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Local integration of African refugees in Egypt; the policy challenges

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LOCAL INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN REFUGEES IN EGYPT: THE POLICY CHALLENGES

A Thesis Submitted to the

Public Policy and Administration Department

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Public Policy

By

Maha Soliman

Spring 16

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LOCAL INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN REFUGEES IN EGYPT: POLICY CHALLENGES

Maha Soliman

Supervised by Dr. Ghada Barsoum

ABSTRACT

This research discusses the importance of local integration in dealing with the influx of African refugees in Egypt. Given the obstacles to repatriation, and limited opportunities of resettlement, exploring local integration becomes a necessary alternative. Local integration is generally an overlooked option that given the circumstances can be an applicable course of action for both refugees and host countries. Local integration can potentially provide mutual benefit to both refugees and their host countries. This could be seen in the harnessing of development aid, and can be regarded as a sustainable intervention, that accommodates the local integration of refugees in Egypt. The political will of host governments to support local integration as a long-term solution to refugee populations in their countries is critical. This research explores the concept of local integration within the refugee and asylum seeker community in Egypt. This research will create a framework of analysis of local integration and the policy challenges to achieve that, discuss the resource burdens and other obstacles that prohibit the initiation of policies of local integration, and finally discuss the benefits of local integration.

Dedications

I could not have done this without the constant help of the people in my life. And therefore I dedicate this to you.

I would like to dedicate this to my family for being the greatest support system, and for always being my inspiration. To my mother, thank you for pushing us all always, you are the strongest woman I know, and if only I could be half the woman you are I would be fulfilled. To Ghada, you always make us proud, you have always been someone I can look up to. To Mayada, you are the hardest working person I know, and you have accomplished so much, it is inspiring. To Mohamed, our cornerstone, you are the most knowledgeable person I know, thank you for always giving me your honest opinion. I would like to thank my best friends, Alya and Rita for always being there for me. To Motaz, thank you for your constant support, and all the effort you have put into this.

Finally, but most importantly, to my father, having your name is the hardest thing to have to live up to. Your legacy has always pushed me to work harder, and to always strive to make you proud; I hope I continue to do so.

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This thesis could not have been done without the help and support of Dr. Ghada Barsoum. You have constantly guided me, and have been meticulous in producing the best work. Thank you for your relentless help and effort in making this thesis what it is. I would like to thank to Dr. Shahjahan Bhuiyan and Dr. Ibrahim Awad, for your generous time and comments that have helped me make something I am proud of. Thank you for your insights, and dedication.

This thesis relied on the interviews of key caseworkers in the refugee field, and therefore I would like to take the time to thank them for agreeing to be a part of my research. You have given me great insight, and have helped me collect all the information I need. Thank you for giving me your time, and all the help I need in order to gather the information required.

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UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
POC	Person of Concern
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
RST	Resettlement
CS	Community Services
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
StARS	St. Andrew's Refugee Services
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
COO	Country of Origin
COA	Country of Asylum
COB	Community Based Organizations
LoFADs	Lack of foreseeable alternative durable solutions
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
OAU	Organization of African Unity

Chapter I

Introduction to Refugees and Local Integration

According to a recent UNHCR report (2015), worldwide displacement has hit its highest level, resulting in the forceful displacement of 59.5 million. According to the report, one in 122 humans is a refugee, an asylum seeker, or an internally displaced person. There are currently 19.5 million refugees and 1.8 million asylum seekers globally (UNHCR, 2015). These individuals have been forced from their homes by wars, conflicts, and fear of persecution. Egypt is currently one of the countries facing a major refugee influx due to its geographic location. There are currently 267,820 refugees and 250, 600 Asylum Seekers in Egypt, of which there are 197.820 refugees, and 179,600 asylum seekers who have been assisted by UNHCR (2015). The main groups of people of concern (POCs) to the UNHCR originate from Syria, Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Iraq (UNHCR, 2015).

As a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention, Egypt grants its refugee population the right to local recourse, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, and the right to residence. Egypt has also ratified the Refugee Conventions 1967 protocol, the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention (OAU), which furthermore guarantees the rights of refugees and asylum seekers in countries of asylum. Asylum in Egypt guarantees the concept of non-refoulement, which means the prevention of forcible return of refugees to their home countries. Asylum also includes the safety, security, legal

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access, and elements of basic human rights. Limited cases with protection needs can be selected for resettlement to third countries; the UNHCR, embassies, as well as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) facilitate this. Refugees and asylum seekers in Egypt may access limited health assistance, access to education, and legal assistance through a variety of state-run, religious, international and local non-governmental organizations, and community based services for the asylum and refugee communities in Egypt. The last legal instrument is the 1954 Memorandum of Understanding, which highlighted the role of the government, and UNHCR. This covered refugees that fit within the UNHCR mandate. This mandate is to ensure the protection of refugees, as defined by the 1951 convention (Badawy, 2010).

However, Egypt has reservations on the convention with regards to articles 20, and 22-24, which guarantees the equal, rights to refugees as nationals in terms of primary education, labor, social security, and public relief. The reservations also extend to the article pertaining to personal status (Blay et. al, 1999). These reservations avoid creating a legal obligation to abide by these articles. These reservations also mean that refugees would be restricted from access to basic services that they need in order to adapt to the Egyptian society. Therefore, it is clear that the present system within Egypt fosters an environment that is unwilling to promote local integration. This creates legal barriers that alienate the refugee and asylum seeker communities in Egypt, and hinder the social mechanisms necessary for aid, and assistance. Therefore, access to legal assistance difficulties and refugee insecurity creates a social obstacle that prohibits the legal and

local integration within Egypt. It is important to note that these reservations primarily affect the livelihood of refuges, as they limit their chances of work, and education.

Given the obstacles to repatriation, and limited opportunities of resettlement, exploring local integration becomes a possible alternative. Local integration is an overlooked option that given the circumstances is the most applicable course of action for both refugees and host countries. It is important to note that local integration provides mutual benefit to both refugees and their host countries. This could be seen in the harnessing of development aid, and can be regarded as a sustainable intervention, that accommodates the local integration of refugees in Egypt (Grabska, 2006). The political will of host governments to support local integration as a long-term solution to refugee populations in their countries is critical (Emilsson, 20120. This research will therefore explore the concept of local integration within the refugee and asylum seeker community in Egypt. This research will create a framework of analysis of local integration, critique the current Egyptian policies within the local integration context, discuss the resource burdens and other obstacles that prohibit the initiation of policies of local integration, and finally discuss the benefits of local integration.

Problem Statement

Refugees and Asylum Seekers typically find themselves within restrictive sets of international and national contexts. However, being party to the convention of 1951 has not safeguarded the refugee community whom are subjected to incidents of mistreatment by police, arbitrary arrest, violence and harassment of women, racial discrimination, amongst others (Shelton, 1983). Egypt's reservations on the convention limits work

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opportunities, which leaves many with no or little employment, which in turn forces many into the unregulated informal market. The asylum seeker and refugee communities in Egypt face constant discrimination within the social, cultural, and language context. There is widespread poverty and unemployment within this population, which has become worse since the 2011 revolution in Egypt, causing many to live in poverty (El-Shaarawi, 2015). Egypt's reservation on access to health care and education, restrict the asylum and refugee population and forces them to overcrowded and underfunded institutions, where they do not get proper access to their basic needs. Their legal positions are dependent on their recognition by the UNHCR, which has full responsibility for their registration, as well as their RSD (Kagan, 2006). Once identified as asylum seekers they receive yellow cards, which offer them international protection, and grant them the possibility of assistance from partner organizations. The framework of lack of interaction has been heavily due to Egypt's reservation to the 1951 convention, making it acceptable to avoid their legal obligations.

The shortage of research on local integration as a durable solution for refugees in Egypt is evident. This topic remains under-addressed, and data on local integration is not present. This research will therefore look at local integration in its social, economic, and legal dimensions. The influx of refugees in Egypt and their lack of foreseeable alternatives, given the hardships of living in Egypt is a neglected topic in Egypt. No national policies are in place in order to protect and assist refugees, and African refugees are primarily at a disadvantage. The lack of rights offered to refugees, in Education, employment, and personal status, pose a true obstacle to local integration. The dire need

for Egypt to treat refugees unequally to nationals leads to true struggles by the local communities of refugees. Within the marginalized African refugee community, only Sudanese have the right to public education, while no decree has been issued since the separation of Sudan and South Sudan, to accommodate South Sudanese nationals into public schools. This illustrates negligence in Egypt's international obligation to uphold refugee rights in the country. Egypt's reservation on the education in 1951 avoids it from international obligation, however, it is important to note that Egypt is also a party to the CRC, which guarantees the equal educational access to all (UNICEF, 2008). The shortage of literature on African refugee experiences in Egypt in itself is an obstacle to local integration, as they are now outshined by the Syrian refugee crisis.

Research Question

This research will look at the areas of challenges that hinder refugee local integration in Egypt. Therefore, the research will seek to address the following research questions;

What are the constraints of the current framework of local integration in Egypt?

 In what ways do Egypt's reservations on the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee affect the possibility of local integration in Egypt?

What are the views of stakeholders in the strengthening of national policies to promote the local integration of refugees in the Egyptian community?

Background and Definition of Terms

Egypt's position and proximity to Europe makes it a desirable country of asylum for individuals fleeing due to wars, conflicts, or political instability. According to the UNHCR Egypt hosts refugees originating from 69 countries, which include Syria, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, and Iraq (UNHCR, 2015). In July 1951, Egypt signed the convention on the Status of Refugees, which defines refugees under international law, and guarantees the rights of those seeking asylum. In May of 1981 Egypt ratified the convention and the 1967 Protocol; however, it made reservation on five provisions (Zohry, 2003). These included reservations on personal status, rationing, access to primary education, public relief and assistance, and labor legislation and social security. With reservations on access to public primary education, individuals were denied the right to admittance to public school. This policy was however overturned with a Ministerial Decree in 1992. Ministerial Decree No. 24 gave Sudanese, Libyan and Jordanian children of political asylum seekers to attend public schools as nationals (UNHCR, 2015). Egypt did not make reservations on articles, 17 and 18, which pertain to employment, however, work permits in Egypt are difficult to obtain, which makes employment within the refugee and asylum seeker population difficult. The Ministry of Labor, Article 11 of Ministerial Resolution 290 of 1982, requires proof that an Egyptian national was not available to do the work before a permit could be issued. According to the 1980 Presidential Decree 331, the 1951 Refugee Convention was adopted as a domestic law, and the Egyptian Constitution of 2012 provided protection to refugees and

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asylum seekers. Article 57 of the 2012 constitution prohibited the deportation of refugees, and more specifically, political refugees (Tiedemann, 2012).

A protracted refugee situation is typically defined as a situation in which refugees have lived in a country for more than five years, and have no prospect of one of the three durable solutions (Rowley, 2006). Governments typically deal with refugees and asylum seeker situations in short term efforts. This means that they rely on donors and other international organizations to provide aid to those seeking asylum within their country (Koleth, 2012). Typically, donors and international organizations focus on emergency and crises, such as in recent years, Syria, which in turn neglects those who have been in the host country for a longer period of time. This neglect is felt within the refugee community that fit within the protracted situation, and has no hope for a viable durable solution. As the refugee crisis grows the effects it is having on countries worldwide are growing and becoming more pressing, and therefore must be paid more attention to. Therefore, it is important to understand that though, according to the UNHCR mandate, repatriation is the end goal; the current unstable environment within countries of origin. Civil wars, armed conflict, conscription, and government persecution with in COO, amongst other factors makes it impossible for those who have fled to return. Therefore, more attention must be given to local integration as a plausible durable solution for refugees and asylum seekers.

Definition of a refugee

The 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees provides the legal definition of a refugee stating:

The term 'refugee' shall mean every person who, as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

This definition has been accepted the primary definition, however Malkki (2005) argues that this definition reflects refugees, yet does not include others. Malkki argues that this definition was typically used to define those fleeing Europe during World War II, and not refugees from across the world. This meant that those fleeing generalized violence, and have not been targeted individually would not be considered as refugees under the 1951 convention. The 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees removed the dates, in order to not create a narrow definition of refugees. Crisp (1999) later explains that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) expanded the scope of the definition in order to encompass those fleeing due to generalized violence. The 1969 OAU definition broadened the definition to include "those fleeing occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing public order." This inclusion reflected the state of African countries at a time of strive for independence and decolonization. It is important to note, that asylum seekers are those who have applied for refugee status, but have not been granted it yet. Malkki (2005) research on Hutu refugees in Tanzania,

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illustrated that the definition of refugees should not be limited to the action of fleeing, yet should take into account the refugee's experience in the country of asylum. Malkki's argument of experience is later supported by Mulki Al-Sharmani's (2006) study on Somali refugees in Egypt.

