The American University in Cairo

Global Affairs of Public Policy

Understanding African Refugees Integration in Cairo through the Eyes of Underprivileged Host Communities

A Thesis Submitted to
Migration and Refugee Studies MA Program

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(Under the supervision of Dr. Alexandra Parrs)

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I dedicate this work to my father – Al-Sayed Abdel Halim Salem – who passed away on December 13th 2009. Dad was my source of confidence, passion and creativity. He always saw beyond my abilities.
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Finally, I thank my thesis committee for their continuous guidance and support. Also I thank my research subjects and independent experts without whom I could not have done this thesis.
Definitions

**Refugee** – refugees\(^1\), asylum seekers and closed files.

**Hosting Community** – Country of asylum, including the context which refugees live in. The context includes social, economic and political circumstances. In this research context I am shedding the light on urban refugees in Cairo who have legal status, are in process of getting their recognition and those who do not have their recognition.\(^2\)

**Durable Solutions** – There are three Durable Solutions for refugees. These solutions are offered and implemented by through the UNHCR. The first is local integration (integrating in the transit host community), repatriation (going back to the homeland) and resettlement (travelling to a developed country for permanent residence).\(^3\)

**Transit Country**- Country where the refugee arrives fleeing from his place of persecution and his stay is temporary until he or she gets Refugee Status Determination and settles to one of the durable solutions aforementioned.

**Poverty Line** – “The poverty line is measured by the inabilities for people to be able to make more than $ 1.25 per day.”\(^4\)

**Underprivileged Areas** - There are two types of underprivileged areas: informal settlements which are also called slum areas and formal settlements which are local areas. I use the words underprivileged in two contexts. The first is the economic situation. I look at people who struggle to maintain their basic needs or who live under or close to the poverty line. The other context is those who live in areas where services are not developed and government authorities do not provide the needed or basic needs like safety.

**Informal Housing:** “Unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing).”\(^5\)

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\(^1\) http://www.alternativesjournal.net/volume5/number1&2/toktas.pdf

\(^2\) http://www.unhcr.org/4cd7d1509.html

\(^3\) http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646cf8.html

\(^4\) http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Metadata.aspx?IndicatorId=0&SeriesId=580

\(^5\) http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=1351
### ACCRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMERA</td>
<td>African and Middle Eastern Refugee Assistance NGO</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations Higher Commission for Refugees</td>
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<td>RSD</td>
<td>Refugee Status Determination</td>
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<td>PSTIC</td>
<td>Psycho-Social Training Institute in Cairo</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>IOM</td>
<td>International Organization for Migration</td>
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<td>MOIC</td>
<td>Model of Organization of Islamic Cooperation- Egypt</td>
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Introduction

“Refugees experience psychological stress and pressures – he comes to Egypt expecting a bad situation – but what is not expected is that he has to face Egyptians who treat him badly”

-Nagwa (Sudanese refugee and psychosocial worker)

“When we see the refugee we don’t know them, why they come here. We can feel bad for them and open our country for them but how can we help them if we can’t help ourselves. If they get assistance more than me the Egyptian I will be angry!”

-21 year old Egyptian lady

The two quotes aforementioned express how refugees and underprivileged Egyptians feel towards each other. Underprivileged Egyptian citizens and African refugees are two vulnerable groups struggling to improve their lives in Egypt, while they live door to door. As an Egyptian myself, before starting my studies - September 2011 - I did not know that there were refugees who came to Egypt from several African countries. When I started getting aware of their existence in Egypt I was personally interested and concerned about the struggles they faced in Cairo. Furthermore, when I started working with refugees my feelings switched from being a ‘concern’ into being the perception that refugees were ‘rights holders’ and misused assets in the Egyptian community. Through my work and academic experience I learned about and interacted with African refugees and understood that there are several levels to their problems in Egypt. These problems range from legal difficulties to the struggle to effectively communicate with Egyptians on the streets. Additionally,

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6 I use the term ‘Underprivileged’ to describe that the Egyptian populations I am describing throughout my thesis are those who live in areas where services are not efficient enough to meet their basic needs with good human conditions. Additionally, ‘underprivileged’ indicates that they live in lower socio-economic conditions, thus they are considered to belong to lower social classes. Finally, I avoided using the word ‘poor’ because from working in the field I realized that ‘poor’ can be an offensive term which only represents the scarcity of resources and neglects the importance of other types of scarcity like social security or integration within the wider society.
I also got exposed to the resilience and strength which refugees bring along with them.

The door to door life that Egyptians experience with refugees can uncover many aspects of the Egyptian culture. When refugees are able to reach a destination thinking they will find a secure life, they get hit by reality in Cairo. This reality includes economic struggles, political neglect and social isolation. At the same time, underprivileged communities in Egypt live through the same struggles even though they hold Egyptian citizenship. They experience extreme poverty, unemployment, inability to grow and excel to change their socio economic conditions. Social integration between refugees and Egyptians needs to be studied with respect to this context and by approaching the people themselves.

Thus, this research provides a deep understanding and analysis of the proximity between refugees and underprivileged Egyptians. Throughout my research, I explored the social integration phenomenon through understanding the host community perceptions of African refugees. I examined those perceptions in relation to the host community’s exposure to existing intervention projects. I chose to uncover perceptions towards African refugees in specific so that I can have a focus for my research and also because during my work in the field I got exposed to the difference between the African and the Middle Eastern refugee in Egypt. This will be further illustrated in later chapters. The research questions I answered through my research are:

1) What are the perceptions of the Egyptian host community who have interacted with African Refugees, towards their presence in Cairo?
   a) What is the effect of exposure to intervention projects on the perception of the underprivileged Egyptian host community towards the presence of the African refugees?
b) Do tensions exist between local community and African refugees challenging interactions between both communities living or interacting in proximity to each other? If so, then what are the nature and the level of these existing tensions?

2) How does the Egyptian host community perceive the integration phenomenon of African refugees in Cairo? I would say “integration” instead of “integration phenomenon”

3) How do the NGOs working directly with refugees define the need for creating intervention projects in Cairo involving both the refugee and the host community member?

In Chapter I, I focus on the research gap which this thesis covers. I explain the contradiction found between what is hypothetical- the political agreements between different countries to share the responsibility of the refugees’ needs and rights- and the practical implementation of the burden sharing concept. This contradiction shows the extent of the frustration which refugees and underprivileged communities face in Egypt.

In chapter II, I proceed to focus on the social integration of refugees in relation to the situation of the underprivileged Egyptian communities. I show how disintegration is shared by underprivileged communities along with refugees due to two reasons: their shared economic difficulties and the geographic positioning through which refugees and host communities share neighborhoods in Cairo. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the reasons for the necessity of studying the host community perception within the Egyptian context since the social integration phenomenon is a challenge shared by both communities.

Furthermore, moving from the underprivileged communities and refugee relationship, I include the NGO perspective towards the social integration phenomenon in chapter III. I discuss the reasons which motivate different refugee development agencies into believing that there is a need to include the host community within the integration process. Moreover, I present the definition of
‘integration’ which NGOs reflect upon when they plan for projects bridging the gaps between both communities.

In chapter IV, I discuss my research methodology. I explain my methodology theoretical framework and approach. Moreover, I go into my methods of research and details of my field research procedures. Furthermore chapters V and VI I write about my research findings and research analysis. The research findings chapter presents the findings as they are and in the research analysis chapter I integrate between the theories, the field research results and my own analysis.

Chapter VIII covers the ethical issues and limitations which I experienced during my research project. It is important to realize limitations in order to give shortages and obstacles which can be avoided by further research done by myself and/or other researchers. Finally, I end my paper by a summarizing conclusion along with further research recommendations directed for academic purposes and practical recommendations for projects and initiatives in the future.

**Chapter I: Thesis Research Significance**

The state of limbo I describe in this section explains why I argue that this research in transit communities is increasingly needed. The limbo state means that refugees are stuck in a place not knowing what will happen in their future, nor being able to return to their past or cope with the present. I understood the process of integration from the perspective of the host community. This approach added to the practicality of the research since the Egyptian community has its own characteristics, conditions and political situation. Understanding the local community perceptions towards refugees is a research gap which this thesis addresses.
In this chapter I define the transit phenomenon and describe how this phenomenon leads to a dilemma. The limbo state involves four different actors: the international community, the so-called transit country and finally the refugee and underprivileged Egyptian who share the limbo situation. Towards the end of the chapter I explain the definition of social integration which this thesis project will be based upon.

Transit Countries: The Case of Egypt

The first stage of the limbo state is the country of transit and in this case Egypt specifically. According to Benjamin Perrin, transit migration means the ‘migratory movements to one or more countries with the intention to migrate to yet another country of final destination’. Hypothetically, the transit country signifies that it is just a temporary stage. When refugees arrive to their transit destinations, they believe it’s a stage whereby they come with expectations to find safer and dignified conditions than what they had in their homelands. In an underdeveloped country like Egypt refugees get hit by reality and realize that they cannot find security and many live in inhumane conditions. They live waiting to get resettled since hypothetically their situation is so-called temporal. Furthermore, the temporality gives the transit countries’ authorities the reason to not fully or even partially integrate refugees within the host communities. The refugee issues are not on the governmental agenda because Egypt like other transit countries claims that refugees ‘are only here for a short time’.

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According to the International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) and COMPAS the transit stage can cover many aspects and phases. Some of these phases are the forced movements from one area to another within the transit country, forced migration from one transit country to another hoping to get closer to the final developed destinations and even the involvement of trafficking and smuggling organizations to create different paths of movement. Therefore the transitory nature itself is not limited or clearly defined to describe a specific duration of time or a specific context. Refugees can stay for months, years and even make families while they are unable to control or change their conditions. In the same time they cannot move to a developed country or even return - due to persecution in their homelands- where they have networks, communities and resources. During the time period which the refugees think of as temporal, they are left to face whatever difficulties and obstacles which are taking place within their neighborhoods.

Moreover, the dilemma of the undefined transit state is not just limited to refugees in Egypt’s case, it is rather a scenario shared by many so-called transit nations. According to Roberto Pitea, the definition of the transit nation or even transit visa shows the traditional understanding that refugees and even migrants are not intended to stay for a long time in the transit country. However this ignores the real nature of transit destinations where refugees end up staying for an indefinite period of time. Pitea further explains that the transit phenomenon has expanded. It is now a complex process where refugees have only access to limited resources and services offered by underdeveloped countries for an unknown period of time. This situation has

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10 EU Network on International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) and COMPAS. Transit, Migration and Politics Trends and Constructions on the Fringes of Europe.

become very common and it challenges the “traditional applications of national and international migration law and more codified and established in the refugee law”.\textsuperscript{12}

Other similar contexts are like the Chechen refugees in Ukraine\textsuperscript{13} and African refugees in Morocco.\textsuperscript{14}

Egypt is a signatory of the 1951 convention\textsuperscript{15} and 1969 African Refugee Convention\textsuperscript{16} but with enough reservations on the laws to make local integration difficult for refugees. Egypt is a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention with reservations to articles 12 (1), 20, 22 (1), 23 and finally article 24.\textsuperscript{17} The articles which Egypt reserved in the 1951 Convention disallow refugees to access major services needed for integration to take place like elementary education, public relief and social security. Since the reservations were made, no changes took place and Kagan states that Egypt deals with refugees on case-by-case bases (2011).\textsuperscript{18} This is a way for Egypt to inform the international community that refugees cannot stay forever and they need to be resettled.

On the other hand, there have been improvements in the reservations of the Egyptian government. According to Kagan, the Egyptian authorities have played a greater role in improving social and economic well-being of the refugee in recent

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\setcounter{enumi}{11}
\item Ibid.
\item Duvell, Ukraine-Immigration and Transit Country for Chechen Refugees, Central and East European Migration, 2006, http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/Research_Resources/Flows/Ukraine_Chechen_Case_Study_3of3.pdf. This article explains the details about the conditions of the Chechen refugees in Ukraine. It highlights the hypothetical temporal stay of refugees in Ukraine in comparison to their permanent reality in difficult socioeconomic and political conditions.
\item 1951 Refugee Convention - http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49da0e466.html.
\item Kagan, Shared responsibility in a new Egypt, 2011.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
years. 19 For instance, Sudanese refugees can access some public school and the UNHCR are able to advocate and network for more services. Kagan continues by giving examples like the fact that more refugee schools have been opening with grants from the Catholic Relief Services (CRS). 20 Even though, the Egyptian government’s cooperation increased, yet there remains a serious obstacle to integration. The availability of services is not well communicated to refugees and the procedures to access services are extremely complicated. For instance, with the reservations placed by the Egyptian government comes more complexity in the procedures. For instance the Egyptian authorities do not officially prevent refugees’ to work but they require them to follow procedures which can alter their progress. These additional complexities can hinder refugees’ morale. Kagan writes more about this issue by describing the work permits law as only a “theory”. 21 According to Ghazaleh, for work permits to be given to a foreigner, he or she needs to be affiliated with a foreign company. 22 This, as a requirement, is almost impossible for refugees who arrive to Egypt sometimes without legal papers. In Egypt even when laws are changed or when they become more flexible, then it is not necessarily a sign that the authorities will take the responsibility of implementing the law.

Next, I will look at the effect of the lack of involvement of the international community, which, I believe contributes to the unwillingness of the Egyptian government to promote refugee integration in Egypt.

20 Ibid
22 Ghazaleh, in ‘closed file’ limbo: displaced Sudanese in a Cairo slum, 2002. In this reading there are details about the complexity of working in Egypt and the difficulties ‘closed files’ refugees face.
The international community shows little interest for the hardship encountered by refugees in their transit phase. This can be illustrated through the complexity of the resettlement process. According to the UNHCR, in 2010, there were 10.5 million refugees in the world and only 1% was resettled through the agency. This does not include the refugee influxes since the 2011 revolutions in the Middle East. According to the Canadian Council for Refugees, "in 1995, for every refugee Canada resettled from Africa, UNHCR assessed there were 10.64 in need of resettlement." Besides the extremely small percentage of resettlement, it is also important to look at the sophisticated resettlement process. I view this sophistication as an addition to the frustration of the individual refugee because it can add up to one whole year of ‘waiting to know’ and at any stage the refugee can get rejected. According to the Guardian Newspaper, the resettlement decisions can take a minimum of six months and refugees can be rejected at any time until the last stage when they obtain approved documents and their case is cleared. The article illustrates the story of one family in Congo who got rejected in both Canada and United States of America before being accepted to Australia.

The resettlement countries try to protect their own states’ policies and resources while ignoring the integration dilemma inside the countries of transit like Egypt. A classic example for that is the European Union, which according to the EU Network on International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) views transit countries as the proper place for the unwanted migrants to settle in and

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23 UNHCR EGYPT FACT SHEET, September 2011.
resettlement choices are made according to the eligibility and vulnerability of the refugees. Each developed country has its own criteria to evaluate vulnerability of candidates.26

In conclusion, the second dimension of the limbo problem is that the international community is not stepping up to increase its resettlement slots and in the same time neglects the temporary integration dilemma. This indicates that the absence of national and international community pressure to enforce the limits of the refugees’ transit phase is an unresolved phenomenon. Again, this is not just related to Egypt, it is also the case for many refugee groups in different contexts.27 The integration problem is complex and involves several agents on both a national and an international level. This problem cannot be resolved without the proper interactions between national and international players. Reality shows that there are no indications that said proper interactions are taking place. Thus, the limbo state dilemma is multilayered and an unresolved phenomenon. Yet, as a social researcher I selected to tackle the sophisticated integration problem through a focus on the community level. By community level I refer to refugees, host communities and agencies which directly work with them.

26 EU Network on International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) and COMPAS. Transit, Migration and Politics Trends and Constructions on the Fringes of Europe.
Refugees and Underprivileged Egyptians

The third and fourth dimensions of the limbo state are the individuals themselves: the refugees and their neighboring host communities. Refugees and underprivileged Egyptians find themselves in one neighborhood striving to fulfill their basic needs while expected to interact. In this chapter I discuss the barriers to integration from the perspective of refugees. In the following chapter I discuss the barriers of integration from the perspective of underprivileged Egyptian communities.

From the side of the refugees, one main indicator of this limbo state is the process of Refugee Status Determination (RSD). The RSD is described by Jacobsen et.al, as a process which can take a long time. Asylum seekers receive yellow cards upon registering at the UNHCR as an official legal identification card upon their arrival in Cairo. Later on, they apply for the blue card which is the official recognition for refugee status from the UNHCR. The waiting period to receive the blue card can take years. During this waiting period the refugees experience a state of confusion and frustration as they are in an absolute ‘unknown’ legal state. During the waiting period some refugees refuse the fact that they need to integrate. Other refugees live with the fear that developing socio-economic ties in Egypt, threatens the likelihood of their resettlement.

According to Kagan, the UNHCR claims that working or having a permit to work and finding a source of income inside Egypt does not mean that refugees will be kept in Egypt for a longer period of time. This implies that both the length of the transit period and the eventuality of resettlement are unknown phenomena for the refugees. Many refugees do not realize the difficulties they will face in the transit

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28 While waiting for RSD appointment, a person is an asylum seeker - http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c137.html.
30 Some asylum seekers do not even get the opportunity to have an RSD with UNHCR, e.g. Syrians - and certain Sudanese nationals - http://rsdwatch.wordpress.com/.
nation and ignore the complexity and the time frame associated with resettlement in a developed nation. Jacobsen *et al.* described that in many cases the only way for the situation for refugees in Egypt to improve is through resettlement. The unknown waiting period for formal legal recognition and the desire of being resettled adds to the traumatization and insecurities of many refugees.31

The refugees are left with no choice but to start building their lives door to door with the underprivileged Egyptians. The absence of holistic and intensive integration policies and projects, leave the host community unaware about the nature and definition of refugee rights and duties in Egypt. Furthermore, the underprivileged communities in Egypt themselves struggle to integrate within their own larger community.32 The limbo state leaves these two communities disintegrated, struggling to understand, communicate and create effective relations with each other and creating coping techniques to face their stresses.33

**Social Integration Framework**

Before I present integration from my own perspective as a researcher within Egypt, I will first present two different ways of looking at social integration. The two descriptions I chose to present are practical because they are both based on concrete findings and measurements or frameworks describing integration.

The first definition I want to present is derived from Ager and Strang. Ager and Strang explain that the term integration does not have a specific meaning and each hosting community creates different dimensions associated with integration based on

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31 Jacobsen, Remittances to Transit Countries: The impact on Sudanese refugee livelihoods in Cairo, 2012.
32 The disintegration of underprivileged Egyptians in Egypt is further elaborated in the following chapter.
33 In chapter III I explain further the economic situation for underprivileged Egyptians which is very similar to the circumstances of refugees.
its policies. Furthermore, the authors offer a diagram which explains the different levels and needs to reach the integration process.

