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NGO Outreach to Priority Refugee Population Demographics in Cairo

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Joelle Petrus

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has been approved by

Dr. Ahsan Ullah _____
Thesis Supervisor
Affiliation:
Date _____

Dr. Ann Lesch _____
Thesis first Reader
Affiliation:
Date _____

Dr. Agnes Czajka _____
Thesis Second Reader
Affiliation:
Date _____

Dr Ibrahim Awad _____
Department Chair
Date _____

Nabil Fahmy, Ambassador _____
Dean of SPA
Date _____

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Abstract

Cairo is considered to have among the highest populations of refugees in an urban setting in the world. This urban setting presents a unique set of challenges particularly when delivering services and programs to a population with heightened vulnerability who are not easy to locate within the greater population of Cairo. In this context it is of great utility to strengthen outreach programs whose aim is to strengthen the connection between service receiver (refugees) and the service provider (the organization.) Another challenge to delivering services and programs to refugees is the greater diversity or heterogeneity of the population itself. However, if NGOs actively take into account and incorporate into their strategy these differences within the population of refugees, it can serve as an effective *tool* toward the improved execution of programs and services, as well as a better address of refugee needs and grievances.

This thesis explores the outreach strategies and philosophies of NGO workers performing outreach activities representing 17 organizations in Cairo who work with refugees. It furthermore highlights a theory on outreach in the context of humanitarian aid work which includes social capital and the cultural competence attainment models at its base, considers how different aid approaches affect outreach, as well as highlighting relevant policy, law, and urban refugee contexts in Cairo.

The findings of this thesis imply that NGOs in Cairo in action do take into account some differences in the heterogeneous population of refugees in Cairo when executing services. However, a rhetoric of anti-discrimination does not fit the reality of separating “refugees” from “migrants,” and “local population,” because of their mandate. Therefore, it would be better to acknowledge the reality of difference as a tool on which the practitioner could place a conscious priority.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Outreach

Outreach can be found within the framework of every organization which serves a public entity or public good in some capacity, both in national and international contexts. The universality of outreach is both good and bad. On the one hand, its relative universality has meant it has some presence in nearly all public services or programs. This was evidenced when the organizations interviewed showed a forthcoming attitude about the topic. On the other, outreach is so universal that it has been neglected in terms of research, academic and practitioner strategic discussion. However, the fact that it remains a fundamental mechanism to improve any program or service means that it is a discussion and a research topic wholly worth pursuing.

Outreach connects service provider with population. Its measure of success is the measure of the relationship between service provider and seeker. Outreach is the “how” in the complex struggle for population’s to access services and programs that fulfill core needs. In this capacity, outreach is the bridge between these two variables. In turn, NGO worker performing the outreach activity is the organization’s closest liaison with the population itself. Therefore the outreach worker is in the best position to build stronger relationships between the population and the institution itself. Such relationships which come as a result of outreach are likely to be more

equitable, instill greater participation by the population served, allow for a diversity of perspectives, and maximize resources.

However, NGO outreach itself is influenced by a combination of factors which include NGO mandates, NGO worker personalities, and the perspective concerning who is the giver and receiver of outreach. In this way, outreach can be seen as a tool which improves the quality of response before a complex emergency arrives. Therefore, outreach, is a tool for bring heightened NGO accountability in an international environment where there is much skepticism about the good that humanitarian aid or development work can really do. Its techniques and strategies should therefore be discussed and honed by both practitioners and researchers.

In the past, outreach has largely been viewed by the NGO community through the lens of sector, such as education outreach or health outreach. One could argue, however, that of equal weight as a variable on the overall outcome of an outreach strategy, is the variable of population. There is not a population in the world that is truly heterogeneous and can therefore be regarded as uniformly having the same needs for services, however, a population like the refugee population in the urban environment of Cairo presents a greater challenge. This is a population with heightened diversity, in terms of ethnic and religious background in particular, but one can also find great differences regarding other variables characteristic of many local populations, which include gender, age, and family status. Of perhaps particular concern any population of refugees, are the particular levels of vulnerability they have in their host country or their level of integration, as well as legal status in Egypt (i.e. many people insist that they are still refugees even though they are considered legally to have closed files at UNHCR rendering them without real legal options to consider their case for legal recognition of refugee status in Egypt. For the purposes of this paper, these people are refugees using a social refugee definition which can be

found in the Appendix.) Unaccompanied minors could also be considered a population demographic. Indeed, refugees themselves, are a population demographic, defined legally (and sometimes socially) as separate from local populations and economic migrants. The urban context in Cairo also shapes the reality of this population demographic. As will be argued later in this thesis, urban refugees have a set of needs which are conversely different from camp refugees or Internally Displace Persons in camps. Neighborhoods or physical locations of refugees play a role in the administering of outreach to this heterogeneous population, as it too is a heterogeneous setting for Cairo. For example, no one who knows Cairo well would say that the refugee concentrated areas of Nasr City and Ain Shams are the same. Treating the refugee population as a homogeneous population when administering services also makes little sense. And when one acknowledges this, NGO workers and practitioners can begin to use knowledge of these differences in context more fully as a strategy to build more equitable, more accountable models of outreach which will strengthen their relationships with the refugee populations served as well as improve their programs and services.

One of the primary findings of this research was that existing literature concerning outreach fell into two categories. Literature which purported to be about outreach in general (found in Google searches for example) appeared to be about strategies for bringing people to Christianity. Academic research concerning outreach (found in JSTOR searches for example) were case studies which tended to focus on the sector (such as health or education) as being the issue of being the greatest importance, instead of the nature of the population demographics in the outreach program itself, which was my initial interest for this thesis. Usually, it was suggested in these studies that the nature of the sector itself (such as health or education) controlled the strategy and techniques of outreach in the given context rather than the nature of the populations

in that context. I did find several case studies about outreach programs which were directed at refugees, urban or in the MENA region. However, in these case studies, it was usually not explained why the particular population was chosen for services or for the study itself.

In these case studies, the choice of population was assumed as a given rather than explored analytically as a potentially changing variable. I took this to mean that the issue of population differences was not considered to be an area of focus for the articles. However, one primary argument of this thesis is that the nature of the priority target population receiving the service, program or outreach can equally influence an outreach strategy as other factors such as sector. Moreover, by taking population demographics into consideration, one can more effectively craft outreach, and in turn, more succinctly create a program that will be more effectively and more widely utilized in light of limited organizational resources.

This research first and foremost aimed to lay a theoretical and practical groundwork for the existence of outreach in the overall scope of programs and services in the humanitarian and development sector and to advocate for its importance in the overall functioning of an NGO. But the implications of this research go further than that. Because of the nature of its content, this thesis could infuse both a practical and theoretical discussion about population demographics as a tool to be used in the consideration of outreach, programs and services. It also stands to have a greater impact the discussion of programs and services generally existing in Cairo, refugee issues outside of Cairo, and perhaps even humanitarian aid and development work in the global south.

This thesis has several goals. The first objective is to lay a foundational theoretical and practical framework for outreach which I argue has not previously existed, and to relate this framework to refugees in Cairo in terms of technique and strategy. The second objective is to advocate for outreach itself. The third objective is to go a step further in advocating for the

active consideration of priority population demographics when conducting outreach in order to improve the relationships between service provider and service seeker. The implication here is not to create a hegemonic or constricting model for outreach, but to acknowledge the heightened diversity of the refugee community as a *tool* which can be utilized to improve programs and services, particularly within the vehicle of outreach.

1.2 Definitions of Outreach

A working definition of outreach to refugees is “the process of locating refugees in the community who may be in need of services, and informing them of appropriate services as well as ways to secure those services. Outreach may lead to the provision of information and referral and/or the provision of additional services through intake into an agency or program; however, the function of outreach is to inform refugees of the availability of services rather than actually providing those services.” One defining characteristic of outreach is that it can be administered to individuals, communities or agencies.¹

One may also find definitions of outreach in given sectors like health and education. For example, health outreach can be defined as, “The work of staff in social and health agencies that is taken outside the office into the community, and the publicizing of available services so those who need them become aware that the services exist.”² Educational outreach could be defined as, “Programs of education or training which are delivered out in the community rather than on the premises of the provider. The purpose of these is to facilitate access to education for groups who

¹ “Outreach Information and Referral,” Indochina Refugee Action Center, (February, 1981) 12.

² "outreach" *A Dictionary of Public Health*. Ed. John M. Last, Oxford University Press, 2007. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t235.e3282>>

might find it difficult or undesirable to attend an educational institution or who otherwise feel themselves excluded from available provision. Such groups include young people who have disengaged from education and training, and ethnic minority groups who may have specific cultural or language needs.³

In comparing these definitions, we can see a close link between outreach and programs and services, and the aspect of activities taking place outside the office and in spaces more convenient to the population served. We can also see that the emphasis is on the method of delivery rather than the program itself. Health and education are two sectors important to urban refugees in Cairo, in that they face additional barriers in accessing health and education services in comparison with local Egyptian residents. As a solution, outreach strengthens relationships between NGO workers and refugees or beneficiaries, but can also be defined as deeply involving outreach workers, local and refugee communities, as well as other stakeholders including agencies.

1.3 Methods of Outreach

In the previously asserted definition of outreach, it was discussed that outreach can be administered to the individual, the community or the agency. One must first determine whether the NGO, community or individual is conducting the outreach to an individual, community or agency, or in other words who is receiving the outreach and who is conducting it. Then one can begin asking other questions.

1.4 Outreach Mediators and Networking

³ "outreach" *A Dictionary of Education*. Ed. Susan Wallace. Oxford University Press, 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t267.e726>>

Implicit in this forming of strategy concerning outreach, is the use of outreach workers and potentially interpreters when working with a refugee, migrant or immigrant population. When the population being administered to is very heterogeneous or diverse, the role of outreach workers and interpreters is elevated in importance because they are the liaisons who will strengthen the relationship the individual, community, or possibly the agency has with the NGO conducting the outreach. Interpreters play an important role in outreach, as there is often an interplay of culture and language which can pose a challenge when administering programs.⁴ Conversely, outreach workers are often equipped to play the role of interpreter in key settings. For example, organizations like Cairo Community Interpreters Project (CCIP) train members of the refugee community as interpreters of their native language primarily for English speaking local services providers in Cairo through the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies.

Conversely, outreach workers, as liaisons between the outreach giver and outreach receiver, often face the task of being the recorders and monitors of individual refugee, community or agency needs.⁵ It then becomes an ethical or moral issue for the NGO to incorporate the feedback of the outreach or other aid worker. If this is done, and refugees see their suggestions implemented they will be more likely to step forward with problems that might otherwise have remained unresolved, as one report cites which concerns “leveraging women’s community leadership.” In this study, members of the community reportedly better understood provided services. However, the report also noted that such improvements were noted in qualitative rather than quantitative terms.⁶

⁴ Daniele Calvani, “Initial Overview of the Linguistic Diversity of Refugee Communities in Cairo,” Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Working paper No. 4, (2003), 4.

⁵ Roxane Wilber, “Leveraging Women’s Community Leadership: A Model for Outreach in Urban Refugee Populations,” The Institute for Inclusive Security, (April, 2011), 3.

⁶ Wilber, 4.

Roles of outreach workers to refugees can include cultural mediators, cultural translators and role models. These roles can be employed to fulfill needs of refugees, which may include language acquisition, shelter, employment, or basic orientation in the host country.⁷ Someone who works in an agency could be seen as a mediator between the services as the refugee.⁸

Often, these outreach workers are members of the community. They are refugees themselves, and are in an optimal position to collect information about a population demographics needs and perspective, facilitate participation of the community, and provide feedback to the NGO. However, they are sometimes not utilized in this valuable capacity. An independent consulting firm, CASA, evaluated UNHCR. This organization argues that “these mainly refugee workers constitute the front line and best sources of information for UNHCR about the problems and issues facing refugees at the household level. Yet due to sector divisions, few efforts are made to ensure that information gathered by these different groups of refugee workers are shared and drawn together into a broader analysis of key areas of refugee vulnerability.”⁹

Networks or connections with other groups that aid the population such as NGOs, church systems, or local hospitals can strengthen such agency relationships. There are both indirect and direct ways to provide services.¹⁰ One report by the Danish Refugee Council (2009) lists outreach activities as including, “household visits, focus groups, community, meetings,

⁷ George Usha, “A Needs-based Model for Settlement Service Delivery for Newcomers to Canada,” *International Social Work*, London, (2002): 45 (4): 469.

⁸ Usha, 470.

⁹ UNHCR Community Services Function: Independent Evaluation, CASA Consulting, (February, 2003), 39.

¹⁰ Wei-Wen Chang, “Cultural Competence of International Humanitarian Aid Workers,” *Adult Education Quarterly* (2007):57:193.

newsletters, a website, and reports which facilitate the collection and dissemination of relevant information.”¹¹

Outreach to agencies can include building an interagency network of information by collaborating with both agencies and refugees in order to better facilitate programs and services as well as foster greater access to information.¹² There are two types of structures often employed in practice based models, mainstream agency service and ethno-specific or ethnic agencies. “Ethno-specific” agencies can be contracted to provide services and conduct outreach as this model is expected to deliver culturally appropriate programs because of their deep knowledge of the refugees’ culture, combined with a commitment to empowerment and self help. In turn, these ethno-specific agencies can be seen as a bridge between the service and the refugee.¹³ In Cairo, these ethno-specific agencies are called community-based organizations (CBOs).

One should also aim to avoid the pitfalls of ethno-specific agencies, in that sometimes refugees from different ethnic groups may be hesitant to accept aid from other ethnicities that they have traditionally been in conflict with. George Usha (2002) says, “One should be careful not to gloss over the differences between ethno-racial groups from the same source country.”¹⁴

However, networking between ethno-specific agencies, or CBOs, and mainstream agencies, or NGOs, is ideal when an equitable partnership can be formed. Mainstream agencies often have

¹¹ “Findings from Iraqi Outreach Activities in Lebanon,” 2nd Issue, Danish Refugee Council, (June 2009), 3.

¹² Karine Le Roch, Emmanuelle Pons, Jason Squire, Josephine Anthoine-Milhomme and Yann Colliou, “Two Psychosocial Approaches for Iraqi Ruban Refugees in Jordan and Lebanon : Center-based Services Compared to Community-Outreach Services,” Foundation Terre des Hommes, *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, (2010): 5:112.

¹³ Usha, 470.

¹⁴ Usha, 470.

more resources, but ethno-specific agencies often have more specialized experience.¹⁵ However, lack of resources, sometimes makes CBO or ethno-specific organizations less structurally stable. Lack of certain experiences sometimes renders mainstream agencies or NGOs ineffective. Sometimes community leadership which may seem apparent to an aid organization is not necessarily representative of the population. This is to be assessed and avoided when implementing programs and outreach.¹⁶

When outreach workers' interpreters' and community network roles have been assessed and one has defined the relationship between the giver and the receiver of outreach, available indigenous resources or strengths can be explored, which are available to the individual, community or agency. Then these strengths can be built upon as a concrete practical foundation for the outreach itself. In this way, priority target problems can be defined from the perspective of the individual, community, or agency.

1.5 Priority Needs and Outreach Activities

When the receiver of the outreach is the community, these problems often involve addressing a particular population demographic within the greater community itself. For example, one study by Dorcas Grigg-Saito et. al (2008) assessed the strengths of their local Cambodian community as being, "strong input for planning, an influential self-initiated Cambodian Elders' council, ties to local Buddhist temples, the presence of numerous... businesses, cultural respect for elders, strong family relationships, and enjoyment of social events."¹⁷ Once these problems have been assessed, target problems can be identified. For example, there was the particular problem of

¹⁵ R. Nann and M. Goldberg, *The Legal Problems of Multicultural Canadians in Greater Vancouver: A Research Report*, Ottawa: Department of Justice, (1994).

¹⁶ Wilber, I.

¹⁷ Grigg-Saito, Dorcas et al., "Building on the Strengths of a Cambodian Refugee Community through Community-Based Outreach," *Health Promotion Practice*, (2008) 9: 415.

how to reach the particular population demographic of elders within the refugee community, particularly given the fact that this population shared the characteristics of low literacy and a strained level of mental health due to their experience as refugees. In addition this population demographic found themselves circumstantially as having minimal interaction with health and human services, lived alone in isolation, and had physical and mental health needs which had not been addressed.¹⁸

In this scenario, community strengths were built upon to address the target problems within the target population that had certain mutable and immutable characteristics. The resulting philosophy was that one should work within the knowledge of these characteristics to better resolve the target problem with the target population. In this way the ‘strengths-based’ approach arguably used elements of the cultural competence attainment model, participation and social capital to strengthen relationships within the community and therefore affect outreach positively. Grigg-Saito says that “The use of outreach strategies built on strengths of the community, community participation in program design, and consideration of cultural factors.”¹⁹

In this situation, the population’s size had given rise to many community-developed institutions or structures such as temples, businesses, political participation and community events.²⁰ This enabled the Cross-Cultural Health Care Program (2002) to build a successful strategy up the foundations of these places frequented by Cambodian refugees. In this way, knowledge of their immigration history was considered valuable for context which then informed the strategy of the outreach itself.²¹

¹⁸ Grigg-Saito et al., 416.

¹⁹ Grigg-Saito et al., 418.

²⁰ Grigg-Saito et al., 422.

²¹ Cross-Cultural Health Care Program. *Cultural Competence in Health Care*. Seattle, WA (2002).

Upon this knowledge a strategy was developed. This included, in Grigg-Saito's (2008) words, "a year of pilot activities: identification of and work with, key community leaders: fact finding including 'community conversations,' the Cambodian version of focus groups, to obtain information about knowledge, needs and strengths from community members; bilingual, bicultural staff capacity building: and a culminating event... the health forum. All of these activities built community involvement, buy in, and trust for coalition agencies, staff and the planning process."²² Information was recorded in reports, surveys, discussions, photos and observations. In this way, lots of information was gathered and community participation and social capital were accessed.

Once information and knowledge had been gathered, knowledge about the characteristics of the population could be used to address the target problem(s). For example, limited literacy in the community meant that print outreach methods would not be less effective. In this scenario, more "labor intensive, personal outreach" was required which included audiotapes and use of cable TV shows and radio.

This idea of a strengths-based approach could also be understood more broadly as overlapping with the idea of capacity building. Capacity building can be defined as "reinforcement of human, institutional or community performance, skills, knowledge and attitudes on a sustainable basis."²³ Some argue, however, that capacity building is often used as another word for 'training' and that little collaboration often occurs between trainers. However, capacity building can be seen as a way of strengthening relationships; therefore, it can be included as a component of outreach.

²² Grigg-Saito et al., 419.

²³ Grigg-Saito, et al., 423.

After strengths have been gauged and assessed, outreach strategies to a Cambodian community were constructed to include outreach to businesses, outreach by going door to door, “learning tours” in which participants visit places of importance to their daily lives, educational workshops and groups, “peer support groups,” an “elders council,” outreach conducted by a nurse or doctor, exercise groups, and outreach conducted by faith communities. Grigg-Saito (2008) also states that the most important thing is to identify what concerning each initiative motivates someone to participate and then duplicate that element in other activities. They are, in effect, seeking to “strengthen participation.”²⁴

1.6 Priority Population Demographics in Outreach

Places or settings where outreach to the individual or community takes place are also significant factors to consider when constructing an outreach strategy. Techniques include having the outreach worker visit specific areas of importance to the refugee individual such as the hospital or the airport where the refugee is arriving. Outreach to a refugee community consists of presentations in community spaces, radio announcements and newsletters. Outreach to other agencies hinge on interagency agreements and collaboration as well as an understanding of each other’s role with the refugee population, community, or individuals.²⁵

In many contexts, particularly in humanitarian aid or development programs in the global south, the setting where the outreach will take place becomes significant. Services can theoretically be based either at centers or constant locations, or they can be based in homes of those who receive the outreach or service, or otherwise in locations which are not constant. Each of these options has pros and cons for both the receiver and the giver of outreach. That also

²⁴ Grigg-Saito et al., 420-422.

²⁵ “Outreach Information and Referral,” 12.

dictates different methods and strategies for outreach. In other words, outcomes of the proposed service, program or method of outreach will correspond to the proposed setting.²⁶

For example, one report by Karine Le Roch et al. (2010) compared what were heavily center-based psychosocial services for Iraqis in Jordan versus only home visits for Iraqis in Lebanon. The report observed that home based visits for the Iraqis in Lebanon ensured the continuation of the service to particular individuals in need as well as better identification of members of families. Some strengths of the center-based program in Jordan included enhanced ability to conduct needs assessments and basic counseling, the ability to produce “tailor-made” recommendations to needs, refugees’ access to culturally adapted activities organized by the center, as well as information sharing, networking, and capacity building for refugees.²⁷

Conversely, services in Lebanon focused on what was described as “classic street-based social work practice.” This entailed mobile teams networking and identifying and locating the most vulnerable refugees, referring them to services or psychological assessment if necessary. It also included a number of street animation events and a case management approach through which to monitor how Iraqi refugees were accessing the aid services. The reported outcomes of the outreach strategy in Lebanon were that the population was “located and assessed,” access to education for Iraqi children was improved, there was better integration into the host community, and aid workers were better informed and able to respond to protection needs of the population.²⁸

Significantly, the article explains that the reason for the different approach to services to Iraqis in Lebanon versus Jordan is because the context was different. At the same time, in both situations, the “traditional attitudes” of the population regarding mental health were considered. Also, for example, the article anecdotally notes that behavioral disorders were diagnosed more in

²⁶ Le Roch, et al., 106.

²⁷ Le Roch, et al.,104.

²⁸ Le Roch, et al., 106.

children in the case of center-based services. The study also states that many Iraqis would relate their problems “to obvious social causes or physical health issues only, and that this was found also be the case in another study of services to Iraqis in the Netherlands.”²⁹

In other words, it is stated that, while the different contexts of Jordan and Lebanon required different approaches to administering services to Iraqis, Iraqis as a population demographic had certain characteristics or attitudes which could be taken into account to better administer psychosocial services. For example, many Iraqis manifested similar aspects of behavior or perspective while in Lebanon, Jordan and the Netherlands. It furthermore stated that certain population demographics, such as children, were more predisposed to certain psychological conditions and therefore would benefit from a tailored service.

Of course, services need to match refugee needs, and a model for evaluating or assessing these needs is necessary as a component of outreach and service delivery. However, the context needs to be closely aligned with both the needs of the population and the delivery of the service. Le Roch et al. (2010) “Delivery of services by various humanitarian aid organizations is also organized differently than in other settings that recognize refugees.”³⁰

These are instances in which the cultural competence model can inform the delivery of services. Instances where, for example, aid workers have found that some ethnic groups in Africa refused a blood test because they believed it would bring bad luck. Others have found that some Haitian women prefer to use a traditional midwife rather than go the hospital because they feel ill at ease there.³¹ But these are not merely psychosocial or mental health issues to be overcome only by psychosocial means. This cultural knowledge of refugees can also be approached in

²⁹ Le Roch et al., 115.

³⁰ Le Roch, et al. 116.

³¹ Chang, 32.

terms of the practitioner, who would work within these cultural or ethnic characteristics to better inform outreach or the delivery of services.

The alternative to this model results in a lack of knowledge about the population demographics and characteristics about refugees, or otherwise a refusal to consciously incorporate these realities into programs, services and outreach. For example, in a survey done evaluating the Community Services of UNHCR (2002) “staff were asked if they had adequate population information, age/gender analysis and other resources needed to identify and assist ‘vulnerable’ groups and individuals. A third of respondents indicated that they did not. Of the rest, most were wholly dependent on statistics provided by IPs on numbers of refugees assisted, rather than a more substantive analysis of the ‘level’ and ‘types’ of vulnerability in the overall population.”³² This shows that UNHCR both distinguishes and acknowledges population demographics as a way to better administer programs and services in some of their offices, but that many of their employees feel that the information they have is inadequate.

Furthermore, this same report challenges the idea of how UNHCR seeks to identify certain population demographics, advocating for a more nuanced approach toward determining levels of refugee vulnerability. According to the Casa Consulting report, “In most cases, a standard set of categories are being utilized for the identification of ‘vulnerables’. Separated children, single parents (mainly women), the elderly, those with chronic illness and the physically disabled are among the most frequent categories.”³³

Perhaps the most major overarching argument in Migration and Refugee Studies now is attempting to define who is necessarily a refugee (and not an economic migrant) and therefore deserving of extra aid or services due to perceived vulnerability. For example, Usha breaks down

³² Community Services Function of UNHCR: Independent Evaluation, CASA Consulting, 27.

³³ Community Services Function of UNHCR: Independent Evaluation, CASA Consulting, 33.

“newcomers,” to Canada in terms of economic immigrants, family-class immigrants, and sponsored refugees.³⁴

For example, UNHCR in Egypt currently dedicates a large amount of its resources to determining who is legally a refugee. In dividing who is a refugee (and therefore deserving of legal statuses and services) and who is an economic migrant who does not (the argument is) need these things; one is deciding who falls within its mandate. UNHCR also attempts to its define priority when it attempts to define who is vulnerable and who is not. There is much current discussion in Cairo about singling out the more vulnerable refugees for greater distribution of aid. NGOs are in practice breaking down these heterogeneous groups of refugees in order to better manage their services. However, they are not doing it enough, and they are not doing it in a conscious way as a means of strategy. It is true that outreach should be based partially on the experiences of the practitioners and trial and error. However, outreach which is based only on trial and error, in the absence of sharing lessons learned with other NGOs or a theoretical base, runs the risk of haphazardly lacking vision, and otherwise wasting time and resources on an aspect of humanitarian aid and development work that already has few resources and little time devoted to its purpose. Acknowledging a priority to target a given population within the heterogeneous population of refugees in urban Cairo saves time and resources. Furthermore, its active consideration as a tool could help practitioners consider the projects administer more creatively, with more flexible and open results.