Al-Sharmani (2006) argues that refugee experience is as crucial, and economic, social, educational capabilities must also be taken into account. Katarzyna Grabska (2005) supports that argument insisting that the refugee's experience in exile should have the same importance as their experience in their country of origin. Adding, that the labeling and categorization of refugees is typically what impacts governmental policies in Egypt. However, the definition of refugees is not only negatively impacted by the exclusion of their experience, but also by the recurrent notion of burden on resources. Barbra Harrel-Bond (2007) argues that refugees should not be regarded as burden, nor should they be considered helpless. This argument is typically used to disregard the negative perception individuals have of those seeking asylum. This negative perception typically impacts the aid that governments and international organizations grant, as well as in the implementation and design of policies. The legal definition of refugees is what typically determines refugee recognition by states and international organizations, however, as much as the literature has identified, individual experience in exile must be put in to consideration. The literature on the definition of refugees is limited to the legal definition, and therefore much of the writing is typically on the discussion of refugee law that encompasses the definition of a refugee.

Refugee law

The current literature on refugee law primarily deals with the legal definition of the concept, rather than the implementation. Much of the literature present addressed the 1951 UN convention, and the 1969 OAU convention. However, the literature on the implementation of refugee law in Egypt is particularly dependent on the Egyptian reservations on articles in the 1951 convention. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees was established in 1950 in order to assist and protect asylum seekers and refugees globally. Rowley (2006) explains that during the establishment of the UNHCR, the term refugees had only defined those during the Second World War, which is why the UNHCR extended its mandate to include other regions in the world, specifically Latin America, and Africa. Rowley argues that though the convention highlights many refugee rights such as nondiscrimination, freedom to movement, and right of association, the right that is typically covered in Article 33, which cover non-refoulement, or the forced deportation of refugees. The rhetoric of International refugee law typically reduces these individuals as numbers, and dehumanizes them as problems that must be solved. However, Jeff Crisp argues that though the lists, and numbering, might be degrading it is necessary for organization to carry out their operations.

The UNHCR's wider mandate in areas has replaced governments in certain areas of the implementation of refugee law, leading to it becoming a surrogate state (Slaughter 2009). The authors argue that the UNHCR has taken on state responsibilities in areas that lack the capacity to do so. This includes the process of refugee status determination, which is typically done by the state. The authors argue that this is done in African

countries, where the government lack the resources and are accommodating many refugees. African states have been limited to conditions implemented by aid organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF. These conditions have required decreases in public services and spending. These adjustments were typically used to create the role of the state in economic development. These cutbacks were typically in health, and education. However, with the structural adjustments, the refugee situation created an easy political scapegoat for social and economic problems both by the state, and individuals. Though refugees require increased resources, Fielden (2008) argues that there must be a shared responsibility between the host government and international organizations. The author argues that the aid received is typically influenced by the politics of the refugee regime, which impact the assistance and protection given to refugees.

The UNHCR and host countries differ in their refugee status determination process. Many host governments grant protection on prima facie basis, based on recognition of the situation in the country of origin. However, many host governments accept individuals through the RSD process, which the literature states can be flawed. The literature supports the evidence that refugees have difficulties figuring out the procedure and processes, which make it an inefficient system. Harrel-Bond explain that the RSD process can be difficult due to the fact that it can take from months to years. The authors explain the difficulties arise when the host government and UNHCR policies are inconsistent. This leads to obstacles for local integration, which are typically related to the limitation on social status, employment, education, and legal access.

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Refugee communities in Egypt

Egypt hosts approximately 250,600 refugees of diverse backgrounds including: Somali, Sudanese, South Sudanese, Ethiopian, and Eritrean origins. Each group poses different vulnerabilities, and special needs. Each nationality has their Community Based Organization (CBO), which act as support groups for the refugees in Egypt. These CBO's offer insight on the refugee situation to new comers, and creates a comfortable environment for refugees who have yet to become accustomed to the host country. Given that they often rely on local communities; they are often marginalized within their communities.

RIGHTS BY NATIONALITIES

Nationality	Education	Health	Employment	Legal
Sudanese	Access to primary public education No access to secondary education Access to refugee schools with the Sudanese curriculum	Access to NGO provided health services	Difficult to obtain work permits Informal employment such as street vending, domestic cleaners, and factory workers	Abruption of the Wadi El Nil Agreement Must obtain entry visas and register with the UNHCR
South Sudanese	Access to refugee schools with the Sudanese curriculum	Access to NGO provided health services	Difficult to obtain work permits Informal employment such as street vending, domestic cleaners, and factory workers	Must obtain residency permits

Ethiopian	No access to public education Access to refugee schools difficult given the language barrier	Access to NGO provided health services	Almost impossible to obtain work permits Higher rates of unemployment Informal employment including domestic cleaners	Must obtain residency permits Undocumented refugees experience legal difficulties
Eritrean	No access to public education Access to refugee schools difficult given the language barrier	Access to NGO provided health services	Almost impossible to obtain work permits Informal employment including domestic cleaners	Must obtain residency permits Undocumented refugees experience legal difficulties
Somali	No access to public education Access to refugee schools difficult given the language barrier	Access to NGO provided health services	Almost impossible to obtain work permits Informal employment including domestic cleaners	Must obtain residency permits Undocumented refugees experience legal difficulties

Compiled by the author based on Refugees in the Arab Middle East: Academic and Policy Perspectives (2015)

Sudanese refugees historically were granted status close to nationals as a result of different agreements such as the 1976 Nile Valley Agreement, which allowed the freedom of movement of both people and products across the Egyptian-Sudanese borders (Sperl, 2001). Sudanese refugees were not required to obtain visas, and they were often referred to as "displaced people" (Cooper, 1993). However, in 1995 with the assassination attempt by alleged Islamic fundamentalists with support from the Sudanese government on then President Hosni Mubarak, Egypt began to shift its policies on Sudanese refugees. This shift in policy required Sudanese refugees to obtain visas, and register with the UNHCR where they had to go through RSD. However, with acceptance of claim rates as low as 30% Sudanese refugees were discouraged from applying, and many sought resettlement, as they did not find repatriation as a viable solution. Another important agreement on Sudanese refugees in Egypt was the Four Freedoms of 2004 which gave Sudanese refugees the freedom of movement, residence, work, and ownership of properties (Grabska, 2005).

SOMALI REFUGEES

Somali refugees in Egypt are both from the rural and urban areas, and have often fled without any documentation, making it difficult to reside in Egypt. Those fleeing from Somalia often suffer in Egypt from prohibition of public school attendance, and very few of them receive adequate assistance from NGOs in Egypt (Al-Sharmani, 2003). The Somali refugee community in Egypt has no access to education, formal employment, and

health services. The assistance is offered by NGOs and therefore access to assistance is typically reserved to the most vulnerable cases.

ETHIOPIAN REFUGEES

There are currently 2,900 Ethiopian asylum seekers in Egypt (UNHCR, 2015.) These numbers have been escalating, as more people flee Ethiopia. Ethiopian refugees in Egypt have no access to education, employment, or personal status. In 2013, with the issues following the process of the Great Renaissance Dam construction, hostility towards Ethiopian refugees increased. Amnesty International reported 20 incidents of attacks against Ethiopians in 2013. This has been a result of the negative role the media has played in framing the perception of Ethiopian to the local community. This negativity has translated into a feeling of insecurity within the Ethiopian community. The Ethiopian communities also feel discriminated against in their refugee status process; this is primarily due to the idea that no true claim exists for this community. Ethiopians in Egypt have access to NGO services, and as mentioned before, the lack of funding and availability of services, makes it difficult to live in Egypt. Given that they have no access to public services, they have to resort to medical, and educational assistance that is limited, and inconsistent.

Local integration

The challenges of local integration are typically in the urban areas. The current literature provided on local integration does not present a global solution. Local integration for urban refugees is not presented as a one size fits all solution; Dale Buscher

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(2003) argues that host countries and populations treat ethnicities, races, and countries of origins differently, as host governments and local populations often treat ethnic, racial and country of origin groups differently. The author argues that local integration could be plausible for certain refugees while not the rest. The author argues that the Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in Egypt for example, lack a community that would support their integration. This is not the case according to Coker who argues that those who have communities are more likely to integrate easily, than those in secluded communities. The UNHCR has attempted to increase interactions between refugees at a neighborhood level, in order to create the potential for local integration. The current literature available illustrates that host countries are opposed to local integration according to Landau (2004). Landau argues that there is a political, economic, and social impact of the influx of refugees, which create concern, arguing that this is the case in countries like Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon. In contrast, Crisp argues that integration should not be regarded as destabilizing, but rather as a viable and durable solution.

Local integration can be divided into social, economic and cultural integration. This definition takes into account the different interactions with the host society. Landau argues that the current practice is de facto integration, which relates to economic integration. The current literature discusses that the success of economic access of refugees typically results in the achievement of integration. As many refugees tend to be in poverty which hinders their opportunities of increasing their livelihood. The literature emphasizes the importance of integration in the economic context for urban refugees, however some researchers argue that legal status is key in creating durable solutions.

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Channe Lindstorm (2003) argues that national laws must be put into place to ensure that refugees have access to all forms of protection. The author argues that there must be laws against the discrimination of refugees on the legal, racial, social, and economic level.

Refugee Livelihoods; the Egyptian Context

Jesse Bernstein (2005) discusses the limited protection refugees receive in urban areas, arguing that their livelihoods are unsustainable. The author discusses that the lack of legal status for refugees is the reason for the limited protection in urban areas. Anna Tibaijuka (2010) explains that refugees are often victims of police abuse, and the society, due to their lack of legal status. The author adds that these negative feelings by the host community often make it difficult for the refugees in the country of asylum. Grabska (2005) discusses the Egyptian example, stating that though Cairo is an urban center as it accommodates many refugees, they typically have limited protection. This can be traced back to Egypt's reservation on the 1951 convention that limits the legal status in the country. The author argues that the state's policies towards refugees in Egypt are the cause behind the difficult of refugees to integrate in the community. Grabska continues to argue that refugees in Egypt face a lack of basic services, and inadequate protection that negatively affects their livelihood in Egypt.

Grabska argues that the reservations on the 1951 UN Conventions limits refugee access to education, employment, and legal access, which in turn limits their potential for a suitable solution in the host country. Bernstein further supports this notion arguing that the lack of rights typically results in the need for resettlement to a third country. The author argues that the Middle East and Africa have not accepted integration as a solution

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to the refugee problem in their respective countries. This typically leads to frustration within the refugee and asylum seeker communities, as there is no plausible resolution to their daily frustrations.

The vulnerability, the marginalization of the groups as well as protection on a beneficiary centered approach must be addressed. Humanitarian aid however, must be dependent on rights and not needs. The concept of rights arises financial resources and burden that many states are unwilling to provide. The authors here argued that these inadequacies should be tackled with policies that address the existing faults in programs. According to Darcy and Hoffman the contrast between needs and rights that has emerged is unnecessary as they are not contradictory to each other (Darcy et al, 2003). As Mehta and Gupte (2003) state in their article rights are the ability to access justice, arguing that there is a need for adequate legal access. The issue that arises from the concept of rights falls within in the jurisdiction of the host countries institution. (Mehta et. al, 2003) This implies that it is a government's duty to respect and safeguard them. However, as Bernestein (2007) discusses, developing countries are unwilling to do so.

Refugees have problems in terms of legal access, given that many of them do not have proper documentation, many are subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention. Many of the refugees in Egypt face a language barrier, and are susceptible to violations of their human rights. Refugees in Egypt are also economically vulnerable and lack social justice. The lack of access to public education forces refugee children to not enroll, and hinders their abilities of participating in the formal economy in the future (El-Shaaraw, 2015). Currently, there are no national laws that protect the refugee and asylum seeker

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community's social rights. As refugees are considered non-citizens, they become excluded from the political process, and therefore are unable to aid in legislative change that would ultimately better their livelihood. Many refugees and asylum seekers experience extreme xenophobia that is only heightened by the lack of clear course of action on dealing with their many grievances. Many refugees outside of Cairo have immense difficulties, as they are unable to access the international organizations and NGOs, as they lack the financial and logistical capacity to do so.

It is important to note that Egypt faces many difficulties, which act as challenges to local integration. These include, but are not limited to, over-population, unemployment, high illiteracy rates, and high poverty rates. High birthrates, creates higher strains on local services, which includes access to education, health, and employment. As of 2016, the population of Egypt is at 90,853, 592 (CAPMAS, 2016), unemployment rates of 12.8 % , illiteracy rates of 27.2 % and poverty levels at 25.2% (World Bank, 2015) the average Egyptian struggles to access basic services daily.

