimistic, as it can play a central role in facilitating cooperation and becoming a reference in promoting peace between countries. This means that an institution or international institution not only acts as a mediator in responding to a conflict but also becomes a driver in fostering mutually beneficial interactions between the nation-states involved. In addition, Institutional Liberalism views an institution as being able to build a strong foundation for cross-country cooperation through the formation of rules or agreements, regulations, and cooperation mechanisms. (Robert, K, 2012).

Robert Keohane, an international relations scholar, developed the theory of institutional Liberalism that emphasizes the important role of international institutions in facilitating cooperation between states. In his seminal work, "After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy" (1984), Keohane argued that even in an anarchic world (without a coercive supranational authority), states can still cooperate through international institutions. According to Keohane, this cooperation is possible because international institutions help Reduce Uncertainty. International institutions provide information and transparency that allow states to understand each other's intentions and actions. This reduces the risk of betrayal in international relations.

According to Robert Keohane, the theory of institutional Liberalism can be linked to the role of UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) as an international institution that facilitates global cooperation in dealing with the refugee crisis and protecting human rights.

The Relationship between Institutional Liberalism and UNHCR; Facilitating Cooperation Between Countries. UNHCR is a platform for countries to coordinate dealing with cross-border refugee issues. This institution creates an international legal framework, such as the 1951 Refugee Convention, that allows countries to work together to receive, protect, and provide long-term solutions for refugees. (UNHCR, 2024). The theory of institutional Liberalism states that this kind of cooperation is possible because international institutions, such as UNHCR, reduce Uncertainty between countries by providing information, building trust, and facilitating multilateral dialogue.

**Providing Rules and Norms.** UNHCR creates international standards related to refugee protection, such as the principle of non-refoulement (the prohibition of returning refugees to dangerous countries of origin). These norms bind countries to act according to their international obligations, as explained by Keohane, which is that institutional rules promote compliance and stability.

**Reducing Transaction Costs**. Keohane emphasizes that institutions help reduce transaction costs in international cooperation. UNHCR facilitates countries' sharing of resources, information and best practices in dealing with refugee crises, reducing the burden on individual countries and maximizing collective efficiency.

**Monitoring and Enforcing Compliance.** UNHCR monitors the implementation of refugee protection policies by member states and makes recommendations to ensure that countries comply with international law. This aligns with the institutional role Keohane identified: ensuring compliance through oversight and incentives for cooperation.

Addressing the Challenges of International Anarchy. UNHCR creates mechanisms that allow countries to cooperate voluntarily in an international anarchy without supranational coercive





authority. This reflects Keohane's idea that international institutions are important for maintaining stability and cooperation in a decentralized world.

UNHCR, through its Community-Based Protection program in Malaysia, works with local governments and non-governmental organizations to protect Rohingya refugees. The program uses a participatory approach involving local and international communities, demonstrating how institutions can facilitate multilateral cooperation in line with the principles of institutional Liberalism.

Human Security (Community Security). In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defined human security as freedom, which means freedom to obtain personal rights and safety from fear that threatens life. According to UNDP, human security is divided into two parts: traditional security and non-traditional security. The traditional security paradigm refers to the construction where the main focus of this traditional security is the state, which refers to the state's territory, military, and state security.

In contrast to non-traditional security, which is divided into seven, namely, economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, individual security, community security, and political security. Community security is an innovative concept in the study of human security. It covers various aspects of the community's security, identity, practices, and individual security from threats in the community, such as structural violence. The following is a further explanation of this concept and how this concept, according to UNDP, goes beyond the traditional boundaries of security that only focus on the state (Shahrbanou, Anuradha, 2007).

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), community security is important in ensuring the integrity and sustainability of cultural diversity in society. This includes protecting communities from threats that can damage diversity and social harmony. There are many threats to communities, such as threats that arise from various forms of discrimination and harassment against certain groups (based on ethnicity, gender, language, race, religion, and others), armed conflict between groups, and oppression carried out through traditional practices. However, only a few threats are the focus of this writing. The following are details about the focus of threats to community security.

Discrimination against Ethnic or Indigenous Groups, social and economic marginalization: Ethnic minority groups often face discrimination in various aspects of life, including access to education, health services, and employment opportunities. Indigenous and ethnic groups often experience stigma and exclusion from development processes and public policies. In addition, threats to Refugees and Asylum Seekers are included in community security threats. Refugees are often faced with negative prejudice from local communities, which can hinder their integration. Refugees often live in crowded, unhealthy, and dangerous conditions, with limited access to basic services. In this context, the author attempts to see and explain descriptively from the perspective of Human Security, especially community security with strategies such as community-based Protection (CBP), what has been taken by the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in realizing the Rohingya community security in Malaysia in 2020-2023. In addition, the author will dig deeper into UNHCR's indicators and whether they have been implemented in dealing with this refugee problem if examined from a community security perspective.

#### **METHODS**

**Data Collection.** Data were collected through a comprehensive literature review, covering relevant policy documents, books that provide a strong theoretical basis, and scientific articles that provide in-depth insights into the topic discussed. In addition, secondary data were also obtained





from official and reliable sources, such as publications published by leading institutions such as UNHCR and leading academic journals in the field. Collecting data from various sources ensures the diversity of information used and provides a broader perspective and higher validity to the analysis.

