

American University in Cairo

## AUC Knowledge Fountain

---

Theses and Dissertations

---

2-1-2018

### Entrepreneurship and the integration of refugees and migrants: A case study of Syrian refugees in Egypt

Riham Kabbani

Follow this and additional works at: <https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds>

---

#### Recommended Citation

##### APA Citation

Kabbani, R. (2018). *Entrepreneurship and the integration of refugees and migrants: A case study of Syrian refugees in Egypt* [Master's thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/705>

##### MLA Citation

Kabbani, Riham. *Entrepreneurship and the integration of refugees and migrants: A case study of Syrian refugees in Egypt*. 2018. American University in Cairo, Master's thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/705>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by AUC Knowledge Fountain. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of AUC Knowledge Fountain. For more information, please contact [mark.muehlhaeusler@aucegypt.edu](mailto:mark.muehlhaeusler@aucegypt.edu).



## **Entrepreneurship and the Integration of Refugees and Migrants: A Case Study of Syrian Refugees in Egypt**

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Program in Sustainable Development  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Science  
in Sustainable Development

By

**Riham Kabbani**

Under the Supervision of

### **Dr. Tarek Hatem**

Professor of Strategic Management and Entrepreneurship  
Director of Entrepreneurship and Leadership Unit  
School of Business  
The American University in Cairo

### **Dr. Nellie El Enany**

Assistant Professor of Organisation Studies  
Department of Management  
School of Business  
The American University in Cairo

**Summer 2017**

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I think one page to list all those who made this work possible is not enough. I feel truly grateful to have this chance to get in touch with strong willed people; to share with you lives of war survivors and be connected to my roots.

First, I thank Allah, the almighty, to give me the needed strength to contribute to knowledge, help people and understand what strong faith and willingness are. I dedicate this piece of work to my two role models. To my one and only sunshine: to my mama, my *rohy*, Eng. Nayla El-Garrahy. I thank her for her continuous prayers, generosity and perseverance. I dedicate this work to my first and my one and only love, *my habibi*, my father, the entrepreneur and the philanthropist, Eng. Mohamed Kabbani, who taught me how to give without thinking and to strive for the lives of others, even at my own expense.

Second, I dedicate this section in specific for the ongoing and prompt support and for her devotional supervisory efforts, to my dearest Dr. Nellie El-Enany, who was supportive and patient, and to Dr. Tarek Hatem, who believed that I could make this research and for his helpful insights. I also would like to thank the other members of my thesis committee, who accepted to take part and to provide me with their generous feedback to enhance the quality of my work.

Third, I would love to truly thank my family, who missed my presence in many gatherings. I thank my beautiful Bisky; Bisho the rock, who always gave me the needed strength; Ranouni the kindest and my sweetheart; Boudi my second *Habibi Elli meghalibna*. I also thank the gang for the hope of a better future: The IT Guru, Felfel Gates; my beauty queen- Zouzity; Zimo *Habibi El-Henayein* and Joujou, *Rohy min gowa wa neny einy*, the wildest ballerina, who used to dance with me when I am down.

I would like to express a note of gratitude and a sincere thank you to my second Family: The Science and Technology Research Center, especially to Prof. Ehab Abdel-Rahman, who gave me this opportunity, and for his ongoing support and to Mrs. Nelly Ragai Kamel for her noteworthy support. For sure, to the sustainability inspiration, Dr. Hani Sewilam and his amazing team at the Sustainable Development Center, including Hakan, Iman, Ignacio and Khaled. I specially thank the Social Research Center and Mr. Mohamed Hassan, in particular, who helped me in data collection and analysis. I also thank Dr. Mahmoud Shaltout for his ongoing support and for his comics that never failed to disseminate a great message including the benefits of hosting refugees in Egypt.

I would like to thank my dearest friends: Dr. Neus Cardeñosa, Heba Macary, Huda Alaa, Rawnaa Yassin and their *Sohbeit Kheir*, Heba Adel Ali, Dina Fouad, Nermin Desouki, Heba Karamawy, Hanaa, Aliaa, Yasmine Kamal, Iman, Maiada, Nathalie, Ahmed Yassin, Hisham, Ismail, Amr, Ayman, Omar and Ziyad.

Finally yet importantly, I thank people who were the most supportive in this research: Tarik Argaz, Radwa El-Shaafy, Hany El-Sharkawy, Khalid Al-Azim, Reem, Lina Kasah, Nahla El-Amin, , as well as, all Syrians for their proactive participation.

## Table of Contents

### Abstract

<b>1. Chapter 1: Introduction.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>1.1. Refugee and Migrant Contexts .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.2 Research Context.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>1.3 Significance of the Study.....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>1.4 Conceptual Framework .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>1.5 Research Objectives .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1.6 Research Questions .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1.7 Methodology .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>2. Chapter 2: Literature Review .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2.1 Entrepreneurship as a Key Development Tool of Sustainability.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2.2 Away from Refugee Warehousing Towards Refugee Entrepreneurship .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2.3 Entrepreneurship among Minorities: Types and Theories .....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>2.3.1 Migrant Entrepreneurship: Opportunity Based Entrepreneurs versus Necessity Based Entrepreneurs .....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>2.3.2 Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A Pertinent Factor for Migrant Entrepreneurs ...</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>2.4 Understanding the Dynamic Process of Integration: A Durable Solution in Protracted Refugee Situations.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>2.4.1 Ager and Strang Conceptual Integration Framework.....</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>2.5 Integration Theories and Concerns .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>2.5.1 Socio-Economic Integration Definitions .....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>2.5.2 Political Integration Definitions .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>2.5.3 Integration Concerns in Hosting communities .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>2.6 Integration and Entrepreneurship and the Importance of Contextual Factors in Shaping Entrepreneurial Opportunities .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>2.7 Refugee Entrepreneurship Factors and Obstacles.....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>2.7.1 Factors that Promote Refugee Entrepreneurship .....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>2.7.2 Obstacles Obstructing Refugee Entrepreneurship.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>2.8 Conclusion.....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>3. Chapter 3: Methods.....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>3.1 Qualitative Research .....</b>	<b>53</b>

3.2 Research Design and Case Background.....	54
3.2.1 Target Population and Sampling .....	55
3.3 The Process of Data Collection .....	57
3.3.1 Data Collection Method .....	58
3.4 Data Analysis .....	63
<b>4. Chapter 4: Findings.....</b>	<b>66</b>
4.1 Introduction Contextual Background Information.....	66
4.2 The Refugee Entrepreneurship Journey: Opportunities and Threats.....	71
4.2.1 Factors that Promote Refugee Entrepreneurship .....	71
4.2.1.1 Ethnic-Cultural factors .....	71
4.2.1.2 Financial Factors .....	77
4.2.1.3 Managerial factors .....	79
4.2.1.4 Psycho- Behavioral Factors .....	80
4.2.1.5 Institutional Factors .....	82
4.2. Obstacles Obstructing Refugee Entrepreneurship .....	82
4.2.1 Institutional Factors.....	83
4.2.2 Organizational Barriers to Refugee Entrepreneurship.....	85
4.2.3 Urban Agglomerations Settings and Coordination among Stakeholders..	88
4.3 Refugee Entrepreneurship and Integration in Hosting Communities .....	88
4.3.1 Socio-Economic Integration Findings.....	89
4.3.2 Political Integration Findings .....	95
4.4 Summary .....	98
<b>Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion .....</b>	<b>101</b>
5.1 Theoretical and Practical Implications .....	102
5.2 Conclusive Remarks.....	106
5.3 Research Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research .....	108
<b>References .....</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>ANNEX A: Interview Guide and Thematic Analysis Framework.....</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>ANNEX B: Consent Forms .....</b>	<b>126</b>

## **List of Tables**

Table 1: Syrian Refugee Entrepreneurs Interviewee Profiles from December 2016 to March 2017.....	62
Table 2: Data Analysis Description.....	65

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1: The Syrian Refugees Exodus Crisis Map.....	10
Figure 2: Sample of pictures of Syrian Refugees Businesses in Greater Cairo taken from December 2016 to March 2017.....	18
Figure 3: Research Conceptual Framework.....	20
Figure 4: Ager and Strang Conceptual Integration Framework.....	33
Figure 5: Conceptual Distinction of Political Integration.....	36
Figure 6: Survival Factors Models of Necessity Immigrant Entrepreneurs.....	46
Figure 7: The gradual process of refugee entrepreneurship and integration in hosting communities.....	99
Figure 8: Summary of refugee entrepreneurship process and integration findings.....	101
Figure 9: Refugee Entrepreneurship Integrative Process based on Ager & Strang Refugee Integration of the UK Home Office (2008) for sustainable livelihoods.....	102

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AOHR</b>	Arab Organization for Human Rights
<b>BIMS</b>	Biometric Identity Management System
<b>CEO</b>	Chief Executive Officer
<b>CRS</b>	Catholic Relief Services
<b>DIY</b>	Do-It-Yourself
<b>ECRE</b>	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
<b>GEM</b>	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
<b>IDA</b>	Individual Development Account
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced populations
<b>IFC</b>	International Finance Organization
<b>IOM</b>	International Organization for Migration
<b>IRC</b>	International Rescue Committee
<b>MhE</b>	Ministry of Higher Education
<b>MoH</b>	Ministry of Health
<b>MOU</b>	Memorandum Of Understanding
<b>NGO</b>	Non Governmental Organizations
<b>OAU</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>RCA</b>	Rotating Credit Associations
<b>RSD</b>	Refugee Status Determination
<b>SDG</b>	Sustainable Development Goals
<b>SSI</b>	Settlement Services International
<b>StARS</b>	Saint Andrew's Refugee Services
<b>TDA</b>	Targeted Development Assistance
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>WEF</b>	World Economic Forum
<b>WFP</b>	World Food Programme

## ABSTRACT

The Syrian “Exodus” is the biggest assemblage of refugees affecting not just neighboring countries of Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, and Turkey, comprising 95% of the Syrian refugees, but also European states, following refugees’ decisions to undertake the “Death Journey” by crossing the Mediterranean Sea (Pierini & Hackenbroich, 2015). Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in 2011 the refugee crisis involves at least 11 million Syrians, from which 6.3 million are displaced and 13.5 million are in dire need of humanitarian assistance due to inexorable conditions (Mercy Corps, 2017)

Protracted refugees situations take from five to twenty years. Numbers of Syrian refugees, who are hosted in Egypt, are ranging from 500,000 to two million, where only a fraction of them, 115,204, is registered (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) , 2017). Despite guarantees for individual considerations by the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, refugees are usually vulnerable, weary and aid dependent. At the same time, their individual contexts are neglected due to weak and fragmented policies enforcement, dwindling living conditions, legal restrictions and social and economic limitations for their livelihoods.