³⁴ Usha, 466.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Precise Field Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodologies used in this thesis. Methodologies of this research concerning NGO outreach to refugee populations were primarily quantitative based, although elements of quantitative data analysis was used, for example, when composing the charts and graphs which can be found in the Appendix. The primary qualitative method that was used for this thesis was that of comparison. NGO practices were contrasted and compared both as organizations as well as in the particular capacity of outreach. I used a problem matrix when comparing and contrasting organizations, showing the commonalities and differences among NGOs in Cairo concerning major issues that were identified through the interview process. Graphs were then constructed based on the information in the problem matrix. I chose to focus on cross-analyzing the variable of heterogeneous populations with the constant variable of outreach because, as I argue in this thesis, it has previously been overlooked as a tool for both theoretical analysis and practical models of application.

Furthermore, in the Theoretical and Practical Framework for Outreach chapter which discusses theory, qualitative methods were used which included comparing aid approaches, as well as other competing theories of aid. These theories were then incorporated into a theory of outreach which had not been built before. The research was arranged this way because of the exploratory or foundation-laying nature of the research. More quantitative research will be possible once a foundation for the research of outreach is properly constructed.

Therefore, the collected data served two major functions. The first required laying the theoretical foundation for outreach through a literature review of written materials. The second level required practical foundation for outreach based on empirical data collected through semi-structured interviews with NGO workers performing outreach tasks. Empirical data was also collected through observation and review of the organization's documents. Analyzing the data demanded some cross-comparison between the theoretical base of the literature and the empirical field data. The data was then analyzed with the intent to bring about the broadest implications for outreach in general, refugee studies, humanitarian aid and development work.

Therefore, in order to conduct the practical empirical-based aspect of this research, I conducted semi-structured interviews with at least one staff person from each NGO, who contributed to outreach activities as part of his/her work. In the end, I interviewed one member from 17 identified organizations working with refugees in Cairo. Of these, 14 people were members of NGOs and one was a member of a CBO. I also interviewed three people concerning outreach which did not represent an NGO or CBO in order to get background or history about outreach or the aid culture for refugees in Cairo. One person I interviewed in relevance to a problem in outreach I had identified, the problem that some ethnicities do not have CBOs which represent their community. I explored how this issue related to outreach.

There are a number of NGOs that deal with refugee issues in Cairo. Initially, I sought to contact at least one member from one large organization that operates in multiple countries, such as Caritas, one smaller organization such as Refugees International, at least one organization that is faith-based such as St. Andrew's Church in Cairo, and at least one organization that specifically deals with the legalities of recognizing formal refugee status, such as UNHCR. In practice, I sought out the perspectives of people performing outreach in as many organizations as possible.

Several people at this stage of my research suggested to me that I should focus on only one, or otherwise no more than three or four, organizations. I chose not to do this. Focusing on one or two organizations would have been a case study on outreach, which is the bulk of what already exists in writing concerning outreach. Furthermore, I did not think a case study would have the broad implications I was hoping to highlight. It probably would not have brought out the issue of population demographics, which is what I wanted to focus on, unless I found an organization that was particularly utilizing this tool in an innovative way. During this research I found no example of an NGO explicitly focusing on this tool in Cairo, except perhaps the International Organization for Migration, whose representative had consciously incorporated at least some aspect of it into his philosophy.

Focusing on three or four organizations would have allowed me to go deeper and ideally attend some of the NGO outreach workers activities in order to observe their techniques and strategies, which was an initial objective. However, again, it would not allow me to go as deeply in considering the variable of population demographics of the refugee community in Cairo. Since this was my initial goal, I chose to adhere to it during the research, despite the difficulties. .

Originally, I hoped to fully integrate Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), of which there are many in Cairo, into this discussion of population demographics and outreach. I did interview members from one CBO, the Sons of Fur, and incorporated the findings into a later chapter. However, I quickly realized that CBO outreach was an area of research that deserved at least a second thesis. Once both CBO and NGO outreach have been explored in Cairo, then a comparison can be attempted in relation to population demographics. The discussion of the CBO interviews in the later chapters, as well as the discussion of ethnicity-specific organizations in the theory chapter could serve as a foundation for this further study.

In laying out a theoretical and practical model framework for outreach, I attempted to break down outreach into generalized theoretical elements upon which the practice of outreach could be based. I tried to arrange to shadow outreach workers while they conducted their activities. However, given the number of organizations I interviewed and the lack of existing theoretical framework, that turned out to not be possible within my time constraints. A further topic of research would be to utilize such empirical methods in order to investigate how the subject's description of outreach matched their activities, particularly regarding this discussion of heterogeneous population demographics and outreach techniques and strategies.

At first, I wished to focus exclusively or heavily on the demographics of ethnicity. In this way, I had originally planned to locate cultural experts who could explain the intricacies of their culture of origin to me and thus then apply these specifics to the empirical findings of the NGO organizations. I could have also focused on one ethnic refugee group such as Somalis, Sudanese, Eritreans, Iraqis, Ethiopians or Palestinians. This raised the problem of using an interpreter. However, my priority interest was in the idea of population demographics within outreach work.

To focus on one ethnicity would have meant doing a case study, which I was trying to avoid because I wanted the broadest implications possible for the research findings.

2.2 Explanation of Interviews

I approached interviewees through networks that I formed within the NGO community and from there used the snowball method, meaning that I networked to receive additional referrals from my core list of contacts. However, effort spent doing this was minimal. Contacts came to my attention fluidly from being out in the NGO and refugee communities. It was not difficult to schedule the vast majority of these interviews and achieve initial access to the organization. Perhaps I received easy access to interview subjects because of a high interest in the topic of outreach, a recognition that my research would contribute to organizational learning (a service that many organizations pay for from outside consultants but I would be providing for free,) or the overall practical contribution they might have seen this research making to the fields of refugee studies, humanitarian aid or development.

However, I also took time to research the primary organizations in Cairo working with refugees and began to network and build up contacts within organizations which would be ideal for interviewing concerning outreach. I built a list of contacts this way of ideal interview candidates before I even began the interviews, using networking techniques and research techniques which included the snowball method. At this stage in the process I also located the most organized CBOs (by reputation) and eventually contacted their primary members. However, after doing an interview with members of the CBO Sons of Fur Association, I realized that including interviews of CBO members was beyond the scope of this thesis project.

Because I took my time to network within the NGO community, I had very little difficulty gaining access to outreach workers in my targeted organizations for interview. The two exceptions to this were CARITAS and Catholic Relief Services. They were the only two NGOs which I identified as having a significant impact on the lives of a large number of refugees but who did not respond to my requests for an interview. I also attempted to secure an interview with a member from TADAMON, who never said no, but our schedules never appeared to match up.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives of organizations for the purpose of being able to cross-compare strategies used by organizations. When direct and indirect questions did not bring about answers concerning given techniques or approaches to population demographics within the refugee heterogeneous community, I relied on observation along with the way the subject described the structure of the program and the outreach itself, as well as materials produced by the organization.

Questions asked of participants included relating to their organization's program and outreach structure, strategies of outreach, networking, and identification of community leaders, among other topics. In this way, I wanted to maximize the capacity of the research to use quantifiable methods for analysis. The majority of the interviews were performed during the summer and early fall of 2010. During the following academic year, I built a theoretical framework of articles I found to have a relation to outreach, as well as processing and analyzing interviews.

All the interviewees were voluntary participants. A consent form was written with the intention of having every participant sign it. I read the consent form to them, and in most cases

they signed this form. They were instructed that they did not need to answer questions they did not wish to answer. Great care was taken to avoid harm to individuals interviewed for this thesis.

In this way, every participant except three, two of whom gave information of a background nature, were shown a very clear cut explicit set of guidelines outlining the intentions of the researcher and the research paper. Two participants were not shown the exact consent form. Ali Sheikh was initially interviewed for different but related research and gave his verbal consent in that context. With the best intentions to cause no harm, information he gave in his interview was incorporated into this thesis as background information. Secondly, Barbara Harrell-Bond provided some background information concerning the history of the Refugee Legal Resettlement Project while knowing that it was for my MA thesis project. This was explained by email. Lastly, Lorena Guzman was interviewed over email concerning the Vulnerable Migration and Refugee Interagency Working Group. At the time, I explained over email that I would be using information about the group for another paper as well as for my thesis. Therefore, when she responded to the email with information regarding the organization, I obtained her consent.

All other participants were shown the consent form and all agreed to sign their names to this document stating consent. However, the reality of the environment of Cairo did not always permit me to print this document before performing the interview, largely because I do not own a printer in Cairo. Because of this logistical difficulty, I was not able to obtain written consent from every research subject. Nevertheless, every subject except the one listed above was shown an electronic version of the consent form, which they verbally agreed to as an adult.

One issue that may have factored into the quality of the interviews may have been that many of the interviews were done in English with non-native speakers, though nearly all of the NGO

workers interviewed appeared to have an excellent command of the English language. Miscommunication concerning syntax or cultural misunderstandings may have been possible. Furthermore, there was the consideration of whether a member of an organization, even a member who is in charge of outreach, is really able to speak for an entire organization on issues such as strategy, implementation and organizational policy. However, outreach workers' experiences and perspectives were highlighted, with the influence of the organizational perspective noted.

Ethical considerations were of a professional nature and entailed not damaging the research subject's career due to this research, unnecessarily damaging the reputation of an NGO that was doing good work in Cairo, or otherwise critiquing the system in Cairo in a way such that it might lose already scarce funding for programs and services that affect refugees. Much thought was put into whether to critique any organizations in a negative fashion, and to capitalize as best as possible on positive strengths and attributes of the organizations which entailed outreach. Also, individuals were not singled out in this research as being perpetrators of a bad element of any part of the system. Instead, individuals were recognized as working within the context, constraints and limitations of conducting outreach to refugees in Cairo.

Ethical consideration was also given to their concerns about perpetuating discrimination by viewing population demographics through the lens of outreach. As any tool, population demographics can be manipulated in a way that causes dire consequences and bolster already existing power structures. This has been the case in the past in the form of colonialism and other oppressive mechanisms. But differences can also be acknowledged in a way that enhances a program service or goal. It is more likely that if differences are acknowledged, they can be used toward this later positive goal. However, it is an ethical consideration that a discussion of

population demographics in outreach, programs and services could also be used for the former goal, which is how it has often been used in the past.

2.3 Validity of Theoretical and Practical Decisions in Research

Population demographics is only one variable that informs outreach. One can also identify other variables that comprise outreach and cross-analyze them in either a quantitative or qualitative fashion. Both theoretical and practical variables are discussed in the other chapters of this paper. Each variable fluctuates and informs how outreach will be realized in terms of strategy and technique. This thesis identifies and defines the variables that comprise outreach in the hope that it will have greater application to further research concerning outreach in the future.

Urban refugees in Cairo fit this study well, because the population is highly heterogeneous, highly scattered within the greater metropolis of the city, high in sheer numbers, and among the most highly vulnerable demographics. It also stands to be noted that there is currently a relatively high number of NGOs in Cairo administering services to refugees. There is an ongoing heated debate in Cairo and in refugee studies about who is and is not a refugee. However, if we are to define migrants as people who describe themselves as coming for only economic reasons to Egypt, then these people are few in number. Numbers of low skilled migrants in Cairo are not large enough to form distinct communities (i.e. an ethnic community) and there are nearly no organizations administering to them, with the exception of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) which caters to both refugees and migrants regardless of their status, and some ethnic or internationally based student's associations in Cairo, such as the International Student's Association at the American University of Cairo, or the

now disbanded Association des Etudiants Camoriens en Egypte, organized through the Comoros Islands' embassy in Cairo.

One could have theoretically done this same study on outreach and population demographics while looking at skilled migrants in the form of professional or social affiliations such as the Petroleum Wives Club in Cairo, for example. Most refugees in Cairo are unfortunately low skilled. However, one could also conduct research regarding this group of skilled migrants in Cairo regarding how they perform outreach and for what purpose. It is likely their answers and strategies would be very different. It would be an interesting topic of future study to research and compare how outreach is done in regard to this class difference.

After formulating a foundational discussion of outreach, this thesis seeks to go further and begin a discussion concerning population demographics as a variable in relation to outreach, using the model of urban refugees in Cairo as an example. Through the discussion of theory, practice and the example population of refugees in Cairo, the thesis will further argue that population demographics deserve attention not only within the realm of outreach, but also within the greater context of organizing and structuring better programs and services in humanitarian aid and development. However, this discussion is most important for outreach programs and to those working with heterogeneous vulnerable populations such as refugees.

2.4 Challenges and Limitations of the Research Topic

Outreach is used as a tool rather universally across international, national and local non-profit and social sectors, yet when one runs a non-academic Google search concerning outreach, almost only Christian church related sites concerning outreach with the purpose of bringing people to

church activities show up. Some manuals and guidelines produced by various aid organizations speak about topics which seem to relate to outreach, and it is these that are referenced and analyzed in this thesis. Usually, however, what is found concerning outreach academically in search engines like JSTOR involves very specific case studies that look at a particular sector and a particular country or countries.

At first, I had planned to outline and move quickly past what I assumed would be an already in place theoretical and practical framework of literature on outreach in relation to humanitarian aid, development or refugee issues. When I found case studies, I struggled with how to apply them to the setting of Cairo to a different context and ethnicity, for example. Therefore, in the absence of a real academic framework for outreach which easily transgressed contexts, sectors, or population demographics, it was necessary for me to create a theoretical framework. I then needed to relate it to a practical framework of concrete strategies and techniques which NGO practitioners were exercising in Cairo regarding outreach to refugees. Realizing this necessity and then creating a theoretical framework for outreach which had not existed before was a major challenge of this thesis.

I also started off with a number of assumptions which affected my approach to the empirical aspect of the research. For example, I started off assuming there would be a working definition that nearly everyone used. There is not. I assumed there would be a more vast body of academic and practitioner writing on the general topic of outreach or about outreach in the context of humanitarian aid work or international development. Instead I found sector-specific case studies. I supposed I would test a more tailored hypotheses which I would glean from academic writing on NGO members who would have already acknowledged and used the tool of population demographics to inform their programs, services and outreach.

Slowly through this process, I realized outreach could mean different things to different people in different contexts. I saw that outreach can be done on a large or modest scale. It could be done in any part of the world with any population concerning any sector or topic. This combined with the fact that I wished to compare organizational strategies in order to discuss the “new” angle population issues, made the research at times seem a formidable and overly ambitious topic. This factor has pushed me continuously to simplify and approach outreach from a more foundational perspective, to create a basis for future researchers of this under-researched yet increasingly important topic.

Most significantly for this research, I expected that NGO staff would acknowledge that they did actively consider differences in population characteristics such as religion, age, gender and ethnicity in informing their policies, mandate and implication of programs. I was hoping they would have already considered this idea so that we could move past this point and consider more deeply the methods, strategies and techniques that the organizations used in relation to population demographics. However, when I posed questions concerning differences in population demographics, they almost never met with a positive reception. People treated it as if I had just accused them of discrimination. When asked this question, they generally responded with some version of “We don’t discriminate.”

After the first three interviewees responded negatively to a direct version of the question, “How do you divide the refugee population in order to better conduct your outreach activities?” I began trying to ask the question differently by saying, “How do you work with different communities differently in your organization?” Then I tried to soften the question or make it less indirect. “What differences do you see when you approach this demographic versus another demographic?” or “How do you manage working with people from different groups or

perspectives? What is your strategy?” In other words, I tried to soften the question, make it more positive or less direct.

I asked over half of the respondents representing an organization some version of this question. When they continued to respond negatively I began trying to draw out the examples they gave when they talked particularly about Eritreans, for example. Only the member of the IOM whom I interviewed acknowledged that separating ethnicities or genders was a positive strategy that could have helpful results, and he did this without my prompting. However, even when I stopped asking the questions directly related to this issue, I looked for ways to smoothly ask about this topic so as not to negatively affect my relationship with the person interviewed or the chances of getting their opinions concerning useful techniques and strategies of outreach.

2.5 Lessons Learned about Research

Therefore, there were many lessons learned concerning the methodology for this research. A key one is that it would have been helpful to have finished a theoretical framework using the existing literature before beginning the empirical interviews. I did begin researching the theoretical framework of outreach thoroughly prior to performing the interviews; however, when I found basically only case studies, most of them sector-specific and therefore difficult to apply to my purposes, the advice I was given was to create a theoretical framework. I understood this to mean that I should stop struggling to base the theoretical framework on case studies which did not easily fit into the purposes of what I was hoping to achieve with this research, and instead to base the theoretical research on the empirical observations and interviews of NGO members I was about to begin. Thus, I tried to construct the theoretical framework with empirical examples

from the real world. It became very clear at the beginning of this research that academics and practitioners alike had not gone past the case study approach in order to perform research that could be applied more universally to the overall understanding of outreach. To the extent that they considered this topic, they no doubt confronted the same challenges as I did during my research.

This research began as an expectation that there would be foundational research of outreach I could use which would save me from the necessity of creating my own theoretical framework essentially from scratch. Then it became an attempt to move forward by finding my theoretical framework in empirical examples. However, at the end of this process, I found the empirical examples cluttered because of personality and mandate differences among the organizations, making it necessary to expand my approach to encompass other theoretical arguments that were not explicitly developed as pertaining to outreach but which, arguably, could be applied.

I ultimately decided to create a theoretical framework based on theory written about humanitarian aid or development work in general which I found I could argue to be of particular relevance to outreach. I wove these elements together to create a framework for outreach which had not existed before, a version of outreach which pertained most directly to the sectors of humanitarian aid work, development work, refugee issues, or even non-profit work. In other words, I have created a theoretical framework for outreach in the following chapter using pieces of theory which its authors originally meant to be related to other aspects of development or aid work.

At first, I did not have the academic confidence to argue that many articles had elements which pertained to outreach, especially since few of the sources I found relevant mentioned outreach

specifically. For example, I used articles which spoke of the Cultural Competence Attainment Model and others which talked about Social Capital, since I found these articles to be relevant to a theoretical discussion of outreach. However, these articles did not mention outreach at all as being related to these models. Thus, I had to identify these pre-existing models, approaches and theories which had *not* been considered previously to be about outreach, but that were, in my opinion, useful for.

The result of the initial lack of framework for outreach, and my difficulties in trying to find a proper method in which to build the framework which would be respected by academics and practitioners, resulted in the research being more exploratory in nature. But I have also found this is most appropriate for the nature of this research at this time, since, in the absence of other foundational research, this work will contribute to the basis of outreach research, most particularly in relation to humanitarian aid and development work. This foundational research will thus hopefully lead to further research on outreach which is of a less exploratory nature. The chapters that follow first and foremost advocate for the utilization and expansion of these elements both in theory and in practice within the realm of humanitarian aid and development.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Practical Framework for Outreach in Humanitarian Aid

3.1 “Why Don’t We Understand Refugees?”

The methods of research described in the previous chapter revealed a need to build a theoretical framework for outreach based on making an argument that certain concepts related to humanitarian aid or development work were also directly related to outreach, most particularly in relation to urban refugees in Cairo. It also illustrated that a theoretical framework for a discussion on how outreach is applied to population demographics would have to come out of both theory and elements teased out of case studies which had been performed in different contexts and with relatively different populations than urban refugees in Cairo. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to build a theoretical foundation upon which the empirical examples and further study of outreach in the context of humanitarian aid, development work, or non-profit work can be conducted.

Recently, the head of UNHCR’s Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, Jeff Crisp, wrote a short article entitled “Why do we know so little about refugees? How can we learn more?”³⁵ The questions posed in the title are significant for NGO workers, outreach workers and refugee communities. UNHCR is an organization at the forefront of the humanitarian system administering aid to refugees worldwide and in Egypt, in particular. If UNHCR is asking why

³⁵ Jeff Crisp, “Why do we know so little about refugees? How can we learn more?” FMR 18, UNHCR, 1. www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs?FMR18/fmr19unhcr.pdf.

NGO knowledge of refugees is incomplete or lacking, then the problem is probably an important one meriting a significant discussion and analysis among the NGO worker community in general.

Outreach is one solution to Crisp's question, "how can we learn more?" The terminology, strategy and methodology of outreach are often murky for organizations. It is usually a concept based on trial, error and practice rather than theory or researched methodology. Yet building a theoretical and methodological framework is necessary for outreach, if one is to build on its approach to aid or development work. Once a theoretical framework has been built, practice-based models can be formulated. This section focuses on building a theoretical framework for outreach, which will serve as the basis for the rest of the thesis.

When building a theoretical framework, one must first define outreach and its components. One must also begin to draw lines limiting outreach, rather than allowing it to be a term almost without definition. One must then break down the foundations of outreach into the different approaches and policies that shape it, placing it squarely in the context of development and aid work as well as, in this case, in the context of the refugee population. Then the more concrete components of outreach must be constructed, such as activities, methodology and the population to which outreach is administered. One must also discuss its relevance to the population served. There must also be an ongoing discussion about its significance and central role in the delivery of programs and services in the context of humanitarian aid and development work. This section of the thesis will therefore accomplish the above goals.

This theoretical framework is limited in scope by the fact that it is being applied to refugees, although it has been intentionally written in a way to allow for implications for other populations, contexts and fields. Here, outreach is applied to urban refugees in the context of

Cairo, a population demographic that has its own particularities. This population was chosen because the specific heterogeneity of the refugee population in an urban center like Cairo presents some of the greatest challenges for outreach. In the context of aid work, gaps in background that include cultural differences can usually be found between the aid worker and population served. This difference is exacerbated in a context where the population served is heterogeneous and of different backgrounds than the local population. To support this argument, UNHCR has argued that outreach “is key to overall effectiveness” in urban settings.³⁶

3.2 Definition of Outreach (The Cultural Competence Model and Social Capital)

Outreach is the point of the organization which is closest to the individual, community, or agency itself (and therefore in particular among the best tools available to bridge the reality of organizational bureaucracy with individual people.) “Outreach is the process of locating refugees in the community who may be in need of services, and informing them of appropriate services as well as ways to secure those services. Outreach may lead to the provision of information and referral and/or the provision of additional services through intake into an agency or program; however, the function of outreach is to inform refugees of the availability of services rather than actually providing those services.”³⁷ This definition of outreach is given in the article entitled “Outreach, Information and Referral,” and can serve as a good working definition for the topic. In providing information associated with refugee services, a measure for the effectiveness of an outreach program lies in whether the relationship between service provider and service seeker is strengthened.

³⁶ *Surviving in the city: A review of UNHCR’s operation for Iraqi refugees in urban areas of Jordan, Lebanon and Syria*, UNHCR Policy Development and Evaluation Service, (July 2009), 30.

³⁷ “Outreach Information and Referral,” 3.

Inherent in this definition is the relationship between the NGO and the refugee or community being served. The definition is given from the perspective of the NGO worker and might be defined differently if a refugee or beneficiary group defined outreach. There is a certain perspective concerning who is receiving the services and who is giving the service. Also inherent in this definition is the idea of participation by refugees.

Two theoretical models that could deepen the understanding of and strengthen relationships in the context of outreach and humanitarian aid, as it applies to heterogeneous refugee groups, are the “cultural competence attainment model” and the model of “social capital.” Cultural competence can be defined from both the perspective of the aid worker and the perspective of the refugee as being “an adaptive capacity based on an inclusive and integrative world view which allows participants to effectively accommodate the demands of living in a host culture”³⁸

Social capital can be described as “the norms and social relations embedded in social structures of society that enable people to co-ordinate action and to achieve desired goals.”³⁹ It is made up of “interpersonal networks that provide people with resources or status, which they can exploit in other areas of social life and potentially leverage in the pursuit of economic or cultural capital...Communities of professional or social elites make different resources available than working-class or ethnic communities. The idea of social capital has been linked more generally to the notion of noneconomic resources.”⁴⁰

³⁸ E.W. Taylor, “Intercultural Competency: A Transformative Learning Process,” *Adult Education Quarterly*, (1984): 44(3), 154.

³⁹ Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt, “Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of its Role in Development.” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, (2000) Vol. 32: 546-547.

⁴⁰ “Social capital” *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Craig Calhoun, ed. Oxford University Press 2002. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press, American University in Cairo Library. 27 June 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t104.e1540>>

Some would argue that the cultural competence attainment model fits aid workers, most particularly those working with refugees in a social welfare context. It is a theoretical concept originally developed with the idea of individual difference, in that it was developed for practitioners who worked with children and adults in communities. Furthermore, the model not only advocated that greater cultural competence is necessary in the delivering of services that include outreach, but also argued that the process of cultural competence was a learnable process.⁴¹ It could be argued that social capital is a term that applies more to refugee communities than to foreign NGO workers, in that it is used as a coping and survival method.

The cultural competence attainment model was originally developed for social welfare practitioners. It calls attention to the place where the current trends of “cultural diversity” and “global interaction” meet, i.e. to the constant struggle to treat people of different cultural backgrounds with equity.⁴² This idea is well placed for the discussion of outreach to a heterogeneous population. One could also argue that the concept of multiculturalism is often overlooked and surely under-researched, particularly within the realm of refugee studies, due to the propensity of most researchers to focus on a particular ethnicity when conducting their research, rather than comparing ethnicities or backgrounds directly. The assumption is that to compare backgrounds is to emphasize inequality, though this is not necessarily the case.