**Data Analysis.** Data Collection: Data was collected through various methods, including literature review, through books, journals and trusted websites on the internet. In addition, secondary data was obtained from relevant UNHCR and partner organization reports. Data sources also include literature on refugee policy in Malaysia.

Data Reduction: Information obtained from UNHCR reports and various journals and documents will be filtered to highlight key themes, such as the challenges faced by refugees, the level of community involvement in CBP, and the role of informal protection mechanisms. This data reduction will simplify complex information for further analysis.

Thematic Analysis: After the data was reduced, thematic analysis was conducted to identify key patterns or issues in the data that reflect the community's protection needs. These themes include access to basic services, social security, and violence and exploitation faced by refugees. The study will also identify how the Rohingya community works together to protect each other.

#### **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

Humanitarian Crisis in Myanmar And Rohingya Mass Displacement. Mass displacement, or mass population movement, occurs when large numbers of people are forced to leave their homes due to conflict, violence, human rights violations, or disasters. In the context of the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar, mass displacement is one of the direct impacts of the systematic violence carried out against the Rohingya ethnic group in Rakhine State. One of the major causes of the mass displacement of the Rohingya ethnic group in Myanmar is that the Rohingya have long been the target of discrimination and exclusion by the Myanmar government. The 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Law stripped them of their citizenship, leaving them without legal status and highly vulnerable to violence and displacement. The Rohingya crisis in Myanmar is rooted in a long history of discrimination against the Rohingya ethnic group, a Muslim minority group in the country.

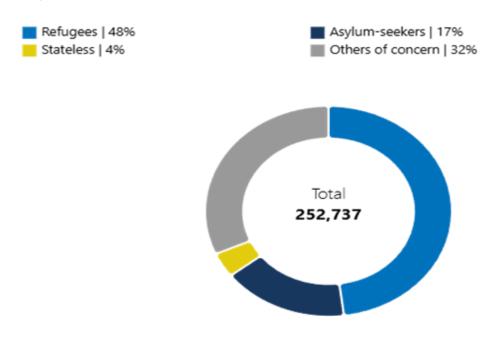
The Myanmar government does not recognize the Rohingya as citizens, making them one of the largest stateless groups in the world. This denial of citizenship was formalized through the Citizenship Law of 1982, which effectively stripped the Rohingya of basic rights, including access to education, employment, and health services. (UNHCR 2024). Tensions between the Rohingya and the majority Buddhist population in Myanmar, particularly in Rakhine State, have fueled violence for decades. The crisis reached its peak in 2017 when the Myanmar military, claiming to be responding to attacks by the Rohingya Armed Forces (ARSA), launched a massive crackdown. The operation reportedly involved the burning of villages, mass killings, and systematic rape, which the UN and human rights organizations have described as ethnic cleansing. (UNHCR, 2024).

Rohingya who experience discrimination in Myanmar migrate or seek refuge on a large scale in various countries, including Malaysia. The arrival of Rohingya to Malaysia began several decades ago, with the flow of migration increasing due to systematic violence and discrimination in Myanmar. Initially, this migration occurred sporadically as part of an effort to escape ethnic tensions in Rakhine State. The mainstream began to be seen in the 1990s when military conflict and discriminatory policies in Myanmar, such as the 1982 Citizenship Law, created very unsafe conditions for the Rohingya. A significant increase in Rohingya arrivals in Malaysia occurred in 2012 and 2017. In 2012, communal violence in Rakhine targeted the Rohingya community, while in 2017, a large-scale military operation by the Myanmar Army triggered the exodus of hundreds of



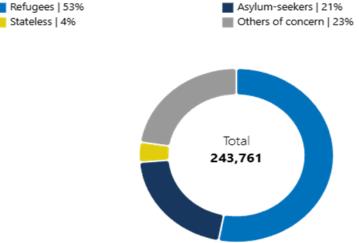
thousands of Rohingya to neighboring countries. Malaysia became one of the main destinations because of its relatively close distance and the presence of a Rohingya community that had already settled there. (MMC, 2021).

Moving in 2018 – 2021, according to UNHCR, the conditions of Rohingya refugees in Malaysia between 2018 and 2021 remain full of difficulties. They live in Uncertainty without clear legal status, face discrimination and exploitation, and have difficulty accessing basic services such as education and health. Despite assistance from international organizations, major challenges remain, especially related to legal Protection, economic opportunities, and the sustainability of a decent life. The following is a display of data and representation of the conditions of the Rohingya ethnic group in Malaysia from 2018-2021.