Extant literature on refugees lacks a positive framing as enabling individuals and a vital socio-economic and developmental tool. Shifting away from the traditional “refugee warehousing” approach, that denotes mobility restriction, idleness enforcement, aid dependency and incapacitated individuals, where their lives are put on hold in violation to the 1951 Refugee Convention law (Smith, 2006), and following successful case studies of refugees’ entrepreneurial tendencies, such as in Dadaab and Kakuma Camps in Kenya and Zaat’ari in Jordan. Entrepreneurship may serve as a source of innovation and a mean of income generation, carrying other non-monetary gains for sustainable livelihoods (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000).

To date, refugee entrepreneurship is a nascent research field that is distinct from ethnic entrepreneurship and migrant entrepreneurship. Among recent studies, (Garba, Djafar, & Mansor, 2013) and Chrysostome (2010) tackled different aspects for ethnic and migrant communities when they pursue entrepreneurial ventures. Considering that each context has a unique set of challenges, few researchers have attempted to understand the relationship between refugees’ entrepreneurial endeavors and their integration in hosting economies.



Wauters & Lambrecht (2006) demonstrated qualitatively the potential and analyzed associated socio-economic impacts of entrepreneurship among refugees in Belgium and, in 2008, they assessed quantitatively their motivations and associated challenges (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008). In another study by Mushaben,(2006), it draws interesting findings that Turkish ethnic businesses bridged majority and minority cultures in German cities through their entrepreneurial efforts of “Do-It-Yourself-Integration (DIY)” processes. Consequently, “participatory consciousness” among males, and direct identification with the society for women resulted. Finally, within the third-generation of Turkish migrants, they start businesses outside the food sector and they are more likely to embrace the German citizenship (Mushaben, 2006).

This research attempts to shed some light if entrepreneurial activities are enabling tools for integration in hosting communities. Following the administration of twelve in-depth interviews to Syrian refugees in Greater Cairo and by comparing empirical findings with literature, it proved that, as a consequence of disadvantages Syrians face in hosting communities, they pushed themselves to pursue entrepreneurship as a self-reliance strategy. Promoting factors of “ethnic-cultural” factors, where Syrian businesspersons gain access to ethnic markets, labor and emotional support, enabled them to start first their offerings among their communities to enlarge their economic activities among members of hosting societies, by taking advantage of a common language, familiarity with the culture, and relative peace and stability. It is good to note that generalizations should try to be avoided in later research, especially when common factors of language proficiency and culture familiarity are missing. Additionally, without macroeconomic support of institutional bodies and policy makers, the sustainability of their economic work opportunities is at risk. Due to institutional voids, organizational and institutional barriers and lack of effective coordination among stakeholders, their political integration is set aside, at least for the short and medium term.

This research makes a theoretical contribution by stating that refugee entrepreneurship has common ethnic-cultural promoting factors as ethnic entrepreneurs with similar motives of “necessity based” migrant entrepreneurs of overcoming disadvantages they face in their daily routines. Their social links were necessary determinants for short-term acculturation through their informal economic activities that are illegal yet legitimate. As bottom up community, entrepreneurship cannot only rely on informal sources that are not

replenished, their economic sustainability as much as their political integration, as citizens in society, is both at risk. These findings have implications in better understanding of the dynamics behind refugees' pursuit of economic opportunities; how they maintain them; if they can sustain their endeavors and what performance indicators are used to determine their success following their motivations. As practical implications, recommended solutions are suggested to formalize these interactions for local economies development and refugees empowerment.

# 1. Chapter 1: Introduction

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and since the beginning of the Syrian civil war, 95% of the Syrian refugees sought asylum in the five neighboring countries of Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt. Numbers of registered Syrian refugees, who are hosted at these countries, are 1,017,433, 655,675, 228,894, 2,764,500 and 115,204 respectively (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) , 2017), as shown in Figure 1:

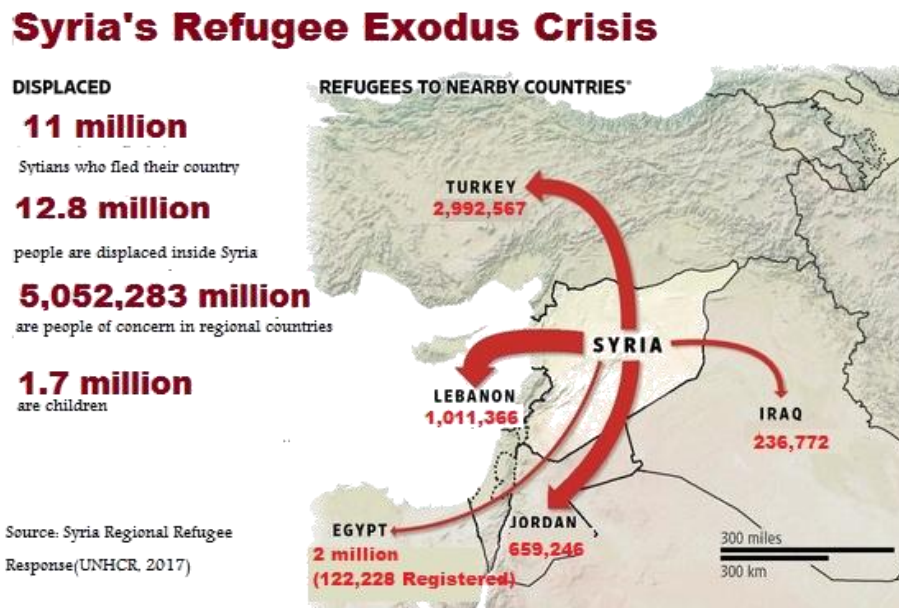


Figure 2: The Syrian Refugees Exodus Crisis Map

Regional governments have fragmented policies and unified policies for all refugees, who face common problems of restrictive movement and limited access to livelihoods, are missing (Amnesty International, 2015). Due to their overstretched infrastructure, full absorptive capacity, and underfunded humanitarian appeal, neighboring countries have no longer sufficient means to accommodate an ever increasing number of refugees with unprecedented economic, political, and social implications that multiply the vulnerabilities for hosting communities and refugees alike (Jacobsen, 2003). These challenges are not limited to psychosocial incidences of physical abuse, harassment, traumas, persecution, and marginalization. Challenges also relate to undecided legal stay and an absence of a dignified living with limited income generation opportunities. There are also contests in the social

dimension, due to deprived access from social networks, financial exclusion, and restricted access to equitable and adequate basic services in education, employment, and health sectors. (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) , 2015). Coupled to availability of less cash and food assistance for the most vulnerable, Syrian refugees struggle to find adequate accommodation and basic shelter requirements and sometimes they adopt negative coping mechanisms (Kharas & Abdou, 2012).

Although that refugees can be empowered to develop local economies, where their communities can be oases of new urbanism by following the “Do-It-Yourself” (DIY) ethos, modern realities are ignored. Within a weak institutional congruence, there is a challenge to manage diversity and informal activities surface as a reaction to regimented structures, that hinder social innovation (Beehner, 2015). In other words, the top down or “refugee warehousing approach”, that is conducted by United Nations (UN) organizations and other relief agencies, exacerbates threats and undermines the self-reliance initiatives of refugees calling for more governmental “Targeted Development Assistance” (TDA) (Crisp, Morris, & Refstie, 2012).

### **1.1. Refugee and Migrant Contexts**

As the ability to conduct accurate census is challenging, if not impossible, there are no reliable statistics reflecting the real number of migrants and refugees in Egypt, which accounts 5 million approximately. Refugees and migrants are coming mainly from countries of Sudan, Syria, Iraq, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, and Eritrea. The largest migrant population is from Sudan and the largest refugee community is Syrian (Yeargain, 2011).

On the other hand, migrants consciously choose to leave their home countries for better economic opportunities to enhance their standard of living. Before leaving, they sought necessary information for housing and accommodation, and have explored employment and education options and are free to return their home countries whenever they would like to do so (Settlement Services International (SSI), 2017).

Refugees are narrowly defined by the UNHCR, to incorporate people covered by the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees. These people had to flee from their countries to escape real danger and fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality and/or membership of a particular group or sect, or political opinion. Many of refugees were severely exposed to traumatic events, most of them suffer from psychological shocks,

traumas and depression, which affect their anticipation to conduct their own ventures and believe in a brighter future. Refugees also suffer from financial shocks, as they leave all their belongings, including their financial savings, and face a real defiance to meet their urgent needs in health, rent and debt payment. Some refugees face more hardships than others do (T., 2016)<sup>1</sup>.

Egypt is a signatory of 1951 Refugee Convention concerning the status of refugees and it ratified the 1967 Protocol in 1981. Egypt is also a member of Organization of African Unity (OAU). People fleeing persecution and entering Egypt are entitled to asylum and protection on a temporary basis. Syrian refugees were totaling 300,000, at the beginning of the Syrian conflict in 2011 to reach 2 million by March 2017 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) , 2017). Refugees in Egypt occupy urban areas and not camps (Feinstein International Center; Tufts University, 2012).

Egypt is a country of transit as a stopping point before asylum seekers and refugees are being repatriated to third countries of asylum. Due to securitization and a tightening of borders, crossing borders becomes very bureaucratic, expensive and dangerous. To reinforce security in Egypt, visa restrictions are imposed on Syrians in July 2013. They are asked for visas, residency documents, and residential permits (Feinstein International Center; Tufts University, 2012).

Often viewed as a security threat by the Egyptian government, Refugee Status Determination (RSD) is only conducted by United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees (UNHCR), where refugees have to submit an application and pass an interview to appeal for a case, for either repatriation, integration or resettlement. RSD can take years and to appeal for a case, refugees have to prove that they had to escape real fears of persecution of race, religion, ethnicity, political issues or social causes and their protection is at risk. Failure to prove so, a negative decision letter will follow; but they can re-appeal their case (A. R. , 2016)<sup>2</sup>.