**Graph 2.1: Conceptual Framework Defining Core Domains of Integration**

![Conceptual Framework Defining Core Domains of Integration](image)

This diagram is a ‘Conceptual Framework Defining Core Domains of Integration’. I would agree with this framework because it presents all the angles or aspects of what Ager and Strang describes to be ‘effective’ integration. The diagram contains the different levels of human needs to become integrated in his or her new society.

What is most useful about this diagram is that countries claiming they have integration programs would have a framework to go back to as a concrete means to measure the level of effectiveness of their performance and its effect on the refugee communities. Additionally, I agree with Ager and Strang that integration does not have a set meaning. What I find problematic in this framework is that it is does not

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35 Ibid.
address refugees in transit countries, while the transit period can last up to ten years and should not be neglected. Integration efforts in countries like Egypt take place through non-state agents such as non-governmental organizations’ and UNHCR. The integration process would need a framework which takes into account the special characteristics of transitory nations.

Looking at other definitions from a sociological perspective, I find many, but I chose in specific to look at the perspective of Guest and Stamm. Avery M. Guest and Keith R. Stamm present the phenomenon of integration as a path. Integration is a path which refugees take in order to adapt to their surrounding community. During the integration refugees develop new social bonds. The process of building new ties is motivated through different needs and using a variety of what they called ‘integration activities’ depending on the refugee themselves---and the host community. It is a very interactive process. Guest and Stamm show that refugees’ first priority is the search for jobs, housing and other basic needs upon entering a new community. The least priority or preference is given to connecting with churches, community groups and neighbors. Besides both ends (the least and the most) preferred social integration phenomenon were summarized in three paths.

From this research project I take two elements. Firstly, the refugee integration is not only based on policy or state imposition. Rather, refugees are active agents who choose activities and methods of integration. Thus, integration is different from one refugee group to another. Secondly, looking at integration gave me a deeper

36 Guest and Stamm, Paths of Community Integration, 1993.
37 Ibid. For more explanation, first path is the community social integration which is driven by the desire to fulfill needs of households. Connections and networks are built in a way to benefit the household members, family members and community members which the refugee is related to. The second path is the residential integration which simply means building the relationships with neighbors to build new social ties and relations with the ‘new’ community. Finally the third path is the personal integration which is the search for immediate needs like finding a job, developing a skill or even the daily shopping for necessary needs.
understanding of the different ways that the refugees can interact with their ‘new’ communities. It can give a sociological explanation to the interactivity of two communities who come from different races or ethnic groups.

I conducted interviews with current NGO staff members who have been working for refugees for years in Cairo and are promoting integration of refugee communities in Cairo. This allowed me to look at other perceptions of integration. Dr. Baron mentioned that development professionals do not use the word integration, they only believe in ‘intervention’. Intervention initiatives and projects are more realistic and those initiatives are intended to impact integration from the roots. Integration initiatives would aim at what Sofia explained “host communities accepting cultures, traditions of refugees and becoming familiar with them, you (Egyptians) would see them (refugees) as equal”. This equality and acceptance phenomenon does not currently exist between Egyptians themselves, and thus it does not exist between Egyptians and refugees. Again, as Sofia mentioned to me the Egyptian communities – specifically the underprivileged- are not ready to accept or agree to the integration process with its traditional meaning. On the other hand, refugees live with the underprivileged Egyptians and this is a fact which no one could deny so they do need long-term interventions aiming at introducing methods of effective interactions between the two communities.

Moreover, from the side of refugees, Abdoul Raouf explained to me that refugees did not want to stay in Egypt; for many refugees, being resettled is the only way to start a new life full of opportunities. When refugees hear about integration projects in Egypt, they can refuse to participate because they think it can affect their

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38 Dr. Baron is the founder and director of the Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute in Cairo, Egypt (An affiliate of Terre des hommes). Dr. Baron initiated the idea of creating the Tawasul Program to bridge the gap between refugees and their host communities in Cairo.

39 Sofia Tekidou is the former Community Outreach officer in the African and Middle Eastern Refugee Assistance NGO in Cairo, Egypt. Currently she is an Associate Protection Officer in UNHCR.
The desire for refugees to get resettled and the misconceptions they have about the reality of a temporal state kept them stuck in a situation they are told is not permanent.

After examining the two frameworks aforementioned and conducting informal interviews with different social workers, I develop a framework which fits this thesis Egyptian context. Refugees and underprivileged communities are both active agents within the process of integration. Thus when thinking about integration initiatives one must include both communities. The attention and involvement of one group more than another would give space for possible obstacles worsening the integration situation. The different agents are interrelating and social integration could be indicated through understanding social relations between the groups.

Furthermore as previously indicated, Ager and Strang mention that there isn’t a universal meaning for integration. Thus, when thinking about integration it’s important to form a context-specific and culturally-sensitive framework inclusive to all agents of the community of concern. The interviews with NGO workers gave me an understanding that integration in Egypt is a long-term goal which is implemented through intervention initiatives. An Egypt specific framework explains the context within the community with the understanding that there is no one definitions of integration, the relationship between refugees and host communities is a two-way relationship and that projects should not target integration as a short run, rather focus on intervention. Dropping one of the above mentioned factors can cause the framework of analysis to be incomplete. In my research analysis chapter, I explain the phenomenon of integration from the perception of the host community. This is an

\[40\] Abdoul Raouf is a psycho-social caseworker at PSTIC and the coordinator of the Sport Activities in Tawasul Program. Tawasul Program will further be explained in the Research Methodology Chapter, it is one of the initiatives my research closely examines.
initial step to form conceptual frameworks applicable to transitory destinations such as Egypt.

Chapter II: Integration Phenomenon of Refugees’ in Relation to Underprivileged Egyptians in Cairo

In this chapter, I aim to present social integration as a challenge not just for refugees but also for the Egyptian citizens themselves inside Cairo. I believe that underprivileged Egyptians face disintegration in Egypt. Disintegration results from the increasing social gap between the privileged and the unprivileged in Egypt. In 2008 the United Nations Development Program issued a report stating that 20% of the Egyptian population holds 80% of its wealth. Heba ElLeithy\textsuperscript{41} states that there is no change or obvious improvements until 2013 which show that the gap is currently or potentially decreasing.\textsuperscript{42} The high rate of illiteracy and poverty are two outcomes of the existing social gap. According to the EISA there is an approximate of 35% illiterate adults in Egypt.\textsuperscript{43} The article also shows that even the educated middle class populations are getting closer to the poor standard of living.

Furthermore, one of the interviewees, Dr. Rahma, explained to me that the Egyptians can struggle to maintain what is even less than the ‘normal’ rights for themselves.\textsuperscript{44} The struggle can be in accessing good quality health services,

\textsuperscript{41} Heba Al-Leithi, a professor at the Social and Economic Studies Centre in Cairo, believes that 40 per cent of the population at least is poor - http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/4148/32/How-to-defeat-poverty-.aspx.
\textsuperscript{44} Dr.Rahma is a medical doctor in the Medical Unit at the International Organization for Migration (IOM). She works as a Medical Coordinator with human trafficking victims in Egypt and also works with refugee community leaders to give them skills necessary for adapting in Egyptian host community.
education, transportation and even employment.\textsuperscript{45} To further explore the underprivileged Egyptians' disintegration phenomenon and how it affects the refugees I tackle two dynamics: geography and economic challenges.

The first factor which is noteworthy is the geography of African refugees in Cairo. The distribution of African refugees in urban Cairo places them in areas where they live next door to underprivileged Egyptians. The housing strategy is a key indicator showing how the dis-integration is a dilemma shared by both the refugee and the underprivileged Egyptian citizen. The second factor is the economic challenges, which I specifically explore through the low incomes and the unemployment in Egypt. The two factors present the importance or necessity of looking at the context of social integration of refugees not just on the level of refugees themselves as a vulnerable group of people, but rather on the level of the whole underprivileged areas.\textsuperscript{46} Vulnerability in Egypt is an increasing phenomenon throughout the whole area.

\textit{Geography/Areas}

Taking a look at the communities in which refugees reside allows me to more fully understand and explore the situation and circumstances of refugees in Cairo. Refugees share underprivileged areas in urban Cairo with Egyptian citizens. There are no camps available in Egypt and this means that upon arriving in Cairo refugees are required to find their livelihoods within urban cities of Cairo.\textsuperscript{47} Cairo is the only city with refugee service providers and an UNHCR office. Additionally, Alexandria is the only other viable city for refugee population and Caritas is the only available refugee

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} As a reminder, I included what I mean by the term ‘underprivileged’ in the definitions section included in the beginning of the thesis.
financial and medical services provider.\textsuperscript{48} Thus, refugees have no choice except to live in urban Cairo\textsuperscript{49} while living side by side with Egyptians.\textsuperscript{50} This geographical distribution of refugees makes me believe that studying the circumstances which refugees are forced to live into is rather shared by another underprivileged vulnerable group who are the underprivileged Egyptian citizens. To be more specific it is also noteworthy to mention the areas where refugees are located in Cairo:

\textit{Table 3.1 – Distribution of Refugees Communities in Cairo (Feinstein Research Center, 2012)}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Refugee Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aim Shams - North East</td>
<td>Cairo, Sudanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasr City - East Cairo</td>
<td>Kilo Arba wa Nus – Sudanese, and El Hay el Asher – Somali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heliopolis, Abbassia, Sakakini – Central North Cairo</td>
<td>Mixed Nationalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdeen - Old Cairo downtown</td>
<td>Sudanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maadi Arab/Hadayek Maadi - South Cairo</td>
<td>Mixed Nationalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dokki, Ard el Lewa, Bulaq el Dakrur - West Cairo</td>
<td>Eritrean, Ethiopian, Sudanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth October City - West of Cairo</td>
<td>Sudanese</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this table, most African refugees live in ‘manate’ sha’beia’ and slum areas in Cairo.\textsuperscript{51} Amnesty report quotes that Egyptians living in slums and

\textsuperscript{48} Danielson, Urban refugee protection in Cairo: the role of communication, information and technology, 2012.

\textsuperscript{49} The UNHCR office is located in sixth of October area, Egypt which is closest to the Cairo governorate.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{51} Manate’ sha’beia would mean in English - local areas (areas characterized by being low-income and highly populated). The difference between the local and the slum areas is that local area are in better conditions than the slums and additionally it consists of formal settlements , unlike the slums mainly containing informal settlements. For further explanation read David Sums, The Case of Cairo, Egypt, 2003. Sims
underprivileged areas are “buried alive” since they struggle with poverty and are neglected by the Egyptian government.\textsuperscript{52} After major dramatic incidents where improperly-built shelters break down, the government does not show prevention techniques for the disaster before it takes place, nor does it create a post-plan for protection and housing.\textsuperscript{53}

Furthermore, informal settlements grew rapidly in Egypt to an extent that Sejourne explains that in 1998, there was no less than seven million people living in informal settlement and by 2006 the number increased by 2\%.\textsuperscript{54} According to Sabry in 1996, 34\% of Egypt's urban population was living in slums and more recent statistics show that since 2008 the population has been increasing, they are estimate closer to 60\% of Greater Cairo's residents.\textsuperscript{55} The most recent statistics in 2012 show that 43\% of the Egyptian population resides in urban areas.\textsuperscript{56} This percentage would be around 45-50 million individuals, and around 8 million of them live in slums.\textsuperscript{57} Along the years the poverty level and informal settlement are increasing.

Those settlements are very special in their characteristics and are even isolated from the whole Egyptian community. For instance, an area like Ezbet El-Haggana which is in Kilo Arbaa wa Nos included in Table 3.1 above is an informal settlement\textsuperscript{58}. The ‘informal’ label applied to these areas gives a notion of illegality, criminality as if areas of hidden diseases that pose threats to other, and surrounding communities.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54} Sejourne, The History of Informal Settlements, 2009.
\textsuperscript{56} Feinstein International Center, Refugee Livelihoods in Urban Areas: Identifying Program Opportunities Case study Egypt, 2012.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
Azza El-Gazar, mentioned that people living in informal settlement have their own social constructs, hierarchy and even law which allow people to build support systems for themselves since they believe they do not have governmental officials who are responsible for them. The refugees in these areas are also stigmatized by the same label. This would mean that even though refugees and so called ‘informally housed’ Egyptians face a stigma by the outer world makes them both disintegrated. Both communities develop their own social constructs, community law-like framework and methods of developing resources.

**Social Integration and Economic Challenges**

Even though only 25% of the Egyptian population lives under the poverty line, another 22 % live close enough to the poverty line that they deserve to be included in the official definition of poverty. This economic crisis affects both nationals and refugees. I begin with addressing the general economic difficulties in Egypt. Monthly incomes for refugees and underprivileged Egyptians are considered to be either below the poverty line or in a continuously state of flux which presents economic challenges and risks. According to most recent statistics in *Al-Ahram Online*, the poverty rate is increasing on a yearly basis. For instance, in the year 2010/2011 poverty reached 25.5% compared to the year of 2008/2009 when poverty was 21.6%. A report

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59 Azza El-Gazzar (a field researcher who has been visiting different under developed areas in Egypt for thirteen years and a consultant with the Center for Development Support) in discussion with Rasha Salem, July 2013.
published by Amnesty in 2011 show the Egyptian authorities' failure to consult communities living in such circumstances. 62

This general economic crisis is also shared by refugees due to their limited financial assistance. Their monthly incomes can be very low or inexistenct because they are unable to find jobs within Egypt due to the unclear status of the Egyptian authorities towards refugee employment. As a Caritas Focal Point during my internship I learned that the financial assistance which refugees receive from the UNHCR and Caritas ranges from 400 EGP to 1200 EGP per month which is the equivalent to 58 USD to 174 USD. The range differs depending on the number of family members.63

The one indicator of poverty which I focus on is unemployment of both communities. Unemployment leads to the increase rate of demand for informal jobs and furthermore increases the sense of disintegration shared by refugees and underprivileged Egyptians. Al-Leithi’s explains that the major reason of poverty is unemployment, which has grown exponentially in Egypt since the 25 January Revolution. The economic unproductivity in Egypt since the 25th of January Revolution caused 4500 companies to shut down. Additionally, according to CAPMAS, the unemployment rate is growing. In 2013 there were 3.5 million64 young Egyptians unemployed, which is higher than the rate in 2012 – 2.3 million individuals.65

62 Ibid.
63 Caritas is partner organization with UNHCR and only source of financial and medical assistance for refugees in Cairo and Alexandria, http://www.caritas.org/worldmap/mona/egypt.html.
64 This is 13.6% of the work force in Egypt.
The World Bank in 2011 published a report stating that after the revolution, Egypt continued to face severe economic problems, with 13% of its young population unable to find jobs and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate decreased into 2.2% in the quarter of ‘October-December 2012/2013’ and the investments decreased into 13% in ‘July-December’ 2012/2013. On another note, according to Lewis, Egypt’s 1951 Convention reservations “effectively cripple refugees’ ability to create livelihoods within the boundaries of domestic law.” Consequently, both the nationals and the refugees are left with no choice but to seek jobs in informal sectors of the economy.

According to Al-Ahram Weekly the informal sector is growing because of jobs scarcity in the formal sector. Furthermore, young Egyptians often lack adequate skills to enter the formal sector. Additionally, the complexities associated with starting a small business in Egypt stop many people from entrepreneurial projects. For refugees, even with the challenge of finding a job in the informal sector, it is more likely for them to experience exploitation in their workplace with workers. This is because they are exposed to illegal and dangerous settings during their jobs or during their job hunt. In conclusion, the informal sector does not allow for social integration to a nation as it leaves people in a very precarious situation, without any kind of protection, training, access to credit and it strips them of their dignity as they feel on the fringe of society.

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67 Lewis, “Come, we kill what is called ‘persecution life’, 2011.
69 Ibid
70 Ibid
Underprivileged areas are a mix and match of different people, specific traditions and a special context of their own. All of those aspects are important to understand social integration in Cairo from a holistic perspective including the context and all agents in the disintegration dilemma.\textsuperscript{71}

Chapter III: NGO Perspective: Integration and Host Community in Cairo

After discussing the different factors in the Egyptian context which have an effect on the social integration phenomenon, I move on to look at the NGOs in Egypt. In this chapter I present how NGOs in Egypt are looking at the involvement of the underprivileged Egyptian communities in the social integration process as a necessary action to create effective projects. I will use information I received from my interviewees along with secondary data to support the points I present. In order to get the most recent vision of the NGOs in Egypt I interviewed 10 representatives and workers from 7 different NGOs.\textsuperscript{72}

The first reason or need to involve and understand the host community is to give attention to the daily stressors which refugees experience after reaching their destinations thinking they found the life they deserve. I understood the daily stressors phenomenon within the Egyptian context by analyzing the surrounding community which shapes those stressors. The second reason is the political uprisings in Egypt. We live in a country where political changes and news are dramatic and what happens on a political level affects the common man in the street. The uprisings I look at and

\textsuperscript{71} Several research projects conducted with an anthropological perspective showed the characteristics of the underprivileged areas. These characteristics need to be studied in order to realize the effect of poverty and economic challenges on the perception of the underprivileged individual in Cairo and the relations between groups of people. Thorough exploration is beyond the scope of this thesis and other anthropological sources can be useful for further projects and deep anthropological analysis. Some suggested readings are Sawsan Messiri’s work - *Ibn al-Balad: A Concept of Egyptian Identity*, Mark Allen Peterson News Parody and Social Media: The Rise of Egypt’s Fifth Estate.

\textsuperscript{72} Details about my methodological approaches and exact research results for these interviews are included in chapter V - Methodology Chapter.
analyze are the events which have been taking place from the beginning of this year-
January 2013 until now August 2013.\textsuperscript{73} The uprisings did deteriorate the situation for
refugees and this will be further explained below.

Before I proceed I would like to present that the reactions of the NGOs
towards the word ‘integration’ was that it did not have a practical existence in the
Egyptian context. The suggested suitable phrase was ‘intervention’ which is meant to
refer to short term effects or a ‘moments of positive communication’. The long term
objectives or aim of the interventions is to initiate possible doors of social integration.
This objective is not foreseen to take place in the near future.\textsuperscript{74} Throughout this
chapter I refer to intervention projects as the initial step for integration processes.