Egypt's lack of promotion of local integration is due to several economic and social obstacles. Due to high unemployment rates in Egypt, work restrictions are made in order to protect the Egyptian local labor force. This is done to ensure that foreigners do not compete with nationals for employment. Work permits are therefore required for refugees in order to be able to access the formal labor force. Work permits are expensive, and are often a lengthy process, which demotivates individuals from applying. Access to primary education is often hindered by the fact that the Egyptian government finds difficulties in providing quality public education for all children, not only refugee

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children. This becomes less about discrimination, and more of the governmental challenge they face in providing education to Egyptians. The Minister of Education issued Decree No. 24 allowed Sudanese children to access public schools as nationals; however, other African refugees have not been granted this privilege. As Egypt's international commitment to the Convention on the Rights of Children, obliges them to provide education to all children that is often neglected in face of the social and economic burdens of doing so. It is important to note that high unemployment, illiteracy rate, and poverty rates, illustrate that the Egyptian population face the same issues of refugees. Access to education, employment, and basic needs are often challenges of the average Egyptian citizen, and correlates to the difficulties developing countries have in providing basic services.

Chapter II

Relevant Literature & Conceptual Framework

Literature on refugees and asylum seekers has typically focused on living conditions in camps and settlements, rather than those living in urban areas. However, recently as more refugees migrate towards urban areas, the literature has begun to address challenges and living conditions in the urban context. The relevant literature in this study will focus on the definition of refugees and asylum seekers (Goodwin-Gil, 1996), refugee law (Hathaway, 1997), local integration (Jacobsen, 2001), and the challenges faced by refugees and asylum seekers in developing countries (Loescher, 2009) and specifically Egypt. The literature has failed to quantify the level of integration among these communities in asylum countries. The debate over the term integration in itself poses difficulties in the analysis and research is limited.

The Urban refugee experiences are complex and varied, and differ from the settlements refugees. This has become a topic of interest to researchers in the recent years, evident in Katarzyna Grabska's (2006) study on urban refugees in Cairo, where the author addressed the challenges facing them in an urban environment. This attention to refugees in urban setting has primarily been the interest of NGO's and international organizations in order to assess the services provided to this community. This review will examine the available literature on refugees in the urban context, aiming at focusing on the development of policy work in the area. The literature will be divided into the concerns of asylum countries, and the protection gaps in Egypt.

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Concerns of asylum countries

There is a great deal of literature that discusses the main areas of concern of asylum countries in dealing with refugees in their respective countries. The literature has focused on the security, economical, and public concerns of hosting refugees. The current political atmosphere worldwide, coupled with global terrorism, has resulted in a mass influx of refugees and poses difficulties for host countries to accommodate them and for refugees to resume their livelihoods. Political conflicts have created environments that are not conducive to the return of people who have fled their countries. However, security concerns as well as worldwide terrorism activities also make countries less willing to host these refugees for resettlement purposes (Ianchovichnia et al., 2015). Recent examples of terrorism such as the 2015 Paris and 2016 Brussels terrorist attacks have created a hostile public perception of refugees, which has made asylum countries less willing to host refugees. This has therefore halted two of three durable solutions for refugees and asylum seekers worldwide. It is important to note that these negative opinions are not based on evidence, and only based on a negative public perception.

These durable solutions are: repatriation to country of origin, resettlement into a third country, or local integration in the host country (Chimini, 1999). The rise in the refugee and asylum seeker population within countries of first asylum cause unwillingness within host countries to facilitate local integration. This is primarily due to the negative connotation of local integration within the countries. This disapproval stems from the fact that local integration is regarded as a security concern and also poses a burden on resources (Jones, 2015). Given that many host countries are typically

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developing countries, the encumbrance on resources is an area of concern. Reluctance of host governments of asylum countries, political instability, and global terrorism has created a protracted refugee situation

What is the problem with Refugee Definition and the RSD Process?

The legal definition of what it entails to be a refugee is controversial in the fact that many individuals are "de facto" refugees, meaning that they are outside their country not out of convenience (Mendel, 1992). Arguably these de facto refugees are not taken into account within the broader definition of refugees. Mendel argues that the definition excludes them in the implementation and in the formulation. It is important to also note that, human rights and humanitarian rights were not included in defining a refugee. Furthermore, the definition entails a standard of proof, and a vague definition of persecution. Refugees are required to provide proof of their claim, and must answer detailed questions on the reasons behind them fleeing. Also, the definition of persecution is vaguely addressed, and is left for those determining refugee's status to decide the validity of the claim. The issue with the definition of persecution leads to contradictions within asylum countries in their applications. The different definition of persecution includes the notion that any insult to human rights constitutes as persecution, this is typically considered the liberal view of persecution. The restrictive view regards that any loss of life is considered as a criterion for persecution, as well as the deprivation of personal liberty.

V.P. Nanda (1991) states that the restrictive view of refugee definition only takes into account individuals who face maltreatment or discrimination. This therefore causes

the exclusion of individuals who do not fit under this definition, and are not recognized under the extended definition of refugees. Much of the research on the problem with the definition of persecution is that it does not also take into account individuals who do not face persecution on the basis on ethnicity, nationality, race, political opinion and or membership of a particular social group. This definition of persecution does not consider individuals persecuted on other grounds. Mendel argues that nationality, race and ethnicity are typically well defined, and however, political opinion and membership into a social group can be debatable in the way they are defined. Hyndman supports this notion, stating that the link between political opinion and persecution is typically hard to determine. Furthermore, Hyndman states that the proof of persecution is often left to the consideration of the acts of the state. However, this can become problematic due to the fact that repressive countries tend to mask their actions toward political activity. Since the burden of proof lies in host country's opinion based on state actions, it therefore excludes individuals from this definition.

Another cause of debate is the definition of membership in a social group, given that it does not include a definition of social groups, and is subject to different interpretations. This limitation is seen in cases such as the Canadian Belfand cause, in which social group was defined as either political or religious. This therefore, exemplifies the various definitions, as well interpretations of the term social group. This definition of social group therefore is restrictive and voids any refugee not falling within this social group. This definition also does not take into account individuals who are apolitical or not members of social group that are victims of random state persecution. Random and

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inclusive state persecution does not fall within the extended definition of refugees escaping generalized violence. This type of random persecution does not fall within the scope of civil war, or foreign occupation, terms typically used to define refugees in the extended protocol, and the OAU convention.

The granting of asylum is not guaranteed, and is typically left to the discretion of the asylum country. The 1951 convention and protocol leave the decision to the state country to determine the status of refugees, and to admit or reject individuals. This nature of refugee status determination is accredited to the weakness of international definition of refugees. Mendel argues that countries are typically hesitant in granting refugee status to individuals fleeing allied countries. Many of the research states that countries do not typically accept refugees due to the negative image it creates of the country of origin. Given that there is no legal procedure of refugee status determination, countries create their own processes by adapting international obligation to their own need. However, many countries choose to not set up procedures, which in turn do not subject them to international scrutiny. Other countries also lack the capacity to do their own RSD, and allow international organizations such as the UNHCR to do so. This is the case in Egypt, where the UNHCR takes charge in determining refugee status based on the definition of the 1951 convention. The requirement for individual assessment is typically forgone in times of mass influx of refugees. These refugees are recognized under prima-facia status, and pose a barrier to the efficient processing of migration. Developing countries are typically ones that receive the massive number of people fleeing, and lack the capacity to do individual assessments.

Is the refugee definition exclusionary?

The 1951 definition as well as the extended definition does not take into account individuals fleeing due to natural disasters, economic turmoil, war, and lack of opportunities. These are considered the main reasons for migration, and are not recognizable under international refugee law. Limiting refugee status to individuals facing persecution limits the definition, and makes it exclusionary. The concern over the definition of a refugee has many dimensions that are key weaknesses in the protection granted to those fleeing their country of origin. The convention is outdated, and does not take into account the continuous change of the global political scene. The convention is no longer applicable in the global migration trends, and has yet to be modified to consider the ground of plights.

The emergence of new trends poses difficulties for the international community, whom do not have the means to address all the pressing issues. This is however, recognized by entities, such as the UNHCR, which began efforts in reviewing priorities in dealing with the dynamic migration issues. In 2010, the UNHCR began to discuss the expansion of the international protection framework, in addressing the trends in displacement. This was done by identifying gaps in the system in place, and realizing the groups that are essentially left out of the protection agenda. Trends such as urbanization, food insecurity, water scarcity, population growth, and climate change are disregarded within the definition of refugees. However, the convention constitutes our understanding of migrations, and what are legitimate and illegitimate forms of migration. The convention was drafted in response to migration trends in response to World War II. This

was the result of the displacement in Europe of between 20 to 30 million people. The convention was created to address people who have been displaced due to political issues; however, currently most refugees are not displaced due to political issues. The main ground for migration is now of economic reasons, which could also be a result of political conflict, and hardship.

Fragomen states that the relationship between economic turmoil and political instability is typically synthetic. He adds that political and racial oppression is typically related to economic control. Arguably, the deprivation of economic opportunities should therefore be considered within the scope of limiting human dignity. These individuals are in need of international protection; however, do not fall within the criteria of the definition. Therefore, it becomes contradictory to claim to value human rights and to offer international protection, however limit the definition to individuals fleeing to a well-founded fear of persecution. It is important to note that human rights should be upheld and should be recognized under refugee law.

The debate on the exclusion of economic refugees is typically associated with the idea that they do not fit under the criteria of persecution. However, it is important to note that people fleeing due to famine, or poverty, are typically a result of state neglect, and are indirectly persecuted. Extreme poverty could also fall under the broader term of events severely disturbing to public order, as people are unable to provide their basic needs, and are denied their most necessary human rights. Poverty and famine constitute a real threat to an individual's livelihood. Guterres argues that climate change has led to soil erosion, rising sea levels and droughts that have contributed to the plight of people

across international borders. Yet, these people remain unnoticed within international refugee law, and are not given asylum rights. The author also argues that human-made disasters such as socio-economic deprivation are not mentioned under the 1951 convention. These deprivations include, but are not limited to, lack of water, unequal access to education, inadequate health care and food scarcity. These individuals, however, are not recognized under international law, and are not given the necessary protection.

The definition of a refugee should determine the legal and physical protection offered by international and national bodies. The 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees defined them as statutory refugees, and did not take into account mass flight due to war. This was recognized under the Organization for African Unity's OAU convention of 1969. The OAU recognized refugees according to the 1951 convention and added those "owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing the public order...is compelled to leave...to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality." Similarly, The Cartagena Declaration, of 1984, took into account the refugee trends in Latin America, and added human rights violations to this definition. The expanding of the legal definition however, is completely centered on the concept of fleeing due to persecution. Given that there is no legal definition of persecution, there is debate on what it constitutes.

Refugee Status and Egypt

Egypt is considered transit countries for individuals fleeing their country of origin. Egypt hosts people from Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Iraq,

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Yemen and Syria. Given the lack of capacity of the state, the responsibility of refugee status determination is delegated to the UNHCR. The RSD procedures are hectic, and rely on details to establish the proof of a well-founded fear of persecution. The literature on refugee status in Egypt is limited to the process of applying for it, and not the process itself. Little research is done on the procedures, and on what happens after the rejection or acceptance of the asylum claim. Much of the research on refugees in Egypt is done by the UNHCR, and therefore, does not give the challenges faced by people with refugee status in Egypt.

Gaps in the current literature on refugees and migration remain in tackling the problems facing these individuals in Egypt. The shift in literature in tackling issues such as employment, and living conditions is critical. Much of the research on refugees in Egypt deals with migration studies, rather than security concerns. The literature on migration is typically outdated and focuses on the past studies, rather than the present and future migration flows. It is important to note that forced migration results in global, regional, and national policy, however, this area of study is neglected, and is not addressed. One of the largest refugee communities resides in Cairo alone, yet the conditions and current policy structure is neglected in the literature (Roudi, 2001). Given the reliance on the UNHCR for refugee information, the documentation of refugee policy is not sufficient. Research in Egypt is required to assess the correlation between the policies in place, and the effect it has on the living conditions of the refugee communities. Therefore, research in the area of refugees must begin to address the means of policy development to promote local integration, and no other durable solutions, such

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as voluntary repatriation and resettlement. Research is also lacking in terms of the challenges faced by the host nation and society, and their concerns with the growing nature of the migration situation.

Conceptual Framework

This section is based on the literature in order to conceptualize the idea of local integration. This is based on the relevant literature dealing with the different dimensions of local integration. It is important at first to distinguish between the different durable solutions, in order to assess the reason why local integration might be the most plausible solution. The three durable solutions for refugees are voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and local integration.