In the context of the West, the cultural competence attainment model developed first in the sectors of healthcare and education, as a response to the Western tradition and the perceived need of dominant groups to address the needs of minority groups which were found to be different than the dominant perspective. However, one could argue that the need for this model is even

⁴¹ Chang, 189.

⁴² Chang, 187.

more important in the context of humanitarian work.⁴³ It is particularly important in the context of conducting or delivering services to a complex and heterogeneous population like the refugee population in Cairo. Furthermore, the concept has major implications in the theoretical discussion which must be developed about outreach.

One can think of the cultural competence model as being of primary importance to NGO and outreach workers, particularly those who are working inter-culturally with refugees in a host country context. The idea of social capital, in turn, is particularly important to communities, outreach workers and other community liaisons. Social capital enables relationships to take place which enable outreach. This is not to say that cultural competence is not relevant to communities or that social capital does not matter for NGO workers. It is only to argue that only that these ideas are not of equal importance to people in all roles.

Social capital can be deconstructed in terms of its structural and the cognitive aspects. Cognitive aspects include “bonding relationships,” e.g. relationships in which strong social relationships are made among homogeneous groups along the lines of language, religion, class ethnicity or other social characteristics. These bonding relationships form stronger networking bonds among groups and can impact how people within communities choose to organize themselves. Structures of community organization are then formed along the lines of certain defining characteristics of a population, such as professional, social or geographical groups (i.e. people living in the same neighborhood). People who share less of these characteristics have more difficulty accessing social capital; i.e. their social capital is generally weaker and this affects levels of trust.⁴⁴

⁴³ Chang, 188.

⁴⁴Noel Calhoun, “UNHCR and community development: a weak link in the chain of refugee protection?” UNHCR Policy Development and Evaluation Service, *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Research Paper No. 191, (October, 2010), 7.

By extension, levels of social capital and cultural competence affect outreach. A lower level of social capital may render an outreach worker less effective, as the level of trust will be lower. A better “bonding relationship” formed by an outreach worker with members of his or her own community demographic will bring about faster levels of trust in the community served. There is also bridging social capital, in which a person is able to extend social capital despite difference.

According to Alice Boateng (2009) for example, “Social capital is of significant importance to groups like immigrants and refugees because it can contribute to economic survival and success, even though they may lack economic resources, such as skills, education and financial capital.”⁴⁵ It can contribute to the functioning of a community, particularly a transplanted community, in the absence of institutions that address their needs. Social capital ensures security in the community, as it is the loss of social ties that deeply affects refugees in transition. Those without social capital may weather an emergency alone.⁴⁶ Therefore, those without social capital are more likely to be more vulnerable and therefore needier of institutional resources. Furthermore, organizations are utilizing the social capital of their workers when they employ people with close connections to the community, i.e. people who are themselves refugees in Cairo.

In considering these multiple perspectives, I would argue that outreach can be approached, for example, from the perspective of the population, the individual or the family. A report from the Indochina Refugee Action Center (1981) broke down outreach as being administered to three categories: the individual refugee, the refugee community, and the community agency or NGO.

“Outreach [has] the ultimate goal of locating and responding to the individual refugees who need services, so there is some overlap in methodology. Outreach to the refugee community

⁴⁵ Alice Boateng, “A Mixed Methods Analysis of Social Capital of Liberian Refugee Women in Ghana,” *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, (2009): vol. 36, no. 3: 59-81.

⁴⁶ Deepa Narayan, “Bonds and Bridges: Social Capital and Poverty.” *Policy Research Working Paper*, no. 2167. Washington, DC: World Bank, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network, Poverty Division, (August 1999), 19.

simply employs techniques that reach groups of individuals in the community. In outreach to agencies, a program notifies agencies of the services it provides, thus establishing communication that may lead to referral of refugees in need.”⁴⁷

Examples like this illustrate the links between the concepts of outreach to different groups, as well as between the concept of community and NGO outreach. In other words, it illustrates the way relationships are an important aspect of outreach. For example outreach done by a community group to a community of individuals versus outreach done by NGOs to a community of individuals. However, these concepts of the NGO in contrast with the community are on a continuum that partly overlap, rather than placed in separate categories without overlap. They are not necessarily clearly defined categories. The more grassroots or localized the NGO is, the closer it falls to the concept of community outreach. The more internationalized an NGO’s mandate, the more likely it is to fall into the concept of NGO outreach.

In this context, this means that the NGO or the community is the main actor performing the outreach. However, the entity receiving the outreach may also be an NGO or the community, and these, too, are placed on a continuum that is not necessarily defined by categories without overlap. In essence, outreach is about linking together people and groups, communities and organizations. It is finding and strengthening the connection between these entities, so that the relationship between them works better.

3.3 The Human Role in Outreach

In the given definition, it is made clear that there is a giver and a receiver role in outreach. This definition furthermore assumes outreach is being approached from the perspective of the NGO. It also assumes that the NGO is in the role of giver or benefactor. Yet one could argue that

⁴⁷ “Outreach Information and Referral,” Indochina Refugee Action Center, 12.

outreach could also be defined from the perspective of the individual, group or community which is on the receiving end of outreach. Outreach is usually defined from the perspective of the organization who deems it in their interest to formulate outreach as a necessarily tool for linking themselves with individuals, communities or agencies. In turn, these organizations create outreach programs to serve their interests, which may include further perpetuate the existence of the organization itself. The very role of being the benefactor in the overall equation of aid work implies a power structure that should be acknowledged, even as a topic which strengthens a more equal relationship like outreach is explored. When the benefactor is put in an active role, the beneficiary is in turn put in a passive role.

Even with this in mind, outreach will be approached from the perspective of the NGO in this thesis. To build a theoretical framework of outreach from the perspective of the beneficiary or receiver of outreach is a task for further theoretical research. The topic is simply too large to explore within the confined length of this work. However, it is within the scope of this thesis to acknowledge that it is in both the interest of the refugee and the NGO to ensure the continuation of a working relationship in the delivery of services and programs or outreach. While the refugee is trying to ensure survival, NGOs are trying to fulfill their mandate and avoid a level of refugee dissatisfaction that could lead to unrest.

This does not mean that the relationship is an equal one. Refugees come into the situation from a place of weaker negotiating power than the NGOs that serve them. Therefore, refugees have often been obliged to learn about the power structure and the system of procuring more aid thoroughly. For example, Fernando Udan and Dorothea Hilhorst (2006) acknowledge the human interest inherent in all interactions which include aid work.

In the wide perspective of human suffering, humanitarians may appear as idealistic aid workers who help people in need, often at great risk to their personal security. But if we

zoom in on the situation, the power differentials become apparent. International NGOs, for example, have been uncomfortably associated with a desire to impose a set of Western humanitarian values on the world. There are also questions about the power differentials between INGOs and their local implementing partners, and between humanitarians and the recipients of aid. These differences are hidden under the rhetoric of partnership and participation, but they are being played out in the realities of everyday interaction.⁴⁸

One example of this can be found in the fact that NGOs that administer aid in refugee camps cite “ration fraud” as a major problem in camps. In some instances, structures were built in order to ensure that refugees would only get a certain allotment of food, which might or might not be of sufficient quantity, quality or cultural appropriateness. In these instances, it was found that the aisles created for people to wait to receive their rations, initially lined with wire netting, would snap if coated with hot wax. Thus, refugees at this camp found ways to get around a system which allotted them only a certain amount of food by breaking the construction of the aisles. NGOs were left with the necessity of reinforcing the area with bricks or wood.⁴⁹

While one might argue about the implications of this instance for aid work, it is clear that the benefactor (NGO) needs to understand the beneficiary (refugees) in order for them to ensure the fulfillment of needs they deemed necessary for survival. UNHCR conversely acknowledges that “identification and distribution of food and non-food items should be done in consultation with the refugees and people of concern to UNHCR. Distributed food items... should reflect the cultural habits and needs of the refugee communities.”⁵⁰

Barbara Harrell-Bond (1997) argues that not enough agency is given to groups which receive aid. Outreach, however, is one mechanism which if for example developed effectively

⁴⁸ Udan Fernando and Dorothea Hilhorst, “Everyday Practices of Humanitarian Aid: Tsunami Response in Sri Lanka” *Development in Practice*, (June 2006): Vol. 16, No. 3/4, pp. 292-302.

⁴⁹ Barbara Harrell-Bond, “The Experience of Refugees as Recipients of Aid,” Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, (1997), 19.

⁵⁰ “Reinforcing a Community Development Approach,” Executive Committee of the High Commissioner’s Program, Standing Committee, 20th Meeting, 15 (February 2001), 2.

within the context of NGO programs and services, can grant far greater agency to refugee populations and further the policies of “self-reliance,” favored by organizations like UNHCR.

Harrell-Bond also contrasts the historical examples of “white” refugees fleeing communism being left to help themselves with the current flows of refugees from non-white countries, who are perceived as needing far more help by organizations.⁵¹ This form of racism or xenophobia attaches the idea of agency to the idea of color and is extended to the way services are structured for refugees, and by extension, outreach. Another example of this comes from a study by Hisayo Katsui (2009) that was conducted with projects directed at deaf women in Uganda. While NGO workers in this case study usually had the intention of utilizing a rights-based approach, in reality a charity-approach or approach directed at the passive acceptance of aid by the beneficiary, prevailed.⁵² Katsui’s research illustrates the very important point that intentions do not always match up with aid worker’s realities. This is not necessarily the fault of aid workers, but often enough due to the constraints of reality placed upon them. For example, a report put out by CASA consulting (2003) which evaluated the Community Services aspect of UNHCR discusses UNHCR staff performing outreach-related activities.

Overall, the institution appears to send contradictory messages about the importance of being ‘close to’ and knowledgeable about the refugee population and local context. It clearly puts heavy demands on staff time to be providing reports, statistics, participating in conferences, training and meetings – that distract Community Services staff from the direct responsibilities they have been given at the level of the field. Based on our observations, visits to the field by most office-based staff are infrequent, although CS staff seems to get to the field more than other staff members. It was frequently commented to us that UNHCR tends to reward and recognize those who write well and report on time, rather than those who establish effective working relationships with NGOs and refugee groups.⁵³

⁵¹ Harrell-Bond, 9.

⁵² Hisayo Katsui, “Negotiating the Human Rights-Based Approach and the Charity-Based Approach in Development Cooperation Activities: Experiences of Deaf Women in Uganda,” (2009), 10.
<http://www.sylff.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/katsui.pdf>

⁵³ Community Services Function of UNHCR: Independent Evaluation, CASA Consulting, 10.

3.4 Politics, Participation and Perspectives in Outreach

While one could argue that approaches such as the participation approach may solve these issues, this is not unequivocally the case. Power structures will exist so long as there is an imbalance of knowledge. Power structures perpetuate systems which exercise control over resources. Approaches which come out of and are created by power relations cannot make the power relation itself disappear.

In turn, as Trevor Parfitt (2004) proposes, approaches such as the participation approach may take place only at the symbolic level, rather than the place where real decisions are being made, from a place where there is power.⁵⁴ Within each of these approaches is the possibility for coercion. Out of this comes the ultimate goal and measuring stick of empowerment as an approach, or agency. Without a measure of agency or empowerment of the refugee, it is impossible to discuss other issues associated with outreach. In turn, NGO workers sometimes are given more incentive not to do the more difficult work of understanding the community, and instead are encouraged through NGO policy to remain in the office.

While the humanitarian aid sector may have issues to resolve in its everyday practices concerning empowerment, agency and participation of populations like refugees; the overall trend is one where many humanitarian aid workers are discussing methods for improvement. Solutions involve a discussion between the interplay of dependence and dignity for refugees. Curtailing participation of refugee individuals and communities is seen as a way to encourage dependency on humanitarian aid. Investing in practices and policies which reinforce refugee dignity and increase cost effectiveness are seen as among the most desirable outcomes for

⁵⁴ Trevor Parfitt, "The Ambiguity of Participation: A Qualified Defense of Participatory Development," *Third World Quarterly*, (2004):Vol. 25, No. 3, 537-538.

humanitarian aid projects.⁵⁵ Frances Richardson (2006) says that “The [humanitarian] sector is seeking to increase the quality of humanitarian programs for example through improved program design, monitoring, and evaluation; more effective ways of responding to complex emergencies; and the adoption of participatory approaches that empower and recognize the rights beneficiaries, and also incorporate a gender perspective.”⁵⁶

However, it should be noted that while a great many NGO workers involved in humanitarian aid are competent and dedicated, there still remains a lack of peer review mechanisms for expatriate workers or consumer pressure.⁵⁷ One could argue that certain agency-created mechanisms, such as creating inter-agency working groups, could bolster such accountability. Even in these cases, outreach remains a major mechanism for strengthening accountability, by aiming to strengthen NGO’s relationships with the communities it serves.

However, the main pressure that is exerted on NGOs to act is not pressure which comes from the community. The main forces which decide NGO action are political pressure, or pressure from donors. Pressure exerted by these forces does not always bring about results in the best interests for the communities served. With this reality in mind, outreach can be seen as one mechanism which can foster accountability between stakeholders, simply because it focuses on building relationships through mechanisms like the cultural competence attainment model and social capital.

However, theoretical frameworks and methods are often complicated by constraints that sometimes come as a result of reality. Organizational structures, mandates, personalities and politics complicate the picture. Even though governments are primarily supposed to be

⁵⁵ Calhoun, 1.

⁵⁶ Frances Richardson, “Meeting the Demand for Skilled and Experienced Humanitarian Workers,” *Development in Practice*, (June, 2006): Vol. 16, No. ¾, pp. 334-341.

⁵⁷ Karen Olness MD, “Health Outreach to a Refugee Camp: Perspectives for Would-Be Volunteers,” *Pediatrics*, (April, 1981):Vol. 67 No. 4, 527.

responsible as surrogates for the refugee population as well as local populations, often the encroaching poverty of the global south makes this a task too heavy.⁵⁸ Many governments in the global south purportedly do not have money to establish effective programs and services for their own local populations. With refugees taking second priority after local populations in nearly every setting, they generally have less access to resources allocated from local governments than local populations. This creates a higher necessity for NGOs and governments in the international community to shift some of the financial and resource burden from the global south. This is certainly the case in Cairo, which has seen a burgeoning of NGO services particularly over the last 10 years in response to the growing awareness about urban refugees in the region.

In turn, one primary outcome of outreach can be described as putting forth a “model for improving aid agency interactions with urban refugee communities.”⁵⁹ Other outreach goals can include community mobilization, better service access, better relationships between the service provider and receiver, and higher levels of accountability. Sometimes integration for refugees into the local community can be included as an outreach goal. These resulting outcomes can illustrate or even measure the success of an outreach initiative.

Related to the idea of outreach is the idea that there are multiple perspectives to any issue, program or service administered, and that these multiple perspectives must be synthesized in order to bring about a successful program. At the same time, the diversity of perspective must also be acknowledged, i.e. the perspective of all stakeholders including refugees, NGO and outreach workers. It is this balance that remains one of the major challenges of successful outreach. Grigg-Saito (2008), for instance, acknowledges that many factors coming from many perspectives need to be streamlined in order to create an outreach program.

⁵⁸ Nicole Gastineau Campos and Paul Farmer, “Partners: Discernment and Humanitarian Efforts in Settings of Violence,” *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*, (2003): 31: 506.

⁵⁹ Wilber, 2.

When creating an outreach intervention, one needs to consider the community of focus, the goals and objectives, how the activity will be conducted and evaluated and the cost of conducting the activity. Community trust is necessary for the success of any outreach. The ability to find what elements of the activities and events interest participants is essential to the continued success of the program. In a community filled with fear and distrust, it is difficult to draw people out of their safe environments into the outside world, into something unknown and new. We often hear the question ‘how do we get them here?’ The question needs to be, ‘how do we get there?’⁶⁰

Providing “culturally relevant services”⁶¹ is therefore a key element in the overall humanitarian aid structure for refugees. In this context, outreach is a necessary component to build relationships between the two groups of aid givers and aid seekers. Outreach is a method to identify gaps and improve services. It is both a means and an end that can be used to mobilize refugee communities and expand on human and local resources. It is a method to ensure accountability of services to a population, by securing a mechanism that if performed effectively, ideally results in continuous conversation and feedback with the community served.

3.5 Urban Refugee Populations

There is further evidence for Crisp’s question concerning why organizations like UNHCR do not know “enough” about the populations they serve in the ongoing argument about the sheer numbers of refugees in any given country. The possibility of refugees who fit under the legal refugee definition having closed files in Cairo is a thoroughly discussed issue among many practitioners. For example, refugee numbers cited in Cairo range from the “conservative” UNHCR number of 39,903 persons of concern in January 2011⁶² to much more liberal figures of around 3 million.⁶³ Overall, it is argued that there is a trend toward a growing number of refugees worldwide. The burgeoning number of both NGOs and refugee crises also mean that it

⁶⁰ Grigg-Saito et al. 423.

⁶¹ Grigg-Saito et al., 423.

⁶² UNHCR Egypt Factsheet, (January 2011), 1. <http://www.unhcr.org/4d82160f9.pdf>

⁶³ <http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo029/fmo029-3.htm>

is becoming increasingly important that NGOs learn about refugees, in part evidenced by the very fact that refugee studies is generally currently considered to be a new and emerging field.⁶⁴

Possibly among the hottest argument over actual refugee numbers involves the unknown number of Iraqi refugees. However, the mere existence of an argument about refugee numbers illustrates the relative level of ignorance about “the numerous gaps regarding many aspects of the refugee’s life.”⁶⁵ Arguably, if one cannot pinpoint the numbers of an urban refugee population, it is even more difficult trying to conduct research concerning other identifying characteristics which might inform a program or service an NGO provides.

This is one of the main discussions in the urban versus camp refugee model, and it has major implications for the theoretical discussion of outreach. Refugees in camps are countable populations and are more easily characterized. Urban refugee populations have the particular characteristic of blending into local populations. Though they may be fragmented throughout different neighborhoods, or with host families, they may stay hidden to dodge identification and this can lead to a higher vulnerability that can lead to a deeper level of exploitation. Though they may appear to have greater access to schools, formal legal services, healthcare, and economic opportunities than those who live in camps, this is not necessarily the case because of discrimination. It is also important to note that they often place a greater burden on already strained urban settings, particularly in the global south. Thus this population often finds itself de facto without local services.⁶⁶

Furthermore, refugee populations and in particular urban refugee populations, while they may blend in from the perspective of the NGO or aid worker, do not often mix with local populations

⁶⁴ B.S. Chimni, “The Birth of a ‘Discipline:’ from Refugee to Forced Migration Studies,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, (February, 2009): Vol. 22. No 1., 12.

⁶⁵ Le Roch et.al, 100.

⁶⁶ Wilber, 1.

or host communities. This is often cited by researchers as a lack of opportunity to mix, or otherwise a byproduct of a cultural tension between refugee and local communities.⁶⁷ This magnifies the complexity of the problem in relation to outreach.

It is also important to consider the state of transition that refugees find themselves in while residing in “transit” countries such as Egypt. George Usha (1985), characterizes the migration process as having four stages: pre-movement, transition, resettlement and integration.⁶⁸ This theory highlights the idea that integration for refugees cannot truly happen until after resettlement. It also illustrates the notion that the work of integrating refugees is largely the responsibility of countries that resettle large numbers of refugees, which mainly include western or developed countries in the North. These northern countries assume this responsibility in rhetoric, though not necessarily in action. However, it is one of the in-place political mechanisms which relieve political responsibility of global south countries. It is a mechanism which alleviates international pressure on the south to take active steps to better integrate their refugee populations.

Urban refugees in Cairo often remain locked in the transition phase for many years without access to durable solutions, which would end the transition phase. These durable solutions include resettlement, repatriation and integration. Egypt has the fifth largest urban refugee population in the world.⁶⁹ Refugees in many other African nations live in protracted situations in refugee camps. Egypt has no refugee camps. However, refugees flowing into the countries’ urban centers are also living in protracted situations. They don’t have access to solutions which include true integration in Egypt because of legal and social barriers. For these reasons, Egypt is

⁶⁷ Le Roch et al., 103.

⁶⁸ Usha, 469.

⁶⁹ I. ISMAIL, “Co-ordinating ‘Humanitarian Aid’ for Refugees in Egypt, June.” Unpublished Report: FMRS, The American University in Cairo. Cairo, Egypt (2002), 1.

considered a transit country for refugee populations, a place where they will be documented, processed and then relocated by the UNHCR while the Egyptian government has limited involvement. As a result, refugees struggle with integrating into the host cities of Cairo and Alexandria while the NGO community finds a different set of challenges to locate and provide services, which include outreach in an urban setting.

One desired goal of outreach for refugees could be integration with the local host community. However, as argued earlier, this is not always necessarily achievable. While refugees in Cairo may not be integrating, they are blending into the greater urban chaos of Cairo. This means that, if an NGO is going to administer services to refugees, it must first devise a way to find them or a strategy that makes it easy for the refugee to find the organization.

Egypt's reservations on the 1951 Convention, particularly on access to education, and difficulties concerning access to livelihood, in part ensures that refugee integration into Egyptian society will be limited well into the future. True integration is further made impossible by the fact that Egypt denies the possibility of a naturalized citizenship option to refugees. Therefore, outreach remains an important ongoing endeavor in Egypt more so even than perhaps in other countries where refugees have greater access to integration, such as in the USA or Canada which incorporate national identities which more freely allow for the incorporation of immigrants.

These two categories of people are effectively stuck in Cairo until the situations in their countries improve. Often these situations do not improve. As a result, a large population is left vulnerable and, in some cases, destitute and in need of services relating even to basic needs. As a response to this need many organizations have tried to fill a lag in services for refugees which has not yet been completely bridged. Even with the services of organizations such as African Middle East Refugee Assistance, St. Andrew's Refugee Services, All Saints, CARITAS,

Catholic Relief Services, and Refuge Egypt, refugees who are recognized as having legal refugee status in Egypt still lack services and options.

Upon arrival, refugees tend to flock to urban centers like Cairo in order to be near services which include UNHCR⁷⁰ and the outreach programs many NGOs offer. However, just about any member of an NGO in Cairo will say they only have a limited amount of resources for the refugee population here. In light of limited resources, programs that most effectively target the population are of the most urgent and highest priority.

Urban refugees in Cairo are primarily Sudanese, Somalis, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Iraqis and Palestinians. Each of these groups has a distinct background, which are informed by their own particular political situations and cultures. Because of these diverse backgrounds, they cannot be effectively treated as one functioning body, most particularly when they are dispersed into the urban population of Cairo. This is also reflected in the fact that researchers and reports in Cairo often focus on refugees from a particular ethnicity or nationality. As stated in the methodology chapter, my original intention with this thesis was focus on how refugees' ethnic backgrounds have played a role in outreach programs. Now that the theoretical framework for outreach is being laid out, further research can be done to determine how ethnic, background perspective and culture effects outreach.

3.6 Background on Refugee Policy, International and Domestic Law in Egypt

Many urban refugees in Egypt rely on international refugee law to determine their legal status and therefore their right to remain in Egypt. Refugees can be legally recognized as having the right to remain in Egypt under the 1951 Convention, which favors the concept of

⁷⁰ G. Kibreab, "Eritrean and Ethiopian Urban Refugees in Khartoum: What the Eye Refuses to See," *African Studies Review*, (1996):39: 31-179.

individualized persecution grounds including ethnicity and religion. They can also be recognized under the 1969 OAU convention which emphasizes a collective definition of refugee such as those fleeing mass conflict. Many refugees who flee conflicts in African countries fall into only the latter definition, and can therefore not be resettled to Europe, because these countries do not recognize the OAU Convention.

Egyptian law stipulates that Egyptian citizenship is only granted to women who marry Egyptian men. It was recently changed to allow people with an Egyptian mother to have the right to work in Egypt, in an arrangement which is like citizenship. However, other citizenship rights are still denied to people in this category. This reality leaves refugee men completely without options for citizenship, and women without the option of being naturalized on their own. Though Egypt has signed the 1951 Convention, the OAU convention and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, there are few national laws regarding refugees. This hinders their integration into the Egyptian culture and keeps them in a state of limbo [transit].⁷¹ As a transit country it keeps refugees waiting in order to ship them somewhere else (either to their home countries or abroad). Thus, access to programs and services of NGOs, which include outreach, are arguably of even more importance in places like Egypt than in countries which have solid domestic national refugee laws that would grant nationally enforced rights.

In these cases, the issue remains concerning a greater participation for refugees in international and domestic law as well as policy. In the past, international law has supported participation of political participation of community populations like refugees. However, there have not been international law sanctions supporting the participation of communities in humanitarian aid or development. The only notable exception is Article 14 of Committee on the

⁷¹ Ayman Zohry, "The Place of Egypt in the Regional Migration System as a Receiving Country" *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, (2003), Vol. 19(3), 2.
<http://www.aucegypt.edu/academic/fmrs/Reports/iman.pdf>.

Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which states that women in rural communities should have the right to participate in development implementation and planning.⁷²

Therefore, in the vast majority of cases, decisions concerning the functioning of programs which include outreach are made at the policy level for an organization. These decisions concerning humanitarian aid are made after consultation with many stakeholders, which include NGOs, donors, governments, headquarters and regional offices. In this process, refugees are only one stakeholder among many.⁷³ This affects the shape of the program takes and, by extension, outreach.