To be entitled to benefits, such as food vouchers, school grants and primary healthcare, it is dependent upon the UNHCR's decision, either a blue cardholder- for asylum seekers with legal restraints to access employment- or a yellow cardholder-for refugees who are eligible to

---

<sup>1</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

<sup>2</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

apply for a work permit and access other fundamental benefits. Every six months, UNHCR yellow cards must be renewed and stamped by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Refugee Affairs section of the Ministry of Interior's Department of Migration (A. R. , 2016)<sup>3</sup>.

There is a distinction between refugees with a UNHCR yellow card that permits them to work legally, as the case of Sudanese, excluding South of Sudan nationals, with their Memorandum of Understanding (MOU); and asylum seekers with a UNHCR blue card, which denies their legitimate right to formally access employment opportunities. Because of this reason, the police shut down some businesses (Grabska, 2006). Unfortunately, non-citizens including refugees and migrants, they are not protected by the state with limited rights and access to basic services, under the Egyptian law. The status of refugees is different from irregular migrants despite facing similar challenging experience of discrimination, harassment, extortion from property owners and poor treatment at hospitals and schools (Yeargain, 2011)

According the 1951 Refugee Conventions and as cited by Asylum Access and the Refugee Work Rights Coalition (2014), refugees are entitled to the following protection rights:

- Refugees are established as autonomous persons and are entitled to engage in wage-earning employment and self-employment where 85% of member states, who ratified the agreement, must guarantee work rights extension without reservation.
- For Refugees, who are lawfully staying in states where UNHCR Refugee Status Determination procedures are denied or taking too much or for refugees waiting for resettlement in other states, must have equal access and treatment as foreigners in no less favorable conditions.
- According to Article 17(2) of 1951 Refugee Convention, labor market restrictions by member states must not be applicable to refugees, who have being residing for at least three years in a country of asylum or refugees having a spouse or a child who are nationals in the country of asylum.
- The UN Committee on economic, social, and cultural rights recognize the "right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work, including non-nationals, such

---

<sup>3</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

as refugees, asylum seekers, stateless persons, migrant workers and victims of international trafficking, regardless of legal status and documentation”.

- Article 17 of the 1951 Refugee Convention necessitates contracting states to “give sympathetic consideration” to assimilate the rights of all refugees to wage-earning employment and favor capitalization of their economic potentials to secure their livelihoods at hosting economies. According to Asylum Access and the Refugee Work Rights Coalition (2014), withholding refugees’ rights to work is excessive and harms their economic advancement in labor markets and relying on the fact that refugees will displace nationals cannot be accepted without reforming such debates.
- Following Article 6 of 1951 Refugee Convention, refugees must be able to obtain work permits or have the permission to open their business if unable to meet requirements due to their hardships or forced displacement.
- However and as practiced on real grounds, there are many legal restrictions. According to Grabska (2006), Egypt has fragmented legislations domestically and a comprehensive legal tool for a unified set of actions to all refugees is missing. Legislatives governing foreigners and refugees status is summarized, as below:
  - The extradition of political refugees is prohibited under article 91, under The Egyptian Constitution of 2014 (Grabska, 2006).
  - Despite the provision to article 22, section 1 of the Refugee Convention, and according to the
  - Egyptian Minister of Education issued Ministerial Decree No. 24 in 1992; children of refugees can be admitted to schools, at least in theory. However, 53% are not enrolled in schools due to many constraints from having proper documents, residential permits renewal, and lack of sufficient facilities, poor quality, and stigmatization faced by children. Even some of them undergo bullying due to their accent (Feinstein International Center; Tufts University, 2012).
  - The Ministry of Interior’s Decree No. 8180 of 1996 allows a three-year temporary residency permit (Feinstein International Center; Tufts University, 2012).
  - Egyptian authorities still have the upper hand to arrest and detain refugees who fall short to provide residential paperwork. Unfortunately, some of them report a lack of police protection and police harassment. Due to harsh socio-economic conditions,

some of them, decide to irregularly leave Egypt as a transit for a third resettlement, mainly in Europe and USA, and are subject to human trafficking in what is called “The death Journey” to cross the Mediterranean shores (Pierini & Hackenbroich, 2015).

- Egypt did not make any objections regarding articles 17 and 18 of the Refugee Convention. However, according to Article 11 of the Ministry of Labor’s Ministerial Resolution No. 390 of 1982 and to protect the Egyptian labor, work permits are mandatory for refugees, who cannot obtain desirable jobs to Egyptians and are denied from accessing to Free State education and free state health care. This explains the high jobless and informal practices among refugees, including Syrians, Africans and Sudanese. Uncoordinated efforts by UNHCR and some non-profit organizations fill these gaps in the Egyptian system by enabling access to primary education and healthcare (Feinstein International Center; Tufts University, 2012).
- Appropriate accommodation and housing are one of the largest concerns refugees face as they are subject to higher renting fees, instability and security concerns (W., 2016)<sup>4</sup>.
- Following socio-economic assessments and in cooperation of International Organization for Migration (IOM), Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and UNHCR, very vulnerable refugees are entitled to receive school grants, food or cash assistance, whose budgets, are recently cut to one third due to financial constraint (S., 2016)<sup>5</sup>, (T., 2016)<sup>6</sup>, (A. R. , 2016)<sup>7</sup>.
- Conclusively, it is sad to note that the limited Egyptian responsibility in refugees’ matters is not just attributed to poor economics and limited funds but it is a political stance suggesting that refugees do not have a permanent stay in Egypt and risk being repatriated and relocated (Yeargain, 2011).

## 1.2 Research Context

The context of this research is tackling the research gap of refugee entrepreneurship by exploring the bottom up efforts of entrepreneurship among Syrian refugees and their

---

<sup>4</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

<sup>5</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

<sup>6</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

<sup>7</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality



integration in Greater Cairo, as a hosting community. The choice of Syrian refugees is for several reasons. First, Syria has the largest exodus of refugees since the start of the conflict in 2011. Second and in the beginning of 2016, the official number of Syrian refugees, including those who are registered and the unregistered, has increased from 119,665 to reach two million by March 2017 (UNHCR; UNDP, 2016). Refugees in Egypt are settled in urban areas within very challenging context of identification, outreach, and service delivery, where unemployment rate among the hosting population is 13% (Shahine, 2016).

Third and as daily impediments refugees face are not limited to inappropriate housing, soaring renting prices, price increase of basic commodities, that augment the cost of living and deteriorate the quality of living. It also includes bureaucracy of residential permits issuance and renewal and inadequate access to education, employment and health services.

Despite all these challenges, Syrian refugees succeeded to self-sustain themselves, either by being informally employed or by self-employing themselves in diversified sectors of the economy, as in decoration, furniture, textile, fabrics, glass, jewelry making and Syrian cuisine (Seed, 2016). Also and as they come from upper and middle strata and by sharing similar language and culture, Syrians are mainstreamed in the Egyptian society. Known for hard work, excellent business skills mostly in food and textile sectors, Syrians boosted local Egyptian markets by bringing hard currency and reducing textile imports (Calabria & Omata, 2016). There is even a commercial area called “little Damascus” near El-Hosary Mosque in Sixth of October city, where Syrian ethnic products and services are widespread.

Finally and in Greater Cairo, Alexandria and Damietta, there are self-reliance initiatives proposed by United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and other NGOs, as Caritas, Resala and Fard to provide either vocational training, self-employment support and/or small grants offerings (Raimondi, 2015; A. K. , 2016<sup>8</sup>; W., 2016<sup>9</sup>; T., 2016<sup>10</sup>)

As part of the livelihoods initiatives in the region and under the cooperation of five national authorities of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and turkey, the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) was established. The 3RP plan aims to safeguard refugees’ rights,

---

<sup>8</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

<sup>9</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

<sup>10</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality

gather humanitarian assistance appeal and promote resilience and sustainable livelihoods for refugees and hosting communities (UNHCR; UNDP, 2016).

According to governments' priorities, objectives to manage the Syrian crisis are identified. There are multiple targeted sectors as "protection", "food security", "health", "education" and "basics needs and livelihoods". Funds are allocated according to socioeconomic analysis following objectives and targets set in advance. This is in accordance to not less than 200 local and international partners for fund appeal to implement innovative multi-sectorial action plans in the region. The strategic objectives of the 3RP Plan are listed as follows:

- Effective planning and implementation responses among and across national authorities from the five representative countries
- Better-coordinated actions and accountability measures are necessary for strong regional protection frameworks across sectors.
- Development of livelihood opportunities for both refugees and hosting communities through the promotion of education and employment opportunities with special emphasis on youth educational opportunities in compliance with the No Lost Generation initiative.
- Formulation of innovative action plans response that foster outreach and cooperation among local, regional and international partners (UNHCR; UNDP, 2016).