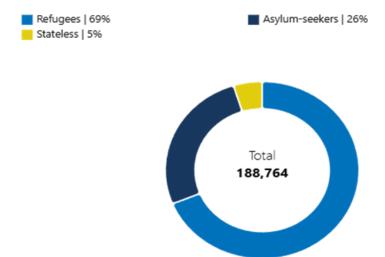
Source: UNHCR Report 2018 **Figure 1.** Data and representation of the condition of the Rohingya ethnic group in Malaysia from 2018

The chart above represents the number of refugees, asylum seekers, identified stateless persons, and groups of people at risk or in distress in Malaysia in 2018. The groups facing risk or in distress do not meet the legal criteria to be recognized as refugees or commonly referred to as others of concern (OOC), as defined in the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Protocol. (UNHCR, 2024). At the end of 2018, UNHCR recorded around 163,100 registered refugees and asylum seekers. Of this number, 87% were from Myanmar, with more than half being Rohingya refugees, totaling around 82,900 people. (UNHCR, 2018). In addition, more than 9,600 people registered in Malaysia are classified as stateless, although the country's total number of stateless people has yet to be determined. The Government also estimates that more than 59,200 refugees from the Philippines are still in East Malaysia.



**Figure 2.** Data and representation of the condition of the Rohingya ethnic group in Malaysia from 2019

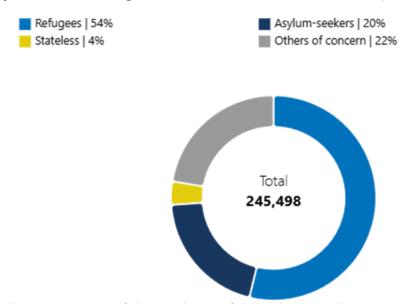
In 2019, the number of refugees, asylum seekers, stateless persons and groups of people at risk or in distress in Malaysia decreased from 252,737 to 243,761. In addition, in 2019, there were 178,600 individuals registered as persons of concern in Malaysia, with a composition of 69% male and 31% female. Of these, 26% were children and adolescents, while 18% were young adults aged 18 to 24. Around 7,500 people (4%) had special needs, of which 64% were female. (UNHCR, 2019). The majority of refugees and asylum seekers registered in Malaysia are Rohingya and Chin ethnic groups from Myanmar, who account for 86% of the total. Regarding the stateless population, the exact number is unknown, although, at the end of 2019, UNHCR recorded almost 13,100 stateless people living in Peninsular Malaysia. Meanwhile, data on stateless individuals or groups outside Peninsular Malaysia is unavailable.



**Figure 3.** Data and representation of the condition of the Rohingya ethnic group in Malaysia from 2020



In 2020, refugees, asylum seekers and stateless persons were reduced outside the count of others of concern, which in 2019 was 243,761 to 188,764. By the end of 2020, the total number of individuals registered with the UNHCR office as persons of concern remained largely stable at 178,613, consisting of 128,769 refugees (72%) and 49,844 asylum seekers (28%). The majority of them, around 86%, were from Myanmar (Rohingya ethnic group). For the non-Myanmar population, the largest group came from Pakistan, followed by Yemen, Syria, Somalia, Afghanistan and other countries. In Malaysia, most of these persons of concern live in urban areas. (UNHCR 2020).



**Figure 4.** Data and representation of the condition of the Rohingya ethnic group in Malaysia from 2021

In 2021, the number of refugees, asylum seekers, and stateless persons increased to 245,498 from 188,764 in 2020. As of December 2021, approximately 180,000 individuals were registered as persons of concern with UNHCR Malaysia, comprising approximately 131,000 refugees (73%) and 49,000 asylum seekers (27%). The majority of them (86%) were from Myanmar (Rohingya ethnicity), including approximately 121,000 refugees and 35,000 asylum seekers. The largest non-Myanmar population was from Pakistan, followed by Yemen, Syria, Somalia, and Afghanistan, with the rest coming from various other countries. In Malaysia, most of these persons of concern live in urban areas. More than half were men (54%), while 21% were women, 13% were boys, and 12% were girls.

From the four charts, it can be concluded that of the many refugees who came to Malaysia, the majority were refugees from Myanmar, namely the Rohingya ethnic group. This shows that the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar, especially against the Rohingya group, has forced many individuals to flee and seek Protection in neighboring countries, including Malaysia. As one of the main destination countries for refugees, Malaysia hosts a large number of Rohingya refugees who fled violence, oppression, and Uncertainty in their home country. Therefore, the focus of the program created by UNHCR, called community-based Protection (CBP), is on the community. CBP places the capacity, agency, rights, and dignity of forcibly displaced and stateless individuals as the main focus of program planning. This approach produces more effective and sustainable protection outcomes by strengthening local resources and capacities and identifying protection gaps through regular consultations.





Malaysian Government Policy Towards Rohingya Refugees 2018 - 2021. Malaysia's approach to refugee policies and practices is based on a policy space created or implemented temporarily to address a specific problem or situation without following an existing plan or structure. Refugees are not given a specific category in Malaysian immigration law and do not have legal status in the country. Although there have been steps to expand the protection space for refugees, they remain at risk of detention, do not have work rights, cannot access public health services with the same rights as Malaysian citizens, and do not have access to the public education system. In addition, Malaysia is not part of a country that has not signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, so legal Protection for refugees is very limited. (Siti M, 2022). However, the Malaysian Government itself accepted the arrival of the Rohingya, and the community responded well. However, in 2018 – 2021, there have been many policy changes, and the community's response has also changed.

