



Utrecht University

WHATEVER YOU DID FOR ONE OF THE LEAST OF THESE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF MINE

A study of the Christian NGOs in Cairo assisting the Sudanese refugees and the integration of those refugees in Cairo.

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International Development Studies
Master thesis
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There are a large number of Sudanese refugees in the transit zone that is Cairo with different needs that need to be met. Because of these needs, a number of Christian organisations have set of programs to assist them in some way. The presence of a number of these organisations are documented, but in general little information is available about who they are, why they were started and what they actually do. This study offers an insight into the field of Christian NGOs in Cairo that work with Sudanese refugees and the extent to which the organisations are concerned with the integration of the Sudanese in Cairo. One of the main findings is that information and communication between Sudanese and the organisations and amongst the organisations themselves is lacking. Improving this could increase the capacity of the field, but providing better information about what to expect while in the transit zone will also make the expectations of the Sudanese more realistic and will allow them to consider integration in Cairo as an option. But in the current context of Cairo full integration into the local Egyptian community is practically impossible, and the refugees themselves are not attempting to integrate.

For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me.'

"Then the righteous will answer him, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in, or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you?'

"The King will reply, 'Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me.'

❖ Matthew 25:35-40, New International Version (NIV) Bible

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my parents for hosting me, feeding me and helping me.
Thanks to Shawgi, Bonita and all of my respondents for their time and energy.
Thank you dr. Gery Nijenhuis, for your suggestions, advice and words of confirmation.
Thank you friends and family who have encouraged me.
Thank you Erik for so much else.

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1. Introduction

The world's leaders have been focusing on refugees and how to deal with the different flows of people. The Western world is divided in its response, leaders are selected on the basis of their proposed policies on dealing with the refugees, and different social movements are taking place in different societies. Both small, local movements as well as the politics of country moving to the left or to the right are based on the expectations around refugees. But while the world is focused on mainly Syrian refugees, there are many other (refugee) crises taking place worldwide that have received less attention in recent years. One of those is the crisis in Sudan and South Sudan that has led to displacement of many. A large number of refugees go towards camps within these countries, but many also travel north, to their neighbour Egypt. And while Egypt is relatively safe compared with many places in Sudan and South Sudan, it has a lot of problems of its own.

Egypt has seen a lot of political and economic turmoil over the last decade. Ever since the January 2011 demonstrations against President Mubarak and his police force, the country has been in an unstable situation which has been felt economically in particular (Farouk, 2016). The Egyptian population has been increasingly discontent. In this context, the growing number of refugees in Cairo is seen as less than welcome.

Since the 1983 war in South Sudan and the 1989 coup, Sudanese refugees have seen Egypt as a preferred place of transit, mostly because it is geographically closer to Europe but also because of the large United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) office in Cairo (Grabska, 2006:294). Many Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees travel to Cairo in order to receive a refugee status so they can travel to Europe. But while waiting on the generally slow Refugee Status Determination, they need to survive, find employment and send their children to school, potentially becoming more integrated in Egyptian society. In order to support themselves and their family, many seek out assistance through different Non-Governmental Organisations or Religious Non-Governmental Organisations (RNGOs); organisations that feature at least one or more religious elements. And with the decrease in funding for the UNHCR, and with an increase in refugee population, namely the Syrians, these RNGOs have had to step up, increase their capacity in an attempt to cover some of the gaps left by the UNHCR. And where mosques do not have the same well-established assistance programs as the churches, the Christian RNGOs are much more prominent in the field of assistance to refugees in Egypt (Grabska, 2005).

In the time of the Arab spring, the non-refugee, foreign population decreased as many companies and organisations were sending back their workers. But many of those working at the RNGOs stayed. Though the country is safer than during the Arab Spring, it has over the years become less safe, particularly for Christians. With the Egyptian Coptic Orthodox Church being the oldest denomination within Christianity, their rich history and old buildings have a prominent place in the Egyptian identity (Meinardus, 2003:28). So while a new wave of violence aimed at churches in Egypt as a number of bombing attacks on churches have taken place over the last months and years, and considering the close ties many of the RNGOs have with churches, the organisations are at higher risk than they may have been a decade ago. And yet they continue their work in assisting refugees.

While some large NGOs work in with refugees in Egypt, most of the RNGOs tend to be smaller, more local and are often connected to the churches that are attended by (Sudanese) refugees. Often these are churches that also have a non-refugee international congregation. Their characteristics are different to those of NGOs. Because of this, and the fact that religion plays a large role in the lives of many of the refugees, Muslim, Christian or otherwise, these RNGOs hold a unique position, potentially able to assist in ways that the larger and non-religious organisations cannot. They are more closely connected to the refugee communities and those communities know where to find them. In many cases of Christian organisations in this study, the organisations were started because of the needs of the members of their own congregations. Because of this, the organisations often encounter more needs than they have capacity for, with many organisations responding by expanding their work to offer another service, or just to increase their capacity of the services they already offer. Considering all of the challenges the Sudanese refugees, and the Christian NGOs are facing in a historical, political and religious context, this thesis aims to look at the position of the Christian NGOs in relation to the Sudanese refugees in Egypt by answering the following question.

What role do Christian Non-Governmental Organisations play in the support to and integration of the Sudanese refugees in Egypt?

In order to fully answer this question, a number of sub-questions need to be answered first.

What is the integration position of Sudanese refugees?

What are the characteristics of the support 'field', both formal and informal religious organisations?

What are the main elements of their approaches?

To what extent can we observe differences in approaches between these organisations and how can these differences be explained?

What kind of recommendations can be formulated based on the results of this research?

This thesis aims to analyse the RNGOs that work in the field of refugee assistance in Cairo in the light of the transit situation the Sudanese refugees are in in Egypt. This information is collected from different interviews with employees of RNGOs, while broader information about the field and the Sudanese population in general will be gained from different literature sources. Combining this information with the results of surveys filled in by a number of Sudanese refugees will give insight into how the organisations and the field in general are; how the Sudanese refugees experience the help they are receiving and how this relates to their potential integration in Egypt, a transit context.

The scientific relevance of this research is that while it adds a new case study to the existing literature of refugees, and specifically those in a transit region, it aims to offer new insight

into integration in a transit context – a topic very relevant in today’s political climate. Many places in Northern Africa, for instance, but also Turkey and a number of Eastern European countries are dealing with refugees that see the place they are in merely as a point of transit. The religious context makes the research relevant as well. In a world that is always divided by religious boundaries, the shifting and permeating of those boundaries means that topics like these remain relevant.

Beyond scientific relevance, this study also aim to offer insight that could be used to shape refugee policy. While their aim might be to go to Europe, looking at the level of integration in Egypt, as well as places in other studies, could suggest whether it is interesting for European governments to focus on development for refugees in countries like Egypt, to increase the incentive for them to stay there instead of attempting to travel to Europe, changing the refugee flow while still offering them assistance.

The local and more practical importance of this research is to understand the field in general. There are no records of which organisation is doing what exactly in the field of refugee assistance in Cairo, and in particular what the religious formal and informal refugee assistance is like. Creating a clearer overview of this will allow for recommendations.

The thesis will be structured as follows: before any discussion can take place, a number of terms need to be defined in order to be used. The theoretical framework will give an overview of what terms like ‘refugee’, ‘transit’ and others mean and more importantly, how they will be used. After this, the methodology will be explained, discussed and analysed so that the reader will understand how the results have been obtained. Once the methodology has been discussed, the results of the survey will give an indication of the characteristics of Sudanese refugees whose information will be used to inform the results. The results of the survey will be followed by the mapping and analysis of the different organisations. The results of both will be discussed and precede the conclusion that offers recommendations about the ways in which the organisations could look to improve their work, and suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical Framework

The way a concept is defined informs the way that that concept is treated. The first theory treated is that of the refugee him or herself. What is a refugee and what effect does this definition have on the way that decisions are made? Continuing on, the next theory is that of transit migration. A migrant or refugee comes to a place but does not plan on staying in that place, this place therefore has a transitory character, something which influences the way that the both the refugee and the government dealing with the refugee go see that place and the support necessary for the refugee. Following transit migration is the question of integration. Once a country is seen as a place of transit migration, how do all those involved perceive the potential for integration? The way that refugees look at integration in their host country and community influences the time and effort they invest in integrating. And finally, this chapter looks at RNGOs and how they can be defined, what they do and how their characteristics are to be used in the analysis of the organisations and the field in the chapters that follow. Because definitions of these terms vary, it is important to clarify the way in which this study defines them.

Sudanese refugees in Egypt

The UNHCR uses the following definition: “(a) refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group.”

Though this definition sounds clear cut, in reality, there are many grey areas due to the way in which a person experiences their fear of persecution. The UNHCR can classify a person as being a refugee, but many are not given this status as their fears may not have been ‘well-founded’, according to the UNHCR.

This study uses the term refugee to include more people than only those the UNHCR accepts. This is on the one hand due to the fact that many people who see themselves as refugees may in fact not actually receive a refugee status, whereas others who would be classified as refugees have not gone through the process to claim that status. Most of the Sudanese in Cairo are refugees, and those who are assisted by the different RNGOs see themselves as refugees, regardless of their status. Many of the organisations assisted Sudanese without a UNHCR card, so for the purpose of this research, finding a definitive line between a refugee and a non-refugee is not so important. As Chris Eades, the director at St. Andrew’s Refugees Services put it, “As far as we’re concerned, anyone who leaves their country for fear of safety and persecution is a refugee, even if the UNHCR says or not. UNHCR differentiates between people who think they are refugees and people who they have officially named a refugee. We do not make this arbitrary distinction. And that is something very deliberate. We try not to turn anyone away and we do not deny help to people because of their immigration status.”¹

¹ Interview with Chris Eades.

One very important thing to note about refugees is that, like all other human beings, they are much more than the label they have taken for themselves or have been given. The people that are spoken about in this study have a number of different tribal backgrounds, speak different languages, have different beliefs and have many other different identifying characteristics. The definition of a refugee is important, as it makes it easier to study the different people, but they are by no means a homogenous group.

While having a refugee status means that a person cannot be returned to their country of origin, denying a refugee status makes a person much more vulnerable and reduces their rights to a point where if they are not able to receive a legal residence visa for Egypt, they may be arrested, detained and deported at any time. The likelihood of deportations are, however, quite slim, unless the government sees need to do so. Being arrested and detained happens more commonly. Being in Egypt illegally means that they have no legal right to a job and their children aren't eligible for Egyptian education, they cannot legally claim healthcare or judicial assistance. These are the refugees who have been denied a refugee status, have not been given a visa and have not left Egypt for one of many possible reasons (Grabska, 2005:33-34). The result of this is that they are left to their own devices and many seek the help of different organisations in order to provide for their families.

The refugees in Cairo wait for their refugee status in order to be able to travel to other destination, and not to remain there. This is because Egypt is not a country of destination for most refugees, but rather a temporary point of transit for those wanting to travel to Europe and other developed countries.

Transit migration in the context of refugees in Egypt

Transit migration is defined by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe as 'migration in one country with the intention of seeking the possibility to emigrate to another country as the country of final destination, by means that are partially, if not full, illegal' (Papadopoulou, 2005, 2). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines transit migration as "refugees awaiting resettlement" (2005, 2). Both definitions see transit migration in political terms, generally as a stop on the way to the global North for refugees and irregular migrants and not just a neutral term referring to all migrants in general.

According to Roman (2006) the problem with these definitions is that they suggests that a migrant has planned where they are going to go. Refugees flee their country without too much planning and their transit is not always really thought about. Furthermore, in the case of most of the refugees in Cairo, the transit can take many years. Roman refers to an indeterminate habitation of legal or illegal migrants in a country that "may or may not develop into further emigration (...) transit migration does not always lead to further emigration but can become permanent settlement" (2006, 2). We see this happening with many of the refugees in Cairo, who were initially planning on staying in Egypt for a short duration in order to be acknowledged by the UNHCR and be allowed to travel to the country of their final destination. So while those arriving in Egypt would generally consider themselves in transit, they are quite sedentary.

According to Roman, the main reasons for transit migration are, briefly put, the inadequate ability to meet a migrant's necessities like a place to live, a form of employment and safety for the refugees. Besides this, if a country has many restrictive policies it also discourages migrants to stay there indefinitely. In other words – if a country is beneficial to live in, they would be more likely to want to stay. In the case of Egypt, the question is whether or not the Sudanese are finding reasons to want to stay. Perhaps the hope of a better future, among many other things is reason enough for most to attempt to travel on, legally or otherwise.

Schapendonk and Steel (2014) look more closely at the impact of the transit stage that a migrant may find themselves in. According to them, migrants initially go through a transit phase which is followed by settling somewhere else. They speak of mobility and immobility; the different phases in between leaving their place of origin and finally settling in a place they wish to settle in. In between there are times of mobility; going from one place to the next, and immobility; being stuck in a place with the intention of moving on as soon as possible. The fact that someone is in transit does not mean that they are constantly moving, it means that they are not in the place that they wish to end up in. Many Sudanese in Egypt are in a state of immobility, as they wait on their status and invitation from a developed country that will offer them mobility to travel there. Their immobility also takes place on a social level. They are unable to mobilise themselves easily in the job market due to the constraint laid on them by Egyptian society. This may mean that their financial resources and means are also more limited.

The result of all of this is that spread over the main cities of Egypt, and in Cairo in particular, there are slums full of Sudanese and other refugees who are not investing in a future in Egypt, but living in a way that it would be easier to pick up everything they own and leave if necessary. They survive and wait on the results from the UNHCR. And while they are waiting, different forms of integration may be taking place.

Integration of Sudanese refugees

Integration in a community is often seen as essential for the wellbeing of a person and it has a great impact on the choices they make. Because of this, it is extremely relevant to understand what the refugees are doing in Cairo and what their needs are and to what extent they are integrating.

Barbara Harrell-Bond describes refugee integration as a “situation in which host and refugee communities are able to coexist, sharing the same resource – both economic and social – with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community” (Harrell-Bond 1986:7). Sagar (1995) writes that the definition of integration is very dependent on the ‘cultural understandings of nation and nationhood’ (106). Whilst there are general ideas of what integration is and isn't, the problem of the specific definition leads to problems of measuring integration. How does one measure the level of integration of a person or a group? Furthermore, when is integration successful or a failure? Here we will look at the ways in which integration can be used as a means of seeing how connected a person is to the country they are living in.

According to Bijl (2008) there are three key areas in which integration should be measured. The first is the labour market position; employment, the second is education and the third is basic knowledge about the society they are living in, including language proficiency. The assumption is that if a person has a knowledge of the local language and its society, for example, they are part of the local education system or they are successfully employed, they have a better opportunity for successful integration in the country they are in for the long-run. These key areas are important as they show whether or not the refugee is involved in something locally through their work. Having a job may give stability to his or her life and in particular to the family unit, as they are more likely to afford the things they need or want. The more job security a person has, the more likely they are to want to stay in the place where they work. The same goes for whether or not a person enjoys their work. Many people do not have the luxury of having work they enjoy, if they, indeed, have work at all. Many of the refugees are parents, and so for them education is very important. Questions should be raised around whether or not a child goes to school, whether the school is Sudanese or refugee only or whether it also has children from different countries, and Egypt in particular. If a child is integrating into Egyptian society, the parents are more likely to as well. And finally, if the refugee is able to understand the local culture and language, they can maneuver within it more easily. One thing that Bijl seems to be missing is the fact that integration is a two-way initiative. In order for a person or group to integrate, they need to be accepted by the host society. Kunz (1981) who will be discussed further down does see the effect of 'host-related factors'.

Besides integration with their host community: the Egyptians in the neighbourhoods the refugees live in, we can also speak of integration within the Sudanese community itself. One study about migrants in London was that "(c)ommunities tended to keep within their comfort zones in terms of culture, religion and language and many participants seemed happy simply to feel safe" (Daley, 2007:166). Furthermore, this study also found that "Some strong prejudices were held about people from different backgrounds, related to lack of significant contact and accurate information and to negative media images" (2007:166). Another source explained that "While many defined their community as a community organisation based around ethnicity, generally a MRCO², others saw community as being based around faith" (Phillimore, 2011:588). So many refugee communities are focused internally, on their own ethnic group.

Integration is most certainly not guaranteed. In the case of the Sudanese in Cairo it is quite a delicate situation that may not lead to easy integration. According to Grabska (2005), the process of integration will lead to one of four outcomes: adaptation, assimilation, separation or marginalization. The difference in outcome of attempted integration depends on a number of different things. Adaptation and assimilation are forms of successful integration that leads the refugees to become more part of their host society, whereas separation and marginalization are the opposite. The expected outcome of the study is that the process of integration, insofar that is taking place, will more likely lead to the marginalization of the Sudanese refugees rather than the adaptation or assimilation into the Egyptian society.

² Migrant and refugee community organisation

Grabska (2005) also speaks about self-marginalisation. According to her, a part of the problem of marginalization and continued lack of integration comes from the 'attitudes and desires of the refugees themselves' who do not want to integrate when they believe that they will be able to leave Egypt sooner rather than later (2005:75). This attitude means that the chances they have at integration are not being taken at all by a number of refugees. "They see Cairo as a long painful bus stop or a waiting room they have to cope with until they reach their desired destination. Purposively, they do not build strong relations with the host community as they perceive it as a waste of time" (2005:75).

The differences between the results of the integration process are caused by what Kunz (1981) calls 'host-related factors', which can be subdivided into three variables: social attitudes of the host society, so whether or not they accept diversity and expect the refugees to assimilate or not, cultural compatibility between the host society and the refugees and population policies of the government towards the refugees. Looking at these different variables can show whether or not an individual refugee or the refugee community as a whole is likely to integrate in their host country.

The integration of the Sudanese refugees is dependent on many different factors. Some of these factors are internal and dependent on their own personal context, whereas others may be more difficult to control from a possibly marginalized position. This is where the role of the Religious Non-Governmental Organisation become visible. Whether it is their aim or not, the RNGOs affect the potential for integration of the refugees they work with.

Religious Non-Governmental Organisations in Egypt

This study looks at a number of different Christian organisations that each work with refugees in different ways and practice their religion in different ways as well.

RNGOs are described as organisations that have one or more of the following characteristics: 'affiliation with a religious body; a mission statement with explicit reference to religious values; financial support from religious sources; and/or a governance structure where selection of board members or staff is based on religious beliefs or affiliation and/or decision-making processes based on religious values.' (Ferris, 2005:312). Based on characteristics like these, organisations can be seen as more or less religious.

Until secular organisations started appearing over the last centuries in the West, charity was a responsibility of the religious orders and churches, with a part of their 'ministry' devoted to the 'needy', and often with a Sunday collection designated for paying for this work. This work typically included 'charity for the poor, medical care for the sick, education for children and hospitality to strangers.' (Ferris, 313) This is why many schools and hospitals today still carry their faith-based names. In eastern churches, like the Coptic orthodox churches in Egypt, this is no different. Christianity is based on believing in the life, work and death of Jesus Christ. A large part of the teaching done by Jesus Christ in the Bible is about helping the poor and those in need, and this is often one of the reasons for a Christian organisation to be set up; the need to follow the teachings of their faith and help those who need it. The Bible quote at the beginning of this paper essentially explains why many Christians believe they have a duty to assist those who need assistance.

When the time came that Christian missionaries were sent across the world, they often went to do the same, starting schools and hospitals in developing countries, as well as bringing their Christian message and Bibles with them. Through time however, there has been a movement from having those organisations run by western missionaries to leaving more work in the capable hands of the local population. (Ferris, 2005:312)

The field of international development has changed over many years and with it, the approaches and methods used. With increasing secularization in the West, development is seen as a secular activity, with many who consider religion to have no place in it while others see the unique social position RINGOs have in the development field (The Guardian, 2015). Clarke (2007) writes that he wants to be rid of the 'benign' view of religious charity and aid and wants to establish the image of religious development as being a challenging and controversial concept within development discourse and policy.

While the missionaries played an unfortunate role in the colonial history of many countries and regions, they have also had a lasting impact on development and humanitarian aid, and on the involvement of churches in social services throughout the world. And while most organisations now make a clear division between aid and evangelisation, some still do not. (Ferris, 2005:312) But the relationship between Muslims and the Christian organisations are not so contentious, as for Muslims it is more logical for Christians to provide assistance than for secular organisations to do so, as it is only religious people who, according to many, do this work that requires morals and charity. (2005)

This is one main criticism of RINGOs: they consider their work a way of sharing their religion with the people they are helping, proselytising with the hope of conversion. Though this is often considered inappropriate as a part of development, it is a logical ideal when one is wholly convinced of their 'Truth' and believes that this 'Truth' should be shared. But the fact that most large religions are partly focused on helping the 'poor and needy' and that many people, both receiving and giving aid, are religious in some way, means that this aspect of development and humanitarian aid is important to the way that policies and discourses are formed. It is often the recipients of aid that are deeply religious, seeking more than just aid for their physical and social needs, they are looking for fulfillment of their spiritual needs as well. RINGOs have, to varying degrees, combined these elements. For example, some may consider themselves a development organisation whilst others see themselves as a Christian charity. Clarke has concluded that the development field is starting to look at more holistic development, not only servicing basic humanitarian needs (Clarke, 2007). It is about the well-being, and religion plays a large role in that most of the developing world is in some way religious and themselves believe that a person needs more than just physical assistance. With this in mind, some may consider RINGOs to be better suited at offering assistance to refugees than secular organisations.

But while the UNCHR is only able to offer its services to refugees who have not been rejected in the Refugee Status Determination process, the RINGOs are able to assist those who have been rejected. (Grabska, 2006) By receiving services from these organisations, and by being registered there, they have a stronger safety net. (Ferris, 2005) The RINGOs are also often connected to churches with refugee congregations. They have a much closer link to the communities than the non-religious organisations have (Vidal, 1999).

One study comparing religious and secular NGOs that work with the homeless in Houston, Texas, found that the only difference between the religious NGO and the secular NGO was that the religious NGO had more religious characteristics, but that it was more of an addition to the work they did, instead of being essential and decisive to the organisation (Ebaugh et. al, 2003).

Though there are many different types of categories created for analyzing RNGOs, this study will focus on three. They are categories that are created in order to categorize the organisations in the most logical way. The first category is that of the International Christian Organisation; large organisations that have branches in other countries besides Egypt. The second category is that of the Church-based organisation – the organisations that are closely linked to a specific church in Egypt, where the church itself saw a need and set up an organisation to fulfill that need. Finally, the Church-affiliated organisations are those which were not set up by a church itself and for which they are not responsible, but rather by members of that church, so the connection is there but is not legally binding.

Framework for the Analysis of Religious NGO's

In order to methodically look at the RNGOs, we need a framework.

Figure 1: Julia Berger's Framework for the Analysis of Religious NGO's

Dimensions			
Religious	Organizational	Strategic	Service
Orientation	Representation	Motivation	Orientation
Bahai	Religious		Education
Buddhist	Geographic	Mission	Relief
Christian	Organizational	General	Social Service
Hindu	Political	Specialized	Salvation
Jain	Combination		Mobilization of opinion
Jewish		Process	
Multi-Religious	Geographic Range	Moral suasion	Geographic Range
Spiritual	Local	Dialogue	Local
	Regional	Information	Regional
Pervasiveness	National	Modelling	National
Organizational identity	Multi-national	Advocacy	Multi-national
Membership		Monitoring	
Mission/ Services	Structure	Spiritual guidance	Beneficiaries
Decision-Making	Unitary corporate		Members
Processes	Federation		Non-Members
	Confederation		Combination
	Financing		
	Membership dues		
	Donations		
	Foundation grants		
	Government		

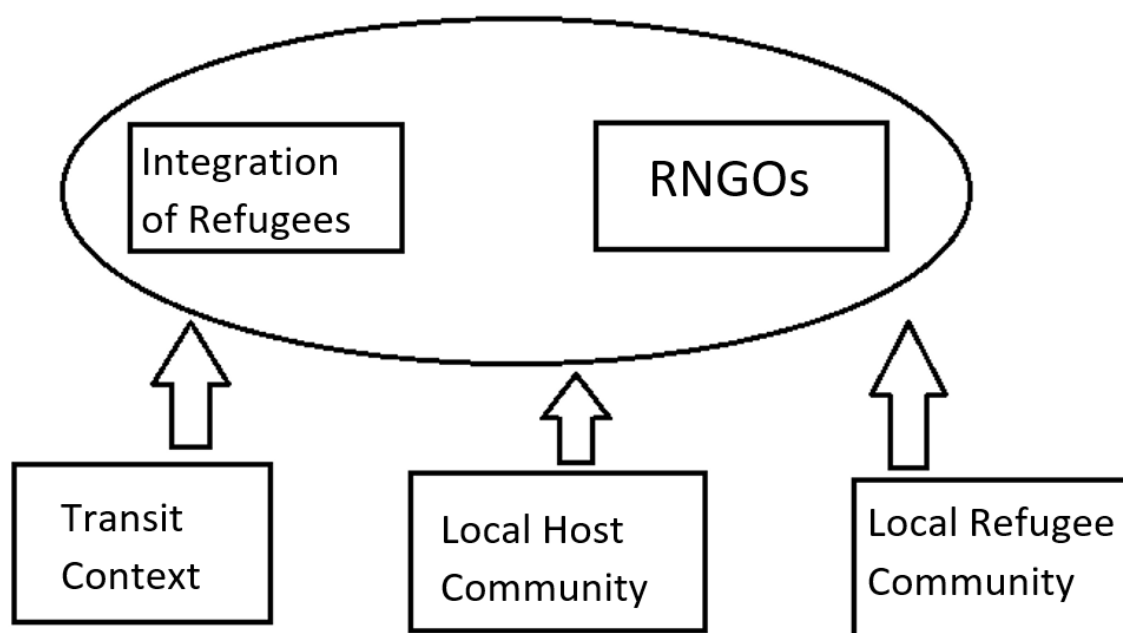
Julia Berger (2003) analyses RNGOs in light of four overarching dimensions. These dimensions are 1) religious, 2) organizational, 3) strategic, and 4) service. In Figure 1 we see how these dimensions are subdivided into a broad range of characteristics. This framework will be used to map the RNGOs and to discuss the differences and similarities between them further on in the text. To what extent are they religious? And in which ways? Not all of the

framework will be used, as this study is focused on Christian development NGOs and this framework is broader, both in religious characteristics as well as in purpose. This will limit the categories used for the analysis a bit.

