



Shifting Sands:

Risk and Resilience among Refugee Youth in Cairo



**WOMEN'S
REFUGEE
COMMISSION**

Research. Rethink. Resolve.

Since 1989, the Women's Refugee Commission has advocated for policies and programs to improve the lives of refugee and displaced women, children and young people, including those seeking asylum—bringing about lasting, measurable change.

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Acronyms & Abbreviations

AUC	American University in Cairo
CBO	Community-based organization
ILO	International Labor Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PRM	(Bureau of) Population, Refugees, and Migration
PSTIC	Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute of Cairo
PSW	Psychosocial worker
RSD	Refugee status determination
STAR	Student Action for Refugees
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WRC	Women's Refugee Commission

Executive Summary

Young men and women displaced in Cairo, Egypt, face many barriers to both their learning and earning opportunities. High unemployment rates, political unrest, unsafe livelihood options in the informal economy, overcrowded schools/disrupted education and language barriers are among the main barriers to attending school and training programs. Refugee youth report that education and resettlement were their highest priorities. Service providers are underfunded and under-resourced for their case loads. The focus is on vulnerable families and individuals, with extremely limited youth-specific programming being offered. Social networks are strong within some communities, and while these are used quite effectively to create safe spaces within communities, they are underutilized by service providers.

Approximately 500,000 refugees, asylum seekers and migrants from Sudan, Iraq, Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia may now reside in Cairo.¹ The recent political transition in Egypt offers some hope of a government that may be open to local integration and may afford refugees the right to work and education; however, the deep-set xenophobia and lack of development for the host population create an environment where many refugees do not feel safe and have little hope of finding dignified and safe employment in Cairo.

Key Findings

The right to work (or lack thereof) is not well understood in Cairo.² Egypt has a reservation to Article 24 of the 1951 Convention and most refugees and service providers interpret this as a restriction on the refugees' right to work. However, there are several loopholes within Egyptian law itself that apply to foreigners and, thus, also apply to refugees. There is space for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and partners to engage with income-generating activities that can be within Egyptian legal limits. The greater chal-

What Is a Livelihood?

A "livelihood" refers to the capabilities, assets and strategies that people use to make a living.

lenge, however, is the protection space, as most livelihood options for both host and refugee populations are within the unregulated informal economy where exploitation and abuse are the norm.

The current system and approach of service provision is set up to incentivize vulnerability, that is, only the poorest and most vulnerable are helped and therefore there is an incentive for people to present themselves not in terms of their capabilities but rather in terms of their inability to help themselves. Resources are limited. Service providers' ability to provide services is stretched, and thus they target support to the most vulnerable. This in turn leads to many refugees presenting themselves as vulnerable in order to access services and assistance. Livelihood programs in such an environment are difficult to implement. A household or an individual can only start to think about a sustainable livelihood once basic needs are met. There needs to be a shift in approach where using one's capacities and resources are rewarded and supported.

As in many refugee youth contexts, there is a precarious balance between "learning and earning." Many refugee youth are trying to find ways in which to earn money and this precludes them from continuing their education. The quality of education and teachers in Egypt itself is low; however, there are indications that this is an even bigger issue in schools with mainly refugee children.³

Information sharing by service providers on which services are available for refugees is confusing and often not transparent. Different refugee groups are afforded different rights, and the lack of transparency is confusing to both refugees and service providers.

Key Recommendations

The Cairo urban refugee context calls for a more realistic approach to livelihoods and protection. There are perceived and structural obstacles to the right to work and, as a result, there will be very limited opportunities for employment and jobs in a traditional sense, at least in the short term. A youth-centric approach would be a more effective way of providing services to this disenfranchised and marginalized population. A combination of humanitarian and development approaches should be used. In addition, Egyptian services that are relevant to refugees should be identified in order to stop creating a parallel service provision system.

Donors

1. **Donors providing funding for livelihoods projects must take into account that the most vulnerable refugees are not the best positioned to start meaningful livelihood activities.** Donors should look at supporting graduated models where basic needs can be met over a period of time, while at the same time initiating strategies to create conditions where livelihoods projects can have a meaningful impact. Additionally, a pool of funding should be created to support livelihoods for youth who already have the means and capacities to start generating income.

UNHCR

1. **Couple longer-term solutions that involve advocacy with the government of Egypt with short-term solutions on supporting youth with education support and livelihood-specific programming.**
2. **Establish a working definition to reflect realistic expectations of which livelihood activities are reasonable and how these can be supported within the context of Cairo.** These activities should then be implemented based on understanding the livelihood and wealth group profiles of each refugee community in order to target resources more effectively.⁴

Service providers and refugee CBOs

1. **Engage actively with vocational providers that are trusted to provide quality service, such as Don Bosco or the American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt, in order to tap into their existing networks within the private sector.** Additionally, meetings should be set up with the American Chamber of Commerce Foundation, its online training department and Corporate Social Responsibility departments, in order to explore potential opportunities.⁵
2. **Connect and partner with local Egyptian NGOs.** Host and refugee youth are both affected by limited resources, the low quality of education, and under- and unemployment. Sharing resources will provide the opportunity to increase impact. Soft programs, such as awareness-raising workshops and refugee and host community youth groups and sports groups, can also help to counter discrimination faced by refugee youth.
3. **Hold language, job-readiness, financial literacy and computer classes in the evenings and engage refugee community-based organizations (CBOs) for these purposes, as appropriate.** Establish peer-to-peer networks and group activities for youth. Youth are hungry for recreational activities that can build needed social networks and social capital (friends and at times, family).

For a full list of recommendations, see page 15.

Purpose of the mission

With support from the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) and in collaboration with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Women's Refugee Commission (WRC) is conducting a one-year study on safe pathways to economic resilience for displaced young women and men (ages 15 to 24) living in urban settings.

Information gathered from desk research, field assessments and consultations with displaced youth will build evidence to influence policy and practice to meet youths' learning and earning needs.

This report focuses on key findings from a September 2012 field assessment in Cairo, conducted in partnership with the Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute of Cairo (PSTIC). The aim of the field assessment was to:

1. Identify those factors that increase the economic resilience of urban displaced youth.
2. Determine which existing services increase the academic and pre-employment skills and the economic resilience of urban displaced youth.

Methodology

This study was conducted primarily in refugee neighborhoods of Maadi, Ard al Liwa, Nasr City, Heliopolis and Hay El Ashar in Cairo. Interviews took place in refugee community centers or in homes of refugees. The team met with 23 individuals in one-on-one interviews (14 female, 9 male), and conducted nine focus group discussions of six to eight persons each, which included youth, parents, CBO leaders and psycho social workers (24 females, 41 males). The total number of refugees spoken to was 88 (38 females and 50 males). Respondents were identified by community-based organizations and PSTIC.