There is a definite argument that migration and refugee flows are shaped and affected by such policies⁷⁴ constructed by various stakeholders. For example, in Egypt, perhaps the most influential stakeholder for refugees is UNHCR, as it is the one that legally determines a refugee's legal status in Egypt, and therefore his or her legal right to remain in the country. Refugees, unlike the local Egyptian population, have the right of surrogate protection from the government of Egypt, but as foreigners, they lack political rights in this context that is legally or de jure extended to locals. This means that in the realm of political society, groups, such as non-citizen refugees, fall under the jurisdiction and mandated care of various NGO and governmental agencies⁷⁵ without necessarily having access to the expression of a political viewpoint which may affect their legal or social status. When this occurs, policies of organizations become extremely important to the function and relationship of NGOs with refugee communities, a relationship which is mitigated by outreach. NGO policies become much more important to the social, legal and economic status of non-citizens, in contrast to citizens who theoretically have

⁷² Calhoun, 5.

⁷³ Calhoun, 5.

⁷⁴ Le Roch, 100.

⁷⁵ Partha Chatterjee, "The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World," New York: Columbia University Press, (2004), 88.

the option of turning to a domestic government that is mandated to provide at least some services to them, even in a corrupt or non-democratic environment.⁷⁶

As a case in point, when the Sudanese refugees protested in front of UNHCR in Egypt in 2005, a report by the Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Center in Cairo stated that “asylum seekers could turn to no other agency.”⁷⁷ This example of unmet demands, illustrate refugees’ dependence on the goodwill of their respective UNHCR office with little chance for accountability if requests are not implemented.⁷⁸ This highlights as well the need for outreach.

Therefore, it can be argued that policies by UNHCR are very influential in the lives of refugees in Egypt. In the past, UNHCR in seeking a care and protection role for refugees⁷⁹ exercised a care and maintenance model which gave more directly assistance and provisions to refugees in its mandate. However, this model has recently been replaced by a self-reliance model, which pushes for refugees to gain self sufficiency within their transplanted community.⁸⁰ Arguably, this policy shift could be explained by a need to maximize resources, as the UNHCR budge and human resources are limited, especially given the gravity and scope of the organization’s mandate.

3.7 UNHCR Urban Refugee Policy

These policy shifts, most particularly manifested for refugees by UNHCR, affect outreach and community services for the population. Of these, one of the most important policies for refugees

⁷⁶ Chatterjee, 40.

⁷⁷ FMRS [Forced Migration and Refugee Studies]. “A Tragedy of Failures and False Expectations: Report on the Events Surrounding the Three-Month Sit-in and Forced Removal of Sudanese Refugees in Cairo, September–December 2005,” Cairo: The American University in Cairo (June 2006), 8.

⁷⁸ Calhoun, 6.

⁷⁹ Carolina Moulin and Peter Nyers, “‘We Live in a Country of UNHCR’—Refugee Protests and Global Political Society,” *International Political Sociology*, (2007):1, 361.

⁸⁰ Katarzyna Grabska, “A System of Diffuse Responsibility, With Blame Shared by All. RSD Watch, June 16, 2006,” (2006b).

in Cairo is the UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas, which focuses on refugees in urban settings and calls attention to the historical under-emphasis on their situation.⁸¹

The UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas (1997) had two goals. First, it was to foster the idea of self-reliance among refugees in order to stave off dependency. It also aimed to curtail irregular movement by limiting resources that would be available to such populations. This policy contained a “strong message” that UNHCR assistance should be given out only sparingly or at a minimum to those who are without means of self-reliance at the early stages of their arrival.⁸²

The main criticisms of the policy are that in locations like Cairo, where integration, some access to services and other means of self-reliance such as employment are extremely limited or sometimes impossible to attain, self-reliance becomes an unachievable goal for refugees. In a situation like Egypt, where historically refugees have not been able to access services “on the same terms as nationals,” according to Stephan Sperl (2007), “progressive reduction of UNHCR assistance will only result in worsening the marginalization and impoverishment of the refugees.” It is argued that in this scenario, the only durable solution in this scenario, given the absence of integration and repatriation options for most refugees, that resettlement remains unfortunately the only solution.⁸³

The critique of the policy also states that it runs against UNHCR policies concerning women, children and the elderly. UNHCR has in its other policies implied that the organization has a commitment to these groups so long as they remain refugees.⁸⁴ Yet the policy on urban

⁸¹ UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas, UNHCR, (12 December, 1997) 1.

⁸² Stephan Sperl, “Evaluation of UNHCR’s Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas: A Case Study Review of Cairo,” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, (June, 2007), 4.

⁸³ Sperl, 3.

⁸⁴ Sperl, 4.

areas itself states that “normal” demographics of urban refugee populations are mainly male adults, with families and women far less noticeable.⁸⁵ In this way, UNHCR distinguishes between different groups of different refugees that it alleges have different needs. Indeed, merely distinguishing between a refugee, asylum seeker and person with a closed file is making a distinction between groups that will then receive different levels of services in the greater context of Cairo. UNHCR also establishes different levels of vulnerability in order to give out greater concentrations of assistance to these groups.

This has definite implications for outreach. The more traditional context of the refugee camp situation allows more easily for outreach, because most aspects of community functions and even many aspects of individual functions can be supervised or guided by humanitarian relief organizations. This makes for a very different plane of operation for outreach, in comparison with the urban setting. Urban settings are marked by refugee populations often being isolated and dispersed, intermixing with a host population that is often itself needy. The dispersed nature of the urban refugee setting means there is more likely to be a lack of traditional community structures and leadership.⁸⁶

3.9 UNHCR’s Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming Policy

A second recent policy is UNHCR’s Report on Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming (2008), a policy paper which includes undertaking participatory assessments and multifunctional teams which include different population demographics of refugees which would include age, gender and ethnicity. It is prescribed in the policy that perspectives on gender, age and diversity

⁸⁵ UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas UNHCR, 4.

⁸⁶ Reinforcing a Community Development Approach,” Executive Committee of the High Commissioner’s Programme, 4.

can be deepened through activities like participatory assessment, integration workshops and the multi-agency team.⁸⁷

When this project was recently assessed in Greece by Ramina Johal and Ron Pouwels (2005), members of UNHCR's Monitoring and Policy Evaluation Unit, the authors stated that the policy provided a "more structured" approach to the already stated priorities of gender, and age. This report too echoed Crisp's question, in that it was seen as a policy that brought UNHCR closer to the refugees. "We exist because of refugees ... the real danger is that we look inward, while UNHCR has to work with and have contact with refugees ... age and gender mainstreaming and the community development approach get us closer to refugees, to groups UNHCR was not so much involved with, aware of." Interestingly the report on Greece listed participatory assessment as too time consuming.⁸⁸ One criticism of the Age, Gender and Diversity Policy, however, is a "lack of capacity to implement a community-based approach."⁸⁹

UNHCR uses population demographics like age gender and ethnicity as elements relevant to an asylum seekers legal recognition in Egypt, in that the truthfulness of a person's story is directly or indirectly based on these characteristics. It is significant that both UNHCR and the refugees themselves tend to identify refugees in terms of population demographic characteristics like age, gender and ethnicity in order to manage their workload of giving assistance.

For example, the Sudanese protest in 2005 began with the requests they wrote to UNHCR referring to themselves as "the Sudanese refugees," even as they were classified by UNHCR legally speaking as mainly closed file cases and therefore legally economic migrants. This classification derived from a differentiation between those who were and were not protected by

⁸⁷ Report on Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming, UNHCR, (2 June, 2008), 5.

⁸⁸ Ramina Johal and Ron Pouwels, "Country Evaluation of the Age and Gender Mainstreaming Pilot Project: Greece," UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, (June, 2005), 8.

⁸⁹ Virginia Thomas and Tony Beck, "Changing the Way UNHCR Does Business? An Evaluation of the Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming, 2004-2009." PDES 2010/08. Geneva: UNHCR, (2010), 2.

the surrogate government of Egypt. These protestors further went on to state in their demands that they “refuse to distinguish between Sudanese according to their ethnic backgrounds and/or geographical zones.”⁹⁰ This implies that they believe UNHCR distinguished between these groups in determining refugee legal status. It also implies a certain “language of politics,” which goes into the classification or declassification of populations.

The UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Unit makes a special note concerning the Sudanese in relevance to their evaluation of their Urban Policy in Cairo. This ironically was written in 2002, well before the issue of the Sudanese sit-in at the UNHCR offices in 2005. The evaluation of UNHCR’s strategy in Cairo states that the Sudanese are often assumed to have fewer problems in Cairo because of their relatively long term stay in Cairo and that the close relationship between Egypt and Sudan means that the Sudanese share a legal status in Egypt which is close to Egyptians.⁹¹ These factors have become characteristic of their population demographic. This report acknowledges Sudanese as different from other ethnicities in Cairo.

As stated above, international law has historically advocated for the expression of political rights, but not rights in relation to humanitarian aid or development programs. Therefore, it is an issue left for organizational policy. Therefore, the issue of participation, outreach, and relationships between service receiver and provider is further complicated when populations are seen as clients who receive services, rather than possessing their own political agency. A population may classify itself, as the Sudanese during their sit in, but it almost may be classified by other more powerful stakeholders like UNHCR, as they did with the Sudanese in the evaluation of their urban policy in Cairo.

⁹⁰ “13 Requests,” as stated in Carolina Moulin and Peter Nyers, “‘We live in a country of UNHCR’—Refugee Protests and Global Political Society” *International Political Sociology* 1, (2007), 365.

⁹¹ Sperl, 6.

When determining the status of people who might be refugees, whether in legal, social or political terms, one signifies that certain individuals do not fall into this category. It is a population demographic that is specifically targeted when NGOs or other organizations that are mandated to serve refugees conduct outreach or administer programs and services. Yet there is little written on the theoretical foundation which forms the bases of outreach specifically geared to a target population like refugees.

Furthermore, policies like the “UNHCR’s Report on Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming” illustrate a need to acknowledge the heterogeneity of refugee communities, particularly in urban contexts like Cairo in order to fulfill the goals of outreach which include the better tailoring of services and programs. Perhaps this policy was created in response to UNHCR evaluations on children and women, which cited an inadequate categorization of these groups in terms of levels of vulnerability. UNHCR’s Policy on Age Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming states that “Both the recent Women’s evaluation (Advance copy, May 2002) and the Children’s evaluation (May, 2002) have raised this point in noting that in many refugee contexts, standard definitions of vulnerability used by UNHCR describe about 70-80% of the refugee cases.”⁹²

In an acknowledgement that the liaison between individuals and communities of refugees need to be strengthened, UNHCR Community Services was initially formed. The priority of Community Services is “for refugees [and] focus[es] on improving the ability of refugees to deal with their immediate problems, helping them to help themselves, and at the same time restoring a sense of security.”⁹³ A later report for the UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Unit evaluating the Community Services section of UNHCR notes that, while sufficient attention is paid to vulnerabilities based on immutable characteristics, not enough attention is paid to vulnerabilities

⁹² The Community Services Function in UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 34.

⁹³ “Community Services for Urban Refugees,” UNHCR PTSS Community Services, Geneva, (1994), i.

created by the refugees' current situation in the asylum country. In response the report suggests that the agency should tap into "community-based resources."⁹⁴ This clearly indicates the current NGO push in community-based services, an approach which informs outreach. This will be discussed later in further detail.

Right now, it appears that not enough is practically being done with gathered information about community characteristics in Cairo. As more research is done, Crisp's question becomes less relevant. Therefore, the next question will be what to do with that knowledge. Outreach is one way to both inform and act on the policy. NGO mandates inform policy, and therefore outreach is constrained by both. Not all policies by all organizations can be highlighted in this section. However, a conclusion must be drawn that international law and NGO policy affect outreach both directly and indirectly. There is a link between the policy itself of an organization, which dictates how it views the refugees themselves and characterizes the population, and this then affects outreach. If UNHCR policies are beginning to place emphasis on urban issues and issues of age, gender and diversity, then these priorities can be extended to outreach.

3.9 Aid Approaches (Overview)

As previously stated, the perspective of who is giving and receiving the outreach is significant as well as the actors who are doing the giving or receiving, which include the individual refugee, the community or the agency. It was also previously stated that one significant argument for outreach is an integrative approach is needed to successfully execute its goals, which could include the strengthening of relationships between giver and receiver of the service, program, or contact. In considering these issues in relation to outreach, one must also

⁹⁴ The Community Services Function in UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 8.

then consider the current trends in humanitarian aid and development work, of which social capital, theories concerning participation, and the cultural competence attainment model have already been discussed. What have not yet been discussed are the theories behind practice based models.

Both theoretical and practice based models inform outreach. Practice based models are significant for outreach as these models lay out practical foundations for the execution of outreach. Practice based models take on number of perspectives or approaches. Much of the time, such practical guides are put out by NGOs themselves as a matter of policy. In this way, these approaches can serve to illustrate what the emphasis or focus is concerning programs, services or outreach. This is valuable in building the overall theoretical framework of outreach, which will inform practitioners of outreach strategies and methodologies. Theories on how to build a practice based model is illustrated as a chart in the appendix of this thesis.

Research has further shown that approaches which are tackled from multiple perspectives, to accommodate a more complex outlook on services met by prescribed refugee needs. This has shown to be more effective when services and programs attempt to address the needs of refugees.⁹⁵ Included in a prescribed combination of approaches is the need to maintain the cultural competence model in the delivery of services or outreach.

Practice based models or approaches have been utilized by practitioners when administering aid, or conducting outreach. Recently, there has been a trend in utilizing “human rights terminology” when administering humanitarian aid or development services.⁹⁶ Some have argued that the current context of humanitarian aid has developed a terminology that “limits our

⁹⁵ Le Roch et al., 116-117.

⁹⁶ Katsui, 11.

ability to respond effectively.”⁹⁷ Therefore, it is important to establish the terminologies and approaches upon which outreach placed in relation to aid worker and refugee roles.

In particular, the rights-based approach has become a popular term in the theoretical if not practical framework of humanitarian aid and development work.⁹⁸ The rights-based or human rights-based approach is often defined from within the narrowness of international or domestic law.⁹⁹ Central to this idea of claiming rights through legal means is the International Declaration of Human Rights, as well as many state-signed and binding human rights treaties which include the International Covenant of Political Rights (ICCPR), Committee on the Elimination for the Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), and the International Covenant of Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).¹⁰⁰ In this way, people can seek to deal with their disempowerment through the seizing of agency in the national or international court system, though it requires knowledge, access and faith in the system itself.

There is also an expanded version of the human-rights based approach, which is based on social principle rather than mere legality. Hisayo Katsui (2009) argues, “When a human rights-based approach is used as a means, it caters to the principles of empowerment, participation, nondiscrimination and accountability with the priority on vulnerable people. That is, the process becomes participatory and transparent with equality in decision-making and a sharing of the outcomes of the process among involved stakeholders.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Nicole Gastineau Campos and Paul Farmer, “Partners: Discernment and Humanitarian Efforts in Settings of Violence,” 507.

⁹⁸ Mireia Cano and Assmaa Naguib, “Refugees and Migrants, and a Rights-based Approach to Development,” Report given in Jameel Centre Auditorium, Greek Campus, AUC, (8-18th January, 2007), 2.

⁹⁹ Katsui, 12

¹⁰⁰ Cano and Naguib, 2.

¹⁰¹ Katsui, 12.

In a “rights-based approach” refugees are not seen as entities to be saved by bureaucratic organizations but rather as participants in the outcome of their lives. In order to conduct outreach, there should be a necessity placed on realizing and comprehending individual and community capacities as well as coping methods. Keeping these factors in mind, A Community Based Approach Manual produced by UNHCR (2007), an organization can begin to realize the goal of “situation analysis, including stakeholder analysis and participatory assessment and planning, [as well as] monitoring and evaluation.... [And] the need to identify individuals at heightened risk.”¹⁰²

From a theoretical perspective, this extended definition of the rights-based approach places emphasis on the rights of individual refugees in relation to services, programs and outreach. Emphasis on a community perspective is evidenced by some organizations like UNHCR, in a manual which outlines the “community-based” or “community development” approach. In one of these documents, UNHCR acknowledges that participation, consultation, and empowerment are pillars of a community-based approach.¹⁰³ UNHCR goes on to explore how these ideas can be reinforced by treating refugees as “resourceful and active partners in all assistance and protection activities.”¹⁰⁴

In addition to the rights and community-based approaches, there is an emerging discussion concerning the participation of beneficiaries, which include populations such as refugees. The participatory approach is often discussed and proposed as a solution for research,¹⁰⁵ in part because it is to the benefit of researchers to have subjects who feel that they are getting

¹⁰² A Community Based Approach Manual in UNHCR Operations, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, (June, 2007), 1-126.

¹⁰³ “Community-Based Approach in UNHCR Operations,” UNHCR, 3.

¹⁰⁴ “Reinforcing a Community Development Approach,” Executive Committee of the High Commissioner’s Program, 1.

¹⁰⁵ Siraad Aden Yusuf, “Ethical Research in Refugee Communities and the Use of Community Participatory Methods,” *Transcultural Psychiatry*, (January, 2007): vol. 44 no. 3, 459-481

something in return for their participation. However, in addition to being seen as a tool for the researcher, it can be seen as a means of agency for the population involved, such as refugees.

The participatory approach is currently particularly influential in the context of aid work. One definition of “community participation is an active process by which beneficiary or client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish.”¹⁰⁶

One major criticism of current discussions of the participation approach is that the participation is only partial, constrained by an otherwise top down hierarchy of organizations that seek to use participation for certain ends. It is also argued that the concept allows for a lot of ambiguity, much like the term outreach. Though participation can be seen as both a means and an end, though seeing participation as a means does not actually bring about total participation or the goal of “emancipation,” as Trevor Parfitt (2004) argues.¹⁰⁷

Community, rights-based, and participatory approaches are recent practice based models which attempt to overwrite previous ideas about development and aid. One of these models, which is still used among some organizations, is the “charity-based approach,” which goes back at least to the middle ages when, for example, religious groups set up hospitals for those in need in England.¹⁰⁸ With this concept also came the idea that empowerment and participation of the beneficiary (the receiver of the outreach, program, service or referral) is limited. This means a limited capacity to help oneself is assumed by the entity which is the administrator of the outreach, program or service. However, the main argument against the charity-based approach is that it does not challenge root causes, but rather only deals with topical solutions through which

¹⁰⁶ Parfitt, 538.

¹⁰⁷ Parfitt, 538.

¹⁰⁸ M. Brenton, “The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services,” *Critical Social Policy*, (July 1986):vol. 6 no. 16, 159-160.

the deeper issues continue to manifest themselves.¹⁰⁹ In this way, the charity-based approach serves to reinstate a cycle that keeps beneficiary populations such as refugees, dependent.

Another older theory is the “needs-based approach.” A quick electronic academic search of the “needs-based” approach reveals many articles related to resettlement. This is perhaps because it is often identified as the most major refugee need, at least in the context of Cairo.¹¹⁰

The needs-based approach focuses on matching the need of the refugee or group to the service itself, or matching the needs to the service. One explanation by George Usha (2002) of the needs-based approach breaks down immigrants in Canada as belonging to three categories of people. These categories are broken down into people coming to Canada for “economic, social and humanitarian reasons,” which translate into the categories, “economic immigrants, family-class immigrants, and sponsored refugees.”¹¹¹

Thus it is considered that these different categories of people will need different things. For example, there were nine criteria in that study which assessed potential for integration which included age, vocational preparation, occupational demand, arranged employment, location, relatives in Canada, education, personal suitability and language competence.¹¹² While it is an approach that focuses on culturally appropriate services,¹¹³ one major criticism of the need-based approach is that participation and reciprocity with the community remains limited.

Relationships are often not considered or strengthened within this model.

3.10 Aid Approaches (Analysis)

¹⁰⁹ Katsui, 11.

¹¹⁰ Mahmoud Farag, Interview, AMERA, Cairo, Summer 2010.

¹¹¹ Usha, 466.

¹¹² Usha, 468.

¹¹³ Usha, 469.

These approaches serve as lenses through which humanitarian aid, and by extension outreach and the administration of services have been and will be viewed by NGO workers and service providers to refugees. These approaches come out of the struggle over who and how much say each party has in the fixing of a problem that comes out of a humanitarian aid or development problem, and out of the ongoing conversation about how to improve the fields of humanitarian aid and development, because governments and donors do not necessarily want to waste money or incur bad public relations in the international or domestic eye. At the same time, these approaches call attention to a primary issue—from whose perspective the issue of aid is being addressed, whose perspective is necessarily important, valued or considered.

And while charity and needs-based approaches were historically used to administer aid, they are now being replaced by community-based, rights-based, and participatory approaches, at least when it comes to intent by the NGOs. This is evidenced by the numerous manuals and articles that highlight community, rights and participatory approaches. In this way, one can argue that these are the current theoretical pillars and a trend in humanitarian aid. By extension, this includes outreach in humanitarian aid and outreach to refugee populations in Cairo. Therefore, current theoretical approaches of outreach to refugees at the foundation place value on the ideas of rights, community, and participation.

These pillars of rights, community and participation primarily serve to offer agency to refugees, which is at the root of the concept of outreach itself. These values stand in contradiction to charity and needs-based approaches of the past, in that charity and needs-based approaches offer major limitations to the agency of groups and communities which include the category of refugees, and agency of the population is a major indicator of the success of an outreach program. Agency could be arguably broken down into concepts included in the

“Community-Based Approach in UNHCR Operations,” (2007) i.e. participation, consultation, and empowerment.¹¹⁴ Conversely, agency can be seen as the opposite of dependence, the latter of which is firmly engrained in the charity-based approach.

One might further argue that a needs-based approach which focuses on agencies matching needs of groups to services leaves out the voices of refugees. However, this is not necessarily the case if it is combined with the concepts of rights, community and participation of the group and individual. Furthermore, if the needs-based model is completely left out of the discussion, the logical concept of matching and prioritizing needs, which is in fact a discussion between service receiver and service provider, is forgotten or de-emphasized.

Just as a seemingly good principle like participation can be manipulated to primarily serve the needs of the organization, so too can other approaches. Within each of these approaches is the growing theoretical framework and practitioner trend toward in dealing with refugees in more community-based operations. This trend affects outreach which is administered to communities, and also the reason why the word “community” is often attached to the term outreach. This term specifies that this brand of outreach is administered to a community, rather than to an individual or agency. It is also often implicit in the term that often the people or group doing the outreach is also from the community, which highlights an equal footing for the relationship itself, between the giver and the receiver of outreach. The emphasis on community may be because of the communal community emphasis in many of the cultures where many refugees from the global south used to live. In turn, one could argue that those who advocate for community approaches when administering services are recognizing that if Crisp’s question is to be answered, relationships must be strengthened.

¹¹⁴ “Community-Based Approach in UNHCR Operations,” UNHCR, 3.

For example, UNHCR is an organization at the top of the power structure in many scenarios. Therefore, in many countries such as Egypt it determines the legal life of a refugee through refugee status determination. Yet even this organization, has demonstrated a certain trend toward creating liaisons with the community and outreach. This is evidenced by the fact that UNHCR wrote a Community-based approach in UNHCR Operations document, which states that UNHCR is “seriously” under spending on community services.¹¹⁵

A UNHCR document evaluating the community services administered by UNHCR found that funding is lacking for this purpose. The authors question if ‘vulnerability’ should be assigned based on an immutable characteristic of a refugee or on basis of the failure of the “refugee-assistance regime” to fill this need. They ask if such institutions can in and of themselves generate or add to a refugees’ vulnerability. The report states “vulnerability is actually a relative concept that can only be understood based on the specifics of each refugee situation.”¹¹⁶

3.15: Conclusion

UNHCR’s Evaluation and Policy Unit (EPAU) stated recently that UNHCR had steadily been losing touch with the refugees it is mandated to protect in recent decades. In bringing these problems to light, a few key issues were listed as keeping staff from interacting with the community, or effectively doing outreach. These issues included heightened security issues for staff, which were coupled with an increased impersonal access to technology. The latter policy reportedly encouraged staff to stay in their offices afield, even as there is an overall limited

¹¹⁵ The Community Services Function in UNHCR, CASA Consulting, V.

¹¹⁶ The Community Services Function in UNHCR, CASA Consulting, 35.

number of staff in the direst locations that serve refugees.¹¹⁷ These staffing realities are difficulties that many organizations structurally face.

In addition, and maybe more interestingly, staff stated for that study that they were more hesitant to talk to refugees because they didn't have any solutions for them. "It's very difficult to talk with people when you know you cannot satisfy their requests for relief or resettlement opportunities, and who may be quite angry as a result," said one participant in the study.¹¹⁸

These policies are both based on an underlying concept UNHCR fosters, which is "self-reliance." Self-reliance is potentially a way for UNHCR to conserve resources and put limitations upon the population it is mandated to serve. Self reliance of refugees is in the interest of UNHCR because it means that more resources can go to more vulnerable refugee population demographics.

Outreach can also be seen as a way of conserving and maximizing resources. If there is no outreach program, it affects the relationship, communication and power structure of the parties involved. It creates tension likely to be described as part of the worse horror stories associated with aid work. Sometimes, when refugees are finally given the chance to communicate with the NGO they respond by saying that they felt "humiliated as a result of their experience with service providers."¹¹⁹ The mere presence of an outreach program, aside from strategy or methodology, theory or rhetoric, is the first step to ensure a level of respect between the organization and the refugee. In this way, it benefits the working relationship of all parties.