This structural approach to RNGOs makes analysis and consequently the comparison much easier. The characteristics and dimensions that the framework offers differ from other NGO frameworks in that it acknowledges that religion can play a big role in the work of RNGOs and that within the scope of these organisations, there is a scale of different ways in which the religion is given shape. Some organisations have religious origins but their organisation in Egypt are not considered religious, even by their own staff. Other organisations were started locally and focus on religion almost as much as development or charity. For other the geographic location is dependent on where the church building itself is, and uses the property around it. Some only cater to people of their same religion while others do not allow any proselytizing on the property of the organisation.

These different concepts; refugees, transit migration, integration and RNGOs form a framework in which this study can be placed. The concepts all related to each other in different ways. The RNGOs have a role in the wellbeing of the refugees, the extent to which the refugee is able to integrate and the way in which this integration can affect the transit state in which the refugees are in. Furthermore, the state of transit affects to extent to which a refugee might integrate and the extent in which they make use of parts of the services offered by the RNGOs. For instance, if they believe they will leave Egypt quickly, they might be hesitant to enroll their children in school when that will cost them money they may want to use for their future life in Europe.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework of the refugees and the RNGOs



This conceptual framework shows that there is a relationship between the integration of refugees and RNGOs, and that the transit context, the local host community and the local

refugee community all influence that relationship. Based on the literature, the figure above suggests the relationships between the different theoretical concepts. What this thesis is attempting to show is the relationship within the circle, and how these two concepts are interlinked, with the added influences of the factors outside the circle.

This framework explains the basic relationships that will be tested throughout this study. The conclusion will take into account the extent to which the realities of the Sudanese refugees in Egypt and their integration is related to the RNGOs that aim to aid them.

3. Regional and Thematic Context

In order to study the organisations and the respondents, it is important to take a moment to look at the context in which this is all taking place. Both the Sudanese context as well as the Egyptian context play a large role in the situation for the refugees in Cairo. This chapter should be seen as a journey; we will start in Sudan and South Sudan, to explain why the refugees felt the need to leave their homes and travel to Cairo. A short and general introduction to refugees in Egypt is given. This is followed by an explanation about why Cairo is the place that many refugees go to. The penultimate point of context is a discussion on integration in Cairo; to sketch the policy and socio-cultural environment. Finally, the racism and discrimination towards African individuals and groups is examined. Each of these topics are of importance to the situation and should give insight into the motivations of both the Sudanese refugees and the organisations that have made it their work to assist them.

Situation in Sudan and South Sudan

Sudan has been a hotbed for violence and civil conflict for many decades and though the conflicts have changed, they continue to take place in some shape or form, and are invariably ethnically charged. When South Sudan overwhelmingly voted to separate from Sudan, there was a hope that they could improve their national situation. The UNHCR acted on this new development and encouraged refugees to return to South Sudan. Before the independence of South Sudan, they were neglected by Khartoum, the capital of Sudan. The difference in education level between North and South Sudan confirms this, according to Grabska, who found that the respondents in her research who came from Sudan were generally more educated than those from South Sudan (2005, 32). Another example: In 2012 a stretch of paved road was built, 192 kilometers long between Juba and Uganda, paid for by USAID (USAID Press Office, 12-9-2012). Besides being the first paved road in South Sudan, it was also the largest infrastructure project up until that point, indicating the lack of infrastructural development implemented by the government and that the government favours some tribes and cities over others. One reason for this may have been the ongoing strife in the South, making it more difficult to plan and construct any project. In 2011, nine out of ten states in South Sudan saw fighting between at least two armies each (Al Jazeera, 24-4-2011). And even though the independence of South Sudan took place five years ago, there are still violent disputes about the border and the Nuba Mountain region, between the Sudan Government Forces and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement.

All of this has led to a large refugee population that have fled to different places. Many have fled to Uganda, where in one day in July 2016 there was a record number of border crossings, at 8,500 refugees from South Sudan, with a week total of 24,000 (Malo, 2016). But there are also a number of refugee camps in both South Sudan and Sudan, with Yida being the largest in South Sudan, hosting over 60,000 individuals as of June 30th 2016 and over 45,000 in Darfur camps in Sudan. As of July 21st, 2016, the UNHCR counted 233,195 South Sudanese refugees in camps in Sudan (UNHCR, Global Focus).

But like Egypt, Sudan is also a transit country. Many refugees from Somalia, Eritrea and further come through Sudan in transit towards the North. But the largest group of refugees in Sudan are the internally displaced people (IDP), who through war or natural disasters have been forced to move from their homes. According to the UNHCR there were over 3 million IDPs in Sudan in 2015 (UNHCR, Global Focus). The reason that many of these refugees travel to Egypt is because of the geographical position of the country, and because of the agreements that Sudan has with Egypt that make it more possible for a Sudanese refugee to live and work there rather than other countries.

Refugees in Egypt

Egypt is home to a large refugee population; the UNHCR claims there were about 250,000 refugees in Cairo in 2015. Besides Sudanese there are also Palestinians, Somalis, Eritreans, Syrians, as well as Iraqis. Due to different wars and crises, there has always been a fluctuating influx of refugees. For many years there has been a growing Sudanese population, but different organisations give different figures for the exact amount, and the numbers are not regularly updated. The U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants believe that many more of these migrants are in fact refugees, but that they are unregistered or rejected, and do not claim benefits available to refugees (FMRS, 2006).

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Syria	8	9	12836	131659
Sudan	10035	10324	10324	12927
South Sudan	n/a ³	n/a	178	299
Palestine	70026	70029	70028	70026
Somalia	6172	6328	6250	6316
Iraq	6772	6037	5703	5506
Ethiopia	562	609	863	1029
Eritrea	938	1036	1182	1523
Total	94513	94372	107364	229285

Whilst the registered Sudanese refugee population is one of the largest, with the Palestinian population even larger, there has been a huge influx of Syrian refugees as shown in Table 1. This, of course, has an impact on the way that all refugees helped, as the budget that the UNHCR receives now is spread more thinly than before (Grant, 2015). One of the reasons why the UNHCR plays such a large role in working with refugees in Egypt, much more so than the Egyptian government, is that the relationship that Egypt has with Sudan means that they do not really see the Sudanese refugees as refugees. According to one source, to say

³ Until the end of 2011, South Sudan was part of Sudan. Data measured from 2012 on.

they are refugees would be to criticize the Sudanese government and to make Egypt liable for them.⁴

Egypt as a transit country – policies of the local government, national government and the UNHCR

Many of the refugees that come to Egypt are not only looking for a safe place to stay, but rather hoping for a better future in a developed nation. For most, Egypt is a transit country, a place that they do not wish to stay in for longer than necessary. The reason for this is twofold; they are looking to resettle in a developed country like the USA, Australia or Germany, and on the other hand, policies and legislature ensure that they are not encouraged to stay in Egypt. So the first thing that a potential refugee may do when they arrive in Cairo is to go to the UNHCR in order to start their Refugee Status Determination (RSD) in order to be resettled sooner rather than later (Soliman, 2016). But let us look at the laws in place in Egypt that influence Sudanese refugees.

Egypt agreed to the 1951 Refugee Convention, allowing its refugee population to travel freely within its borders, practice religion freely and to take up residence in Egypt. Besides this, Egypt has also agreed to the 1967 protocol of the Refugee Convention; the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention, which underlines these rights of refugees and asylum seekers. All of this means that asylum seekers and refugees in Cairo should have basic human rights. This includes access to basic healthcare services, legal services and education besides services offered by local organisations.

Having said this, Egypt has reservations with regards to a number of the articles in the Refugee Convention which essentially means that they have no legal obligations to follow the agreements in these articles. They have no legal obligations to offer any of the basic services, education and healthcare stipulated in the articles. (Soliman, 11)

The Egyptian government has an agreement with the UNHCR stipulating the role that the government has and that the UNHCR has. The UNHCR has full control over Refugee Status Determination, and decides who is a refugee and who is not. (Soliman, 12) There is no national asylum legislation, as the government actually sees itself as a transit location. The only thing that the government does do, with regards to refugees is give them temporary residence permits and allow the UNHCR free access to asylum (UNHCR Country Operations plan, 2004). But because the UNHCR policies and those of the government with regards to refugees is inconsistent in the support they expect the other to provide. This makes it more difficult for refugees to navigate the Refugee Status Determination process.

Egypt is a logical place to flee to, particularly for the Sudanese refugees. There is a bilateral agreement between the Sudanese and the Egyptian government which states that there is a reciprocity between the two countries. This 1976 Nile Valley Agreement allowed free movement across borders of people and products. (Sperl, 2001) However, in 1995 an

⁴ Interview by K. Grabska with Mr. I.G. Elsouiri, Director of Development and Social Policies Department and the Technical Committee of ASAMC, The League of Arab States, 17 April 2005, The League of Arab States office in Mohandessin.

assassination attempt took place on the then-president, Hosni Mubarak, allegedly perpetrated by Islamic fundamentalists with the support of the Sudanese government. This affected the relationship, shifting the open policy, leading Sudanese nationals to require residency permits in order to legally remain in Egypt.

	Sudanese	Iraqis	East Africans	“Refugees” with Closed files
Right to Work	Yes (Four Freedoms Agreement, 2004)	No (GoE reservation to refugee convention)	No (GoE reservation to refugee convention)	No (lack legal residency)
Right to Public education	Yes (Four Freedoms Agreement, 2004)	Yes (Decree 2000)	Yes (Decree 2000)	No (lack legal residency)
Right to Public Healthcare	Yes, public healthcare on the same basis as uninsured Egyptians (Decree 2005)	Yes, public healthcare on the same basis as uninsured Egyptians (Decree 2005)	Yes, public healthcare on the same basis as uninsured Egyptians (Decree 2005)	May use public health facilities but must pay fill fees because they are not legal residents

But in 2004 the Four Freedoms agreement was signed between Egypt and Sudan which gave Sudanese refugees freedom of work, movement, residence and ownership of properties. This means that in theory, the Sudanese who are in Egypt have a lot of rights and privileges that other nationalities do not. But there are no domestic laws that really support this agreement. (Grabska, 2005). So while the Sudanese should have access to the labour markets, there is no underlying legislation that supports that principle to do so. What this means is that employers can refuse to employ them without legal ramifications, making it exceedingly difficult for Sudanese to find work that befits their level of education. In this way, refugees are generally discouraged from staying in Egypt, and are forced to lean on their own devices, or ask an organisation to assist them in finding a job, for instance.

There is no legislature around dealing with refugees on a local level, the local police is known to do nothing, failing to file reports of incidents against refugees, claiming that this is the duty of the UNHCR. The UNHCR says that they deal with the legal matters, but that it is the responsibility of the asylum state to physically protect the refugees (Grabska, 2006). But where the national government does little to help the refugees, there have been cases where the local government actively pursued harassing them. In January 2003, for instance, when the local police in the neighbourhood Maadi had so-called ‘black days’, where they would drive around to the parts of the neighbourhood where African lived and would detain them and force them to say where other Africans lived (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Random arrests and police harassments have not been uncommon, though in most cases, the person is released after a sum is given to the police (Lindsey, 2003).

One important moment in the history of Sudanese refugees, but also refugees in general in Egypt was the Mustafa Mahmoud demonstration in 2005. This demonstration was a sit-in, across from the UNHCR building, to protest the closing of their files and the process to repatriate them. The demonstration started in September of 2005 and ended late December when the Egyptian police came in to clear the square where the refugees were sitting. They used enough violence to not only wound a large number of people, but many succumbed to their wounds or were trampled to death; twenty men women and children died that day. The perceived lack of response from the UNHCR before and after the incident had a negative impact on their image, but an even greater impact on the public image of the Egyptian police. Other problems that have occurred between the refugee population and the Egyptian government, for instance that a number of refugees have been shot as they tried to exit Egypt through the Sinai desert and into the Gaza (BBC, 2015).

As Egypt is a transit zone, many people try to leave to go to mainland Europe, using a number of different undocumented routes that most often involve smuggling, the routes are shown in Figure 3. One way is through Israel; it is the shortest overland route, though the border between Egypt and Israel is heavily guarded by both nations due to their history of disagreements over land. Another route is through the desert to Libya, where the boat to Italy can be taken. This, like its Israeli counterpart, is dangerous and expensive. The pastor at St. Andrew's Church in downtown Cairo, Rev. Kirsten, said that one of the employees of St. Andrew's Refugee Services took the Mediterranean route and died along with many of her shipmates.⁵ The informality and dangers of the routes means that many people who do take the chance do not inform their families and disappear without their family's knowledge or consent.

Figure 3: North African migrant routes. (Huffington Post, 2015)



The UNHCR is responsible for the process of registering a refugee, giving them a status, repatriating, integrating or resettling the refugees and making sure their temporary needs are

⁵ Interview Chris Eades & Rev Kirsten Fryer.

met in the time between their arrival and their departure or until they are no longer needed, if a person chooses to integrate and can support their family. Voluntary integration into a local Egyptian community, however, is extremely uncommon. The meeting of the temporary needs are not done by UNHCR itself, but rather they outsource these programs to implementing partners, organisations like Catholic Relief Services (CRS) who arrange and fund the education of the refugee students. A large part of their assistance is funded by UNHCR. Organisations like CRS and Caritas are the implementing partners of UNHCR. UNHCR is mainly focused on humanitarian help. The amount of refugees that the UNHCR deals with means that they cannot afford to spend much time or money on them, and the growth in the number of refugees (Syrians in particular) and a decrease in the UNHCR budget has led to less financial aid for the refugees, but also for many organisations that are dependent on the UNHCR for their programs (Keddie, 2015).

Possibilities for integration in Egypt

Integration in Egypt is technically a possibility for most Sudanese refugees. The agreement between Sudan and Egypt states that they have freedom in Egypt to work, live and be educated. In practice, this freedom is not felt, so many have to find their own way. One example of the Sudanese community exerting their rights took place in Alexandria, where the children were not able to attend an Egyptian school, though this was legally their right. As a whole community called for being able to put this right into practice, the local government was not able to ignore them, and the children were able to start attending these schools (Grabska, 2006, 38). But while some communities are working to improve their situation, most refugees in Egypt do not want to remain there. Some wish to resettle in western countries where they believe they will have a better future. Others hope that their country of origin becomes peaceful again so that they can return and resume their life in Sudan or South Sudan, in a place well known to them, close to their families and culture. But while there is no peace in large parts of Sudan and South Sudan, and while refugees are not being resettled yet or have been declined a status, they are in limbo. The hope of resettlement or return is often so great that the idea of integrating is not an attractive one. But beyond that, what possibilities are there for integrating?

There are different ways of integrating in Cairo, and there are different groups that a refugee could integrate with. The main form of integration that is taking place is within their refugee communities in the neighbourhood they live in. This includes integration between different tribes and even different nationalities. Integration could also take place with Egyptian locals in their neighbourhoods. This is much more complicated and difficult because of prejudice. A lot needs to change before integration can take place, with one of the most important being the need to change the public perception of foreigners in general, but Africans in particular. Until that point, there remains a deep mistrust of both parties. One source, quoting a respondent in their study, wrote, "There is no protection for us here. All Sudanese have dealt with Egyptians beating them." (Changpertitum, 2014).

As almost all of the refugees, besides the Syrians, are from African countries, they are also distinguishable by their darker skin. In a country like Egypt and many others, where fair skin is seen as beautiful, those with a darker skin colour, many even Egyptians themselves are

discriminated again (Lambert & Ramadan, 2015). There have been many reports of discrimination against Sudanese refugees, and it is a reason for the difficulties that entail integration for them in Cairo. Physical abuse and other expressions of xenophobic frustration are common. Attacks on women and children are not unheard of. In the focus groups, women told of urine being poured over drying laundry, young men stealing their handbags and some people throwing cigarettes at them. One woman explained that her children are beaten and have stones thrown at them on their way home from school. There are many more examples, but the implications are that the Sudanese refugees are debilitated in different areas of their lives by the behavior of the local population. If a person is likely to be abused when going out, they are less likely to go out.

The discrimination faced by the Sudanese is not only a local problem, but it is a problem that is experienced in different aspects of life. Sudanese children are told that there is no room for them in schools, but when the Syrians came there suddenly was enough room. The police offers little protection and most, regardless of their status, know to avoid them anyway. Many unregistered Sudanese who work do not have the protection that a legal status may afford them which can also result in the abuse of the employer against whom they can do little.

In general, if a person was to search the internet for the words 'Sudanese' and 'Egypt' many of the top results would have to do with discrimination, suffering and marginalization. This is the current situation, and the racism is a part of the status quo. Hence very few articles are positive about the situation and opportunities for the refugees. But from providing the context to this study, theoretical, regional and thematic, we now move to the methodology of this study.

4. Methodology

This chapter begins by looking at the different types of data collection that was used and how it was gathered. In order to explain how the information was collected, this study will look at each sub question as presented in the introduction and show in which ways the information necessary for answering the individual questions were collected. Both qualitative and quantitative methods feature in this research, all in order to answer the question: what role do Christian Non-Governmental Organisations play in the support to and integration of the Sudanese refugees in Egypt?

Focus group meetings formed the first basis for field research in Cairo. In order to understand the experiences of the Sudanese with the assistance they were receiving and the NGO field itself from a Sudanese perspective, three focus group evenings were held. The first two evenings were with different women from the local community in Hey el Asher, all different ages, though all Christian, whereas the last evening saw a group of men that were diverse in age, religion and status. The discussion was mainly focused on the organisations that they were approaching for help, if any, and what kinds of problems they experienced with the organisations, but also in general, the problems and possibilities of living in Cairo. The reason for the focus groups was that they would prove to be an easy way to understand what a larger number of Sudanese refugees thought about the different organisations and the type of help they were receiving from them. Initially I thought that separating the religions would be a good way to get people talking honestly about the religious organisations and their own experiences but I was informed and saw, in the meetings with the men, that there were very few distinctions between Muslims and Christians.

The main data was gathered through interviews with representatives from the RNGOs. This is the basis for the RNGO mapping. I was lucky to already have connections within the field that allowed me to connect to different organisations and RNGO workers. Using this network gave me access to organisations and people that would have otherwise been hard to get. A benefit of using this network was that people were happy to help, as they knew and trusted where I came from. The selection of RNGOs to interview for this study was based on a number of different factors. The first and most obvious factor was that I needed to be able to find them. Some organisations were little more than projects by certain Egyptian churches, only found through word of mouth, if you're speaking to the right person. If it was an organisation or project that my own network didn't know of, I wouldn't find them unless I found a website of some sort. It was mostly the organisations that relied on foreign support that had English websites that were often up to date with clear contact details. While the initial plan for this research was to include both Muslim and Christian organisations, most people I asked had not heard of any Muslim organisations assisting Sudanese refugees. So after a while, the decision was made to focus on Christian organisations as, if any Muslim organisations were to be found, they would definitely be a minority and therefore more difficult to compare to all of the different Christian organisations or projects.

The interviews with the representatives not only brought out facts about their organisation and the working environment in Egypt, but also the opinions of the individual being interviewed and the organisations they represent on the situation they are working in. In

many cases the representative was a non-Egyptian with English as a first language, so British, Canadian or American. The reason for this was that in most cases they were the director or the PR-person for that organisation. Sometimes the organisation was directed by an Egyptian, and that director would ask an English speaking employee to do the interview with me, as in the case of Caritas and Refuge Egypt. Many organisations were aware of the work of other organisations and some also had different opinions on how those other organisations worked, and whether that is effective. A number of off the record comments helped to gain an understanding of some organisations. Some organisations received critique from both other organisations as well as some of the Sudanese making use of help provided by that organisation.

Besides the RNGOs, it was also important to talk to those involved in the field of refugees, academically or otherwise. An interview with a member of the American University in Cairo at the Centre for Migration and Refugee Studies informed the research and gave a more accurate overview of the field of refugees and specifically the organisations that assist the refugees. Another valuable source was Mr. Shawgi Kori, a trained Sudanese lawyer and refugee in Cairo. As a translator for the International Organisation for Migration, director of the St. Gabriel's Social Centre in a neighbourhood with a dense Sudanese population, member of the board for St. Raphael School and a community leader in general, he was an outstanding source for understanding the Sudanese community of the Nuba Mountains, but also the Sudanese refugee community in general.

Surveys are a very useful tool to collect a lot of data about a larger group of people. So in order to gain information about the refugees themselves, it was important to survey them. The survey consisted of basic questions about age, gender and such, and followed with more specific questions about the organisations that helped them, whether they worked or not and ended with a rating scale that asked about relationship with other Sudanese people, Egyptian people and their opinion about the living situation in Cairo. The reason for surveying instead of interviewing was that a lot of the information had already been discussed in the focus groups, and that this was a way of reaching a larger group of people that was less time consuming and would have a high data yield. In total, 62 surveys were filled in.

Surveying, like other research tools, comes with a number of guidelines relating to ethics. And in the case of an extremely vulnerable group, like the Sudanese refugees, it was only more important to ensure that doing the survey would not affect the refugee negatively nor influence the results to give invalid data. The questions on the survey and the way the survey was done needed to reflect the context of the refugees. In order to do so, it was checked over by a number of different people before being used, to make sure it was sensitive to the respondent. A number of surveys were in English, and a larger number were in Arabic.

Because many refugees cannot read and write in either language, a number of Sudanese and non-Sudanese Arabic speakers assisted with surveying. I preferred asking Sudanese people to assist as they understood the context of the respondent much better than other assistants. Many respondents were initially wary of filling in the survey, believing that it may be something to do with the UNHCR, while other were hinting at remuneration and refused once they realized they would not receive anything. But the problem of illiteracy proved to be

greater than I realized, when those who claim to be literate had problems understanding the questions or only filled in a part of the survey. A small number of people did not understand how the rating scales worked and did not ask for help with them, giving back incomplete surveys and walking away quickly. This resulted in a number of incomplete data sets, and sometimes even results that contradicted itself like; “No, I have no children”, “Yes, they attend school in Cairo”. Using this data meant that in some cases, the contradictory information was left out.

In order to discuss the methodology of this study, each sub question will be discussed in terms of the methodology used in order to collect information to answer that question.

What is the integration position of Sudanese refugees?

This question was answered using a number of the questions from the survey.⁶ As chapter on the theoretical framework explained, questions about how long they have lived in Egypt, whether or not they or their partner had work in Egypt, whether their children attended school or not and more were to show their private situation. This information, combined with their opinion on both Sudanese and Egyptians would shed some light on the integration of the Sudanese. First of all, it would be able to show whether or not the respondents participated in daily life, in the sense that they had a job, their children went to school, and that they had contact with Egyptians. If their opinion on living in Egypt was generally positive, they were more likely to be integrating. On the other hand, if their contact was only with Sudanese and they did not attempt to make contact with Egyptians, they may be integrated in the Sudanese community, but not in the local Egyptian community.