The sample group of youth, aged 15-24,⁶ captured a cross-section of the refugee community, including Sudanese, South Sudanese, Iraqi, Somali, Oromo from Ethiopia⁷ and Eritrean youth. The interview team consisted of research assistants—a male refugee from the Central African Republic and a female Sudanese migrant—in addition to a field team of psychosocial workers from each refugee group (females and males as appropriate). To capture a spectrum of experiences by economic status, the team endeavored to include roughly equal numbers of in-school/out-of-school youth and entrepreneurs/wage earners/people who were not working. In order to understand the challenges and opportunities related to programming for this demographic, about half of the respondents were chosen because they had been exposed to NGO economic strengthening programs, such as vocational training or education grants. Most youth interviewed were receiving some form of service provision. Egyptian NGOs were also interviewed to understand the context of poor urban Egyptian youth to see which programs have been successful in providing livelihood opportunities and where overlap with refugee youth could be possible.

Using a semi-structured interview tool, young women and men were asked a series of questions related to daily activity patterns, the livelihood strategies employed by their households and the opportunities and challenges in their quest to earn a living. When necessary, individual interviews were conducted with the assistance of a translator. All focus group discussions were conducted with English translation.

Interviews were also conducted with representatives of 19 organizations that provide livelihood or social services for displaced youth or that advocate on their behalf. (See full list, page 18.)

Finally, a methodical review of the recent literature (2003-2012) identified 26 reports relevant to urban displaced youth livelihoods in Cairo. The search started with 27 keywords associated with livelihoods, youth, gender and displacement issues, and focused on well-known databases of NGO or UN agency literature. Key informant interviews yielded several more relevant reports.

Limitations

Meeting with government officials and ministries was not possible as Egypt is in a state of political transition.

Protests against the U.S. embassy began half way through the assessment; therefore, some individual interviews were not completed as scheduled with select Sudanese refugees and Egyptian youth; however, it was felt that adequate information allowed for the extrapolation of main findings.

Context

Legal framework

There are three important legal elements to understand within the Cairo context for refugee youth: their right to work; their right to education; and status determination.

Egypt is party to both the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, as well as to the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention. Accordingly, forced migrants fleeing persecution who enter Egypt are entitled to asylum and protection on a temporary basis. Egypt does not have a policy of encampment and refugees settle among the local population.

While Egypt is signatory to the conventions, it has yet to develop domestic asylum procedures and institutions. Registration, documentation and refugee status determination (RSD) are carried out by UNHCR, under the terms of a Memorandum of Understanding with the government, signed in 1954. Changes in the form of a new transitional government that has emerged from the recent events in Egypt give rise to hopes for an environment that will be more conducive to refugee protection in Egypt.⁹

The Right to Work

Section 104 of UNHCR's 2009 Urban Refugee Policy: One of the most difficult questions confronting UNHCR in urban contexts is whether to promote refugee livelihoods and self-reliance in countries where they are denied the right to gain an income under national law and practice. The Office will in the first instance explore every opportunity to encourage the authorities to be more flexible in their legislation and practice so as to facilitate the economic activities of urban refugees.⁸

The right to work

The right to work (or lack thereof) is not well understood in Cairo.¹⁰ It is accepted as “conventional wisdom” that refugees do not have the right to work based on Egypt’s reservation to Article 24 of the 1951 convention. However, there are several loopholes within Egyptian law itself that apply to foreigners and, thus, also apply to refugees.

Refugees’ right to work and to practice professions in Egypt is governed by laws applicable to all foreigners. Refugees’ and foreigners’ right to work is governed by Law No. 12 of 2003 and Ministerial Decree No. 136 of 2003 (amended by Decree No. 227 of 2004), which requires them to be issued a permit for such work (both in the private and public sectors). *The law that deals with work permits does not distinguish between a refugee and foreigner* (emphasis added).

However, a recent report on Sudanese refugees and migrants published by the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies in Cairo states: “All applicants must also prove that they are uniquely qualified, that is, their work cannot be performed by a local. The latter condition is particularly challenging for most refugees as they are generally low skilled—like poor Egyptians. There are also regulations about the ratio of foreigners to Egyptian nationals in any organization. In sum, while refugees can get work permits in practice, do-

ing so is complicated, and most refugees do not have work permits."¹¹ The price for yearly permits also ranges depending on one's nationality from approximately 34 USD (Sudanese and Palestinians) to 900 USD (Somalis, Iraqis, Eritreans and Ethiopians). It is, therefore, possible for refugees to work in Egypt as foreigners; however, there are structural and social barriers, such as the process and cost of obtaining work permits and the reluctance of the Egyptian government and societal practice to allow refugees to work when so much of the host population is un- and underemployed.

Furthermore, with regard to the right to engage in business (self-employment) and the possibility to obtain all necessary licenses and permits, foreigners, *including refugees*, can establish or acquire Egyptian companies. Law No. 8 of 1997 on Investment Guarantees and Incentives allows 100 percent foreign ownership and guarantees the right to remit income earned in Egypt and to repatriate capital. According to this law, foreign companies may receive incentives and guarantees provided that they are working in specific fields. Law No. 3 of 1998, amending law 159 of 1981, covers investors in any sector not covered by Law No. 8 of 1997, including shareholders, joint stock, limited liability companies representative and branch offices. The management of a limited liability company may be vested in one or several foreign managers, but must include at least one of Egyptian nationality (Article 281 of the Ministerial Decision implementing the Commercial Companies Law).

This is important to note as it *could be possible* for a refugee to run formal/informal businesses in Egypt. One refugee the WRC interviewed, a domestic worker from Eritrea, spoke of a case of an Eritrean woman, now resettled, who had started a company to hire domestic workers with an Egyptian national.¹² It is more likely than not that the Eritrean woman was buying the license from the Egyptian national, which happens in some instances; however, there are no legal procedures for refugees to be protected from theft or exploitation. Some "better off" refugees, who have capital to invest, have partnered with Egyptians to establish joint business ventures—such as an Iraqi who partnered with

an Egyptian businessman and provided considerable financial capital to open an import-export company.¹³ Egyptian law allows for jointly owned businesses, but most refugees and service providers the WRC spoke to are not aware of this and the overriding feeling is that this only applies to Sudanese refugees.

Education

Egypt has ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which gives everyone under 18 the right to free primary education regardless of their nationalities. Additionally, Article 5 of Law 22 of 1992 states that any student funded by UNHCR (which is the case for many refugees in Egypt) is entitled to be enrolled in Egyptian schools. However, while refugee children are technically allowed to enroll in public schools, the overcrowding of schools and the deteriorated educational infrastructure obstruct their access—as it does for local children.¹⁴ An additional access constraint for refugee children is the language of instruction; Arabic. Many refugee children do not speak Arabic and thus do not attend free public schools.¹⁵ Students also have to produce identity documents (not UN cards) and educational certificates from their previous schools or get permission from the Ministry of Education to enroll in public schools, which is very difficult in practice.¹⁶

In order to receive a good education, it is common to participate in a complementary system of private lessons. The same teachers that teach in school hold private after-school lessons. A main finding from a draft report by the Refugee Youth Project, which interviewed both Egyptian and refugee children, states: "Many students attending Egyptian schools mentioned lack of access to private lessons as one of the most important challenges they face at school. The young researchers explained that private lessons are "when the teachers do not explain the subject well in class," and then "charge students money to have private lessons where they give them the information they need to pass the exams."¹⁷ It can cost 40 EGP per subject for one lesson per month and this is too much for families to pay when

there are five or six subjects, even at primary school level, and there are often many children attending school from one family.¹⁸ This finding was confirmed in interviews WRC had with Sudanese youth, who by far are the largest refugee group in local Egyptian schools.