In 2018–2021, Malaysian society's response to Rohingya refugees was marked by a complex interplay of humanitarian concerns, social tensions, and political discourse. Malaysians have historically shown empathy towards Rohingya refugees, largely due to shared religious ties, as Malaysia is a Muslim-majority country. Many citizens and civil society organizations have been involved in efforts to provide humanitarian assistance, including food, shelter, and healthcare services to the Rohingya community. Research shows that local NGOs and community groups have played a significant role in advocating for the rights and welfare of these refugees, often stepping in when government support is lacking.

The Malaysian Government's policy towards Rohingya refugees in 2018 reflected a complex response to the ongoing humanitarian crisis. In that year, Malaysia remained one of the countries that accepted Rohingya refugees, albeit with restrictions. Registered refugees were allowed to work in the informal sector, but no formal legal framework protected them. (Aslm abd, 2019). This reflects the Government's efforts to provide opportunities for refugees to contribute economically. Under the newly inaugurated leadership of Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad in May 2018, the Malaysian Government has committed to be more active in humanitarian issues related to the Rohingya. Mahathir called on ASEAN countries to unite in addressing this issue and urged Myanmar to stop human rights violations against the Rohingya ethnic group. (Gabriela E, 2018). Overall, this policy shows a balance between humanitarian responsibilities and security concerns. Although there have been positive steps in accepting and granting work rights to refugees, challenges remain regarding their legal Protection and socio-economic integration.

In 2019, the Malaysian Government's policy towards refugees and asylum seekers, including Rohingya refugees, demonstrated a complex and often contradictory approach. Here are some key points regarding the policy. In 2019, the Malaysian Government's policy towards refugees and asylum seekers, including Rohingya refugees, demonstrated a complex and often contradictory approach. In addition 2019, there was a discussion about introducing a formal employment program for refugees, as promised in the Pakatan Harapan manifesto. The program aims to provide employment rights for refugees to increase their independence and reduce the burden on the state. However, concerns about national security and the potential for a new influx of refugees have slowed the implementation of this policy. (IDEAS, 2019).

In 2020, the Malaysian Government's policy towards refugees, especially Rohingya refugees, continues to reflect a strict and security-oriented approach. Here are some key points regarding the policy. Refugee Entry Refugees: Malaysia has refused entry to several Rohingya refugees. In June 2020, the Malaysian Government detained 269 Rohingya refugees near Langkawi and refused entry to about 300 refugees. This policy shows that Malaysia continues to adhere to strict national security







principles. COVID-19 pandemic: During the pandemic, the Malaysian Government implemented a movement control order (MCO), which has significantly impacted the lives of refugees. Many have been forced into hiding for fear of arrest while seeking health care. Organizations such as Doctors Without Borders report that refugees are severely affected by this policy, which prevents them from accessing essential health services. (MSF, 2020).

In 2021, Malaysia's refugee policy remains complex and restrictive. Key policies and practices in 2021 include Detention and Deportation: The Malaysian Government routinely detains refugees and asylum seekers in immigration detention centers, which are often overcrowded and do not meet international standards. Children are also part of the detained population. Deportation policies are implemented without adequate access to UNHCR to determine refugee status despite a ban on deporting refugees to dangerous countries of origin. COVID-19 pandemic: Refugees face increased discrimination during the pandemic, where they are considered a public health threat. The Government has conducted raids on migrant and refugee communities under the guise of controlling COVID-19, but this has led to detention in inadequate conditions and the spread of the virus in detention centers. (UN Report, 2021).

Limited Access to Basic Services: Refugees need access to formal employment, government health services, and education. Most support comes from civil society organizations and private initiatives, such as the collaboration between UNHCR and local institutions to provide education. Refugee Boat Turnbacks: The Malaysian Government has implemented a policy of turning away refugee boats, especially those carrying the Rohingya community, on the grounds of preventing the spread of COVID-19. This has drawn widespread criticism from human rights groups. Malaysia's approach to refugees in 2021 shows a need for more commitment to protecting their rights according to international standards despite pressure from the international community and human rights organizations.

It can be seen from the policies made by the Malaysian Government in 2019-2021 that they lack in guaranteeing or realizing community security. Community security aims to create an environment where communities can live with a sense of security, dignity, and freedom while strengthening social cohesion and minimizing the potential for conflict or threats to their well-being. Therefore, UNHCR, as a non-state actor, guarantees these rights through programs or strategies created, such as community-based Protection (CBP). UNHCR, as a non-state actor, continues to expand cooperation with partners and refugee communities to become the main source of support and Protection. Closer relationships with government authorities have increased trust in the processes and documents issued by UNHCR, thereby helping to reduce cases of arrest and detention of refugees and asylum seekers, especially the Rohingya ethnic group.