According to the 2015-2016 UNHCR 3RP report, USD150 million were deployed by Ministries of Finance and Foreign Affairs, on food, energy and social services subsidies. Not less than USD 23 million was spent on the enrollment of 25,000 Syrian refugees in public schools. USD 57.5 million were endowed by Ministry of Higher Education (MhE) on 9,535 undergraduate students and 1,377 postgraduate students. Finally, USD 2.2 million was set out by the Ministry of Health (MoH) on primary health care services (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) , 2015). Consequently, social cohesion projects that target a diverse range of services like infrastructure development and maintenance and social and economic projects, as income generation, micro financing, small loans and psychosocial support, must be created and directed towards impacted communities and individuals. It is worth highlighting that, a participatory conflict analysis by key stakeholder groups as to not only identify sources of tensions but also propose local solutions supported by national and

international authorities must be developed to facilitate healthier interactions between local communities and municipal structures (UNHCR; UNDP, 2016). This in turn demonstrates the importance to find durable solutions for Syrian refugees to integrate in Egyptian hosting communities by providing livable work opportunities, which is the aim of this research. Below are some pictures retrieved from communities of Sixth of October, Obour and Downtown Cairo in Greater Cairo:

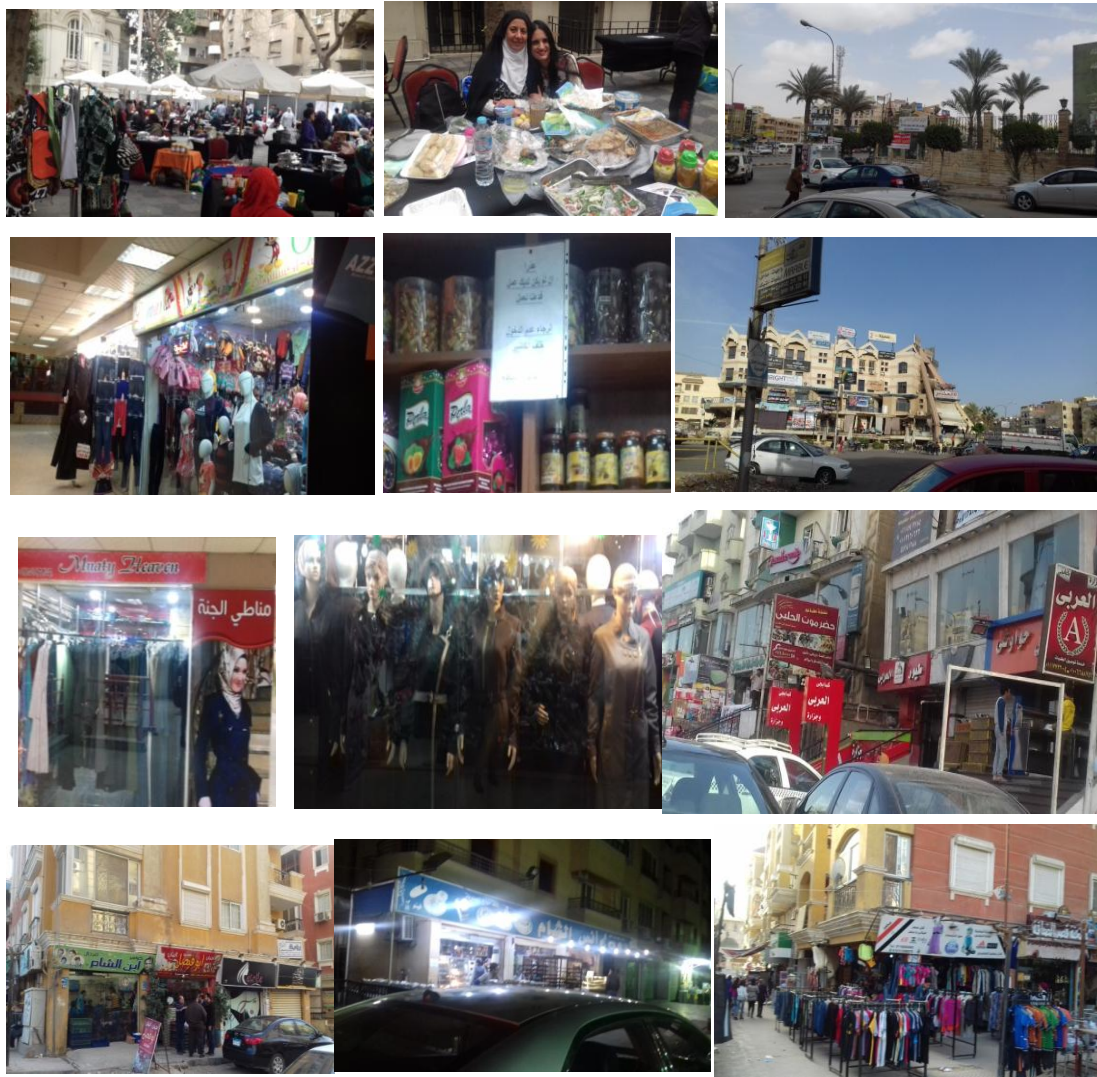


Figure 2: Sample of pictures of Syrian Refugees Businesses in Greater Cairo taken from December 2016 to March 2017

Following these livelihoods trends, it shows the importance of entrepreneurship as an enabling tool for long term benefits of accessibility of basic goods and services, integration and stability. Accordingly, research objectives, questions and methodology are designed to serve this purpose.

### **1.3 Significance of the Study**

This study provides a durable response to the Syrian Exodus crisis that involves 11 million Syrian and affects the regional countries of Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey and Egypt. Refugees can be empowered through entrepreneurship, which fosters integration in hosting economies. In an article by the World Economic Forum (WEF), it emphasizes the importance to enable refugees access the local economy to promote innovation by housing them in urban environments instead of camps. Refugees need jobs and not handouts. With minimum support of an enabling entrepreneurial ecosystem to promote the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), the Zaatari camp in Jordan serves as an example, where innovative technologies and entrepreneurial developments were deployed. For example and following a decentralized system, Biometric Identity Management System (BIMS) is utilized by UNHCR the World Food Programme (WFP) to provide debit cards and e-vouchers for cash assistantship programs. There are more than 3000 small businesses, where shopping corridors of this camp, that are selling bicycles, falafel and household appliances, are compared to camp's Champs Elysees. However and at the same time, it also denotes the urgent need of cash. The success behind Syrian refugees' driving market-based needs of 3,000 small businesses can be accountable to necessary support provided by UNHCR to let such micro entrepreneurs set up their small hubs and self-led initiatives (Benardete & Thakkar, 2016).

This serves as an important insight for the Egyptian government, and development entities for Syrian refugees in Egypt, where their urban allocation and settlement, given necessary support, can be beneficial by allowing them exploit market-based opportunities for win- win solutions. Therefore, by cultivating entrepreneurial ecosystems, newly arrived refugees might find it easier to locate and create jobs, which promote sustainable livelihoods, growth and innovative opportunities to reduce the pressure on local economies. In this study, the relationship between entrepreneurship and integration is explored to check what fostered it and what are the challenges hosting societies and refugees face, as it is important for their livelihoods and wellbeing.

### **1.4 Conceptual Framework**

This research proposes a shift from the traditional "refugee warehousing" approach to align with the current trend of sustainable livelihoods programs offered by humanitarian

agencies for refugees in Egypt (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) , 2017). Through the promotion of self-agency and creation of small business initiatives, the aim of this research is to investigate the phenomenon of refugee entrepreneurship that flourished among Syrians in diverse economic sectors such as food and beverage, textile, carpentry and maintenance work. It answers three questions if entrepreneurship encourages integration among refugees in hosting communities, what are the factors that supported their entrepreneurial endeavors and other obstacles that hampered or encumbered the process.

This research explains the differences between refugees and migrants as entrepreneurs. It also tackles factors that stimulate entrepreneurial behaviors among refugees, as ethnic-cultural, financial, managerial, and institutional dynamics and obstacles that hinder venture creation and sustainable generation of income, as institutional and organizational barriers. Later more understanding of the relationship between entrepreneurship and integration is provided, considering its multi-disciplinary nature of its social, economic, and political dimensions.

The conceptual framework is illustrated in figure 3 emphasizing the importance to observe if entrepreneurship among refugees is an enabling tool for integration and sustainability of their livelihoods. By exploring in-depth what type of integration is existing between refugees and hosting communities, and what are the factors and challenges that promoted and hindered their entrepreneurial activities, reliable and timely information for decision makers, as NGOs, humanitarian agencies, development organizations, governments and the private sector will be exposed.

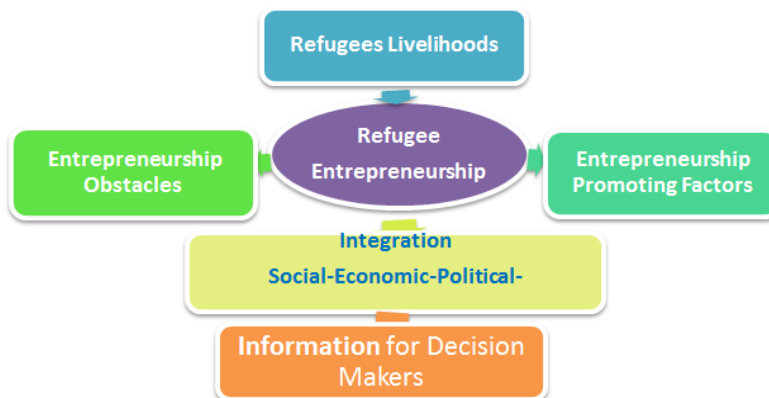


Figure 3: Research Conceptual Framework

## 1.5 Research Objectives

In this research and from a qualitative point of view, it examines if entrepreneurship upholds integration of Syrian refugees coming from a different cultural background; and if entrepreneurship has achieved integration or if integration was already set in place and enabled entrepreneurship to happen. Later, factors, that encourage entrepreneurship and obstacles that hinder the process, are explored. This research is based on a case study approach that is exploratory in nature to investigate refugees' challenges and to demonstrate if entrepreneurship is an effective solution towards long-term integration. Accordingly, there are three research objectives as below:

**Research Objectives 1:** To describe the entrepreneurship process and how refugees are a distinct group and if entrepreneurship affects their integration from economic and social perspectives for further political implications.

**Research Objective 2:** To identify factors that promote entrepreneurship, as a survival tool for refugees, comprising of demand and supply factors and other macroeconomic aspects.

**Research Objective 3:** To recognize factors that hold back refugees from undertaking entrepreneurial activities, which do not optimize the tapping of resources and limit social innovation for sustainable growth.

## 1.6 Research Questions

Based on research objectives, there are three research questions, as follows:

**Research Question 1:** Does entrepreneurship promote integration in hosting communities?

**Research Question 2:** What are the factors promoting refugee entrepreneurship?

**Research Question 3:** What are the factors hindering refugee entrepreneurship?

## 1.7 Methodology

To answer the research questions and as entrepreneurship is a nascent field of research (Davidsson, 2006), qualitative research is more suitable for evocative and observational purposes and to ask questions of why and how by focusing on the process of interpretation of behaviors and situations rather than on outcomes (Neergaard & Leitch, 2015). It is a unique field of inquiry combining a set of interpretive materials in an illustrative way (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In addition, in a study that explored successes and challenges of refugee

entrepreneurs in Central Texas, they used qualitative research (Fong, Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam, 2007).

Twelve qualitative case studies are conducted to explore and deeply understand the perceptions of principle actors in these study- Syrians refugees who have their own business. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are best used to solicit desired information by surveying a sample population that must be representative to avoid bias and error sampling (Kombo & Tromp, 2014). This research is "constructionist" where meaning and experience are socially produced and reproduced, rather than inherited within individuals, depending on socio-cultural contexts (Kombo & Tromp, 2014). It is also latent and interpretive, as there are multiple relationships and “entrepreneurship” and integration” are two dynamic concepts (Cassell & Symon, 2004).