\textit{Host Community and Refugees’ Daily Stressors}

Daily stressors for refugees are a continuation of the challenges they are
expected to face to keep pursuing their right of finding a new life. According to Miller
and Rasmussen there are two ways of addressing or looking at the refugee situation.
One way is the trauma-focused approach which focuses on the trajectory incidents
which refugees experience in their homelands and during the escape journey from
their countries to their destination countries. The trauma-focused approach would
shed the light and the efforts of assistance to the refugee at a level of concentrating on
the pre-arrival and during the travel to the destination countries. The other way is the
psychosocial approach which enables developers and researchers to pay attention to
the refugee situation based on a three dimensional vision. The three dimensional
vision covers the before leaving the homeland, during the travel from homeland to

\textsuperscript{73} The political incidents since 30/6 protests against Dr.Mohamed Morsy’s presidency have caused
dramatic changes in the refugee – citizen relations. I was not able to gather data about this change in
specific due to the time constrain and focus of my study.

\textsuperscript{74} This will be further explained in the Methodology Chapter.
destination country and finally the daily stressors and incidents which take place after the refugee arrives to their destination country.\textsuperscript{75}

As part of addressing the daily stressors phenomenon, I highlighted the necessity of understanding underprivileged Egyptians and their perceptions towards the African refugees. During my field research interviews I asked my interviewees about their opinion towards the importance of involving the Egyptian community to develop the refugee lives in Cairo. The 10 interviewees all agreed upon the existing need to highlight and understand the perceptions of the host community. Even though they all gave different reasons, 7 out of the 10 interviewees agreed to the fact that African refugees do experience different forms of what they called ‘discrimination’.\textsuperscript{76}

The different discriminatory acts add to the daily stressors which refugees experience in Egypt. Understanding the basic perception of the host community after they are exposed to intervention programs which allow direct communication with African refugees is important in order to study this phrase of ‘discrimination’. Thus to build upon the opinions of the NGO workers, I questioned the host community interviewees about their perceptions towards their neighboring refugees. This perception will clarify the term of ‘discrimination’- is it really discrimination or is it another phenomenon or dilemma?

Additionally, to elaborate more on the daily stressors which affect the mental health\textsuperscript{77} of the refugees I questioned the effect of what the refugees hear in the Egyptian streets on their already traumatized situation. In one of my interviews with

\textsuperscript{75} Miller and Rasmussen, War exposure, daily stressors, and mental health in conflict and post-conflict settings, 2010.
\textsuperscript{76} I was able to gain this knowledge during my Internship as part-time researcher with the Feinstein Research Center, Tufts University and American University in Cairo. Paper to show final report: Feinstein International Center, Refugee Livelihoods in Urban Areas: Identifying Program Opportunities Case study Egypt, 2012.
\textsuperscript{77} To know more about the effect of daily stressors on the refugees’ mental health refer to Miller and Rasmussen, War exposure, daily stressors, and mental health in conflict and post-conflict settings, 2010.
Nagwa who is both a Sudanese refugee and a community leader, she explains to me that refugees including herself come with enough burdens and they experienced what they can describe to be ‘extremely terrifying’.\textsuperscript{78} For them they get ‘hit by reality’ that they have to struggle to get their basic needs and they might be forced to stay in their transit countries for a long while. During their stay which can be permanent they experience what Nagwa described to be ‘degradation of their identity’. Nagwa continued to explain to me that the ‘degrading’ comments or acts might go back to the cultural differences which appear in daily interaction on the street or to the absence of awareness or knowledge towards the presence of refugees in Cairo. Lastly in another Interview with Jakob Lindford he shared a quote by a refugee which said:

\begin{quote}
\textit{“I don’t always have enough to eat, can’t find a good job and live in poor housing. However, I can live with all these problems if only my neighbours were kind to me.”} (Refugee living in Cairo, Egypt)\textsuperscript{79}
\end{quote}

In conclusion daily stressors are one reason why NGOs I met with supported the need to understand Egyptian peoples’ perspectives as an initial step to create possible developmental ideas towards decreasing or facing daily stressors in Cairo. I will proceed to the second reason why involving Egyptians is important or is a trend which some NGOs are following in Egypt.

\textit{Political Uprisings}

The second motivation or reason is the political uprisings which have been happening in Egypt since January 2011. In Egypt, there had been political changes, challenges and dramatic shifts taking place from one political party to another. The

\textsuperscript{78} Nagwa is a refugee in Egypt; she is a psycho-social caseworker in PSTIC and an actress in the Going to the Neighbor’s House theatre play. I talk more about this play in my research methodology chapter.

\textsuperscript{79} Jakob Lindford is the Director of Going to the Neighbor’s House play. This play is conducted by PSTIC in association with Outa Hamra (Red Tomatoes) theatre team whom are also street clowns. Outa Hamra conduct “Street clowning and social theatre for change through workshops and performances in public spaces with a focus on the underprivileged of Egypt - https://www.facebook.com/OUTAHAMRA
political uprisings create deteriorated circumstances for both the refugee and the underprivileged communities. During the interviews, it was clear that the political uprisings led the situation to deteriorate. Before the 25th of January revolution, the aforementioned stressors still existed, but after the revolution the stressors grew and violence increased.\textsuperscript{80} Since the revolution the Egyptian people experienced the shift of three governmental regimes. The first shift was from the 30 year Mubarak Regime to the Egyptian Military Regime, then the regime shifted from the military rule to Mohamed Morsy’s regime\textsuperscript{81} that many people believed to be part of the Muslim Brotherhood Party. Now in the present time the regime is in the hands of a temporary transitional government since August 2013 and Mohamed Morsy has been forcefully removed. Through my interviews, I got exposed to how these changes actually have an effect on the perceptions of the host community towards the refugees in their neighbourhoods. According to Dr. Baron, the incident or political decision which took place by former Egyptian president Mohamed Morsy regarding The Renaissance Ethiopian Dam actually put the Ethiopian refugees in heightened danger which adds to their state of limbo and their daily stressors in Egypt. From my work at AMERA as an intern I found that Ethiopian refugees and specifically those who are Oromo are one of the most vulnerable groups of refugees in Egypt due to the fact that they cannot speak the Arabic language.

Dr. Baron further explained that they are even worried to conduct activities like the Going to the Neighbor’s House theatre play because they feared violent acts or comments would take place between the children and the refugees. Another interviewee named Sofia mentioned that the Egyptians are angry at the Ethiopians in

\textsuperscript{80} Many newspapers wrote about xenophobia and violence towards refugees in Cairo after the 30/6 incidents in Egypt. One example: http://www.indianexpress.com/news/syrian-refugees-bearing-blame-for-promohamed-morsi-protests-in-egypt/1146585/.

\textsuperscript{81} The duration of the regime took place from June 30 2012 until June 30 2013.
the country thinking that they ‘agree’ to what their Ethiopian government did to Egypt. She mentioned some Egyptians can state comments like they (Ethiopians) ‘took away their Nile water’. In OPride online newsletter the Ethiopian refugees in Cairo conducted protests in front of the UNHCR urging the authorities to protect them from the discriminatory acts they experience by Egyptian nationals. It is also mentioned in the newsletter that the refugees were not able to neither get the protection of the police in their areas nor find the adequate health care to save their lives and injuries when they got attacked.

Moreover, the other political incident which showed how refugee perception can get affected is the most recent involvement of different Middle Eastern refugees protesting with the pro-Morsy protests. In these protests some Syrians who can be refugees or immigrants were involved and thus the traditional hospitality and the obvious amount of assistance which took place with Syrian refugees negatively affected. Ahmed Awadallah from the Daily News explains that for Syrians, the access to various service providers which served the Egyptian citizens was easier and this allowed integration in the community to be possible and faster than African refugees.

After the media highlighted the presence of Syrians in the pro-Morsy protests which took place in Rabaa Adaweia District in Cairo Syrian refugees experience intense discriminatory acts and started to feel unwelcomed in the Egyptian

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82 Sofia Tekidou is the former Community Outreach officer in the African and Middle Eastern Refugee Assistance NGO in Cairo, Egypt. Currently she is an Associate Protection Officer in UNHCR.
84 Ibid.
86 Syrian refugees caught in the crossfire in Egypt, France 24, Last modified Aug. 5 2013.
community. According to France 24 online news channel\textsuperscript{87} the violent acts committed towards the Syrian refugees had increased tremendously or more specifically ‘tripled’ during the past few months when the protests began. Also, businesses which opened approximately during the month of July were destroyed and according to the Human Rights Watch the police arrested 81 Syrians without any charges being stated only in two days – 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} July 2013.\textsuperscript{88} This tremendous change in the treatment of Syrian refugees and the reported attack on the Ethiopian refugees based on political occurrences shows the need to give attention to the Egyptian people who directly communicate with refugees in their neighbourhoods.

After presenting both the daily stressors phenomenon and the political uprising effects I will included in Appendix I some of the most recent intervention projects which took place in Egypt in a table form. They all took place in the past three years. This shows the recent trend or need for intervention projects - by different NGOs - which would pave the way for possible social integration processes for African refugees in Egypt. Some of these projects I was able to cover in my field research through interviewing both the organizers and participants. Other projects I was only able to interview organizers.\textsuperscript{89}

\textbf{Chapter IV: Research Methodology}

In the beginning of the following section I will explain my methodology by restating the research questions that form the basis of this thesis. Later, I go on to state my research methodology framework which frames my work to answer the questions. The methodology research framework is the general guide and belief I have when

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{88} HRW calls on Egypt to respect rights of Syrian refugees, Daily News Egypt, Last modified July 25 2013.
\textsuperscript{89} Details in research methodology chapter.
looking and examining the Egyptian host community. Then, I present the specific research methods used to answer the following research questions. Following, I include the interviewees’ description through a numeral presentation along with description of question guide used with interviewees.

**Research Questions**

1) What are the perceptions of the Egyptian host community who have interacted with African Refugees, towards their presence in Cairo?
   a) What is the effect of exposure to intervention projects on the perception of the underprivileged Egyptian host community towards the presence of the African refugees?
   b) Do tensions exist between local community and African refugees challenging interactions between both communities living or interacting in proximity to each other? If so, then what are the nature and the level of these existing tensions?
2) How does the Egyptian host community perceive the integration phenomenon of African refugees in Cairo?
3) How do the NGOs working directly with refugees define the need for creating intervention projects in Cairo involving both the refugee and the host community member?

**Research Methodology Framework**

The research methodology framework used to develop this thesis is based on the ethnography research approach supported by the concept of the participatory theory of development. According to Jan Savage, the ethnographic approach implies that social researchers would not form conclusions or recommendations on quantifying the facts they see themselves, but rather by focusing on the meanings behind what the interviewees’ share.\(^9^0\) Savage continues to explain that this approach goes back to the social anthropology field which focuses on the studies of small communities which shares certain beliefs and traditions.\(^9^1\) With time, ethnography has grown to be sensitive towards the differences between the beliefs and traditions of the humans within one community.

\(^{91}\) Ibid.
In other words, just because people belong to one neighborhood, it does not mean that they are all alike. Furthermore, from a practical experience Wikan’s study in 1980,92 explains ethnography approach, as a way for social researchers to conduct their studies through living closely to the circumstances and environment of the groups of people under study. In my case being a young Egyptian girl who has been living in Cairo for the past seven years, I related to the lives of my research subjects with respect to our social differences. Saying so being an Egyptian is challenge I faced during my research and will explain furthermore below.

On the first hand, the addition which my Egyptian identity added to this research is my relationship to extended family and friends who comes from different social classes and they live in different cities in Cairo gives me an extended look into peoples’ social circumstances in Egypt. My extended family live all over Cairo and in two other governorates: Al-Mansoura and Al-Monofeia. This allowed me to see different parts of Egypt and physically experience the varied social structures and standards which my family members live through. Within my family, I have the highly educated member, the farmer, the illiterate individual and the incompletely educated people with deep intellectual philosophies in life. This enabled me to open my eyes beyond the ‘affluent’ area I live in with its easily-accessed services. Also, it also enabled me to witness the social gap between the wealthy and the non-wealthy in Egypt. Moreover, besides my own network, I also observed the different changing moments of revolt in Egypt. This experience allowed me to better understand the

92 Unni Wikan, Life Among the Poor in Cairo, Translated by (Ann Henning), (Tavistock Publications), 1976. Wikan used the ethnography approach in a project inside Egypt. Through her study I realized that the underprivileged Egyptian communities are complex due to the poverty which people experienced for years.
profound influence of these dramatic political incidents on Egyptians themselves both during and since the revolution.

On another hand, coming from the Egyptian culture can risk my ability to objectify and separate my own identity from the data collected. While I do face economical, psychological and social challenges myself, it is not to the extent that underprivileged communities might face and also I do not live within a context where I interact with refugees on a daily basis. My goal is to stop myself from forming assumptions about the Egyptian-African refugee relationship and to avoid using my own perceptions and background in analyzing this research topic.

To further illustrate my goal, I use the Participatory Development of Theory (PD) to limit the risks I can fall into as an Egyptian conducting research with other Egyptians. PD refers to the usage of bottom up research approaches which would help me provide a clear, objective understanding towards the real effect and extent of the social phenomenon under examination. PD was initially developed by Robert Chambers.93 Chambers applied this concept to the rural development need or aim by many development agents and authorities. As described by Giles’ reference to Robert Chambers PD is the only way of ‘putting the last first’.94 Through PD the ‘first’ has the duty of understanding and learning the behaviors of those who come ‘last in the development hierarchy’. The ‘first’ on the hierarchy are those who are academics, scientists and non-governmental organizations’ owners and leaders and the ‘last’ are the populations of concern.95 Chambers states that who comes first in the hierarchy actually begins their development process by forming a deep understanding of what

94 Ibid.
the people at the end of the hierarchy live through. This understanding takes place by involving those who come last in the hierarchy in all the steps of the development, especially in the first step which is the research or the understanding stage of development.  

Research Approach

In order to answer the research questions, I adopted the Triangulation Approach, integrating several research methods to cross check findings to answer my research questions. According to Denzin and Lincoln the triangulation approach enables researchers to use multiple methods all connected or integrated together to allow for in-depth understanding of one specific phenomenon. Jick explains that the Triangulation Approach started by Campbell and Fiskel in 1959 and refers to Bouchard who explains that the reason behind the invention of this approach is to test the ‘validity’ of research findings by showing that different methods can either produce the similar or dissimilar results. For the purpose of my research the usage and implementation of several research methods gives me the chance to analyze information on the same research phenomenon from different angles. Looking at different angles opens the door for challenges and opportunities which can face the phenomenon of citizen-refugee ‘interactions’ and can increase the validation of the research results since they are looked at from a variety of perceptions.

Moreover, even though I am using different methods, they are all aimed at gathering qualitative data. Thus, according to Jick, since my methods are all qualitative, I am using a ‘within-method’ triangulation approach which according to

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96 ibid
97 Denzin and Lincoln, the Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research, Introduction, 2005.
98 Jick, Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action, pp. 602-61 1, 2006
his definition refers to the usage of a number of different methods to gather the same type of data.\textsuperscript{99} In this case, the information gathered can be cross examined as a way to study consistency and reliability of the data.\textsuperscript{100} This does not mean that my data or results are free of error; it would just mean that I would have more confidence about my results and I would be able to look at my questions from more than one angle. This would mean I can challenge my findings through comparing the results of each qualitative method.

The first method of research I used is unstructured interviews with different active NGOs in Egypt. The NGOs I visited directly serve refugees in Cairo or have the awareness of their presence in Egyptians’ neighborhoods. During these interviews I explored my first research question about how the NGOs define the need for creating intervention projects in Cairo involving both the refugee and the host community member.

What makes those interviews unstructured is the fact that I gave the interviewees the space to direct or guide me to new ideas and even approaches to my research. My goal in these interviews was to learn more about the integration phenomenon in the opinions of people who have been in the field working with refugees and understand the Egyptian framework. The use of unstructured interviews with development workers gave me the chance to not feel like I have to abide by specific questions or even specific order. I chose four different organizations: Africa and Middle-East Refugee Assistance NGO (AMERA), the Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute in Cairo (PSTIC), the International Organization for Migration Regional Office in Cairo (IOM) and Outa Hamra Theatre Group. PSTIC, IOM and Outa Hamra Theatre Group are all organizations which conducted projects to decrease

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
the cultural gap between refugees and host community. Additionally, AMERA’s Community Outreach and Psychosocial Team Leaders gave me the general picture of the difficulties refugees’ face, thus enhancing the necessity of reaching out to the host community. I made sure the different NGO workers I interviewed included refugees, Egyptians and other nationalities. This mix of backgrounds implies that interviewees were not just people who talk from their offices, they rather relate to this topic on a personal level too.

My questions directed to NGO and various workers in the field revolved around three categories. The first category is the necessity of including the underprivileged host community when creating and implementing integration projects. The second category is about the practical possibility for the word ‘integration’ within the Egyptian context. Finally, the last category is the role of the refugees themselves in this integration process.

After meeting with the different NGO staff members, I moved on to start the second stage of my research where I used another research method. In this stage I used semi-structured interviews with Egyptians who interact with refugees through participating in the currently formed intervention programs. The interviewees of my research are all Egyptians. I selected the areas and the individuals according to the different intervention programs which took place in Egypt in the past three years. This way I got an idea about the perception of Egyptians who already have been exposed to refugee. Examining intervention programs gave me the chance to base my recommendations on practical circumstances and ideas from the host community. Practical recommendations extracted and inspired from the community allow researchers and social workers to acknowledge unraveled opportunities or understand ways of improving current projects.
I chose to access participants of two intervention projects. The first project is the Tawasul Project\textsuperscript{101} which contains several programs. The aim of the project is to create the chance and the environment for Egyptians and refugees to communicate and exchange ideas. Tawasul allows exchange of cultures in different forms.\textsuperscript{102} The three intervention techniques or programs which are part of the Tawasul project that I chose to concentrate on are football tournaments, art and painting workshops and the theatre play.

The football tournaments and different artistic workshops were for both boys and girls. The usage of sports and arts to gather both Egyptians community members and African refugees is one method of intervention. The participants of both the programs are usually children, but their parents also get exposed to the activities since they come and wait for their children to finish. Besides arts and sports there is also the intervention by the theatre play “Going to the Neighbor’s House”. This play is with collaboration between PSTIC and Outa Hamra, the theater group.\textsuperscript{103} The play has been seen by varies audiences and started in 2010, three years ago. I was able to access children under the age of 18, mothers and young adults who were exposed to the plays. These three programs would allow me to evaluate the effectiveness of intervention ideas depending on the feedback and perceptions of the Egyptians.