The additional challenge within the education system in Egypt is that the “curriculum and quality [are] not one that meets the demands of the job market.”¹⁹ This is true for both Egyptians and those refugees that access these schools.

Registration status

Registration status ranges from blue cards (recognized refugees) to yellow cards (asylum seekers) to unregistered refugees and those with closed files.²⁰ The majority of South Sudanese have yellow cards, Sudanese blue cards and Iraqis yellow cards (which act like blue cards for that nationality). A fair number of others have pending Registration Status Determination (RSD) interviews. The total number of officially registered refugees and asylum seekers is 42,339.²¹ The number is debatable, as these are only the people registered and there are no clear numbers for how many refugees/asylum seekers, migrants and those with closed cases are actually in the city. Unofficial estimates of undocumented migrants put their numbers between 250,000 and 500,000.²²

Registered refugees have, in the past, been the ones able to access services; however, as noted in several reports, and confirmed by the assessment’s findings, “refugees have been afforded varying rights, restrictions and assistance from the Egyptian government depending on their country of origin, creating a complex and often confusing legal framework in which to administer employment, educational and health care services. The resulting protection space varies between refugee groups, as well.”²³

When UNHCR talks about protection they should make this about staying legally. We should have access to all services. Egypt should not be like a jail.

–Somali female, 26 years old, in Cairo 12 years.²⁴

The economy

The Egyptian economy is neither robust nor dynamic and there is anecdotal evidence it has weakened since the revolution. Today, there are 19 million youth aged 18-29 in Egypt, representing almost one-quarter of the country’s population. According to recent statistics from an ILO report, youth currently have the highest unemployment rates in the country, with 90 percent of the unemployed being under the age of 30. During the economic financial crisis, youth unemployment rates increased from 12.1 percent in 2008 to 13.4 percent in 2009. Even prior to the crisis, young people found it difficult to enter the labor market. Following the revolution in 2011, youth unemployment reached an unprecedented new high of 24.54 percent, and even higher in 2012 at 28.9 percent. Young women are hit particularly hard by unemployment, with their unemployment rates being more than two times greater than their male counterparts. At present, unemployment for females aged 15-29 stands at 48.6 percent, while the rate for young men is 23.3 percent.²⁵

One of the biggest constraints and barriers to generating income listed by a significant number of informants was the weak Egyptian economy and the fact that Egyptian youth were unemployed in such high numbers. The added constraint of being a refugee youth, with the perception that there is no right to work, seems like an insurmountable barrier to many of the youth that WRC interviewed.

Security

Criminality in general is on the rise in Egypt. People talk about Cairo in pre- and post-revolution terms. In pre-revolution Cairo women felt safe walking around and

no one had to think about safety in the same ways as they do now.²⁶ Refugees also stated that they feel less safe since the revolution.

My mother is very afraid for me. There is no security in the street. She is not willing to send me to work even if I want to.

Sudanese female, 17 years old,
in Cairo for three years.²⁷

During the January 2012 protests and in subsequent weeks, media reports depicted a difficult situation for Cairo's refugee community: a sharp increase in sudden and forced evictions, as well as illegal arrests by Egyptian civilians for not carrying proper identification. Attacks and rape of women became more prevalent.²⁸

Refugee women are dealing with greater difficulties and some no longer venture out alone, because of harassment and physical abuse. The refugee women interviewed feared for their safety and the only places they listed feeling safe were in their homes.²⁹

Another facet of criminality that is taken for granted and not mentioned unless there is a surge in violence is with Sudanese "gangs." A 2010 study on South Sudanese youth³⁰ came to the following conclusions on the root causes of the violence:

- Sudanese youth are marginalized by the adult community.
- Sudanese youth self-marginalize.
- Young Sudanese men have lost hope for the future.
- "Gangs" are created to

serve as social support networks, not promote violence (emphasis added).

- Sudanese youth have accepted violence as an unavoidable part of their lives.

It is important to highlight that, within the community itself, the youth self-marginalize. A key informant, a priest who has worked with gang members and brought them back into the community, stressed the importance of education. When referring to the youth, he said, "to help them, the key is education and sports."³¹ Given that these "gangs" are a formation of peer social networks and support systems, alternatives to this in the form of sports groups or other activity-based groups would be steps to mitigate this violence. It is not just Sudanese youth that spoke of the need for groups and activities for youth. Youth tend to be marginalized in their communities, and in the cases of Somali, Eritrean and Oromo youth, are predominantly without family support and structure.



Dale Buscher of the Women's Refugee Commission with refugee psychosocial workers for PSTIC who worked as research assistants and translators for the assessment. The young men are Iraqi refugees.

Profile of the Youth

The different communities the assessment focused on, Sudanese (including South Sudanese), Iraqi, Somali, Oromo and Eritrean, all have variations in their length of displacement, motivation for staying in Cairo, their journeys, way of living, networks and aspirations.

Sudanese

Most Sudanese refugees have been in Cairo five years³² or more. Motivations for staying in Cairo vary—the factor that resonated most strongly was that living expenses are lower than in Sudan and in neighboring asylum countries. This is a huge pull factor for many families and for youth.³³ Many are also escaping persecution and poverty back home. Most crossed the border and made their way overland. There are no restrictions for Sudanese to enter the country because of the Four Freedoms Act.³⁴ Many are earning money in one capacity or another. Sudanese youth live in a variety of ways. Some live with families and some (mostly male) are in Cairo as individuals, living in group housing situations. There is a strong social network among the Sudanese.³⁵ Many South Sudanese have repatriated since independence but the large-scale exodus was at the start of independence and has slowed down considerably. Most Sudanese aspire to receive education and to resettle to a third country.

Somali

Somali youth have been in Cairo for varying length of times, with some there five years or more and others more recent arrivals within the last six months. Somali youth tend to use Egypt as a transit country. Again, this is because it is cheap and because of the transnational structure of Somali clan networks; many come to help a family/clan member.³⁶ Al Azhar University also allows for Muslim students to register for free and this is a huge pull factor for many Somali youth.³⁷ Some Somali youth live within nuclear family structures or with rela-

tives but a large number of Somali males live in shared housing with other Somali males. Most of the Somali female unaccompanied minors are living with a mixture of younger and older women.³⁸ Their priorities are access to education and resettlement.