In the first chapter, the research aim, research questions, research goals, conceptual framework and significance of the study are imparted. Followed by the second chapter, literature regarding refugee, migrant and ethnic entrepreneurship, integration theories, as well as, challenges and obstacles of entrepreneurship are covered. In the third chapter, the methodology and the use of case descriptions for narratives and qualitative research to gather empirical findings from data collection, are exposed. These findings are later analyzed by identifying themes and patterns. In the fourth chapter, findings are discussed to conclude with the fifth chapter where discussion, theoretical and practical implications, limitations and suggestions for future research are cited.

## **2. Chapter 2: Literature Review**

Having discussed the difference between refugees and migrants and listed their challenges and how Syrian entrepreneurs initiated their self-led initiatives, literature covering entrepreneurship and integration is cited in this chapter. The first section includes migrant, ethnic and refugee entrepreneurship theories; then, integration theories that include socio-economic and political dimensions and finally, factors and challenges of the entrepreneurial process are tackled consequently.

### **2.1 Entrepreneurship as a Key Development Tool of Sustainability**

Entrepreneurship is a key development tool for sustainable livelihoods and Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (Hall, Daneke, & Lenox, 2010). It is a source of novel solutions to local problems and carries a lot of potential for disadvantaged groups (Fong, Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam, 2007). Hall et al.(2010) mentioned that studies by Cornwall (1998), Schumpeter (1934), and Strong (2009) have demonstrated that entrepreneurship is a vital socioeconomic development and a peace-building tool to economic growth, productivity, competitive forces, and innovation (Hall, Daneke, & Lenox, 2010). Empirical findings by Tamvada (2010) show that entrepreneurship improves the welfare of people, who employ others. This is not applicable for individuals, who are working for themselves and have no option but to pursue the self-employment for non-pecuniary returns (Tamvada, 2010), which infers their vulnerability. Radical innovations can be a prominent source of wage substitute and by following the pull idea of “creative destruction” by Schumpeter(1934); the poor can bring innovative ideas and change market structures by recognizing and exploiting opportunities (Goel & Rishi, 2012). All these studies demonstrate that entrepreneurship supports work opportunities, which can be a durable solution for refugees’ integration in hosting communities.

### **2.2 Away from Refugee Warehousing Towards Refugee Entrepreneurship**

Refugees are usually scuffled under the belief of temporarily exile, which does not reflect social and economic realities of protracted displacement, taking from five to twenty years. It is noteworthy that refugees undergo social and economic services exclusion in employment, health and education sectors. Some hosting communities exert local resentment and hostility, due to resources exploitation and waste processing that refugees impose.



Refugees suffer from workplace discrimination, invalidated qualifications, language and communication barriers, transportation and housing challenges, and family reunification problems. Refugee camps are commonly perceived as transitory settlements. They can have urban features of cities, depending on their size, layout, infrastructure, population density, socio-occupational profile of residents and trading activities. Their growth and durability are attributed to factors, as human concentrations, infrastructure capacity, urban integration, relationships with their ethnic affinities, other occupants, external and surrounding communities, ecological environments comprising of resource sharing and political backing by hosting governments (Chaux & Haugh, 2015).

What is lacking in refugees' literature is the positive framing of refugees. Refugees are perceived as "docile and passive recipients of relief discipline". Through aid distribution of food, shelter, potable water, sanitation and medical services, it might undermine refugees' unrealized potential of empowered individuals. The traditional welfare and humanitarian aid dependency view must shift towards economic independence and empowerment, as enabling individuals that influence societies, where they reside, in constructive and significant ways (Chaux & Haugh, 2015).

Studies by nDoen et al.(1998) show that immigrant groups' capabilities are perceived positively, as source of human capital fostering urban economic development, innovation, competitiveness, and social inclusion in hosting societies. Immigrant entrepreneurship capitalizes on their diversity rather than cultural and ethnic differences (nDoen, Gorter, Nijkamp, & Rietveld, 1998)

Some refugees have no other option but to engage in income generating activities to become entrepreneurs. By relying on their own resources and capabilities, they bring creative solutions and contribute to social benefits of normality and wellbeing (Crisp, Morris, & Refstie, 2012). Refugee entrepreneurs, especially ethnic entrepreneurs, create new markets, develop and expand existing markets, by allocating and mobilizing ethnic resources, due to causal factors of "socio-cultural" features (Asylum Access and the Refugee Work Rights Coalition, 2014). Refugee communities serve as trading centers with labor supply to larger companies and they fill labor gaps in underserved sectors, that are not traditionally filled by local populations due to low pay and accompanied disadvantages (Beehner, 2015). They can transform urban cities and can become market towns on their own (Montclos & Kagwanja,

2000). Therefore, by challenging notions of incubators of social tension, political unrest, terrorism, illegal operations, human concentrations, human trafficking, and militarization, some encampments become engines for socio-economic development that support refugees self-reliance and reduce the governmental Targeted Development Assistance (TDA), humanitarian and development services (Beehner, 2015).

Refugee Entrepreneurship appeared in camps first. For instance, Kakuma and Dadaab camps are located in semi-arid areas with low population density and minor governmental spending for development and poor urban planning by the Kenyan government. They are self-sufficient communities on their own, where the infrastructure capacity includes health care facilities and community schools. These communities have their own electricity and water supply network and even a slaughterhouse (Beehner, 2015).

It is noteworthy that there are ethnic communities more entrepreneurial than others affecting trading relationships between refugees and local population (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013). In Tanzania, refugees exchange portions of their aid disbursements for goods and services. Liberian refugees contribute to the agricultural development of Guinean forests. Sudanese refugees in Abobo, Ethiopia drive cotton implantations, Ugandan framers in Southern Sudan and Bantu Somalians in Kakuma and Dadaab camps in Kenya are shaping economic realities. Ethiopians in Kakuma sell a variety of goods and services not limited to video clubs, hardware and there are post offices, coffee shops and hotels. In Dadaab, Somali refugees are the most entrepreneurial ethnic group in cattle and “Qat” production and provide very competitive pffers by selling smaller trading quantities (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000) Adding to this, Ethiopians in Kakuma sell a variety of goods and services, that are not limited to video clubs and hardware and there are post offices, coffee shops and hotels. In Dadaab, Somalia refugees and not Somalis are the most entrepreneurial in cattle and “*Qat*” production and are very competitive in selling smaller trading quantities (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000). Za’atari, which is the second largest camp in Jordan, is a current sprawling community for social innovation that accommodates educated, urban Syrian refugees from high socio-economic levels. It proves that idleness and constrained resources are not excuses for a dignified living. Syrian Refugees have retrofitted and prefabricated caravans; built their own toilets; started to plant some crops for greener scenery and even started a pizza business

with a delivery service (Beehner, 2015). Accordingly, entrepreneurship types and theories among minorities will be tackled to see the similarities and differences among categories.

### **2.3 Entrepreneurship among Minorities: Types and Theories**

Entrepreneurship carries a set of benefits and challenges to refugee entrepreneurs and hosting communities. Migrants used to be perceived as homogenous groups; but recently after globalization, they are identified as heterogeneous groups and their intentions whether to seek an independent business cannot be attributed to one cause. In general, non-native entrepreneurs are classified as either ethnic entrepreneurs or migrant entrepreneurs. Ethnic entrepreneurs usually own small and medium scale businesses relying on co-ethnic value offerings. Family members and ethnic groups are the main labor force and business owners practice control on a few business lines with limited contact among other groups (nDoen, Gorter, Nijkamp, & Rietveld, 1998).

Goel and Rishi (2012) mentioned that socio-economic variables, as poverty, unemployment, and GDP, which are explained by “Refugee Push” and “Schumpeterian Pull” hypotheses, influence the entrepreneurial process. They combine personal skills and motivations, contextual factors, macro-economic dynamics, public policies and labor market prospects. In this case, jobless people are pushed into labor markets and prosperous individuals are pulled by economic potential. A weak ecosystem allowing institutional voids, constrain the tripartite associations of economic advancement, entrepreneurship and poverty alleviation (Goel & Rishi, 2012)

Chrysostome (2010) mentioned six differences between refugee and migrants entrepreneurs. First, refugees have to flee the country for humanitarian reasons, as war and persecution, in contrast to migrants, who decide to move from their home country in search for better economic opportunities. Second, as refugees’ decisions to escape their hometowns cannot be planned, their spontaneous flight forces them to leave their valuable belongings, social networks, and even their basic documentations, as birth, education certificates and identity cards. Third, as they had to leave unexpectedly their home country in individual cases, social networks for refugees are less pervasive and not as extensive as for migrants. Fourth, options for refugees to go back to the country of origin to acquire funds, capital and resources are not available, which require new market assessment and accessibility in hosting communities and more time and skills to acquire them.. Fifth, at extreme cases and because

of oppression and persecution, psychological traumas can affect refugees' self-reliance and self-employment. Finally, most of refugees are not skilled and qualified enough to pursue an entrepreneurial activity. They lack basic business and financial literacy skills; and in normal settings, they would have never crossed their countries' boundaries (Chrysostome, 2010).

As mentioned by Aliaga-Isla & Rialp (2013), Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp (2009) covered migrant entrepreneurship context from secondary basis and not from a theoretical approach in the developed countries of Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy Netherlands, Portugal Sweden and the UK. They specified that Collins (2003) explored the impact of Australian immigration, settlement, taxation policies, and how they affect the survival of immigrant minority entrepreneurship and that Froschauer (2001) examined the business immigration programs in Canada. They added that Kontos (2003) illustrated the impact of self-employment policies and immigrant entrepreneurship in Germany and that Van Delft, Gorter, and Nijkamp (2000) compared between different assistantship programs and urban policies in various European cities (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013).