\textsuperscript{101} According to their Facebook page - https://www.facebook.com/tawasul.cairo?fref=ts - the Tawasul Project started in December 2012 by the Psychosocial Services Training Institute in Cairo (PSTIC) with Terre des Hommes and the American University in Cairo. PSTIC Facebook page is - https://www.facebook.com/groups/238271728316/.

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{103} According to their Facebook group - https://www.facebook.com/OUTAHAMRA - , Outa Hamra is a clowning theatre focused on reaching underprivileged communities in Egypt and conducting street plays to address social development topics. According to Rational Document provided to me by Jakob Lindford (director of the play) in “May 2010 PSTIC partnered with an Egyptian based theater organization facilitated through Clowns without Border, France. Two theater directors and 5 Egyptian actors partnered with 8 of the PSTIC trained refugee psychosocial workers who are Sudanese, Somalia, Eritrean, Iraqi and Ethiopian to form the PSTIC Neighborhood Theater Company. Together, they created an interactive theater production titled ‘Going to the Neighbor's House’.”
To expand my audience I also looked at the Eye on Human Rights Conference (EHR) – Model of Organization of Islamic Cooperation (MOIC) in Egypt which took place in February 2013. I was a participant and a presenter in the conference myself representing the topic of African Refugee Integration in Egypt. This conference was the first to be organized by Egyptian organizers regarding the refugee issue. The main aim of the conference was to discuss the humanitarian situation of different refugee groups inside and outside Egypt. According to their Facebook group, MOIC’s focus is to spread awareness amongst the Arab youth about the different humanitarian topics which the yearly conference adopts.104

The participation of my interviewees in the intervention programs are in two different forms. The first group of participants is those who share their neighborhoods with African refugees. The second group of participants consists of Egyptians who attended the intervention event or program and they do not live with refugees in their neighborhoods. The second group only got exposed to the presence of refugees during the intervention project they were exposed to. The one common factor between the two groups of interviewees is that they have attended one or more of the aforementioned intervention projects.

Finally, the third method I use in my triangulation approach is my own one-year practical experience prior to my thesis research. My practical experience took place starting from February 2012 until February 2013. My two experiences as a Volunteer Part-Time Researcher and a Psycho-social Caseworker Intern gave me different insights about the refugee situation in Egypt. Both experiences were building blocks for this research project. The work as a volunteer part-time researcher gave me the chance to work with six young field researchers who come from the six refugee

104 https://www.facebook.com/events/410697645686928/
communities in Egypt: Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Iraq and Somalia. From working closely and assisting in training and supervising my fellow team members, I learned that there are differences between the way Egyptians interact with Africa and Non-African communities.\textsuperscript{105} I realized that there are different racial indicators which play a role in the way the host community treats the different refugee groups.

Furthermore, when I worked at AMERA as a psychosocial caseworker I gained deeper understanding of refugees’ feelings, perceptions and needs. I realized that refugees go through tragic changes and possibly traumatizing challenges before they leave their countries, during their flight and finally after they arrive to what they expect to be their ‘transit’ destination.\textsuperscript{106} I will be using my field experience throughout my thesis to compare and contrast my research findings to my work and reach a holistic analysis.

\textit{Interviewees Description}

My research is divided into the two stages described above. This section gives a numeral description of the two stages together. The total numbers of my interviewees were 51 individuals. 65 percent of my interviewees were area specific, meaning attended intervention programs and live in proximity to African refugees. 35 percent of my interviewees were Non-Area Specific divided between NGO workers and people who attended intervention programs but do not live close to African refugees. The following table presents the specific characteristics of the different people I talked to:

\textsuperscript{105} My Internship at the African and Middle Eastern Refugee Assistance NGO (AMERA) gave me the chance to get close to individual refugee cases through one-on-one sessions. Working closely with refugees made me understand the refugee situation in Egypt from several perspectives: social, economic, political and psychological.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
65% area specific Interviewees from Ard El-Lewa, Maadi 77 and Hay Al-Asher\textsuperscript{107}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Al-Hay Al-Asher| - 6 male child participants in football tournaments and art workshops  
|                | - 1 male adult, the Captain of the children team and volunteering in the Tawasul football project. |
| Ard El Lewa    | - 6 male children participated in Tawasul projects including football, games, art and the theatre play.  
|                | - 2 female children participated in Tawasul projects including football, games, art and the theatre play.  
|                | - 2 adult volunteers 1 female and 1 male- both are captains. The male is a football captain, while the female teaches women how to sew.  
|                | - 1 mother of a participant who used to come and watch all activities her daughter was a part of entire Tawasul Project. |
| Maadi 77       | - 4 mothers  
|                | - 1 girl above 18  
|                | - 8 children – 6 boys and 2 girls |

35% are non-area specific interviewees:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| NGO staff members| - 2 members from AMERA  
|                 | - 4 from PSTIC and Outa Hamra Theatre Group  
|                 | - 1 from IOM  
|                 | - 2 Egyptian field researchers  
|                 | - 1 from UNHCR |
| Others          | - 3 young adults who were part of MOIC conference.  
|                 | - 5 young adults watched/volunteered as actors of the theatre play |

\textsuperscript{107} Chapter 4 contains table showing the refugee community concentrations are in these areas
Questions Guide

For the purpose of interviewing the host community members I created a question guide with different questioning formats. I asked ten main questions to participants in interviews which take the average from 20 to 30 minutes. I asked the questions using two strategies. The first is to ask direct questions about my interviewees’ opinions and impressions regarding the different programs which they participated in. My goal behind these direct questions is to simply know the interviewee’s opinions about the quality and the ideas of the existing intervention programs around them. Amongst these direct questions I also ask about the different impressions which the viewers had towards the different refugee groups represented in the programs. Additionally, I also ask about the effect of the political incidents on refugee perception in the streets.

My other strategy was to ask indirect questions about the effect of the intervention program on their perceptions of host community participants on the African refugees. Through the indirect questions I used different approaches. One approach I took with the interviewees was to ask about the level of relativity or interaction which they would accept to have with the African refugees. Sell studied the extent, willingness and perception of the acceptance of one national group towards another using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale.108 Sell describes this scale as a way to simply ask one person from one ethnic group if they consider the ‘other’ to be there, “(1) family member (e.g., spouse of sibling); (2) close friend; (3) neighbor; (4) coworker (e.g., in

the same office, shop, or factory); (5) speaking acquaintance; (6) visitor to the
country; (7) or whether they would exclude the person from their country”. 109

Besides questioning the ‘accepted’ relativity level of Egyptians towards African
refugees, I also use other forms of indirect questions. For instance, I use the
situational questions format. This format of questions allows me as an interviewee to
present an imaginary situation in the future to see or examine how the interviewee
would behave after exposure to the intervention program. 110 Additionally, I also use
the Experience-based questions format. This format examines the ‘past’ experiences.
Therefore, if I question how the interviewee would act towards a violent situation
which he or she observes the African refugee experiencing, I would also ask how they
acted in situations before the program. Both the situational and the experience-based
formats of questions are usually used in structured interviews to gather qualitative
data. 111 I do allow myself to deviate from my questions guide, thus using questions
formats usually used in structured interviews in examining behavior through semi-
structured interviews.

**Chapter V: Research Findings**

**Stage I Research Findings**

The following findings are based on stage I of my research where I conducted
interviews with 9 different NGOs. Stage I of my data collection answers the third
research question: *How do the NGOs working directly with refugees define the need
for creating intervention projects in Cairo involving both the refugee and the host
community member?* This stage paves the way for me to go into stage II of my field

109 Ibid.
110 Ellis, et.al. The Use of Impression Management Tactics in Structured Interviews, 2002.
111 Ibid.
work where I interviewed members of the Egyptian community. I will proceed by presenting the research findings grouped in themes or codes I created after reading all the transcripts.

1.1. Definition and Possibility of Integration within the Egyptian Context

Integration is not a choice – refugees live here either they want to or not and regardless of the Egyptian acceptance of said refugees, there are moments of interaction that have to take place between them. While talking about integration, there is a need for realizing what reality imposes on refugees. This reality presentation involves realizing and acknowledging that the Egyptians are in a situation similar to that of their neighboring refugees. Additionally, it is important for development workers to realize that integration in its traditional meaning does not match the Egyptian context. As Sofia from AMERA explained “Integration means that you’re accepting cultures, traditions, you’re becoming familiar, you’re not only the host one but you see them as equal and I don’t know when – with no offense – the Egyptians are ready to do something like this. But saying living together is much better. That means at least you can live next to each other”\(^{112}\). Another translation or implementation of the integration phenomenon is “intervention”. Dr. Baron explained to me that intervention is the goal for projects to simply raise awareness about the refugee issue in Egypt and create the environment for direct contact between the two groups of people: nationals and refugees. She mentioned to me that integration is not a realistic goal, at least for the time being.

Moreover, the integration dilemma is not just related to one specific group of refugees. Even though, it is much better for Middle Eastern refugees in Egypt, after

\(^{112}\) Sofia Tekidou is the former Community Outreach officer in the African and Middle Eastern Refugee Assistance NGO in Cairo, Egypt. Currently she is an Associate Protection Officer in UNHCR.
the political incidents it was showed that integration of refugees for Egyptians is a ‘shallow’ term. Ashraf from the UNHCR explained to me that “under political distresses Egyptians show their xenophobia directed to all refugees, as if they are waiting for something bad to happen to show their resistance and even racism towards foreigners.” During stable times xenophobia was directed or more clear towards the group of African refugees. A clear example given by Ashraf from the UNHCR is that one reason given by the Egyptian men for marrying Syrian women is because they are “Muslim, single and vulnerable” women who need protection in the Egyptian society. This concept is not applied to other Muslim women from African descent. Later on, I will present different opinions explaining the reasons for this difference.

1.2. **Necessity of involving the host community in integration initiative**

According to the different development experts, involving or understanding the host community to uncover the integration dilemma was described to be ‘very important and very ambitious too’. Additionally, it was also important to understand that even if the Egyptian government did initiate services to improve integration and lives of refugees, if the locals refuse to cooperate in the integration process, then this will increase the existing integration dilemma. According to Dr. Rahma from IOM she states that “from my opinion, I go with this idea that we should support more the hosting community. If this part was having 20% of our work, now it should be 80% of it.” This need is pronounced because development organizations found it difficult to attract the empathy of the Egyptians by directing services, development ideas, empowering initiatives and even speeches at refugees alone. It is even difficult for

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113 Ashraf is the senior protection associate operation in UNHCR.
114 Dr. Rahma is a medical doctor in the Medical Unit at the International Organization for Migration (IOM). She works as a Medical Coordinator with human trafficking victims in Egypt and also works with refugee community leaders to give them skills necessary for adapting in Egyptian host community.
Egyptians to accept the fact that there are organizations which aim to support refugees. Dr. Rahma gave me an example that “with employees or security people of the NGOs itself, if they didn’t feel that they will be supported and helped same as the migrant or refugee they’re dealing with, of course they would hold anger and later this anger would be developed to some hostile act against those refugees and migrants. And it’s neither the fault of any of them.” Finally the necessity can be summarized in three main reasons:

1. Understanding and targeting the local community is more important than other entities or authorities – they are the number one communicator with the refugee. In other words it’s the direct contact that really affects refugees
2. The similarity in hardships makes Egyptians unable to see refugees as ‘rights holders’.
3. The gap between the two communities can lead to violence and hatred because they live together, share the same lifestyle but do not come from the same background.

1.3. Refugees’ expectations and integration in Egypt

Part of the integration process is not just the host community perception, but also the willingness of the refugees to try and integrate. When I asked about the role of refugees in the social integration dilemma Abdel Raouf clearly stated to me, “let me picture it for you: a refugee is already upset that he can’t pay the rent, so when someone tells you something that annoys you, mocks or teases you. This adds to your burden it makes you feel that the problem is the guy that is not nice to you. If life is easier for the refugees, they might not focus on what happened to them from the Egyptians on the street.”\textsuperscript{115} Abdel Raouf further explains that refugees perceive their neighboring Egyptians as their ‘burden adders’. They simply do not have the inner power, facilities or guidance to do so. Besides this psychological tiredness, refugees cannot take risks. If one fight happens in the streets “refugees are in their homes for

\textsuperscript{115} Abdel Raouf is a psycho-social caseworker in PSTIC and sports coordinator for the Tawasul Project. Tawasul Program was explained in detail in the Research Methodology Chapter, it is one of the initiatives my research closely examined.
months” because they worry to get involved in trouble and they have no source of official protection.

Dr. Rahma explained that another negative effect of this ‘unwillingness to integrate’ is the dependence of refugees on the international community for assistance. In this case refugees can get the sense that they do not need to integrate or they do not need the host community to be ‘nice to them’ so that they can have a better life in Egypt. This feeling can disallow individual personal integration efforts to take place, or it can even be misused. For instance, Ashraf states that the businesses which the refugees are able to open in Egypt, are usually open to serve other refugees who come from the same community, but not to serve a need in the Egyptian market.

In summary there are three obstacles to integration stemming from refugees’ perspectives. The first obstacle is refugees’ perspective towards Egyptians as people who add to their burden. Secondly, the other obstacle is the over dependency of the refugees on the international NGOs and lastly the third obstacle is the continuous direction towards the isolated empowerment of refugees. They simply try avoiding the integration with the host community and create ways of improving their lives without the need to communicate with the host community. It was clear from my interviewees that they do not blame the refugees for building this feeling of isolation; they rather think it’s an aspect of integration which should be considered when intervention projects are originated.

1.4. Challenges and Opportunities available within the Egyptian Context

There are many political, economic and legal aspects to describe both the challenges and opportunities in Egypt. For the purpose of this study, my questions revolved around the challenges and opportunities which the NGO workers meet when
they work directly with the Egyptian community to communicate the refugee issue. The challenges and the opportunities are complementary to each other. For instance, the different actors I interviewed who are part of the ‘Going to the Neighbor’s House’ play mentioned that during the after-play open discussions they can notice the negatives and the positives responses to the same show. Jakob, the director and the actor of the play, described the reactions of the people by saying that “they are simply ignorant in an honest way; they are generous to learn they are not locked up or resistant to know. They are not arrogant.”\textsuperscript{116} Additionally, Nagwa states that “I myself didn’t understand Egyptians that much. Now I know Egyptians who simply don’t know who is the refugee. The difficult circumstances which the Egyptians experience makes them wonder how they can help refugees – how can their country support others if they cannot be supported?”\textsuperscript{117} These quotes show that the challenges are in the form of the ignorance of the locals about the presence of refugees in Egypt. In the same time, the opportunity lies in people’s willingness to learn and know. Following are some quotes which were shared during the discussions after the play showing the willingness to not just learn but also act:

- Nagwa stated that children would really sympathize; they would say comments like “When we go to school we will make sure we tell our friends that refugees in our country are good and we shouldn’t make fun of them.”
- In other cases mothers would say that that they really want to have refugee neighbors to help them out. They would say “We share the Nile with refugees.”

\textsuperscript{116} Jakob Lindford is the Director of Going to the Neighbor’s House play. This play is conducted by PSTIC in association with Outa Hamra (Red Tomatoes) theatre team whom are also street clowns. Outa Hamra conducts “Street clowning and social theatre for change through workshops and performances in public spaces with a focus on the underprivileged of Egypt - https://www.facebook.com/OUTAHAMRA.

\textsuperscript{117} Nagwa is a refugee in Egypt; she is a psycho-social caseworker in Psycho-Social Training Institute in Cairo (PSTIC) and an actress in the Going to the Neighbor’s House theatre play.
1.5. Expected Gain from “intervention” projects

The main goal of all the projects I examined was to raise awareness, to spread the knowledge about the presence of refugees. Even though this goal is shared between the projects currently implemented in Egypt, there are specific short term objectives or expected gains which differ from one project to another. For example one of the organizers of MOIC explained to me that their objective from the conference was to spread awareness, discuss different problems refugees face in their host community and lastly develop practical ideas or projects which can change such circumstances. In another project like the sports tournaments and the arts workshops, Abdel Raouf explained that their main goal is to develop inside the children who participate in the activities the sense that ‘they are ambassadors of their areas and it is their responsibility to look after each other: Egyptians and refugees’. Giving this sense of leadership, in Abdel Raouf’s opinion was an effective way for the Tawasul projects to make a real effect, leaving the area with a group of people who can take care of each other and feel that they bond together.

Moreover, looking at another example the theatre play director Jakob stated that the aim of the play is to “allow the Egyptian audience to feel fear in their stomach and theatre is a way to touch people and emotions. We want to reach the feelings of empathy and sympathy. We believe that can make people take action.” Jakob mentioned that theater play can be the only place for the Egyptian community to ‘let free’ their thoughts and opinion the way they are. At this point, everything can be on the table – even anger and other negative feelings.

118 The Eye on Human Rights Conference is thoroughly explained in the Methodology Chapter.
119 Abdel Raouf is a psycho-social case-work in PSTIC and sports coordinator for the Tawasul Project. Tawasul Program was explained in detail in the Research Methodology Chapter, it is one of the initiatives my research closely examined.
Finally, the last project I came across was a health project combined between migrants and host community members through the International Organization for Migration (IOM). According to Dr. Rahma, their objective is to disallow misunderstandings and tensions to take place regarding health environments. In the case of the IOM, during their health projects they aim to teach the nurses and doctors of the hospitals how to deal with refugees and explain who the refugees are and what are they doing in Egypt. Their main goal is to develop the holistic understanding towards health and the community. She explained to me “if we cure one person (refugee) and they go back to a community full of illnesses, they will never be really cured.” The idea is to spread the need to assist refugees and Egyptians as all being part of one community.

1.6. The current political situation

When I asked about the current political situation in Egypt and the post-revolution effect the interviewees agreed that the situation has gotten worse. The first reason as Amber explains is “I think that from all accounts that the situation has got worse (after revolution) because just the security wasn’t that good on the streets before, it may actually have gotten worse.” For example, during the past year Egypt has undergone extreme political changes and decisions which caused the media to highlight the presence of refugees in Egypt. When Egypt was still under Mohamed Morsy’s regime the incident of the Ethiopia’s Grand Renaissance Dam had a

120 Dr. Rahma is a medical doctor in the Medical Unit at the International Organization for Migration (IOM). She works as a Medical Coordinator with human trafficking victims in Egypt and also works with refugee community leaders to give them skills necessary for adapting in Egyptian host community.

121 Amber Johnson is the former Psycho-social Team Leader in the African and Middle Eastern Refugee Assistance NGO, Cairo-Egypt.

negative effect on the Ethiopian refugees in the Egyptian streets. Dr. Baron explained to me that after political decisions like the Ethiopian Dam they were worried about continuing the normal procedures in their projects. She explained to me that they were unsure about peoples’ reactions and based on their refugee clients, Ethiopians can get beaten by stones walking down the street or communicating during the daily interactions. Ashraf from the UNHCR explained that “the hit and run crimes towards Ethiopians increased after the dam news.” He continues by giving a couple of examples of “someone who got shot in his chest and someone who came to our (UNHCR) office with his head bleeding and open.”