Voluntary repatriation

Voluntary repatriation requires the facilitation of the return of refugees to country of origin based on individual request. This is done after the situation in the country of origin becomes safe for the return of those who have fled. Voluntary repatriation is the most favorable solution, given the need for individuals to reintegrate into their country. This is done in order to promote the idea of voluntary repatriation, and is based on both informed and free choice. This is the preferred long-term solution, given that it allows for the reintegration of refugees into their country of origin, in order to allow for the rebuilding of their life (UNHCR, 2015). However, it is important to note that it becomes difficult to do so given the dynamic situation in the country of origin. This is done only when safety is restored, and reintegration is possible. The conditions in Sudan, Ethiopia,

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Eritrea, and Somalia, however, are very difficult for refugees to return to. Issues such as war, persecution, and mandatory conscription, have made it more difficult for refugees to return home, as they are events deeply disturbing to public order.

Resettlement

Resettlement is defined by the UNHCR as *"*the selection and transfer of refugees from a state in which they have sought protection to a third country that admits them – as refugees – with a permanent residence status." Therefore, it refers to the relocation of refugees from an asylum country to a third country. This is recognized as a vital form of international protection, in order to allow for the most vulnerable to relocate (UNHCR, 2015). However, it is difficult to resettle the massive number of refugees, and the criteria for qualification for resettlement is limited. Resettlement has become increasingly sought after, given the inability of refugees to integrate within the Egyptian society. Resettlement is also subject to the requirements of the third host country, and therefore, few are chosen. It is therefore important to note the importance of addressing the challenges to local integration in order to provide a sustainable durable solution for refugees in Egypt.

How does constraints on voluntary repatriation and resettlement create a need for Local Integration?

The concept of local integration lacks a consensus on the environment necessary for the concept of adaptation. Much of the research is united on the fact that refugees typically fail to adapt in host countries. This is primarily attributed to the definition, and

legal frameworks necessary to promote incorporation. Researchers have found it difficult to create an environment conducive to local integration. Typically, refugees in transit locations wish to be allocated or resettled, given the hard living conditions they face. In cases where voluntary repatriation is not an option given the conditions in country of origin, and the lack of opportunities of resettlement, the last durable solution, local integration is crucial. Local integration is one of three durable solutions, and is a gradual process, which includes legal, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. These dimensions must be met in order to provide the necessary environment for the implementation of this durable solution. These dimensions create a demand both on the individuals and the host country, and require the capacity of the state to create the frameworks. According to the UNHCR, 1.1 million refugees globally have become citizens of their asylum country.

The literature on local integration has primarily focused on the cultural adjustments by examining the difficulties to adapt to host countries (Keyes & Kane, 2004). These cultural adjustments take into account the language barriers, as well as societal modes of behaving, which are required to adjust to the host country. This also entailed the need to be accustomed to occupational systems, as well as the education systems. It is also important to note that there are also difficulties in familiarizing to the cultural values and norms of the society of the host nation. Local integration difficulties are not only on the individual level, but also on a state level. Racism, discrimination, are key challenges that many refugees in host countries face. This coupled with changing gender roles negatively impact the integration process (Marotta, 2003). Much of the

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research also focuses on the post-flight traumas that impact the adjustment of refugee communities within asylum countries, taking into account factors such as post-immigration trauma that impact refugees even after settling into countries. These traumas include experience of rape, sexual abuse, murders, kidnapping, and detention among many. Research has been clear on the issues that arise from post-immigration experiences that cause concerns about separation, unemployment, lack of social help and cultural shock (Alcock, 2003).

The main issue of the failure of local integration arises when alternatives arise due to the failure of the three durable solutions;, illegal migration, irregular migration, as well as uncertainty of those awaiting their status determination. The illegal migration is the movement of people without proper documentation in illegal means such as by boat and car in order to reach a second country of asylum. Irregular migration refers to the rejection of asylum claims, which in turn closes their file, and makes them no longer people of concern (Browne, 2015). As they continue to live in Egypt they become irregular migrants, and no longer have access to any assistance, in the legal, social, and economic sense.

Much of the literature on local integration in terms of education, employment of refugee communities in Egypt has a strong focus on Syrian refugees. Given the substantial number of Syrian refugees in Egypt, much of the focus since the start of the Syrian crisis, has been on education, health care, employment access of Syrians, while little focus has been on the non-Syrian communities in Egypt. Much of the funding of the livelihood programs is targeted at the Syrian communities, neglecting other communities

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within Egypt. The focus in recent years on Syria, has led to vulnerability within the African communities, who are subjected to discrimination in services provided. With no adequate data on the livelihood of the non-Syrian refugees, they are marginalized and frustration within the communities is high. The data on Sudanese refugees is outdated, and looks at their livelihood in 2012. The literature published on the livelihood program on Sudanese refugees was conducted in 2012, on 25 individuals, which in no way represents the large Sudanese community in Egypt. Literature on other nationalities such as Somali, Eritrean, and Ethiopian are scarce, despite them making up a large susceptible group.

Dimension	Example	Source
Social	Access to equal services such as education, employment and health without discrimination	Boswell,2003
Religious and cultural	Religious and cultural awareness and language programs in order to deal with society	IOM, 2008
Economic	Employment opportunities and the ability to participate in the formal economy	Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003
Legal	Strong legal framework that protects refugee rights against discrimination and deportation	Caponio & Borkert, 2010
Political	Right to vote and be involved in policy making process, this includes representation within the political arena	Penninx 2009

Local integration includes social and cultural dimensions, which enable refugees to adapt to the host society. The social concept includes the equal access to education, health, and employment equally without discrimination. The provision of opportunities in these fields are critical in order to facilitate integration, and avoid challenges. The current situation in Egypt is difficult, given that there is a lack of service provided to the African refugees. The refugee are typically constrained to grassroots organizations provided services, which tend to be underfunded and understaffed. African refugees face unequal access to services, and access to service providers are difficult. Socially, African refugees are isolated from the host community, and have language and cultural barriers. Access to education and welfare are critical in order to improve refugee livelihood. These obstacles pose difficulties in not only the social integration, but also cultural. Lack of cultural awareness poses a major challenge to integration. This is both on a societal level, and on the community level. Refugees do not know the language, and cultural customs of Egypt which makes it difficult to accommodate to the Egyptian society. From the societal level, the Egyptian population is unaware of their traditions and culture, which also makes it difficult to interact. This could be done by creating cultural and language programs in order to help both the local population and the refugee population in getting accustomed to each other. The understanding of the language and basic social norms are key in allowing refugees to accommodate to living in Egypt. However, it is also important to note that social integration requires the equal access to employment, education and health

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care services. Employment opportunities are key in allowing individuals to provide for themselves, in order to be able to live in Egypt.

EMPLOYMENT

The major challenge in local integration research is that there are no data-identifying refugees who have integrated. There is also a distinction between self-settled migrants and integrated refugees. Bakewell (2000) states the example of Angolan refugees in Zambia, who have settled in to the extent that there is no true identifiable factor that distinguishes them from Zambian citizens. However, self-settled refugees are those who have not registered with the host government as refugees, or the UNHCR, therefore they are not the people of concern to this research. Another issue with measuring local integration in the context of Egypt is that there is no data on several aspects of it, such as policies, economic integration, as well as political integration.

The problem with access to work is that many refugees have become informally integrated in the labor sector. Though Egypt has not made a reservation on Articles 17 and 18, which relate to Employment, they do require work permits, which are hard to issue. Egypt has treated refugees as foreigners, meaning that they need work permits, and are typically to be compensated more for their work, which in turn discourages employers from hiring them. Therefore, employers are taxed higher when hiring non-Egyptian citizens, which in turn create a barrier to employment. Men are usually employed as unskilled laborers on a temporary basis, and women are often employed as domestic cleaners and housekeepers. Their employment is not legal, however, they are not hassled by the authorities. Nevertheless, they do not receive the same benefits as they would if

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they are employed in the formal labor force. Refugees receive a lower salary, and receive no social or health insurance, which increases their vulnerability. Sudanese refugees resort to street vending, selling watches, bags, belts, and other products, in order to receive better wages (Grabska, 2005). However, this exposes them to danger as street vendors are typically subject to police harassment and raids. Refugees are required to pay bribes to the police in order to be allowed to work, and some are detained and others have their goods confiscated. Educated refugees tend to look for jobs in teaching and translating, however, those who work as teachers in Egyptian schools tend to receive a lower salary than Egyptian teachers, typically due to the fact that schools do not hire refugees. Given the high demand in refugee communities for jobs in teaching and translating, only few get to pursue jobs in these fields, and typically find themselves in jobs such as maintenance, cleaners, office workers, drivers, gardeners, etc. Employment within refugee community also has a gendered nature. Given that most of the refugee communities traditionally confine women to the household, due to the difficulty of men finding jobs, and low salaries, women are forced to seek employment. Unemployment rates of men are higher than women, who are forced to find jobs as housekeepers, babysitters, and domestic cleaners. Women receive higher salaries in these areas than men do, and become the primary earners.

   Frustration within the refugee community is high, as they find no hope for their situation. As men and women struggle to find jobs that are reliable, and salaries that are adequate, they become in need of a solution to their deteriorating livelihood. Having no existing strategy for income generation, many are unable to meet their daily needs. The

instability of the work environment and the difficulty of obtaining work permits has forced many into the informal labor market (Ayoub and Johnson 2014). Refugees' restriction to the informal labor market creates a stereotype in the minds of the local population, which promotes discrimination and is also emasculating to the refugees themselves. The vulnerability within the refugee community coupled with issues of protection makes living in Egypt difficult. It is important to highlight that without a livelihood strategy, refugees with no hopes of resettlement, are subject to increased vulnerability, and is an example of the legal and social obstacles that refugees face in local integration (Gozdziak and Walter 2012).

EDUCATION

Forced migration literature focus highly on the right to education. Within the urban refugee communities, education plays a critical role in the social integration of individuals. Given the language, cultural and social barriers that pose as obstacles to refugees, education opportunities are central in breaking some of these barriers. Education helps those fleeing especially from rural areas to develop the necessary skills in order to become an active part in the labor sector. Harnessing the abilities of these refugees, would in turn offer them better job opportunities, theoretically. It is also important to note, that exposure to public education, and interactions with locals, will provide the necessary stepping-stones for social integration, and adaptation to societal norms. However, refugees have considerable difficulties in accessing educational services, which are prohibited by legal requirements, as well as practices that prohibit undocumented migration to legally access public education. The sub-Saharan refugees in

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Egypt were confined to informal education (Grabska, 2006) however, recently with the Syrian crisis and the influx of refugees, there was a shift in education policy. This shift allowed Syrian refugees to access public education as nationals. However, Ethiopians, Eritreans and Somalis continued to be not allowed access from public education (UNHCR, 2014). This illustrates the uneven access to education in countries of asylum globally, and as the 2014 UNHCR data stated, only 50% of refugees had access to primary education, and 25 % in secondary education. The UNHCR (2015) indicated that 80% of refugees in Egypt have access to primary education. However, it is important to note that as Syrian refugees make up the majority of the refugee population in Egypt, other African nationalities are not represented within this estimate of enrollment.

Language barriers illustrate an important obstacle to educational access in Egypt. Given that the African nationalities are non-Arab speaking; they are typically at a disadvantage. This causes refugee children to fall behind in the academic context, and transitioning to a new language is often difficult. Much of the literature on refugee children education illustrates the difficulties of children in cultural adaption, and that they are often marginalized in asylum countries. In Egypt, many have stated that refugee children are bullied, and harassed. Children of refugees also face financial constraints, as they may not be fully able to afford school and transportation fees. Given that most refugees earn less than the average citizen, accessing these services become difficult. In Egypt, Sudanese, and Syrian refugees have a right to public education; however, most times they face discrimination and xenophobia, which makes them unwilling to enroll in Egyptian schools. The fear of harassment and discrimination forces refugees to access

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private run refugee schools, in order to be provided with educational services. These schools are typically underfunded, and do not provide adequate education. However, the current literature on refugee education in Egypt is lacking, and in turn relies on NGO education services provided to refugees. The importance of educational services is not highlighted in any of the literature of refugee studies, and in Egypt, the focus in highly on the rights of Syrian refugees to educational services.

There is a clear gap in the literature on African refugee education, given that no legal framework exists for sub-Saharan refugees. Education programs mostly target Syrian, Iraqi and Sudanese refugees, while others are left without proper access to educational services. The data present is heavily related to Syrian refugees, and their ability to access public schools. While again, other nationalities are limited to church run schools, and NGO schools, that have limited capacity to attend to the massive refugee community in Egypt. Education is a critical topic in forced migration studies, given that education is crucial in capacity building. Refugee children are often behind in schools, and are not given enough support to create a proper livelihood in Egypt. This leads to frustration, and the need for resettlement. While resettlement is left to the most vulnerable and very limited, those remaining in Egypt face increased frustration with their situation. Given that they are not given basic access to services, children of African origins, are left without schools, and have no real potential of integrating within the community. The literature is lacking when dealing with the African refugees, and no proper frameworks are in place to create an educational system that can accommodate the influx of refugees.