Therefore, existing literature provides findings for ethnic and migrant entrepreneurship in the context of developed countries. It is true that there are common overlaps between both groups; however, refugees' occurrences should be analyzed and observed distinctively, as they face more problems than migrants and ethnic populations, which affects the functionality of entrepreneurship (Beehner, 2015). However, studies tackling refugees self employment, especially in a context of developing countries, are limited, especially taking only a marginal place in comparison to other researches on salary based jobs undertaken by refugees. On one hand, refugees, as entrepreneurs, commonly start in "inferior" sectors with low thresholds, investments requisites and minimum formal requirements. On the other hand, these sectors are highly competitive resulting into lower earning margins (Fong, Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam, 2007). Immigrant entrepreneurs, who are born out necessity in comparison to opportunity seekers of habitual entrepreneurs from non-native origins, have no other option but to start an entrepreneurial activity. Refugees seek entrepreneurial activities in what we call "Refugee syndrome", as a necessary stepping-stone, a "consolation prize" and even a "catchment area" for entrepreneurship to run out of poverty (Stephan, Hart, & Drews, 2015). In a study by Wauters & Lambrecht (2006), they studied the potential for entrepreneurship among refugees

and conducted quantitative socio-economic analysis of the actual self-employed refugees, including their income returns (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006). In another study, they have assessed qualitatively refugees' motives to conduct business and what associated challenges the face (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

In the upcoming section, more literature covering migrant and ethnic entrepreneurs are provided. With the exception of the cited studies above, there is no literature that covers refugee entrepreneurs and their integration in hosting societies. From available knowledge, inferences are made to verify common and different features among refugee, migrant and ethnic entrepreneurs to serve as theoretical implications and later compare them with empirical findings that follow data collection and analysis.

### **2.3.1 Migrant Entrepreneurship: Opportunity Based Entrepreneurs versus Necessity Based Entrepreneurs**

In the beginning of the 1990's and mainly after the implementation of Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), migrant entrepreneurship has become a growth industry, where persons from migrant backgrounds open their own ventures. Ethnic factors, as positive influence of family networks, cheap labor, alternative credit of social capital, community trust are pertinent determinants of European stagflation (Light and Gold, 2000). When we try to assess the situation of migrant entrepreneurs, background, motivations, skills, environmental conditions, legislatives are very diverse and reasons to move from one country to another are not homogenous. This has significant implications on the type of business established and how migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers contribute to society (Grey, Rodríguez, & Conrad, 2004). There are theories that specified unseen benefits or “silver lining” behind rigged markets and unemployment, as they contributed to the rise of venture creation among migrant groups (Garba, Djafar, & Mansor, 2013).

Chrysostome (2010) has specified three motivational theories for migrant entrepreneurs. First theory is “Iron Cage Perspective”/”Disadvantage theory”, where obstacles and discrimination at labor market push non-nationals to pursue self-initiatives. Determination and commitment to work in tough conditions are the survival factors. Aliaga-Isla & Rialp (2013) mentioned that Li (2001) was the first to introduce the term “disadvantage” and cultural theories, where the disadvantageous positions of migrants in hosting economies, ranging from labor market restrictions, communication, language and

education limitations, are key motives for migrants to engage in self-employment. These conditions push them to establish their own employment. Where opportunities are not necessarily credible and lucrative, they carry some non-monetary rewards that are assessed positively by refugees. This theory goes in parallel to the “Blocked Mobility Theory” by Rajjman and Tienda (2000), which emphasizes migrant challenges and how they influence their pathways in the entrepreneurial journey (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013).

Second theory is the “Neoclassic perspective”, where self-employment’s income earnings are higher than salaried earnings. Risk management, managerial skills, and innovative ideas are the survival factors (Chrysostome, 2010).

Third theory is the “Institutional Perspective”, where institutional support in the form of governmental backing to pro-migrants business programs and supportive legislatures are main reasons for migrants to conduct their businesses (Chrysostome, 2010).

Based on the definition by Chrysostome (2010), migrant entrepreneurs are split into “Necessity Based Entrepreneurs”, where they conduct self-employment as a survival strategy, and “Opportunity Based Entrepreneurs”, where they seek venture creation for an existing and profitable opportunity that is feasible to be executed. Migrants face more drawbacks to start their own business than native population. The propensity increases with age to have the necessary time to acquire skills, resources, experience, and access networks.

There is another difference between these two types in how they effect in the economy. Koster and Rai (2008) demonstrated distinctions in economic impact, motivations and performance indicators between “Necessity Based Entrepreneurs” and “Opportunity Based Entrepreneurs”. “Necessity Based Entrepreneurs” have a direct and a positive correlation between poverty and entrepreneurship. Following the “Push” / “Recession” hypothesis, “Necessity Based Entrepreneurs” are correlated with low GDP and weak demand. Driven out of the need to survive in intolerable circumstances, the correlation between a low GDP and rate of nascent business startup among necessity entrepreneurs is negative for developing countries with a high rate of new businesses creation; but positive for developed economies with a lower rate of new businesses creation. (Fong, Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam, 2007). In other words, this means that refugee entrepreneurship is activated in poor economic conditions in developing countries. It also indicates that it contrasts the negative correlation, at times of weak socioeconomic conditions, between

opportunity entrepreneurs, unemployment and GDP. Opportunity entrepreneurs will be more reluctant to start their business with modest returns, than the necessity-based type of entrepreneurs, who seek venture activities for survival mostly (Chepurensko, 2015).

There is another distinction when it comes to performance indicators; survival indicators are more relevant to evaluate activities for “Necessity Based Entrepreneurs”, such as, age, profitability and expenses coverage by generated income. “Necessity Based Entrepreneurs” target a niche market, “the enclave market”, and its growth rate is challenging to happen. When the number of employees is increasing, it does not necessary mean that the business is expanding, as hiring them at low wages is for solidarity. In addition, as niche markets are specific and concentrated, geographic expansion does not necessary mean that the market is growing and that the business is accelerating. This is in contrast to opportunity entrepreneurs, where qualitative performance indicators, such as age of the business, profitability, business sales, market share, number of the employed, are used to measure the success of their venture mainly (Chrysostome, 2010).

### **2.3.2 Ethnic Entrepreneurship: A Pertinent Factor for Migrant Entrepreneurs**

Aliaga-Isla & Rialp,(2013) stated that research by Bates (1997), Min and Bozorgmehr (2000), Rajzman and Tienda (2003) tackled the relationship between ethnic entrepreneurship and migrant entrepreneurship. They demonstrated that ethnic entrepreneurship is a pertinent factor for recently arrived migrants in hosting societies, as created ethnic enclaves are main sources of information, job opportunities and resources. Ethnic entrepreneurs are subgroups separate from the prevalent culture, where refugees’ businesspersons capitalize on their ethnic differences (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013). Distinctive economic and socio-cultural features characterize ethnic entrepreneurs, from ethnic resources, web of personal networks and interactions, business structure and casual factors necessary for resource mobilization, as adaptation to subjected labor and market discrimination (Garnham, 2006). As quoted by Light and Gold (2000):”*Ethnic connections reduce the costs of doing business and provide investment capital, advice, raw materials, training, and access to customers. Networks render job referrals and training, and ethnic-based trust reduces conflict between workers and owners. These resources provide group members with financial, human cultural and social capital, which yields a path to economic progress that would have been unavailable in their absences*” (Mushaben, 2006, p. 209).

Ethnic enterprises have their own benefits and can be a solution in unregulated markets and slow regulations contexts with diminishing welfare to minority groups. These ethnic economies make more wealth than salary based individuals. As quoted by Light and Gold (2000): *“In all probability, the general labor market will never provide enough good jobs for all . Although the inadequacy affects everyone to some extent, even the native-born white majority, the burden of scarcity falls most heavily on the less assimilated or acceptable white groups, visible minorities, non-Christians, refugees and immigrants”* (Mushaben, 2006, p. 210).

In another study by Beckers & Blumberg (2013), they studied intergenerational differences for five non-western groups of migrants in the Netherlands, where there are major ethnic differences between ethnic clusters of “labor migrant”, “colonial migrants” and “business migrants”. They also proved through their longitudinal analysis that the human capital and social capital foster the success of their entrepreneurial initiatives but does not guarantee business prospects (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

Wauters & Lambrecht (2006) stated that there are four motivation theories for “ethnic entrepreneurship. First, the “Cultural Model”, is defined when migrants have an explicit and a clear goal to set their own enterprise, which is not applicable to refugees. The “Economic Chances Model” happens when ethnic people respond to a gap in their ethnic communities and provide special goods and services to fulfill their needs. The “Entrepreneur Model” occurs when migrants perceive benefits from pursuing self-employment and decide to follow this path. Finally, the “Reaction Model” or the “Utility Theory” following the same philosophy of Shapero (1993), where entrepreneurship is a credible career alternative in negative events, such as difficulties to access employment or discrimination that are subdue to minorities (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006).

#### **2.4 Understanding the Dynamic Process of Integration: A Durable Solution in Protracted Refugee Situations**

Integration is an issue across sectors and a dynamic process where the needs and concerns of the refugees and hosting countries should be incorporated and not necessarily assimilated. Long-term integration strategies to restore dignity, self-efficacy, and empowerment to refugees, perceiving them as productive citizens that contribute to the local economy without burdening it, are needed (Jacobsen, 2003).



The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) (1999) cited that: “Integration is a long-term two-way process of change, that relates both to the conditions for and the actual participation of refugees in all aspects of life of the country of durable asylum, as well as, to refugees’ own sense of belonging and membership of European societies” (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 12). Robinson explained that integration is “Chaotic” and Castles specified that: “There is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration. The concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated” (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 2). It is remarkable to understand what integration is and which dimensions it covers. There is no one single operational definition for this multi-dimensional term. The previous definition of “Full and Equal Citizens” by the UK Home Office, cannot serve a formal definition. As it carries several meanings, sociologists, policy makers and other interested researchers define integration differently (Ager & Strang, 2008).

#### **2.4.1 Ager and Strang Conceptual Integration Framework**

In 2002, the UK Home Office commissioned the indicators of refugees’ integration based on which they developed the Ager and Strang conceptual framework. It is used as a tool for normative understanding of what a successful integration is, as a structured method to analyze proclaimed outcomes. It incorporates the multiple dimensions of integration, which are relevant for navigation among relationships to better design effective interventions, by considering Bronfenbrenner’s ecosystem of “Microsystems,” “Mesosystems,” “Exosystems” and “Macrosystems” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). In other words, it incorporates refugees as individuals interacting with multiple, individuals, communities and systems denoting its iterative and dynamic nature. This framework includes ten core domains and four layers, as “Makers and Means”, “Social Connection”, “Facilitators” and “Foundation”. This scheme illustrates a better incorporation for refugees in society where rights and citizenships constitute a basic foundation, employment; housing, education and health are considered as “Makers and Means”. These outcomes are facilitated by “Facilitators” of language, cultural knowledge, safety and stability and are consolidated by “Promoters” of “Social Bridges”, “Social Bonds” and “Social Links” (Ager & Strang, 2008).