The political changes inside Egypt did show moments of heightened tensions towards African refugees. Additionally, it also showed what Ashraf described to be ‘shallow integration’. After the 30/6 protests and the fall of Mohamed Morsy’s regime the xenophobia increased towards the Syrian and Palestinian refugees. A shift has happened from tensions and attention on the African refugees onto Syrian refugees. This shift was not just based on the local peoples’ reactions towards the recent news; it is rather also a shift by the authorities and the media. Ashraf gave examples of famous anchormen who would say statements meaning that there are refugees in the country who want to ‘tear it down’. Furthermore, they would add their own analysis or advice for the Egyptian authorities to rethink about allowing ‘this many refugees’ inside Egypt and who threaten the national safety and sovereignty of the Egyptian nation. Interestingly, before 30/6 protests the Syrian refugees were given an unusual number of services, to the extent that the NGOs started questioning why such

123 Dr. Baron is the founder and director of the Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute in Cairo, Egypt (An affiliate of Terre des hommes).
124 Ashraf is the senior protection associate operation in UNHCR.
treatment could not be given to African refugees. One simple question was raised “Why the willingness to accept the Syrian, why the neglect to the African refugee.” The different reasons or justifications given by the interviewees at this stage for such a difference before 30/6 protests are:

1. The skin color – this has to do with the identity and how Egyptians define themselves as being Middle Eastern, Arabs and even whites.
2. The relationship throughout the history – Syria and Egypt has history of being one culture.
3. The Arabism – the united Arab world concept. The relationship between Egypt being in North Africa and nations which are further in the south is considered under developed, if said relationship even exists.
4. The commonly spoken Arabic language.

Stage II Research Findings

This research was conducted in social clubs of three different areas: Ard El-Lewa, Al-Maadi 77 and Al-Hay Al-Asher. The three areas are considered places where both underprivileged Egyptians and refugees live together. According to the Feinstein Research Report in Ard El-Lewa there is a concentration of Ethiopian, Eritrean and Sudanese refugees. In Al-Maadi there is a concentration of mixed nationalities of African and Syrian refugees. Lastly, in Al-Hay Al-Asher there is the concentration of Somali refugees. The three groups of people I interviewed in the areas aforementioned were: children under 18 who lived in one of the areas close to refugees and participated in one of the intervention projects, adults above 18 who lived in one of the areas close to refugees and participated in one of the intervention projects and finally, adults above 18 who do not live close to refugees, but they participated in one of the intervention projects. I will refer to the first two groups mentioned as ‘area-specific’ and the last group as ‘non-area specific’.


The two main research questions I am answering in stage II of my findings are

‘What are the perceptions of the Egyptian host community who have interacted with African Refugees, towards their presence in Cairo?’ And ‘How does the Egyptian host community perceive the integration phenomenon of African refugees in Cairo’?

1.7. Opinions about the intervention events

Table 3.2: Negative and Positive Feedback on Intervention Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Feedback</th>
<th>Positive Feedback</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I went once I will not go again. Is not exciting”</td>
<td>“It’s nice, I learned new information, I wish for more activities to come.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I do not remember the play at all”</td>
<td>“It’s good there was good interaction between people from different countries”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The program is boring.”</td>
<td>“It was fun and nice.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In the football and drawing activities there was racism towards the Egyptians. It’s normal “African captains cared more about the sons and daughters of their same nations.””</td>
<td>“Great idea – we always had a chance to chit chat with the people – our neighbors.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It did not teach my daughter something important – just some games and a can or juice was given– do they think Egyptians only care about their tummies.”</td>
<td>“I loved the Music, jokes and they also gave us food.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The conference presented important issues like refugees of Kashmir – who are neglected.”</td>
<td>“The program changed a lot in my thinking.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The program (play in specific) presented reality and the games gave a chance for us as volunteers to teach kids concepts like “how to share, to accept each other.””</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8. Current and Past Perceptions

1.8.1. Area Specific Children

(In this group there was 21 children. 4 were girls and the rest were boys)

All the children in the three areas did remember the program well, even though I met them after the Tawasul program ended by one to two months. In some
cases, they mentioned in several ways that they like the program, some of them would mention certain activities they remembered and others they preferred the most. For instance an 11 year old boy and his friend explain to me “we like the activity when we hold each other hands and we walk in a circle form.” Liking the program (football, art or play) was not necessarily meaning that they like the refugees or fully understand the reason behind them being here, or even accept them here. In the following I present different feelings which were exposed throughout my interviews.

1.8.1.1. Emotional Impact

For most of the interviewees they did start ‘liking’ the African refugees after the program. Before the play the one common question they had was “Why are these people here?” One 14 years old girl told me that before the play the African refugees “did not enter her heart”, she simply didn’t like them. Also, the Egyptian children would not try and approach the refugees or understand why they are here in Egypt before the program. They felt “no relation” with them at all. Even though the general mood of neglect or hatred was impacted by the play, the children still mentioned reasons of why they still think African refugees are not fully welcomed or still face harassments in Egypt. They mentioned reasons like “Egyptians think that these people (Americans) have new ideas/thoughts. It’s for sure that they (Americans) are better.” This quote was mentioned to describe how the people were more interested to communicate with the Americans, more than the Africans even during the programs. Moreover, the perception of at least 8-10 of this group’s interviewees mentioned that they think ‘skin color makes a difference for Egyptians’.

One of the boys mentioned a story which he heard about a ‘black’ pregnant woman in the metro who the people didn’t give up their seats for her. Giving up a seat for a pregnant woman in the crowded metros of Egypt is a common act. At this point
the boy analyzed this act to be a way to show that in Egypt people think that “African people do not have the same feelings as much as we do”. The boy continued to tell me that for him “it does not matter if Africans are in his neighborhood or not, but he does see and know that people in the street can make fun of them or even harass them because in Egypt we look at “Africans as being less important” he paused very hesitantly and he said “maybe we do not realize they have feelings like us”. I must say the boy was so shy and ashamed to say this but he wanted to say the truth to benefit the study and to clarify that he personally disagrees with this mentality. Furthermore, another change which was mentioned was that some of the interviewees initially believed that refugees are ‘rich’ and they are here to take the scarce resources which they do not really need. A boy from Maadi told me “before watching the play I thought they were tourists, it bothered me because how come you have money and you use my stuff, my area, and my social club – that’s just not fair.”

In another case with interviewees from another area called Al-Hay Al Asher they mentioned that they did attend the Tawasul event to enjoy their time, but they still do not like African refugees. A 17 year old boy mentioned to me “No, I don’t try to know them, when I joined the event, we are a lot and we play, but I don’t talk to them really”. He, along with another 16 year old boy, mentioned that they believe that the ‘Africans’, with the exceptions of Sudanese, had what he described to be ‘bad manners’. The interviewees mentioned their disturbance towards the relations between the boys and the girls and their dislike towards the ‘parties’ which were done in the social clubs. The parties contained what the interviewees considered to be ‘disrespectful’ – drinking and dancing. They also mentioned how much it bothered them when refugees refused that Egyptians would be in the party and they would sneak in or watch through standing on a tree. They believe that they do not want
Egyptians inside the party because they are doing ‘things that are bad manners’ for ‘us the Egyptians’. In general, bad behavior includes the drinking, the loud laughter in the streets, the tight or revealing clothing for females.

Between the ‘dislike’ and ‘like’ feelings there were interviewees who had the extreme feelings like ‘love’ or ‘hate’ towards African refugees. Regarding the ‘love’ expressions this was not just based on the program, it was sometimes also based on the personal relation they have as friends. In one of the interviews two boys mentioned that they believe that dealing with Sudanese is ‘cleaner’ than even dealing with people from ‘their own kind’. They mentioned that by ‘cleaner’ they meant “that Sudanese do not say bad words and they are kind people I think because they are in a country which is not there’s.” They would describe that people outside their countries are supposed to be more respectful and kinder so that they can be ‘good’ guests. The two characteristics which many of the interviewees mentioned about the refugees were “kind and nice”. One young boy from Maadi mentioned about the refugees that “they are from Sudan and they are from my own age and I got to be their friends after the play, drawing with them. They are not different from us and never knew how kind they are till I approached them and became their friend.”

On the other hand, some expressions of hate or disrespect were mentioned when some of the interviewees would say a quote like “those Nigerian refugees do not have good manners, the boys here do not respect the Nigerian girls but they kind off deserve it, the girls are not good they do not behave well.” By behavior here the boy is referring to the clothing style, and loud laughter. Specifically in Al-Hay Al-Asher there was a differentiation between the Sudanese refugees and the rest. The Sudanese refugee come from Sudan which is “one country with Egypt” as a couple of boys described to me.
There is a mix of feelings. Overall, majority of the interviewees agreed there are harassments on the streets. The play did make a difference to a certain extent. The interviewees showed signs of embarrassment when they talked about the color and showed anger and firmness when they talked about “refugees behaving according to the Egyptian traditions”.

1.8.1.2. Cognitive Impact – Knowledge

Most of the interviewees did say they learned from the program that refugees come to Egypt because ‘they have problems in their homeland’. Another piece of information glimpsed from interview comments is that the interviewees do not differentiate between refugees and migrants, non-Egyptians are grouped in one category. For instance, one of the 11 years old boys mentioned “like anyone that comes from a different country to our building. We have Palestinians and Saudis (half Saudi). We hang out with them. And my dad is friends with them.” For him, like other interviewees refugees are people who come from a different country, they group non-Egyptians in one group and the way they perceive each group can be a bit different depending on actions, manners or personal interactions. Another example for that grouping concept is the fact that many of the interviewees would mention that “there are refugees from Malaysia, Indonesia” and others also mentioned “Nigeria” as another origin for refugees. Additionally, the interviewees didn’t mention the difference between American and African when it comes to the definition of ‘refugee’. In Maadi when I asked people about their perception if they would work with refugees after they watched the program, one 10 year old boy mentioned “it’s totally OK because my father’s boss at work is American and that is ok with him.” At that moment three of his friends who were sitting with us agreed to what he was saying.
Some of the interviewees – who watched the theatre play in specific – mentioned that those refugees come here running from racism back in their countries and problems they face in their countries. They mentioned that “here in Egypt they do not face the same racism.” In the same time they would also mention that people in Egypt can tease the refugees.

Another myth which was commonly shared by the interviewees is that the refugees are all from ‘Sudan’. Even in areas which research showed that certain groups of refugees are concentrated as shows in Table 3.1 the interviewees would mention that their refugee neighbors are all or mostly Sudanese.

1.8.2. Area Specific – adults above 18

(In this group they were 7 females and 2 males. From the females 6 out of 7 were mother of the children who attended the programs)

1.8.2.1. Emotional Impact

The 6 mothers I talked to said they watched the theatre play because they were dropping or picking up their children to the social club. They all talked about it as a play directed for the children and not for them. In addition I talked to two male captains and one 21 years old girl. I was exposed to three types of feelings, which were similar to the children’s’ feelings. Some ‘liked the refugees’ after they saw the play or participated in the games and activities, others still “do not like them” (more specifically, do not like the African refugees), and finally there was those who ‘didn’t mind’.

One of the mothers who liked the African refugees mentioned that she was surprise when she attended the play and the other activities like the drawing workshops. She said that “they [refugees] were so simple, organized and generous with our kids, they would get them juice and refreshments… who are the Egyptian
coaches who would do such an act?” She mentioned that her children learned positive behaviors they would never know elsewhere.

This mother was from Upper Egypt, Aswan in specific and she is married to a Palestinian, thus she says multiculturalism is good. She even mentioned that she is shocked when people make fun of dark skin and she states it’s very common in Egypt. She exclaimed to me using and Egyptian idiom, “why do they do that… being dark in skin means you have half of the beauty in your color”. What made me smile is that she looked at my light skin and said “no offence… don’t get upset”.

Another mother who was also a volunteer expressed how impressed she was at the Somali women in Ard El-Lewa who were fast learners. The Egyptian mother volunteered to teach the refugee mothers how to knit. She said “they would go home, do a lot of work and come the next day, they even finished all the fabric we would give them and they were willing to pay from their own pockets to get new fabric. I didn’t know or expect them to be like this.” For this volunteer, working with the refugees made her feel “worthy” and that she “made a change.”

On the other hand one of the mothers who expressed how annoyed she was by the presence of refugees mentioned that “some do not have good behaviors, the way they dress is not good and they also drink and walk in the street unable to keep their balance because of how drunk they are, this is just unacceptable”. She mentioned that she sees her own 17 year old son beating some African young men and in the beginning she feels bad and she tells her son that this is ‘Haram’ - religiously unlawful. When the son explains to his mom “these people come to our country, drink and walk very confidently in our streets as if its there’s, they will ruin our area and neighborhood, we have to teach them a lesson!” At that moment the mother gets convinced and she tells me “we should be nice to them, but not too nice. If we are too
nice they will never leave.” Besides the ‘manners’ it was the ‘better circumstances’ which was brought up by several respondents. One woman explained to me that African refugees have their own protection system and also embassies which have ‘their back’. It was a usual rumor in an area like Hay Al-Asher that if an Egyptian and an African refugee went to the police, then the refugee will be able to leave while the Egyptian will stay there longer. Moreover, the ‘better economic conditions’ were another indicator for ‘better circumstances’ which Egyptians explained that refugees had in Egypt. Certain comments I would get about ‘better economic conditions’ were “they have good money; they have entities which help them”.

Interviewees who felt neutral mentioned things like, “it’s ok to have them in our neighborhood; it doesn’t bother me nor is it something that benefits me.” For instance in explaining of this ‘neutral feelings’ was given by one 21 year old young lady who mentioned to me “when I interacted with them I understand they are frustrated, but you have to know they do not approach us either.” This same comment was repeated frequently and the interviewees would mention that “Tawasul programs are made to help refugees know Egyptians and not the other way around”.

Interviewees would mention that “Egypt is the mother of countries; we have people from all over the world. But the Africans, when they come they are scared, they are sitting alone.” So, some interviewees even after exposure to the program see that the problem of separation stems from refugees’ behavior of sitting with one another and not as a result of behavior from the Egyptians.

1.8.2.2. Cognitive Impact

There is new information which this group of interviewees learned from the programs. Firstly some learned that African refugees’ lives are not easy, and they are not rich. One respondent shares with me with an astonished facial expression “I went
to one’ house of one Sudanese and they didn’t have power (no lights).” Also another
interviewee mentioned “the hard life shows on the way African refugees dress and
there are people that come from Boulaq to the social club and they used to take
transportation allowance”. Additionally, they also mentioned that they notice how
much “Africans just like to be clustered in their own groups, even when there is no
mistreatment from Egyptians they still prefer to stick together.” This observation
made the interviewees feel a sort of an admiration to such a trait which Africans have
and even one 13 year old boy who had this same observation as the adults said “if we
were like those Africans, we would be better. They work hard and they work together.
We (the Egyptians) are lazy and we fight”.

On another hand, in two other cases the 4 young girls I was able to interview
expressed how much they fear this grouping strategy which Africans have. One girl
mentioned “when I play football with one of the African girls I just do not try and
come in front of her face, I feel she will beat me.” Their feelings would be a mix of
admiration and envy towards this clustering/groupings of the African refugees.

The main stereotype about Sudanese is that they are quiet and they have good
manners. One woman mentioned “the Sudanese girls wear veils and skirts; they do
not deserve to ever be mistreated”. She also mentioned in the same sentence “but I
know it’s wrong for any person to mistreat another, I just feel Sudanese know our
culture and I am not scared they would change our traditions. We have good traditions
and we are Muslim.” Another stereotype which this group knew in the projects is that
“Somalis are short tempered”. Lastly, there were also the “Malaysians, Chinese and
Indonesians” which the respondents talked about as ‘refugees’ and they mentioned
they are here to study.
The remarks which were given—were similar in the age groups. All of them mentioned that young Egyptian boys were the main violence drivers. Even the boys who claimed that they didn’t harass refugees; it would show that they are not saying the truth because of two things. Firstly their friends would ‘tell on them’ during the interview as a way to tease each other. Secondly, after asking about harassments in more than one way they would end up saying contradicting answers like “no I don’t harass or tease refugees… but only when needed”. The justification to harass is different from one person to another. Examples of these justifications would be the “bad smell”, “improper behavior”, others said “if the refugee provoked him”. For the mothers they cared about the benefit to their children, if they didn’t see the benefit they didn’t get excited.

1.8.3. Non-Area Specific

(In this group there were 8 young adults, 4 females and 4 males who participated in the intervention project through being members or being volunteers in the program)

1.8.3.1. Emotional Impact

The 8 members of this group agreed that the projects they were exposed to made them realize that the refugee state in Egypt is inhumane. Each person had different explanations to explain racist actions/tensions. Firstly, 7 out of the 8 respondents said that before being part of the intervention project, they looked at African refugees as people who come from countries which might be facing some problems but also maybe they are living a good life. Before being part of the projects they said that they thought these refugees were here for good education, they have entities which can help them financially and finally their circumstances in Egypt is not ‘that bad’. After being exposed to the project, 2 of the respondents were convinced that ‘yes’ there is racism in Egypt towards African or people with dark-skin color but they also mention that this is ‘just part of the culture’. In other words
“Egyptians make fun of those who have darker skin or those who look different, but it is not done with bad intentions.”

Furthermore, they also mentioned that the refugees themselves have unreasonable expectations; they do not realize that their difficult circumstances are similar to the Egyptian people. One respondent said “how can they expect to have a different life than the citizens themselves, they get tired or even get bored from the status here, then what should we do? We have number of people who are uneducated, we have villages which do not have infrastructure and almost 50% of the Egyptians live below the poverty line.” Another two interviewees had a much more firm feedback and they said that this discriminative behavior is a problem in the Egyptian culture and it is not just found in social clubs or within certain areas. The last three interviewees kept questioning why is it that African refugees are not taking attention in Egypt and they mentioned “maybe it’s the media, maybe they are not that much in number and maybe they face some trouble but it is not a real challenge?”