¹¹⁷ Crisp, 1.

¹¹⁸ Crisp, 1.

¹¹⁹ "Findings from Iraqi Outreach Activities in Lebanon," 2nd Issue, Danish Refugee Council, (June 2009), 8.

Chapter 4: Description of Organizations Working with Refugees in Cairo (NGOs)

4.1 Brief Background about NGOs in Cairo

In the past 10 years, there has been an upsurge in NGOs working with refugees in Cairo. They primarily serve the main ethnicities currently associated with legal refugee status in Cairo, which are Iraqis, Sudanese, Somalis, Ethiopians and Eritreans. A wide range of NGOs provide services to these groups.

NGOs have chosen to provide an increasingly complex repertoire of programs and services in response to their understanding of the complex set of needs and demands. These fall within each organizations mandate or the understanding of how they perceive their role within this context, problems which are sometimes very particular to the situation of being a refugee. Sometimes this complex web matches with refugee communities' expectations and needs, but not always.

Particularly in the last 10 years in Cairo, the international aid sector in Cairo has developed considerably in relevance to urban refugee issues. It has created a trend of refugee services which has overall filled gaps and realized many refugee needs which had been before unrealized. The trend of growing NGO presence and research regarding refugee issues suggests that the international aid community is listening to funding sources and policy decisions of governments at worst and refugee population needs at best. Though they are attempting to address needs, it is an ongoing and difficult process, which requires extensive amounts of coordination among

organizations, a maximizing of very limited financial and other material resources, and perhaps a greater urgency than in aspects of development work which are more focused on longer term problems such as the problem of health in local impoverished communities.

Ten years ago, aid to refugees in Cairo was largely church based, with far fewer organizations catering to the population. Legal and psychosocial services, which have now become the trend in Cairo, were virtually non-existent. Church based organizations like the Joint Relief Ministry administered to Sudanese. Many refugees were being resettled quickly back then due to policy decisions by western governments which particularly preference Sudanese refugees for political reasons and international public opinion which brought a spotlight on the conflict affecting the region. Solid programs and services administering to this population were not as imperative as they are today.

However, a shift government policy has since left refugees in a reality that has required them to wait long periods for access to what UNHCR defines as “durable solutions,” which include resettlement, repatriation and integration. In turn, a refugee’s wait for resettlement could span many years for a great many refugees and potentially a lifetime, depending on their situation and legal status; refugees need access to a support system to counter the vulnerability of being a visitor who cannot return home. However, beyond needing community support, refugee’s more vulnerable status in comparison with the general local population in most cases also means they are in more need of services, programs and other kinds of institutional aid, such as material or monetary aid. Organizations in Cairo at present are not likely to give monetary or material aid, preferring instead to give services and use a language of refugee self reliance.¹²⁰ This trend of services rather than financial aid may be reflective of a policy trend towards “self-reliance,” spearheaded by UNHCR. This is a topic for further exploration in another paper. It is beyond the

¹²⁰ Ali Sheikh, Psychosocial Worker, Interview, Cairo, November 2010.

scope of this thesis to question in detail why services exist in Cairo, only to explain that they do. Taking into consideration that there are many services for refugees in Cairo and that the trend is toward one of further service creation, emphasis in the discussion should be placed on how to effectively build upon these services to address refugee needs. Outreach builds upon and improves services and programs. It is a component of services and programs which can serve as an effective tool ensure the quality of programs and services and the accurate addressing of refugee needs and concerns.

One of the current issues concerning the NGO culture in Cairo is the misalignment of expectations with services is the common expectation in the refugee community that they should be provided with material, or direct resources, such as housing, money or food.¹²¹ Some of these needs are justified for more vulnerable members of the population, and also in light of heavily restricted access to education and no legal right to work in Egypt. Perhaps this expectation comes from the charity-based approach that many organizations espoused in the past before the current rights-based approach began to erode the approach.

These CBOs cannot operate very effectively, largely because of funding, yet the training of CBOs to access this funding or how to do program management is minimal at best in Cairo,¹²² though for example, it remains one aim of TADAMON, an NGO in Cairo which will be described later in this chapter. This lack of training for CBOs leads to a disempowerment for the CBO members and for the refugee community itself. The appearance from the CBO member's perspective is that NGOs are getting funding that they themselves cannot access.

Because of the above described interests, factors, politics discussions and negotiations, there are today an array of organizations in Cairo administering a variety of services to refugees. In

¹²¹ Ali Sheikh, Psychosocial Worker, Interview, Cairo, November 2010.

¹²² Ali Sheikh, Psychosocial Worker, Interview, Cairo, November 2010.

light of limited resources, funding, and the nature of the vulnerability of the population, it is also especially important to allocate resources in ways in which they are best utilized. What follows is a brief description of the main organizations offering services and programs to refugees in Cairo. With these descriptions, one can begin to piece together who are the main service providers and providers. The reader can thus use these descriptions as a reference while reading the chapter where findings from the interviews were compiled.

4.2 All Saints and Refuge Egypt

Refuge Egypt is a faith-based organization based out of All Saints Church. They offer many services, which non-card carrying refugees, asylum seekers or migrants can access. These services include reduced cost or free healthcare, running a pre-school, primary and adult education schools. It also provides clothing and food to vulnerable cases. It has a registration system that entitles refugees who have newly arrived in Cairo and have not yet gone through RSD to receive aid over a period of two years. It also states that they support vocational training projects, such as having refugee members participate in Tokul Crafts.¹²³

4.3 Africa and Middle East Refugee Assistance (AMERA)

AMERA, originally called the Refugee Legal Aid Project, was created in 2000. AMERA offers primarily legal and psychosocial services. It provides legal aid for refugees going through Refugee Status Determination System (RSD) with UNHCR. It helps refugees make legal appeals to UNHCR or give legal aid to reopen closed file cases. Furthermore, they are one of the few or the only organization that provides counseling services for refugees. It also helps refugees access education and healthcare services, such as forming liaisons with CARITAS or helping with

¹²³ <http://www.refuge-egypt.org/i>

refugee applications for education grants from Catholic Relief Services. It also has a team of outreach workers and a team of interpreters.

Recently, AMERA conducted a needs assessment of the Eritrean, Ethiopian, Somali and Sudanese communities in Cairo. One major finding of this assessment was that these refugee communities all considered resettlement to be the highest priority need, with needs like health and education falling in second place.¹²⁴

4.4 Cairo Community Interpreters Project (CCIP)

CCIP offers a community interpreting program, similar to projects in other countries like the USA. They have an entrance exam, which is both written and oral. Not everyone can be an interpreter, a certain level of fluency and literacy in both English and native language is required, such as Arabic, Fur, Somali, Tigrinya, or Amharic. The organization is linked to the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies at the American University of Cairo.

When the program started in 2002, there was a great need for training interpreters in Cairo, as evidenced by the 200 applications they received. As people get resettled to other countries, the need to train new interpreters was constantly being renewed. However, in 2007 only 11 people qualified, basically because they had trained most people who could be trained. This meant it was necessary to change the program, for example to do more advanced trainings and deepen skills.

The CCIP training course that requires 100 hours of class time over a period of three months. Currently the highest need is for interpreters who can translate between English and Iraqi Arabic, Fur, Somali, Tigrinya, or Amharic.

¹²⁴ Mahmoud Farag, AMERA, Interview, Cairo, July 2010.

The names of students who have graduated the course are published and sent to various organizations that work with refugees in Cairo. In August 2010 CCIP had a shorter workshop where they got together interpreters working at various organizations who had not gone through training in order to give these people interpreting tools.¹²⁵

4.5 International Committee of the Red Crescent (ICRC)

The ICRC offers several services that specifically affect refugees. First, it helps with the provision of travel documents, such as providing a substitute passport which is only valid for three months. Many refugees do not have passports or are afraid to produce passports, and this becomes an issue for them in the event that they are resettled. Therefore this replacement document can be used during resettlement procedures for Canada, the USA, etc.

The ICRC also has Red Cross messages, which can be sent to a family member who is in jail, or for a person in jail to write his or her family. The messages are not confidential, but they offer a way for the family to remain in touch that they would not have otherwise had.

The ICRC can also confirm in a formal way if someone is in jail. It may be necessary to confirm the status of the parents for enrolling a child in school, for instance.¹²⁶

Lastly, the ICRC attempts to reunify families with unaccompanied minors. One can use the ICRC to search for any family member. First a member of the ICRC meets with the person to discuss everything that they know about the person's whereabouts. In countries where radio is popular and in situations where there is not a security risk for the individual, names are announced over the radio as a tool to find family members.

¹²⁵ Alice Johnson, CCIP, Interview, Cairo, September 2010.

¹²⁶ Bahiga El Gohary, ICRC, Interview, Cairo, September 2010.

4.6 International Organization of Migration

The IOM is the only organization that does not make a distinction among refugees and migrants in Cairo. In this way, its mandate is even more generalized than UNHCR's mandate. It has a number of services, which include most recently different trainings such as on influenza or on first aid.¹²⁷ However, its overall worldwide initiatives can generally be broken down into health and legal protection issues. It also conducts policy and research activities related to migrants and migration.¹²⁸

4.7 National NGO for Population and Development

The NCPD is not an international NGO with offices in other countries. It works mostly with Egyptians. However, recently they extended their programs to work with the Sudanese, under the logic that the Sudanese culture is related to the culture of Upper Egypt, and that Egypt should have a good relationship with all countries that share the Nile. Furthermore, the NCPD does not like to refer to the Sudanese as refugees, but rather prefers the term "displaced people."

The organization sees integration of Sudanese into Egypt as productive members of society as a strategy for development. To do this, it has been developing a plan which involves setting up a community for the Sudanese involving developing a settlement for Sudanese, with a training center, culture center, and product selling center. Sudanese would be trained in agriculture, and it might attract tourism. It is trying to sell the project now to funders and the project may take place in two or three years.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Mohamed Refaat, IOM, Interview, Cairo, December 2010.

¹²⁸ Report of the General Director on the work of the Organization for the Year 2009, 99th Session, IOM, (June 2010), 1-84.

¹²⁹ Samir El Iesh, National NGO for Population and Development, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

4.8 Psychosocial Training Institute of Cairo (PSTIC)

This organization was created in April 2009 in order to spread awareness of the psychosocial needs of refugees. It is run in conjunction with the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies. It provides public seminars, “community-based awareness workshops” on these issues, as well as holding an annual conference, and a nine month program that they run to train Community Based Psychosocial Workers.¹³⁰

Last year the organization trained 19 psychosocial workers, and this year they are training 22 from 19 different organizations such as schools and CBOs in the community. In this new state it is difficult to say, but may face a similar issue as CCIP where it may lose its graduates to resettlement countries, thus creating a brain drain.¹³¹

4.9 St. Andrews Adults’ program

Currently the program has 650 students who are migrants and refugees. They offer English and computer classes.

4.10 St. Andrews Children’s Education Program

Originally the children’s education program was set up as only English classes because when it was established in 1998, the people here at the time were Ethiopians largely on their way to being resettled. Originally they taught kids in the morning and teens in the evening. However, this changed in 2005 when Fiona Cameron, who runs the children’s education program, observed that many of the kids had been here for five or six years and were in need of a more well rounded education.

¹³⁰ [http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/psychosocial/Pages/\(PSTIC\).aspx](http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/psychosocial/Pages/(PSTIC).aspx)

¹³¹ Ali Sheikh, Psychosocial Worker, Interview, Cairo, November 2010.

She looked into different curriculums, hoping to find one that was doable, affordable, and teachable (for refugee teachers). She found that the Sudanese curriculum fit these requirements, and was available at only \$50 per student, though in some ways, she says it is not ideal, citing for example the chapter in one of the books which claims Sudan is a model for racial tolerance.

This year, St. Andrews held classes for 220 students for 11 levels. The children were ages 7-18. This year the senior class had eight people. Tuition was 300LE per child; however, this was on a sliding scale based on the refugees' ability to pay. Often the only people who pay the full 300LE are the people who have received education grants from Catholic Relief Services. Normally this fee includes books. Students wear uniforms.

The children in attendance are from different refugee communities in Cairo, 75% are Sudanese, 18% are Eritrean, and the rest are Ethiopian and Somali. The school is 40% Muslim and 60% Christian. In the past they did not teach religion at the school, but now the Sudanese curriculum requires that they teach Islam to Muslims and Christianity to Christians.

This year the Sudanese Teachers Union in Cairo finished negotiations to administer the Sudanese curriculum at St. Andrews school, so that they participate in exams and receive a Sudanese School Leaving Certificate, which would be necessary for them to enter university. The program itself targets any migrant with "sufficient language skills."¹³²

4.11 St. Andrews Summer School Program

In the past, St. Andrews had a summer school program which was viewed as a stepping stone into the formal education system. The idea was to target unaccompanied minors, though they ended up with a mixture of people. The classes were on English, computer skills and life skills which, as Cameron put it, tricked the kids into learning Arabic.

¹³² Fiona Cameron, St. Andrews Refugee Services, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

Though the program was originally supposed to be administered with AMERA, spaces were located in the community at six CBOs in different refugee communities. Many of the classes went very well but they had very different environments. For example in Ain Shams, the class consisted of little kids, whereas at the H10 CBO they had all adults in their 20s.¹³³

4.12 St. Andrews Refugee Legal Aid Project (RLAP)

RLAP was originally founded as the “Iraqi Information Center,” in 2003 by Barbara Harrell-Bond. At the time, no one else was working with them at the time. The USA had not yet formed their policy about how they would handle Iraqi refugees. Furthermore they were thought of as security risks. The UNHCR considered them security risks at the time as well, and they were not being resettled in the numbers that they are today.

Iraqis went to Harrell-Bond with their issues, and the organization found volunteer interpreters. However, Harrell-Bond later retired. The organization later changed its name to the Refugee Legal Aid project, and began administering legal aid and evaluating Iraqis for project of resettling them under the United States Refugee Resettlement Program for Iraqis, a program which was resettling Iraqis in the USA who had previously worked for the US military.

Recently, RLAP extended its services to all registered refugees in Cairo. Any refugee can request to be evaluated for resettlement through their organization, though this does not necessarily mean they will be resettled.¹³⁴

4.13 Student Action for Refugees (STAR)

¹³³ Fiona Cameron, St. Andrews Refugee Services, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

¹³⁴ Daryl Grisgraber, RLAP, Interview, Cairo, September 2010.

STAR was first formed at Nottingham University in 1994. Barbara Harrell-Bond started it at the American University of Cairo in 2001. STAR is completely student run. It is now writing their constitution.

STAR mainly offers English classes to refugees. However they have added handicraft classes with Fatma Soleiman and are going to add Arabic and computer classes next semester at a CBO in Ain Shams. Normally they have about 60 students each semester, with a long waiting list. The teachers are volunteers who are students at AUC.

STAR also seeks to raise awareness about refugee issues, so that refugees are aware of their rights, and Egyptians are aware of refugee perspectives. They do this through helping to organize the Cairo Refugee Film Festival, through screening documentaries at AUC, and they plan to start holding legal training sessions for students.

Another objective of STAR is to foster income generating opportunities for refugees, such participating in the bazaar at international day.¹³⁵

4.14 Tokul Crafts

Tokul Crafts is a project run out of TADAMON by a refugee woman named Fatma Soleiman. She used to be a teacher in St. Andrews, then tried to start a school in Agouza. However, people did not come regularly enough and they had to close down. Eventually she met Barbara Harrell-Bond, who offered her a space to teach women's crafts. She began working with STAR in 2003, and continues to work with them. She also approached TADAMON to ask for space and they agreed.

Presently she has 40 students from Palestine, Sudan, Eritrea and Iraq. They come from 10-2pm, though most do not come every day. Sometimes she has a small group of women.

¹³⁵ Marwa Fikry, STAR, Interview, Cairo, September 2010.

Sometimes her group is large. She tells them that if she teaches them something, then they have to teach others. That way when she cannot attend the group, the group can still continue. The group markets their crafts to various spaces, partnering with organizations like Refuge Egypt and STAR.¹³⁶

4.15 UNHCR

UNHCR is an organization which is specifically mandated to protect refugees. In Egypt the organization's main service is processing refugees through their system in order to give them yellow or blue cards which will, according to international law, ensure that they receive protection from the Egyptian state and that they will be legally allowed to remain in Egypt. Refugees first approach UNHCR to register, upon which they receive a date to go through Refugee Status Determination, or if they are in a certain group, like Iraqis, who are given automatic recognition, they receive a yellow card granting temporary protection.

Once they go to their Refugee Status Determination interview, UNHCR eventually either accepts the individual as legally falling under the definition of refugee in terms of the 1951 Refugee Convention, or the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention. If the person is rejected, they go through an appeals system.

Furthermore, UNHCR has services associated with their concept of durable solutions. UNHCR offers aid to repatriate some migrants to their home country, as well as aid when a person is selected for resettlement.

Specifically in Egypt, the UNHCR also has meetings with different CBOs that they partner with to talk about needs in the community. Occasionally when an extremely vulnerable individual or family is identified, the UNHCR in Egypt gives emergency money. It also has

¹³⁶ Fatma Soleiman, Tokul Crafts, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

started an initiative to figure out how livelihoods can be generated. It partners with other NGOs to provide services, such as with Caritas to provide health services.

UNHCR is currently devising a strategy on livelihood, which will entail a social service response, as well as training centers. The key goal of this initiative is to help refugees become self-reliant. Therefore they hired researchers on how to move forward, and how to develop strategies. Members of UNHCR in Egypt have decided that they need to come up with solutions that work rather than keep testing strategies.

Furthermore, UNHCR has been meeting regularly to work with Community Based Organizations, which they have identified in the refugee communities. The organization identified it as being a community response that could help them communicate with communities about what UNHCR can and cannot do.

One major priority of UNHCR is to identify vulnerable people who are refugees, so that they may prioritize aid and services. CBOs help with this endeavor.¹³⁷ UNHCR recently implemented an Urban Refugee Policy, which is supposed to focus attention on the needs of urban refugees. Cairo was selected as a pilot city for this project.

The component of UNHCR which performs outreach is Community Services. It is “the main delivery point for UNHCR’s services and assistance to refugee populations and those in closest contact with refugees, IPs are the key link to ensuring that UNHCR’s policy and programme objectives are met in the field.” Members of the Community Services team in one report considered certain aspects of their mandate to be of the highest priority. These included “community mobilization and participation around a broad number of issue areas, including women and children’s rights; Support to refugees in proposal writing, self-reliance initiatives, micro-projects, skills training; Direct monitoring of issues of access of refugees to available

¹³⁷ Ashraf AZER, UNHCR, Community Services, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

resources, with particular focus on refugee women, children and ‘vulnerable’ groups and individuals; Needs assessment, including the use of participatory approaches to identifying needs of vulnerable groups and individuals; Many CS staff, in camps and urban areas alike, devote a lot of time to dealing with assistance related issues – food, clothing, housing, other basic needs and how best to distribute these; Capacity-building, training and coordination of implementing partners; and building trust.”¹³⁸

4.16 Youth LEAD

Youth Lead came about as a result of six months of research done on Sudanese youth gang violence, which then became the spring board for the program. The research-based approach, helped create the concept of needing “safe spaces” for youth as an alternative to causing trouble. In the past, Sudanese male youth did not have access to the Sudanese dominated coffee shops in their neighborhood as a space to meet. They did try to organize sports activities on their own but it was difficult for them to get organized. Many also wanted to learn English.

A solution was devised that encompassed five youth centers in different neighborhoods, one youth center of mixed ethnicity downtown called “Reason and Rhymes,” and four more youth centers positioned in Sudanese neighborhoods, including Hayadek Maadi.

These youth centers coordinated activities based on what the youth request. Every three months they reevaluate their programming and come up with the new schedule. This new schedule always includes English and sports activities, but often also includes hip hop and French classes. Furthermore, it sometimes includes livelihoods trainings or health clinics. The

¹³⁸ Community Services Function of UNHCR: Independent Evaluation, CASA Consulting, February, 2003, 22.

general idea is provide the youth with activities that they want to be doing instead of leaving them idle on the streets.¹³⁹

4.17 A Note about Community-Based Organizations

There are a number of small Community-Based Organizations in Cairo. These are organizations that are normally formed by one refugee ethnicity or nationality, often in part as a way of holding onto and teaching about culture and heritage. CBOs are also characteristically very short on resources. Examples of Community-Based Organizations include the Sons of Fur Association, the International Association of the Nuba Mountains, Egyptian Somali Association, Somali Development Organization, and the Sons of Oromo Association for Development. These example organizations are also the organizations that the UNHCR currently chooses to partner with.

UNHCR began working with CBOs in 2004, when Catholic Relief services suggested working with them as resources. Previously the Coptic Evangelical organization for Social Services had approached UNHCR with the intention of building CBOs. This organization trained the CBOs on issues like analysis, and how to form a strategic plan. However, CEOSS was later disbanded.¹⁴⁰

CBOs must register with the Egyptian government and not UNHCR in order to be legal. This sometimes creates security problems for the CBOs. It also sometimes creates problems with registration as its members must be legal residents of Egypt, and a certain percentage of the membership must be Egyptian.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the legal need for a certain percentage of the

¹³⁹ Natalie Forcier, Youth LEAD, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

¹⁴⁰ Ashraf Azer, UNHCR Community Services, Interview, Cairo, September 2010.

¹⁴¹ Ashraf Azer, UNHCR Community Services, Interview, Cairo, September 2010.

membership to be Egyptian goes against the aim of the organization when the CBO is constructed in part to protect a particular cultural heritage.

The one CBO I was able to visit thus far, The Sons of Fur Association which is in Ain Shams, was created about 3.5 years ago by a man named Ibrahim Ishtag. Ishtag slowly built a small empire of people from the community until recently, when he stepped down as the Chairman and handed the organization over to a 15-member committee. The CBO had once held computer courses, but it was shut down because of security concerns. Currently it has a library run by the women, and are building their membership with member IDs. The idea behind this is to be able to identify people who have gone missing, and to single out people from Darfur to help with RSD cases.

However, the organization itself is plagued by threats from the Sudanese police, who are cooperating with the Egyptian police in Egypt. It also has very Spartan resources.¹⁴²

4.18 Key NGOs which were not Interviewed

Three organizations in particular which offer very key services to refugees did not provide members for interview for this thesis. These three organizations are CARITAS, Catholic Relief Services and TADAMON. CARITAS is example of an organization that only has some programs which work with refugees. For Egyptians they have programs related to (economic) development, education, and health.¹⁴³ It is well known that CARITAS is the source of healthcare access for refugees in Egypt. Refugees can receive services directly from CARITAS

¹⁴² Ibrahim Ishtag, Sons of Fur Association, Interview, Cairo, December 2010.

¹⁴³ <http://www.caritasegypt.org/sdfr/Content/emergency.asp>

or be referred to another clinic. Procedures which outline how health is administered can be found on the CMRS website.¹⁴⁴

Catholic Relief Services in Egypt is an example of an NGO that provides many services, but only some of them are extended to refugees. It works on projects that give loans to entrepreneurial women, water and sanitation, and programs that espouse good governance. The program that they specifically extend to refugees concerns education. It partners with UNHCR to give vouchers for education expenses for refugee children¹⁴⁵ who are enrolled in one of six designated refugee schools or 70 privately run schools. It also gives such vouchers to adults to be used at one of five literacy centers in Cairo.¹⁴⁶

TADAMON was formed in 2006, when organizations got together to form an Egyptian and Multicultural Council. After that, TADAMON was operating as an outreach program connected with Townhouse Gallery. One major goal of TADAMON according to its mission is to promote refugee welfare, and a peaceful co-existence with Egyptians. Its aim is to promote access to services, raise awareness about culture, provide trainings for its members, and facilitate research.

One major activity of TADAMON is to increase the capability of Community Based Organization members in skills like grant writing. TADAMON partnered with IOM to conduct training in for Iraqis in community health initiatives to avoid influenza.¹⁴⁷

Though members of these organizations were not interviewed, I think it is important to mention them as three organizations that greatly affect the lives of refugees in Cairo in the sectors of education and health.