Iraqi

Most Iraqis have been in Cairo for seven years or more. Many are escaping the current government in Iraq and it is unlikely they will have a favorable environment to which to return because of alliances with the old regime. Iraqis came overland through Jordan or by plane. Youth live with family and it was rare to hear about other living arrangements. Iraqis tend to be middle class and this causes some friction with other refugee groups who are unable to understand why “special treatment” is given to Iraqis who do access services. Iraqi youth tend to not gather with other youth as there is a law that states that not more than five Iraqis can congregate in one room at a time.³⁹ As a result of this restriction, the Iraqis are the only refugee group that does not have an association or a CBO.⁴⁰ Consequently, there is little community cohesion.⁴¹ Iraqi youth are most concerned about education and accessing university education. Some spoke of resettlement (but not to the US/UK). They are content to stay in Cairo; however, they would like access to education on the same basis as Egyptians (or now, as the WRC was often told when talking to the youth, Syrians) and the right to work.

I have big goals for the future but I will need a miracle to achieve it. I want to be a dentist. I wish things would get better. Maybe God will help us. There is no work here.

– Iraqi female, 18 years old,
in Cairo seven years.⁴²

Eritrean

The length of displacement for Eritrean youth varies, with some in Cairo five years or more but recent arrivals



within the past six months or less also prevalent. Many were escaping from government repression and obligatory army service. Many have family members in jail in Eritrea. The more recent arrivals have horrific stories of trafficking. Violence within the Sinai and at the Sinai borders is getting considerable media, aid agency and Egyptian military attention. Eritrean youth who are victims of trafficking are extremely fearful living in Cairo. They fear that their traffickers will find them in Cairo. They also face daily harassment and attacks from Egyptians in their neighborhoods. Many choose to restrict their movement to essential excursions. Eritrean youth tend to be in Cairo without families and live in cramped quarters where resources are shared. Eritrean youth have a good network and community cohesion. Those that can speak English have a better chance of employment as domestic workers. Everyone WRC spoke with had completed primary education, with a significant number having completed secondary school as well. They hope to be able to receive a university education. Most also hope to be resettled.

Ethiopian

Ethiopian youth are split between Oromo- and Amharic-speaking youth. WRC spoke only with Oromo youth, who come from backgrounds of persecution and therefore have refugee status. Displacement lengths are from five years or more to six months. For many, Cairo is a second asylum country and many have spent time in Khartoum, Sudan, prior to arrival in Cairo. Like the Eritrean youth, they tend to be without families and are living in shared cramped quarters where resources are shared. While the unaccompanied youth rely on each other, especially those who share apartments, they report feeling isolated from the broader Ethiopian community. Many had primary and secondary education and hope to receive university education. They also hope to resettle.

There are eight of us in the house – one has a regular job as a gardener making 30 Egyptian pounds a day but [works] very long hours. Another one works

sometimes as a cleaner. One of us gets food rations from Refuge Egypt every two months. We share everything we have and get by somehow.

– Oromo male, 26 years old, in Cairo for one year.⁴³

Findings

The contextual environment

The government of Egypt is in transition. There has not been a favorable or enabling environment for refugees in the past, and UNHCR is currently working on a “low profile strategy” in order to enable refugees to have better means of securing some ways in which to make an income.⁴⁴ Protection is (and should be) an overriding concern and there are discussions within UNHCR around how this space can be expanded for refugees trying to generate income in Cairo.⁴⁵ UNHCR’s urban refugee policy of 2009 allows UNHCR to support informal economy strategies whilst engaging in advocacy around longer-term solutions within the host country and providing refugees with skills that will prepare them for a durable solution.

Little thought and action have been given to livelihoods for refugees in Egypt, as the right to work has been understood in quite limited, rather black and white terms. There is space for UNHCR and partners to engage with income generating activities that can be within Egyptian legal limits. The greater challenge, however, is the protection space, as most livelihood options for both host and refugee populations are within the unregulated informal economy, where exploitation and abuse are common. The current system and approach to service provision is set up to incentivize vulnerability, that is, only the most poor and vulnerable are helped and therefore there is an incentive for people to present themselves not in terms of their capabilities but rather in terms of their inability to help themselves. Resources are limited. Service providers are stretched to be able to extend services to all and thus focus their support on the most vulnerable. This in

turn leads to many refugees presenting themselves as vulnerable in order to access services. Livelihood programs in such an environment will be difficult to implement. A household or an individual can only start to think about a sustainable livelihood once basic needs are met. There needs to be a shift in approach where using one's capacities and resources is rewarded and supported.

Capacities and resources

A standard question WRC asked youth was about the capacities and resources they possessed that could be valuable to secure a means of income. It was rare that this question was even understood. *Youth are unaware of their own capacities and resources and how valuable this could be in order to develop livelihood options for themselves.* This finding was shared by the research being undertaken by the Feinstein Institute in collaboration with the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies, which has looked more in depth at livelihoods of refugees in Cairo.⁴⁶ Still, it was clear in the interviews that refugee youth possess fairly strong human capital (education, work experience, good health and adaptability) and some social capital (friends and at times, family) and limited amounts of financial capital (from employment and resource sharing). The UNHCR livelihood guidelines follow the approach that "livelihood support must build on people's perceived strengths and opportunities rather than focusing on their problems and needs."⁴⁷ However, this is missing in the ways in which refugees are approached by service providers in Cairo, and thus, it is missing in the ways in which refugees approach themselves as agents that can drive change.

The right to work

The right to work is widely viewed as unavailable to refugees as per the reservation of article 24 of the 1951 Convention; however, local Egyptian laws have employment options for foreigners, which also apply to refugees. The right to work, therefore, is neither an opportunity nor a barrier to generating income.⁴⁸

Article 105: In such situations, UNHCR will explore the opportunities that exist to support the efforts of refugees to become self-reliant in an unobtrusive manner, focusing on activities such as the establishment of small-scale and home-based enterprises. UNHCR's advocacy efforts will draw attention to the fact that providing refugees with skills is a valuable way of retaining their dignity, maintaining their social capital, preparing them for durable solutions and alleviating any pressure they might place on national services and welfare systems.

The larger issue is that both Egyptians and displaced persons are engaging in the informal economy and this is often times exploitative leading to protection risks rather than building resilience.

There is harassment from men in the house we work in. It makes us afraid to work.

– Somali females, focus group discussion.⁴⁹

Even though displaced persons, including youth, are able to find ways in which to make money, this generally does not constitute a sustainable or economically viable livelihood. Most refugee youth who are working are employed as domestic workers or security guards, and some are in the factories in the Sixth of October neighborhood. Dignified working conditions, safety in the workplace and earning livable wages are problematic in all of the options. Several refugees who have worked in the factories, for example, quit because the hours were too long (10–12 hours/day, six days/week) and the wages too low to justify the transportation costs of traveling to and from the workplace.