1.8.3.2. Cognitive Impact

The interviewees mentioned that through their participation they learned the meaning of the word ‘refugee’ also they realized that there are African refugees from different countries and they are not all Sudanese. Also, they got a picture about the difficulties they are experiencing in Egypt and how much of an impact does it have when Egyptians say a harsh word or throw a stone on an African refugee. They also mentioned that they made good friends with African refugees; they did not think the African refugees were kind, successful in their careers and finally that they are sensitive.
1.9. Tensions towards African Refugees

1.9.1. General Reactions

In this section I present how people reacted to the question about tensions towards African refugees in Cairo. The word tension is translated into “mistreatment” or “verbal harassments”. I placed the answers I got in the following bar graph. The graph below shows the results of 35 interviewees, the other 5 did not mention a clear answer to the question.

*Graph 2.2- Graph shows reactions towards the mistreatment of African refugees.*

1.9.2. Forms of tension/mistreatment

To further explain *Graph 2.2*, almost 50% of the interviewees mention that they have seen or witnessed Egyptians who mistreated African refugees. One of the reactions I received was people who would see the form of harassment and they would internally dislike it. One 14 year old girl mentioned to me that in Tawasul she met with a Somali girl who “wrote that she is happy when she finds Egyptians that love her and she gets upset when someone teases her”. The girl told me she never forgot this sentence and now she can realize how much of a difference it makes for
the refugees if the Egyptians treat them well or not. Another interviewee said that some African refugees can be experiencing harassments ‘daily’. One of the analyses which were given by a 16 year old boy is “they (African refugees) are living in the area of Ard of Lewa and residents of this area may not accept them easily. Only few and "special" people with special mentalities would accept them.” He further explains to me that “in Egypt, there are 2 kinds of people. One kind that says ‘why are Africans here in our country, don’t we have enough of our problems’. The other kind that dislikes them would say ‘we do not like this kind of people.” By the word ‘kind of people’ the boy (embarrassingly) said ‘dark-skinned’ or ‘black’ people.

Additionally, one of the non-area specific volunteers stated that “Egyptians make fun of people with the dark skin – the color is an issue in our country”. Another volunteer said “Egyptians are very discriminative - Today, the kids were painting using the white paint; one Egyptian kid said to the African child, “why don’t we paint you?” – they joke they don’t get its racism”. Also a member of the MOIC conference said “We do not have racism, this is not America, but we use humor to make fun of Africans, I must admit it is bad but it just not racism.” two 3 out of the non-area specific volunteers mentioned that “Africans can face a joke or a bad word here and there, but all in all they are not facing real tensions, they experience the harassment which can happen to anyone. They still like Masr - Egypt”.

Moving on, another interesting group of respondents were the people who changed their answer. Around 31% of the interviewees said “no, there is no mistreatment in Egypt” when I asked them if they themselves or any of their close relatives, friends ever did this. After that I would ask ‘did you see people in the street?’ and at that point they all said “yes”. Two things made them change their answers. The first is when I asked about other peoples’ behaviors in the street who are
strangers to the interviewees. The second reason is when the interviewees’ friends would interfere. They weren’t part of the interview but they stood close enough to listen.

For an estimate of four interviews I would be sitting with one boy, and then another boy/friend would come to sit without my request or permission. I start finishing with the first interviewee and I start asking the second one, during the interview other boys would be hanging around us and they would start saying comments like “you guys are lying to the girl (interviewer), you make fun of them”, I would hear another one in the same time say “so what, I am not scared I make fun of them!”. A third friend would point at one of my interviewees and say “I saw you throwing stones Man I saw you, why are you playing dumb?” Sarcasm and with a sense of humor, the interviewees would start reminding each other about what they did and the interviewees laugh and they look at me and start changing their answers. From saying “no, there is no tension, we treat Africans well”, they say:

- “They (Africans) ruined the country, they are not decent” “They get alcoholic beverages too!”
- “There is this one store with Sudanese people – it smells so bad we just can’t stand it. We just throw stone on their windows and run away. That’s it. Come on, they smell so bad.”
- “It’s bad to mock people for their color its God’s creation but I do mock them when they annoy me, they don’t mock us though because if they do we will beat them up. If he insults me or provokes me I will beat him up.”

Moreover, for another 31% group of the interviewees, they justified mistreatment of African refugees. Amongst these justifications are:

- African refugees get their rights more than Egyptians; because this is Egypt “the non-Egyptian always gets better treatment than the Egyptian. There is no equality, especially for us – people who struggle to have a good life.”
- The Africans are always in groups, they are so united and sit together, and there is no communication so the kids on the street do not understand “who are these people”?
Finally, the last group of my respondents makes up 20% of my respondents. Amongst the respondents there were approximately 3 people who mentioned a direct effect of the intervention programs on them and they were people who mistreated refugees and currently they don’t. They mentioned that after being exposed to the intervention project they “understand more and sympathize more” with the refugees. Additionally, one respondent mentioned that he doesn’t mistreat Africans, but he questions “where is the problem, it’s just part of our culture?” – he described the Egyptians to be “Shaab Ebn Nokta” – which means people who love to joke and we joke all the time.” For his he doesn’t like it when a person’s feelings get hurt, but he said “what can I do, that’s just how we are.”

On a final note when I used the word ‘tension’ the interviewees would either not understand what I am saying or would say quotes like “no Egypt is the mother of the world-Om Al-Donia,”, “we have people from everywhere and they like it here” and “people come here because we have better services than other places”. Even though this is the usual reaction, I would ask the same question but using different wording. I would ask “do you think African refugees are mistreated or they mistreat their Egyptian neighbors?” Also another form of question I would say “have you seen anyone harass, abuse or make fun of an African refugee?” Through these two questions I would get more answers. The two main forms of tensions Egyptians expressed towards refugees are through the ‘stone throwing’, physical beating and finally the use of negative humor. Common words which were repeated by the interviewees are “chicabala, shocolata, samara”. Other expressions would be “eh el dalma de – what is this darkness?” All of these expressions are usually used by one person and others (group of friends) would laugh towards an African refugee. The
other form of tension can actually be through physical beating. Physical beating usually takes place amongst young boys or male adults in form of a street quarrel.

1.9.3. Political incidents and the tensions

My interviews took place between end of June until mid of August 2013. During this time frame, two main political incidents took place: the Ethiopian Grand Renaissance Dam and the fall of President Morsy in Egypt. Additionally, the arrival of the Syrian refugees was another change brought to the country. During the interviews most of the respondents would mention that there is no relation between governmental decisions and relations with the people in the street. On the other hand few respondents said that it does make a difference. Regarding the Ethiopian Dam incident one female who works in the Maadi social club mentioned to me that her friends and colleagues told her “not to rent rooms for Ethiopians for their weddings, they are taking our water.” The interviewee herself refused to listen and when I asked about the reason, she said “it didn’t make sense, they are good people to me, they are actually better than Egyptians sometimes because when we set a price for a room they don’t try to bargain.”

When we talked about the Syrian protesters found in Rabaa Square with the pro-Morsy demonstrators interviewees would say “refugees should just not take sides in a country.” Another feedback was “anyone who comes from another country to harm Egypt – Om Al-Donia (Mother of the world) – then this person should be in prison or killed. From now on refugees must enter with more restrictions after what the Syrians did to us.”
Due to the different age groups I was interviewing I did not ask all the interviewees the same questions about the ‘accepted relativity’. The following table shows the details explaining the bar graph above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th># of interviewees who I asked this question</th>
<th>Total # answered who answered ‘Yes’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questions about friends</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions about co-workers</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions about marriage</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amongst the quotes which were said are regarding friendship:

- “We play together and we build trust… trust is important”
- “After the football tournament I started having a friend who tells me to go play with him in the area.”
- “Friendship is actually the solution, my daughter has a Nigerian friend and she comes to our house. It’s the beginning of a good relationship.”
- “Yes, but not like my Egyptian friend, I do not trust them”

Amongst the quotes which were said are regarding co-workers:

- Before watching the play I would not ever accept my boss or co-worker to be African refugee, but now I think I can accept it.
- It would be easier if my boss or co-worker is Egyptian, just because of the language or culture but I it’s ok I wouldn’t mind if he is non-Egyptian or a refugee.
Amongst the quotes which were said are regarding marriage relations:

- With laughter “I’d kill my brother, but if he loves an African girl it’s his choice”
- “Most importantly is the religion, if he is a good man then it’s ok.
- “I cannot marry a dark skinned woman, but maybe someone can say this is racism but no I am not racist, it is just my personal choice I am not psychologically attracted to dark women”
- “I really respect, but cannot marry a dark woman –it’s a personal choice”
- “My family would not ever accept if I marry a non-Egyptian, African is impossible Syrian maybe”.

1.10. Suggestions for Possible Solutions

In some of my interviews, some respondents would suggest recommendations for improving the intervention projects. I will group the recommendations based on children and adults groups and list a sample of the suggestions accordingly. I will divide the suggestion based on children under 18 and adults above 18.

Children under 18 suggested:

- “We should get to know each other” – in other words, more activities to know the culture and thoughts of each other.
- “We should work things out if a fight happens between an Egyptian and a Sudanese” – until one incident where the Tawasul project has to stop because Egyptian boys started beating the African refugee boys. Community leaders tried to interfere, but the refugee parents would not understand and all they kept saying, “Egyptians are thugs.”
- “Tawasul used to take our time from our practices – it takes too much time. We told the captain but they were never able to manage the time properly”. Make sure projects are in a time which makes the participants feel they want to join, they are not told to join.
- “They should get to know about Egypt; go to clubs; Egypt’s beaches; we all should go; we will get to know them and they will get to know us. And moms should meet together. If we know the history of Egypt together we will both like it.”

Respondents above 18 suggested:

- “There must be equality, if we (Egyptians) feel refugees are treated better than us – this will not make me satisfied” – respondent answered with a firm an angry tone. “We understand refugees can be poor or they had bad life, but this is normal in Egypt, we have lots of Egyptians like this.”
• Captain/Volunteer mentioned– “Guidance and awareness is what they need more. Girls are easier and more accepting. Boys are violent and they like to fight. If anything small happens boys will make it ‘big’ to fight.”
• This one interview was after the break-through of the sit-in of the pro-Morsy groups “Entry of each individual (foreigner) must be under supervision of security clearance, see what the Syrians did.”
• “We need stories that have more effect on people and that are coherent. The idea of saying "Shikabala or Asmarany or Samara"(all words that mean hey Black) I would be lying if I say that I have heard them in a context outside a friendship one.”
• “If we use religion, in Islam there is the humanitarian aspect, there are mutual benefits but this part of Islam is not applied. There is also the economic and the empowerment concept.”
• “Awareness Campaign can start through MOIC. Egypt is known with its cultural destinations and we can start an initiative, especially MOIC can tackle the pressing issues of the nation….We can start something!!” The respondent here mentioned that the young generation in Egypt is where there is some hope.
• “Along with the projects , there should be an awareness through a conference; there should always be deep interactions to answer the deep questions we have about African refugees and even they have towards us”

Chapter VI: Research Analysis

In this chapter I analyze the research findings according to the thesis research questions. Throughout my answers I explain different angles of the Identity Theory. The Identity Theory explained several reactions and feedbacks which were expressed by interviewees of this project. Different schools were developed from the identity theory like collective identity and social identity. From a sociological perspective, identity is a phenomenon whereby individuals define themselves within a group and in comparison with other groups.\(^\text{127}\) In simpler terms, it is how groups of people see themselves through what they have and what they have-not. Throughout my analysis I also refer to other theories which I believe have a relation with the identity theory. To

understand the fundamentals of the Identity theory I include in my references couple of helpful readings.128

**Keywords:** Collective Theory, Social Identity Theory, social capital, race, Racial Formation Theory, nationalism, Social Constructivism, inclusion and exclusion and stereotypes.

*What are the perceptions of the Egyptian host community who have interacted with African Refugees, towards their presence in Cairo?*

To answer this question I find that there are two different lenses through which interviewees described refugees in Egypt post-interaction. On one hand there is the lens of Egyptians whose interaction with the refugees is limited to the intervention event. When these types of interviewees were asked about their perception, they used conceptual and philosophical description whilst downplaying the challenges African refugees face in Egypt. On the other hand refugees who both interact and live in close proximity with refugees provided their take on the refugee problem colored by personalized past experiences. At this point I refer to the social constructivism theory.

The social constructivism theory indicates that perceptions about the ‘other’ are based on the stored experiences in the brain. Therefore, in order for intervention projects to reach the audience effectively there has to be clear, distinct and separate messages for different audiences (e.g. area-specific and non-area specific communities). Social constructivism theory further explains that identity formation depends on the usage of what the author referred to as ‘social tools’.129 The past memories and experiences are one of those tools which guide the people to form their perceptions of the identities of other groups of people.

128 Studying the Sociological of Dimensions of Collective Identity of Students of Payame Noor University, Golestan Province.
Amongst the descriptions was the obvious clustering or grouping strategy which
refugees form. This clustering process was described sometimes with admiration and
other times with envy. As I witnessed through my field experience as a psycho-social
worker social networks for refugees were their strongest asset in Egypt. For the host
community interviewees describe the refugee close-knit community as a way through
which refugees prioritize building their own community over interacting within the
larger Egyptian neighborhood. This raises in the mind of the host community a
question of loyalty.

Other interviewees mentioned that they understand that when people leave their
homelands and go to another they are simply ‘scared’. Those members of the host
community describe the country or the nation as the source of power and confidence
for the individual. Thus when refugees leave their nations they become ‘weak’.
Looking at those two general perceptions, the intervention projects are one way to
bridge the gap, create new perceptions, replace old perceptions or simply create space
for first-hand communication. For example, one of the interviewees told me that
she never realized how unfriendly the people can be to African refugees until she
directly asked an African mother. In other cases many of the interviewees made a
friend or two after attending the projects.

What is the effect of exposure to intervention projects on the perception of the
underprivileged Egyptian host community towards the presence of the African
refugees?

In order to answer this question I divide the impact of intervention projects on
Egyptian host community members into three levels: emotional impact, cognitive
impact and evaluative impact. This analysis technique brings me to the social identity

\[^{130}\text{Through the interviews, I got the sense that the intervention projects provide the chances for the}
\text{refugees and the host community to break the ice and understand each other based on first hand}
\text{experiences.}\]
theory as the stages of analysis when examining the sociological relations between different groups of people. The first component of the analysis is the cognitive component which refers to the way the agent or the individual categorizes information. The second level is the affective component which revolves around the degree of attachment to either the categories created or the groups formed. Finally is the evaluative component which refers to how one perceives one’s group relative to the other racial groups.

Before describing the three-level impact it is important to discuss the expected effect which NGOs had in mind for their intervention events. Expectations ranged from raising awareness, creating the sense of empathy and sympathy from the host community towards the refugee communities and building internal senses of area ambassadors/leaders. The aim of the majority of the projects is not ‘integration’ in its traditional sense, it is rather intervention. I want to clarify that I think the projects did have an effect on the host community and the effect is positive. Furthermore I do explain the extent of this effect.

In the beginning, the emotional impact of the intervention projects can be described as the beginning of introducing the refugee to the host community members. The most responses I got about refugees before the exposure to the projects revolved around the absence of personal interest and desire to approach the African refugees. In other words, there was no relation or connection that motivates the host community members to know the African refugee neighbors. One of the most honest quotes I would get was “I didn’t like them, for no reason” and another “they just

131 Internal senses of area ambassadors means that the children/participants of the programs would feel responsible for each other and would protect each other from harm based upon the understanding formed during the interaction.
132 The difference between integration and intervention is further elaborated in the answer to the last research question of the research analysis chapter.
never entered my heart”. After the exposure the most feedback I got was the development of ‘liking’ the African refugee, feeling like ‘its ok’ to get close to them and actually they can be impressive. Simply, the exposure to intervention projects made them feel the excitement of knowing a new group of people, making friends in some cases and experiencing - as they said - ‘Tawasul-Connection through new interactions’.

Moreover, analyzing the cognitive impact of the intervention projects shows that the host community, before the exposure to aforementioned projects, did not understand who the refugees are and what the reasons which brings them to Egypt. The one piece of knowledge which was repeated by the host community was that they thought refugees came Cairo because they had the desire and choice to. After the exposure to the projects the interviewees learned new knowledge but it can still be unclear and even contradicting. For instance the host community still did not differentiate between the migrant and the refugee. They would mention that they learned that refugees do not come with a choice and in the same time they mention that some are here for education and they can be from ‘China’, ‘Malaysia’ and ‘Indonesia’. The grouping of all non-Egyptians in one group and the inability to differentiate between the cultural and religious differences was still a challenge for the host community. According to a survey which was conducted by the theatre play team to Political Science students in Cairo University, only 15% correctly identifies that there are African refugees from different African countries in Egypt. Amongst those 15% there were Somali students.

Looking at the evaluative component, I asked about the perception of African refugees in comparison to the Syrian refugees. The interviewees showed their passion and acceptance towards the Syrian refugee more than the African refugee. Also, the
interviewees presented the problems which Syrians faced in Egypt as more destructive and disturbing than the African refugees. The amount of cooperation between the host community and Syrian refugees was still not remarkable and especially that during my field research the Syrian refugees started appearing in the media as Pro-Morsy and Pro-Ikhwan\textsuperscript{133} protesters. This period held dramatic political changes which affected the host community perception toward Syrian refugees and showed the effect of political uprising on group relations even those who are expected to be positively structured.

I only conducted two interviews after the sit-in breakups on 18/8/2013. Both interviews clearly showed a clear tone of xenophobia and nationalism. For instance one statement which was mentioned is “we helped and opened our doors to our Syrian brothers, but if they will destroy our country then they should be kicked out.” Also Ashraf\textsuperscript{134} from the UNHCR explained to me that after certain political incidents like the sit-in breakups or even during the Ethiopian dam debate, they do get individual and family cases which were physically beaten on the streets and need direct assistance.\textsuperscript{135}

Thus, this indicates that political situation plays a role in shaping the perceptions of host community towards the foreigners and refugees inside their borders. Aside from the political situation, the host community members described different refugee

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{133} Ikhwan is the Arabic term for the Muslim Brotherhood.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Ashraf is the senior protection associate operation in UNHCR.
\end{itemize}
groups using layers of identity perceptions. The layers by which the interviewees describe the refugee groups were as follows:

- The skin color and the close physical appearance between the Syrians and Egyptians. Some interviewees would say that for a Syrian to be known to be a non-Egyptian, they would have to speak up. As long as they are quiet no one would notice that they are from outside the country.
- The historical relationship between the nations. The interviewees would mention that they do have the knowledge that Syria and Egypt were one day united as one republic. They explained that the history shows that Egypt and Syria had united goals and have helped each other to achieve them.
- The Arabism, the united Arab world concept emphasizes the identity of the Egyptians as being Middle Eastern and Arabs. The relationship between Egypt being in North Africa and other African nations is considered underdeveloped, if it even exists. It is only exposed when it comes to soccer.
- The language is another indicator. Interviewees would explain that the Arabic language which is shared between the Syrians and the Egyptians makes communication easier and more efficient most efficient.