Figure 4: Ager and Strang Conceptual Integration Framework, 2008

According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and its Human Development Report (2009), integration brings positive outcomes to receiving communities, individual movers and their families. The extent to which the rights of migrants and refugees are recognized and enforced determine the level of their integration, which can be summed up into series of legal, social and economic processes that respect cultural diversity rather than dictate the traditional “top- down” approach. The provision and enabling access of social and economic services promote co-existence of two cultures, including the processes of assimilation and acculturation, that involve the issues of Identity, belonging, recognition and self-respect (Jacobsen, 2006). Therefore, emphasizing the understanding of structural and organizational aspects of the integration system, including the political legal context is primordial with strong emphasis on the “voices “of refugees themselves (Dijkhuizen & Berkhout, 2015). The importance of durability of integration as a solution and following better integration policies targeting Vietnamese in Britain back in the 1970’s, economic and social participation in mainstream society creates inclusiveness. It is the government’s responsibility to remove barriers and foster facilitators of language knowledge, cultural understanding, adjustment, safety and security for stability so that refugees feel at home (Ager & Strang, 2008).

## **2.5 Integration Theories and Concerns**

### **2.5.1 Socio-Economic Integration Definitions**

In this section, socioeconomic integration definitions will be tackled starting by defining four key terms of “assimilation”, “acculturation”, “integration” and “segregation”. Kuhlman quoted that: “integration is achieved when migrants become a working part of their

adopted society, take on many of its attitudes and behavior patterns and participate freely in its activities, but at the same time retain a measure of their original cultural identity and ethnicity” (Kuhlman, 1991, p. 4).

Unger & Szapocznik (2010) stated that Bulcha (1988) and Bernard (1973) had their socio-economic integration definition promoting the tolerance of differences, solidarity and positive interactions, following a mutual “live and let live" attitude . When it comes to how sociologists define the adaptation of migrants in new environments and how to incorporate new elements or “migrants” into an existing social systems, four main terms of “assimilation”, “acculturation”, “incorporation” and “integration”, were explored by Engbersen (2003); Esser (2003); Gordon (1964); Vermeulen and Penninx (2000). They have been further interpreted by the social psychologist Berry (1988) who explained that acculturation is a process that has four possible outcomes, according to two dimensions: First, if the acculturating group maintains or loses its own cultural identity, and second if this group has social relations with the dominant society (Unger & Szapocznik, 2010).

“Assimilation” happens when the minor group becomes submerged into the dominant society, in contrast to “segregation” or “separation” when the minor group sticks to its own identity and has no relations with the larger society (Unger & Szapocznik, 2010).

“Marginalization” happens when the acculturation group loses its own culture and still does not become part of the dominant society and finally Integration happens when the minor group has its own identity but still interacts with the larger society (Kuhlman, 1991).

Additionally, Kuhlman explored the term of economic integration according to adequate participation of refugees in the economy; income generation engagement for an acceptable standard of living; equitable access to goods and services and finally having a balanced and a non-deteriorating position of socio-economic categories of refugees compared to indigenous population (Kuhlman, 1991).

Beckers & Blumberg (2013) cited that Constant and Zimmermann (2006); Evans and Jovanovic, (1989) and Le (2000) stated that labor migrants positions in labor markets is an outcome of integration. Their chances of self-employment and development processes of their enterprises enable them to improve their abilities to access important business information and mobilize resources (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

Ethnicity strongly influences economic stratification largely, following a particular economic niche, where specific ranges of positions are occupied by migrant members in their groups (Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath, 1999). Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes (2006) added that there are two integration dimensions of “socio-cultural” and “structural”. They meant by the “socio-cultural” dimension that it echoes interpersonal links between the native Dutch population and migrants to check how cultural, attitudinal and behavioral tendencies are shaped. “structural integration” in the Netherlands is interpreted by the participation of immigrants in core institutions of society. They assessed their educational attainment, their position within the labor market and residential integration. Migrants with good social positions have better informal contacts with other native people and endorse modern values (Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006).

Ethnic groups follow different assimilation pathways and a similar direction of upward or downward social mobility to overcome disadvantages migrants face are not uniform. Second generations have better tendencies to integrate along socio-cultural and structural dimensions, specifically when they have a better command of local languages, interpersonal relations and non-opposing behaviors and attitudes that match those of hosting communities. They might have better employment positions than first generations but still facing more disadvantages than native populations in terms of educational attainment. With regard to the structural dimension, second generations generally appear to achieve better improvement in their education attainment but not in terms of labor and residential choices. Second generations demonstrate a higher level of integration regarding education, but not in terms of the labor market or residential choices (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

For instance, in the Netherlands, segmented assimilation is different among socio-cultural groups. It is higher among Turkish, Moroccan and Chinese than for Surinamese and Dutch Antillean migrants. Once they have learned Dutch, there is a catch up trend among Turkish and Moroccan, who still uphold traditional values by maintaining strong affiliations and by settling in similar communities as their first generations. Cultural, linguistic considerations, and levels of self-sufficiency, empower large ethnic groups to form viable sub-clusters within host societies (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

### 2.5.2 Political Integration Definitions

According to the below table, political integration was explained based on two normative conceptions of “democracy” and “nationhood”. Democracy is used for equality of rights to promote “incorporation”, based on “classical liberalism” philosophy and equality of voices to encourage “participation” following the philosophy of “social liberalism” and “new left”. “nationhood” is used for unity based on core political values for “acculturation” based on “communitarians” and for unity based on “national identity” to stimulate “assimilation” according to “Neo-Republicanism” (Tillie & Slijper, 2010).

Normative paradigm and central concern	Subdimension	Associated political philosophy	Special term
Democracy : Equality	Minimalist : Equality of rights	(Classical) Liberalism	Incorporation
	Maximalist : Equality of voice	Social Liberalism and New Left	Participation
Nationhood : Unity	Minimalist : Core' political values	Communitarianism	Acculturation
	Maximalist : National identity	(Neo-)Republicanism	Assimilation

Figure 5: Conceptual Distinction of Political Integration (Tillie & Slijper, 2010)

### 2.5.3 Integration Concerns in Hosting communities

Degree of integration can range from purely informal of “self-settlement”, where refugees depend on their own personal resources and initiatives without formal assistance to “semi-formal” or “assisted settlement” depending on some structured aid from NGOs, governments and other institutions to finally reach the best-case scenario of “de facto integration”- when they are fully integrated and self-sufficient. In other words, when they are no longer exposed to physical harm nor they are confined in camps. They maintain dignified livelihoods, where they access basic services of education, health and employment and are connected to the greater community (Jacobsen, 2003).

To achieve full integration, it is not a straightforward process for migrants and more specifically refugees. For instance and starting by employment, it is hard to officially recognize qualifications and previous work experience. When migrants are excluded from adequate housing accommodation and primary healthcare, it affects their physical and emotional wellbeing. When they cannot access educational services, especially for their children, this excludes them from mainstream activities and has consequences in their communicative abilities. When it comes to the basic pillar of foundation: “citizenships and rights,” it means values and cultural understanding for identification associated with nations

and nationhood. Governments have to clearly identify notions of nationhood and citizenships, rights and duties, including those of refugees' protection to restore human dignity, equality, freedom of cultural choice, security and independence. Integration requires from governments a well complying policy and, at the same time, integration requires from the refugee preparedness to adapt to the lifestyle of the hosting community. Integration should be perceived as a process of "mutual accommodation" between fundamentals of citizenship and rights on one side and public outcomes, as employment, housing and health on the other side (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Furthermore, many considerations and various factors either promote or hinder the dynamic process of integration. Such factors range from hosting societies and their willingness to accept the presence of refugees, to refugees themselves and their inner motives and personal attitudes to be part of the local community. The arrival date of refugees, their density in relation to local population, their personal coping mechanisms, degree of education, socioeconomic standards of the country they arrive to, as well as, security circumstances affect associated relationships (Jacobsen, 2003). Members must feel that they belong to the community. Their relationships are strengthened by building up strong links between family and friends, by extending "social bonds", where groups serve as a source of social capital, trust and networking, and by development of "social bridges" or connections between refugees and hosting communities (Ager & Strang, 2008). Macroeconomic policies, international solidarity movements in terms of funding and basic aid provision either stabilize or subvert the economic, social and political fabrics between refugees and hosting communities; which in turn, influence their living standard (Jacobsen, 2003).

Jacobsen (2006) stated that there are security economic, social and political concerns. Security concerns happen as refugee groups in both sequestered camps and in self-settled designated areas are exposed to a set of vulnerabilities and hazard risks including, criminal activities, direct attacks, local resentment, social abuse from natives and local authorities and even military recruitment at extreme cases. Economic tensions are likely to happen due to limited resources and exhaustive absorptive capacity. Because of absent unified global burden-sharing strategies among countries and local governments, coupled with weak economies and inability of local authorities to supply essential goods and services, there is a huge shortfall and a strong gap to address basic survival needs. Main sectors affected are in

housing, education, health, sanitation, energy and employment. Social concerns are mainly attitudes, beliefs, and personal willingness of hosting communities to accept refugees as individuals. In addition, it concerns refugees' adaptability to integrate and enhance their current situation despite limitations. Political concerns are a consequence following any change in the political landscape that can shake refugees' situations and hosting societies' realities and may add or reduce more tensions and alter policies and responsive course of actions (Jacobsen, 2003).

Another important factor is the role of cities, which are the usual points of entry. Local integration and synergy between municipalities are necessary, as integration into "the social embroidery" does not occur naturally, which puts social cohesion at danger allowing for segregation, exclusion and marginalization. A two way and a dynamic communication approach, that has room for diversity, from "top-down" originating at the policy level to immigrants themselves for "bottom-up" mobilization to local governments actors, is necessary to consider market realities (Pierini & Hackenbroich, 2015).