The key findings from the literature review are that the current research on the topic of local integration is lacking in terms of policy development. The literature is strong in advocating the need for increased protection for the urban refugees however it does little to provide significant policy frameworks that encompass the obstacles in doing so. Therefore it is important to note that there are gaps in the research of the concern of asylum countries in strengthening the local integration, and the reasons for their hesitance. There are typically gaps in the definition of refugees with in international law, which hinders their abilities of adjusting in host countries. The biggest problem with the definition of refugees is the vagueness of the term within the convention. This arguably is the cause for the different interpretations and implementation of the term within different countries. Arboleda and Hoy (1993) emphasize that the inaccurate definition of refugees is what causes the inconsistent application, stressing the need for a consensual international understanding of the term.

Chapter III

Methodology

Design

The purpose of the study is to highlight the areas in which new policies must be made to promote the local integration of refugees and asylum seekers in Egypt. Therefore, it is critical to get in-depth information on the issues that face those seeking refuge, in order to efficiently address areas of weakness. This study uses descriptive methods of research; given that they are fact-finding studies that require accurate interpretation of findings. This method is appropriate to the study given that it aims at presenting the present conditions of refugees in Egypt.

Sampling

This research relies on purposive sampling, which means selective sampling, which is a non-probability technique (Neuman, 2005). The method used in this research is in-depth interviews, to explore opinions of the individuals that work in the humanitarian field. The interviews conducted are with practitioners, those working directly with refugees, as well as those in the relevant ministries. The interviews addressed the research question, providing the obstacles to local integration in Egypt. The questions presented in the interview deal with the current state of local integration in terms of health, education, employment and legal access. Therefore, the persons interviewed were chosen based on their relevance in the mentioned areas. This provided

an insight to their direct experiences with the people of concern, and how they deal with their issues. This will be used to assess the efficiency of their work in aiding the refugee and asylum seeker community in Egypt.

The sample taken in this research is taken from caseworkers in the relevant areas, such as health, education, employment, and legal access. The caseworkers interviewed were working in UNHCR, Medicine Sans Frontier, Caritas Egypt, Saint Andrews school, and Refuge Egypt. These non-governmental and international organizations work closely with refugees on a daily basis, and each provides different services to refugees and asylum seekers. Given the scope of their work they were able to provide the main areas of concern to the people of concern in Egypt, and the obstacles many face in local integration. The relevance of interviewing members from each organization is discussed in further details. Twenty-six individuals were interviewed amongst these organizations, and offered their input on their respective areas of relevance to local integration of refugees. The individuals picked in the interviews were those accessible, and willing to be interviewed.

The research also conducted a survey with 20 UNHCR staff members in order to illustrate the many areas of concern in the refugee communities. These surveys were distributed to individuals in different unit, such as registration, protection, community services, and RSD in order to provide insight on refugee experiences in Egypt. This was done in order to assess the areas of concern and the interests of the refugee community, as they are key stakeholders.

Number of interviewees per organization

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Organization	Number of individuals interviewed
UNHCR	17
MSF	1
Caritas	2
Saint Andrews	2
CRS	1
Refuge Egypt	2
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1
Total	26

Number of interviews with caseworks in areas of integration

Organization	Education	Protection/legal	Community Services/Livelihood	RSD/RST	Health
UNHCR	2	5	5	5	-
MSF		-		-	2
Caritas	1	-	1	-	-

Saint Andrews	1	-	1	-	-
CRS	1	-		-	-
Refuge Egypt	1	-	1	-	-
MFA		1			

PURPOSE OF INTERVIEWS WITH THESE ORGANIZATIONS

UNHCR

The UNHCR in Egypt has a mandate to provide international protection to people of concern to the organization. These people of concern include, asylum seekers, refugees, internally displaced, stateless, and returnees. This international protection is against deportation, or "refoulement." The main POCs in Egypt are asylum seekers, and refugees, which UNHCR works closely to in order to provide them with legal protection, and access to services. The individuals interviewed were from different units, which included, registration, refugee status determination, resettlement, education, protection and community services. Each individual was interviewed in order to provide a clear objective of their respective unit in the provision of services.

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<u>Registration</u>

Registration is the first step in providing legal assistance to refugees. Once refugees are registered they receive a white asylum paper, or a yellow asylum card. These documents are obtained as a means of identification that is accepted within the host country. When a person receives an asylum certificate they do not obtain residency permits, and must renew their paper every six months, while those who receive yellow cards must obtain their residency on their cards, which are also renewed every 6 months. These cards provide asylum seekers with services from partners such as Catholic Relief S, Caritas, and Refuge Egypt. These organizations provide educational grants, financial assistance, educational services, and medical care services. Once individuals are registered they receive appointments for refugee status determination which are currently, in 2016, scheduled 18 months after the registration appointment.

<u>Refugee status determination</u>

Refugee status determination is the next step refugees have to go through in order to live in the host country. Once they have been registered, and have registered their claim, the interview must be assessed to evaluate the credibility of their claim. The acceptance of the refugee claim must be based on the asylum seekers well-founded fear of persecution. This fear of persecution is based on specific criteria, such as race, ethnicity, nationality, political opinion, and membership in a social group. Once the caseworkers are able to assess the credibility, individuals are recognized as refugees, and they enjoy refugee status. Claims are now divided into three processes, simplified, advanced, and full. Simplified are for certain nationalities, typically from conflict areas.

Advanced is for those of nationalities with no dire need, and have no real threat. For the most complex cases, full RSD is given, and their cases are assessed.

Resettlement

Resettlement is one of three durable solutions provided by the UNHCR. Resettlement involves the relocation of individuals to a third country. However, this is very limited and mostly offered to the most vulnerable cases. Most of the cases submitted for resettlement are women at risk, children at risk and/or survivors of violence at torture. Almost all refugees in Egypt meet one criteria of Resettlement, specifically the lack of foreseeable alternative durable solutions (LoFADS). Still, another criterion for resettlement is needed along with LoFADS for the case to be submitted seeing as resettlement is only provided to a very low percentage of refugees. Resettlement is the most sought after durable solution in Egypt, given the failure of local integration as a durable solution.

Education

The Education unit deals with two partners CRS and Save the children. The educational programs are in the form of educational grant which is open to all those who register. However, given that only Sudanese refugees have access to public education it is typically offered to them. The education unit initiates projects such as the building of schools and the renovation of already existing public school to enhance their infrastructural capacity. Other programs include Teacher capacity building, as well as administrator capacity building of administrators, and the financial and logistical support

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for schools. Other functions of this unit include the capacity building of the 67 community schools in Egypt. Aiding in governance of the school, and teacher trainings does this. The education unit also advocates for the rights of refugees in access to public education, and works closely with the ministry of education to implement educational programs for refugees.

Protection

The protection unit provides counseling on persons of concern protection issues. This unit works as a liaison with authorities in order to ensure that all asylum seekers provided with documentation are protected. This unit works heavily with refugee problems in Egypt, those claiming security issues are typically referred to protection in order to assess their situation, and offer solutions for their problems. The protection unit activities include child protection, sexual and gender based violence, and detention.

Community services

Community services are case managements, and work as a link between the POCs and the different service partners. Community service workers ensure that the most vulnerable cases are provided with assistance, and also provide assistance to those who request it. They also work for the development of refugee communities, in order to provide assistance and livelihood programs. Community services staff members work as a liaison in order to ensure that all assistance provided is sufficient in order to meet basic needs. Community service staff works closely with refugees on an individual basis in order to help assist with problems in regards to financial, education, and medical

assistance. They work in assessing refugee needs in order to provide the specific needs and resources required. Refugees who have issues with assistance typically resort to community services, and employees assess what kind of aid they can offer, and counsel those who do not fit the criteria for assistance. Community service staffs also send referrals to the relevant partners and units in order to ensure that refugee needs are met.

MSF

Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is an international humanitarian organization that provides emergency aid to people affected by natural disasters, civil war, and armed conflict. MSF's program works extensively with victims of violence, in the country of origin, travel route, and country of asylum. MSF provides victims of torture and sexual violence with medical and psychological assistance. MSF deals with the most vulnerable and sensitive cases, by providing post sexual violence assistance, in order to prevent the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, and unwanted pregnancy. However, given that they only provide health services to victims of torture and sexual violence, others who do not fit the criteria are referred to other partners in order to get the assistance they need.

CARITAS

Caritas is a non-governmental organization that works with international partners to provide social assistance to refugees in Egypt. Caritas offer services such as educational, health, and financial assistance in order to provide refugees with the ability to become self-sufficient. Caritas's programs include health facilities, vocational trainings and

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microfinance. Caritas offers medical and social programs, which include nursery schools, vocational training, and clinics. Caritas also offers mother and child protection, the aim of which is to fight malnutrition. Caritas's microcredit program is aimed at financing the unemployed, assisting people to find jobs, and creating a strong economic position for females within the household. Caritas operates in Cairo, Minya, Alexandria, Assiut, Quena and Sohag. Caritas is also the main financial provider to refugees in Egypt. However, funding is limited and the provision of services to refugees is limited, given the influx of refugees in Egypt. Caritas is understaffed and has to deal with a massive number of individual's daily, making providing assistance to all difficult.

St. Andrew's Refugee Services (StARS)

StARS was established in 1979 with the mission to improve the quality of life to "refugees, asylum seekers, and vulnerable refugees" (StARS). StARS provides services to more than 3000 students annually. Their programs include education, psychological and legal aid. St. Andrews provide services in order to provide an inclusive space in order to address the main needs of refugees and asylum seekers. Educational programs include child, adult education, as well as vocational training. StARS also offer job opportunities to refugees, as most of their teachers are from the local refugee communities. Adult education includes services to provide practical skills. These include basic computer skills, teacher training, Arabic language, financial literacy, handicrafts and child care. These services are aimed at expanding their skills in order to increase their abilities to function in the labor sector. However, given that spaces are limited, few are have access to the services provided by StARS.

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Refuge Egypt works heavily with refugees in order to provide services that meet their basic needs, and to promote self-sufficiency. Refuge Egypt provides emergency services to refugees, providing food, clothing and blankets for the first 2 years in Egypt. Refuge Egypt also provides primary health care which includes antenatal care, TB, HIV/AIDs and general health problems. They also provide language classes, which include English classes in order to prepare refugees for employment as well as other educational opportunities. Refuge Egypt also provides a domestic placement office, which provides refugees with skills in cooking, cleaning, driving and babysitting, in order to provide them with employment opportunities in order to become self-sufficient. Providing refugees with employment opportunities, with the skills gathered. Finally, Refuge Egypt provides youth outreach programs, which aims at help the young refugees in Cairo by hosting seminars and creating social activities and mentorship.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) works in liaison with the UNHCR and Egyptian government in issues relating to refugees and migration in Egypt. The department in charge of refugees works towards with immigrants, asylum seekers and human trafficking. The MFA works on addressing the root causes of irregular migration in order to enhance the educational system and in the provision of job opportunities to the youth. The MFA works in coordinating with the international organizations regarding migration, as it is considered the focal point. The ministry works in the facilitation of legitimate

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migration through the granting of visas, and is the hub in regards to governmental decisions between the relevant international organizations and the host country.

Limitations

This research discusses the obstacles to local integration of refugees and asylum seekers in Egypt. This research therefore explores the laws that prohibit the equal treatment of refugees, and looks at areas in need of improvement, such as health, education, employment and legal access. The difficulties of this research are in gathering the relevant information on the socio-economic status of refugees and asylum seekers in Egypt. Given that local integration tends to be a neglected rhetoric in Egypt, there is not much information on the current programs available to strengthen this durable solution in the Egyptian context. This research will also rely on qualitative research, which will be done by interviewing experts in the field, and could therefore pose a bias. Given the closeness of the individuals to the topic at hand, the data gathered must be carefully analyzed.

This research did not conduct interviews with individuals within the refugee and asylum seeker community, and will only rely on individuals in organizations that offer them aid. Therefore, it will rely on the accounts of the professionals who deal with refugees and asylum seekers on a daily basis. Other difficulties could include the lack of data available on refugee health, education, employment and legal access. The sensitivity of the topic makes it difficult to interview the local refugee community, given their vulnerable state in Egypt. Therefore, the research will focus on individuals that are well

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aware of the current state of the refugees in order to provide clear insight to the areas of focus.