It is important to mention that the end of my field work was the beginning of dramatic political changes in Egypt. These changes do have an effect on the refugee-host community interactions in the streets. The current political structure in Egypt needs to be further addressed by other research projects.

On a final note, to further illustrate the impact of the intervention programs I also look at the action impact. The post-exposure to the intervention projects did not affect active change in host community’s actions towards witnessed tensions with refugees. Upon witnessing tensions, most respondents explained to me that they internally dislike what they see and they do not think it is supposed to be acceptable. Before the exposure, tensions which arose with refugees did not receive attention from the same respondents. Additionally, some respondents were also able to realize that Egyptians

136 The multilayer process of forming identity can be connected to the social identity theory. Social identity is constructed by the shared framework by which one group frames another. I suggest two readings to further explain the social identity. This article consists of the Interactive Model of Social Identity Formation which further shows what constructs social identity. Also indicates how social identity is related to the individual identity.
can be instigators of tensions in the street. On the other hand, other respondents had different opinions. Amongst the interviewees, there were those who held the thought that some of the “African refugees deserve the bad treatment they get”. This is larger due to host community perception that the refugees fail to respect religious and cultural traditions. One of the interviewees mentioned that some of the refugees can walk on the street drunk, and some girls would be wearing revealing clothes.

After analyzing the impact of exposure to intervention projects, I believe that the effect of the exposure can be seen as the seed for future projects. In other words, the existing projects are an initiative which can lead to deeper and more effective intervention steps. The impact of the projects did create as Dr. Baron, mentioned “moments of understanding and enjoyment”, but I think that after digging into the underprivileged Egyptian mentality there should be more assertive steps. Assertive steps would need a clear understanding of motives of distrust between underprivileged populations and methods of building trustworthy networks.

According to Putman, when two communities are unable to cooperate to develop their lives, it does not indicate insanity or ignorance of the people; it rather indicates a real malfunction in the society which could be due to several reasons. Trust between communities is considered a ‘social capital’. The social capital phenomenon refers to “features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.” When vulnerable groups of people are trapped in their own tragedies, they tend to resist the importance of building trust between them and the other. The ‘other’ becomes competition and can be seen as

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137 Dr. Baron is the founder and director of the Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute in Cairo, Egypt (An affiliate of Terre des hommes).
an invader, rather than an additional network. When intervention projects are created these aspects of the social relations between different groups are necessary to be understood and addressed using culturally sensitive activities and techniques. I can recall one mother teaching me that “the solution to accept something different is the talking, they need to tell us who are they. Even if they want to make activities they never made a conversation to us about who they are. They even don’t like it when we ask about their religion? Why is it that sensitive and why should I trust them with my daughter if they cannot even give us this necessary data? Do they expect us to trust them just like this?”

Do tensions exist between local community and African refugees challenging interactions between both communities living or interacting in proximity to each other? If so, then what are the nature and the level of these existing tensions?

Based on my research I can say that “yes” there are tensions which exist between refugees and the Egyptian host community. Below, I will explain how tensions are expressed from the perception of the host community and fueling motivators for such tensions. Before proceeding, I must clarify that during my interviews the term ‘tensions’ was not grasped well by the interviewees. I would usually get a quick answer of ‘no –we have no tensions’ or I would get requests to give examples or clarify what I meant by tensions. The interpretations I gave were ‘mistreatment’, ‘making fun of’, ‘fight’ or sometimes ‘racist comments’. I also mentioned that it is not necessarily from the Egyptian towards the African refugee, but also from the refugee towards the Egyptian.

The three main forms of tensions discussed are: insulting the African refugee by making fun of his or her skin color, language or even homeland; stone throwing which usually happens by children; and finally physical beating if the fight becomes
interactive and many people in the street get involved. Examining different types of tensions I asked the interviewees to clarify the motivating factors that drive such tensions and aggressive actions towards refugees. One motivation mentioned by the respondents was that it is a natural part of the Egyptian culture to make fun of the dark-skinned people. They mentioned that even the Egyptian movies portray and make jokes about dark-skinned people specifically from different African countries like Sudan or Somalia. Non-area specific respondents also gave answers which support this phenomenon and as one respondent told me “humor is part of our culture – people do not realize what they are doing or they do not intentionally hurt the other.” According to Peterson “in regional stereotypes, Egyptians are usually seen as the funniest of the Arabs. They are said to be khafiift id-damm (light blooded).”

From another perspective, Peterson even describes that humor is like a defense mechanism which Egyptians developed to express their fears and extreme insecurities due to their social and economic obstacles.

So, yes humor can be part of the Egyptian culture and it can be even traced to historical events – as Peterson describes – but in this case humor is used to degrade another human race. The respondents did not call it ‘racism’ and in some cases they would think I am ‘over exaggerating’ if I mention the term. I could say around 10 from the 40 respondents agreed to the term. Even amongst those who agree they still said “its racism, but not a real problem which can stop African refugees from living with the Egyptians”. Either you would think it’s a ‘big problem’ or a ‘small problem’ , race is playing an obvious role in shaping the social interactions between African refugees and Egyptian host communities.

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139 Peterson, News Parody and Social Media: The Rise of Egypt's Fifth Estate, Miami University.
140 ibid
According to the Racial Formation Theory\textsuperscript{141} race is a phenomenon which “continues to play a fundamental role in structuring and representing the social world”\textsuperscript{142}. They clarify that race cannot be avoided or just treated as an imaginary concept which could be put aside and humans can interact while ignoring the racial differences. Simply humans cannot stop caring and questioning about “Where is the other person from? How do they act from where they come from?” Also race is not a biological trait which already categorizes people in ways where change cannot take place regardless of other concepts like multicultural societies and social integration of citizens and non-citizens. The Racial Formation Theory indicates that both descriptions of race are unrealistic and race exists and affects societies on different levels.\textsuperscript{143} With that said, race is a dynamic phenomenon influenced by several factors. Multiculturalism, the open borders and technology transformations are different phenomenon which changes the features of societies.

Thus, I argue that the humor used to insult African refugees in some situations in Egypt is not just a cultural phenomenon; it is rather also related to racial perceptions and stereotypes. For instance, some of the interviewees mentioned that they believe that the Egyptians in their area look at the African refugee as being a person who does not get hurt or affected psychologically by their experiences in Egypt. They even describe this to be ‘degrading’ to the African race and not all refugees.

Furthermore the other motivation behind the aforementioned tensions is the anger which host community members hold. They feel that African refugees get a better treatment than they do. As some of them shared with me “we Egyptians have no value, anywhere in the world. If we go to their countries what do you think they

\textsuperscript{141} Omi and Winant, Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s, 1994.  
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
will do to us?” They add, the African refugees have networks and connections with their embassies which can be their protection. Also, NGOs and developmental entities can help refugees whilst the Egyptian is the ‘oppressed’ one. In a research project conducted in South Africa in 2008 examining perception of South African citizens towards the presence of refugees, it was mentioned that integration is impossible if the voices and the needs of the host community wasn’t heard. Even though there is a difference between the two cases: the Egyptian and the South African case since the government in South Africa is much more involved, yet the research shows that host community needs must be addressed before real integration and understanding can happen.\textsuperscript{144}

Thus, the socio-economic conditions of the host community members do not allow them to realize or grasp the difficulties which African refugees are experiencing in Egypt.

Additionally, they look for attention to their own problems and dislike prioritization of the non-citizen even if the same help is needed. Intervention ideas assisting refugees while neglecting the community as a whole can add to the anger and tensions, rather than facing them. Again, the social capital phenomenon aforementioned indicates that to build cooperation between groups of people you would need to build trust, norms, social organizations and networks. For such collaboration you would need equal involvement and appreciation to both the needs and the available resources – both physical and natural- of each group. In Egypt, where the governmental system does not provide the services and resources to fulfill the vulnerable populations’ needs the empowerment of the people can be their main

resource and the interventions and development projects can the primarily guiding body for such social capital to grow.

*How does the Egyptian host community perceive the integration phenomenon of African refugees in Cairo?*

According to the research findings the integration phenomenon is described by host community members through 3 main terms. The first term is *‘living together’*. The term ‘living together’ was described by the people to be ‘interaction’, ‘talking’ and sharing stories. For children the descriptive terms used to characterize living together were ‘playing’ and ‘standing by each other’ particularly in fights. This phenomenon can be referred to as the collective identity theory. The Egyptian underprivileged society treats the individuals as part of the ‘whole’ community. Each person can define him or herself in regards to their role within their neighborhood. The social structure of underprivileged areas allows for dependence and sometimes irrational trust to grow amongst the members of the community. The simple acts like talking and interacting described by the respondents showed their belief and passion towards their ‘collective identity’.

Klandermans describes collective identity as the sum of individual roles and positions shared with others. Collective identity accounts for how groups can both be formed to include certain members, and how they exclude others who are outside the group. For refugees to integrate - according to the host community -they need to be part of this identity, and some of the respondents mentioned that intervention projects are ways to promote this group identity. Based on the defined collective identity of a certain group, the ‘other’ is either included or excluded. According to the Social

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146 Fominaya, collective identity in social movements, 2010.
Identity Development Theory\textsuperscript{148} vulnerable groups of people are expected to conform to the normal values and standards of the groups which they want to be a part of. The level of conformity determines the level of exclusion or inclusion of the ‘outsider group’.\textsuperscript{149} For the underprivileged Egyptians they see themselves as being the owners of the citizenship or of the land they live in and refugees as outsiders. The more the refugee group shows contribution to the in-group image and traditions, the more they will be accepted and viewed as individuals whom “enhance, maintain or defend the status of the group”.\textsuperscript{150}

Other terms which expressed this identity phenomenon in Egypt and also defined integration were terms like the need to ‘benefit each other’. In this context the benefit or in other words the refugees’ contribution to the neighborhood was a concept which interviewees talked about. As one mother suggested “these projects should teach our children both the Egyptians and Africans to plant trees in the area, clean the streets.” Additionally respondents would also mention that before the projects they would simply have no interest in knowing the ‘African refugee’. As I remember one girl told me “we like to learn English, will this refugee teach me English. We like to talk to Americans because they can teach us things.” The benefiting of the neighborhood was connected to the loyalty of the refugee. The respondents would question is this refugee loyal to Egypt or “do we always have to be a place to receive people, but the people do not pay Egypt back for welcoming them”. On one hand, for the interviewees, they already feel that they are giving the refugees a benefit in the form of an area and a neighborhood they live in. On the other hand,

\textsuperscript{148} SIDT is an offshoot of collective theory. I will further also refer to the SIDT though Social development theory.
\textsuperscript{149} Children’s social groups and intergroup prejudice: Assessing the influence and inhibition of social group norms. http://www98.griffith.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/handle/10072/43677/77244_1.pdf?sequence=1
\textsuperscript{150} ibid
interviewees also think about what benefit they will get in return. Here again collective identity comes in handy. Even though collective identity is usually used to describe social movements, it is applicable here because as Whittier explains, collective identity is based on action and interaction between groups of people, rather than individual perceptions and values.151

Lastly, the third term defining integration for Egyptians is ‘guests’. Refugees are seen as guests who will one day go back to their own home. The only reason expressed by the respondents explaining the certainty that refugees will one day return is ‘no one leaves their country forever’. The ‘guests’ label given to refugees is connected to feelings which the host community expressed. For refugees to integrate they are treated like guests and in the Egyptian culture – as the interviewees expressed – guests are supposed to get the ‘best treatment’ or the treatment of ‘Ahl Al-Bait’ – residents of the house. From another side, guests are also expected to respect and abide by the rules and traditions of the ‘house’ or in this case the area. Looking at the non-citizen as a welcomed person who has no choice but to abide by the rules is a contradicting phenomenon which does not draw the lines for possible acceptance of cultural differences between the communities.

The first explanation for this contradiction is that the underprivileged Egyptian host community faces ‘integration’ challenges within their larger society. As explained in chapter II of the thesis, the socio-economic situation keeps the host community marginalized. Thus, it is difficult for the citizens of the community to

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accept the non-citizens without imposing their own traditions. In simpler words, why
should the refugees ‘have it easy’ if the citizens themselves don’t?

Surprisingly from another explanation, I believe that even though the host
community is in a neglected situation from the governmental authorities’ agendas in
Egypt - their nationalism sense does play a role in the grouping process of the ‘other’.
The respondents repeated phrases like “Masr Om Al-Donia- Egypt is the mother of
the world” or “everyone likes to come here, its Egypt. Egypt welcomes everyone.”
According to Calhoun, the pride which nationals have in their identity can be one way
for them to decide the frames describing the ‘us’ and ‘them’ phenomenon.\textsuperscript{152}
Egyptian host community nationalism calls for two contradicting actions. On one hand the
community feels the need to welcome the refugees to their ‘second home’ and on the
other hand they feel the need to impose their rules and traditions to protect their
identity.

The ‘us’ and ‘them’ phenomenon is also related to the social identity theory.
The ‘us’ definition describes the in-group characteristics of the members who make
up the group identity. On the other hand, the ‘them’ defines the out-group
characteristics which also play a role in shaping the in-group characteristics. For the
in-group to gain power and feel that they are better they would point out the negatives
and weaknesses of the out-groups.\textsuperscript{153} For the underprivileged Egyptians, the sense of
power is the edge they have against the refugees: citizenship.

\textsuperscript{152} Calhoun, Nationalism, 1995.
\textsuperscript{153} McLeod, Social Identity Theory, 2008, http://www.simplypsychology.org/social-identity-
theory.html.
Further Concluding Analysis

What was also common in the answers of the interviewees is their realization that racism “is wrong” and they would describe it as a sin forbidden by God. Some interviewees would either deny the presence of racism at all and others would justify it as a “normal part of the culture”. Haslam and Swaab mentioned that social identity represents group membership which builds “common understandings” about surrounding behaviors and acts.\(^{154}\) In Egypt, humor was a common act expressed towards common understandings of the Egyptian societies. One of the common understandings expressed during my interviews was the resistance towards the use of the term ‘racism’ to describe their acts towards African refugees. Furthermore, racism can be expressed using covert behavior. In the modern life where the trend is to live in multicultural countries and allowing different cultures to live together is the ‘right thing to do’ people do not overtly express their racism. Even so, it is important to realize that racism still exists which I believe is more challenging to fight.

**How do the NGOs working directly with refugees define the need for creating intervention projects in Cairo involving both the refugee and the host community member?**

The different NGO and development workers who I interviewed mentioned that “yes” it is necessary to involve the host community members along with refugees in order to uncover aspects of possible integration in Egypt. Regarding the host community, according to my research findings there are three main reasons given for such a necessity. Firstly, the host community is the direct communicator with the refugees. Direct daily communication is one aspect of human life which is the most important part of the integration equation. Going back to the review of literature in

\(^{154}\) Postmes and Haslam, Social influence in small groups: An interactive model of social identity formation, 2005.
chapter III I talked about the trauma-focused approach and the psychology-focused approach. Miller and Rasmussen state that respecting and studying the effect of the daily stressors for refugees gives a holistic presentation of the challenges and the opportunities they are exposed to. According to the research findings, the Egyptians who deal with refugees in the streets and as their neighbors are those who make up part of the ‘daily stressors’ which refugees experience. So, this implies that if we want to take a psychology-focused approach to examine refugees and the integration phenomenon in Cairo, there is a need to approach and uncover the Egyptian neighbor. This neighbor is who directly affects and is affected by the arrival and presence of refugees in Cairo.

Secondly the circumstances which Egyptians have lived in for decades cannot be ignored or avoided to decrease the ‘tragedy size’. Serving and assisting vulnerable refugees without considering their host neighbors can be more harmful to the community. The increase in different forms of violence and hatred can be the result of partial understanding and partial development of a neighborhood. The underprivileged communities who share their neighborhoods with the refugees have been through years of poverty and neglect. Additionally, they experience political changes which raise expectations, which have not been met until the present time.

Shaping development projects and integration initiations based on how the communities in Egypt see it, accept it and can cooperate with it is the most effective way to understand and later implement integration projects. As I included in the review of literature Wikan in 1980 created a social anthropology research in an

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155 Miller and Rasmussen, War exposure, daily stressors, and mental health in conflict and post-conflict settings: Bridging the divide between trauma-focused and psychosocial frameworks, 2010.
underprivileged community.\textsuperscript{156} Wikan lived with the people in this area for weeks, made Egyptian friends from the area and even had fights with others. Wikan gave a very deep explanation about how the underprivileged communities in Egypt have been neglected by the authorities to the extent that they create their own structure, rules and even social hierarchies.\textsuperscript{157}

Also, just to give a life example to the underprivileged areas context, as an Egyptian and during an informal conversation with one of the NGO workers, I know of areas in Egypt which are protected by people who can be criminals (i.e. drug dealers). In return of this protection and even financial support in some cases, the residents of these under developed areas would not report those criminals and can even give them shelter if needed for protection from the police. The neglect of the authority roles and the distrust in the policing system is one reason which makes these areas develop their own government-like systems.

As social developers, if we are unable to see this special structure then we only see half of the truth. Researchers, social developers and scientists can make major efforts to create positive change for specific vulnerable groups, but they can fall into the trap of being ‘unaware’ even with the massive networks they can create with different agents of a neighborhood.

Moving on, after discussing the two reasons showed by this research regarding the host community’s role in the integration phenomenon, there is also the role of the refugees. All of the respondents of this stage of the research agreed that refugees can also be an obstacle against positive effective integration in Cairo. The reasons which were given by the respondents revolved around the extreme desire of the refugees to

\textsuperscript{156} Wikan, Life among the Poor in Cairo \textit{Translated} by Ann Henning, 1980.

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.
leave Egypt and get resettled. Again, the perception of refugees towards Egyptians as additions to their burdens and their inability to handle more traumas or responsibilities due to their mental health states keeps them from trying too hard to integrate. Looking at those reasons, I must refer back to chapter I in my review of literature which explains the reality which I refer to as the ‘state of limbo’.

Again, refugees live in Egypt not knowing what will happen tomorrow and unable to mingle or find hope in today. As one mother told me during my interviews, “we (Egyptians) have to interact with refugees and they have to interact with us, we have to share our pains”. Involving both host community and refugees in the process of understanding integration and later creating ways of integration on the ground allows this ‘share of pain’. Rather than one community looking at the other as burden adders, and the other community feeling neglected, they both need to come on the same table. This research does not aim to mention the fact that refugees should stay in Egypt or to mention that Egyptians should accept that refugees have equal rights, it rather aims at providing an understanding of reality in Egypt. Understanding reality is only the first step to approach ways of facing challenges and uncovers opportunities in a country like Egypt.