Unher Response And Challenges Of Rohingya Refugees. In 2018, the newly elected Malaysian Government committed to improving Protection for refugees in Malaysia, including the Rohingya refugees, who are the largest in number, 87% of whom are from Myanmar, with more than half being ethnic Rohingya, numbering around 82,900 according to UNHCR data including refugees, asylum seekers, others of concern, and stateless. In addition, UNHCR responded by proposing to legalize the status of UNHCR card holders. (UNHCR, 2018). This plan includes granting equal work rights to Malaysian citizens, a move that has the potential to help refugees achieve independence. However, withs' access to these rights remains limited without a formal one, which is unlimited. However, there has been increasing engagement by the Government, civil society, UNHCR, and other stakeholders in developing a more inclusive approach to the issue. Based on Robert Keohane's theory of institutional Liberalism, such cooperation is possible because international institutions, such as UNHCR, play a critical role in reducing Uncertainty. (Robert K,







2012). They provide information, build trust between parties, and facilitate multilateral dialogue, which supports the achievement of shared solutions in managing the refugee crisis. This combination of domestic engagement and international support reflects the potential for policy alignment through cooperation-based mechanisms.

In addition to the response from UNHCR, Rohingya refugees experienced several challenges in 2018. The challenges faced by Rohingya refugees and UNHCR in 2018 were the absence of a clear refugee policy and limited resources available; there still needed to be improvement in meeting the basic needs of the population, especially refugees in Malaysia. These difficulties hamper the ability of refugees to become self-sufficient, access basic services, and contribute significantly to society. Therefore, UNHCR and its partners continue to play a critical role in providing support. Refugees, especially women, face various challenges, such as unemployment, high debt, difficulties in accessing health and education services, and security-related issues. The need for certified and accredited education for refugee children at the primary and secondary levels is urgent in the education sector. In this case, girls often need more attention due to limited resources and opportunities in secondary education, skills training, and life education. In addition, refugee women's participation in community leadership is also hampered by the lack of support structures, low gender awareness, and limited opportunities available to them. (UNHCR, 2018).

On the move in 2019, according to UNHCR data 2019, there were 178,600 individuals registered as persons in need of care in Malaysia, of which 69% were male and 31% were female. Of these, 26% were children and adolescents, while 18% were young adults aged 18 to 24. About 4% of the total refugees, or about 7,500 people, had special needs, and 64% of them were female. The majority of refugees and asylum seekers registered in Malaysia are Rohingya and Chin ethnic groups from Myanmar, who comprise 86% of the total refugee population. (UNHCR, 2019). Therefore, in 2019, UNHCR continued to work with the Malaysian Government to provide technical support in developing guidelines for temporary residence, legal employment, health and education for refugees. Although some new arrivals were registered that year, most registered asylum seekers were already living in Malaysia for a long period.

UNHCR prioritizes registration for those at high risk and with vulnerabilities. Although UNHCR's access to immigration detention centers has been suspended since August, the organization continues to advocate for the right to asylum and Protection for those in detention. Refugees holding refugee cards generally have greater Protection from arrest and detention. The ongoing cooperation between UNHCR and the Malaysian Government demonstrates a collaborative effort to address the needs of refugees in a more structured manner. It also signifies UNHCR's role as an agency that provides technical assistance and advocates for protecting refugees in detention situations. In this regard, UNHCR monitors and implements international refugee protection principles by the institutional Liberalism emphasized by Keohane, where international institutions play a role in reducing Uncertainty and facilitating cooperation between countries through monitoring mechanisms and incentives. (Robert K, 2012).

Challenges faced by Rohingya refugees in 2019 were that Funding in 2019 was significantly lower than the amount used to serve a population that was half the size ten years earlier. This limited the Office's capacity to fully support the Government in developing refugee policy. The Office was also unable to establish a sufficient presence in key areas to reach refugee communities, provide counseling, or provide necessary services. Critical cash-based interventions could not be implemented, and support for secondary education was also not provided. In addition, support for legal practitioners who assist stateless people in applying for citizenship was not a priority. (UNHCR, 2019)





Entering 2020, according to UNHCR data, the number of individuals registered with the UNHCR office as persons needing attention remained stable at 178,613. Of these, 128,769 were refugees (72%) and 49,844 were asylum seekers (28%). The majority of these refugees, around 86%, are from Myanmar, mainly the Rohingya ethnic group. (UNHCR, 2020). In response to the number of refugees, UNHCR has attempted to develop a national asylum policy that provides temporary shelter and access to legitimate employment for refugees and asylum seekers. However, changes in socio-political conditions and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic have delayed the implementation of this policy. The Movement Control Order (MCO) imposed by the Malaysian Government to control the spread of COVID-19 has affected the ability of refugees to meet their basic needs and caused many to lose their sources of income. Although UNHCR's activities were limited during the MCO, it continued to provide protection and assistance services, such as registration and documentation, which remain the primary means of protecting refugees from arrest and detention.

From the perspective of Institutional Liberalism, according to Robert Keohane, UNHCR functions as an international institution that creates a framework for cooperation to protect the human rights of refugees by establishing rules and regulations. In this case, despite facing domestic obstacles, UNHCR strives to ensure refugee protection through existing international mechanisms. Keohane argues that institutions such as UNHCR reduce Uncertainty between countries by providing the information needed to maintain effective cooperation. Although the pandemic has slowed the implementation of policies, refugees continue to receive Protection through registration facilitated by UNHCR, a form of international cooperation that enforces rules that reduce the risk of arrest and detention. This cooperation shows that although socio-political changes and emergencies such as pandemics can hinder the policy process, the role of international institutions remains important in ensuring the Protection of refugees by the principles promoted by Institutional Liberalism. (Robert K, 2012).