Data collection

The study follows a descriptive analytical method. The descriptive method is typically used to gather information about current and relevant conditions and problems (Smith, 2015). The data that was gathered from the interviews provides primary data that supports the study. The research also depended on secondary data that will be based on published documents and literature relevant to the research problem. This is also done by looking at cases, which were successful in local integration, which serve as an example for the Egyptian context.

Given that no data exists on the current socio-economic levels of refugees in Egypt, a quantitative approach would not be beneficial. The research topic itself is typically answered using a qualitative approach as it deals with experience rather than figures. The methodological approach is therefore a qualitative one. The interviews are those of personal accounts that will provide observations as well as insight on the issue.

The data collected is based on two different methods, interviewing and questionnaires. In the 26 interviews conducted interviewees were asked questions on what they felt were the main areas of weaknesses and strengths in the current Egyptian framework of local integration. These represented different areas of weaknesses ranging from restrictions on education and employment, to inadequate provision of services such as health and legal. The interviewees were asked for the opinion on what would make the current situation in Egypt conducive to local integration of refugees. The people selected

were caseworkers that work with both African and/or Syrian cases. This was done in order to establish the key gaps in assistance offered to the non-Syrian population. This ranged from registration, protection, RSD, resettlement, and legal rights.

Finally, the research also conducted a questionnaire in order to address the main areas of concern to the refugee population. Given that this research did not depend on refugee interviews, the concerns were stated by caseworkers that deal with the refugee population on a daily basis. The individuals surveyed were asked to state the main concerns and questions they were asked by POCs in their professional capacity. This was done in order to assess the relationship between the areas of weaknesses in the current framework and the concerns and issues refugees have living in Egypt. Given the accessibility of UNHCR staff, this survey was conducted and sent to a number of stuff in different units. However, it is important to note that given 20 surveys were collected, and this does not represent the opinions of all staff members in Egypt.

Chapter IV

Findings

Integration requires several dimension of them is social interactions. This social element is both on a local refugee community level, as well as the local population level. The interactions between different refugee communities as well as their host communities are required for full integration, and to limit marginalization of the refugees in Egypt. Health is one aspect of social integration, as it is basic need that many have. However, in Egypt access to health care is difficult for African refugees. Health services are provided by NGOs and are limited to the most vulnerable cases.

"There are organizations like Caritas and Refuge Egypt that provide medical assistance, however, that is only primary health care, if more attention is needed people are forced to go to public hospitals, which are typically quite expensive for refugees."

(NGO staff member)

Caritas has health clinics, which treat acute illness and chronic diseases for ages five and above, while Refuge Egypt provides general health, reproductive health, Tuberculosis care, and HIV/AIDS treatment for children under 5. However, these organizations often face problems of understaffing and low funding, and therefore cannot provide all assistance to the massive numbers of refugees in Egypt.

"There are organizations that have 3 or 4 doctors and have to cater to more than a 100 people a day, it is hectic, and doctors face burnout, and it makes it impossible to provide

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proper assistance to the many requesting it."

(NGO staff member)

Non-governmental organizations rely heavily on donor funding, and therefore makes it difficult to sustain their programs. As organizations also do referrals to private hospitals in case of chronic illnesses, those individuals are often asked to provide some of the funding. The lack of funding is detrimental to the lack of proper assistance provided to African refugees in Egypt.

"Many of the projects and programs are often subject to a decrease in funding, this is in both education and health, which becomes frustrating, and leads to understaffing, which leads to less people having access. The programs become unsustainable."

(NGO staff member)

"There is more interaction between communities now, they go to schools together, and therefore are able to interact, however, due to the fact that most African refugees are in community schools, the interaction with the Egyptian community is very limited."

(International organization staff)

Given that refugees are typically in community schools, which cater to the refugee community, there is no exposure to the local community. There are limited opportunities of interaction between communities given the language and cultural barriers. Many of the African refugees in Egypt cannot speak English or Arabic and are therefore limited to their national communities, as they are more comfortable interacting with them.

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"International refugee day is mostly when the different communities interact, and there are Egyptians present, however, that is one day out of 365 days, where the communities do not interact."

(NGO staff member)

The lack of contact between communities often leads to lack of awareness of cultural, religious, and social diversity. This is primarily why there is much racism and xenophobic tendencies towards refugees. However, the necessity of integration between communities is vital to the promotion of local integration.

"Programs aimed at merging Egyptian families and refugees to work and cooperate together are essential, given that lack cultural awareness and acceptance is typically leading to the marginalization of refugees."

(International organization staff)

Projects between communities that could in turn raise awareness is crucial for social integration. However, social integration is not only about inter-communal interaction, but also access to social services, such as education and health. In Egypt, only Sudanese children are allowed public education, and those who attend often state harassment and bullying as they often stand out in schools.

"Almost 12,000 Sudanese children are in public schools in Egypt, around 40% of which are refugee children, however, the most common concern they face is bullying and harassment, as they are different, and the Egyptian children do not understand that."

(International organization staff)

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Sudanese children have access to public schools as Egyptian nationals, and given the right to public primary and secondary education. However, many face problems of bullying and lack of possibilities for higher education, which discourages them from attending secondary education.

"There is a very high dropout rate of Sudanese children in secondary education, this is because of two different aspects, one the lack of higher education opportunities, and that due to the fact that they are older, they are now expected to work and earn money in order to help the family."

(International organization staff)

As only Sudanese children have access to public education, the rate of dropout is due to family size, and the need for an increase in income. The children have to now work, which does not correlate with school, and due to the difficult living conditions, money is often more of an incentive than education. As public education becomes difficult to access because of this, 6 community schools have attempted to have afternoon classes in order to accommodate children who work, in order to allow them access to education.

"Community schools are trying to accommodate family concerns of money, and are now providing classes in the afternoon. Some of the classes are vocational classes in order to foster skills needed in the labor market in order to provide them with better opportunities."

(Community school staff)

However, it is important to note that to many, education is not as important as basic necessities, which is why it is typically neglected within the African refugee

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communities. As many have difficulties providing their families with basic needs, education becomes less of a priority and more of a burden. The school expenses are typically too high for refugees, and as the family size is bigger, the incentive to place children in schools becomes less.

Community schools teach the Sudanese curriculum, and those who do not speak Arabic often find it difficult to attend these schools. The Somali, Ethiopian and Eritrean communities who have no other choice but community schools often find it difficult to place their children in schools with a language barrier.

"The average family size is around 5, which is why often times many are reluctant to put their children in school. Having to pay for school, books, and supplies is very difficult."

(International organization staff)

Given that tuition is high, many do not believe education is an incentive. Programs dedicated to motivating children to go to school are attempting to link assistance with education, in order for children to have encouragements to go to school.

"There are youth groups in order to encourage the younger refugee generations to go to school, however, many believe the employment opportunities they are granted does not require education."

(Community school staff)

Employment of refugees is quite difficult, and given that work permits are difficult to obtain in Egypt many resort to the informal employment sector.

"Even vocational trainings are aimed at expanding skills in cooking, cleaning, sewing and
language classes in order to better the chances of refugees seeking employment."

(International organization staff member)

The skills harnessed within refugees' limits them to blue-collar jobs, with no prospect of
promotion. Refugees are limited to becoming domestic cleaners, drivers, cleaners, and
the few who are able to work as teachers in community schools.

"There are refugees that are teachers in community schools, but they could earn less than
a domestic helper, which is why people are not very motivated to work in schools, and
earn less money. It is very hard for people to find jobs that can allow them to meet their
basic daily needs."

(International organization staff)

Employment in Egypt is difficult, work permits are hard to come by, and many are
reluctant in hiring refugees. Given that refugees must apply to work permits as
foreigners, many employer are not willing to compensate refugees higher, and therefore
do not hire refugees.

"They are at a disadvantage in the labor market, no one wants to pay them as foreigners,
and getting work permits are hard."

(*NGO staff member*

Lack of cultural awareness makes it difficult for the African refugees to integrate within
the Egyptian community, leaving many to remain within their respective communities.

"There is a lack of awareness of cultural differences on both levels, it is not just from the
Egyptian local population, and it is also within the refugee communities and their host

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country. Both populations just remain within their comfort zone, and therefore there is a

lack of communication."

(International Organization, staff)

The increase in community interaction is key; this can be done through educational

means, but also through community based approaches. Increasing awareness among both

the refugee community and the local communities is important. The lack of interactions

amongst communities creates cultural differences and lack of understanding, which often

leaves the refugees marginalized. This is both on a societal level, as well as on different

refugee community levels.

"There has been more interaction among refugee communities, this is done through

schools, but because of the language and cultural differences, it is quite hard for even

refugee communities to interact. There are no opportunities for them to communicate,

which leaves each community isolated."

(NGO staff member)

Cultural and religious differences are quite substantial that many do not feel the need to

go outside their communities. Even within different nationalities, ethnic communities

exist, and therefore there is segregation within members of the same country.

"There is an Oromo community, there is also an Amharic community, they are both

Ethiopian, and however, they remain distinctively within their communities. They speak

different languages, and have different cultural practices, this is true within many

nationalities, and inter-communal interaction is very limited."

(International Organization staff)

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This illustrates the segregation within the different communities, and the lack of interaction and willingness from the refugee to integrate within the community. The issue is not only between refugee communities and the local population, but also with refugee communities amongst themselves.

"Public opinion and will are not only about raising awareness between refugee communities and the local population; no it has to be on a community level too. There are refugees of Christian faith who refuse to place their children in Arabic speaking schools, thinking that correlates more with the Islamic faith, however, that is not true. There needs to be more programs tackling cultural and religious differences and raising awareness."

(International organization staff)

Cultural and religion are important dimensions in local integration; they require a great deal of awareness in order to create an environment that is willing to accept differences. However, as Egypt has reservations on personal status, it clearly places distinctions between refugees and nationals.

"It is not just about cultural differences; Egypt's reservation on the 1951 convention makes sure that refugees are not treated as nationals, which in turn affects local integration."

(*NGO staff member*)

The political dimension of local integration refers to the right to vote and to be involved in policy-making process; this includes the representation of refugees in the political arena. However, refugees in Egypt are not entitled to citizenship, and are often neglected within the political discourse in Egypt.

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"There are refugees in Egypt that have been here since the eighties, and are still considered refugees, this leads to major frustration within the refugee communities, they see no hopes for change."

(International organization staff)

The prolonged state of the refugee problems and the lack of opportunity for a durable solution is a rhetoric that often describes the refugee situation in Egypt. It is important to note that reservations on education, personal status, and difficulties in employment, often leave refugees marginalized and vulnerable.

"Refugees are not represented anywhere, they have no political power, and often have no say in the policies that affect them, they feel powerless."

(NGO staff member)

Political right is heavily associated with local integration, it allows for representation and inclusion in the society. Political and legal elements are critical for local integration, as they protect refugees within the state, and offer them the human rights they are entitled to.

"Legal rights that protect refugees from discrimination and deportation is important, it is crucial to local integration"

(International Organization staff)

A strong legal system that protects asylum seekers and refugees and upholds their rights of non-refoulement and non-discrimination is an important factor in refugee integration. Therefore it is important to note that the legal-political dimension of local integration

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requires legal residency, political participation, as well as citizenship, in order for refugees to be treated as equals to nationals.

"A legal framework is critical in guaranteeing the protection of refugees. They have to be considered within policy frameworks."

(International organization staff)

An important aspect of local integration is the consideration of refugees as a part of the population, and recognizing their vulnerabilities. Refugees must be treated equal, and must have access to citizenship if local integration is ever to be considered an option in Egypt.

INTERESTS AND CONCERNS OF DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDERS

The dimensions of local integration entail social, economic, cultural and religious, political and legal elements. It is important to note that every dimension requires the interests of stakeholders to outweigh their concerns. The different stakeholders in the refugee situation are donors, NGOs, UNHCR, the host country, the local population and the refugee community.

"It is important for all stakeholder to work in harmony in order to create a situation that is accepting to local integration."

(International Organization staff)

The interests and concern of stakeholders have effect on each other, and are often felt by the refugee community. Donors offer relief funds for different purposes; these include protection, post-conflict reconstruction and repatriation.

"Most of the NGOs and international organizations are financed by donors, it is unlikely that they would be sustainable if it was not for them."

(International organization staff)

However, donors often face problems with uneven distribution of funds, and the lack of sustainability. The funds are limited and often provided to emergency cases.

"The Syria operation funding is quite higher than the African fund, that has to do with the fact that the Syria crisis is an emergency, and so funding is directed more towards it."

(International organization staff)

The underfunding of African programs has to do with the fact that it is no longer regarded as an emergency. As the African refugee situation is protracted, it becomes difficult to sustain funding to their programs.

"Underfunding is a major issue, programs are unsustainable, even schools cannot be sustainable without funding, this is the major concern when it comes to the African operation."