Education

Many of the youth WRC spoke with wanted to complete their education. Although there are opportunities for youth to be in school, this aspiration comes with constraints. The quality of education and teachers in Egypt does not match the demands of the market; how-

ever, there are indications that this is an even bigger issue in schools whose student population is mainly refugee children.⁵⁰ Catholic Relief Services (CRS)⁵¹ does provide education grants to refugee households⁵²; however, their caseload is 8,000 students, and within this group, approximately 20 percent are youth (aged 15-24). CRS also only contributes to the overall fees and associated costs of education, and does not pay it in full. The education grant support stops at the age of 20. Youth (and their parents) reported several main constraints:

- As in many refugee youth contexts, there is a precarious balance between “learning and earning.” Many refugee youth are trying to find ways in which to earn money and this precludes them from continuing their education, as earning an income takes priority.
- The Egyptian education system for primary and secondary schools is based on additional (and costly) private lessons. These are a financial constraint for many refugee and Egyptian youth. Unable to afford complementary private lessons, they are less likely to succeed in school. Egyptian schools are also overcrowded and cannot even serve all eligible Egyptian children and youth.
- 50 percent of children interviewed by the Refugee Youth Project reported experiencing difficulties due to the long distances between their home and school. This is a particular problem for students from certain refugee communities who attend private schools and must commute long distances (whereas most Egyptians students are able to walk to school) as many refugees⁵³ are not permitted to register at local Egyptian schools.⁵⁴

Nonformal education

Language is a barrier for many refugee youth (especially from the Oromo, Eritrean and Somali communities).

Language classes, primarily for English and Arabic, are

sought by many; however, the number and availability of classes and the times when classes are offered are limited. In order to access vocational training, participants are required to speak Arabic. The language classes currently offered are at St. Andrews, the Student Action for Refugees (STAR) program at American University in Cairo (AUC) and on an ad hoc basis at several of the refugee CBOs. More effort needs to be made and supported to offer sustained, better quality language classes as this is a key barrier for many of the refugees in accessing services, feeling secure and being able to live in a more dignified manner in Cairo. Registration for classes tends to only be of one-day duration and, because of the high demand, the times of registration may only be advertised in a limited manner and a day before.⁵⁵ More classes would eliminate the need of keeping information like this “quasi-secret.”

Good Practice

Student Action for Refugees (STAR). Established by students, STAR offers refugees classes in both English and Arabic. Classes are at different times of the days, including evening classes. Refugee students are taught by visiting foreign students and by Egyptian students. The curriculum is designed with rigorous standards and incorporates different teaching methods. Students graduate through levels and some are in classes for two years based on their level. There are entrance exams to place students. STAR is the language program of choice for most refugee youth. Despite the fact that STAR takes around 680-700 students a year, and graduates around 50 a year from its program (which was interrupted by the revolution), the demand is still larger than STAR can meet at its current capacity.⁵⁶

Vocational training

Vocational training is needed and many youth interviewed requested access to this service; however, the availability, quality, timing and duration of vocational training needs to be improved. Training is currently offered through Caritas, which subgrants to 17 institutions across Cairo; however, only one institute was rated as effective by the people WRC spoke to. Don Bosco is the preferred training institute for Egyptian as



A refugee youth learns welding, a popular training option for work in the informal economy, at Don Bosco's Vocational Training Center. Photo courtesy of Don Bosco.

well as refugee youth. The language of instruction is Arabic, which limits access, as does the limited number of classes. In order to keep the quality of the trainings at a high standard, there is a limit to the number of students in each class. Another training institute is run by the American Chamber of Commerce and currently only services Egyptian youth in both English and Arabic, although refugee youth access could be negotiated. There are also possibilities through the American Chamber of Commerce Foundation and their Corporate Social Responsibility department to look into trainings and regional support around work-readiness, placement and ideas on which skills are in demand in the markets. The American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt, Cairo, also offers online training courses,⁵⁷ which can be a viable alternative to explore with refugee youth.

Transparency

Information sharing is confusing and often not transparent. This has been an ongoing problem specifically on the part of UNHCR.⁵⁹ Protests outside the UNHCR office are commonplace. There have been promising and increasing efforts to share information in a much more transparent manner, such as community outreach by PSTIC and AMERA, regular UNHCR and refugee meeting and the printing in 2011 of a Handbook on Information for Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Egypt. More, however, needs to be done for an urban environment where news travels quickly but often inaccurately. Adding to the complications are the varying rights that are afforded to different groups and the resulting confusion this causes, not just among the refugees but also among the service providers. This causes mistrust, which WRC often

Good Practice

Don Bosco holds an annual meeting with a network of government ministries and approximately 170 private companies. This meeting informs their plans on expansion, which courses to offer, and on how to be more effective at job placement. An existing network such as this is an excellent entry point for discussions on how refugee youth can be included within the workforce and which skills would be useful.⁵⁸

heard about from refugees. It is confusing to know who is eligible for which services and there is no one place from which to receive accurate information.

This conclusion was shared by other researchers as well.⁶⁰ The assessment team encountered confusion on who was eligible for vocational training and who was not. Refugees, community outreach workers and service providers that WRC spoke to also gave different answers. This is a key gap and constraint within the refugee situation in Cairo and more needs to be done to address this.

Using new technologies and social media in an urban setting, especially when dealing with youth, can be an effective means of relaying accurate, transparent information and more should be done to incorporate different modes of communication and outreach.

Good practice: CRS uses mass SMS communication in order to conduct outreach on a larger scale. Anecdotal evidence points to practically everyone owning a mobile phone and therefore communicating in this manner about payments, registration and education grants has been an excellent method for CRS to ensure beneficiaries are informed of the process. Texts currently go out in English or Arabic; however, transliterated texts are also an option that should be considered.

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Key factors to finding ways to make money

When WRC asked youth who were employed to list the reasons for their success, overwhelmingly they said that being flexible and adaptable to the environment was key to be able to find employment. Youth reported that social networks and “who you know” were equally important. There are limited job placement opportunities that are taking place on an ad hoc basis and only within some communities. South Sudanese have good connections with employers that hire drivers, gardeners and other such work and Eritreans have a good network for domestic work. It is a word of mouth system rather than something more standardized or regulated.

Additionally, factors that contribute to work readiness,⁶² such as being on time, being patient, knowing how to talk to people, being polite and a willingness to learn were all listed as key to retaining employment. A lessons learned report published in May 2012 by EQUIP3 looked at youth programs in over 26 developing countries and found work readiness training was key in livelihood and employment programs. It was listed as the most valuable program component by youth, their families and employers.⁶³ These soft skills are needed in order for youth to be prepared for the work place and in order for them to keep the jobs that are available to them’.

Promising Practice: Using the social network

A PSTIC refugee psychosocial worker does job placement for South Sudanese refugees who are connected to the church and his community. Interested employers call the church (he does not initiate—only responds to requests). They want refugees because they believe they are honest, hard workers and are more respectful than Egyptians—especially the Sudanese and Ethiopians. He has not had any complaints of abuse, although some of those who live with the families complain about long hours. He negotiates with employers and employees—working hours and wages—and sometimes accompanies the refugees to their work sites. He checks in with employees and employers by phone—monthly if the refugee is one of his PSTIC clients. Agreements—generally 8–9 hours per day, 6 days per week—earn 1,200–1,400 Egyptian pounds per month for those who are not live in; 2,500 pounds per month maximum for those who live in, although employers try to pay the Sudanese a bit less. The employers are Egyptians and some foreigners—foreigners pay up to 150 pounds per day. He has placed 108 refugees as babysitters, tutors, domestic workers and security guards and all are still working. He places refugee students during vacation periods for shorter-term clean-up projects.⁶⁴ Strengthening and building on practices such as this could both expand refugees' employment opportunities and ensure that those opportunities are safe.