What are the characteristics of the support ‘field’, both formal and informal religious organisations?

This question, as well as the following two, is answered based on the interviews with the organisations themselves.⁷ The interviews were organised into different categories of questions that focused on the individual being interviewed, the history, finances, aim and staff of the organisation. Following this were questions on the people that were assisted by the organisation. Then questions about the religious characteristics of the organisation were discussed and finally, the relationship that the organisation had with other organisations, the UNHCR and the Egyptian government.

With these sub questions, the answers of all of the interviewed organisations will be collected into a number of tables to show their main characteristics. This will also provide an answer to the following two questions.

What are the main elements of their approaches?

Through the questions posed to the organisations, the main elements of their approaches

⁶ The survey can be found in Appendix.

⁷ The interview questions can be found in Appendix.

were highlighted. There are different things that the organisations have approaches for. These include religion – to what extent it plays a role in the assisting of refugees, how their finances are organised, whether they offer a humanitarian or development based assistance and the degree in which they help the refugees prepare for their future.

To what extent can we observe differences in approaches between these organisations and how can these differences be explained?

The tables that will contain the information based on the interviews with the organisations will enable us to compare and contrast the different characteristics and approaches of the organisations. The different elements mentioned in the previous sub question will be analysed in order to answer this question. Most of the differences can be explained based on the answers the organisation gave, others can be based on suggestions from an overall knowledge of the context of that organisation.

What kind of recommendations can be formulated based on the results of this research?

The answer to this sub question will be based on the analysis of the different organisations, comparing their strengths and weaknesses and taking into account general problems that both organisations as well as the Sudanese are running into. The aim of these recommendations is to improve the situations for different stakeholders, even those not directly involved in this research.

Risks and Limitations

There were a number of risks to using the discussed methods of research. The interview, the surveying and the focus group meetings all had drawbacks as methods, often a result of the context in which the research was taking place.

A number of the issues discussed in the interviews were sensitive and in some cases, the person being interviewed refused to answer the question or asked if parts of what they said could be left out in the transcription. A part of hesitation to answering questions has to do with the fact that being a Christian organisation in a Muslim country means they need to be careful not to offend, criticize or harm any relationship they have with the authorities. I made sure that no questions were asked that would put the interviewee or their organisation at risk, and they were always free to choose not to answer certain questions.

One of the risks of the selection of the RNGOs is that a number of the Egyptian organisations and projects were not as easily accessible and visible which means that they are not taken up into this study. Because the selection was based on accessibility, not all organisations are represented and the results do not speak for the entire field, but merely the visible organisations. This was due to the language barrier, and the fact that some organisations did not have websites, and were not known by the contacts that I had.

With regards to surveying the Sudanese refugees, the literature, as well as one source⁸ had already warned about the amount of studies that had taken place in Egypt, resulting in what could be described as research fatigue. The refugees have been studied often before (though perhaps not in the last few years) and are not enthusiastic about helping in the research. Some were only willing to fill in a survey if they got something in return.

In the end, this study was also limited by the number of survey respondents. Though the surveys could never be representative for all the Sudanese refugees in Egypt, simply because the total population and all of its whereabouts is unknown, but more surveys would have always been better. Furthermore, the results of the surveys were very dependent on the translator doing them, and some of the refugee respondents actually were able to read and write less than was necessary for the survey, filling it in with some mistakes.

However, these methods were preferred over other methods as they provided the most accurate information with the limitations there were. Because the respondents at organisations spoke English, in-depth interviews were possible, that lead to better insight into the organisations. Because the semi-structured interviews followed a series of set questions, each interview could be compared. With regards to the focus groups, the method used was most effective as it was interesting to see the group dynamic, in the first place, and because the women were together, they were much more comfortable talking and they corroborated each other's stories, adding to the stories, building on each other. Furthermore, this was a time-effective way of gathering information. Finally, the choice for the surveys over interviews with the Sudanese respondents had to do with time, with the way the data was going to be used and with the language. It was less time consuming to do surveys, or hand them out to those who were literate, than to interview each person individually with more open questions. The results were to be used in statistical analysis, and this meant that the answers had to be either an amount or multiple choice. And finally, it was less time consuming and costly to have someone translate the survey and ask a number of Arabic speaking individuals to explain them to the respondents than it was to interview each person individually with a translator.

⁸ Interview with Sara Sadek of the Forced Migration and Refugee Studies at American University Cairo.

5. Surveying Sudanese refugees in Cairo

The refugee population is not a homogenous one, and even within Sudanese and South Sudanese groups there are different tribes, different age groups, religions, household compositions amongst other things. Besides this, their opinions and experiences vary. This chapter and the following aim to give insight into the range of characteristics and opinions of the Sudanese and South Sudanese groups. This chapter follows on from the methodology and takes a look at how the information was gathered and how it will be used to answer the questions in this study.

The following sections of this chapter will look at the quantitative and qualitative data on the Sudanese refugees that was collected for this study. Using the quantitative data, we will ascertain who is actually being represented in the surveys, what the surveys say about integration, what the opinions of the respondents are on living in Egypt, the help they are receiving and more. This, together with the qualitative data will show what people think of their situation, and this will be used later to discuss what the organisations are doing.

Characteristics of the Sudanese and South Sudanese respondents

The respondents, both Sudanese and South Sudanese filled in the survey, and this chapter will a number of the results from this survey. Before we go to these results, it is important to note that in many cases, a number of the questions were not answered by the respondent or answered in a way that did not answer the question. This has resulted in a high level of 'missing values', something which will be discussed further at a later point but which explain why in many cases a lower number than the total amount of respondents are used in the results.

Figure 4: Locations of organisations where surveys were filled in



In order to get a varied response, the surveys were taken amongst 4 groups in different locations. The largest amount, 41 were taken at the Family Fund organisation, 8 at Refuge Egypt, 9 were students of the Nuba Bible Institute and 3 were teachers at St. Raphael's school. Both Family Fund and the Nuba Bible Institute had their activities at St. Michael's and All Angels in Heliopolis. St. Raphael is in Kilo Arba w Nuss, a known slum on the outskirts of the city with a high refugee population, and Refuge Egypt was in Zamalek at the All Saint's Anglican Cathedral. These can be seen on Figure 4.

Table 2: Comparing the refugees per survey location

Organisation	Respondents per location	Mean age	Gender	Mean arrival year	has children
Family Fund	41	35.4	M:5 F:27 Missing.:9	2009	Yes: 38 No: 3
Refuge Egypt	8	35.3	M:2 F:1 Missing.:3	2011	Yes: 4 No: 4
Nuba Bible Institute	9	40.6	M:4 F:1 Missing.:4	2009	Yes: 7 No: 2
St. Raphael	3	37.3	M:1 F:1 Missing.:1	2013	Yes: 3 No: 0

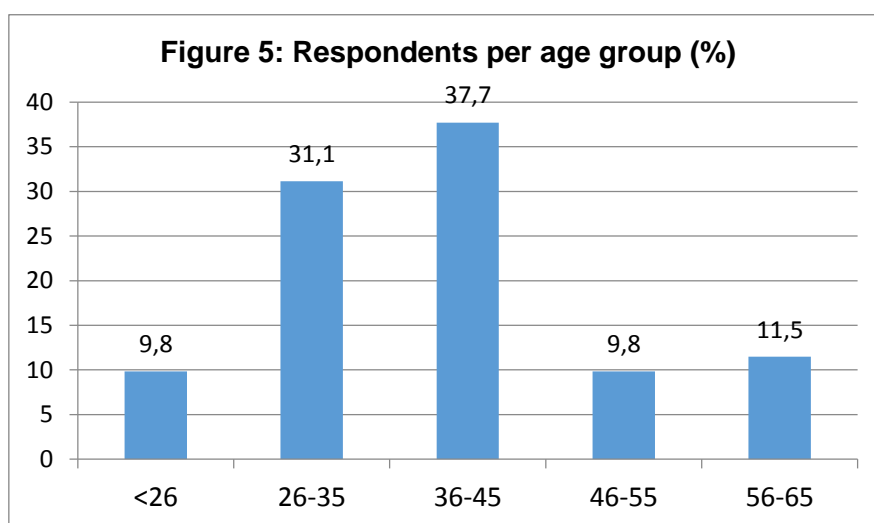
Table 2 shows the differences in some of the basic characteristics of the respondents, at the different organisations at which the survey was filled in. Again, the number of respondents per location is very different.

Of the 42 respondents that answered which gender they were, 71.4% were female and 28.6% were male. The reason for this bias is the fact that the surveys were done at religious organisations, often in the area where people would sit to wait for their appointment with a social worker. Most of the people waiting at the organisations were women, so they were surveyed more often. There is a very large difference in the amount of males and females per organisation. The Nuba Bible institute, for instance, has a much higher male than female response. One reason for this is that mostly men study at this institute. On the other hand, we see Family Fund has mostly female respondents. This is due to the fact that most of the people that attend are females, and that while surveying there, the males were less interested in filling in the survey. Another reason for the difference in gender is that at NBI, St Raphael and Refuge Egypt many of the respondents were employees. At Family Fund, all those interviewed were in fact visitors of the program collecting food and clothing.

Out of the 61 surveys, 19 had not filled in this question or done so incorrectly, as the Arabic word 'gender' looks a lot like the word 'nationality', something which even the more educated respondents overlooked. Looking further at this, relatively more women than men needed someone to answer the survey for them, as many were illiterate. Grabska also found the same when she did her research amongst Sudanese refugees, that a large number of literate men were married to illiterate women (2005:32).

Most of the respondents were parents as well; 52 with children, 9 without. The larger proportion of those without are men. Most women had children, a large portion of the men did not.

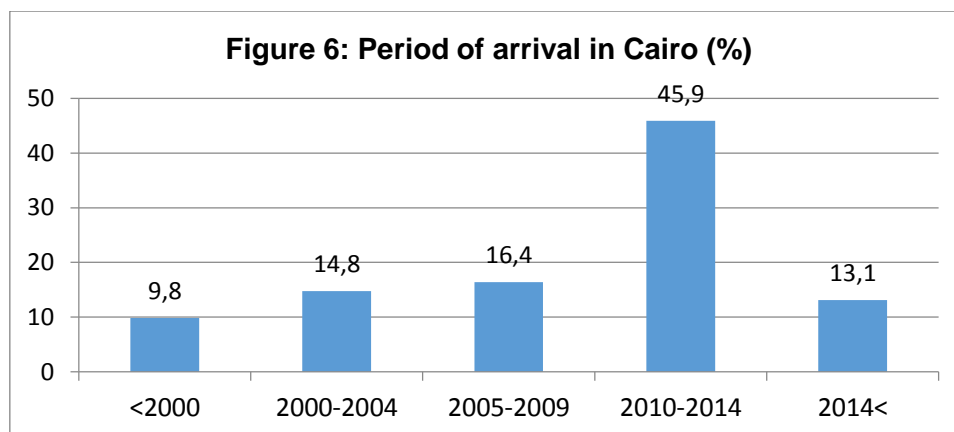
The average age of the respondents was just a little more than 36, with 32 being the most common age. The youngest respondent was 19 and the oldest was 64. Figure 5 shows the age distribution of the respondents, showing a sharp decrease in population older than 45. The respondents from the Nuba Bible Institute are older on average than those from the other surveying location. Though it is not clear what the reason is for this, it might be because of the fact that NBI aims to educate adults and to train them to be religious leaders and this may mean that they are already a bit older to begin with.



Based on the tribe they came from, we found that 44.1% of the respondents were from South Sudan, whilst 55.9% were from Sudan. This high percentage of North Sudanese may have to do with the fact that The Nuba Bible Institute and St. Raphael's School are both based in the Nuba Mountains community of North Sudan, living in Cairo. Furthermore, North Sudan is closer to Egypt which may mean that Sudanese are more likely to travel to Egypt as it is the most direct route to Europe, and many Sudanese already have family and friends living there.⁹

Most of the refugees came to Cairo in 2013. Some had arrived in 1994 while others only arrived in the beginning of 2016. The percentiles show that almost half came to Cairo before South Sudan had become independent. Figure 6 shows what percentage of the respondents arrived when. This puts a new perspective on the idea of integration. If people realized that they were going to be living in Cairo for over 5 or 10 years, they may rethink how they live, not only to satisfy immediate needs, but also to consider their future in Cairo.

⁹ Interview with Fr. Jos Strengholt of St. Michael's Ministries.



The two main religions in Sudan and South Sudan are Islam and Christianity. Of those who stated their religion, 17% were Muslim and 83% were Christian. The bias may be due to the fact that the refugees were surveyed at Christian organisations. Though most the organisations did not assist Christians only, they may attract more Christians. In some of the cases, the employees of the organisations were themselves surveyed. The refugee employees, as opposed to the refugees coming for assistance, tended to be Christian in most of the organisations.

Rating Sudanese experience and potential for integration

The theme of integration is important for the organisations assisting the Sudanese refugees, but more importantly, for the refugees themselves. In order to understand more about the integration of these refugees, we needed to understand what they think of integration in Egypt and to what extent they are actually integrating, intentionally or otherwise. A number of refugees filled in this survey about living in Egypt, including some basic identifying characteristics such as age, gender, tribe and so forth, going further into the type of help they are receiving and from whom they are receiving this and ending with a number of statements to which they had to note whether they agreed or disagreed and to what extent. The results were put into a rating scale.

The rating scale that was part of the survey allows us to look at what the general opinions are about different aspects of the Sudanese life, including their feelings about their own community and the Egyptian locals. Questions like 'Spending time with people from their own country makes most (South) Sudanese feel safe' were asked, which showed whether or not the respondent was involved in the local Sudanese community. On the other hand, questions like 'Most (South) Sudanese have some close Egyptian friends' and others would show the extent of the respondent's relationship with the local Egyptian population. The results of the surveys show that the relationship amongst the Sudanese in their own neighbourhood is generally good. The respondents generally agreed with positive statements about their closeness to other Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 was very negative about their relationship with the Sudanese and 5 was very positive, 36.6% came to a 3, so average, but 63.6% scored their relationship with

the local refugee community at at least a 4. Note that no one rated the relationship below a 3 on average.

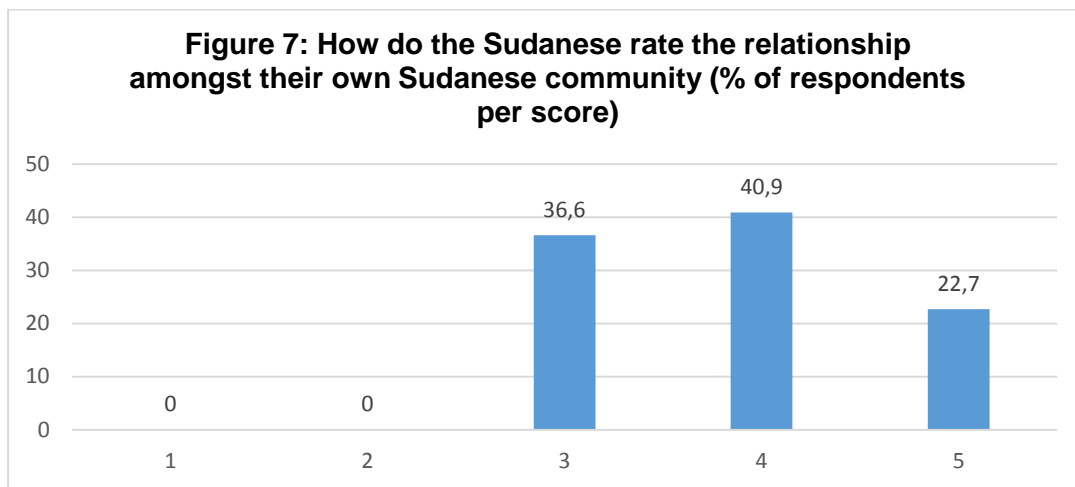
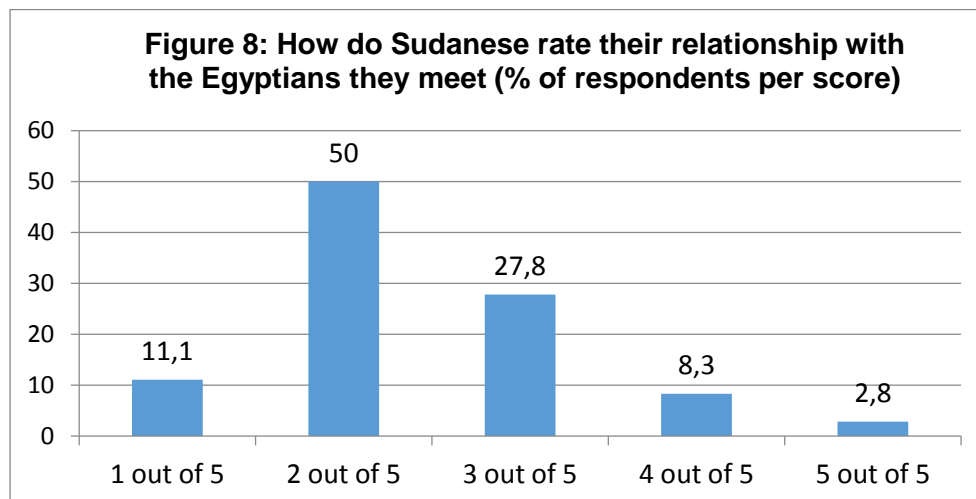
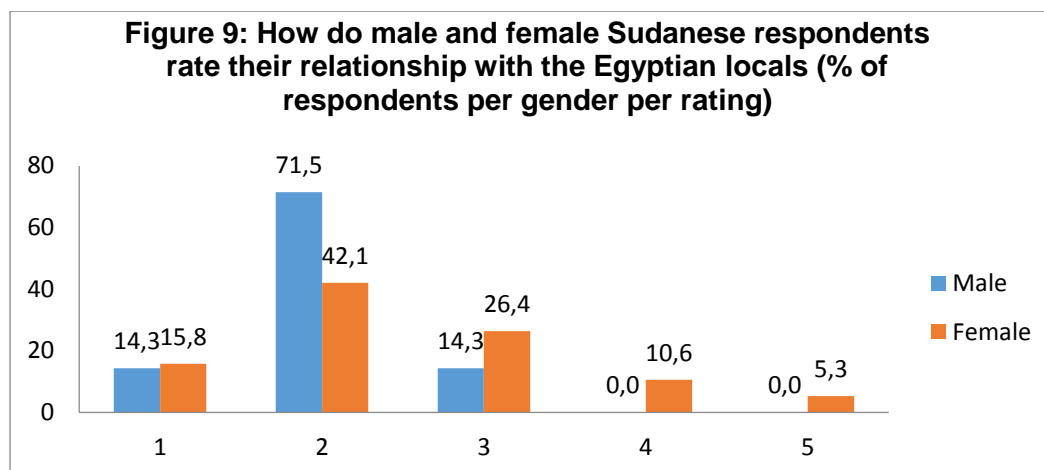


Figure 8 shows that the Sudanese respondents replied generally negatively to the positive statements regarding their relationship with the Egyptians in their neighbourhood. While 61.1% of the respondents gave their relationship with Egyptians a below average rating, only 11.1% gave a positive rating to the relationship. What this means is that the overall opinion of the respondents towards Egyptians was negative. This coincides with the fact that the Sudanese are affected by discrimination and do not have a good relationship with the Egyptians in general.





In Figure 9 we see the way in which the Sudanese respondents viewed their relationship with the Egyptians they come into contact with, separated by gender. Though relatively less men answered this question, it is clear that there is a distinction between the two groups nonetheless. Where both sexes scored their relationship negatively, most giving it a 2 out of 5 in total, the females had a wider range, with a small number of the female respondents being more positive about their Egyptian encounters. No males gave an above average rating to their relationship.

Table 3: 'Do you or your partner have work in Egypt', answered by gender

		Male	Female	Total
Do you or your partner have work in Egypt?	yes	11	17	28
	no	0	13	13
Total		11	30	41

When looking at whether or not a person or their partner worked in Egypt, there was a clear difference between the answers of male and female respondents, as can be seen in Table 3. Where all eleven of the men said that they or their partner have work in Egypt, only 17 out of 30 of the female respondents could say the same. This result seems logical when considering the high number of respondents at Family Fund, waiting for the handouts there. Women with jobs would not be as likely to do this. Almost 30% of the respondents and their partners did not have a job in Egypt. This may mean that the partner of the respondent has a job in Sudan. Of those 30% who responded in this way, all were female. If we take into consideration work as both a sign of integration as a means to integrate, this may suggest that those respondents may find it more difficult to integrate into local Egyptian society.

There are of course also young men who do not attend school but who also do not have a job. According to the women at the focus groups, many young men join gangs. Inter-tribal neighbourhood gangs have been known to visit other neighbourhoods in order to fight with other gangs many of which will have people from their own tribe. Even during the period in which this field research took place, at an Easter celebration after a church service I was

attending at St. Michael's, a gang came to fight people exiting the gates. The violence was quickly calmed and after the police were called, they quickly left. Fr. Jos Strengholt already had a makeshift machete that a gang member had dropped when running away after a previous incident. Around that same time, a funeral was held in St. Michael's church for a teenager who was stabbed by a rival gang. The American University in Cairo used to host classes for Sudanese refugees but stopped this after two gangs fought at their gates and a teenage boy died there.¹⁰ These examples show the problems caused by the lack of either school or work, or another form of occupation to combat teenage frustration.

Receiving assistance organisations and their own community

The survey asked about the type of help the refugee respondents were receiving and where this help was coming from. The results of this section will give insight into the relationship between the organisations, the refugees and the refugee communities, and specifically the extent to which the refugees are accessing the aid that is offered. We look first at the religious organisations, and whether the respondents believed they were being helped by them. The results show more than half of the respondents do not believe that they are receiving help from religious organisations. Out of the 57 valid results, 31 did not believe they were receiving help. This is a very interesting result, first and foremost because most of the respondents were surveyed at Christian organisations. This raises a number of questions, as to what the respondents believe a Christian organisations is, or whether they believe they are actually receiving help there. So this result is somewhat subjective.

Yes	26
No	31
missing	4
Total	61

Because of this anomaly, we can take a closer look at which respondents from which surveying locations believed that they were not being helped by any religious organisations. Table 5 shows that from every organisation there are people who believed they received no help from religious organisations. A number of the respondents were actually employed at the organisations, such as Refuge Egypt and St. Raphael, so they were not necessarily receiving help, but at Family Fund, most respondents were there to receive some kind of assistance.

¹⁰ Interview with Sara Sadek.

	Family Fund	Refuge Egypt	Nuba Bible Institute	St. Raphael
yes	20	2	3	1
no	20	4	5	2
Missing	1	2	1	0

The respondents received different forms of assistance from organisations. When medical assistance was necessary, more respondents received financial help from organisations than from family and friends. Furthermore, there were more respondents who needed financial assistance for medical treatments than those who could pay it with their own income. So 23 out of the valid 53 said that they were assisted by organisations, whereas only 7 received help from their friends or family.

Own income	19
Help from an organisation	23
Help from friends and family	7
Not applicable	4
Missing	8

With regards to work, housing and education, the respondents also answered how they found their job, their apartment, and how they found out about the school they could send their children to. The surveys show that most of the assistance in finding work, housing and schooling for the children actually happens within the local Sudanese refugee community. Out of 45 respondents who got a job, 27 found it through friends or family. With regards to housing, 39 out of 55 respondents found their house through their friends and families. Finally, 35 out of 42 respondents found a school for their children, again, through friends and family.

	Job	Apartment	School
Through a friend or family member	27	39	35
Through an organisation	9	2	5
Another way	9	14	2
Does not apply	12	1	15
Missing	4	5	4

According to the survey, the Sudanese community seems to be able to solve many of the needs within the community as 38 out of 47 valid responses suggested that they received

help from their community. By large, the respondents were helped by friends and family when they needed something.

yes	38
no	9
missing	14

While the local Sudanese community can offer help with finding jobs, housing and schools for the children of their fellow community members, there are different forms of assistance being given, and the data, again doesn't always line up. Where before the majority of respondents said that they got their job through friends and family, the second time they were asked if their community helped them with a job, they answered differently. Less than half answered that their job was gotten through their community. Perhaps it is a difference in nuance that made the respondents give a different answer. The same difference can be found with housing. What this suggests is that the job and the housing are found through the community, but that neither the job nor the housing is offered by someone in the community, rather by those outside of the local refugee community. According to one source, the Sudanese that come to Cairo usually stay with family until they can afford their own apartment.¹¹

	Financial	Job	Medical help	Clothing	Food	Housing	Other
yes	5	17	15	5	11	7	7
no	42	30	32	42	36	40	40
missing	14	14	14	14	14	14	14

And finally, a brief look at adult education can give insight into the motivation of the respondents. Because most education is completed before a child is an adult, the fact that someone is taking part in adult education suggests that they could have aspirations. The survey asked the respondents who did follow adult education what their reason was for wanting the education. Interestingly, a relatively low number of respondents claimed to be receiving any adult education namely 10 out of 59 valid responses, but when it came to asking why they were receiving it, more than twice those who said they were receiving adult education answered the question. This causes a problem for the actual results; we cannot say with certainty how many are following this type of education. However, the reasons given for doing so can still be considered.