(NGO staff member)

The stakeholders all have mutual benefits, and their concerns often have effects on each other. The lack of funding is often felt with NGOs working with African refugees.

"The funding is typically reduced yearly, it is unexpected that refugee situations are to last so long, and therefore funds are placed elsewhere, and the programs end."

(*NGO staff member*)

NGOS work on the protection of people of concern and provide services and assistance to refugees. However, Lack of funding, and the inability to financially assist the massive

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number of refugees in Egypt is areas of concern to refugees. NGOs face difficulties in providing not only financial services, but also health, educational, and legal services to refugees.

"Lack of funding and understaffing are two major problems for NGOs and they are related. The less money, the less individuals employed."

(*NGO staff member*)

The mass influx of refugees has put a strain on the amount of assistance and services offered to them. As organizations try to offer security and protection, as well as services, it becomes difficult for them to maintain programs.

"The funds are few, and have to be used wisely, the hope is to help all, but that is not possible."

(International organization staff)

The UNHCR offers the legal protection of refugees and access to services through partners. However, they also face problems of underfunding and are often subject to limitation from the host country.

"The UNHCR is financed by donors, and the funds are limited and are often relief funds directed at emergencies."

(International organization staff)

The lack of funding is a critical area of concern of NGOS and organizations in dealing with the refugee situation. However, it is important to note that the host country's interest and concern plays an important role in the assistance offered to refugees.

"The major area of concern is national security, which is why there are requirements for

people seeking asylum."

(Government employee)

Refugees are required to obtain residency on their cards, which are granted after offering

proper documentation establishing their identity. This is done in order to legalize their

stay, and allow for the government to keep record of the individuals residing in Egypt.

"The providing of any identity document is now crucial, this is to have proof that the

individual seeking asylum is who they say they are."

(Government employee)

Undocumented refugees are given asylum certificates, renewed every 6 months, and do

not obtain legal residency. This was a policy issued after the realization of fraud cases,

and to ensure the authenticity of the claim of asylum.

"There was an issue with people claiming to be someone else, and there was no way of

proving that, which is why they can now be provided with asylum cards only if they have

documentation."

(Government employee)

National security concerns are ones that all countries share in admitting large numbers of

refugees. The protection of the national security of host countries is a critical concern of

Egypt, and that is reflected within the different policies on refugees. However, resource

burden is also a major concern for the Egyptian government.

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"Resource burden is rhetoric often used to describe the concerns of Egypt in the refugee situation, there is the idea that jobs should be saved for nationals, education should be saved for nationals, and citizenship should be saved for nationals."

(International organization staff)

The issue of resource burden is one that hinders local integration. It is important to note that with the growing Egyptian population, the concept of resource burden has been heavily mentioned to describe the migration problem, both on a national level, and a societal level. The local population also regards the burden on resources as a major concern.

"Some Egyptians believe that refugees are taking their jobs, they believe they are a burden on the economy, which in fact is not true."

(NGO staff member)

This misconception often leads to Racism, discrimination, and public opinion against refugee communities. The local population fears losing job opportunities to refugees, and are often unwilling to accept refugees. This in turn affects refugees negatively, as they become disregarded within the community.

"Refugees are looking for a better life, and protection, however, they are unrepresented, and have no legal rights, which affects them negatively."

(NGO staff member)

Lack of a viable solution in local integration, and lack of proper access to financial, educational, health, and legal assistance, often leads to frustration amongst the refugee

communities. As many feel neglected by the political system, and have no legal rights, many feel that their concerns of living in Egypt outweigh their interests.

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Non-governmental organizations rely heavily on donor funding, and therefore makes it difficult to sustain their programs. As organizations also do referrals to private hospitals in case of chronic illnesses, those individuals are often asked to provide some of the funding. The lack of funding is detrimental to the lack of proper assistance provided to African refugees in Egypt.

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Given that refugees are typically in community schools, which cater to the refugee community, there is no exposure to the local community. There are limited opportunities of interaction between communities given the language and cultural barriers. Many of the African refugees in Egypt cannot speak English or Arabic and are therefore limited to their national communities, as they are more comfortable interacting with them.

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(NGO staff member)

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The lack of contact between communities often leads to lack of awareness of cultural, religious, and social diversity. This is primarily why there is much racism and xenophobic tendencies towards refugees. However, the necessity of integration between communities is vital to the promotion of local integration.

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Projects between communities that could in turn raise awareness is crucial for social integration. However, social integration is not only about inter-communal interaction, but also access to social services, such as education and health. In Egypt, only Sudanese children are allowed public education, and those who attend often state harassment and bullying as they often stand out in schools.

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"Community schools are trying to accommodate family concerns of money, and are now providing classes in the afternoon. Some of the classes are vocational classes in order to foster skills needed in the labor market in order to provide them with better opportunities."

(Community school staff)

However, it is important to note that to many, education is not as important as basic necessities, which is why it is typically neglected within the African refugee communities. As many have difficulties providing their families with basic needs, education becomes less of a priority and more of a burden. The school expenses are typically too high for refugees, and as the family size is bigger, the incentive to place children in schools becomes less.

Community schools teach the Sudanese curriculum, and those who do not speak Arabic often find it difficult to attend these schools. The Somali, Ethiopian and Eritrean communities who have no other choice but community schools often find it difficult to place their children in schools with a language barrier.

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(International organization staff)

Given that tuition is high, many do not believe education is an incentive. Programs dedicated to motivating children to go to school are attempting to link assistance with education, in order for children to have encouragements to go to school.

"There are youth groups in order to encourage the younger refugee generations to go to school, however, many believe the employment opportunities they are granted does not require education."

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Employment of refugees is quite difficult, and given that work permits are difficult to obtain in Egypt many resort to the informal employment sector.

"Even vocational trainings are aimed at expanding skills in cooking, cleaning, sewing and language classes in order to better the chances of refugees seeking employment."

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The skills harnessed within refugees' limits them to blue-collar jobs, with no prospect of promotion. Refugees are limited to becoming domestic cleaners, drivers, cleaners, and the few who are able to work as teachers in community schools.

"There are refugees that are teachers in community schools, but they could earn less than a domestic helper, which is why people are not very motivated to work in schools, and earn less money. It is very hard for people to find jobs that can allow them to meet their basic daily needs."

(International organization staff)

Employment in Egypt is difficult, work permits are hard to come by, and many are reluctant in hiring refugees. Given that refugees must apply to work permits as foreigners, many employer are not willing to compensate refugees higher, and therefore do not hire refugees.

"They are at a disadvantage in the labor market, no one wants to pay them as foreigners, and getting work permits are hard."

(*NGO staff member*

Lack of cultural awareness makes it difficult for the African refugees to integrate within the Egyptian community, leaving many to remain within their respective communities.

"There is a lack of awareness of cultural differences on both levels, it is not just from the Egyptian local population, and it is also within the refugee communities and their host country. Both populations just remain within their comfort zone, and therefore there is a lack of communication."

(International Organization, staff)

The increase in community interaction is key; this can be done through educational means, but also through community based approaches. Increasing awareness among both the refugee community and the local communities is important. The lack of interactions

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amongst communities creates cultural differences and lack of understanding, which often leaves the refugees marginalized. This is both on a societal level, as well as on different refugee community levels.

"There has been more interaction among refugee communities, this is done through schools, but because of the language and cultural differences, it is quite hard for even refugee communities to interact. There are no opportunities for them to communicate, which leaves each community isolated."

(NGO staff member)

Cultural and religious differences are quite substantial that many do not feel the need to go outside their communities. Even within different nationalities, ethnic communities exist, and therefore there is segregation within members of the same country.

"There is an Oromo community, there is also an Amharic community, they are both Ethiopian, and however, they remain distinctively within their communities. They speak different languages, and have different cultural practices, this is true within many nationalities, and inter-communal interaction is very limited."

(International Organization staff)

This illustrates the segregation within the different communities, and the lack of interaction and willingness from the refugee to integrate within the community. The issue is not only between refugee communities and the local population, but also with refugee communities amongst themselves.

"Public opinion and will are not only about raising awareness between refugee communities and the local population; no it has to be on a community level too. There are

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refugees of Christian faith who refuse to place their children in Arabic speaking schools, thinking that correlates more with the Islamic faith, however, that is not true. There needs to be more programs tackling cultural and religious differences and raising awareness."

(International organization staff)

Cultural and religion are important dimensions in local integration; they require a great deal of awareness in order to create an environment that is willing to accept differences. However, as Egypt has reservations on personal status, it clearly places distinctions between refugees and nationals.

"It is not just about cultural differences; Egypt's reservation on the 1951 convention makes sure that refugees are not treated as nationals, which in turn affects local integration."

(*NGO staff member*)

The political dimension of local integration refers to the right to vote and to be involved in policy-making process; this includes the representation of refugees in the political arena. However, refugees in Egypt are not entitled to citizenship, and are often neglected within the political discourse in Egypt.

"There are refugees in Egypt that have been here since the eighties, and are still considered refugees, this leads to major frustration within the refugee communities, they see no hopes for change."

(International organization staff)

The prolonged state of the refugee problems and the lack of opportunity for a durable solution is a rhetoric that often describes the refugee situation in Egypt. It is important to

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note that reservations on education, personal status, and difficulties in employment, often leave refugees marginalized and vulnerable.

"Refugees are not represented anywhere, they have no political power, and often have no say in the policies that affect them, they feel powerless."

(NGO staff member)

Political right is heavily associated with local integration, it allows for representation and inclusion in the society. Political and legal elements are critical for local integration, as they protect refugees within the state, and offer them the human rights they are entitled to.

"Legal rights that protect refugees from discrimination and deportation is important, it is crucial to local integration"

(International Organization staff)

A strong legal system that protects asylum seekers and refugees and upholds their rights of non-refoulement and non-discrimination is an important factor in refugee integration. Therefore it is important to note that the legal-political dimension of local integration requires legal residency, political participation, as well as citizenship, in order for refugees to be treated as equals to nationals.

"A legal framework is critical in guaranteeing the protection of refugees. They have to be considered within policy frameworks."

(International organization staff)

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Chapter V

Analysis

The data collected is considered descriptive statistics, which means information that has been collected through interviews, experiments, or interviews. The findings from the interviews illustrate the main areas of concern to local communities, refugee communities, NGOs, international organizations and the host government. The data also illustrates the different interests stakeholders have with local integration. The main areas of concern are in education, employment, and in the prolonged nature of RSD results. As the literature also mentioned, the uncertainty of the situation makes it difficult for individuals to settle within a host country. Frustration builds up, and the need for other solutions becomes a necessity. While resettlement has always been a desirable solution, the requests for resettlement have increased. The lack of foreseeable durable solutions increases the urge for resettlement opportunities, however as highlighted earlier, resettlement is limited and only offered to a certain criteria of refugees.

The data illustrated the many areas of concern to different stakeholders, which have highlighted the lack of will within each stakeholder. These range from security concerns, to lack of funding, to resource burden, and to lack of political and public will. Different stakeholders in the refugee local integration situation have highlighted these concerns. The interests of stakeholders are often halted by the concerns that typically outweigh them.

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Security concern is a major obstacle to local integration; this is on an international, national, societal, and individual level. The current political turmoil not only in Egypt, but globally has impacted public opinion on the refugee crisis. The rise of terrorism has often been incorrectly linked to the influx in the number of refugees. Political will has been influenced by issues of national security, and international obligation to those who have been displaced by wars, and government persecution has been halted. The perceived threat that accompanies refugees makes it difficult for refugees to integrate in the community. However, security concerns is one of many obstacles to local integration.

The perceived financial and resource burden on host countries that accommodate refugees is a driving force to the lack of steps taken towards local integration. This notion of economic and environmental resource burden creates an unwillingness of the acceptance of local integration on a national level as well as on an individual level. The local population typically fears that the increase in population as a result of the influx in the number of refugees will have a strain on their land, homes, schools, and health facilities. There is also a fear from local in losing their jobs to refugees, however, given the lack of employment rights offered to refugees, it is unlikely that it would be the case. Especially in Egypt, where employment is high, refugees are generally more disadvantaged that the locals.

The data also illustrates a concern from donors on the funds used for the assistance of refugees. Given that many are not self-sufficient, and rely heavily on aid, this causes a strain on the financial resources of donors and international organizations.

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However, this is partly due to the restrictions on employment and educational rights as it becomes difficult for people to truly rely on themselves without a stable source of income.

Finally refugee and local population concern in regards to interactions between the two. Both local communities and refugee communities are not aware of the different cultural differences, and therefore do not typically communicate. Local integration must also be on a social level, when refugee communities remain in their respective communities, and local population does not accept them, life becomes difficult. The relationship between both entities is crucial in the promotion of local integration. The interviews illustrated that many refugees would typically remain within their comfort zones, and that could be to the lack of awareness of the local population of the refugee history. The refugee communities become marginalized, and it becomes difficult for them to be an active part of the society. The attitudes and beliefs on both sides is crucial, and is a major area of concern to local integration. The lack of interaction between the two, which are a result of cultural and language differences, amongst others, poses a major obstacle to social integration. As long as the refugee community is marginalized full local integration is impossible.