Protection space

The protection space in Cairo has contracted rather than expanded over the last few years, regardless of the emphasis on protection in the 2009 revision of urban refugee policy.⁶⁵ In terms of livelihoods, this has been because much of the work that refugees engage in is in the informal economy and unregulated. Stories of domestic workers who have been either sexually abused, raped, harassed by employees, work long hours for

Preserving the Protection Space

When refugees take up residence in an urban area, whether or not this is approved by the authorities, UNHCR's primary objective will be to preserve and expand the amount of protection space available to them and to the humanitarian organizations that are providing such refugees with access to protection, solutions and assistance. (UNHCR Urban refugee Policy 2009: Section 4.)

little pay or those that travel great distances in order to work are commonplace. In addition to this, certain communities, such as the Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali, specifically stated they did not feel safe at all outside of their homes. Xenophobia is common and discriminatory remarks are a regular occurrence. Those who were trafficking victims and those who suffered persecution back home have heightened feelings of being unsafe. They continue to feel “hunted” by smugglers or, especially in the case of Eritrean and Oromo Ethiopian youth, from the governments they left behind.⁶⁶

If I get away from this country, I will feel safe.

– Eritrean female, 18 years old, victim of trafficking. In Cairo less than six months.⁶⁷

The UNHCR urban policy seeks to expand protection space for refugees. Local Egyptian NGOs are working to create safer livelihoods by attempting to standardize and therefore regulate some livelihood options within the informal economy and therefore improve protection. The benefits of this work must extend to refugees as well.

Promising Practice

Al Shehab Foundation, a local Egyptian NGO, is working to regulate the informal market of domestic workers. They are working to standardize job descriptions on eight categories of domestic work and provide training and certification in the hopes of addressing regulation in the treatment of domestic workers. They recognize they have a gap in understanding migrants and refugees when assessing domestic work in Cairo but want to work towards rectifying this gap and perhaps look at providing some protection to refugee workers. At the minimum, an enabling environment and change in attitude of employers will expand the protection space in this sector.

Articles 106 and 107 of the UNHCR urban refugee policy of 2009 state that: UNHCR's expectations about the potential for self-reliance amongst urban refugees will be realistic. People who, for example, have no opportunity to establishing livelihoods, who are subjected to legal, social, economic and racial discrimination, who have limited access to public services and few systems of social support, cannot realistically be expected to become self-reliant in a short period of time.

The Office will thus make a clear distinction between self-reliance and a refugee's ability to survive without assistance. Unassisted refugees cannot be regarded as self-reliant if they are living in abject poverty, or if they are obliged to survive by means of illicit or degrading activities.⁶⁸

Recommendations

The Cairo urban refugee context calls for a more realistic approach to livelihoods and protection. The perceived, as well as the structural, obstacles to the right to work mean there are very limited opportunities for employment and jobs in a traditional sense, or at least will be in the near term. A youth-centric approach could be a more effective way of providing services to this disenfranchised and marginalized population. This includes not just the means to earn an income but also access to and completion of education, both formal and nonformal. It also includes programs that build youths' work readiness, leadership and confidence, and provide opportunities for mentorship and peer-to-peer support. A combination of using both humanitarian and developmental approaches should be used, alongside identifying Egyptian services that are relevant to refugees in order to stop creating a parallel service provision system.

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as self-reliant if they are living in abject poverty, or if they are obliged to survive by means of illicit or degrading activities.

Donors

- **The change and continued transitions within the new government in Egypt may create openings and opportunities for the expansion of refugee rights. Donor governments should monitor and capitalize on these opportunities through their diplomatic efforts.** As requisite positions are filled within the government of Egypt, advocacy might influence thinking, planning and future approaches. These diplomatic efforts should focus on the right to work, the right to education and equal treatment for refugees of all nationalities.
- **Funding for livelihoods projects must take into account that it is not the most vulnerable that are prepositioned to start meaningful livelihood activities.** Donor funding should look at supporting graduated models where basic needs can be met over a period of time while livelihood strategies are initiated. This ensures social protection and creates conditions

where livelihoods projects can have a sustainable impact. Additionally, there should be a pool of funding that supports livelihoods for youth who already have the means and capacities to start generating income.

UNHCR

- **Longer-term solutions that involve advocacy with the government of Egypt must be coupled with short-term solutions focused on supporting youth with education support and livelihood-specific programming.**
- **A working definition of livelihoods programming should be established that reflects realistic expectations of which livelihood activities are reasonable and how these can be supported within the context of Cairo.** These should then be implemented by understanding the livelihood and wealth group profiles of each refugee community in order to target resources more effectively.⁴
- **Implementing partners should be re-evaluated for the services they are able to provide and partnership agreements should be expanded to those serving Egyptian youth.**
- **Implementing partners providing livelihood or income generating services must be trained on the UNHCR urban livelihood guidelines** in order to strengthen program understanding, design, implementation and impact.
- **Approaches to and funding of vocational training programs should be re-assessed.** Current approaches that focus on low costs, short-term programs of mediocre quality result in larger numbers trained but without the competency levels to enter the workforce. It would be preferable to provide quality training that leads to jobs for 25 youth than to stretch the funding to provide poor quality training to 250 youth that does not lead to employment.
- **Build the capacity of a refugee or Egyptian CBO/ NGO, or several, to be a one-stop shop on refer-**

als. The presence of numerous refugee CBOs is unique and they should be utilized as a source of information, services and social protection for their respective communities.

Good Practice

PSTIC trains and employs refugees as psycho-social workers (PSWs). AMERA has community outreach workers. Though their job descriptions may differ, both groups often serve as front line informants for refugees' questions and inquiries and have become trusted members of their communities. This is excellent practice to counter the mistrust toward service providers and UNHCR. There should be many more community outreach resources because face-to-face communication is important. The PSWs and community outreach workers are able to serve as a referral source, help within the community and serve as role models to youth. Additionally, these are jobs that refugees are best placed to fill and it is another avenue for youth to earn income and be involved in community life.