¹¹ Interview with Fr. Jos Strengholt.

	Number of respondents
YES	10
NO	49
Missing	2

In equal numbers, respondents who received adult education were split on what their purpose in receiving adult education was. Some were receiving it to get a job in Egypt, others to improve themselves for their future abroad, and others in order to prepare for their return to their home country. Because many of those who do not receive adult education answered this question, it is interesting to look at what they gave as reasons for (hypothetically) receiving adult education. The main reason given (11 out of 25 respondents who answered the question by giving a reason) was that they received adult education in order to improve themselves for their return to their home country. This is an interesting result; it indicates that those people might rather return to their home country than to travel to other countries, such as Australia or the USA. Unsurprisingly, the smallest group¹² gave as reason that it would improve their job opportunities in Egypt (6 out of 25). Surprisingly, there is little difference between that group and those who want to improve themselves for their future abroad.

	Number of respondents	Of which those actually receiving adult education
To get a job in Egypt	6	3
To improve myself for my future abroad	7	4
To have a skill or more knowledge for my return to (South) Sudan	11	3
For my future abroad or my return to (South) Sudan	1	0
No Adult education	34	N/A
Missing	2	0

One of the questions in the survey asked the respondent to answer what their favourite thing is about living in Egypt. The results can be seen in Figure 8. The size of the words is relative to the frequency of its use. Out of 61 responses, 26, nearly half, said 'nothing', 4 said that life was hard and difficult, which here has been simplified into the word 'difficult' and 3 people responded with a comment about their child's 'education'.

¹² The smallest group was the one person who said that they wanted adult education for their future abroad or their return to Sudan. This option should not have been on the survey, but it is in this table for data accuracy.

Figure 10: Response to question regarding their favourite thing about living in Egypt, with size being relative to the number of times that particular answer was given.



However, it is clear that a number of respondents did have some positive things to say about their time in Egypt. A few people said that their children's education was good here, which is often a great concern to parents. A number said that they felt safe in Egypt, suggesting that it was an improvement over their lives in Sudan, while someone else answered that they experienced freedom of expression in Egypt. Though not every place in Cairo is the same, these results suggest that amongst the Sudanese there are different opinions on the life they have in Cairo. One even responded with 'good living', which again may be relative to their experience in Sudan. Some wrote that unemployment was a problem, but others wrote that the best thing about living in Egypt was having work. One person wrote that the food and drinks in Cairo are their favourite thing, while another wrote that life is cheap. Yet another respondent said that his favourite thing about living in Egypt was learning how to fish.

Conclusions about the most important findings, with regards to integration and perceived assistance

The chart on the respondents' favourite things about living in Egypt shows a part of the problem. The fact that half of the respondents said 'nothing', can suggest that integration is not a problem for just the individuals, but that the Sudanese community as a whole is negative about the situation in Egypt. Considering the Sudanese community is a strong one that has shown to be capable of organising itself given the opportunity and the means, it is also possible to create an atmosphere of discontent instead of seeing opportunity.

One of the side effects of a strong integration in the local refugee community is that there is distrust and a lack of nuancing fueled by rumours and misinformation, evident in the focus groups as well as literature (Grabska, 2005, 2006). Especially with regards to the public medical system, the Sudanese women in the focus groups were ruthless in discussing how the system discriminated against them and treated them. They shared information that they believed, but much of it seemed unlikely¹³ but also information that wasn't true.¹⁴ Rumours of

¹³ For instance, that the doctors give them out of date medicine when they receive treatment.

public hospitals removing some of their organs and stories like it were also not uncommon (2006). The misinformation and the rumours have led to a more difficult relationship with the Egyptian people in general and also with the public healthcare system they rely on. Fear mongering is a problem. Also, when new Sudanese refugees arrive in Cairo and the community leaders give them information on the domestic and refugee laws and the UNHCR procedures they are not always as well informed as they might think they are (2006:34). They can misinform the newcomers, and this misinformation can spread, confusing the community as a whole. The communication between the UNCHR and the local Sudanese community is not very strong, so many people can be left with wrong expectations. These examples show that information gained from within the community itself may not always be accurate, and that having such a strong-knit community that keeps to itself has severe drawbacks when it comes to navigating the land of refugee status determination and assistance from organisations.

It seems, however, that in a small way, something like adult education offers the respondents some form of hope. Many of those who did not receive adult education still gave reasons why they would receive it, and most suggested it would be to return home and use the new knowledge and skills they had. Unfortunately, only a small number of the respondents were taking part in adult education.

The respondents have different means to receiving assistance. They have a strong network within their community, as most respondents claimed to be assisted by it. But it is mostly help from organisations that allows them to afford education for their children, healthcare and more. The network that is in place helps lead the refugees to the organisations that can give them more assistance than the community is about to.

Most of the respondents have shown to be positive towards their own Sudanese community and are part of that strong network. On top of that, most respondents were negative about their connection to Egyptian locals. This dynamic would suggest that the respondents would prefer to stay in their Sudanese communities and avoid Egyptian society. This does not affirm integration. But this is the result of a number of societal problems rather than the reason. The main problems for integration are on the one hand the lack of work opportunities for the adults leading to low incomes which has a knock on effect on other aspects of life, lack of educational opportunities for the children in part due to the lack of income from the parents and because of lack of educational institutes and facilities. And on the other hand, the everyday problems with harassment of all those with a Sub-Saharan African appearance on streets, at work, at home and elsewhere. The combination of lack of opportunities and discrimination means that integration is nearly unattainable and by no means incentivized. However, many young Sudanese who grew up speaking the Sudanese Arabic have now become used to Egypt, speaking Arabic in the Egyptian way, preferring the Egyptian toilets

¹⁴ For instance, that because they were Sudanese, they were only given the cheap generic brands of medication, which according to them did not work as well as the good expensive brands.

over the latrines they may be used to in their village in Sudan. They are not interested in integration, but on a practical level, they are more integrated than they realize.¹⁵

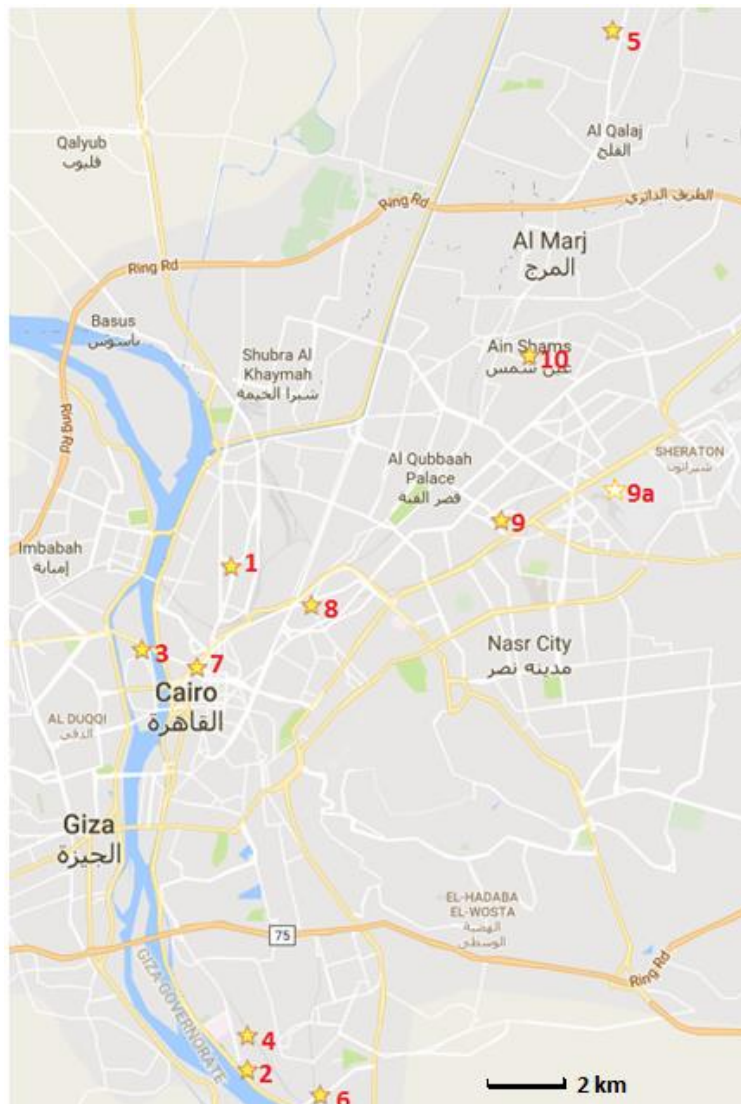
¹⁵ These examples are based on an interview with Fr. Jos Strengholt about the integration of Sudanese in Egypt, on his experiences with his Sudanese church members.

6. Characteristics of the RNGOs

Based on Berger's Framework for the Analysis of Religious NGO's (2003), this chapter looks at the characteristics of each religious organisation that took part in this study. The information in this chapter is based mostly on the interviews with representatives of the eleven organisations. Starting with the geographic locations of the organisations, the organisations will be discussed on the basis of a number of different characteristics. First a discussion of the religious characteristics of the organisations will take place followed by some information about the history, finances and the intended recipients. A discussion of the characteristics of the staff of the organisations will precede the final section on the other organisations working with refugees in Cairo, with a focus on the UNHCR.

Geographic characteristics of the organisations

Figure 11: showing the locations of the different RNGOs in Cairo



- 1: Caritas
- 2: Catholic Relief Services
- 3: Refuge Egypt
- 4: African Hope Learning Centre
- 5: Nile Union Academy
- 6: Rivers School
- 7: St. Andrew's Refugee Services
- 8: Comboni Schools – St. Lwenge
- 9: St Michael's Church, Nuba Bible Institute and Family Fund
- 9a: St. Raphael School and St. Gabriel Social Centre
- 10: Sudanese Children Care Education Centre

The organisations have geographic contexts in which they work. Figure 11 shows the geographic location of the organisations in Cairo and in relation to each other. Each organisation has its own reason for choosing a specific place to locate their offices and places of service. This section will look at the way in which the organisations have located themselves in different parts of Cairo and considers its relevance to the services they provide.

There are a number of factors that play a role in where the organisations have decided to have their offices and offer their services. Different organisations have different reasons for their specific location. There are two main ways in which a location could be accessible to a group of low income individuals and families. The first is that the organisations can be located near or in the neighbourhoods the refugees live. Using Figure 11, we can say that a number of the organisations are placed in exactly the areas with a high refugee population.¹⁶ The second is being at a location that is accessible by public transport; a central location. Most of the organisations in this study fall into either or both of these categories. Some, and one in particular are exceptions. The Nile Union Academy is quite a distance from the main public transport system, the metro, and is not in an area with a refugee population. Here, however, the fact that part of the students are boarding and go home less frequently than others means that the school does not need to be as accessible to students coming from further.

In general though, the schools are in places where the refugee population is relatively high, as the need is the highest in these neighbourhoods. All but one of the schools are located in areas that the surveys showed respondents live, in Maadi, in Kilo Arba wa Nuss and in Ain Shams among others.

Like the schools, St. Michael's ministries has its projects in the area where most of their community lives; Kilo Arba w Nuss and Hay el Asher. The church itself is in an area that is expensive and where the upper class Egyptians live. Because of this, its social centre and school were set up in the neighbourhoods where the Sudanese refugees who attend St. Michael's live, as the distance between the two places and the perceived need for weekday activities called for a neighbourhood location as solution.

The location of a number of the organisations is bound to the location of the church that the organisations came out of, like Family Fund, Refuge Egypt, St. Andrew's Refugee Services and St. Lwenge. It is interesting to note that the proximity of the organisations to the churches do not necessarily have influence on the religious characteristics of the organisation. Where St Andrew's Refugee Services and St. Lwenge school do not offer religious services, Refuge Egypt and Family Fund do offer religious input into their services.

Caritas and Catholic Relief Services are both part of large international organisations. While CRS Egypt is part of a larger organisation, Caritas is actually an independent member of a group of different Caritas organisations worldwide. Both organisations have headquarters, but also a number of other field offices. Refuge Egypt is an organisation set up in Egypt that has health clinics spread over the city of Cairo and in Alexandria, all focused on refugee health care, some are female fertility clinics while others are more general field medical

¹⁶ This includes all of the organisations, besides Caritas, St. Andrew's Refugee Services, Refuge Egypt or Nile Union Academy, St Michael's Church and Family Fund

centres. The Comboni ministries have 3 schools spread over Cairo, with the main offices in Abbyssia, at the Sacred Heart church that also houses the St. Lwenge school.

The reason that there is a large number of organisations offering the same services within Cairo and sometimes even the same neighbourhoods is because on the one hand, Cairo is a very large city, so the distance between these schools can be up to an hour and a half by public transport. On the other hand, some areas have a high population of Sudanese and each individual school, for instance, cannot provide education for all of the children in that area as their capacity is limited by their budget.

Religious characteristics

All of the organisations have an affiliation with Christianity. Some come from a certain type of international church denomination while others are actively connected to a local church. There are other religious characteristics that apply to some organisations in this study. This section will look at these characteristics and how they are expressed in the services they offer. More specifically, it will look at the Christian denomination, the extent to which the local employees of the organisation see the organisation itself as religious, and whether or not having the 'right' religious conviction is a requirement for the majority of the staff at the organisation.

Table 12: Religious characteristics of the RNGOs

Organisations	Denomination	Does the (Egypt based) organisation see itself as religious	Is having the 'right' religious conviction a requirement for staff?
Caritas	Catholic	No	no
Catholic Relief Services	Catholic	no	no
Refuge Egypt	Anglican	yes	no
African Hope Learning Centre	Non-Denominational	yes	yes
Nile Union Academy	Adventist	yes	yes
Rivers School	Non-Denominational	yes	yes
St. Andrew's Refugee Services	Lutheran	no	no
Sakakini Schools	Catholic (Comboni Order)	yes	no
St Michael's Ministries (St Raphael School & St Gabriel Centre)	Anglican	yes	no
Sudanese Children Care Education Centre	Wesleyan	yes	unknown
Family Fund	Non-Denominational	yes	no

With regards to religious characteristics, the organisations can be organized into two main categories. The first category is the 'actively Christian' organisations and covers the majority of the organisations in this study.¹⁷ These organisations offer and encourage their dependents to come to Christian activities besides or as well as the services they offer. One example of an actively Christian organisation is Refuge Egypt. Its mission statement includes the phrase 'spiritual guidance', clearly suggesting the close link between religion and the other humanitarian services they are offering. Refuge Egypt also offers a Statement of Faith on their website. Though the assistance they offer is not only religious, they do offer many opportunities for refugees to take part in religious activities and hope to be more than just a development organisation. The other organisation in this category have similar characteristics.

The second category of organisations would be the 'passively Christian' organisations: Caritas, Catholic Relief Services, St. Andrew's Refugee Services, Comboni Schools. This second category of organisations are those that have a religious history, and/or take place on the same compound as the church that started it, but their services are in no way religious.

The larger organisations, both of which are passively Christian are Catholic, and are less religious than others organisations in the field in that their affiliation with the church is more historical than a part of their day-to-day work. The CRS website has a whole section on the Catholic background of the organisation in general. At the interview both employees¹⁸ admitted to not being Catholic themselves and that none of their colleagues were, to their knowledge even Christian. Caritas on the other hand had a largely Christian employee population, which was attributed to the fact that it is a Christian organisation.¹⁹ Furthermore, all organisations but these two originated locally and through a local church.

Almost all of the organisations have started through a church seeing a need in a community they were working with. Family Fund, for instance, started as an initiative for helping the Sudanese that were coming to Heliopolis Community Church so that the refugees did not only come to the church services in order to ask for money or other assistance from the pastor or members of the congregation. Separating the two meant that everyone could enjoy the service and those who needed assistance were still able to receive it, but at a different moment. The evening meetings organised by Family Fund in which they offer different types of aid starts with a short Christian service that is not obligatory and it doesn't dissuade the Muslims from coming to the Family Fund as they can wait outside until the service is over.

The different organisations have different religious affiliations. Though all are still connected to a denomination or a certain church, a number of the organisations have removed close to all religious elements from their day to day work. These tend to be the larger organisations, like Caritas and Catholic Relief Services. The slightly smaller organisations like StARS and Refuge Egypt have each gone in a different direction, and most of the smaller organisations still choose to actively pursue their religious activities as part of their program.

¹⁷ This includes Refuge Egypt, Family Fund, Rivers School, Nile Union Academy, Sudanese Children Care Education Centre, St. Michael's Ministries and African Hope Learning Centre.

¹⁸ Nakhla El-Shall and Dina Refaat

¹⁹ Interview with Dr. Magdy Garas of Caritas.

In order to pass on 'Christian principles of faith' to the students, some of the schools only accept Christian teachers. Other organisations prefer having a mix of different religious staff members, as they want to be non-religious. Refuge Egypt and St. Andrew's Refugee Services which used to work together very closely separated because both were concerned about the religious aspect of their work. Refuge Egypt wanted to be able to mix religion and their refugee services, whereas StARS wanted to be non-religious in their work.

Some organisations see the work they do with refugees as their Christian duty:

"I think there's a Christian imperative to help refugees and asylum seekers (...) 'I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was in prison and you visited me and I was a stranger and you welcomed me.'²⁰ It's so fundamental to what it means to be a Christian, you know".²¹

These organisations saw their work as part of a higher calling, with some of the (usually western) staff having unpaid positions as part of their own 'calling'. This involvement of religion in not only their private lives but also the work they do is not different from the way in which Sudanese Muslims and Christians tend to see life as a religious experience. In this way, there is an understanding between these religious refugees and the actively Christian organisations, as they use similar religious jargon and express their religion quite openly.

On the other hand, one source explained that in his experience, many Sudanese were more actively involved in churches because they knew that they would have more easy access to the extra 'charitable' services they offered.²² Furthermore, many realize that having a higher position in a church or an organisation gives them more power within their communities, which has benefits. One non-Sudanese church leader explained that he had to remove the entire council of one of his Sudanese churches as he found that they used their power to take money from the collection taken up during the service to pay for their own taxi's home, instead of using the bus that the rest of the members of the congregation used.

Unfortunately there were many more similar stories. So religion is important to them, but that same church leader made sure that his own paid treasurer was always involved in financial issues after that. So there is a religious culture that involves a certain jargon that a number of the organisations recognise and can appreciate. But in practice, the expectations the organisations have in the religious nature of the recipients of their services have sometimes disappointed in situations where there was little accountability. Many organisations come to realize that though freedom of religious expression is appreciated, it comes down to the services that are provided rather than the extra Bible study or the praying together with the case worker.

The larger and more active organisations are closely linked to certain denominations rather than just churches. Particularly the Catholics and the Anglicans, but also the Lutherans and Adventists have a strong denominational presence, and are connected to not just one church, but besides all the churches in their denomination in Egypt, they are also linked to the Catholic and Anglican churches worldwide. If an Anglican organization like Refuge Egypt were to need additional finances for a project, they can much more easily entreat members

²⁰ Matthew 25:35 New International Version translation

²¹ Interview with Daniel Watkins of Refuge Egypt

²² Interview with Shawgi Kori, Sudanese lawyer and refugee

churches in other countries to help them. And because of their affiliation, they are more likely to give. Organisations and schools that are linked to the independent evangelical churches in Cairo have a much harder time, as they are not formally related to other churches within Egypt, let alone outside of Egypt. Their base of donors are the members of the churches they are connected with, and when those members return to their home country, they may find donors in their home country, or churches who are willing to donate funds for certain projects, but there is less formal support. Where the evangelical organisations may have the stamp of approval of their individual church and congregation, the Anglicans and Catholics have the support of bishops and archbishops.

To sum up: there are actively Christian and passively Christian organisations that express their religion in completely different ways. The actively Christian organisations tend to prefer having only Christian employees, while the passively Christian organisations prefer to have staff of all religions. Those actively Christian organisations practice their religion openly, and the refugee populations they serve does the same. This means that they have a lot in common. But because there are cultural differences, the expectations can be different as well, and in the end, the priorities lie in the services rather than the religious characteristics of the service the organisations offer. Furthermore, the religious background of the organization decides whether or not the church is widely supported or only locally.

Here it is also relevant to discuss the way in which the organisations experience the fact of being Christian in a Muslim context. For most organisations this is not a problem. The organisations working together with the UNHCR are in a more 'official' position than those who are not, which means that they are recognized and will not be bothered.²³ Those who do not are usually smaller and do not bother their neighbours. Because in Egypt the Christians are a minority, they tend to keep more to themselves and keep their activities within their gates. The churches on whose property some of the organisations in this study are located on are often run by foreigners, with foreign priests or pastors. These churches are usually more protected. None of the Christian organisations mentioned experiencing any religion-related problems with the Muslim population.

²³ Based on conversations with Fr. Jos Strengholt.

Year started, finances and target group of the organisations

Table 13: Year started, finances and target group of the organisations

Organisation	First started in Egypt in...	How is the organisation financed?	Who is the target group of the refugee services provided by the RNGO?
Caritas Egypt	1967	75% from partners, 25% local donors	All refugees
Catholic Relief Services	1956	Mostly from grants per project, otherwise from CRS private fund	All refugees
Refuge Egypt	1987	Large part from UNHCR, also from Christian Organisations world wide	All refugees
African Hope Learning Centre	1988	20-25% based on school fees, rest from private donations	African refugee children/ African children
Nile Union Academy	1954	Adventist church & tuition fees	Adventists/any students
Rivers School	2014	50% through church and private donations, 50% through tuition fees	Refugees and other students
St. Andrew's Refugee Services	1979	N.a.	All refugees
Sakakini Schools	1994	From the Church and from the Comboni communities	All refugees
St Michael's Ministries (St Raphael School & St Gabriel Centre)	St Gabriel - 2012, St Raphael - 2016	Most of it is money from outside Egypt. European and American NGOs, individuals & churches. But also some money from rent	Sudanese refugees, generally from the Moro mountain area
Sudanese Children Care Education Centre	2007	Fund from other organisations, tuition, and some private funding	Sudanese refugee children
Family Fund	Around 1991	Local donors and donations from a UK group	Sudanese refugees

This following section covers a broad array of topics, as it discusses the origins of the organisations, the way in which the organisations are financed, and the intended target group of the projects of the organisations. The relevance of understanding how the organisations are financed is that in some cases it shows how connected they are, and it shows the difference between organisations and the effect it has on the organisations. The relevance of the target group is that though most are focused on refugees in general, some are more specific in the type of refugee due to the nature of the organisation.

Older organisations tend to be larger than new organisations, and the larger an organisation is, the more varied its programs and target group is. Caritas and CRS do not cater exclusively to refugees, though neither do NUA and Rivers School.

Interestingly, it is the schools that are run by foreigners that have a lower average refugee population relative to other nationalities than the schools with a predominantly Sudanese staff. Those schools set up by and run by partly foreign staff have other, non-refugee students in their school. The principals of two out of three of those schools explained that

they would prefer to have more Sudanese students as that was the original aim of their school: to provide a place for Sudanese refugee students to have a good education. One principal explained that many non-refugees were taking up spaces in the school instead of refugees, and the other was having trouble finding students at all. In the case of this second school, the fact that the school fees are higher than other Sudanese schools means that it is difficult for many refugees to be able to afford these costs, furthermore, the curriculum was not Arabic nor Sudanese; many students would not be able to take exams in order to go to university.

Regarding integration: Rivers School is another interesting case, because they claim to be interested in integrating Sudanese and other nationalities together.²⁴ The NUA has both Egyptian and Sudanese students living in their boarding facility, and though there are no inherent problems of racism and discrimination taking place between the two nationalities, it is the norm that the teenagers spend more time with other teenagers of their own nationality. And while the dorms were arranged to have ethnically mixed rooms, in the girl dorms, at least, the Sudanese quickly asked to become roommates as they were unhappy about the hygiene of the Egyptians girls.²⁵

But Rivers School is still struggling with finding students of all nationalities to attend their school, let alone Sudanese students which means that less money is available for paying teachers. One reason that this may be the case is that on the one hand, the students are not following a recognised curriculum that will allow them to take exams that will lead them to university, and on the other hand, the cost of studying there is higher than at African Hope Learning Centre. Refugees generally have a low income, and this means that the schools that have mostly or only refugee students have to supplement their income. Once the school has enough students and enough funds for teachers, it could offer the curriculum necessary for attending Egyptian and other universities.