¹⁴⁴ CARITAS document found at <http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/services/Pages/Organizations.aspx>

¹⁴⁵ <http://crs.org/egypt/projects.cfm>

¹⁴⁶ Catholic Relief Services document found at <http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/services/Pages/Organizations.aspx>

¹⁴⁷ <http://tadamoncouncil.org/default.aspx>

4.19 NGO Common Affiliations

Furthermore, it is necessary to note that many of these organizations are attached under two major umbrella organizations, St. Andrews Refugee Services, and the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies. Many smaller NGOs in Cairo have become affiliated with St. Andrews in particular because of domestic laws in Egypt which make it difficult to legally register NGOs. Therefore, Youth LEAD, Legal Refugee Aid Project (RLAP), and St. Andrews Children's Education Program, Adult Education Program, and Summer School program are all legally linked to St. Andrews. St. Andrews is an interdenominational church that serves as an umbrella organization for a number of other groups, which include the children's education program, Youth LEAD, the adult education program, Refugee and Legal Aid Project (RLAP,) and the African Refugee Cooperative (ARC.) The adult classes began in 1987, and are the oldest service with St. Andrews. The children's education program began in 1998, followed by RLAP and Youth LEAD in 2008. St. Andrews mainly offers education services to refugees. It maintains a refugee school. Recently they started a Sudanese curriculum, and can now graduate students with that curriculum. Also, last summer they held a summer school for adults to learn English at several CBOs.¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, Center for Migration and Refugee Studies (CMRS) through the American University of Cairo is affiliated with the Cairo Community Interpreters Project (CCIP), the Psychosocial Institute of Cairo and STAR. The Center for Migration and Refugee Studies aims to raise awareness of migration and refugee issues through research and other programs. CMRS does this by holding short courses, organizing community visits, establishing relationships with

¹⁴⁸ Fiona Cameron, St. Andrews Refugee Services, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

other organizations, and seminars. In particular, there are Wednesday seminars on new research, and though the audience has decreased, the target were for students and community members.¹⁴⁹

Another example of organizations coordinating together toward a common purpose is the newly formed Vulnerable Migrants and Refugees (VMR) Interagency Working Group. This affiliation is made up of many active member NGO organizations.¹⁵⁰ The aim of the organization is to collaborate with other NGOs to insure efficiency in the humanitarian aid sector regarding refugees.¹⁵¹

Furthermore, Tokul Crafts was using TADAMON's offices as a meeting space. These examples of organizational affiliations illustrate that NGOs in Cairo are often (though not always) linked by the common philosophy, mandate, and approach of the affiliated organization.

¹⁴⁹ Sarah Sadek, CMRS, Interview, Cairo, August 2010.

¹⁵⁰ Active organizations in the VMR Working Group include African Group for Development, AMERA, American Embassy in Cairo, CMRS (CCIP), CRS, El Nadim Center, IOM, Saint Andrews, RLAP, PSTIC, UNHCR and Youth Lead. In addition they have non-active members which include, ADEW, African Hope, Behman Clinic, Caritas, MSF, Refuge Egypt, Sacred Heart Church, STAR, TADAMON, Terre Des Hommes, Town House Gallery, World Health Organization and 9 CBO's.

¹⁵¹ Lorena Guzman, VMR Interagency Working Group, Email Interview, Cairo, December 2010.

Chapter 5: Empirical Data for Outreach in Cairo (Interviews)

5.1 Practical Models for Urban Refugees

As stated in Chapter 3, Theoretical and Practical Framework for Outreach, practical framework for outreach can be placed upon the theoretical framework to expand and enrich the current understanding of outreach to refugees or in the context of humanitarian aid and development. Also, built upon this foundation is a basic understanding of what services and programs are available to refugees in Cairo, which is described in the Description of NGOs Working with Refugees in Cairo (NGOs) chapter, as well as what these services and programs briefly and contextually mean for the urban refugee population of Cairo. Thus, I analyze the empirical examples of outreach to refugees in Cairo through the practices of organizations, whose members were interviewed in terms described in the methodologies chapter.

Thus, it is necessary to call attention again to the previous stated definition of outreach used in this thesis. It states, “outreach is the process of locating refugees in the community who may be in need of services, and informing them of appropriate services as well as ways to secure those services. Outreach may lead to the provision of information and referral and/or the provision of additional services through intake into an agency or program; however, the function of outreach is to inform refugees of the availability of services rather than actually providing

those services.”¹⁵² Furthermore, in order to best present the empirical data in this chapter it is necessary to remind the reader that one of the major components of outreach is discerning whether the receiver is the individual, the community or the agency.¹⁵³ In this scenario, the entity performing the outreach is the NGO or agency, represented by the NGO worker or outreach worker. Therefore, outreach in this chapter will be analyzed empirically from the perspective of the NGO as administered to the individual, community and the agency.

In noting that the definition used of outreach for this thesis is specific to refugee issues, it is furthermore necessary to note for the purposes of best presenting the empirical data that other sector specific definitions of outreach will have influence on NGOs which administer outreach to refugees within a given sector, such as health or education . These definitions, in addition to the primary definition utilized for this thesis, illustrate that outreach has been heavily influenced by the idea of sector, and this includes the NGO community in Cairo which is administering services and programs to the urban refugee population here. It also illustrates my argument that there has not been one concrete concept of outreach, because of this sector influence. This is a necessary concept to discuss in the empirical chapter for the presentation of the empirical data, which will be influenced by multiple practical factors such as this one.

Educational outreach can be defined as “programs of education or training which are delivered out in the community rather than on the premises of the provider. The purpose of these is to facilitate access to education for groups who might find it difficult or undesirable to attend an educational institution or who otherwise feel themselves excluded from available provision. Such groups include young people who have disengaged from education and training, and ethnic

¹⁵² “Outreach Information and Referral,” Indochina Refugee Action Center, 12.

¹⁵³ “Outreach Information and Referral,” Indochina Refugee Action Center, 12.

minority groups who may have specific cultural or language needs.”¹⁵⁴ Health outreach can be defined as “the work of staff in social and health agencies that is taken outside the office into the community, and the publicizing of available services so those who need them become aware that the services exist.”¹⁵⁵ ‘Publicizing’ services to the individual, community or agency is one way to describe the fact that one aspect of outreach is that information about programs and services is being distributed.

Each of the organizations who had participating members in the research, were in turn shaped by their organizations’ mandate, which included their own definition of refugee which was defined on a sliding scale between a social (i.e. administering aid to all persons claiming to be asylum seekers as with Refuge Egypt,) and the purely legal definition (i.e. only person’s falling under the 1951 Refugee Convention or OAU convention are within the mandate, such as UNHCR.) Also included in this mandate is the inclusion of policy within the organization, as well as the policies and laws of the government in Egypt.

Upon this mandate, certain approaches can be applied to organizations.¹⁵⁶ Though UNHCR, for example, specifically highlighted approaches such as the rights-based approach in their policy documents, however it was not asked explicitly of most of the organizations to describe what approach they ascribed to most strongly. This could be a topic of interesting future research. However, I argue that certain approaches outlined in the theoretical chapter are more

¹⁵⁴ "outreach" *A Dictionary of Education*. Ed. Susan Wallace. Oxford University Press, 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <[http://0-](http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t267.e726)

[www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t267.e726](http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t267.e726)>
¹⁵⁵ "outreach" *A Dictionary of Public Health*. Ed. John M. Last, Oxford University Press, 2007. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <[http://0-](http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t235.e3282)

[www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t235.e3282](http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t235.e3282)>
¹⁵⁶ These mandates, as stated in the Theoretical and Practical Framework for Outreach Chapter, include the rights-based approach, the community-based approach, the participatory approach, the charity-based approach, the needs-based approach, the strengths-based approach etc.

applicable to different organizations; this is evidenced in part when regarding and comparing different organization's constitutions and policies.

However, the purpose of this thesis is not necessarily to speak about which approach informs the organization. The purpose is rather to build a foundational argument that different organizations put different emphasizes on the refugee issues which are partially or wholly built upon existing approaches, and which place particular emphasis on rights, community, participation, charity, need, positive strengths, etc. These different emphasizes are created because different organizations possess different perspectives on the problem. In this case, perspective is either manifested in the individuals who make up the organization, and/or it is reflected in policies. As stated in the Theoretical and Practical Framework for Outreach chapter, perspective is intrinsic to the outcome and execution of outreach, programs and services.

In order to best illustrate the empirical example, it is necessary to restate that the idea of refugee population is in and of itself a population demographic, which is distinct from the local population, as well as distinct from migrants residing in Egypt for purely economic reasons. Therefore when an NGO states or empirically demonstrates through action that it is specifically working only with refugees, it is making a distinction between these groups in many cases in order to better deliver programs and services by narrowing down the way they define the population which is in need. Several of the organizations in Cairo did not work with refugees only but rather designated some services specifically for refugees, such as Caritas or Catholic Relief Services. In this scenario, the refugee population demographic was singled out in these instances because this population had specific needs which were more difficult to meet if combined with local services and programs, or services designated primarily for local populations. In this way, the refugee population remains its own distinct population with distinct

needs concerning outreach, most particularly in an urban setting as previously argued. However, such characteristics of the community can be extended further into the way that outreach is done in a way that is deliberately analyzed and considered, to build upon group characteristics and group demographics in a way that better delivers programs and services, and outreach. If considered deliberately, it will enrich the overall goal of outreach which is to connect the receiver of outreach more strongly to the giver of outreach.

However, the focus here will be on analyzing their responses in terms of outreach components defined in the literature chapter, a comparison of the theoretical components of outreach strategy, combined with an argument for both the cultural competence attainment model and social capital in relation to outreach and NGO workers on an empirical level. In this way, this chapter will empirically build upon main discussions in the theoretical chapter.

5.2 Organization Characteristics Analysis

The organizations highlighted in the organizations chapter can be characterized by structure and by sector. All of them serve urban refugees, which, as argued before is a population demographic distinct from Egyptians and in most cases with the exception of the IOM, considered distinct from migrants. They serve the needs of different sectors which loosely fell in to the categories of health, education, legal, psychosocial, and special assistance for refugees of a higher vulnerability or otherwise newcomer special assistance.

NGO members described services and programs which related to the following sectors or general categories: psychosocial, education, legal, livelihood, Community Services, academic, translation, youth, newcomer aid, war victims, variable projects (which were situation specific) and as well as one NGO which had an uncharacterized description, represented in the chart as

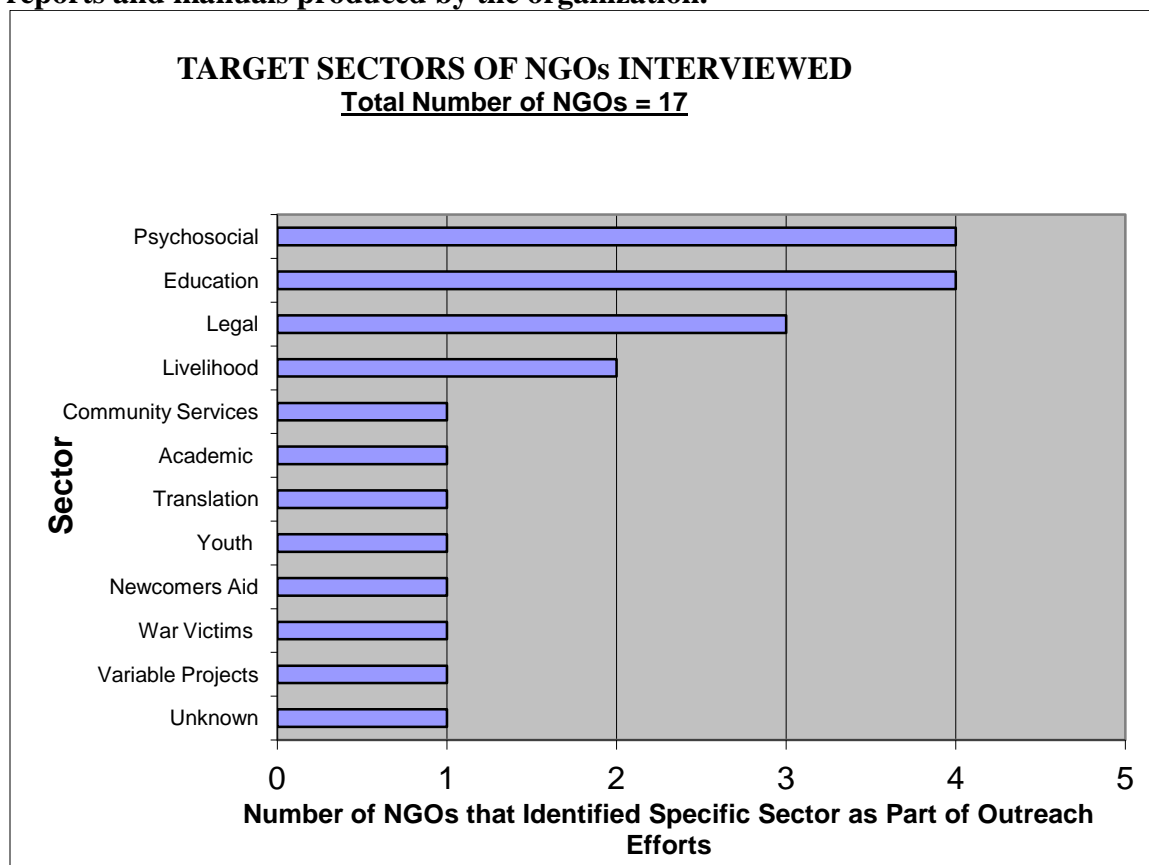
‘unknown.’ The total number of NGOs surveyed was 17. This is a liberal count, defined all of the St. Andrews Refugee Agency and Center for Migration Studies affiliated programs as separate organizations. In turn, CMRS was counted as its own organization because it did its own outreach activities separate from its affiliated organizations, but St. Andrews Refugee Services was not counted for the purpose of the chart because all of its activities for refugees were represented through its affiliated organizations.

The graph (Figure 1.1) obviously does not include the NGOs which were not interviewed. However, not mentioning the ones which are particularly important, would, in my opinion give an inaccurate interpretation of the major program sectors for refugees in Cairo. Therefore, because of general knowledge, CARITAS could be added into this graph as representing the health sector for refugees, Catholic relief Services could be added to bolster the number of education services for refugees, and TADAMON might be placed in the category of community services or perhaps variable projects. The VMR Interagency Working Group was not included in this graph because of the fact that it is an organization intended to represent multiple organizations.

Overall, the highest number of organizations focused on psychosocial issues and education to refugees (see Figure 1.1.) Out of a total of 17 organizations, four organizations focused a significant portion of their human resources on psychosocial programs. In comparison to other sectors, it shared the highest category with the education sector. The fact that psychosocial services was the category which had the highest number of NGOs focused on it, might be a trend specific to Cairo or specific to the area of refugee studies. Education is of focus for NGOs in Cairo probably because of the legal reservations Egypt has on the 1951 Refugee Convention which restricts refugees’ access to public education in the country. Therefore, education becomes

the domain and concern of NGOs in the area administering to refugees. It is also fitting that organizations which concentrate on legal services would be high in number in Cairo, given the major discussion in migration and refugee studies which concerns determining who is a migrant and who is a refugee in a given country, and in turn who has the right to legal status and residency.

Figure 1.1: Target NGO sectors were determined through a combination of NGO members own description of the organizations they represented, observation, as well as annual reports and manuals produced by the organization.



Furthermore, as the methodologies chapter stated, NGOs with different organizational structures were included for the study. This included large organizations with vast transnational networks such as UNHCR and IOM, to the most localized organizations like the CBO Sons of Fur. In this way, NGOs' access to international networks and connections to funding and resources is a quality that can be measured. NGOs' access to social and human resources as well

connection to individuals and communities that they serve are measurable qualities as well. It was therefore generally found that the more international the organization was in scope, the more it had to rely on smaller organizations to outsource their services, presumably because of its further removal from individual refugees and refugee communities. One NGO worker, for example, pointed out that most NGOs do not have their offices in neighborhoods in which there is a concentration of refugees.¹⁵⁷ Smaller NGOs who still had connections abroad were in turn more likely to “outsource” their outreach efforts to refugee workers. And the smallest NGOs, particularly CBOs, often had no one to outsource their efforts and were therefore obliged to do it themselves.

Furthermore, it can be argued, that while most of the organizations said they were not dividing the population, because they did not discriminate, there were many examples of the organizations dividing their outreach efforts by population demographics. This included AMERA, who divided their target population by creating teams of outreach workers focused on each of the main ethnic communities in Cairo. The IOM also worked with refugee members in a way that emphasized ethnicity. UNHCR worked with CBO leaders who represented particular ethnic communities as well as their particular concern for the identification of vulnerable refugees, which is a population demographic. The St. Andrews Summer School Program, as well as their other school programs, was seeking to separate the refugee demographic by age.

Refugee Legal Aid Project only works with people who have already received legal refugee status because of the nature of their resettlement services. This is a population demographic, not every person who says they are a refugee under the social definition is able to access their services. Youth Lead focused on vulnerable youth, particularly Sudanese. The National NGO for Population and Development focused on all Sudanese because it considered them to have shared

¹⁵⁷ Mahmoud Farag, AMERA, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

a similar history with Egyptians.¹⁵⁸ Tokul Crafts worked with refugee women, STAR worked with adults. Cairo Community Interpreters Project divided the refugees by language because of the nature of their translation training. In my opinion, the Psychosocial Training Institute of Cairo also placed an emphasis on ethnicity in training its workers.

One of the major discussions currently going on within NGOs who serve refugees in Cairo is the identification and the development of tools or strategies of identification for refugees who are more vulnerable. In some instances, this NGO organizational interpretation of vulnerable group needs creates the action of distributing aid packages which can include temporary monetary support as with UNHCR, or aid packages which include food substances such as with Refuge Egypt, or otherwise with referral to psychosocial services such as most notably AMERA who has a trained psychiatrist or psychologist working with particularly vulnerable cases.

In terms of ethnicity, organizations like AMERA specifically have teams divided into groups which focus specifically on the Sudanese, Somali, Eritrean and Ethiopian communities. It is interesting to consider the difference between ethnicity and nationality in this context, as the Sudanese have many ethnicities and languages in their country as opposed to Somalis which are ethnically homogeneous for example. This could be a topic of further study in relation to outreach.

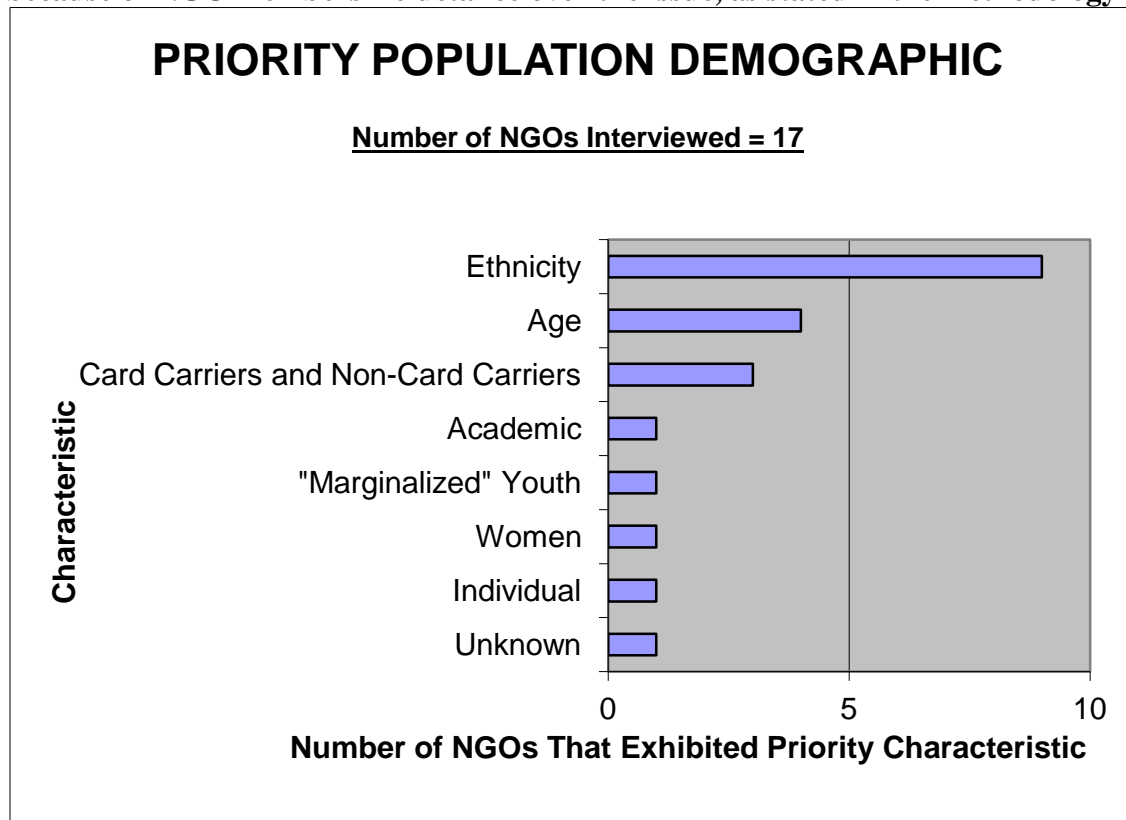
From observation, one demographic which none of the organizations prioritized in practice was the idea of economic class, though I would argue that vulnerability might in some instances be related to economic class. Many refugees who stay long term in Egypt come from countries which have weaker economies and theoretically less job prospects, such as Sudan and Somalia. Therefore, when they come to Egypt many are similarly or more weakly equipped to compete in the local job market than the average poor Egyptian counterpart. They also come from countries

¹⁵⁸ Samir El Iesh, National NGO for Population and Development, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

suffering from chronic issues with violence. This creates a tension and suspicion in some organizations, most notably UNHCR about who is “really” here “only” for economic purposes, and therefore undeserving of the financial resources which have been earmarked for Refugees who fall into the 1951 Refugee or OAU Conventions. There is discussion in this realm of study stating that refugees are in protracted (or a situation which sees no end or sustainable solution) situation and that this is unfavorable to the overall global structure of humanitarian aid and the ability to distribute resources adequately. But it can also be argued that policies and laws in Egypt have created a protracted situation for refugees in the urban context. This is coupled with an assumption by international organizations and policy makers that refugees will have more access to livelihood solutions in the urban context despite the fact that national laws de facto all but ban their participation in the Egyptian economy. These factors create a protracted refugee situation in the urban context, of equal or greater damage to urban refugees in Cairo than refugees in camps with direct access to “hand-outs” from international organizations. NGO workers realizing the fact difficulties concerning the legal right to work under Egyptian law for refugees may explain the rise in discussion and move toward NGO and research concentration on the issue livelihoods of refugees in Cairo. (Figure 1.1) For example, the Feinstein International Center at Tufts University recently sought to partner with the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies at the American University of Cairo in order to research this issue. Livelihood is also one of the major stated aims of the VMR working group, a coalition of a number of NGOs in Cairo. Furthermore, UNHCR recently hired a consultant to research the livelihoods of refugees, presumably for the purpose of forming new programs and policy. These examples may reflect a shift in the way refugee population demographics are seen in the future within the context of Cairo.

Out of the organizations interviewed, it can be argued that from an observation of their programs and services, the greatest number placed a priority on ethnicity followed by age and registered refugees or card carrying refugees who fit into the legal definition. Figure 1.1 revealed that education and legal status are prioritized sectors in the refugee context in Cairo, which may or may not reflect actual needs of refugees in the city. Groups of people which are amassed for the purposes of education are generally divided by age (i.e. adults are in classes together and children of similar ages are put in the same class.) Card carrying refugees is also a category that specifically relates to legal status, in that it is the mechanism of the system designed to give protection against refoulement in Egypt. Ethnicity might have come up as the main issue of focus for many NGOs because it is an issue at the foundation of a person's identity.

Figure 1.2: Priority population demographics of the NGO were determined by observation because of NGO members' reluctance over the issue, as stated in the methodology chapter.



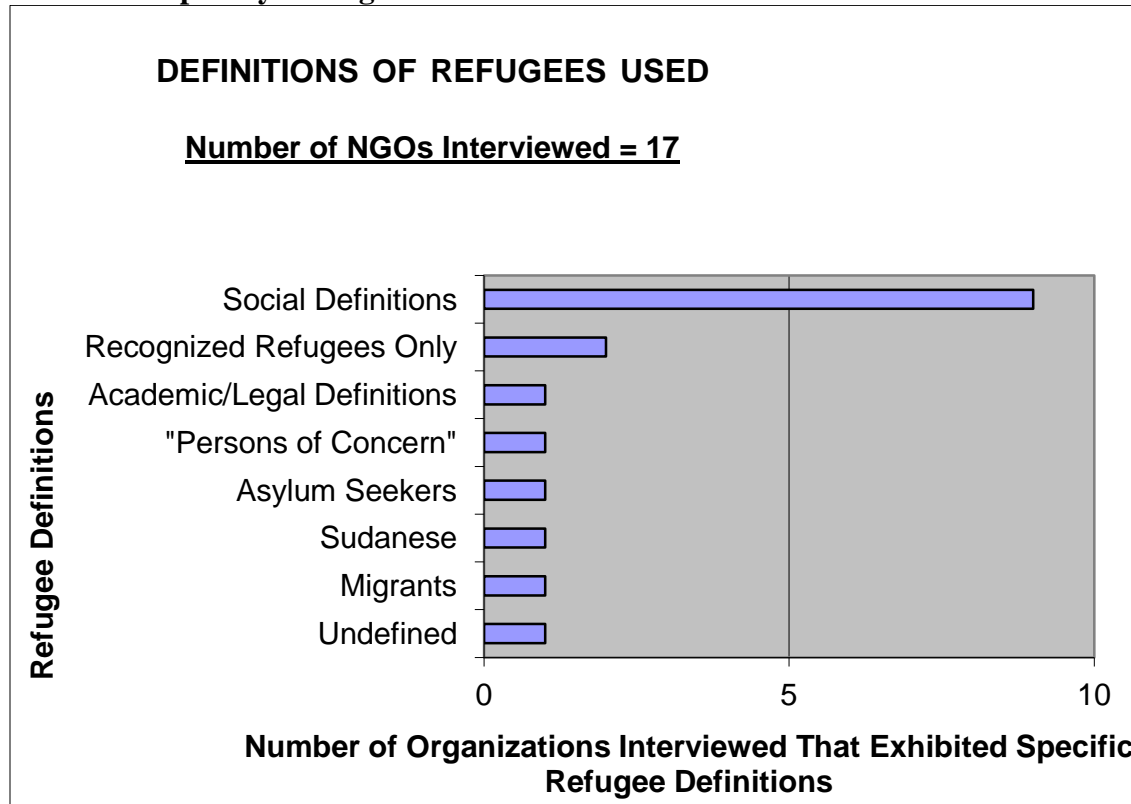
5.3 Definition of Refugee

There are different definitions of refugee in use. Of these the theoretical chapter discussed legal and social definitions of refugee. The former is the definition used in the 1951 Refugee Convention with the extended OAU definition for Refugees residing in Africa. The later social definition expands the term to include people who self identify as refugees and take this characteristic on as part of their identity. Because of the nature of outreach, it was this later social definition which took priority over the legal definition of refugee. If the function of outreach is not to determine who can legally stay in the country then the legal definition does not really serve a function for outreach. Furthermore, the legal definition is sometimes used to determine who will be able to access a service designated for refugees and who will not. However, outreach, as defined in this thesis, is not the service or program itself, but the relationship created between service provider and service seeker. Therefore limiting the service itself to legally defined refugees would not have direct application to outreach either.