Service providers

- **Classes (vocational training, English, Arabic) should be held during evening hours.** There is an imbalance between learning and earning potential for youth and many asked for evening classes. This has been done in the past at refugee CBOs but with varying success (usually because of quality and consistency); however, it should still be encouraged and if possible supported with funding.
- **Active engagement with vocational providers that are trusted to provide quality service,** such as Don Bosco or the American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt, Cairo, should be sought out in order to tap into their existing networks within the private sector. Additionally, meetings should be set up with the American Chamber of Commerce Foundation, online training department and Corporate Social Responsibility de-

partments, in order to explore potential opportunities.⁶⁹

- **A limited number of service providers support direct job placement projects that place refugees in the informal sector.** Most of these efforts, however, focus on training and placing domestic workers in Egyptian households—a livelihood option fraught with protection risks. Service providers should identify and expand placement options to other markets within the informal sector, for example, in the factories in the Sixth of October neighborhood, as security guards, as drivers. These occupations are currently being accessed by refugees. Service providers should continually identify new opportunities that may be safer and pay more equitable wages. Additionally, research should be conducted on emerging markets such as information and communications technology (ICT), tourism, pharmaceuticals, steel manufacturing, agribusiness and renewable energy.⁷⁰ There will be opportunities in these areas within Egypt where refugee youth can be incorporated.
- **Connect/partner with local Egyptian NGOs.** Resources are limited and the issues facing all youth in Cairo are similar. Soft programs, such as awareness-raising workshops, youth groups and sports groups, can help to counter discrimination faced by refugee youth.

When we organize people, I can be part of the solution, not be there as a victim anymore.

Fatema Idriss, Director of Tadamon.⁷¹

- **Start an Internet radio/YouTube channel for refugees.** A medium such as this can be utilized for many purposes, including countering mistrust through information sharing and offering alternatives for education. Although steps have been taken for better information sharing, more needs to be done in this area to counter mistrust and misinformation. Communication channels such as this can also act as a motivation for youth to engage in community affairs. Instructional videos on learning a new language or even ra-

dio classes in the evening can reach those who are working or those who cannot travel distances. In addition, new skills can be learned and possible income earned from these endeavors.

Community-based organizations

- **Hold more language, job-readiness, financial literacy and computer classes in the evenings.** Ensure quality and consistency in these efforts in order to sustain participation and impact.
- **Have peer-to-peer networks and group activities for youth.** Youth are hungry for recreational activities that can build essential social networks and social capital.
- **Work readiness is a concept that can be taught at CBOs through workshops or at meetings.** This can be taught by those in the community that have jobs.
- **Have inter-refugee CBO meetings to exchange information, learn from each other, identify common needs and opportunities and support each other.**

Organizations Interviewed

ADEW

American Chamber of Commerce in Egypt, Cairo

Al Shehab Foundation

Africa and Middle East Refugee Assistance (AMERA)

Caritas

Catholic Relief Services (CRS)

CCIP

Center for Migration and Refugee Studies, American University of Cairo

Don Bosco Training Institute

International Labour Organization (ILO)

Psycho Social Training Institute-Cairo (PSTIC)

All Saints Cathedral (affiliated with Refuge Egypt)

Refugee Youth Project

Students Take Action for Refugees (STAR)

St. Andrews

Tadamon

Feinstein Institute

UNHCR

U.S. Embassy

Notes

¹ See: <http://www.irinnews.org/printreport.aspx?reportid=94294>, Nov. 2011. Last accessed Oct. 1, 2012.

² Sudanese, under the Four Freedoms Agreement of 2004, are afforded special status, which allows them exemptions from visa requirements and grants reciprocal rights of residence, work, movement and ownership of property. However, in practice, many Sudanese still register with UNHCR. With registration as an asylum seeker, they then are no longer Sudanese citizens, which means they no longer come under the Four Freedoms Act.

³ A Sudanese curriculum is taught in many of the refugee schools, such as St. Andrews, which includes certification that is applicable in Sudan; however, the quality and standard of this is also low and there are questions on the continuation of this practice from 2013 onwards. Interview with St. Andrews, Sept. 3, 2012.

⁴ Please see UNHCR livelihood guidelines for ways in which to operationalize this recommendation. <http://www.unhcr.org/4fbdf17c9.html>.

⁵ The Women's Refugee Commission has developed a manual on vocational training providers assessing the markets and youth assessing vocational training providers for the best fits. This allows vocational training institutes to better their services and youth are more engaged with the process of learning a new trade and have ownership of their own process. The tool can be found at: <http://wrc.ms/Phq9XU>.

⁶ The study sample was marked at 15-24 for youth; however, depending on which community WRC spoke with, the marker of "youth" was different. Notable differences in the Somali and Ethiopian communities where "youth" were also classified as those in their early 30s.

⁷ WRC met only with the Oromo community from Ethiopia. Throughout the report, we use Oromo to differentiate from Amharic-speaking Ethiopian communities. The Oromo community was adamant on being seen as Oromo rather than Ethiopian. For more on the Oromo please see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oromo_people. Last accessed Oct. 8th, 2012.

⁸ UNHCR Urban Refugee Policy 2009.

⁹ See: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e486356.html>. Last accessed Sept. 28th, 2012.

¹⁰ See note 2.

¹¹ K. Jacobsen, M. Ayoub and A. Johnson. (2012) Remittances to Transit Countries: The impact on Sudanese refugee livelihoods in Cairo. The Center for Migration and Refugee Studies in collaboration with Feinstein International Center.

¹² Interview with an Eritrean female youth. Sept 12, 2012.