The following are the challenges faced by Rohingya refugees in 2020. Resource constraints have made it difficult for refugees to achieve economic independence and access essential services in a challenging protection environment. The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated this situation, with an increase in the number of unregistered people and those still in the refugee status determination process. Movement restrictions and economic lockdowns have further complicated access to health services. While there was an increase in mental health interventions in 2020, these efforts have not been sufficient to meet the growing needs. Urgent needs also remain in primary and secondary education, particularly about access to quality education and retention rates of boys and girls in school. The pandemic has also exacerbated protection risks, particularly for women and children, by increasing barriers for survivors of gender-based violence to access justice and Protection. There has also been an increase in negative coping mechanisms, such as child labor, begging, and exploitation and abuse. There is an urgent need to strengthen cash assistance to meet the financial needs of vulnerable refugees and enhance their social resilience. (UNHCR, 2020).

In 2021, around 180,000 people registered with UNHCR Malaysia needed attention at the end of December. Of these, around 131,000 were refugees (73%), and 49,000 were asylum seekers (27%). The majority of them, 86%, were from Myanmar, especially the Rohingya ethnic group, which comprised around 121,000 refugees and 35,000 asylum seekers. In the context of UNHCR's role in protecting refugees, we can use Robert Keohane's theory of institutional Liberalism to analyze the approach taken by the agency, especially during the COVID-19 crisis. Keohane explains that international institutions, such as UNHCR, help reduce uncertainty and transaction costs between countries by establishing rules and norms that encourage international cooperation.





During the pandemic, UNHCR adjusted its operational procedures, such as adopting remote interviews and online registration, to ensure the continuity of refugee protection. This move reflects how UNHCR creates rules and mechanisms that allow countries to remain compliant with their international obligations despite uncertain times. Keohane argues that the institution facilitates cooperation between countries by reducing the barriers and costs associated with refugee protection, as UNHCR has done by introducing policies that support access to basic services for refugees. In addition, Keohane also emphasized the institution's importance in promoting stability and adherence to international norms.

In this regard, UNHCR not only focuses on the physical Protection of refugees but also seeks to create global awareness through community engagement and advocacy efforts to ensure that refugees remain involved in the development process of their host countries. In the Malaysian context, UNHCR's efforts in supporting the UN Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework reflect how the institution optimizes international cooperation to create better living standards for refugees and encourages countries to commit to sustainable development goals. Overall, Keohane's institutional liberalism theory illustrates how UNHCR acts as an institution that builds international rules to reduce Uncertainty, facilitate cooperation, and increase stability in managing refugee crises, even in very challenging situations such as the COVID-19 pandemic.

The challenges faced by Rohingya refugees in 2021 include the lack of sustainable access to health services, particularly in secondary care. Mental health services available to those in need are also limited, although more support is needed. More support is needed for more flexible approaches to education to ensure education continues. Access to education also needs to be expanded, as enrolment rates at all levels remain well below global averages. Due to the long-term impacts of COVID-19 and the increased risk of gender-based violence, Funding for violence and child protection remains inadequate and insufficiently effective and timely. More cash assistance is needed to address the urgent financial needs of vulnerable refugees. Households in need of long-term support, especially where refugees are still prohibited from working legally, require more integrated support programs. (UNHCR, 2021).

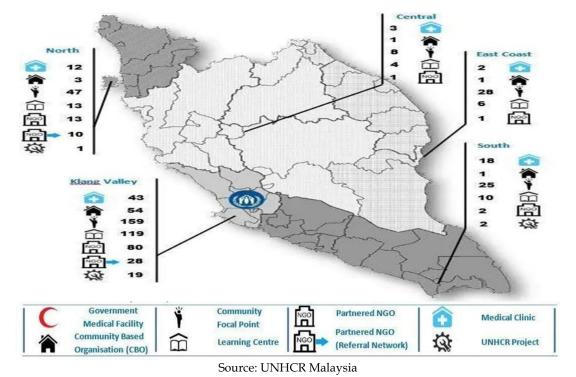
Unher Community Based Protection In Creating Community Security For Rohingya Refugees In Malaysia. Community-based protection (CBP), part of UNHCR's strategy and program, has been around since 2013 but has only been implemented in Malaysia since 2017. If viewed more deeply, the UNHCR Community-based Protection (CBP) strategy for 2018-2021 has built community security in Malaysia. This program empowers local communities and refugees to create a safe, inclusive, and resilient environment for refugees, including Rohingya refugees, Malaysia's largest refugees. Community security is an approach that addresses security risks at the community level collaboratively, strengthening relationships between individuals, communities, and institutions and increasing access to essential basic services. UNHCR's strategy to encourage the participation of various external parties, including civil society and refugee communities, aligns with the principle of community security, which emphasizes the importance of multi-stakeholder collaboration. It aims to strengthen local capacities, minimize dependence on external assistance, and encourage communities to actively participate in managing their security and well-being.