Many of the organisations are funded by organisations to whom they send project proposals with fund requests in order to run their programs. Most organisations are either supported by the UNHCR or by other, larger organisations that have funds, like Caritas or CRS that are in turn supported and funded by the UNHCR themselves. They are implementing partners of UN, who in itself does not work with healthcare or education, except through these Christian organisations. Because CRS focuses its programs for refugees on education, they are also very involved in the funding of the schools, directly and indirectly. They give financial support to the students so that they can afford to study (UNHCR data. Syrian Refugees). They give support to the school itself so that it can afford teachers, they have been known to help schools in finding a building and they offer yearly training to the teachers. Without their support, many of the children would not be able to get the education they need and with it the stability that having an education offers.

Most of the organisations receive a large part of their funding from the UNHCR. They are dependent on them. It is the smaller organisations who do not have access to those funds, through Caritas for instance, that find it more difficult to provide assistance, as they have to rely on smaller and less stable funds, leading to more uncertainties in their income. Having a

²⁴ Interview with Doug Beale of Rivers School

²⁵ Interview with Richard Doss of Nile Union Academy.

connection to the UNHCR also gives the organisation a stronger position as they and their work are acknowledged by a renowned organization, an organization that sets the agenda for refugee-based development. This also means that they seem more reliable for other potential donors.

The organisations that have Western foreigners involved in it are more likely to receive foreign donations, from individuals or organisations. This is a problem for schools like Sudanese Children Care Education Centre, where without international involvement, finding the funds is more difficult. This was expressed by one principal²⁶ who realized the relative difficulty of keeping his school running financially in comparison to schools like African Hope Learning Centre who at least have that access as they are linked to a western church, Maadi Community Church.

St. Michael's ministries are funded differently. Their first and main way of funding is by renting out space on their property for different groups. The church and buildings are located in a very wealthy part of Cairo that lacks green open space, which the church is able to provide. The money that is spent on rent can be used to pay for other things that would otherwise need to be covered by the income from donations. The donations that do come, come mostly from Europe and the US and come by the fundraising of the priest.²⁷

Staff

A main element of any organisation is the staff that run it. This section looks at the different characteristics of staff for the organisations. This section in the interviews with the organisations focused on the staff size in their offices in Egypt, the different nationalities of the staff members and whether or not the organisation made use of volunteers. The results of these interviews are displayed in Table 14.

Many of the organisations that work with refugees are led by foreigners or originate in a local western church, like the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church, an evangelical/non-denominational church, Seventh Day Adventist church, and others. At StARS all of the western employees were paid a local salary, unlike their counterparts at the UNHCR and IOM.

²⁶ Pastor Marko Deng of Sudanese Children Care Education Centre

²⁷ Fr. Jos Strengholt of St. Michael Ministries

Table 14: Staff information

Organisation	Staff size in Egypt	Staff nationalities	Volunteers
Caritas Egypt	1600	Mostly Egyptian	yes
Catholic Relief Services	80 full time staff members	Mostly Egyptian	yes
Refuge Egypt	60 staff, mostly medical at clinics	50% Egyptian, 10% western, 40% Southern Sudanese	yes
African Hope Learning Centre	42 staff	Mostly African, many nationalities involved	yes
Nile Union Academy	Two families mainly + Egyptians and non-Sudanese	Two families mainly + Egyptians and non-Sudanese	yes
Rivers School	6	Mostly foreigners	Yes (9)
St. Andrew's Refugee Services	130	80% of staff are refugees + some Egyptians and number of foreigners	Yes (85)
Sakakini Schools	100 teachers spread over 3 schools	Sudanese	no
St Michael's Ministries (St Raphael School & St Gabriel Centre)	20 or less for all the organisations	Mostly Sudanese or Egyptian	no
Sudanese Children Care Education Centre	20 including teachers and guards (mostly volunteers)	Mostly South Sudanese, some Egyptians	yes
Family Fund	1 paid staff	Egypt, Sudanese, other foreigners	Yes (15)

In some of the organisations people raised their own funds to be able to come to Egypt to work. A number of the organisations have volunteers. At NUA, for instance, groups from Adventist backgrounds would come and volunteer; to paint and redecorate some classrooms or to organise weekend activities for the students. A number of trained and specialized foreign volunteers work at a number of different organisations, as health care specialist in clinics, at Refuge Egypt, for instance. At Rivers School there is a dentist who comes once every few months to do dental check-ups with the students, and with whoever in the community is in need. At St. Andrew's there are volunteers positions, including teaching English lessons. One respondent chose to have few volunteers because his experience was that a volunteer would start asking for a salary after a while anyway, also the low commitment levels of volunteers was more of a hassle to him. Because they are not in a hierarchical relationship to the manager they cannot be instructed to work a certain way with the consequence of being made redundant, they need continuous motivation as they are not being paid, and because of this, they tend to lose interest quickly.²⁸ On the other hand, the use of volunteers in general has benefits as well as pitfalls. The main benefit is, of course that the labour is free. But it is often the case that the short term foreign volunteers are encouraged to donate money to the organisations, or they are connected to a church or organisation in their home country that might support the organisations in Egypt financially.

²⁸ Fr. Jos Strengholt

The use of staff from certain nationalities has an influence on other aspects of the organisation itself. By having a high number of Egyptians and refugees on staff, the organisation can have a better connection to both the country they are working in and the people they are assisting. Furthermore, it may be healthy for the long term wellbeing of an organisation if they make use of mainly local staff as they are also less reliant on foreign staff and knowledge to do their work which makes them more resilient. During the uprising in Egypt in January 2011, and in the months afterwards, many foreign workers left Egypt and the work they did there (CNN, 2011). Furthermore, it has become more difficult for foreign workers to get a visa for a longer stay (more than 1 month) in Egypt. This has been a problem for many organisations attempting to get the visas for their foreign staff.²⁹ One benefit of having foreign staff members is that the organisation becomes more accessible and visible to foreign, and particularly western donors. For a staff member to have connections in their home country makes the organisation more likely to attract foreign donations.³⁰ However, a lot of the foreign workers at these Christian organisations chose to remain in Egypt after the uprising in 2011, unlike many of their colleagues at secular organisations and schools.

Many of the older and larger organisations make much more use of local and refugee staff. Where Caritas and CRS are mostly Egyptians, St. Andrew's and Refuge Egypt have a mix of Egyptian and refugee staff. Having Egyptian staff means that the project may be more sustainable with regards to hiring new staff and being a part of the Egyptian society. Having refugee and specifically Sudanese refugee employees means that the organisation has a stronger connection to the community they are working with. One element that does not lead to a sustainable work force is the fact that many refugees wish to leave Egypt, and that if an opportunity arises, they are likely to do so. This means that there may be a high turnover of refugee staff. But with the number of refugees in Cairo, there is also a large pool of potential employees to choose from. And it is difficult for many of the refugees to find work, let alone receive a fair wage. These jobs are in high demand, not only for the income it provides, but also because of the status that gives them within the community.

Other relevant organisations in the Sudanese aid field in Cairo

The UNHCR is the largest refugee organisation worldwide, and in Egypt. It is responsible for the well-being of all of the refugees. A large part of the work of the UNHCR is in fact in supporting organisations that support the refugees through funding. Two such organisations are Caritas and Catholic Relief Services who provide funds for educations, housing, healthcare and more, by sending project proposals to different funds, like the UNHCR and different local embassies, for instance. The UNHCR has three offices in Egypt, two in Cairo and one field office in Alexandria. Their main aim is to fight for the rights for anyone who seeks asylum and to take care of their emergency needs in the meanwhile; they are coming, leaving and the UNHCR is their first stop on their way to receiving a refugee status. The

²⁹ This information is based on a number of conversations with foreigners of different nationalities working in Egypt.

³⁰ Interview with Pastor Marko Deng.

UNHCR also refers the refugees to the other organisations for help while they are waiting on their refugee status determination.

The organisations in this study were all asked about their relationship to the UNCHR, and while the larger organisations had a clear link to the UNHCR, some of the smaller organisations and schools did not. Those schools, for instance, that focused on education for refugee children or children from countries with a high refugee population within Cairo, did receive funding from the UNHCR through CRS, and their pupils received financial help for their tuition as well. Rivers school and Nile Union Academy both had no relationship with the UNHCR beyond that they educated a number of refugee students.

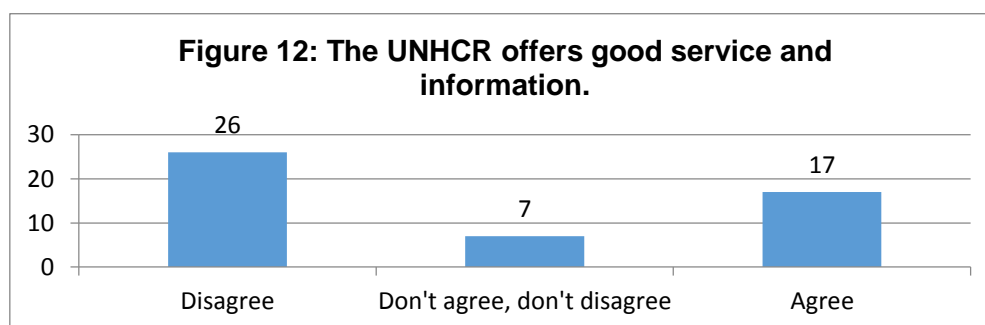
Caritas Egypt	Is an implementing partner of the UNHCR
Catholic Relief Services	Is an implementing partner of the UNHCR
Refuge Egypt	Refugees are referred to RE by UNHCR
African Hope Learning Centre	None (students funded by CRS)
Nile Union Academy	None (students funded by CRS)
Rivers School	None
St. Andrew's Refugee Services	Partners with UNHCR in registration of refugees (students funded by CRS)
Sakakini Schools	Director in the UNHCR working group (students funded by CRS)
St Michael's Ministries (St Raphael School & St Gabriel Centre)	None (students funded by CRS)
Sudanese Children Care Education Centre	None (students funded by CRS)
Family Fund	Informal connection

Table 8 shows the relationship that all of the RNGOs in this study have to the UNCHR. To some extent, all of these organisations have a link, as they each assist Sudanese refugees of which many are in the Refugee Status Determination process done by the UNHCR. Family Fund had an informal connection to the UNHCR through some of the volunteers who worked at the UNHCR. But most of the smaller organisations have not direct connection to the UNHCR.

One way in which UNHCR is supporting the field of refugee assistance is by the forming of working groups. These working groups have different themes, like education or livelihoods, all focused on refugee wellbeing. They give different organisations the opportunity to meet and discuss topics that are relevant to their work. Not all RNGOs are a part of these groups.

While the focus groups revealed that the Sudanese were not happy about Egypt in general, the surveys suggested that the respondents were relatively unhappy with the type of services and information the UNHCR offered. The minutes from a working group meeting by the UNHCR did suggest that a lot of people that intend to travel on are doing so because of their frustration with the UNHCR who is either not offering them the refugee status or is taking a very long time doing so. "Frustration over the white paper system and the back and forth between obtaining it and general belief that Refugee Status Determination is slow with

RSD appointments given in 2018/19. As a result, RST (*sic*) is not considered a real possibility for asylum seekers in Egypt.” (Inter-Agency Working Group, 2015). And for the pressure they are under, and their decreasing budget, they are managing as well as they can, according to Chris Eades. The problem with the frustrations towards the UNHCR is that there is very little alternative as there is no other way of travelling to a developed country legally. This may also explain in part the frustration: the UNHCR is the only real way to leave Egypt towards more western country, as many are desperate to do. Those refugees who are registering for the RSD process will have their first meeting in 2018 or 2019. Regardless of the extra funding and assistance, the news may be disheartening and the UNHCR was generally unpopular, as can be seen in Figure 12 which is based on the surveys with the Sudanese respondents. The reason for asking the respondents in the survey about their opinion of the UNHCR is that it had come up during the focus groups and the Sudanese are very dependent on the UNHCR, making their opinion all the more important for their own experience of being in Egypt.



Where the UNHCR focuses on refugees, the IOM works with other migrants, anyone without an active refugee file. This means that they work with the people who have not yet started their refugee procedures and those who have been denied a status and who have a closed file but who still make use of other refugee services. Besides this they work with all migrants that needs their help that are residing in Egypt, like domestic workers from Asian countries or other migrants that need medical care. They can go to the IOM to request help, whether financial, judicial, and so forth. Many of those who have been rejected still consider themselves to be refugees, though the UNHCR and IOM would disagree. In the focus groups I found that there was a general distrust and disenchantment of organisations like the UNHCR and IOM, as the refugees were disappointed and disheartened by the assistance they received from them. Most of the organisations in this study have not connection to the IOM, as they are in direct contact with the refugees rather than the organisations.

One big organisation that was named by other organisations was PSTIC, the Psychosocial Services and Training Institute in Cairo. It is a non-religious organisation that focuses on psychosocial support, and it also has a training program for people to become psychosocial workers in their own communities, in order to educate the local refugee population and to reach and assist as many people as they can in the different communities.

The role of the government

In discussing the relationship that the organisations had with the government, organisations had different types of connections. Some were connected through programs they did together with the Egyptian Ministry of Health³¹, some schools were connected with the Ministry of Education – trying to register in order to give them official recognition though the government already knows of their existence,³² while other organisations were not registered and did not want to be registered.³³ This last type of organisation realise that the government knows that they are there and the types of services they offer, but they let them continue working. Some of the larger organisations, like Caritas, who are registered, complained that every project that they do that involves receiving donations from outside of Egypt (which accounts for most of their projects) now requires certain permits. The registered organisations have a lot more bureaucracy and inspections to deal with. Without the government approvals necessary, the organisations have a lot more freedom in the services they offer, projects can start more quickly and it is less expensive, as applying for permits actually costs money as well. So many organisations limit government influence by staying under the radar.

³¹ Refuge Egypt for instance

³² Rivers School & African Hope Learning Centre for instance

³³ At least two of the organisations felt this way, if not more.

7. An analysis of services offered by the RNGOs

This chapter will focus on the types of services provided by the organisations in this study. It will look at how the organisations offer the services and how this aligns with the refugee needs. This discussion will be followed by an analyses of the social aspects of the RNGOs, the alignment of aims of the organisations and the Sudanese refugees and concluding with the weaknesses and strengths of the different organisations and their services.

Table 8 shows the activities of each organisation, and specifically their work with Sudanese (and other) refugees. This overview is based on the 'Service' category provided by Berger, under the subheading 'Orientation'.

Table 16: An overview of all of the organisations and the type of work they do.

<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Child education</i>	<i>Adult education</i>	<i>Psycho-social work</i>	<i>Job assistance</i>	<i>Food assistance</i>	<i>Financial assistance</i>	<i>Legal services</i>	<i>Medical services</i>
Caritas	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes/no
Catholic Relief Services	yes/no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no
Refuge Egypt	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
African Hope Learning Centre	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	Incidental
Nile Union Academy	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	Incidental
Rivers School	yes	no	no	no	yes	no	no	Incidental
StARS	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
Comboni schools	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
St Michael's Ministries	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes/no
SCCEC	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
Family Fund	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no

There are different types of assistance, as we have seen, but the different types can also be seen in the light of the effect they have on the refugee's wellbeing. Short term humanitarian relief is necessary for the survival of those in dire need. These include assistance in terms of finances, food, clothing, and housing. These are necessities and they need to be met in order for a person and their family to be able to live.

There are three types of assistance that the services can be categorised into. The first is humanitarian assistance, which allows the recipient refugee to live and feed his or her family in the short run. The second is sustainable assistance, which aims at equipping the refugees to improve their own physical wellbeing in the long run. The third is the wellbeing assistance, which focuses on the spiritual and psychosocial needs that go above physical needs.

In any case, the short-term needs must be seen to before the long term needs are to be met. Once a person has an education or a job, they are much more able to take care of themselves and their families. The third type of assistance is harder to quantify. These are not basic needs, but they do add to the wellbeing of a person. And in a situation whereby hope for the future is one of the main fuels for finding work and a housing situation in the meanwhile, taking care of the spiritual and psychosocial wellbeing is important. These are generally not offered by NGOs, but with RNGOs, the line between assistance and faith is much finer and sometimes downright blurry. Because of this, spiritual assistance is not included in the table but will be discussed further.

Education

Almost all of the organisations had an education programme. For some organisations it was the main purpose, whilst others educated children as part of a growing ideology that came with the growth of the organisation or resolving the need that was present in the community they served. There was, however, an interesting difference in the ideology that caused the school to be set up.

Regarding the curriculum, there have been differences in both the opinions of the Sudanese refugees and amongst organisations themselves about the curriculum. Should the curriculum be an international curriculum that will be accepted by schools in the destination countries or if it should be the Sudanese curriculum that will allow the students to receive further education in Egyptian as well as Sudanese universities and colleges. The parents, students and organisations may want to prepare the child for moving to the US, for instance, and would therefore want them to have the American or International education, as provided by schools like African Hope Learning Centre, whilst other schools are more focused on offering the Sudanese or South Sudanese curriculum, the former being in the Arabic language and the latter being in English. A number of the schools shared concerns about the fact that they were unhappy about the level of education they were able to provide. One RNGO source spoke about the fact that they cannot offer the type of education they wish to.³⁴

“We’re not equipped for that. We don’t have the space and don’t have the teachers to do that. So at this point, you know, we are giving them what we can give them. But it’s not enough. We just... we just can’t do it. We don’t have the finances, we don’t have the space. We don’t have the teachers. You know we don’t have the science lab. How can we teach science without a science lab?” (Chris Rupke, African Hope Learning Centre).

At one school, the students have requested the classes to be in English, with an English curriculum.³⁵ But the curriculum they want is not only expensive in itself, as classes like Chemistry officially require a fully functioning laboratory, but the exams are expensive as well, making it difficult for a small school with a low tuition fee to offer. Furthermore, an

³⁴ Interview with Chris Rupke of African Hope Learning Centre

³⁵ Rivers School

English education is not very practical for living in Egypt, where only the largest and most expensive universities offer degrees in English. The focus of these students that want to have an English curriculum is on moving on towards developed nations where this curriculum can allow them to transition more easily into the schools and universities there. Though this mindset is very hopeful, the principals of the schools that were interviewed were less so.

Another school offers the South Sudanese curriculum which is in English.³⁶ Because the South of Sudan has so many different languages, and because many speak English as a second language, English is the official language of South Sudan. But because a very large part of the country is illiterate, even those who have studied in English, but not the South Sudanese curriculum per se have an advantage if they were to return to South Sudan.

Other schools use an Arabic curriculum.³⁷ Besides the fact that those students have already had education in this language before (if they attended a school before, of course), the curriculum they use will enable them to attend Egyptian universities, but it also prepares them for returning to Sudan, if they are able to and wish to do so.

Because Sudanese refugee students can officially study at universities and colleges in Cairo, many do. Two school principals proudly explained that some of the students from their school were able to make it there. But this certainly wasn't the case for the majority of students.³⁸

But what Rupke was also aware of was that the level of education they hoped to provide was being limited by the students themselves. As refugees, they are growing up in a situation where their future is not secure and their past and present is not stable. They often come to Cairo at a later age and have missed schooling because of their situation, or have never gone to school before. This has effect on their intention and ability to focus on their studies.

"And most of the students don't do homework. You know, in order to pass an international examination you have to be doing 2-3 hours of homework every day and on weekends. Doing projects and doing research. Our students don't do that. They're not in the habit of doing that."³⁹

A number of the schools were adamant about the fact that they not only educate, but that they want to offer holistic education. One RNGO respondents said "The core business is really the development of refugee children to enable them to live a life that is meaningful and enabling them to make decisions that are right and good. So developing character as well as academic learning, because they need both."⁴⁰ Another explained that they don't want to be known as a school where they offer 'relief education', but rather 'development education', to

³⁶ Sudanese Children Care Education Centre

³⁷ Such as those of the Comboni Minsitries and St. Raphael's School

³⁸ Both Pastor Marko Deng from Sudanese Children Care Education Centre and Fr Jemil Araya from St. Lwenge, St. Bekhita & St. Joseph's

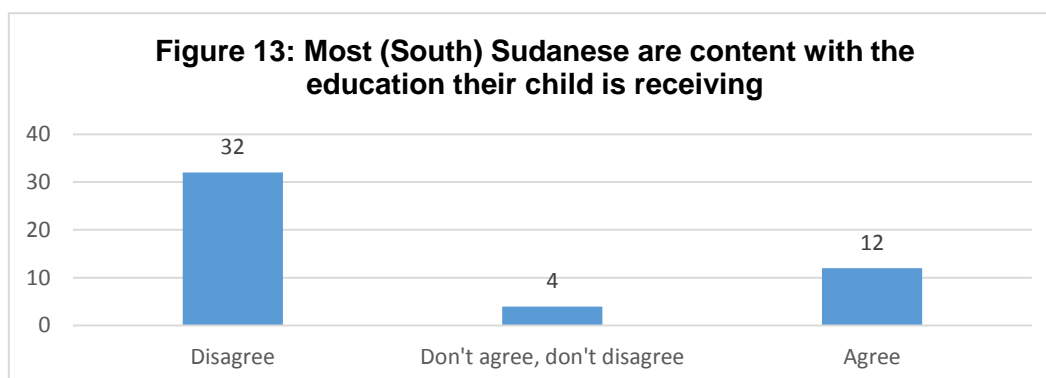
³⁹ Chris Rupke

⁴⁰ Chris Rupke, director of the African Hope Learning Centre

be a centre for education and culture where the whole community can participate, so that it improves the lives of not just the students, but it improves that community as a whole.⁴¹

When asked what they needed most while staying in Egypt, many of the Sudanese attending the focus group said that they wanted their children to be safe.⁴² They discussed the number of gangs, made up of young people who were not being educated and who were not employed. The adults in the focus group believe that they were forming these gangs and causing problems because they had little to do all day. In conversations, many mothers discussed the fear they felt for the future of their children when they themselves could not be at home to take care of them while working. Making the decision to go out to work every day was difficult for them, as they were leaving their children.

In the survey used in this study, the Sudanese refugee respondents were asked whether they thought that most Sudanese were content with the education their child is receiving. Figure 10 shows that most respondents believed that most Sudanese would not be content about the education of their children. In that sense, a number of the schools are not living up to the expectations of the refugees.



The need for education is clear, and the survey showed that most of the parents were positive about the level of education their child was receiving. Parents could have a say in the education their child is receiving as besides the school having a board to run the school, they also have a parent's board that offers a platform for the parents to be involved and voice any concerns. But education for children is more effective when a child's parents not only stimulate them, but can also help them. In order for this to be possible, they need to have some form of education.

However, many of their parents are not literate enough to help them with their homework. According to the CIA World Factbook the adult literacy rate is at a meagre 27% for South Sudan, with male adult literacy at 40% and female adult literacy at 16 % (measured in 2009). In Sudan this percentage is a lot higher, though there is still a large gap between male and female adult literacy, respectively at 83% and 68% (measured in 2015), many needing education themselves if they want to help their child study.

⁴¹ Interview with Doug Beale of Rivers School

⁴² Focus group discussions

Adult Education

Offering adult education is also a common form of RINGO assistance. Many of the adult refugees that come to Cairo have had little education, as suggested by the literacy rates. Being able to read and write would improve their ability to navigate a foreign country like Egypt. Sudanese have the benefit over other African refugees in that they speak Arabic already. Though the Arabic they are used to is a little different to that of the Egyptians, they are able to communicate verbally. English lessons are offered to adults who want to learn in order to prepare them for their resettlement in the US, Canada, Australia, but also in European countries where it would be useful to communicate.⁴³ Not only does this help the person in question be able to say and get what they need in the short run, they are also one step closer to integration. If they know English, it is easier to learn the language of the country, as many teachers will speak English but not Arabic. In the process of collecting data, a number of Sudanese refugees made clear that English lessons are important and that they wanted more opportunities to learn the language. Other organisations⁴⁴ offer either technical training for learning to fix air conditioners or computers, while others are learning management skills in order to improve the leadership capabilities of members of the Sudanese refugee community. Caritas explained that they offer adult education, in order to help refugees find work, *“through vocational training – for them to work or to start a small business. Like hairdressers, technicians, plumbers....”*⁴⁵

Though a number of organisations offer adult education, most of it is not aimed at job opportunities in Egypt, but rather at improving language skills for in the nation of resettlement. Some organisations do some form of vocational training to offer their students the possibility at doing more than just manual labour. The results, however, have shown that very few people actually make use of the opportunities. Grabska writes that the main reasons that the refugees did not make use of the educational opportunities were a “lack of time, the need to earn a living, lack of money for transport or lack of interest” (Grabska, 2005:49). So while the type of assistance sounds like a good opportunity for the refugees to improve their hard and soft skills, they are only helping a smaller number, and there is no clear information on what the long-term results have been on those who have been getting educated. Some of the training that is aimed at preparing refugees for jobs that they may be offered by the same organization afterwards can be said to be successful for providing the families of the workers with an income to live off of. But this is by no means the majority. In that sense, few are being prepared for resettlement.