- ¹³ E. Gozdzia, A. Walter and A. Taylor (2012). Draft report: *Urban refugees in Cairo*. Georgetown University. This report focuses on Iraqi refugees in Cairo and states that "Iraqis complained of being defrauded by Egyptian business partners who pledged to open small businesses with Iraqis only to disappear with the Iraqis' investment funds."
- ¹⁴ K. Jacobsen, M. Ayoub and A. Johnson. (2012) *Remittances to Transit Countries: The impact on Sudanese refugee livelihoods in Cairo*. The Center for Migration and Refugee Studies in collaboration with Feinstein International Center.
- ¹⁵ As with all laws related to refugees, different nationalities are afforded different rights. In terms of education, bilateral agreements with countries such as Libya, Sudan and Jordan give children of these countries the right to be enrolled in Egyptian school regardless of their residency status.
- ¹⁶ E-mail communication between AMERA staff and Zehra Rizvi, Oct. 14, 2012.
- ¹⁷ Refugee Youth Project main findings in email communication with Zehra Rizvi, Sept. 19, 2012.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Interview with Al Shehab Foundation, Sept. 2, 2012.
- ²⁰ No one is sure what the number and status of those with closed files is. In some cases they are assisted with appeals and files are reopened; however, it is estimated that there are a significant number of people with closed files in Cairo and they are unable to access services and are, in essence, truly invisible.
- ²¹ Caritas database. It is linked to the UNHCR database and the numbers were valid on Sept. 5, 2012.
- ²² See: <http://www.irinnews.org/printreport.aspx?reportid=94294>, Nov. 2011.
- ²³ E. Gozdzia, A. Walter and A. Taylor (2012). Draft report: *Urban refugees in Cairo*. Georgetown University.
- ²⁴ Interview by Zehra Rizvi, Women's Refugee Commission, Sept. 3, 2012.
- ²⁵ T. Haq and D. Schmidt (2011). *Labour Market Developments and Policies in Egypt*. International Labor Organization.
- ²⁶ Interview with Dr. Baron, PSTIC. Sept. 12, 2012.
- ²⁷ Interview by Zehra Rizvi, Women's Refugee Commission, Sept. 8, 2012.
- ²⁸ See: <http://www.irinnews.org/printreport.aspx?reportid=94294> Nov. 2011. Last accessed Oct. 1, 2012.
- ²⁹ Ibid. This came up often in the individual interviews with refugee youth females.
- ³⁰ N. Forcier (2009). *Divided at the Margins: A Study of Youth Southern Sudanese Refugee men in Cairo, Egypt*. Center for Migrations and Refugee Studies. American University of Cairo.
- ³¹ Phone interview with Father Daniel of All Saints Cathedral. Sept. 17, 2012.
- ³² We have used five years as an indicative number of living in a protracted refugee state as per UNHCR Urban Policy 2009. Many refugees have been living in protracted states of 7 to 12 years in Cairo.
- ³³ Confirmed by findings in: K. Jacobsen, M. Ayoub and A. Johnson. (2012) *Remittances to Transit Countries: The impact on Sudanese refugee livelihoods in Cairo*. The Center for Migration and Refugee Studies in collaboration with Feinstein International Center.
- ³⁴ <http://www.carim.org/index.php?callContent=401&callText=1262>.
- ³⁵ Confirmed by findings in E. Gozdzia, A. Walter and A. Taylor (2012). Draft report: *Urban refugees in Cairo*. Georgetown University.
- ³⁶ M. Al Sharmani. (2007). *Contemporary Migration and Transnational Families: The Case of Somali Diaspora(s)*. The Forced Migration & Refugee Studies Program. American University in Cairo, Egypt.
- ³⁷ See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Azhar_University. Last accessed Oct. 5, 2012.
- ³⁸ Information gathered from AMERA staff in email communication to Zehra Rizvi, Oct. 12, 2012.
- ³⁹ Interview with Dr. Nancy Baron, Sept. 12, 2012.
- ⁴⁰ We heard that an Iraqi refugee CBO may have just started in Nasr City connected to the embassy; however, no service providers and refugees we spoke to were aware of this.
- ⁴¹ E. Gozdzia, A. Walter and A. Taylor (2012). Draft report: *Urban refugees in Cairo*. Georgetown University.
- ⁴² Interview by Zehra Rizvi, Women's Refugee Commission, Sept. 9, 2012.
- ⁴³ Interview by Zehra Rizvi, Women's Refugee Commission, Sept. 10, 2012.
- ⁴⁴ Meeting with UNHCR, Ziad Ayoubi, Livelihoods Officer, and Sarah Atwood, Community Services Officer, Sept. 2, 2012.
- ⁴⁵ Discussion with Ziad Ayoubi, UNHCR. Sept. 17, 2012.
- ⁴⁶ Meeting with Najia Mohamed on Sept. 10, 2012, researcher on following draft report: K. Jacobsen, et al (2012). Draft report. *Refugee Livelihoods in Urban Areas: Identifying Program Opportunities. Desk Review, Stakeholder Mapping and Three Case Studies: Ecuador (Quito), Egypt (Cairo) and Israel (Tel Aviv)*. Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.
- ⁴⁷ UNHCR Urban Guidelines, 2011.
- ⁴⁸ H. Moghaieb. 2009. *Strengthening Livelihood Capacities of*

Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Egypt. Commissioned by UNHCR.

⁴⁹ Interview by Zehra Rizvi, Women's Refugee Commission, Sept. 3, 2012.

⁵⁰ A Sudanese curriculum is taught in many of the refugee schools, such as St. Andrews, which includes certification that is applicable in Sudan; however, the quality and standard of this is also low and there are questions on the continuation of this practice from 2013 onwards. Interview with St. Andrews, Sept. 3, 2012.

⁵¹ CRS also has other education support activities, such as teacher training and buying and printing of text books.

⁵² CRS only pays education grants for full-time education. As such, young people who cannot speak Arabic and cannot join a full-time school are not financially supported in pursuing part-time education options, such as language classes.

⁵³ This is not true for Sudanese refugees/asylum seekers/migrants.

⁵⁴ Please note this study looked at children, which overlap with our target population of youth. The findings match what we heard from our field research.

⁵⁵ This is a practice that we heard about from PSTIC psychosocial workers.

⁵⁶ Interview with STAR Coordinator, Abdul Raouf Ousmane, Sept. 12, 2012.

⁵⁷ See: http://www.amcham.org.eg/education_training/cdc/. Last accessed Sept. 27, 2012.

⁵⁸ Interview with Don Bosco. Sept. 15, 2012.

⁵⁹ At the end of 2004, the Sudanese community in Cairo started a sit-in at the UNHCR offices. The demands were loosely for more attention to their plight. Their 92-day protest came to an abrupt end on December 30, 2004, as thousands of police surrounded the demonstrators and violently rounded them up. At least 27 people were killed, including many young children. UNHCR's relationship with refugees has improved since then, but this remains a source of tension. For more information please refer to the paper by S. Schaffer (2006), *Solace and Security at the Cairo Refugee Demonstration, presented at the panel discussion Sudanese refugee protests in Cairo: Community dynamics and broader implications*. The 4th Annual Forced Migration Postgraduate Student Conference University of East London, March 18-19, 2006.

⁶⁰ N. Danielson. (2012). "Urban refugee protection in Cairo: the role of communication, information and technology." *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Research paper no. 236.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Work readiness is defined as the "soft skills" needed to succeed at work on in a livelihood. This definition is taken from the USAID Equip3 *Lessons Learned: Experiences in Livelihoods Literacy and*

Leadership in Youth Programs in 26 Countries, page 22.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Interview with Sudanese psychosocial worker, Sept. 5, 2102, in Maadi.

⁶⁵ E. Gozdzia, A. Walter and A. Taylor (2012). Draft report: *Urban refugees in Cairo*. Georgetown University.

⁶⁶ Individual interviews with Eritrean and Oromo youth on Sept. 6 and Sept. 9, 2012

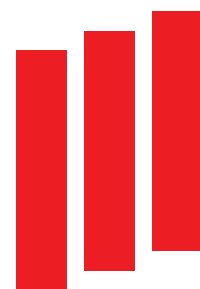
⁶⁷ Interview by Zehra Rizvi, Women's Refugee Commission, Sept. 9, 2012.

⁶⁸ UNHCR Urban Refugee Policy, 2009.

⁶⁹ The Women's Refugee Commission has developed a manual on vocational training providers assessing the markets and youth assessing vocational training providers for the best fits. This allows vocational training institutes to better their services and youth are more engaged with the process of learning a new trade and have ownership of their own process. The tool can be found at: <http://wrc.ms/Phq9XU>.

⁷⁰ List from ILO meeting with Kholoud Al Khalidi, Sept. 12, 2012.

⁷¹ Interview by Zehra Rizvi and Dale Buscher, Women's Refugee Commission, Sept. 4, 2012.



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