Most of the organizations relied on a social definition of refugee in order to administer their services, which might include legal advocacy for asylum seekers, and psychosocial services for persons with closed files at UNHCR (see Figure 1.3.) However, even when an organization prioritized legal definitions, they did not necessarily limit their services to those who were card carriers, and instead prioritized self definition, in some cases such as with STAR, who explained that they did not have the resources to do Refugee Status Determination themselves in order to separate who was deserving of their services and who was not.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ Marwa Fikry, STAR, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

Figure 1.3: The definition of refugee used by an organization to determine who was within their mandate was derived from interviews with the NGO representative, as well as observed implicitly through the discussion of stated mandate.



5.4 Outreach Workers (Cultural Competence Attainment Models or Social Capital)

As discussed in the Theoretical and Practical Framework for Outreach chapter, outreach is an act constructed between the giver and the receiver of a program or service. The giver of the outreach can be an individual, community or agency.¹⁶⁰ Conversely, the receiver of the outreach can also be an individual, community or agency.

For the purposes of this discussion only, we have designated that the giver of the outreach is the agency. However, an agency is not a person that can act. Rather it is made up instead of individuals that must act for it. Therefore, there are certain individuals who act on the agency or

¹⁶⁰ "Outreach Information and Referral," Indochina Refugee Action Center, 12.

NGOs behalf to execute outreach activities or programs, in many cases this is the outreach worker. It can be also be said that others such as psychosocial workers or community health workers who perform work in the community with groups or individuals may also be performing outreach activities as part of their work, or otherwise they are performing a certain sector specific outreach, such as health outreach or psychosocial outreach.

Several NGOs relied heavily on such outreach or community workers who were also members of the refugee community to deliver the outreach. Examples of this strategy were used by AMERA, Refuge Egypt, and The Psychosocial Institute, and the International Organization for Migration, and relatively speaking also the Refugee Legal Aid Project. In several of these instances, psychosocial workers were also doing activities which could be considered to be forms of outreach, which might include home visits, etc. These groups who employed psychosocial refugee workers to perform outreach activities included the Psychosocial Institute in Cairo and Refuge Egypt. One organization interviewed, AMERA, separated the idea of outreach worker from the idea of psychosocial worker who might be performing outreach activities. In the case of AMERA, psychosocial workers remained largely based at the office or center, whereas outreach workers were responsible for an array of outreach activities which included identifying vulnerable cases which may be in need of psychosocial services given at the office.

In Contrast, IOM chose not to include psychosocial work in its activities at all, but rather characterize outreach by identifying refugee workers to carry out their programs in the community as outreach. Thus, from this analysis, one can understand that there is some overlap of outreach and psychosocial work in Cairo. However, some organizations choose to define their refugee or community workers as serving in different capacities within different sectors.

In other cases, outreach was done as part of a larger set of duties that the mostly Egyptian or foreign aid workers accomplished alongside other programming, in some cases perhaps with the support of refugees for these outreach activities.¹⁶¹ In these scenarios each of these organizations may have had particular reasons for not primarily using refugee workers to perform outreach activities.

Arguably, there are both pros and cons to using refugee versus foreign workers to perform activities that have outreach components. The pros that come with employing refugee workers is that they are often but not necessarily insiders into the communities served because they share the same ethnic backgrounds as well as other characteristics which may be dominant population demographics in the community. The assumption here is that refugee workers will be able to better identify with members in the community. However, this is not categorically the case.

Members of the refugee communities in Cairo may fall into three general categories, not all of which necessarily make good outreach or community workers from refugee communities. These include members of the community who are simply good at endearing themselves to the organization but not necessarily good at aligning themselves with the refugee community, as well as elders, traditional leaders or possibly highly educated people who will be offended if not included in the execution of programs and services even as they cannot be relied upon to perform any duties, or are otherwise out of touch with the community itself. That is why the ideal community leader, outreach worker, or person from the community who is performing outreach activities as part of their work, must have a high level of social capital. This may be why members of the refugee community are often employed to do most of the heaviest outreach work, particularly outreach to individuals, which may require visiting individual homes and

¹⁶¹ These organizations included CMRS, St. Andrews Summer School, Youth LEAD, STAR, CCIP, and the ICRC.

working spontaneously without any help from an interpreter or outside expert on the particular culture of the refugee.

It cannot necessarily be assumed that persons performing outreach activities who are not members of the refugee community are necessarily doing a bad or even inferior job to the refugee outreach worker. Sometimes the perspective of an outsider can benefit outreach, just as the perspective of an insider. The perspective of an outsider foreigner to a community may bring different strategies and techniques in the delivery of services because of a different perspective. In the situation of Egyptians or foreigners performing outreach activities to refugee communities, the cultural competence attainment model is of great use as a measure of a foreign or Egyptian outreach worker's effectiveness.

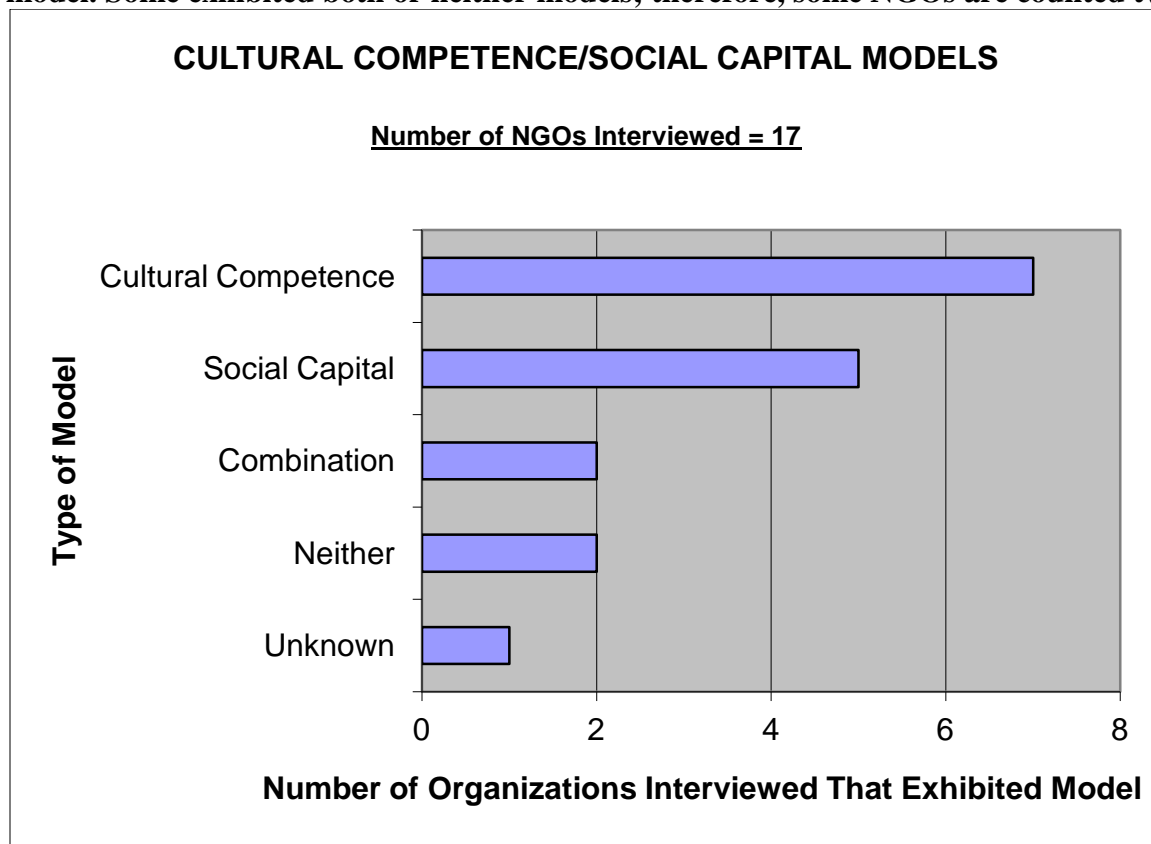
Social capital is of application to foreigners performing outreach, and the cultural competence model is of use to refugee outreach workers. However, social capital is of higher emphasis to refugee outreach workers. The cultural competence model is of greater importance to foreign workers. In this way, the competence of all workers can be measured when performing outreach.

The link between these two aspects of social capital and the cultural attainment model is participation with the outcome of forming better relationships, improving services, community mobilization, accountability and integration if it is possible. This thesis has already discussed in a previous chapter why integration is not really an achievable goal for refugees in Egypt.

Usage of Social Capital and the Cultural Competence Attainment Model were measured through observation and description of outreach and programs and services of the NGOs interviewed. Figure 4 shows that the Cultural Competence Attainment Model was used more often than Social Capital, with several organizations using a combination and several organizations using neither. An ideal situation would have been if all organizations which were

made up of both foreigners (including Egyptians) and refugees had used both models. Furthermore, higher levels of cultural competence or social capital within an organization make it more likely that a higher level of participation is being achieved with the individual, community or agency receiving the outreach. This is one way to measure a successful outcome in outreach.

Figure 1.4: Out of the total number of NGOs represented in the chart (17) and based on interviews conducted, I observationally determined that some NGOs exhibited qualities related to the given definition of social capital and the cultural competence attainment model. Some exhibited both or neither models; therefore, some NGOs are counted twice.



5.5 Individual, Community and Agency

These refugee and foreign outreach workers are the primary human instruments in the application of practice based models of outreach, which as stated before, can be categorized into outreach done to individuals, communities and agencies. In terms of definition for the purposes

of this thesis, an agency is “a business or organization providing a particular service on behalf of another business, person, or group.”¹⁶² A community is “a group of people who are socially related by virtue of identity with a particular location.”¹⁶³ Furthermore the word individual can “denote a single person in contrast with a group of people or with society as a whole.”¹⁶⁴

NGOs in Cairo could be observationally broken down into organizations that conduct outreach to refugee individuals, communities, and agencies. Outreach activities to individuals included house visits for reasons which included psychosocial issues, family unification activities, conferences, and identifying vulnerable refugee individuals.¹⁶⁵ Outreach activities to communities or groups activities which explained the functions of the legal system or UNHCR, forming liaisons with CBO leaders, and organizing groups of youth or women.¹⁶⁶ These outreach included activities which informed other agencies about their services. Outreach to agencies can also be characterized as advocacy.¹⁶⁷

Much of the literature placed an emphasis on community perspective in relation to NGO programs and services. This trend is also reflected in NGOs approach to outreach in Cairo, which

¹⁶² "agency noun" *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0013260>>

¹⁶³ JBr "community" *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Ed Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan. Oxford University Press 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 4 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e248>>

¹⁶⁴ "individual" *Pocket Fowler's Modern English Usage*. Ed. Robert Allen. Oxford University Press, 2008. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 4 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t30.e1949>>

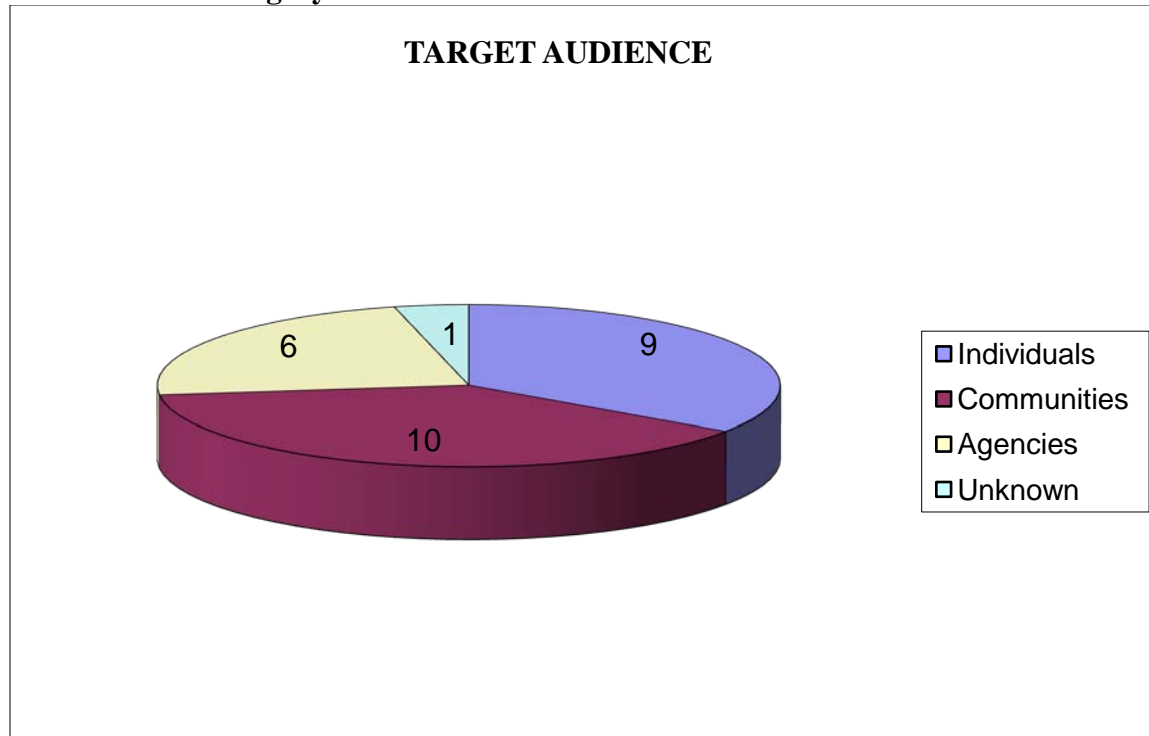
¹⁶⁵ Organizations in Cairo that performed outreach activities to individuals included AMERA, CMRS, St. Andrews Summer School, Tokul Crafts, Youth LEAD, CCIP, ICRC, PSTIC, and Refuge Egypt.

¹⁶⁶ The organizations in Cairo that performed outreach activities to communities included AMERA, UNHCR, St. Andrews Summer School, Youth LEAD, the National NGO for Population and Development, Tokul Crafts and the IOM.

¹⁶⁷ The organizations in Cairo that performed outreach activities to agencies included UNHCR, CMRS, RLAP and CCIP.

focused most largely on outreach to communities or community outreach (see Figure 5.) Of second priority to organizations in Cairo was outreach done to individuals, such as house visits or approaching individuals about services and programs. A third priority of outreach for NGOs administering services to refugees in Cairo was done to agencies, which might have included promoting their services or efforts which involved some level of collaboration. One notable example of outreach to agencies is forming in Cairo the Vulnerable Migrants and Refugees (VMR) Working Group, whose activities included advocating for NGOs that focused on services to Egyptians to include refugees in their mandate. However, the later organization was not included in the chart's findings.

Figure 1.5: Out of the total 17 NGOs represented, I observationally determined that nine conducted outreach to individuals, ten conducted outreach to communities, six conducted outreach to agencies, with one performing activities in an undetermined category. Note that some NGOs are counted two or three times, because they performed outreach activities to more than one category.



5.6 Strategies and Techniques of Outreach

One strategy that was used by Tokul Crafts was keeping open hours in order to encourage women to just drop by to learn about the livelihood generating skill of craft making. It seemed that this flexibility of time matched a more African perception of great flexibility with time, which mirrored what I experienced during my time in West Africa. Furthermore, it has been documented before that people who are illiterate or of low education process time differently than those with education. The women who participated were not necessarily illiterate, but the vast popularity of Tokul Crafts seemed to illustrate that this tactic was working. Furthermore, it provided a space and outlet for women to get together, paralleling the idea of getting together in

village community settings. It was even reported that women suffering from psychosocial issues were referred to Tokul Crafts as a means of gaining a support system.¹⁶⁸

A second strategy came out of the idea of researching needs first and then forming programs, services and strategies as a way of getting feedback. This was most clearly exemplified by Youth LEAD, whose founder wrote a paper concerning Sudanese youth gang violence and later put the findings of this research into practical use by creating Youth Centers in refugee neighborhoods. She described her tactic for outreach as standing on street corners talking to people, and thus being introduced to potentially troubled youth who would then come to the center for its programming which included sports and English classes.¹⁶⁹

Another strategy that was used frequently was the idea of creating liaisons between CBOs and NGOs. For example the UNHCR held regular meetings with CBOs that it had selected to work with. AMERA also linked with CBO leaders, as well as with local churches. In this way, NGOs which were more removed from the refugee communities in location as well as socially, were able to bring themselves vicariously closer through community mechanisms that refugees naturally frequented within the convenience of their own neighborhoods.

However, outreach was considered to be not necessary in certain cases, such as issues relating to resettlement. This is because there is always an extremely high demand for resettlement services in the context of Egypt.¹⁷⁰ One can extend this argument to mean that anytime there is an overwhelming realized need for the community, outreach may be unnecessary for the long term life of the program. Therefore, organizations like RLAP whose primary function is to resettle refugees only really have outreach services in as much as they perform other services not related to resettlement, such as their psychosocial services.

¹⁶⁸ Fatima Soleiman, Tokul Crafts, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

¹⁶⁹ Natalie Forcier, Youth LEAD, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

¹⁷⁰ Fiona Cameron, St. Andrews Refugee Services, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

5.7 Community Based Organizations in Cairo (Liaisons for NGOs)

Unfortunately, the nature of this topic proved beyond the scope of this thesis to adequately cover the issue of CBOs and outreach, though NGO members interviewed repeatedly described their networking with CBO members in order to conduct outreach. Some listed this as their primary strategy to obtain their outreach objectives. One goal of this thesis is to illustrate techniques and strategies of outreach. NGOs, which often have financial resources, often link themselves to CBOs, which do not have financial resources, in order to harness social capital when conducting outreach.

Thus, while it cannot be discussed in necessary detail, one preliminary finding based on the interview with the Sons of Fur was the constant protection issues members of the organization faced while trying to perform their activities in Egypt. These protection issues did not come from the Egyptian government itself in this scenario, but rather from Sudanese agents of the Sudanese government which had been allowed to operate in Egypt for the purpose of taking issue with members of the organization for their past political activities, some of which they continued while in Egypt. Lack of formal recognition for their organization by the Egyptian government in turn weakened their legal standing.¹⁷¹ While many small or more localized NGOs such as TADAMON have had difficulties securing a legal status in Egypt (which then in turn de-legitimizes and weakens their ability to work within the country) CBO members status as either legally recognized or socially defined refugees puts them at heightened risk when they try to organize themselves as an organization. This creates a more vulnerable status and increased protection issue that UNHCR in particular could take increased notice of.

¹⁷¹ Ibrahim Ishag, Sons of Fur, Interview, Cairo, Fall 2010.

Conversely, Iraqis are not legally able at all to organize their own organizations such as CBOs in Egypt. This is because the government associates the issue with state security issues which aims to prevent the intrusion of foreign Islamic fundamentalists or even terrorist organization from forming and adversely influencing Egyptian society. For example, Firass went through many procedures to try to set up a CBO for Iraqis, after several years of trying he found himself legally unable to do so in Egypt.¹⁷²

In both of these instances, which are more akin to communities performing outreach rather than an agency doing outreach, many things stood in the way of them connecting with their own communities, which most direly included lack of financial resources. Ironically, the social capital of the community leaders was hindered in this way. The social capital of these individuals was then harnessed by bigger organizations that chose to liaison with them, including UNHCR. In this way, agency was limited for these individual refugees.

Also of note, regarding CBOs is the fact that there are a number of such Ethno-specific organizations for Sudanese which include Nubian Mountain and Sons of Fur most notably. There are two major Somali CBOs based in the Somali concentrated neighborhoods of Nasr City and Ard el Loua respectively, called the Egyptian Somali Organization and the Somali Development Organization respectively. Furthermore there was one known Ethiopian organization for Oromo speakers called the Sons of Oromo. These organizations have a history of creating liaisons with organizations like UNHCR. It seems no one knows how many CBOs there really are in Cairo, though the same names of CBOs come up in relevance to NGOs working with them. Figures are most difficult to obtain given legal registration difficulties with the government.

However, it appeared at the time of research that in addition to Iraqis not being allowed to register for a CBO, Amharic speaking Ethiopians also had no CBO as well as Eritreans. It was

¹⁷² Firass Uglah, Iraqi community leader, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

not clear why there were no CBOs for these groups, as no interviews were done with people who knew why. Notably, in the absence of Amharic organizations, AMERA for example chose to liaison with churches where Amharic speakers frequented. There are also organizations for Palestinians such as the Palestinian Women's Organization, though most NGOs who were creating liaisons with CBOs as a method of outreach were not creating liaisons with Palestinian Organizations in Cairo. These are all areas in need of further study.

5.8 Case Study: A Solution to the Issue of Integration in Egypt (An Alternative to Outreach)

As I argued in a previous chapter, integration is de facto not an option for refugees in Cairo, leaving refugees in a state of limbo. Integration can serve as one of the measures for whether outreach is effective. However, the more the refugee issue in Cairo is solved through the durable solutions of resettlement, integration and repatriation, the less importance outreach gains. In the case of true integration, refugees could in theory be lumped into the outreach initiatives taken by NGOs or other organizations administering programs and services to local communities.

One NGO discussing integration issues for refugees is the National NGO for Population and Development has been planning a desert community for Sudanese where members believe there could be potential for work and even tourist potential.¹⁷³ In this way, outreach would need to be utilized for the start of the project to locate participants in the Sudanese refugees. After such people were identified, outreach would need to be done to determine success indicators of the program. Furthermore, in relieving the need for integration of the long-term refugee community

¹⁷³ Samir El Iesh, National NGO for Population and Development, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

into the local population of Cairo, the overwhelming scope of performing outreach to the urban population of refugees in Cairo would be alleviated.

The project was an extension of an idea that had already been tried and worked well with Egyptians. Sudanese were seen by the organization as sharing a common history with Egyptians and therefore they were targeted for the program.¹⁷⁴ This could be an alternative to other durable solutions for refugees Egypt which include resettlement, integration, and repatriation¹⁷⁵ which in many cases have proven unlikely at best.

¹⁷⁴ Samir El Iesh, National NGO for Population and Development, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

¹⁷⁵ Ashraf Azer, UNHCR Community Services, Interview, Cairo, Summer 2010.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In the theoretical chapter of the paper, outreach was defined in terms of having a giver and receiver of outreach. The outreach giver could be an agency (NGO), community, or individual. All of the members interviewed agreed that outreach is a necessary component of NGO work to refugees in Cairo. The findings of the empirical chapter which tested the theories laid forth in the theoretical chapter could serve as feedback and a means of further analysis of the organizational policy or philosophy itself.

In chapter three, I argued that social capital and the Cultural Competence Attainment model should be considered a concept at the foundation of a developed theory on outreach, and could be applied directly as models that individual actors of outreach could infuse into their own behaviors and strategies. These individuals include outreach workers and other NGO workers. Background about the urban refugee situation and the realities behind NGO and government policy as well as the constraints of international law in relation to refugees were surveyed. These discussions were provided in order to give context to the overall situation of outreach to refugees in the urban context of Cairo, as well as the law and policy issues which shaped the culture which outreach must adapt to.

Many NGOs and researchers are currently in a theoretical discussion about best approaches to aid work; one could even say this is a current trend in aid and development work. An NGO's

approach to aid or development work intimately affects its relationship with the practice of outreach. For example, an NGO which favors the charity-based approach will execute outreach differently than an NGO which prioritizes a rights-based approach. In this way there can be a discussion about which approaches foster better outreach, and by extension better programs.

In terms of strategy and technique, aspects such as place (i.e. center versus outpatient), community gathering points, and feedback received from the monitoring and evaluation of programs; increase the likelihood of the successful implication of outreach. Outreach activities can include “household visits, focus groups, community, meetings, newsletters, a website, and reports which facilitate the collection and dissemination of relevant information.”¹⁷⁶ The relationship between service seeker and service provider is important. Outreach workers and interpreters serve as important mediators and liaisons between the community and the organization. Ethno-specific organizations or CBOs can furthermore serve as an NGO’s link to the community. CBO members can also do outreach themselves, in which they become the service provider. In this way, the consideration of perspective is extremely important. Who is the receiver and who is the provider of the outreach? The answer to this question can shift depending on different elements which include possession of the most important resources necessary for the outreach, who decides the activity, the nature of the activity and the context.