Expanding community access to services and facilities is at the heart of efforts to create community security, especially for Rohingya refugees in Malaysia. The availability of health, education and Protection services at the local level not only improves individual well-being but also strengthens social cohesion, which ultimately contributes to collective security. Developing new partnerships between UNHCR, civil society and refugee communities strengthens community support structures. This is consistent with the community security approach, where strong



collaboration and networks are critical in creating a sense of security in vulnerable environments. Involving refugee communities directly in decision-making and program implementation helps to foster a sense of ownership and responsibility. This is a key element of community security, which aims to create communities that are more self-reliant in addressing their challenges, especially those faced by Rohingya refugees in Malaysia.

By integrating community security principles into its strategy, UNHCR provides direct assistance and builds the foundation for sustainable social security at the community level. This approach creates space for refugees to contribute positively to their host communities, strengthening local stability. Community-based approaches must be integrated into every stage of the humanitarian response, spanning all sectors and operational contexts. This approach is relevant for all humanitarian actors, including those working in water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH), shelter and health. Community-based Protection aims to achieve multiple protection objectives, such as the prevention of gender-based violence (GBV), risk reduction, incident response and child protection. In addition, this approach ensures that communities play an active role in protecting themselves. According to UNHCR reports from 2018 – 2021, UNHCR, NGOs and community resources from the Malaysia map.



**Figure 5.** Reports from UNHCR from 2018 – 2021, UNHCR resources, NGOs, and communities from the Malaysia map

In North Malaysia, there are 12 medical clinics, 3 community-based organizations (CBOs), 47 Community Focal Points, 13 learning centers, 13 Partnered NGOs, 10 Partnered NGOs (Referral Network), and 1 UNHCR program. Moving on to Central Malaysia, which has 3 medical clinics, 1 community-based organization (CBO), 8 Community Focal Points, 4 learning centers, and 1 Partnered NGO. Moving on to the East Coast, which has 2 medical clinics, 1 community-based organization (CBO), 28 Community Focal Points, 6 learning centers, and 1 Partnered NGO. The





Klang Valley region has 43 medical clinics, 54 community-based organizations (CBOs), 159 Community Focal Points, 119 learning centers, 50 Partnered NGOs, 28 Partnered NGOs (Referral Networks), and 19 UNHCR programs. Finally, the South region has 18 medical clinics, 1 community-based organization (CBO), 25 community focal points, 10 learning centers, 2 partner NGOs, and 2 UNHCR programs. (UNHCR, 2020).

UNHCR has been working in 2018-2021 to realize community security for Rohingya refugees in Malaysia. UNHCR ensures that Rohingya refugees play an active role in all activities, including disseminating information, determining priority needs, and designing and implementing community CBP programs to encourage self-management. In addition, partnering with refugee communities and civil society organizations to strengthen and expand services and referral pathways available to Rohingya refugees. Moreover, collaborating with refugee communities and civil society strengthens the community-based protection approach.

Based on the report provided by UNHCR in the UNHCR strategy through community-based Protection in Malaysia, especially for the Rohingya refugees who dominate, UNHCR has built community security in Malaysia from 2018 to 2021. The report is based on efforts made by UNHCR in 2018-2021 to realize community security for Rohingya refugees in Malaysia. The concept of community security highlights how UNHCR's strategy strengthens the sense of security and the ability of the Rohingya refugee community to manage challenges through a community-based approach. This concept emphasizes human Protection at the community level by strengthening local capacity, reducing vulnerability risk, and building resilient social structures.

Community Participation and Empowerment. UNHCR encourages refugees in Malaysia, including Rohingya refugees, to be actively involved in programs such as education, health, and livelihoods, which align with the principle of community security, namely creating local mechanisms that enable individuals and communities to face security threats. Community engagement through projects such as Safe from Start and gender-based violence (GBV) prevention training reduces vulnerability to violence while strengthening referral pathways within refugee communities. In this way, refugees become part of their security solutions. (UNHCR Malaysia, 2018).

**Partnerships and Collaborations.** Through collaborations with civil society and external stakeholders, such as the entrepreneurship project and the REMEDI medical insurance scheme, UNHCR facilitates refugees' access to health services, education and economic opportunities. This reflects the community security element, which focuses on connecting communities to external resources to strengthen their resilience.

**Sustainability and Community Ownership.** UNHCR's approach of creating community focal points and documenting success stories creates a sense of ownership among refugees. This strategy ensures sustainability and strengthens social structures, which is essential in building long-term community security. This effort is also seen in community engagement in cultural festivals, which supports social cohesion (UNHCR 2021).

**Enhancing Self-Reliance through Livelihoods.** Livelihood programs that engage refugee communities to design solutions, such as English language classes or skills training, help refugees achieve economic self-sufficiency. This is integral to community security, as economic self-sufficiency reduces dependence on external assistance and increases community stability.