Psychosocial support

Because being a refugee usually means that the person has experienced difficult and often traumatising situations, they need extra counselling and psychosocial support. Psychosocial support is a way of helping different types of victims to resume their normal life in the context

⁴³ Chris Eades of StARS

⁴⁴ Like Comboni ministries and St. Michael’s Ministries

⁴⁵ Interview with Maria Luisa Caparrós Spa and Magdy Garas of Caritas

of their problems. In the context of these organisations it usually involves talking through the problems that the refugee is facing and finding ways of helping them, whether through advice or through finding programs that can help them with certain issues. Only a few organisations offered psychosocial support. In some organisations, like Family Fund and St. Andrew's' this is also linked to employment programs. This is not the same as psychological support in the sense that the people who have the psychosocial sessions with the refugees are not psychologists. The organisations understand that the psychosocial help they were giving is merely a Band-Aid. It is a place where the refugees can discuss the different problems they are facing with some sort of professional⁴⁶ and where they can discuss possible solutions. One organisation doesn't feel the need to offer this type of support, as they believe that bringing up some traumas doesn't help the refugee and may instead be more damaging when done in a non-professional setting and in a context where change and insecurity is a large factor.⁴⁷ One reason why this area of assisting was limited in most organisations was because there is an organisation that focuses on psychosocial assistance for refugees, called PSTIC, Psychosocial Services and Training Institute Cairo. It has a broad range of psychosocial services for all ages and families, and works at a professional level. Many refugees are referred there, and because it is a training institute, it helps the training up of employees for the RNGOs.

Job Assistance

In order to take care of their family, it is imperative that one or two people in the household have a job. If a family is able to provide for itself, it is less dependent and can live more comfortably in Cairo. However, finding a job can be difficult for both men and women. Starting with women; the most common job for Sudanese women to have is in cleaning, being a nanny or a live-in maid for the people who can afford to keep staff members. Many of the women in the focus groups felt mistreated by their employer, some only felt that they were earning too little for the job they were doing. Other sources have shown that there are many Sudanese women working in households that are routinely abused emotionally, physically or sexually. According to the women's leader at the Nuba Association, "There is a lot of sexual harassment on or around the job and physical abuse" (Changpertitum, 2014). She also recalls the cases of Egyptian employees blackmailing the Sudanese house workers with false accusations of theft. In most cases the person is working without a contract and with payments in cash. This limits the legal position of the refugee employee. There are few jobs for them outside of these categories. And the situation for men is often worse. For cultural reasons, a female cleaner is preferred over a male cleaner, as they are often alone in the house with the wife. This means that the men cannot do the same work that the women can. Most men complained that the work they could find was more labour intensive and with less pay than a woman. Common jobs for the man would be working in a tea shop as a server or working as a labourer. The women complained that many men do not work and spend the money the women earn on alcohol and gambling instead of taking care of the

⁴⁶ The level of professionalism varied, but also what their profession was. Varying between social workers and psychologists, every organization had a different idea of what psychosocial support was.

⁴⁷ Fr. Jos Strengholt of St. Michael's Ministries

children or looking for employment⁴⁸. Because of this employment inequality, many men leave their wives and those women become single parent households.⁴⁹ Different reasons were suggested for why the man left the family. In most cases it boils down to the man's pride. Whilst finding a job is difficult for both men and women, it is harder for men. Furthermore, the pay is lower which means that often the wife earns more than the husband and this affects marital relationships. Some men work outside of Egypt, they may have remained in Sudan for instance, but have sent their families to safety. Some other husbands and sons just disappear and are not heard from again. Some sources suggested that they might be trying to cross the border with Israel or taking the Mediterranean route as the official UN process is not quick enough.

Some of the organisations had employment programs that try to connect potential employers with a capable Sudanese employee. Refuge Egypt, for instance, has a 'Domestic Office' that focuses on equipping refugees by giving a two week course on how to clean a house, for instance, and that advertises their services, tries to find re-employment when their services are no longer required, but importantly, also creates a legal contract for both employee and employer to sign. The professionalisation of these workers gives them more rights and opportunities. Likewise, Family Fund also works with job placement. These organisations rely on some advertising, but mostly on word of mouth advertising as they are dependent potential employers for jobs. Many requests for cleaners, cooks, nannies and drivers are through word of mouth and don't involve organisations at all. Refuge Egypt give priority to the refugees who have lived in Egypt the longest and need a steady income. There are always more seeking employment than there is need for employment. In a developing nation, there are many people to fill low paid positions that the Sudanese are looking for.

With regards to work, many of the Christian organisations that are working to help Sudanese or other refugees have refugee staff. A number of the schools have a predominantly (South) Sudanese staff, and organisations like Refuge Egypt and StARS have mostly refugee staff from different countries. This is not only good for the contact that the organisations can have with the refugees that come in for help, but it also gives opportunities for some of the refugees to have a job that befits their higher level of education. One school principal explained that a number of the teachers are actually former students.⁵⁰ Employing Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees at these organisations is not only positive for the person and their family that benefits, but it extends to the community which now has, through that employee, a more direct line to the organisation. The particular refugee community the employee is a part of is able to receive more information about the assistance that organisation can offer and if they have a certain need, they can always contact that person for advice.

There are only a handful of organisations doing job assistance, and those generally have less jobs to offer the number of refugees in need and want of a job opportunity. Most job opportunities are manual jobs and most of the refugees have little education, so they have limited opportunities anyway. Finally, the job assistance is not the main focus of any of the

⁴⁸ Based on conversations with the females during the focus groups.

⁴⁹ Interviews with Rebecca Atallah and Shawgi Kori

⁵⁰ Chris Rupke

RNGOs, though it is a priority for many of the refugees. This is not to say that there is a difference between what the organisations and what the refugees want, but rather that the situation in Egypt is not conducive to finding or creating work for Sudanese or other refugees.

Food assistance

A number of organisations have a food assistance program, albeit in different forms. Most organisations will have done food distribution; some at Christmas or at Easter, while a smaller number of organisations regularly give food assistance. Family Fund is one such organisations that hands out a small food parcel every week. But because Family Fund works with a rotating schedule that allow around 35 households a week to come by and have a few hundred families on that schedule, they may be receiving food only once every three or four months.

One type of food assistance is the lunch programs at the different refugee schools. Every school offers at least one, usually warm, meal during each school day. The main reason for this is that many of the children will be sent to school without having had breakfast and without bringing a lunch. In some situations, the mother and father are out working all day and cannot cook meals every day. By providing lunch at school they are making sure that the child is fed when their own parents might not have enough money or time to do so, but it also means they are ensuring the full potential a child might have, as educating on an empty stomach may not be as effective.⁵¹ Every school in this study has its own kitchen and at least one cook in order to prepare a warm meal. Perhaps this was also a way of ensuring that children would attend school.

St. Michael's church also feeds all of its churchgoers after the service on Sunday afternoon. The reason for this is similar, it also wants to ensure that the people in the congregation have at least a solid meal per week. An added effect is that people want to attend the service because they will be given food afterwards. This means that on a typical Sunday, more than double the maximum number of people that can fit into the church actually come, with at least half sitting outside.

Financial assistance

For most Sudanese refugees, medical services and child education is unaffordable. None have insurance and have trouble paying for both large and small necessary medical costs. A number of organisations help financing a number of different specific things. For instance, most medical assistance is actually the reimbursement of medical costs, assistance to education is part of the tuition paid for them. Caritas, for instance, will partially refund medical costs made by refugees, but they also help refugees financially in their first months

⁵¹ Chris Rupke

in Egypt, in order to pay for food, housing and other things. St. Michael's has a system whereby the Sudanese community and church leaders will take different requests from people in the congregation or the community on the whole and discuss them with the priest⁵² and they decide together who will receive how much for which expenses. The church is able to help finance different things, from medical costs, to school fees or some money towards the cost of a funeral or a ticket to travel back to Sudan for visiting a sick family member. Different people were very positive about the way in which they managed to support people in small ways, something which was seen as an encouragement.

Legal services

The UNHCR procedures are generally legal procedures that give a refugee the right to be a refugee and the right to travel and live in another country. So legal services are extremely important to the refugees who wish to be resettled. St. Andrew's Refugee Services is the only organisations outside of the UNHCR that does anything related to legal services. The legal program works with international lawyers that will deal with resettlement, refugee status determination and 'know your rights' training, in order to deal with local authorities and to know who to approach when their rights have been taken away illegally. They do a lot of the preparatory work for the UNHCR, preselecting a number of candidates for resettlement. With the legal services team, they will meet with potential candidates for the UNHCR resettlement program. Through interviews and background checks they will make a list of candidates that is given to the UNHCR who will select which ones, together with the candidates they have themselves will be eligible for resettlement. Out of the roughly 85,000 refugees waiting to be resettled, only about 3000 from Africa are actually resettled.⁵³ To those who are not chosen to be resettled, this process is disappointing as it is time consuming and does not reap any benefits.

Medical services

The refugees in Cairo are under a lot of pressure in their daily lives, with most having manual labour jobs. Furthermore, Egypt is a country with very lax health and safety regulations. Accidents are common. Most don't have insurance. The cost of medical treatment puts a strain on the budgets of the refugee families, if they are able to pay the amount at all. Besides the medical care for the adults, the children will most likely not receive any vaccinations or check-ups without some kind of financial assistance.

As mentioned, a lot of the medical assistance that takes place is actually the reimbursement of some of the medical costs to the refugee, which is what Caritas does. One of the main complaints of the refugees, based on the focus groups, was in the way that Caritas reimburses them. The first point was that the refugees have to pay the bills themselves,

⁵² Fr. Jos Strengholt

⁵³ Chris Eades of St. Andrew's Refugee Services.

usually up front, something which is difficult for many with a low income and especially in an emergency situation. According to the refugees, Caritas also required them to use certain hospitals that they believed to be inadequate, often with the prescribed medicine itself being past the expiry date. Finally, Caritas would not reimburse the full amount, and the money arrived much later than it was needed. The refugees were very negative about their necessary dependency on an organisation they did not like.

St. Michael's pays the bills outright, without the refugee having to pay anything themselves. The Sudanese refugees were understandably positive about this assistance. Refuge Egypt actually has clinics that offer medical assistance to anyone who needs it. They are spread out over Cairo, and with a few clinics in Alexandria as well, it is easier for refugees to get medical care. The Anglican Church in Cairo is closely linked to the Harpur Memorial Hospital outside of Cairo, a place where the current Anglican Bishop used to be a doctor. For larger operations, the churches and the organisations connected to them, send refugees there to ensure good treatment at a low cost. As St. Michael's and Refuge Egypt are both Anglican, they make use of this service as well.

Some of the schools, like African Hope Learning Centre, have nurses on staff. The children are able to receive their inoculation and have regular check-ups. This school also has a professional psychologist on staff, as many of the students may have psychological troubles due to their own problematic past and present. Rivers School has a dentist come by regularly to check the dental hygiene and wellbeing of the students and community members who wish to have this same service.

In reiteration, the medical assistance that is offered generally comes in the form of (partial) payment of the medical bills, including the subsidising of procedures at certain (often Christian) hospitals. The refugees have different experiences with different organisations, preferring one over the other. Some schools also offer medical healthcare for the children in order to keep them healthy, and as a part of their development work.

Spiritual assistance

In a time when religious disputes can cause wars, the Christian and Muslim refugees in Cairo live side by side quite peacefully. Though it may be easier for a Muslim to integrate religiously into Egypt, where they can attend the Mosque, they still face the same problems that Christians do. But whether Christian or Muslim, the members of this community are very religious. They are very open to religious activities, and actively participate in them. If a Christian worker at an organisation offers to pray with a Muslim refugee, they don't mind.

Some of the organisations also have religious programs or services. One organisation starts their evenings with a short Christian service that includes singing, prayer and a short sermon/talk.⁵⁴ Another organisation hosts youth worship evenings⁵⁵, and all of the Christian

⁵⁴ Family Fund

⁵⁵ Refuge Egypt

schools offer either religious studies⁵⁶, or 'chapel time/morning devotion', a prayer before class starts.⁵⁷ Particularly in the case of schools, the academic curriculum is often interwoven with religious activities. For a community whose religion is not very separate from other activities during the day, this is not unique, and for most Sudanese Christian parents, this might even be preferred to only having obligatory religious lessons. The strong connection between a refugee's wellbeing and a more spiritual wholeness was made clear in the interviews with African Hope and Rivers School, where they linked the students' education to a more holistic view of their physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing. According to them, a child needs to be nurtured spiritually to really live to their full potential, even more so than through their education.

Some of the organisations are connected to churches. All of St Michael's ministries came out of St. Michael and All Angels' Anglican Church where the priest⁵⁸ himself arranges some of the ministries that are exclusive to his own congregation, with some exceptions. But in general it is by being a member of the church that someone is able to get support from the church. Here the line between organisation and religious activities is very blurred. The reason for this strict guideline is because of capacity; the church can only afford to pay and support members of their own congregation when they need help. It is a pragmatic guideline rather than an ideology and there have been a number of exceptions to the rule. Other churches keep their church ministry and the organisational work separated, but with the church doors always being open to whoever wants to attend a service. The strong connections that some of the organisations have with the church means that anyone seeking spiritual support and assistance can easily contact a priest or pastor.

A large majority of the organisations offer some form of spiritual care, some based around the work and ministries of the church that encourage people to attend their services, while other organisations have a more direct approach, having spiritual discussions as part of their school day or meeting with individual refugees. Religion as part of development work is not an unusual experience to many refugees, coming from very religious countries.

The social aspect of RNGOs

Besides all the other forms of assistance the RNGOs also have something else to offer. Many refugees enjoy socialising, and having a safe place for the children to play outside. Many parts of Cairo do not have grassy areas or public parks, whereas many RNGOs do have that. St. Andrew's church and its garden has a social function, as people can come to the church garden and sit and meet friends. Their gates are open every day. Having a relatively peaceful area where the refugees are less likely to be harassed means that places like the church garden of St. Andrew's and St. Michael's are frequented by refugees. Because of this, people are also able to meet each other and spend time together without being hassled. St. Michael's even has a cafeteria where people can buy snacks at a low

⁵⁶ Comboni schools, for instance.

⁵⁷ Rivers School, African Hope and others

⁵⁸ Fr. Jos Strengholt

price. St. Michael's is generally visited by people from the same tribe, the Moro tribe from the Nuba Mountains. St. Andrew's has a more diverse refugee population. This offers opportunities for people from different countries and tribes. These are places of integration amongst groups. Especially St Michael's is also a place for local Egyptians to come, so the potential for more integration is there as well. In contrast, the UNHCR and IOM are places where the refugees cannot even enter the premises without an appointment. They have to wait outside.

Many programs set up by RNGOs leave room for social interaction between different refugees, like a group lesson in English, a handicrafts group with women but even the break-time during a school day leads to more social interaction amongst children, for instance. And though the RNGOs might not be actively encouraging or enforcing social interaction between refugees as a goal, it is a result of the types of programs that are being offered.

While the first part of this chapter has looked at the way in which different organisations are offering different types of assistance, we now move on to look at the way in which this assistance is experienced by the refugees themselves; is what they are being offered on par with what they would like to receive?

Alignment of aims: the organisations and the refugees

Not all of the organisations have mission statements or statements of faith, and organisations like Caritas have such a broad assistance recipient base that their aims are much more general; 'serve the poor and promote charity and justice throughout the world'. Catholic Relief Services speaks of assisting 'the poor and vulnerable overseas'. Neither of these aims suggest a particular approach of focus on refugees. Like other organisations Refuge Egypt and St. Andrew's Refugee Services are focused on refugees and their wellbeing. Both want to support the refugees in improving themselves, beyond only offering humanitarian help. At Refuge Egypt this also includes offering spiritual guidance.

With regards to aims, the schools can be split into two groups. The first type of schools offer their students a regular education with as aim to send their students to further education if possible.⁵⁹ Other schools wish to develop children in different ways, including spiritually.⁶⁰ One of the principals of a school in the second category explained that he did not want to offer humanitarian or relief education, but development education. The directors of both schools reflected on their aims and realised that they currently are not in a position to be able to offer the children everything they would like to offer, with regards to sports, science education, or the types of exams they would like them to sit. The survey response also showed that most refugees believe

When asked to what extent their organisation works on integration most RNGO respondents explained that they are not actively pursuing integration into the local Egyptian community,

⁵⁹ Schools like St. Raphael's and the Comboni Schools

⁶⁰ African Hope Learning Centre and Rivers School

and the Sudanese refugees that are making use of their services are not seeking it out either. One school explained that they tried to reduce the amount of abuse that their students were getting from the school children from other schools in the area by playing games in a park outside and inviting the passersby to join in.⁶¹ This was not successful as few people joined in. An organisation like St. Andrew's has a large amount of Sudanese employees, as do the St. Michael's Ministries, which means that the refugees are able to influence the organisation and projects taking place. St. Michael's has an immediate feedback loop in how it organizes local activities in one of the neighbourhoods. These activities are planned and run by the Sudanese leaders within the community. Because St. Gabriel Social Centre, part of St. Michael's Ministries, is local to a large community and they have influence on what happens there. Initiative is encouraged.

There is also a difference between what the refugees believe the organisations do or ought to do and what they actually provide. Caritas, for instance, is often criticized by the refugees, because they believe that when Caritas says it offers medical assistance, that they will be able to afford medical care. Often the assistance they provide is a reimbursement, so the refugee may have to pay the initial costs of medical care themselves if it is a sudden need, in some cases the amount being reimbursed is lower than what they paid, and they can only go to a few hospitals and they are given cheap medicine that is past its expiration date. One focus group complained that they were given generic medicine instead of the brand medicine. These allegations were made by a number of different people. The refugees in the focus groups were disappointed by both Caritas and CRS as they had expected more from them. This theme of expectation is something which is inherently part of the Sudanese refugee situation, as they are left to wait and expect a better future. Those who have received their refugee status card or are in the process of applying for one expect that they will be taken care of by the UNHCR and its implementing partners. This combined with the decreasing budget of the UNHCR means that the type of assistance they were used to have declined slowly as well.

One important difference between RNGOs and NGOs is, of course, that religion can play a role in the services provided. Some of the schools, Refuge Egypt and Family Fund involve religion in the services they provide. Religion is a very important part of the lives of the Sudanese refugees, whether Christian or Muslim, religion can shine through in different ways. A number of times during the research I found that respondents wanted to pray with me or told me that God would bless me and that he would 'do good work through me'. Some of the employees at RNGOs who were interviewed admitted that it was relatively normal for employees of the organisation to pray with and for a refugee who came in to talk about a problem they were facing.⁶² One person interviewed found that all refugees had responded positively to the request, whether they were Muslim or Christian. In this way the aims of those organisations are aligned, where these religious elements are received positively by the refugees.

⁶¹ African Hope Learning Centre

⁶² The topic of Christians praying for Muslims is a sensitive one in a country where Christian to Muslim proselytising is illegal. For this reason, no specific information about which organisations may do this will be published.

Different organisations have different ideas about how they should be helping the refugees. For example: Family Fund offers more practical and humanitarian assistance, like food and second hand clothing, while St Andrew's Refugee services offers classes and different types of service-based assistance. These different types of services together mean that a refugee has access to both short and longer term needs and are treated holistically. This, however, would be the case if the different refugees had access to all of these different organisations, but due to constraints, this is unfortunately not common, as Family Fund has currently put a stop on taking up more refugees, as they were overwhelmed and could hardly match their services and provisions to the amount of refugees requesting them.

This segment has shown that some organisations work on aligning their programs to the needs of the refugees, whereas others offer them with less consultation. This may alienate the refugees and create some misalignment. The next section will look at the weaknesses and strengths of the different approaches of the different organisations and the field in general.

Weaknesses of the RNGO approaches

Many interviewees at the organisations were critical about some aspect of the service they provided, explaining that they were working to their maximum capability but were still not able to do what they were hoping they could. Some interviewees were critical of other organisations, about their approach, effectiveness or idealism. And comparing what one organisation did better than another is easy to do when there are many similar organisations, but what are the weaknesses of the organisations on the whole?

The first big weakness is that organisations are only able to help those who ask for assistance and know they exist. So this means that they may not be reaching those who need their services the most. There is nothing to say that they aren't reaching those who need it most, but most of the organisations do not have a system in place whereby they go out, using the refugee community members from their own organisations to find if there are people that do not access their assistance but that do need it. Family Fund, for instance, cannot give food to those who do not come to collect it, and Refuge Egypt cannot teach those who do not come to their classes, however much they need it.

Another weakness in the field of RNGOs is that the organisations do not have strong links with each other, nor a system in which they communicate or work together beyond a number of informal links. It is logical that some organisations won't have too much to do with each other, a school in one part of the city and an organisation in another for instance, but there is no formal way in which these organisations could form a group together.

One weakness at an organisation like Family Fund is that it is mainly organized by one person, with many volunteers. This is not a sustainable situation and very vulnerable and if the director were to leave, there would need to be a system whereby the organisation can run without them. Furthermore, if the same person is in charge for a very long time, it may

lead to a stagnation of ideas or development in the processes that take place in the organisation.

Many of the organisations were aware of their own weaknesses, but with their main job of offering assistance at hand, they spent less time evaluating their own organisation. The most important thing they regretted was that they couldn't help everyone who needed their assistance. If the organisation had more money, they could arrange for a bigger building for a greater capacity along with more employees and volunteers, and more professional care. The problem of capacity usually comes down to whether or not an organisation has the financial ability to afford increasing the capacity of the organisation; the amount of people they can help. Two schools explained that they were not happy with the way that the schools were not able to offer all of the classes that students should have because of their lack of capacity.⁶³ Because they did not have the money, they could not afford science equipment or have the building space to put it.

One weakness that is specific to organisations like Caritas and CRS is that they are very dependent on the UNHCR for their income. This means that they base their programs not only on the needs of the people, but also on the focus and aims of the UNHCR that year, in order to receive the funding they need for their projects. Though it is not likely to cause a big problem, the programs are influenced by the interests of the financiers. Furthermore, the budget of the UNHCR has been decreasing, which means that the capacity of the organisations is somewhat effected by the budget of the UNHCR.

Strengths of the RNGO approaches

In general, all of these organisations are assisting in different ways and they are providing for the basic needs of many refugees. That being said, different organisations have their own strengths, some of which I would like to reflect on.

Caritas and CRS are large internationally known organisations that receive a part of their funding from the UNHCR. But because of their renown, they may also have more access to donations than smaller organisations. Smaller organisations, on the other hand, need much less money for their programs and tend to be more efficient, as many of their employees are actually volunteers and their overhead is not as high as other organisations. A number of the organisations used trained volunteers and advertised with a job description and had a contract, albeit a volunteer's contract. Ideally, the volunteer can work as well as any paid staff, but this is often not the case, unfortunately.

In general, a mid-sized organisation⁶⁴ has the ability to offer a large amount of different types of quality services, while still remaining relatively inexpensive to run. One reason for this is that they have low overhead with regards to renting. The organisations are in the buildings belonging to the church that they were originally set up by. St Raphael's and St Gabriel's

⁶³ Both Rivers School and African Hope Learning Centre

⁶⁴ like Refuge Egypt or St Andrew's Refugee Services

benefit from being in an inexpensive neighbourhood, whereas African Hope Learning Centre and Rivers School are both in one of the more expensive and affluent neighbourhoods in Cairo, also an area where there are a large number of Sudanese refugees.

A number of the organisations benefit from have a large number of refugee employees.⁶⁵ As explained in length elsewhere, the organisation is much more in touch with the community it assists and the needs of the refugees. In this way they were able to help more people and in particular those who needed it the most. Or in the case of the schools, they receive a lot of feedback from the parents so they can try to align their aims more closely.