Finding a population that at first glance has blended into the urban context of Cairo, presents a more difficult challenge for outreach than refugees which are segregated in a camp. Almost no population exists which is completely homogenous in general, but this becomes more particularly true when considering more vastly heterogeneous populations like the refugee populations in Cairo. Therefore, in context with these other important aspects of outreach, target population characteristics are important to consider as a tool to enhance the effectiveness of

¹⁷⁶ “Findings from Iraqi Outreach Activities in Lebanon,” 2nd Issue, Danish Refugee Council, June 2009.

outreach. Two outcomes of effective outreach are greater accountability of the NGO and a strengthened relationship between service receiver and service provider.

In the interview section of this thesis, the main objective was to compare and contrast NGOs in Cairo in relation to outreach. Thus, I discussed the way humanitarian aid or development service sectors influenced the nature of outreach, such as education outreach or health outreach. An NGO was very likely to be influenced heavily by the sector it works in. NGOs also defined refugees differently, ranging from utilizing strictly the legal definition (UNHCR) to an almost purely social definition (All Saints) (Figure 3). In Cairo, NGOs gave the most attention to the sectors of psychosocial and education. Legal aid was also the focus of a great number of programs (Figure 1). In action, the highest number of NGOs placed priority on speaking about refugees in terms of ethnicity (Figure 2). Based on my interviews, I made observations about which model (the Cultural Competence Attainment model or the social capital model) was used (Figure 4). I determined that though outreach can be received by agencies, communities, or individuals, the majority of outreach was directed at communities (Figure 5). Some strategies were then highlighted that particularly strove to address needs of the target individual, community or agency through outreach. There was also a short case study concerning one the National NGO for population and development's idea to "resettle" the Sudanese population internally in Egypt creating planned communities.

The methodology chapter explained the nature of the qualitative research. It discussed the methods that were used such as semi-structured interviews with members of NGOs who performed outreach, comparing and contrasting theories and organizational practices, as well as the creation of a problem matrix and charts. The main difficulties with the thesis were creating a

theoretical framework where one had not really existed before, and difficulties comparing and analyzing a large number of organizations at the same time.

While this thesis focused on the theoretical and practical applications of outreach and how they could be related to priority characteristics in a population, the implications for this study are that this principle of discussing population demographics in outreach should be extended not just to urban refugees in Cairo. It can also be applied in other cities, in refugee camps, and to non-refugee populations such as local communities both in the global south, in the West and the East. Outreach is basically a universal concept, as previously argued. In turn, the concept of population demographics can also be applied universally, wherever there is an immutable difference between two people, which is everywhere. This is because one of the primary goals of outreach is to strengthen relationships; in this case we speak of the NGO's relationship to the individual, community or agency. But this concept too, of who is the main actor executing the outreach can be expanded. These are arguably universal needs to be explored across non-profit, humanitarian and development sectors.

The private sector already sees the benefit of population demographics. Businesses employ marketing on many fronts, and they do not apologize that they are dividing the populations. They do not often see the need to enter into a discussion about whether their intentions for singling out population demographics are for good, or even in some cases if it is ethical. From this model, the concept of social marketing was probably developed, where marketing techniques are employed for a social change in behavior. But social marketing is not outreach. It does not have quite the same goals and it does not focus on relationships. This is a topic for future research.

As illustrated with the example of the trend of social marketing, the discussion of ethics does exist in humanitarian aid work and development work, even if it is not necessarily adhered to in

practice all the time or by all practitioners. Furthermore, it is arguable that people who neglected to answer the question of how they divided population groups in order to work with them in Cairo fell into roughly two categories, they were either genuinely unaware that they were doing it because it was a new to them to consider the strategy consciously, or it was a product of the ethical undercurrents of this discussion that it is far more delicate to question the means of an organization that is at the surface stating it is trying to help others, much less those who are trying to help those among the most vulnerable populations in the world like refugees from Africa.

In both cases, it is not the aim of this thesis to reproach anyone's good intentions. However, by illustrating how something that is already done in the fields of anthropology and sociology but not often applied in ways useful for practitioners of a field, one may link together how research in general about populations in a given society or culture may be useful in the long run concerning services, programs and outreach. Fields which research culture and particular population characteristics, such as arbitrarily deciding to study Sudanese women in a given sector, normally do so without apology or allegation of discrimination. The implication that practitioners should conversely disregard these differences when they are actually applying programs and services in the real world is bizarre.

Furthermore, it stands to be mentioned that once population demographics are realized as a component of outreach, program or service, this opens up so many new venues for how a program can be conceptualized. For example, as stated earlier it is relatively a traditional idea to separate people by age when executing an education program. But what would an education program look like if the priority population demographic was the family? What would it look like if the demographic was a particular neighborhood? A particular gender?

It is clear that the possibility of utilizing population demographics in relevance to services programs and outreach is vast and unending, if practitioners can get around the issue of discussing human difference making them uncomfortable. If this is executed, it stands to greatly streamline the use of resources and maximize the overall limited funding that NGOs have to work with. And this, I would argue, is the ultimate goal of most of the literature out there concerning humanitarian aid or development issues written for practitioners in this age.

6.1 Recommendations for Further Research:

1. This thesis focused on the perspectives NGOs or other agencies and their members. It focused on how they approached outreach. However, in the thesis it was stated that other entities such as communities or individuals can be the ones acting out the outreach. Therefore further research is needed concerning how communities approach outreach from their perspective, as well as how individuals approach it.
2. The problem matrix contained in the appendix section can be further developed. Issues highlighted in the problem matrix can be individually developed further. NGOs in Cairo can be more deeply compared for their strategies and objectives in outreach.
3. This research could be duplicated in other cities with large refugees and compared to this study. It could be used for comparison in a situation where outreach in camps is the topic of the study. Large elements of this study could be used when researching outreach to local non-migrant populations in the context of development work in the global south. The theoretical components of this study could also be used to research outreach in western contexts, the practices described used as means of comparison.

4. A major undeveloped aspect of this research is the Community Based Organization component. A whole other thesis of this size and scope could be written about CBOs only, but further research is also needed regarding the comparison of their practices in general with NGOs and also particularly regarding outreach.
5. More research needs to be done about why some communities do not or cannot develop their own CBOs, most notably Iraqis, Eritreans and Amharic speaking Ethiopians.
6. This thesis discusses briefly that Iraqis have had legal trouble forming CBOs and this topic can be explored further. However, through the interview with members of Sons of Fur as well as general observation, security and legal trouble remains a major issue for most if not all CBOs in Cairo. More research is needed on this topic.
7. Research on whom and where CBOs are in Cairo, how they are formed and how they work both as organizations as well as with communities is generally lacking.
8. Further research needs be done to determine how ethnic, background perspective and culture effects outreach, as well as other population demographics such as gender, age, religion and economic status.
9. One key aspect of outreach I flagged as especially important was the relationship of outreach workers and social capital. More research is needed on this topic, as well as NGO outreach workers relation to and usage of the cultural competence model in both western and non-western contexts. In addition, it will be necessary to have a deep discussion with refugee or “local” outreach workers regarding their usage of social capital in order to better understand its relationship to programs, services and outreach.
10. More research needs to be done on the protection issues for CBO members in Egypt.

11. One major discussion going on in the NGO community right now in Cairo is how to identify refugees who are “vulnerable.” Research aimed at proposing a set of guidelines concerning who is vulnerable¹⁷⁷ would be helpful.
12. Further research is necessary regarding skilled migrants approach to outreach in Cairo. A comparison of outreach to skilled versus low skilled communities would be very interesting.
13. Further research is needed to show whether the high number of NGOs focused on psychosocial services in relation to other types of services is a trend that may be specific to Cairo or specific to the area of refugee studies.
14. Further research is necessary regarding NGOs coordination with each other, i.e. networking. This can be in part achieved by further researching the activities of the Vulnerable Migrants and Refugees Working Group.
15. A further development of the theoretical aspects of outreach is needed, particularly considering how social capital and the Cultural Competence Attainment model relates to outreach, as well as an exploration of community mobilization concepts and outreach.
16. More research is needed on how practices regarding outreach tie into a theoretical framework.
17. There is also necessary research to be done regarding the relationship of “local” (refugee) versus foreigner staff to outreach and its politics.
18. Further discussion is also needed regarding the relationship outreach has to programs and services, both theoretical and practical. It is necessary to explore further where outreach can be placed in the overall framework of humanitarian aid and development work.

¹⁷⁷ Mahmoud Farag, AMERA, Interview, Cairo, July 2010.

6.2 Recommendations for NGO Action:

1. Make outreach a priority in the framework of organizational strategy of programs and services.
2. When applicable NGOs should use existing research about a population which may include applicable case studies, academic social science research, and sharing other NGO needs assessments on a given population in order to bolster knowledge and inform programs about particular population's characteristics in context.
3. Actively consider target population demographics and immutable characteristics when forming, planning, and preparing needs assessments or research for program and service objectives and strategies in the organization.
4. Utilize population demographics and immutable characteristics as a tool to better inform programs and services during the implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes.

Appendix I: Definition of Terms

Accountability: “Accountability is a principle which requires public authorities to explain their actions and be subject to scrutiny. It may also entail sanctions, such as resignation from office or censure. Effective accountability depends on a commitment to open(ness) and rights to freedom of information. The news media and pressure groups also play vital roles in ensuring accountability is achieved.”¹⁷⁸

Advocacy: “Interventions such as speaking, writing or acting in favor of a particular issue or cause, policy or group of people. (When applied to NGOs) advocacy is (normally) assumed to be in the public interest, whereas lobbying by a special interest group may or may not be in the public interest.”¹⁷⁹

Agency: “A business or organization providing a particular service on behalf of another business, person, or group: aid agencies. A department or body providing a specific service for a government or other organization.”¹⁸⁰ Example: outreach done to agencies.

Agency: “In sociology and philosophy, the degree to which a subject is able to determine the course of their own actions. The concept is generally used in the context of discussions about the factors that shape everyday life and place a limit on agency. For instance, relative levels of wealth clearly impact on the degree of agency someone might have. As Karl Marx famously put it, people make history, but not in conditions of their own choosing.”¹⁸¹ Example: Refugees can be given agency for self-reliance.

¹⁷⁸ Andrew Le Sueur "accountability" *The New Oxford Companion to Law*. by Peter Cane and Joanne Conaghan. Oxford University Press Inc. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 11 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t287.e14>>

¹⁷⁹ <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ccph-cesp/glos-a-d-eng.php>

¹⁸⁰ "agency noun" *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0013260>>

¹⁸¹ "agency" *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*. by Ian Buchanan. Oxford University Press 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 4 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t306.e15>>

Approach: “a way of dealing with a situation or problem.”¹⁸²

Capacity Building: “an ongoing process through which individuals, groups, organizations and societies enhance their ability to identify and meet development challenges.”¹⁸³ It can also be defined as a “reinforcement of human, institutional or community performance, skills, knowledge and attitudes on a sustainable basis.”¹⁸⁴

Charity-Based Approach: A way of dealing with a problem in humanitarian aid, development or social services with an emphasis on charity defined as “beneficence toward others, especially those in financial and other need, often leading to the provision of alms, financial aid, and services of various kinds.”¹⁸⁵ It is therefore an approach which encourages passive participation of the service receiver (i.e. the refugee) and does not hold accountable the service provider (i.e. the NGO.)

Community: “A group of people who are socially related by virtue of identity with a particular location. The nature of the social relationship and location are, however, ideologically contested. Traditional conservative thought emphasizes the idea that community is based upon commonality of origin—the blood, kinship, and historic ties—of a people living in a particular location. Village localities as much as national groups are considered to cohere on such a basis. Socialist thought identifies conservative versions of community as hegemonic devices to bind both the haves and have-nots together in capitalist society, preventing them from seeing their real clash of economic interests and thus averting social conflict. Reformist socialists seeking to attain this goal may construct community on the basis of enjoining wealthier locations with poorer ones to effect redistribution of wealth and create the desired social relations at the local level.”¹⁸⁶

Community-Based Approach: a way of dealing with a problem in humanitarian aid or development which emphasizes community perspectives.

Community-Based Organization: “Community-based organizations (CBOs) are non-profit agencies created by communities to address local needs. They are governed by volunteer boards of directors and staffed by paid personnel. Some CBOs are also supported by volunteers. Many

¹⁸² "approach verb" *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0035880>>

¹⁸³ <http://crs.org/capacity-building/>

¹⁸⁴ Dorcas Grigg-Saito, et al., “Building on the Strengths of a Cambodian Refugee Community through Community-Based Outreach,” 415-425.

¹⁸⁵ "charity" *A Dictionary of Public Health*. Ed. John M. Last, Oxford University Press, 2007. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t235.e675>>

¹⁸⁶ JBr "community" *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Ed Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan. Oxford University Press 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 4 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e248>>

CBOs receive funding from a variety of sources, including grants, donations, fees, and fundraising, but government is the primary source of funding for most agencies.”¹⁸⁷

Community-Based Organization. CBO’s are organizations that were formed by members of the community to perform public functions and services. In Egypt, a CBO is generally an organization that is much smaller than an NGO which has been registered in Egypt as a Community Based Organization. Generally they are founded and run completely by refugee staff, and have offices in locations that are convenient for refugee communities.

Community Mobilization: “It is an attempt to bring both human and non-human resources together to undertake developmental activities in order to achieve sustainable development.”¹⁸⁸

Community Participation: “Procedures whereby members of a community participate directly in decision-making about developments that affect the community. It covers a spectrum of activities ranging from passive involvement in community life to intensive action-oriented participation in community development (including political initiatives and strategies). The Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion emphasizes the importance of concrete and effective community action in setting priorities for health, making decisions, planning strategies and implementing them to achieve better health.”¹⁸⁹

Culturally Relevant Services: “Recognizing, understanding and applying attitudes and practices (to services) that are sensitive to and appropriate for people with diverse cultural socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, and persons of all ages, genders, health status, sexual orientations and abilities.”¹⁹⁰ “Culturally relevant services rest on an understanding of the cultural group’s worldview, communication patterns, family dynamics, support networks, rules that govern behavior, including help seeking, the meaning of religious rites, gender roles, and roles assumed in times of trouble.”¹⁹¹

Community Services: Please see the definitions for community and service.

Cultural Competence: It is “an adaptive capacity based on an inclusive and integrative world view which allows participants to effectively accommodate the demands of living in a host culture.”¹⁹²

Cultural Competence Attainment Model: A model through which the goal of cultural competence can be achieved.

¹⁸⁷ <http://www.socialservices.gov.sk.ca/cbo/>

¹⁸⁸ "Community Mobilization and Participation," Women and Child Development Department, Govt. of Orrissa. pp. 197–205. <http://www.wcdorissa.gov.in/download/Final-5.0.pdf>.

¹⁸⁹ <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ccph-cesp/glos-a-d-eng.php>

¹⁹⁰ <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ccph-cesp/glos-a-d-eng.php>

¹⁹¹ Dorcas Grigg-Saito et al., “Building on the Strengths of a Cambodian Refugee Community through Community-Based Outreach,” 423.

¹⁹² Taylor, E. W. “Intercultural competency: A transformative learning process,” *Adult Education Quarterly*, 44(3), 154-174, 1994

Ethnicity (Ethnic Group): “Individuals who consider themselves, or are considered by others, to share common characteristics that differentiate them from the other collectivities in a society, and from which they develop their distinctive cultural behaviour, form an ethnic group. The term ethnicity was coined in contradistinction to race, which is often seen in biological terms. Members of an ethnic group may be identifiable in terms of racial attributes, but they may also share other cultural characteristics such as religion, occupation, language, or politics. Ethnic groups should also be distinguished from social classes, since membership generally cross-cuts the socio-economic stratification within society, encompassing individuals who share (or are perceived to share) common characteristics that supersede class.”¹⁹³

Ethno-Specific Agencies: See Community-Based Organizations. These are Community-Based Organizations which place emphasis on ethnic background.

Human Rights or Rights-Based Approach: A way of dealing with a problem in humanitarian aid or development, or social services with an emphasis on a human rights perspective, which may include a legal or expanded definition of human rights to include rights claimed socially rather than only legally.

Individual: “When used as a noun, individual should denote a single person in contrast with a group of people or with society as a whole.”¹⁹⁴

Mandate: “A command or authorization to act in a particular way on a public issue given by the electorate to its representative.”¹⁹⁵

Nationality: This “is the legal link between an individual and the state. Although used interchangeably with ‘citizenship’ the concepts can be distinguished. ‘Nationality’ stresses the international framework for thinking about membership in law and ‘citizenship’ highlights the national domestic context. International law places significance on the legal status of nationality. Indeed it is the way that an individual relates to the international legal system, for nationality secures rights for the individual by linking her to the state.”¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ "ethnicity" *A Dictionary of Sociology*. John Scott and Gordon Marshall. Oxford University Press 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t88.e752>>

¹⁹⁴ "individual" *Pocket Fowler's Modern English Usage*. Ed. Robert Allen. Oxford University Press, 2008. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 4 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t30.e1949>>

¹⁹⁵ mandate. (n.d.). *Dictionary.com Unabridged*. Retrieved July 14, 2011, from Dictionary.com website: <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/mandate>

¹⁹⁶ Kim Rubenstein "nationality" *The New Oxford Companion to Law*. by Peter Cane and Joanne Conaghan. Oxford University Press Inc. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 14 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t287.e1510>>

Needs-Based Approach: a way of dealing with a problem in humanitarian aid, development or social services with an emphasis on need of the client, usually from the perspective of the organization giving the services.

Network: “An interconnected group or system.”¹⁹⁷

Non-Governmental Organization (NGO): “A non-governmental organization (NGO) is a citizen-based association that operates independently of government, usually to deliver resources or serve some social or political purpose. The World Bank classifies NGOs as either operational NGOs, which are primarily concerned with development projects, or advocacy NGOs, which are primarily concerned with promoting a cause... Variations of NGOs include: BINGO (business-friendly international NGO or big international NGO); the Red Cross is one example of a BINGO, ENGO (environmental NGO); the World Wildlife Fund is one example of an ENGO. GONGO (government-operated NGO), by definition not an NGO but an organization created by a government to resemble an NGO to further some agenda. INGO (international NGO); Oxfam is one example of an INGO. QUANGO (quasi-autonomous NGO), an NGO which may have some governmental members; the ISO is one example of a QUANGO. RINGO (religious international NGO); the Catholic Relief Services is one example of a RINGO. Other NGO acronyms include DONGO (Donor Organized NGO), TANGO (technical assistance NGO) and MANGO (market advocacy NGO).”¹⁹⁸ (Characteristically, NGOs often have offices abroad which allocate financial support to them from outside foundations, donors, governments, or other institutions.)

Outreach (Education): “Programmes of education or training which are delivered out in the community rather than on the premises of the provider. The purpose of these is to facilitate access to education for groups who might find it difficult or undesirable to attend an educational institution or who otherwise feel themselves excluded from available provision. Such groups include young people who have disengaged from education and training, and ethnic minority groups who may have specific cultural or language needs. Outreach courses are often referred to as ‘projects’.”¹⁹⁹

Outreach (Health): “The work of staff in social and health agencies that is taken outside the office into the community, and the publicizing of available services so those who need them become aware that the services exist.”²⁰⁰

Outreach (to Refugees): “Outreach is the process of locating refugees in the community who may be in need of services, and informing them of appropriate services as well as ways to secure

¹⁹⁷ Collins English Dictionary - Complete & Unabridged 10th Edition 2009 © William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd. 1979, 1986 © HarperCollins Publishers 1998, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009

¹⁹⁸ <http://whatis.techtarget.com/definition/ngo--non-governmental-organization-.html>

¹⁹⁹ "outreach" *A Dictionary of Education*. Ed. Susan Wallace. Oxford University Press, 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t267.e726>>

²⁰⁰ "outreach" *A Dictionary of Public Health*. Ed. John M. Last, Oxford University Press, 2007. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t235.e3282>>

those services. Outreach may lead to the provision of information and referral and/or the provision of additional services through intake into an agency or program; however, the function of outreach is to inform refugees of the availability of services rather than actually providing those services.”²⁰¹

Outreach Worker: Person whose primary function at work is to organize and facilitate activities associated with outreach.

Participation: “The action of taking part in something.”²⁰²

Participatory Approach: A way of dealing with a problem in humanitarian aid, development or social services with an emphasis on participation of multiple parties or “the action of taking part in something.”²⁰³

(Population) Demographic: “having to do with the structure of populations or population statistics, esp. those showing average age, income, marital status.”²⁰⁴

Practice Based Models: Practice is “the actual application or use of an idea, belief, or method, as opposed to theories relating to it.”²⁰⁵ “In some cases (model) has been used as a synonym for theory, but in others as a reference to a system of abstract concepts at a more general level than a theory.”²⁰⁶ Therefore a Practice Based Model is one which emphasizes application rather than theory.

Psychosocial Worker: Person who performs work “involving or relating to both the social and psychological aspects of a patient's life.”²⁰⁷

Rights-Based Approach- An approach which encourages the active participation of the service receiver (i.e., the refugee) and holds accountable the service provider (i.e., the NGO).

²⁰¹ “Outreach Information and Referral,” Indochina Refugee Action Center, February, 1981.

²⁰² “participation *noun*” *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0607290>>

²⁰³ “participation *noun*” *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 5 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0607290>>

²⁰⁴ “demographic *adjective*” *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary*. Katherine Barber. Oxford University Press 2004. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 14 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t150.e18321>>

²⁰⁵ “practice *noun*” *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 14 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0654670>>

²⁰⁶ “model” *A Dictionary of Sociology*. John Scott and Gordon Marshall. Oxford University Press 2009. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 14 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t88.e1458>>

²⁰⁷ “psychosocial *adj.*” *A Dictionary of Nursing*. Oxford University Press, 2008. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 14 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t62.e10216>>

Refugee (Legal Definition, i.e. UNHCR mandate): “A person who meets the criteria of the UNHCR Statute and qualifies for the protection of the United Nations provided by the High Commissioner, regardless of whether or not s/he is in a country that is a party to the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951 or the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, or whether or not s/he has been recognized by the host country as a refugee under either of these instruments.”²⁰⁸

Refugee (Social Definition): People who are outside their countries of habitual residence who self identify as refugees and take this characteristic as part of their identities.

Refugee (as defined for the purposes of research): There are multiple definitions of the word refugee. Many organizations in Cairo use definitions which may include or exclude large groups of people. Because each organization identifies a refugee differently, for the purposes of this study a refugee is deemed to be anyone who self identifies as a refugee and therefore has approached at least one of the NGOs in Cairo in the capacity of accessing services or programs intended for refugees, or otherwise accessed or benefited from outreach activities performed by NGOs in Cairo.

Refugee Communities: A group of refugees that share a certain characteristic which leads them to identify with each other, culturally or otherwise. Refugee communities may be most commonly identified for example, by sharing a common ethnicity or language group. However, these are not the only types of refugee communities.

Relationship: “The way in which two or more people or things are connected, or the state of being connected.”²⁰⁹

Services and Programs: For this study, the words “service” and “program” are used interchangeably. There are many different types of services and programs that include services and programs to refugees in Cairo. In the context of this study service is used to mean any activity or exchange of material or nonmaterial means for a social purpose, in order to better an individual refugee life or for the purpose of benefiting a refugee group. In this context, any exchange or activity which results in a durable solution is also included, i.e., activities or exchanges which result in better integration, resettlement, or repatriation. While the result of integration, resettlement, or repatriation is not a service or program the activities which cause this result can be considered a program or service.

Social Capital: “interpersonal networks that provide people with resources or status, which they can exploit in other areas of social life and potentially leverage in the pursuit of economic or cultural capital...Communities of professional or social elites make different resources available

²⁰⁸ [http://cmrsdb.aucegypt.edu/index.php/eng/Glossary/\(offset\)/50/\(all_glossary\)/true](http://cmrsdb.aucegypt.edu/index.php/eng/Glossary/(offset)/50/(all_glossary)/true)

²⁰⁹ "relationship noun" *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 11 July 2011 <<http://0-www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0698950>>

than working-class or ethnic communities. The idea of social capital has been linked more generally to the notion of noneconomic resources.”²¹⁰

Stakeholders: “Stakeholders are those persons with an interest in the structure and operation of organizations. The term has come to the fore in the context of business organizations in recent years as attention has focused in particular on whether, and if so how, interests other than those of shareholders should be recognized by companies. The emergence of the term is linked with the political movement known as the ‘third way’, which was championed by the Blair government in the late 1990s as an alternative to liberal capitalism or democratic socialism.”²¹¹

Strengths-Based Approach: A way of dealing with a problem in humanitarian aid, development or social services which emphasizes the strengths of a community or group.

Theoretical Based Models: Models which are most “concerned with or involving the theory of a subject or area of study rather than its practical application: (These are models) based on or calculated through theory rather than experience or practice: the theoretical value of their work.”²¹²

Urban Refugee: Person who falls under the social or legal definition of refugee in an urban or highly populated setting which they share with a local or indigenous population.

²¹⁰ "social capital" *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. Craig Calhoun, ed. Oxford University Press 2002. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 27 June 2011 <<http://0www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t104.e1540>>

²¹¹ Iain Macneil "stakeholders" *The New Oxford Companion to Law*. by Peter Cane and Joanne Conaghan. Oxford University Press Inc. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 11 July 2011 <<http://0www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t287.e2079>>

²¹² "theoretical adjective" *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Edited by Angus Stevenson. Oxford University Press, 2010. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. American University in Cairo Library. 14 July 2011 <<http://0www.oxfordreference.com.lib.aucegypt.edu/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t140.e0857300>>

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