Chapter VII: Limitations and Ethical Issues

In this chapter I will include both the limitations and the ethical challenges I faced during my research starting from April 2013 until September 2013. I will summarize my limitations and ethical challenges in the following points:

1. The drastic political changes taking place in Egypt throughout my study.
2. The cultural boundaries which take time to be overcome between the interviewee and myself - the interviewer.
3. The limited time frame.
The political changes in Egypt were a main reason for interview dates to be changed. Thus, I had to do double the effort to achieve the proper number of interviews that would generate adequate answers for my research questions. Since I began my thesis, dramatic changes in Egypt’s governmental authorities have taken place. These changes started by the revolution against the Muslim Brotherhood regime which was believed by some Egyptians to control the decisions and actions of its member who is also the Egyptian ousted president –Mohamed Morsy. Starting from the announcement of any of the protests until few days after protest the people-including myself - are reluctant to walk freely in the streets due to their fear of facing dangerous or risky acts. With time some interviewees cancelled or interviewees would forget or neglect the interview because of their worries or concerns towards the political news in the country. In this case I would not risk my own safety or the safety of my interviewees, and I would take more time to look for alternatives. Besides the interviews I was able to conduct face-to-face, I also conducted around 7 phone interviews.

Moreover, the political events in Egypt were a reason for refugee NGOs, which I often was able to access, to cancel their interventions events. In this case, I was not able to reach a big number of interviewees in a short period of time by attending intervention events and talking to the Egyptian participants as I previously planned. I had to visit each area, and with the help of a community leader or an organizer of the intervention projects to literally walk around inside the social clubs and ask people if they attended the event when it took place. What really helped were

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158 There is different analysis towards the June 30th revolution. Representation of the events is available at http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/12876/the-june-rebellion-in-egypt - independent e-zine produced by ASI (Arab Studies Institute).
my social networks and the assistance I received from the NGOs\textsuperscript{159} which got me in contact with a coach or a team leader within the area or the social club I was targeting. These procedures prevented me from finishing my data collection in two to three weeks as I was expecting. I finished my data collection in a six-week period starting from June 27\textsuperscript{th} 2013 until August 13\textsuperscript{th} 2013. Additionally, I have experienced several moments of personal burn-outs because of the amounts of visits which I had to conduct in one area or one social club to reach 2-4 interviews per visit. Besides the safety crisis due to the political unrest in Egypt, I faced obstacles which did not stop me from continuing my research, but they did need more than the expected timing and effort.

Furthermore the second set of limitations which I faced throughout my research was the cultural boundaries. In one form, I used to get the comments and queries about my identity and the purpose of the research. Even though I would make sure I explained clearly to the interviewee the purpose of my research and my identity as a student at the American University in Cairo, I would still get the questions from the interviewees themselves or other people from the surrounding about the ‘television channel I work with’ or if I was a journalist. The people I met in social clubs in each of the three areas I visited, specifically the children, had the will and sometimes even the insistence to ask to be interviewed because of their belief that I belong to a communication channel. This would be a reason for me to always get the feeling that the answers I receive do not necessarily reflect the exact beliefs and ideas of the interviewees since some of them can still have the idea of me sharing their opinions through media channels. I faced this challenge simply by continuously

\textsuperscript{159} Refugee NGOs which created intervention projects – PSTIC created Tawasul.
reminding my interviewees about the need to talk freely, and how this is a benefit for both parties: myself as a researcher and themselves as possible beneficiaries.

Another cultural boundary is the inability of some interviewees to be open about their emotions towards non-Egyptians who are guests. I started my interviews by mentioning that the names of my interviewees will not be mentioned in my research with the intention of making the interviewees feel that they are free to talk in whatever way they feel comfortable in. Even with making this clarification, I often felt as if I received the ‘perfect’ answers. During almost half of the interview, most of the interviewees would say the answers with positive attitude and would show that there was no problem with the presence of any non-Egyptian in Egypt. I would try and ask questions more than one time and explain to them that it is to the benefit of the research and their own to speak freely and their names will not be associated with what they say. By the end of the interviews, I would be able to build the trust. However, even now after I am done with my field research, I cannot be entirely sure that the trust was fully built. I would recommend for researchers in the coming projects about ‘foreigners’ in Egypt to realize this feeling of guilt for the Egyptians to express their negative emotions towards the ‘other’ in an open direct manner.

The third cultural boundary was the use of humor. Almost 50% of my interviews took place with children. During these interviews, the children would start using indirect ways of making fun of me. I have only experienced this obstacle with young boys. It is a common cultural characteristic with Egyptians to use humor to express their opinions. Sometimes, the use of humor in my interviews made me extremely uncomfortable with completing the interview. I would have to stay calm and neglect the indirect comments they try to make in order to make their surrounding
friends laugh. In some cases, I would ask the oldest of their friends to take the rest and leave making him feel responsible for my ‘comfort’ as a guest in the area.

Lastly, the final limitation would be the time frame which constrained my ability to reach all the requirements of highest level of ethical procedures. For instance, one of those procedures would be obtaining consent forms from all interviewees. Around 50% of my interviewees refused to sign consent forms. Some people refused to sign consent forms for safety reasons while others would mention that they do not refuse as much as they feel ‘uncomfortable’. They express that they do not feel any pressure expressing their feelings and that they would like to talk while not feeling this need to sign since they ‘trust me’ (according to themselves). One way I faced this was by making sure I did not impose on the interviewee the fact that they are forced to sign but I clarified -in more than one way- that this is for the sake of their own safety and it is part of their rights. Due to my restricted timeframe besides the politically unstable environment I was working in, I did not have the choice of neglecting interviewees who refused to sign and I had to accept their verbal agreement to conduct the interviews.

Conclusion

Egypt has been a receiver of refugees for years, and it is important to realize that the reality of the refugee situation in Egypt creates a limbo state for both the refugee and the host community underprivileged members. Both the refugee and the

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160 I would get the surprised reaction from people commenting on why am I being too careful about their safety, they do not feel unsafe. Also others would mention a usual phrase we use in Egypt like “Is this a Police Investigation?” This phrase would indicate their dislike or disagreement to sign a consent form.

161 I was able to get the agreement of my department – Migration and Refugee Studies at the American University in Cairo.
host community face similar socio-economic difficulties and share underprivileged neighborhoods.

This thesis aimed at understanding the perception of underprivileged Egyptian host community towards the presence of African refugees in Cairo. Understanding the host community uncovers the possibilities and the challenges of creating integration projects within the Egyptian context. The proximity between the underprivileged Egyptian communities and the refugees puts them both in a position of struggling to fulfill their basic needs, while interacting and learning how to live together with respect to their different backgrounds. I examined the perception of the host community members who have past experience with the African refugees. Furthermore, the study of this perception allowed for understanding the integration phenomenon in the Egyptian environment.

The research questions which guided the research project are:

1) What are the perceptions of the Egyptian host community who have interacted with African Refugees, towards their presence in Cairo?
   a) What is the effect of exposure to intervention projects on the perception of the underprivileged Egyptian host community towards the presence of the African refugees?
   b) Do tensions exist between local community and African refugees challenging interactions between both communities living or interacting in proximity to each other? If so, then what are the nature and the level of these existing tensions?
2) How does the Egyptian host community perceive the integration phenomenon of African refugees in Cairo?
3) How do the NGOs working directly with refugees define the need for creating intervention projects in Cairo involving both the refugee and the host community member?

To answer the aforementioned questions there were two stages to my research methodology. The first stage was a preparatory phase which clarified the necessity of involving the host community members to understand refugee integration in Cairo.
Consequently, stage two involved the direct interviews with the host community members to examine their perceptions.

After both stage I and II of data collection, the analysis showed that integration of refugees is not realistic (possible) in Egypt with its traditional meaning. It is rather realistic in the current time only if integration is approached through basic interventions which aim for bridging the gap between two communities who live together without a choice to have or move to a better life. These interventions need to take place with respect to the Egyptian context in general and the underprivileged areas' culture and traditions in specific. The existing intervention projects do have a positive effect on the refugee-Egyptian relations in Cairo and they can be expanded in ways to tackle the perceptions of the host community towards the African refugee with more in-depth activities. According to the field research, the perception of the host community towards the African refugee is related to their sense of nationalism, their fear of the ‘other’ to impose different traditions to their communities and the role of the refugee as a contributor to the neighborhood.

Moreover, it is important to note that tensions do exist between African refugees and the host community. These tensions ranged from using humor to hurting or insulting the African refugee to the possibility of having physical fights on the street. Even though there are no specific statistics showing the extent of these tensions, more than 50% of the host community interviewees mentioned that they witnessed, know of someone or even mentioned that they practiced harassments against the African refugee. These tensions were described by the host community to be unintentional use of humor as a cultural tradition for the Egyptians. Also, the expression of anger or hatred was because refugees can be perceived to be in a ‘better situation’ than the Egyptians themselves.
On a final note I refer to one of my NGO interviewees who said “for me integration is the most important thing. If we don’t arrive to at least approach, the problems will never be resolved.” This quote reflects how I feel towards this topic. My goal is not to claim that refugees should stay in Egypt, nor to claim that Egypt can be developed for both vulnerable communities to mingle together. My goal is to represent reality and voice the host community, hoping for practical and holistic intervention ideas to take place. I believe in change which starts from the community level especially in countries like Egypt where governments are struggling with their own structures and stabilities. This research is only an initiative step to uncover possible effective relations. I believe that when political m governmental and even institutional changes are ‘too far’, then both refugees and Egyptians who share the same misery can rely, on each other.

Further Recommendations

Research Recommendations

1) Further research to uncover the effect of political changes on host community perception of refugees.

It is needed to conduct research about the perception of the host community towards refugees after the recent political events which took place starting from the down fall of Dr. Mohamed Morsy presidential rule until the breakup of the pro-Morsy protests. These political incidents created dramatic changes in Egypt’s governmental structures, and a shift in the perception and treatment of not only Egyptians from different political landscapes but also Syrian and Palestinian refugees who are seen as supporters of Morsy.

2) Future researchers should be aware of the implications of being in political hot spots such as Egypt in order to produce more time-sensitive and context specific research.

3) Increase cultural awareness for foreign researchers in order to keep the researchers safe in moments of stress and help the researcher stay away from making judgments. This recommendation is especially crucial when interpreting what people do or say in Egypt so that the researcher may be able to objectively assess findings.
Project Recommendations

This section will include suggestions from the host community members themselves which they shared during the interviews.

1) Creating different projects which can direct effective, specific messages to the appropriate audience using the appropriate tools.

   It is important to take into consideration that the area specific audience are different from non-area specific audience; the young audience have different interests than the older audience. For instance, young boys and girls cared about the games and sports activities, while mothers cared about activities which taught their children positive behaviors and gave them time to make friends and get involved in what they called ‘friendly women chats’.

2) Sending direct strong messages specifically to young boys and men. Most interviewees mentioned that violent acts or harassments take place by young boys and men.

3) Asking and allowing the host community to voice their opinions about existing projects and voicing their suggestions for possible integration projects. This was requested by many interviewees.

   Here, I would like to refer to a statement I mentioned in the Methodology Chapter- Robert Chambers, which states that who comes first in the hierarchy actually begins their development process by forming a deep understanding of what the people at the end of the hierarchy live through. This understanding takes place by involving those who come last in the hierarchy in all the steps of the development, especially in the first step which is the research or the understanding stage of development.162

4) Initiating ideas where the refugees and host community members cooperate to improve the areas they reside in.

   For instance, amongst the suggestions given by the interviewees were: planting trees in the social clubs of the area, being part of a littering campaign or cleaning the streets, teaching the English language for children. They need to get introduced to the African refugee as a strong, creative and giving human rather than the stereotype they know.

5) Using Egyptian community leaders to spread the different ideas of effective intervention between African refugees and host community members.

   When the interviewees would share a certain problem which took place within the area, the possible solution was always to go for the community leaders for advice or interference. Amongst the volunteers I interviewed, some of them already had the leadership charisma and had effect on the people within the social clubs.

162 ibid
6) Using ‘religion’ to spread the dangers and negative effects of insulting or degrading the ‘other’. Spreading acceptance through religious leaders or through religious messages can be effective if it is implemented with care.

Most of the interviewees who either justified or rejected the behavior of Egyptians in the neighborhoods would share the same idea of “people are all created by God so making fun of others makes Allah angry”. Some would even use verses of the Quran, which mention that there is no man better than another, except with the good behavior and good manners. So it is important to use religion as a tool to promote good behavior because it seemed to be in the back of the mind of all interviewees.

7) Implementing cultural awareness campaigns for both communities: refugees and host community.

Even though Egypt is close geographically to other African countries, there is a gap in the understanding of cultural norms between both communities. Besides the activities, people recommended awareness sessions, especially to the mothers. There is a sense of fear which is shared between the communities and this fear is because each group is worried that the other will overrule or impose cultural changes they do not wish for.

8) Communicating the reality to refugees about the frustrated situation in Egypt. Advocating with the UNHCR to create a unified system between NGOs to improve the communication with newly arriving refugee.

9) Creating Conceptual Frameworks that fit the reality in a transit country like Egypt.

It is essential for Egyptian context to be in mind – the status of the underprivileged communities, political uprisings- with respect to acceptable integration phenomenon. Researchers should not try and implement the traditional meaning of integration which is created in the western context.

10) Spreading the knowledge about the definition of what a refugee is, why they are in Egypt. Introducing the resilience and strength which refugees brought along with them through highlighting what they have experienced and how they fight for their lives.

This is important to change perception of refugees being only sick, poor and uneducated. The underprivileged Egyptians already have their difficulties which make them under developed. The addition of other communities which have same difficulties creates the sense of disinterest to know each other.

11) Creating activities that would introduce the Egyptian culture to the refugees – the Egyptian children can be used as the teachers or tour guides. This would enhance or meet the need of underprivileged communities to express their ‘love’ or nationalism towards Egypt. This would allow the children to feed their sense of need to feel power in a positive way.

12) Coming up with ideas outside the box and creating holistic campaigns. This would require an understanding of the resources available in the areas, the existing manpower along with advocacy on a state level and reaching to NGOs and media to complete the campaign/circle of assistance. Additionally, it is necessary to understand
the media and the NGO affiliations that have an effect on the underprivileged communities.

13) Studying the areas refugees and underprivileged community members live within in order to create common work (economic cooperation). Understanding the available resources, unravel hidden resources and the internal challenges within each area, is important to created initiatives for common work. Bottom up approaches are generally faster than governmental actions.

14) Understanding the power of humor usage within the Egyptian community and that it is a double edge weapon which contributes to the richness of the culture while it can build racism and cultural gaps between different groups of people. Upon this realization one can create programs using humor to enhance positive behavior and disgrace negative racist behavior.
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Appendix I: The descriptions in the following table are quoted from the official web pages or face book groups of each organization. Table 4.1: List of NGOs and Intervention Programs since 2011 in Cairo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Governmental Organizations</th>
<th>Intervention project and activities</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sycho-Social Training Institute in Cairo ((Terre des Hommes))&lt;sup&gt;163&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Tawasul program aims the exchange of cultures and cooperation between refugee children from different nationalities and Egyptian children through different activities. This project is organized by the Psychosocial Training Institute in Cairo (Terre des Hommes) and the American University in Cairo. Different art workshops and sports tournaments are taking place in different areas. The aim is that through artistic activities, children of different nationalities will have fun together and will interact with each other beginning positive relations between them. Different areas are covered with a focus on underprivileged areas where both refugees and Egyptians share the neighbourhoods. The three areas I covered are Ard El-Lewa, Maadi 77 and H. Al-Asher. There are all areas where both refugees and underprivileged Egyptians reside and the activities take place in each area’s Markaz Shabab or social club in English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outa Hamra&lt;sup&gt;164&lt;/sup&gt;: Street clowning and social theatre for change through workshops and performances in public spaces with a focus on the underprivileged of Egypt.</td>
<td>With cooperation with PSTIC, Outa Hamra is conducting a street theatre play called “Going to the neighbors’ house”. The theatre performance is in Arabic to enhance relations between Egyptian and Refugee neighbors by providing an inside look into the lives of refugees and why they live in Egypt. “Going to the neighbors’ house” was created to raise awareness in Egyptian communities about their neighbors who are refugees. It provides an inside look at the reasons that make refugees of different colors, culture, religion and ethnicity leave their homes to come to a country so different than their own for protection.&lt;sup&gt;165&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adamoun- The Egyptian Refugee Multicultural Council</td>
<td>Promote the welfare of refugees and their mutual co-existence with Egyptians through networking and coordination of cooperative efforts. Tadamoun welcome all individuals, organizations and initiatives that aim to make a positive difference in the lives of refugees and Egyptians living together across Egypt.</td>
</tr>
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<sup>163</sup> https://www.facebook.com/cairotasulasul
<sup>164</sup> https://www.facebook.com/OUTAHAMRA?sk=info&app_data
<sup>165</sup> https://www.facebook.com/groups/166532506712645/members/
Different cultural events take place to allow the exchange of food, fashion and ideas between Egyptians and neighboring refugees. The most recent activities took place in June 2013.

**MOIC - Model of Organization of Islamic Cooperation- Egypt (MOIC-Egypt)**

MOIC Egypt international team and Center for Civilization Studies and Dialogue of Cultures in collaboration with ICHAD Liaison Coordination Unit in Cairo, Islamic Conference Humanitarian Affairs Department - Organization of Islamic Cooperation and many quarters and other institutions to announce the launch of the first year of the Eye on Human Rights (EHR) project that is devoted this year to the refugees’ issues by launching an awareness campaign and organizing two consecutive conferences on February 2013 in Cairo. The EHR 2013 Campaign was launched on the 1st of February, tackling the violations on refugees rights in their host countries and the Palestinian right of return.166

**International Organization for Migration (IOM)**

“Promoting Better Health and Well Being Amongst Migrants Transiting Through Egypt & Yemen”– Location: Egypt, Yemen

Under this project, IOM is promoting better health and wellbeing amongst migrants transiting through Egypt. Activities include (a) strengthening Governmental and non-governmental capacities to deliver quality, “migrant-friendly” health care services; and (b) assisting national authorities in responding to health needs in migrant-dense areas, including at border crossing points.167

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166 Facebook Group: https://www.facebook.com/MOICEgypt.Inter and also Webpage: http://www.moicegypt.com/national/home/0
167 http://www.egypt.iom.int/projects.htm