Policy Implications

Increasing refugee rights by creating national policies that would strengthen local integration are often regarded as a security concern, and a burden to resources. Given the current political instability, and global terrorism, hosting refugees and asylum seekers has become a controversial issue.

Egypt has also willingly hosted many refugees despite its economic situation; however, it does not provide the sufficient economic and social rights. The main concern in doing so is the resource burdens that doing so would pose. Given the current poverty levels in the country, it would be unable to grant refugees and asylum seekers access to food subsides as it does for Egyptian citizens. Egypt's current approach to the refugee issue has been heavily dependent on grassroots organizations that act as partners to the UNHCR in order to provide the necessary services to refugees. However, the government plays no role in the lives of refugees living in Egypt (Stevens, 2015). This policy of neglect does not discourage individuals from seeking asylum in Egypt, as people flee and continue to come to Egypt, as the situations in the country of origin deteriorates. Though this policy is cost-efficient, it does little to provide protection to the refugees residing in the country.

Policy Recommendations; Lessons from other countries

Uganda and Tanzania are few host governments that were able to promote local integration within their respective countries. All developing countries, with similar concerns to Egypt, they were able to create an environment conducive to the refugee population in their countries. The case of Uganda is especially interesting given that it has become a model of local integration in the African region. Uganda began by providing land to refugees in order to help them become self-reliant. Uganda also allows free access to employment market, this includes the buying and selling of products within the local market. Uganda also realized the necessity of freedom of movement and have drafted laws that address taxation, and employment, which is regarded as positive areas

of contribution to local integration (Fielden, 2008). Both the local communities and refugee children attend refugee schools, which allows for the interaction between the two groups, in order to promote social integration. Interaction is critical in order to not marginalize the refugee communities and create strict distinctions between both communities.

The Tanzanian Experience

Liberal refugee policies of the 1970's and 1980's have made Tanzania a leader in its approach as an asylum country. Tanzania has one of the largest refugee communities, and recognized the need to enable refugees to become self-sufficient. After many fled Burundi in 1972 due to the violence, the Tanzanian government provided five hectares of land to each refugee family. This allowed refugee families to harvest the land, and turn the "Old Settlements" into productive land. Currently, food crops grown by the refugee community makes up over one third of the agricultural produce in Tanzania. Following the 2007 Burundi peace process, the governments of Burundi and Tanzania worked with the UNHCR in order to look for durable solutions for the refugees in Tanzania. This process included a social, economic and demographic study in order to provide these individuals with the appropriate durable solution. The Tanzanian and Burundi government along with the UNHCR created the TANCOSS strategy, offering voluntary repatriation, and local integration to anyone wishing to remain in Tanzania. 170,000 refugees remained in Tanzania and became new citizens, and began the process of "naturalization" (UNHCR).

The Tanzanian experience illustrated the requirement of political will to create a sustainable situation for refugee communities in host countries. Those who remained in Tanzania were of the younger generation that spoke the national language, Kiswahili, and those who married Tanzanian locals. Remaining refugees posed difficulties in naturalizing their situation, and therefore with the opportunity of citizenship, refugees were able to ratify their legal status, and became active members of the society. The process of applying for citizenship created an environment where people were allowed to integrate fully as members of the society, and not as refugees, and were given access to areas outside the "Old Settlements."

The creation of a national strategy aiming at building a strong foundation for local integration is critical for its success. The initial challenge for Tanzania was to create a process that would be able to successfully socially integrate these individuals into the society. The need for national unity was critical for the success of the process of integration. Due to the fact that there was political willingness to integrate a large number of people, was correlated to the positive public opinion to the self-reliance policies of the 1970s. The Tanzanian people were culturally aware and understood the benefits of the refugee communities on their country. This prompted the National Strategy for Community Integration Programme (NASCIP), which gave refugees the opportunities to have equal rights to nationals in the host country. A communication strategy was also created in order to raise awareness between local communities and local authorities of these "naturalized Tanzanians" and to engage the community into the process. The Tanzanian experience illustrated the potential benefits of local integration of refugees,

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and the need for partnership. The strong relationship between the different stakeholders was an important asset to the success of local integration in Tanzania.

Recommendations

Cultural and social dimensions of local integration must be addressed in order to promote the local integration of refugees in Egypt. This would include an environment willing to celebrate diversity, rather than portraying in a negative light. This could be as simple as celebration of cultural festivals, and sharing experiences between the refugee and local communities. Accepting cultural differences and celebrating the diversity strengthens social ties, which in turn strengthens local integration. Tackling cultural diversity should also include efforts in providing language courses in order to ease daily refugee life in Egypt. The social dimension is tackled once barriers are broken, once the language and cultural barriers are addressed. Social dimensions include access to health, education, employment and legal help. The inclusion of refugees in Egyptian schools can only be done once the language barrier is tackled, as it becomes difficult for them to be part of public schools, given that they do not speak the language. Access to employment can only be provided, once legal frameworks are in place guaranteeing their labor rights.

Recognition of flaws in the current framework is critical. It is important to highlight discrimination and abuses of refugees in Egypt. In Nairobi, Kenya, they identified one of the challenges of legal integration as police abuse against refugees. This highlights the need for programs that safeguard the equal treatment and protection refugees. Furthermore, in Nairobi, one of the challenges identified under the legal dimension refers to abuses committed by the police against migrant communities. Under

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the legal dimension of integration, initiatives should guarantee not only equal treatment, but also protection of all residents. This involves capacity building within the police force in order to guarantee the protection of not only refugees but all citizens. Regarding political rights, it must be highlighted the importance of political inclusion of refugees on a local and national level. This will allow ethnic groups to become active members in the political decisions that affect them as a part of the Egyptian society.

Economic integration must be done on a societal level, requiring more job opportunities. Refugees have a typically hard time securing employment, and therefore there must be laws protecting those who are employed. Without insurance, refugees are often subjected to abuses given their informal means of employment. The lack of rights in employment makes it almost impossible to sustain a livelihood in Egypt. Therefore, the creation of protection means in terms of employment is crucial in integration; the provision of opportunities in the labor market is critical. However, the promotion of entrepreneurship within the refugee communities will help create a sustainable life for refugees in Egypt.

Therefore, it is important to note that communities must work together in order to create an environment that is able to accept differences, and promote the local integration of refugees. *Burden sharing* is a requirement in creating a framework that is conducive to local integration. In order to improve the quality of life of refugees and to promote assistance to POCs it is crucial to understand the importance of burden sharing. This could be done by compensation of host communities and governments in order to help implement proper refugee law in country of asylum. Capacity building within the host

country must do this. Given that Egypt lacks capacity in activities such as refugee status determination, it cannot only be mandated to the UNHCR; the host country must take responsibility, and commit to their obligations. Furthermore, it does not impose any burden sharing between states. However, the convention also does not take into account the financial, political, and social burden asylum seekers pose on the host nation. Therefore, it is not only weak on an individual level, but on a state level as well. Grasping the legal definition of refugees is crucial for understanding the challenges not only they face, but the state faces in protecting them. Incentives must be placed on a state and governorate level in order to accommodate refugees. Given Egypt's growing population, the difficulties imposed on them by the influx of refugees are great. Another important factor is political will; this includes the consideration of refugees as incentives for local development.

Political will is critical for the plausibility of local integration in Egypt. This includes the funding of refugee community schools in order to promote education in these marginalized communities. Given that most refugee run community schools are underfunded, the quality of education in these schools are not of high standards. Schools are unsustainable and are all teaching the Sudanese curriculum. The language barriers in these schools make it difficult for those of Ethiopian, Somali and Eritrean nationalities to access these schools. However, political will in bettering education is not the only area, there must be political will in enhancing employment opportunities. Policies must address the unaddressed employment issues of these communities. Without a stable income, individuals cannot sustain a livelihood, and education becomes a luxury, as many resort

to informal employment, such as domestic housework, driving, cooking, and factory labor. It is critical to create job opportunities for refugees in Egypt, this would lead to interaction between host population and the refugee communities, which is crucial for social integration.

The notion of *resource burden* is one that typically becomes an obstacle to local integration. The resource burden idea is on a national and societal level, and this is typically due to the lack of awareness of the possible contributions refugees could have on the host government. However, literature has proven that refugees can be beneficial to economic development. Given the skills they provide, when put into the employment sector could bring about development.

Raising awareness among the local population and the promotion of interaction between communities is important. Given that many refugee communities are isolated, and remain within their respective communities, no true interaction is made. This leads to the marginalization of these communities, and no cultural awareness amongst the host communities. Public opinion is critical in the protection of refugees in Egypt, and their acceptance in the COA. Creating more awareness among the population by providing more opportunities of interaction will lead to the understanding of different cultures. It is important that all stakeholders communicate in order to facilitate the best solution to the refugee crisis. Miscommunication between partners creates an environment non-conducive to local integration. Communication and awareness are integral parts of local integration, it is important to learn about each other's cultures and languages, in order to provide a comfortable situation for interaction.

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The revisiting of relevant legislations; this is needed in order to ensure the facilitation of local integration, and therefore the reconsideration of reservations made on the 1951 convention is critical. The reservations on the convention have clearly posed challenges on the local integration of refugees giving their limitations on key aspects of the livelihood of refugees. This has limited their opportunities, and has consistently made their life difficult. The MOU is also a key legislation that must be reconsidered in order to promote the local integration of refugees. The MOU has illustrated the government's unwillingness to promote local integration. Supporting resettlement and voluntary repatriation as a solution to the influx of refugees in Egypt does this. Therefore it is important to create dialogue between different stakeholders in order to facilitate the accommodation and naturalization of refugees within the Egyptian society.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

The support and experiences of forced displacement are typically linked to the geopolitical contexts of the international social and economic systems, which typically rely on migration trends, and the changing political situation and socioeconomic levels in countries of origin. Tensions are increasing as future plans of resettlements are uncertain, hopes for repatriation are diminishing, and aspirations for local integration are impossible. Therefore, the need for the strengthening of national policies in order to promote local integration is crucial. It is important to note that the integration of the refugee community within Egypt not only increases their livelihood; it also creates a market for sustainable development of the host country.

The failure of local integration creates frustration and lack of hope within refugee communities that are uncertain of their status within the country. The lack of employment and educational opportunities hinder their abilities to progress in society. The lack of interaction between refugee communities and the local population adds to the isolation of refugees within the country. The lack of awareness within local populations adds to the xenophobic tendencies. Discrimination, becomes rampant within the country, and illustrates the failure of the state to protect the local refugee communities. Lack of integration also poses a burden on international and non-governmental organizations that burden their resources. As many fail to become self-sufficient, and rely heavily on financial assistance as well as other services to maintain their daily needs.

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The impact of the promotion of local integration is mutually beneficial. The Tanzanian experience illustrated the ways in which the inclusion of refugee communities had drastic positive effects on the agricultural sector. The opportunities granted to refugees in critical, it is important for refugees to be looked at as an integral part of the community, rather than a burden. Much of those fleeing are looking for security and a chance to live a better life, which is only prohibited with the lack of rights granted to refugees in Egypt. It is important to highlight that integration constitutes different elements, and without a policy framework in place, the data becomes obscure. A policy-oriented analysis of integration would include rights to work, and access to formal education; however, in Egypt it is difficult for refugees to access both.

It is important to note that though the Ugandan and Tanzanian cases are success, they are different than Egypt. Uganda and Tanzania are rich in land, while Egypt is not, which could pose as an obstacle. However, the purpose of the inclusion of these experiences are in order to illustrate the need for cooperation between stakeholders, and the need to create a nationwide initiative in order to help the situation of refugees. The Tanzanian experience illustrates the significance of all stakeholders in working together, in order to provide a situation where refugees are able to become self-reliant. This is however, not only done by the providing of lands, but also by allowing them a change to engage in the policy-making procedures. There was able the concept of burden sharing between both the host government, and government of the country of origin, which allowed for dialogue, and the established of programs that improved the livelihood of

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refugees. The Tanzanian and Ugandan experiences illustrate the need to revisit the current frameworks in place in order to address the challenges to local integration.

It is unlikely that the Egyptian government can lift its reservations on the 1951 convention, as that requires a level of development that Egypt has not reached. Arguably, access to services provided by the UNHCR, and the hopes of resettlement, has put refugees in a better position, as nationals do not have access to these services. The international community's lack of attention on the conditions of the country of asylum have often created a burden that the country alone cannot bear.

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