**Referral Networks for Rapid Response.** By training external partners in referral systems and expanding community-based protection networks, UNHCR strengthens the social infrastructure that supports rapid response to protection needs. This approach ensures that vulnerable individuals have immediate access to the needed services, reducing the risk of exploitation or marginalization.







UNHCR's approach reflects the principles of community security by promoting collaboration and empowerment and strengthening the capacity of communities to address security challenges. These programs create stronger social structures, strengthen the resilience of refugee communities, and build safer and more inclusive environments for all.

The following are UNHCR's major achievements in 2018, which are a sign that UNHCR has built refugee community security in Malaysia, especially for Rohingya refugees, using UNHCR's strategy through community-based Protection (CBP). UNHCR recorded several significant achievements in its support programs. Sixty refugee youths attended university programs, and three completed their studies. One hundred thirty community learning centers received support in the education sector, and 12,900 children were registered for basic education. In the protection sector, 1,000 people received counseling, while 3,700 individuals were successfully released from immigration detention. In addition, 2,400 people received livelihood assistance, and 31,500 health consultations were provided through a network of private primary care clinics offering services at discounted rates. These achievements demonstrate UNHCR's continued efforts to improve the well-being and access to refugee services. (UNHCR 2018).

Moving into 2019, the following are UNHCR's key achievements under CBP's strategy to achieve community security for Rohingya refugees in Malaysia. Nearly 1,000 stateless individuals were granted Malaysian citizenship, while access to health services improved with the opening of a third primary care clinic. With support from UNHCR and the Government of Qatar, Malaysia launched a health program for refugees through three NGOs. A total of 1,500 individuals received counseling on gender-based violence (SGBV), including positive parenting and financial management training. In addition, outreach to 30 community leaders and over 50 teachers enabled 250 children to understand their rights and how to report violence, neglect and exploitation. To improve Protection, over 100 UNHCR staff and nearly 70 partners received training on the Protection against sexual exploitation and abuse (PSEA) policy, reporting mechanisms and support services. (UNHCR 2019).

The following are UNHCR's key achievements in 2020 according to CBP's strategic principles and principles in realizing community security for Rohingya refugees in Malaysia. Routine activities slowed down during the MCO period while UNHCR reception centers were closed. However, operational continuity was maintained through alternative working approaches such as remote case management and online interviews. In response to the COVID-19 emergency, UNHCR optimized additional resources to expand support, including financial assistance to 6,002 households (20,170 individuals), community engagement, Funding for 21 refugee-based organizations, health services including mental health for 1,698 individuals, and distribution of food parcels to 8,435 households. In addition, education support involved distance learning for 10,800 children and adolescents and specific assistance for 411 children, 47 women at risk, and 368 survivors of gender-based violence (GBV). To expand protection coverage, UNHCR established a community outreach center serving 4,706 refugee individuals in Johor. (UNHCR, 2020).

In 2021, UNHCR's achievements increased, in line with CBP's principles in building community security for refugees in Malaysia, especially the Rohingya refugees who dominate. A total of 36,000 individuals of concern successfully renewed their UNHCR documents. Registration was carried out for 5,000 new asylum seekers, while refugee status determination (RSD) decisions were completed for 4,000 refugees. In addition, around 2,600 individuals were submitted for the resettlement program, with almost 1,000 of them successfully departed. Nearly 400 individuals of concern were released from detention. In education, 12,000 children (30% of the refugee children) attended special learning centers. In health services, around 9,000 people accessed primary and





secondary health care. More than 13,000 individuals (equivalent to 3,500 households) received one-time cash assistance to meet urgent needs. (UNHCR, 2021).

### **CONCLUSION**

This study aims to understand and explore more deeply the important role of UNHCR as a non-state actor in realizing community security for refugees in Malaysia in 2018-2021, especially the Rohingya refugees who dominate. This study focuses on the UNHCR program, community-based Protection (CBP), which, according to the principles of this program, focuses on protecting the community. UNHCR is trying with the efforts made to overcome the problems that occur among Rohingya refugees in Malaysia. In addition, the role of UNHCR as an Institutional Liberalism perspective explained by Robert Keohane, UNHCR utilizes the framework of international cooperation and the role of international institutions to provide Protection and support to Rohingya refugees. In addition, this study shows that Rohingya refugees in Malaysia face significant challenges related to citizenship status, legal Protection, and access to basic services. Their situation is exacerbated by the limitations of the protection policies implemented by the Malaysian Government, despite cooperation with UNHCR in providing assistance and Protection.

UNHCR plays a key role in supporting Rohingya refugees through various programs, including Community Based Protection (CBP), which involves local communities and refugees in their protection processes. This approach emphasizes the importance of active community participation in designing and implementing protection policies. The concept of community security applied in the CBP program also plays a key role in enhancing the social resilience of refugee communities, involving them in decision-making and ensuring access to health services, education and Protection from gender-based violence. However, challenges such as limited access to formal employment and lack of Funding to support protection programs remain major obstacles. Overall, despite collaborative efforts between UNHCR and the Malaysian Government, the situation of Rohingya refugees still requires more attention, especially in strengthening protection policies and expanding access to the basic services that they need.

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