Some brief conclusions of this chapter

There is a wide variety of services provided by these organisations. Almost all of the organisations offer some form of educational services or funding of such services. The focus on education is apparent, and it seems to be a great relief to many parents and children alike. And while education is available to some, the job placement services seem to be less prominent. Most of the positions available require little education and even a smaller number of positions are available. This seems to be a place in which the field is lacking.

A few organisations are disappointed in their own capacity and that there are too many refugees they can't help, as they do not have the means. The refugees, on the other hand, are disappointed in some of the organisations. They have high expectations and do not receive what they hoped they would.

With regards to humanitarian help; food and clothing assistance, the organisations do not have a fixed way of dealing with this. Family Fund is the only organisation that gives food and clothing regularly, but it can only do this for a limited number of people and those people can receive this assistance every few months. It is unclear how many people are actually in need of food and clothing, but there is little assistance. One place where food assistance takes place is in the schools. The assistance that is offered through schools is varied but effective in that it helps the children and their parents in providing basic needs.

Regarding the alignment of aims: a number of the organisations are relatively close to the populations they offer services to. This is important in aligning the organisation's work with the needs of the Sudanese refugees. The refugee population can give feedback more easily, and make known their own requests, and the refugee employees of the organisations can make the contact easier.

Finally, the organisations are not focused on integration of Sudanese in the local Egyptian community. Most organisations have other concerns and not enough capacity to also focus on integration besides their main services. In some cases some integration has been attempted – as a way to approach the problem of discrimination, but the result was limited. The following chapter looks at the integration of the Sudanese, and the extent to which they wish to integrate and are integrating.

⁶⁵ StARS and Refuge Egypt, along with a number of other organisations, like the Comboni Schools or St. Michael's Ministries

8. Discussion and conclusion

In previous chapters we have looked at the results of the interviews with the organisations and surveying of the Sudanese refugees. A part of the information gained confirmed the information in the literature, but other data was new – things that hadn't been focused on before, thus rendering new and more detailed information. And now the discussion of the data remains. What do the results mean to the refugees and the organisations? How can they be interpreted? In which ways do they relate to the data that already existed? And what has been learnt?

This chapter aims to take the results, looking at the patterns and relationships shown by the results, discuss and put them in perspective. The results will be examined and compared to the existing literature and knowledge about the subject in order to see what the results of this study have brought to light. It will be structured around the sub-questions posed in Chapter One, the introduction, attempting to answer them and discussing what these results mean for the RNGOs and the Sudanese refugees and how they can be of use.

The integration position of Sudanese Refugees

The question of integration is at the core about what those who may integrate actually want to do. Do the Sudanese refugees want to integrate? We begin with a discussion of the integration of Sudanese refugees with the local host community, followed by the integration of Sudanese refugees with their own Sudanese community, with a discussion of the benefits and problems that come out of integration within the Sudanese community.

Integration with local host community

Integration with the local host community is the most important way for a refugee to become a participating member of society. One Sudanese respondent in a study by Grabska says "Integration comes with the provision of employment, education to refugee children and other rights such as equality of treatment of refugees by Egyptians. As long as it does not take place, integration would not be possible" (Grabska, 2005). This section looks at the ways in which the refugees are finding it difficult to integrate with the local host community.

There is very limited integration of the Sudanese refugees into the local Egyptian society; both in terms of integration in their neighbourhoods and the broader Egyptian culture. Bijl (2008) writes about three key areas of measuring integration to analyse and discuss the current situation. The first point is labour market position. Sudanese are in a bad position with regards to finding new work and keeping the work they do have, which is often physically taxing and underpaid work. The second key area is education. Though many of the Sudanese children are receiving an education, the schools are generally not socially integrated, as they are Sudanese schools for Sudanese children – or more general refugee schools. Even the Christian schools that have both Egyptian and Sudanese students have problems with integration. The third key area is basic knowledge about the society they are living in. To some extent the Sudanese do have a reasonable understanding of Egyptians culture and society, but part of this is because a large part of the refugees are Muslim and understand the Muslim culture, many speak some Arabic.

Different Sudanese refugees are experiencing different levels of integration into the local Egyptian community, and many are more integrated than they realize. On a social level integration is difficult and most people have little to do with the Egyptian population themselves. But many Sudanese have jobs or go to school. Many Sudanese youths who grew up with Sudanese Arabic are speaking Arabic more like the Egyptians do, they are dressing more like Egyptians and they prefer the infrastructure in Egypt to that of South Sudan. Many grew up in Sudan with a basic latrine, where they now have access to a modern toilet instead. So though they are not very integrated on an interpersonal level, they have become different to the Sudanese still living in Sudan.⁶⁶

With regards to integrating with Egyptians, the problem of discrimination is not easily solved, if it can be at all at the present time. The problem is not so much of whether or not the Sudanese are willing to integrate, but rather if the Egyptians will let them integrate. Kunz (1981) believes that the success of integration is also very much decided by 'host-related factors'; whether they accept diversity and expect the refugees to integrate. This plays a large role, and is the largest problem with integration for refugees in Egypt. At this point, conditions for integration are difficult. The Sudanese are unable to gain citizenship, have limited rights and little access to means of generating income (Grabska, 2005). Besides that, there is a strong prejudice based on the skin colour of the refugee, so the mindset of the local community would need to change before any local integration can take place. And changing this is very difficult. Grabska saw four possible outcomes of attempted integration: adaptation, assimilation, separation or marginalization. The one that is happening with Sudanese refugees in Egypt is marginalization – as was also the case in 2005, at the time of Grabska's article.

If we consider "local integration as a process which leads to a durable solution for refugees that has three interrelated dimensions: legal, economic, and social," (Crisp, 2004), then we must conclude that the refugees in Egypt are also by definition not integrating for a number of reasons. First of all, being in transit means that they do not experience their situation in Cairo as durable or sustainable. But the dimensions of integration mentioned here are also lacking. Many have no real legal position, and are waiting on their legal documents in order to leave. In that sense, if they were legal, they would leave. As long as they still believe they will be resettled, or if they have plans to resettle through informal routes, they will not want to integrate into the local community. The economic dimension also influences their integration. On the one hand, the refugees need an income to survive, and it makes them interact more with Egyptians – thus encouraging integration. But the greater their income, the more likely many of them are going to use that money to leave Egypt in order to earn money in Europe so they can send it back to their family. Finally, social integration is one of the things that this study showed that many of the Sudanese refugees are avoiding intentionally. This will be discussed further in the following section.

⁶⁶ These examples are based on an interview with Fr. Jos Strengholt about the integration of Sudanese in Egypt, on his experiences with his Sudanese church members.

Marginalisation

Like Grabska's article, this study has also shown that the Sudanese respondent experience marginalization in Egypt. Besides this, quite some studies have also shown that marginalization is a key part of many different aspects of a Sudanese refugee's life in Egypt. Effectively, the results of marginalization are that the Sudanese have difficult access to amenities like work, healthcare, affordable housing and education. The result of this marginalization is the definitive blow of the problem of integration for the Sudanese refugees. They are harassed and their lives are made more difficult. This marginalization means that most do not feel welcome in Egypt and hope to leave it. Instead of encouraging the refugee workforce in Egypt, they are discouraged to settle and are left in a transient situation.

Another type of marginalization taking place is by the Egyptian people; discrimination that involves physical bullying and harassment on a daily basis is the norm for many. The focus groups in this study, and particularly the groups of women, spent a lot of time discussing this topic. During one focus group session, the participants wept together and comforted each other as they told stories of the things that they had experienced. The stories were similar to those in the literature, often children and teens throwing stones or rotting fruit at not only the adults, but also the children, among many other examples of harassment (Grabska, 2005:38).

Grabska writes that many of the Sudanese lamented their broken relationship with the Egyptian host society (2005:73), whereas during the focus group sessions, it was anger rather than lamentation that came across in the discussions of their abuse. Lamenting would suggest that they had some hope. Most were happy to only socialize with their own Sudanese community and had no intention to spend more time than necessary with the Egyptians in their neighbourhood, with no intention to integrate.

What Grabska reveals in her article (2005:73) is still the case today. The refugees are marginalized in three areas: government policy and legislation that restricts refugee rights, the local mistrust of the refugees that leads to exclusion, and that the refugees themselves are unable and unwilling to integrate.

Some concluding remarks: marginalisation is a reason for the Sudanese refugees to have problems with integration, as previous sources have also concluded. The choice of topic for this study came out of the awareness of marginalisation for this group in Egypt in particular. This study has given more up-to-date information about the marginalisation of the Sudanese refugees, in the context of a post-Arab Spring Egypt. The story remains the same, the refugees are still dealt a bad hand with regards to the Egyptian government as well as the local Egyptian community who do not accept their presence in their country and through their actions and by not upholding the existing laws actively encourage them to move on to another country.

Self-marginalization and the transit situation

Besides marginalization by the host government and the host society, this study has seen that there is also a process of self-marginalization going on. This self-marginalization has a number of purposes. The first is that the refugees intentionally avoid Egyptians because they

do not want any hassle. The survey clearly show that the respondents do not believe other Sudanese would seek out contact with Egyptians, let alone try to make friends. This is a logical reaction to their daily experience of harassment. By withdrawing themselves from Egyptian society they hope to limit their contact to a definite minimum, and integration cannot take place.

Another reason for self-marginalization, a rather important one as well, is that, according to interviews with a number of the organisations and key sources including a Sudanese refugee, they are more likely to lose their chances of being relocated if they succeed in Egypt, by having a stable and well-adjusted life, integrated into the local Egyptian community. A refugee is more likely to be resettled if their need for resettlement is pressing.⁶⁷ If it looks like they can take care of themselves, they may not be given the same chance as someone with a higher urgency. So vulnerable adults and unaccompanied children are the highest priority. Once a family have started settling in Cairo, they quickly lose the chance to resettle elsewhere, and they need to weigh their options. Is living in Cairo better than being resettled in a European country, for instance. In most cases, and in the current Egyptian situation, most would answer 'no'. In this sense, the hope for resettlement is actually something that will greatly influence a refugee's decisions and has an adverse effect on integration.

A part of this self-marginalisation could be due to the fact that the choice of not integrating in the host culture also means keeping the Sudanese cultural and traditional habits, often alienating themselves and in some cases irritating their neighbours (Grabska, 2005). One given example is that in Sudanese culture, it is important to socialize and visit each other regularly in each other's apartment. This means that a Sudanese family will frequently have guests. In the focus groups of this study, the Sudanese respondents explained that they often had to move and were mistreated by their landlords who did not want them in their building after having let them live there for a while at a higher rent rate than the Egyptians. This may be one of the reasons they were often evicted.

In a study of Vietnamese refugees in a camp in Hong Kong, in a transit situation, they have similar experiences of waiting as the refugees in Cairo have. Feeling their existence to be "meaningless, uncertain, waste of time, boring and passivizing" (Knudsen, 1983:170). Considering the fact that the refugees in Egypt have much more freedom and possibilities than refugees in a camp, the feelings derived from the transit situation and the marginalisation they are experiencing.

The Egyptian government, much like the Sudanese themselves, do not want to Sudanese to live in Egypt but would rather have them travel elsewhere. There is no government support, and there is not much hope of a sustainable future with regards to finding good work, even work that is at the level that some of the refugees have actually trained for. Some well educated people within the community will find work at an NGO but this is incidental rather than the norm. Many people who come, come believing that they will only stay in Cairo for a few months and will then continue their journey to a developed nation. But at some point they need to find work in order to pay the bills. It isn't clear at which point they realize that

⁶⁷ Interview Chris Eades & Rev. Kirsten Fryer.

the wait might be a lot longer than they anticipated, and that they might not even receive a refugee status, let alone be invited to live in another country. But at a certain point they may start reconsidering the possible work opportunities they have in Cairo. On the other hand, there is always a chance they may receive good news on their status. Every time somebody receives news that they are going to be relocated to Australia, the United States or Finland, they leave. The fact that this happens, and the possibility that it may happen to someone else decreases the sustainable integration of the Sudanese community. The hope of a better future affects the focus of the refugees on what they could do now to improve their situation in the long run, in Egypt.

The main conclusion of this brief section on self-marginalisation in a transit context is that the government does not want the refugees in Egypt and the Sudanese refugees would prefer to be elsewhere. Because of this, life is not made hospitable or comfortable for the refugees, but they also do not ingratiate themselves with the local Egyptian community – preferring to spend their time with their own community, and trying to not integrate. The more difficult their life in Egypt appears to be, the more likely they are to be resettled, or so they believe.

Integration with Sudanese community

Something that the surveys made clear was the strong link between the Sudanese community members. The results showed that the respondents would much rather spend time with people from their own country than with Egyptians. This section looks at the way in which integration with the Sudanese community affects the Sudanese refugees, discussing the benefits and challenges that come out of this integration.

In the survey, most of the respondents considered themselves to be a part of the Sudanese community, only a few suggested that Egyptians are also part of their community. This difference shows the attitude not only towards the Egyptians, but towards their Sudanese neighbours as well. The data showed a general positivity about their contact with other Sudanese people. When they come to Cairo they often move in with their family or friends who already live in Egypt and reside in communities of their own tribe, or at least in an area that has a higher concentration of Sudanese.⁶⁸ Often this also has to do with the fact that the rent is generally lower in these areas and they are often on the outskirts of the city, which means that the poor refugees are more likely to be able to afford it.

Outside of the organisations whose assistance they are receiving, the Sudanese community has a strong internal network that is so noticeable that many organisations are piggy-backing on it. They can use it to advertise certain services or events or to have access to feedback more quickly. An organisation like St. Andrew's Refugee Services intentionally has local Sudanese employees that are or become leaders in their communities as they are able to connect the organisation with the refugees. Having employees embedded so strongly into the local refugee community means that they are quickly aware of problems that arise or refugee that need sudden urgent help. This confirms the strongly integrated networks that the Sudanese have created.

⁶⁸ Fr. Jos Strengholt

While most of the results of the study, with regards to integration has not changed much in the years since a number of authors have written their articles on refugees in Egypt, there is something which came from the data that was new information. For instance, that the loyalty of the youth has been transferred from tribe to local Sudanese community.⁶⁹ This was made evident in the way the youth of the refugees and the unaccompanied adults formed new bonds that were stronger than their tribal links and background.

Positive aspects of integration within the Sudanese community

While integration into Egyptian local society could positively impact the Sudanese refugees, there is something to be said about having strong integration within the local Sudanese community as well. The Sudanese community in Egypt is quite large, and there is safety in numbers. The marginalisation of the refugees encourages them to spend more time together. This is not to say that this would not have happened if they were more integrated into the Egyptian society, but rather that it takes place more because of the perceived lack of alternative company. Being well connected to the Sudanese community has a lot of benefits. It is easier to receive help from organisations, but also from their own community if they actively communicate with their own community. Information is passed on quickly by word of mouth. Without this community, many would not know where to find certain types of assistance and would not know where to ask. The organisations made use of this and it was a mutually beneficial relationship.

Negative aspects

There seems to be a relationship between the integration of refugees in the Sudanese community and less integration into the local host community. Because the Sudanese community is large and tight-knit, they may not integrate as well and they risk alienating themselves more. With limited interaction between the host and the guest communities, the two will be estranged and this can have consequences, as we have seen. Discrimination is also a result of not understanding each other and making assumptions on the basis of hearsay. And discrimination happens both ways in this situation. The preference the Sudanese have for spending time with their own community has gone from the specific to the general; it is the result of specific experiences that is now generalized to every Egyptian, in a number of the respondents.⁷⁰

A side effect of a strong integration within the local refugee community is that the information travels quickly, and not always correctly. The focus groups gave some insight into this. Many people were misinformed, due to a combination of rumours and the inability to see fact from fiction, or at least exaggeration. This makes for a lot of confusion, certainly a drawback when having the right information is very important to the wellbeing of the Sudanese.

⁶⁹ Fr. Jos Strengholt

⁷⁰ One of my translators said she hated Egyptians, and even with my suggestion that not all Egyptians are the same, she said she avoids them as much as possible if she could help it. This was typical of the women I spoke to. After a number of bad experiences, they have generalized their opinion and are wary of all Egyptians.

The integration that takes place within neighbourhoods actually may have some adverse effects on the tribal links outside of neighbourhoods. Many youth join gangs of other Sudanese refugees. This can be deeply destructive to not only the Sudanese community, as they watch their children become more violent and put themselves into dangerous situations, but also the image that it gives the Sudanese community as a whole. The Egyptians who may already have preconceptions about the Sudanese community may well see this as another reason to discriminate and distrust them.

Conclusion/Summary of the results of this answer

The findings showed that the Sudanese refugees are quite negative about living in Egypt in general, and about the Egyptian host community. Essentially, nothing has changed for the Sudanese refugees in Cairo. They are warier of the government and other legal authorities – such as police. They prefer their own community and the safety in staying within the bounds of that social sphere.

The Sudanese refugees are not encouraged to integrate on many different levels, their reaction is to avoid most kinds of integration, in order to avoid hassle, but also to enlarge their chances of being relocated, or at least of receiving more assistance from organisations. Marginalisation leads to self-marginalisation which in return only increases the marginalisation taking place.

The results of the data on integration and marginalisation confirms the information from previous studies, from before the Egyptian uprisings in 2011 and the newly formed state of South Sudan. Particularly Grabska's studies on these topics remain relevant to the current context, even though her articles were written over a decade ago. As her articles form a strong basis for the topic of marginalisation of refugees in Cairo, the comparison between that study and the results of this study are very relevant. Again, the results of this study are a confirmation of the information that resulted from her data. This suggests that the new results are valid, as they agree with the previous results. However, this also means that the situation of marginalisation and lack of integration for Sudanese and other refugees that Grabska described in her articles have not improved. This is unfortunate and considering the research was done through one of Egypt's best universities, it should be taken more seriously by policy makers in Egypt.

The next section of this chapter deals with the sub questions relating to the religious organisations. Where the results of the study of refugees and integration did not result in much new data, rather confirming the older data, the following section reveals a lot of new information that also raises a number of questions in discussion. The order of sub questions remains the same, starting broadly about the field, slowly becoming more specific to focus on the similarities and differences between the organisations and their approaches.

The characteristics of the support field

In order to discuss the support field, we must remind ourselves of some of its basic characteristics. This study looked at eleven different organisations of varying size and varying religious affiliations. Eight out of the eleven organisations was started to assist refugees, and a few of those specifically for Sudanese refugees. Together, the organisations in this study are covering almost all of the direct needs of the refugees in their programs. The number of refugees in Cairo far outweigh the capacity of the organisations that aim to assist them. The capacity of the UNHCR itself seems to be too small as well, as they take a very long time processing all of the refugees. However, many of the refugees who participated in the focus groups and who filled in the survey do not receive assistance from most of the organisations discussed in this paper. They all knew Caritas and CRS, but often claimed to very little beyond that. Ironically since the people were all interviewed at different organisations, most of which they did not mention in their survey.

Because of the abundance of refugees to assist, there is little to no competition between the organisations in offering services. Furthermore, the organisations receive their funding from different sources and did not suggest that they were competing for funding. They coexist peacefully – offering complementary services. According to one article, many of the churches and organisations had coordinated their assistance to some extent, specialising in certain areas, working together for the Sudanese refugees (Sperl, 2001). In contrast to this source, the interviews with the representatives of the organisations suggest that there is less interaction between the organisations than was taking place in 2001, the date that article was published. This may be due to a number of reasons. The first being that the number of refugees has gone up since 2001, thus increasing the need for certain assistance, and instead of specialising, as the source suggests, it is not the case that more organisations are offering a larger variety of assistance. The organisations that were present in 2001 have all grown in capacity and in areas of assistance, as they were growing with the needs of those they already assisted. But, the organisations are not very well connected with each other, let alone in contact with each other. With some organisations having trouble keeping up with the number of refugees requesting their assistance, there is a lot to be gained from having better contact and to create a stronger network.

The support field is broad – there are many different types of religious organisations. And besides general development organisations, there are very few secular organisations solely focused on refugees. They are small to medium-sized religious organisations, generally started based on needs of those in church congregations which eventually grew to something larger and less linked to the church the organisation came out of.

With regards to religious affiliations – the field is very diverse; most English-speaking churches in Cairo are in some way connected to work with refugees. But a number of these organisations have been working in Cairo for a long time. And it is actually a number of these organisations that are being supported by the UNHCR and included in working groups. Because of their religious character, the field of religious NGOs is much closer to the refugee population than the other non-religious refugee support organisations in Egypt are. One article suggests that with regards to integration, the churches in its study could certainly offer social capital for the refugees arriving in their city of Philadelphia, that the churches can help them integrate (Ives, et al., 2010). In the context of Cairo, however, this is not as true, due mainly to the transit context of both the refugees as well as many foreigners in churches.

Furthermore, the refugees typically go to churches with other Sudanese, and often not with Egyptians. So regardless of the organisations' effects of integration on the refugees, the churches themselves do not necessarily encourage it, often opting to have a Sudanese service rather than more mixed services.

The typically smaller religious organisations were generally much more accessible than the larger organisations. The RNGOs were in places they lived or they could travel to more easily. Unlike the larger organisations like the IOM and the UNHCR, refugees had free access to the premises, where they could relax and wait for the meeting or class they had to attend. The larger the organisation, the more difficult it was to gain entrance to.

One thing that typified many of organisations is that their principals, heads of departments or directors were often foreign, but from Europe or North America. Even in cases where the staff was mostly Egyptian or Sudanese, in most cases there was someone on staff from these western regions. One smaller organisations did not have someone western on staff, and made clear that they wished they had someone as well, as they believed that it gave them easier access to funding from people or organisations in these wealthier countries. Furthermore, having a foreign staff member often seemed to legitimize the organisation towards other organisations and to potential donors and make it more trustworthy.

Many of the organisations had limited capacity. There were always more refugees on waiting lists that could not be assisted. It was usually the case that the urgent cases received help, but that others received less assistance. So on characteristic of the support field is that they wish they could help more. Some organisations were growing, while others realized that they had spread themselves too thinly over a large number of refugees. They could only help the refugees in little ways and only infrequently. This means that their assistance had less impact.

Main elements of the approaches

We have discussed the characteristics of the support field, and now move to discuss the main elements of the approaches of the organisations in the field. This section will look at main elements. The first is the intended recipient of assistance by the organisation, the second is education, the third element is improving access to the labour market and the final element is the religious aspect of their approach.

Many of the organisations in the field of refugee assistance were focused on refugees specifically. Larger organisations, like Caritas and CRS also had projects in other sectors. A number of the schools were also not aimed only at Sudanese refugees children, but also had other refugee children, or Egyptians. In two schools there were also children from non-African background.

The field is focused on education as a main approach to development. One of the main concerns of the refugee parents was about the wellbeing of the children. Attending school meant that the children had a greater chance of having a better future, and it meant that the parents did not have to worry about them during the day as they themselves would be able

to work. Being able to send their children to school lifted a great burden for the parents, and kept the children actively engaged, keeping them out of trouble.

Another element was the focus on improving access to the labour market. A number of organisations had job placement programs, a number also focused on adult education, often in preparation of finding work – whether it was a language course or vocational training. Not only by training the refugees, but also by finding work for them, they are assisting many families in providing for themselves. By improving access to the labour market, they are improving the situation of the whole community. A number of the organisations focused on local leadership; using the local refugee knowledge and network in order to assist as many and as well as possible. This was one of the strongest elements that an organisation had. There were many benefits to having refugee staff, and this cemented the organisational legitimacy – not only to donors, but also to the other refugees. The organisations that were most effective had refugee staff and trained them regularly to be stronger local community leaders.

One article looked at the characteristics of staff members and volunteers at religious organisations and found that many believe that having religious staff is important to their mission. Furthermore, the staff themselves often choose to work at these organisations because of their religious characteristics (Ebaugh et al, 2003). In the case of the study amongst RNGOs in Cairo, it was clear that a number of the organisations preferred Christian staff, but that this varied greatly. The largest organisations made no religious distinctions, while others had Christian employees because it was a church project initially, or because the pay was so low that the work was done out of a religious conviction rather than as a way to earn a living.

The approach to religion is an important element for a number of the organisations, as it is that is the reason for the organisation to have been started – as an extension of church activities and a way for the church to help refugees. Though none of the religious activities are in any way obligatory, the organisations are in some cases overtly religious. Offering the possibility of praying with those who are asking for assistance, inviting them to religious activities or financially supporting only those who have been attending the church services are all part of the approach of the organisations. Clarke (2007) writes that religious organisations have a strong benefit over secular organisations in that the religious organisations acknowledge that a person's wellbeing is more than the sum of all of the physical needs, but that many also need spiritual guidance or help. Seeing a person in need holistically requires a deeper level of help, perhaps also on a spiritual level. The results of this study have shown that many of the religious organisations in Cairo hold similar beliefs, and the more secular the organisation becomes, the less holistic it becomes as well, in general. However, like with a number of the aforementioned elements, the organisations also differ in the way that they are religious, the following part of this chapter will discuss a number of differences in approaches.

Differences in approaches

Of course there are many differences and similarities between the organisations. In this following section we will look at the differences between the organisations, focusing in particular on the difference in size, the professionalism and the role of religion in the organisation.

One main difference between the larger RNGOs and the smaller, more UNHCR-independent religious organisations is the fact that those not dependent on the UNHCR are free to offer their assistance to all refugees – even those who have been rejected for the refugee status. The larger organisations like Caritas and CRS are funded by the UNHCR, money which is redistributed to those in the refugee status determination process for education or medical expenses. The other, smaller, organisations can spend the money they receive for funding on whoever needs it, rather than only those with a specific card given by the UNHCR.

Some organisations are more professional than others. By hiring and training local leadership, an organisation is making a professional investment in the community. However, only some organisations could afford to hire refugee staff, let alone staff in general. A number of the organisations only had a small amount of paid positions, so the task of training up refugee community leadership is not a viable option. This was not a question of preference of foreign staff over refugee staff, but often one of trained staff over staff that needed to be trained more intensively. And while the foreign staff, and some of the local Egyptian staff were able and willing to work voluntarily, many of the refugee staff did not have that option.

Because the organisations and even some of the schools are started by people who have not been trained in that which they are doing, a number of organisations were started by those with little experience – to some extent reinventing their schools as they believe it should be; starting from the basics and most important things and working from there. Over time a number of them have become increasingly professional, but others are still more charity-based rather than development-based organisations. In some cases, the level of professionalism is due to the time the organisation has had to grow, in other cases it is despite the time they have had. Where some schools were mainly started based on a certain need within the community, some others were also started on the basis of an ideology. This ideology, usually one interlinking faith with education has on the one hand given the staff and principal a strong sense of purpose and a 'drive', but it has also become a challenge, as the schools never really live up to their perceived potential in the ideology it was started with. In general, these ideologies are faith-based. One school believed it was most important that the students remain firm believers, and that that would define their successes in life rather than just the quality of the education. Where some representatives were working on seeing how the school could grow, the others were struggling with compromising the hopes they had for the school, for a more realistic expectation of a small school filled predominantly with low-income students whose school fees could not pay for the perceived needs of the school – to have a science laboratory for instance, or sports facilities. Faith was much more involved in the day-to-day running of African Hope Learning Centre and Rivers School than in some of the others where faith was present, but not as abundantly visible, such as in the Comboni Schools.

Regarding the religiousness of the organisations, the organisations were very different. One article concluded that there was little difference between the secular and religious

organisations in Houston, Texas, in assisting the homeless (Ebaugh et al, 2003). The authors suggested that the religious aspects of the organisations were extra features rather than decisive in different aspects of the running of the organisation, and that the organisations were equal. This study with organisations in Cairo, however, has shown that within the group of religious organisations working with Sudanese refugees, there are many differences, but that the religious characteristics are not as uniform as concluded in the other study. Furthermore, a number of the organisations, and particularly the schools, are religious to the core, and are as focused on the religious aspects of running the organisations as they are about the humanitarian aspects, or the education aspects in the case of schools.

As education plays a large role in the work of the organisations, each organisation has its own focus and style of education. There were a number of differences between the different schools, especially with regards to and the extent to which religion plays a role in the school and its education. This topic of religion and development is one that sees a lot of disagreement, even amongst Christian organisations. Some believe that it is a Christian's duty to 'spread the Gospel' – to teach others about Christianity and to encourage Christians to do the same, becoming inseparable from their work as an organisation. On the other hand, we see organisations that distance themselves from this principle, avoiding mixing faith and work/development. Though they choose to do the work based on their Christian principles and faith, the assistance is not religious at all.

The more evangelical⁷¹ organisations have a stronger focus on religion as an integral part of development. One author writes about the thoughts of one of his evangelical respondents that "since the essence of being a Christian is to share your faith with others, there simply cannot be a tension in mixing humanitarian and spiritual aid. (...) development could only be sustainable if economic change coincided with the spiritual transformation of people." (Pelkmans, 2009:431). A number of the schools in this study look at development in this way. Their students need to be shaped spiritually as well as intellectually for them to be successful in life.

Religious organisations that emphasise their development work over their religious character yet who attempt to actively connect their assistance to Christianity are considered by many Western secularists to be deceiving those who are hoping for their assistance, furthermore, they would read about their work, even in this study, in a negative light. But the religious organisations would disagree about the suggested illegitimacy of their work:

"(F)or them there was no contradiction in mixing proselytizing and humanitarian agendas, and they bypassed the charge of "deception" by arguing that using their practices were legitimate means to carry out a sacred mission. In other words, the argument that the portrayal is negative may reveal a secular bias about what is legitimate and illegitimate." (Pelkmans, 2009:442-443).

Evangelical faith based development is often considered to be a form of Western colonialism, where in the past missionaries would come to developing nations, some consider the religious organisations in the same light. And though they offer humanitarian

⁷¹ The term 'evangelical' has a number of definitions. In this study I used it to mean organisations that are more mission-focused; their faith is an active part of their work and their life and a part of all of the aspects of their life and organisation. Their faith is outward-focused.

assistance, they have to be very careful in many countries to make sure to keep the religious part of their work within the boundaries of their organisation and compound. And in the case of Egypt, they need to make sure that the Christian services they offer are only offered to Christians, non-Muslims or non-Egyptians. One source about Christian organisations in India said "I like everything about Christianity except for this hidden aim underlying all their activities to convert under the guise of helping" (Menon, 2003:48). In the case of the organisations in Egypt, there was no proselytising to Egyptians, there may have been some amongst refugees, but even then, the organisations were quite careful. Anyone from a different religious background did not have to participate in anything religious.

Besides the question of proselytising, the general consensus amongst religious organisations was that they could work alongside other secular organisations, and in many cases, work more effectively than secular organisations.

"(...) with a government failing to provide basic social security, the services of evangelical NGOs addressed a real need. In contrast to many secular International NGOs, which tended to lack direct ties to local communities and frequently ended up channelling their funds to elites and gate-keepers, the low profile of many faith-based organisations and religious NGOs allowed them to be effective among the marginalized." (Pelkmans, 2009:436).

The role of RNGOs in the support to and integration of Sudanese refugees in Egypt

We now move to answer the thesis question of this study which is based on all of the results and conclusions of the final chapters. It is the culmination of this thesis and yet will be brief.

The RNGOs do have a positive influence on the wellbeing of the refugees that make use of their assistance. The children can attend schools, the parents are more likely able to find work through a number of the RNGOs and they can take language or other courses. They can be recompensed for at least some of their medical bills and some are able to collect food items from some of the organisation. However, the organisations are often at full capacity, which means that there are many people who do not or are not able to be assisted. Because of the fact that there are no real figures of the amount of Sudanese refugees in Egypt, it is difficult to say how many are not receiving the assistance they might need. The influence that the organisations have on the refugee community is limited, though on some of the individual refugees, the support is important. The role of the RNGO in supporting the refugee is currently also affected by the fragmented field with organisations that each have their own projects and programs. In order to fulfil each need, they go to different organisations, with different rules and different programs.

However, the RNGOs have little to no influence on the integration of the refugees. The refugees are integrating with their own community and not integrating with the Egyptian host community, both regardless of the RNGOs. But most RNGOs are not working towards any type of integration for the refugees. They have more pressing needs to attend to. However, inadvertently, by providing work for them they are stimulating the active participation of the refugee in some part of society, as they are improving access to the labour market. But the

number of refugees that actually find work through the organisations is also relatively small. And regardless of the intentions that an organisation might have, the refugees are generally not interested in having more contact with Egyptians.

Conclusions and recommendations

We conclude this study in the following pages. The final and most important results of this study will be put forward, and recommendations for the organisations will be given. And the limitations of this study as well as suggestions for further research will conclude this chapter.

Over the years, different studies have been done that give insight into integration of Sudanese refugees, but most of them were published over a decade ago. In the time since these articles have been written, Egypt has gone through turmoil in the uprisings in 2011 but also the terrorist acts aimed at tourists and Christians in more recent years. The Sudanese community has also had some turmoil; peaceful protests against the UNHCR policies ending with bloodshed and panic amongst the refugee communities.⁷² With the independence of South Sudan potentially influencing the context and the Syrian refugee crisis affecting the borders of other countries as well as a global atmosphere that has become increasingly divisive, things may have changed for the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees, rendering the results of the previous studies less relevant. However, on the basis of the research done for this study, and with regards to integration of Sudanese refugees, there seems to be little change.

One of main things that the refugees are looking for is safety for them and for their children. They want to leave Egypt and start a home in a new country, where they hope that they and their children will be safe, won't be harassed as much as in Egypt and where their children can receive a good education and have a prosperous future. While they are in Egypt, most are not thinking of the implications of being in Egypt for the long run. Sudanese refugees in Cairo are not very interested in integrating with the Egyptian local community, and the Egyptian local community is one of the main reasons for this. Their experience of discrimination withholds them from going out into the Egyptian community and encourages them to remain within their own Sudanese community, one which has a strong social network and it is the way in which a lot of information from organisations is channeled. So not only do they feel safer, they also have more access to organisations and their community leaders who work there. The strong local Sudanese refugee ties combined with other factors has led to the formation of youth gangs which do not improve the integration possibilities of the local refugee community that the gangs are in, as they may negatively affect the view of the Egyptians on the Sudanese. But for the wellbeing of the Sudanese refugees, some form of integration is important, especially with regards to the lengthy wait on the possibility of resettlement.

Regarding the availability of information and capacity: there is no indication of how many people need what kind of assistance, so often programs are created based on what the organisation sees is necessary, based on the apparent needs nonetheless. But the capacity is very dependent on the budget of the organisation, and the amount of funds they can raise

⁷² The Mustafa Mahmoud Square raid in 2005.

to run a certain program. But most programs that are organized run well, and if an educational program or a psychosocial program is advertised, many programs are at full capacity and still have people waiting to take part. So though different organisations have the same adult education programs or job placement programs, they are not competing and will still all have capacity problems; they can't offer the service to everyone and if there are more people participating in a service, the program and assistance may be more stretched over a larger group. For many of the people working at these organisations, it is turning away people who seek assistance that is the most difficult part of their work. But there are enough Sudanese who do not or are unable to use their services, whether because they are too far away or they do not have the time or money to go visit them.

Even with of the challenge of capacity, and the fact that many of the organisations have a unique position in the field, because of their connection with the people in the congregations of their church or because of their location or main focus, the organisations have little contact with each other. They do not work together much, nor have they formed a strong network. This point is the main conclusion with which the recommendations can be formed. These recommendations could possibly improve the situation of the refugees in some small ways at least. Unfortunately, the results of this study show that the RNGOs do not have much impact on the integration of refugees, but they do have some impact on the refugees with needs.

This study has revealed new information about the Christian organisations that are providing assistance to the refugees, and it has revealed some weaknesses. These following paragraphs will look at ways in which the organisations use the knowledge of their own weaknesses and becoming stronger, which can only improve the situation of the refugees making use of their assistance.

As the RNGOs in Cairo are thought to be more efficient in the way money is spent and the number of programs being run and the refugees receiving assistance, it would be good to explore their abilities when working together more closely.⁷³ Each organisation approaches a certain need within their community in a different way, and there are no large redundancies in the types of programs that they organize. Though, even when some organisations do the same things as other organisations, the people they help will be different, or the need is so great that it doesn't matter that a refugee is able to go to different organisations to fulfil their needs.

The first recommendation based on the results of this study would be for the organisations to look into ways in which they can work together to be mutually beneficial. This can be done in different ways. The first thing to do would be to start a platform on which problems that the organisations are facing can be discussed. They could inform each other of what they are doing so that more referrals can take place, and that different organisations can contact each other more easily about cases they are sending on. Using this, the organisations can also look at where there are gaps in the assistance they as a network of organisations are providing. What are the needs that none of the organisations are dealing with? If all of the organisations are focused on education, then perhaps there will be no employment programs. This strengthened network of organisations can meet regularly to discuss the

⁷³ Chris Eades

different aspects of being an RNGO in Cairo working with refugees. Though the UNHCR already has a working group that discusses similar issues, a more committed inter-organisational project would be beneficial. Not only would ideas or problems be discussed, but each organisation can look at its own capacity and finds ways of helping each other. An exchange of staff, expertise, and other improvements could be the result of this. In the same way that the Comboni ministries are in charge of a number of schools, with Fr. Jemil as its director, the organisations could use their staff more effectively by working together more closely. Rev. Kirsten Fryer at St. Andrew's started a monthly meeting for the churches working with the refugees to discuss their struggles and opportunities. Though this is not directly related to the organisations themselves, most of the churches participating are strongly connected to an organisation.

The next step would be to create a peer2peer platform that can help in the assistance to refugees. Many of the refugees go to a number of organisations, and will have little more than a handwritten UN paper that says who they are. By creating a database, like with a patient and his doctor, the organisations can share their awareness of certain problems, situations and notes for the different people that come by their organisation. By having this database and a broader network created by the different organisations, the organisations will be able to reach out further. If one organisation has a person who is in need of employment but has no opportunities at that moment, they can ask other organisations if they know of anyone in need of that employee. All in all, this may encourage a holistic network of organisations and their programs. The information collected about the refugees could also offer an insight into the refugees themselves and would allow for more targeted assistance. But if a database is set up, it is very important to make sure the data is protected and not easily accessible for just anyone out of safety concerns.

Something that is already being done, but not to a great extent is recognizing, encouraging and communicating with the community leadership. What would be important is to look at who the existing leaders are and interacting with them. In most cases this has already been done. Following this, it would be interesting to find ways in which these leaders can become more equipped to deal with their own community. By equipping more leaders in the community, the community might become less reliant on organisations. St. Andrew's already has Community Outreach Officers that are community leaders and a point of contact for a community member who needs something. Strengthening this network and making these leaders part of a more official network, in which they can discuss different matters would give strength to their Sudanese identity whilst increasing their self-reliance.

Another recommendation that may improve the work of the organisations and the lives of the refugees is by trying to look harder at possibilities for integration and how the organisations can work on encouraging the Sudanese to find a sustainable livelihood in Cairo, and not look at it as a short-term place of residence. Though discrimination will continue to be a problem for the refugees, it is important to find ways in which they can invest in a future in Cairo. More focus could be drawn to the possibilities of starting up businesses of their own through income generating projects, creating a safer housing situation that does not rely on landlords that are asking higher prices of the Sudanese than of the Egyptians, for example. The network of the Sudanese community is a great strength that needs to be developed. But integration in Cairo would only be possible if the refugee did not want to move on to a

Western country or if they would accept that it would take a longer time than they hope for. Education about the situation for refugees in developed nations is imperative to dissuading them from wanting to travel to Europe, for instance. The situation for the refugees in these countries are not very hopeful ones. But more often than not, they think that going to Europe or North American will be easy and improve their situation greatly. Showing the realities of refugee life might cause them to rethink their goals. This does not have to be done by the local organisations themselves, but could be part of a large program to dissuade refugees from travelling to Europe, from putting themselves in danger, and from neglecting to look at the potential that their current situation may hold. This is a general need, worldwide, that could be implemented on a local scale in many different countries.

Limitations and further research

This section will discuss the limitations of this study: the ways in which the results were influenced by the research context. In some cases the information was difficult to find, or the refugees had their own agenda with regards to answering questions, but also how the method of collecting data was limited and what effect this could have had. Following this is a discussion on possible further research that can be done to build on this study.

One of the largest limitations of this research was the fact that there is little data about the exact numbers of refugees and who lives where, so statistically, the results can never be true representations of what is going on. Refugees come and go, so the information is never up to date. The UNHCR publishes how many people are applying for a refugee status, but beyond that knowledge, there is little more than educated guesswork, as many of the refugees haven't registered yet or haven't registered elsewhere once they were denied the refugee status.

One way in which this research is limited is that it does not discuss all of the Christian organisations in Cairo. A small number of Egyptian churches have small projects or short term, usually relief-based. A few hospitals offer healthcare at reduced prices for refugees, and some churches have food or clothing collections to hand out at Christmas.

Another way in which this research was limited was that in the end, the number of surveys could have been more, and the survey could have been more extensive which would yield even more accurate results regarding the opinions and attitudes of Sudanese, as well as yielding more data for comparative studies. Also, having an Arabic speaking researcher work on this would increase the results, not only because they could speak to the Sudanese refugees without an extra translator, but they could also find and talk to organisations that I had no access to. Casual conversations with a number of different types of refugee would also have influenced the amount and quality of the data.

One aspect of this study that made finding the true data more difficult was that besides these refugees being victims of war and violence, they have also been a part of the NGO system for a while. The American University in Cairo has done a number of studies of refugees, and many NGOs have had need to do research with them as well, in order to make sure that the assistance they are offering is working and to what extent. The result of this is that surveying a group of NGO-weary respondents may influence the results. If they believe that I as a

foreign researcher could improve their situation, as many thought I might, they may also want to tell me what they think I want to hear, or what they want me to hear. If they say they receive no assistance, then they hope my research will bring more assistance.

Another limitation was the areas of surveying. Though the survey was done through a few different organisations, a number of those organisations are in the same location. The Family Fund hosts its evenings at St. Michael and All Angel's church compound. But where those surveyed for the Nuba Bible Institute and St. Raphael School (which are organized from around the same compound, though St. Raphael's is actually in another part of the city) are generally more educated, made up of teachers or students (in the case of the Nuba institute), those attending Family Fund were really the poorest in society. So there is diversity in background, but not much in the surveying location.

For further research in the topic of RNGO assistance to refugees other refugee groups should be studied as well, because however dire the situation of many Sudanese refugees is, they actually benefit from having a large presence in Cairo, which means that they have a much larger community to rely on.⁷⁴ Eritrean refugees are much more limited in their possibilities for finding work and a support system beyond the organisations that help them. There are also many more organisations that help the Sudanese refugee than the Eritrean refugee. Also, where a large part of the Sudanese community speaks Arabic, this is not the case for most Eritreans, giving them another disadvantage. Looking at the way in which they receive assistance would offer another insight into the refugee communities in Cairo. Returning to the topic of religious institutions; it would have been interesting to compare the works of the 'foreign' churches and the local Egyptian churches, and their reasoning behind giving.

To conclude, this study has shed light on topics that showed that the situation is generally the same for Sudanese refugees now as it was a decade ago. It has not improved, but there are ways of improving the field of RNGOs in order to find ways of more effectively assisting the refugees that need support. It is not realistic to suggest that this would greatly improve the situation for the refugees, whose main barrier to integration is the willingness of the Egyptian people to accept them into their communities, instead of discriminating them. But as the society may slowly become more open to different people and cultures, the organisations can help the refugees in the meanwhile.

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Survey on living in Cairo

Utrecht University Master's program International Development Studies

Thank you for your time!

This survey will take you about 15 minutes to fill in. The purpose of this survey is to understand what you think about being in Egypt and it will be used for the purpose of a Master thesis report on the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugees in Cairo and the organisation that they make use of while being here.

The information you give will be treated carefully and it will be anonymous and confidential. The results will be used for this research paper only and will not go to organisations or other people besides the researcher.

By filling in this survey you are allowing the researcher to use the information you give for their research. If you have any questions or remarks, please don't hesitate to ask!

Again, thank you for your time.

Rosemarie Strengholt



Universiteit Utrecht

1. **Gender:**
2. **Age:**
3. **Tribe:**

4. **Area of Cairo you currently live in:** _____

5. **In what year did you arrive in Cairo?** _____

6. **Do you and/or your partner have work in Egypt?**

yes

no

7. **How did you find that work?**

Through a friend or family member

Through an organisation, namely _____

Another way, namely _____

8. **Does your work put you in contact with Egyptians?**

Yes

No

9. **Do you have children?**

Yes

No

10. **Do they attend a school in Cairo?**

Yes, and they attend this school: _____

No, they do not attend a school

No, they are too young or they have finished school

11. **How did you hear about that school?**

Through a friend or family member

Through an organisation, namely _____

Another way, namely _____

12. Do you receive financial support for sending your children to school?

Yes, from _____ (organisation)

No.

13. Do you or your partner presently receive adult training or education?

Yes, from _____ (organisation)

No.

14. Why are you receiving this adult education?

To get a job in Egypt

To improve myself for my future abroad.

To have a skill or more knowledge for my return to (South) Sudan.

15. When you or a family member need to go to hospital, where do you go?

16. How do you finance this?

I can afford it myself with my own income

I get help from an organisation, namely _____

My friends and family help pay for it

17. How did you find your apartment?

Through a friend or family member

Through an organisation, namely _____

Another way, namely _____

18. In how many apartments have you lived in Cairo? _____**19. What is your favourite thing about living in Cairo/Egypt?**

20. What is the hardest part of living in Cairo/Egypt?

21. Do you receive help from organisations that are religious, through an Islamic or Christian organisation?

Yes

No

22. Which organisations?

23. What other organisations do you know that may help you get...

Financial help: _____

Getting a job: _____

Medical help: _____

Clothing: _____

Food: _____

Housing: _____

24. Who do you think of when I say the word 'community'? (You can check as many as you like)

My friends and family

Egyptians who live in my neighbourhood

All Sudanese and/or South Sudanese who live in my neighbourhood, not just from my tribe

People from other nationalities who live in my neighbourhood

People from my own tribe

Only people from my own religion

25. In which ways do you receive help from your own community?

Financial help

Getting a job

Medical help

- Clothing
- Food
- Housing
- Others, namely _____

26. Which nationality do you have most contact with?

- Sudanese
- Egyptian
- Other, namely _____

27. What kind of contact do you have with Egyptians?

- Social contact
- When I have to do something, like talk to my landlord or go to the supermarket.
- I have no contact with them

28. Are you member or regular attender of a mosque/church/other religious organisations?

- Yes, namely _____
- No, but I am Muslim or Christian
- No, I am not Muslim or Christian

29. Are you member of another association?

- Yes, namely _____
- No

In this next section you will be asked whether you agree or disagree on certain statements. Please mark how you feel about these statements.

30. This first section is about your relationship with people from your own country also living in Cairo.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Don't agree, don't disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
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Most (South) Sudanese enjoy spending time with their Sudanese (or South Sudanese) friends					
Most (South) Sudanese often attend activities with other Sudanese (or South Sudanese) people					
Tribes are not very important to most (South) Sudanese in Egypt					
Most (South) Sudanese depend a lot on people from their community for help when they need it.					
Spending time with people from their own country makes most (South) Sudanese feel safe					
Most (South) Sudanese have a lot of contact with people from other tribes than their own.					
Most (South) Sudanese feel part of the Sudanese (or South Sudanese) community					

31. These statements are about Egyptians and Egyptian society.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Don't agree, don't disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
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Most (South) Sudanese enjoy meeting the Egyptians in their neighbourhood.					
Most (South) Sudanese try to avoid talking to the local Egyptians as much as possible.					
Most (South) Sudanese feel respected by the Egyptians.					
Most (South) Sudanese have trouble communicating with Egyptians.					
Most (South) Sudanese have some close Egyptian friends.					
Most (South) Sudanese would like to get to know more Egyptians.					
Most (South) Sudanese want to become part of Egyptian local society.					
Most (South) Sudanese wish to remain in Egypt permanently					
Most (South) Sudanese do not feel like a free citizen in Egypt.					
Most (South) Sudanese find living in Egypt quite easy.					

32. These statements are about organisations you may have contact with and how you have contact with them

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Don't agree, don't disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
If they need help from an organisation, most (South) Sudanese know where to ask.					
Most (South) Sudanese find it difficult to know which organisation to approach for what.					
If someone from (South) Sudan needs help from an organisation, their community gives them information on where to go.					
The UNHCR offers good service and information.					
Most (South) Sudanese are unhappy about the way that the UNHCR is helping them.					

33. These statements are about different experiences in your own life.

	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Don't agree, don't disagree	Agree	Agree strongly
Most (South) Sudanese feel that their income is quite secure					
Most (South) Sudanese are content with the education that their child is receiving					
Most (South) Sudanese are unhappy with the apartment they live in at the moment					
Most (South) Sudanese feel unsafe in the neighbourhood they live in.					
Cairo is a safe city to live in					

End of survey