Due to the presence of numerous integration patterns according to policy and institutional contexts, expected outcomes can never be uniform. Its long-term span adds complexity to the process. Usually policy makers are "democratically impatient". They focus mainly on shorter upshots resulting into an unintentional failure of an adaptable policy that governs refugees and hosting communities (Jacobsen, 2003). Integration indicators must be used to measure the ten core domains to achieve assigned outcomes, practice citizenship and fostered by social connections and hindered by cultural and safety barriers (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Non-governmental institutions, who are direct partners that affect the political dialogue to combat discrimination, xenophobia and inter-ethnic tensions and uphold social cohesion, are crucial to be active in any integration efforts (Penninx, 2003). What is expected from both ends is the development of a unified vision to guarantee a viable community and enact proactive, effective and transparent immigration policies. All refugees need an adequate legal position and integrative tools that take into account national realities and acknowledge their diversity and concerns to access public facilities (Pierini & Hackenbroich, 2015).

Finally, there is the challenge of effective coordination between stakeholders and effective settings between urban agglomerations. There is little information exchange between the development community and humanitarian organizations and usually financial resources are short in supply. As change cannot be made depending on the efforts of one actor, the UNHCR cannot mandate its responsibilities on its own. Contributions from several stakeholders are crucial, as much as, the integration of the long term needs of Internally Displaced populations (IDP), refugees and residential communities (UNHCR Global Report, 2014). Stakeholder groups embody national, municipal and governmental authorities, humanitarian organizations, development agencies, NGOs, religious institutions, mayors, service providers, civil organizations, private donors, individual volunteers, refugee groups, philanthropists and donor countries. A close working relationship to develop strategic partnerships with several actors is missing (UNHCR, 2014). Coordination among institutions is based on “ad-hocracy” efforts. There are no written agreements that are put into practice and resources are shared randomly among them (Shahine, 2016). Usually inter agencies forums and workshops are organized but to serve nothing more than information sharing events. Many agencies are no longer active; participants are not fiercely involved and are not committed to follow up, leading to the absence of imposed decisions for effective action plans. There is absence of a common database, a unified codification system, beneficiary refugees ‘cards, social protection for minors and legal advocacy for detained refugees. It is crucial that stakeholders deal with closed files to avoid duplication of services offered. Donors are reluctant to channel their refugees’ aid to governmental bodies and local NGOs favor dealing with international bodies (Crisp, Morris, & Refstie, 2012).

There is an actual need to establish a strong leadership entity to unite efforts of multiple players by adopting a right based approach and by acting as a mediator between refugees and host communities to dissolve barriers among them (UNHCR 2014). The challenge here is to carefully manage new set of complex relationships between governments, municipalities and service providers interested in empowering refugee communities to become self-reliant and protecting their rights and freedom to work either through wage employment or self-employment (Crisp, Morris, & Refstie, 2012).

Additionally, assigned strategies are shifting away from refugees concerns and needs and proper initiatives to strengthen, develop, and institutionalize their needs assessments are



missing. Usually organizations rely on traditional handicrafts that suffer from a limited salability. Their skills and market needs are ignored and they are usually working in refugee centric programs delineating from the Egyptian civil society (Shahine, 2016). Another reported issue is accountability. It needs to be purposeful through proper settlement of agreed upon minimum standards. Special attention should be directed towards refugees who need legal protection and for the most vulnerable living outside Cairo, as accessibility of services, especially in poorer governorates as Zagazig, Ismailia, and Damietta, is challenging (Shahine, 2016).

## **2.6 Integration and Entrepreneurship and the Importance of Contextual Factors in Shaping Entrepreneurial Opportunities**

Wauters & Lambrecht,(2006) explained that the desire to integrate in society puts social pressure on people to behave in a way that meets this pressure, especially when results of their behavior are associated with positive evaluations. Although the stability of intentions cannot be predicted, entrepreneurship in this case, can be an instrument to achieve social integration.

Since the 1960's, many ethnic food spin offs were the main driving force behind shaping local culinary tastes, taxable income, socioeconomic opportunities , political identification , participatory consciousness among migrant males and direct identification among migrant females by benefiting from more equal rights in Germany than in their homelands (Mushaben, 2006). Mushaben (2006) has demonstrated linkages between economic enclaves and urban citizenship among ethnic Turkish communities in Germany. Due to the refusal of the German government to pursue active integration policies," Do- It-Yourself" (DIY) initiatives among Turkish communities were unleashed.

As another case study and in 1972, entrepreneurship was a tool for resettlement of the Ugandan Asians in the U.K. Entrepreneurship is considered the most successful refugee resettlement tool in British history. After seeking sanctuary under the dictatorship rule of Idi Amin, entrepreneurial activities of Ugandan Asians contributed to Britain's economic boom and almost 90% of the country's tax receipts. Despite missing further economic stimulus, where the British government decided to palm them off to Britain's crown dependencies, 27,000 Ugandan Asians were settled in Britain (Bolloten & Bhuchar, 2014). Also and to promote social integration via entrepreneurship, it was positively tested following qualitative

surveys among refugees in Belgium, that accommodates a significant number of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006).

Kloosterman, et al. (1999) has explained that migrant integration, through entrepreneurship, is affected by supply and demand factors within political–institutional contexts. The business success is determined by the level of human, social capital, financial assets of the entrepreneur, his skills, his educational level, his business context knowledge and how he perceives and exploits opportunities. They are necessary for market growth and higher profit margins and exploitation of more lucrative high tech and business sectors (Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath, 1999).

Concerning theories tackling integration and entrepreneurship, “The Mixed Embeddedness” theory by Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath (1999) capitalizes on the power of multiple contingencies, as institutional and regulatory contexts by explaining the relationship between immigrant entrepreneurship and their integration in hosting communities. It emphasizes entrepreneurs’ socio-cultural integration, structural integration, the nature of opportunities and the institutional context or the rules and regulatory frameworks associated with their activities that have specific characteristics. First, they usually occur in the informal sector, where legislations and regulations are not being met. It is a process of income generation rather than a predetermined criminal characteristic of the entrepreneur, who does not intend to conduct illegal activities. Finally, the lack of governmental control makes these activities possible (Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath, 1999).

Migrant entrepreneurs usually occupy certain geographic locations and specific economic sectors that are traditional sectors requiring limited skills and capital requirements within an intense atmosphere of ‘cut throat competition and low margins. Emerging new spaces of social cohesion enable, them introduce a set of new products and services to serve their ethnic communities. When they open trade links, they develop transnational communities, characterized by informal activities. The absence of a regulatory context poses more challenges for them to diversify their business activities, as usually their profit margins are limited and benefits to host economies are affected as well (Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath, 1999).

As a counter argument by NijKamp (2003) and particularity in less structured settings with weak law enforcement, there are real impediments with the management of diverse

groups of ethnic people such as, restrained resources, language and communication barriers, cheap labor, exploitation, exclusion, crime, racism, discrimination and minor lucrative prospects for wellbeing and prosperity (nDoen, Gorter, Nijkamp, & Rietveld, 1998). Additionally, refugees are employed informally. Informal activities increase job competition, depress local wages, and evade from tax liabilities.

Wauters & Lambrecht (2006) demonstrated quantitatively the potential and analyzed the associated socio-economic impacts of entrepreneurship among refugees in Belgium. Entrepreneurship was an enabling tool, on a limited scale, for the integration of refugees in the westernized context of Belgium. Unfortunately, the entrepreneurship potential is limited mainly to male refugees in their thirties and forties and, who are active in 'inferior' sectors by having a higher appetite for entrepreneurship. Regarding other categories, they are excluded, which affect their integration in their hosting communities (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006)

Webb et al. (2009) emphasized the context factors and stated that entrepreneurship is different in developing and areas of conflict due to definite challenges. Usually, businesses are not registered and run informally on a small scale and most refugees do not have a legal status that enable them access labor markets formally due to weak enforcement of formal institutions and institutional incongruence. Informal entrepreneurship occur as a result of what is illegalized by formal institutions, rules and regulations and what is commonly perceived as acceptable or legitimate in society and through collective identities that validate such non-formal activities. Informal business practices are revived by networks of investors, suppliers and customers through collective identity formation and social cohesion and integration among community members. The common bond linking individuals form cooperative groups that share cognitive, moral and ethical attachment, values, salient norms, beliefs, behaviors, and attributes. Through positive associations and identifications, which are based on conducive ethnic enclaves to entrepreneurial behavior, such groups substitute formal institutions carrying benefits to many parties as lower transaction costs and underpay (Webb, Tihanyi, Ireland, & Sirmon, 2009). The issue regarding informal activities is to create a rationalized order, a decentralized organization and avoid micro management to become less regimented and more flexible to allow social innovation (Behner, 2015).

Beckers & Blumberg (2013) stated that to expand from their ethnic communities, migrant entrepreneurs must have close contacts with minority groups and the rest of the hosting population. They must be competent. They need to have a strong financial base and if they need to maintain cross border business relations. Therefore, integration affects the extent to which they seize opportunities to match between supply and demand. Otherwise stated, integration is a pre-requirement to entrepreneurship where the more migrants are integrated, the more they move out of their ethnic markets (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

Differences in their ethnic clusters are shown in the nature and types of their business start-ups. There are migrant groups or “clusters” more integrated and entrepreneurial than others. Their integration depends on the degree of cultural distance between them and hosting societies, co-ethnic group identification, self-sufficiency, educational and labor market outcomes. A common history, cultural and linguistic proficiency affect their ability to access and service mainstream instead of concentrating in their own ethnic niches. In this case, self-employment is a route to upward social mobility from traditional ethnic sectors of small margins and limited skills. The disadvantages of ethnic cultures features in a decade can be a competitive advantage in another, where by time; descendants avoid the mobility trap by upgrading their skills, and culture familiarity. The question here is not the amount of resources they have as much as resource coupling and how they allocate them for value creation, especially when language skills and competences are enhanced in light of better regulatory and institutional conditions (Mushaben, 2006).

However, higher educational attainment might not indicate self-employment, as being salaried for second generations might be more profitable, despite higher levels education and country specific knowledge. Entrepreneurship depends on individual motivations and maybe formalized recruitment processes, among other factors might demotivate second-generation members to pursue similar initiatives as their parents. Therefore, there is no guarantee that better integrative efforts will directly result to entrepreneurship among migrant communities (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

## **2.7 Refugee Entrepreneurship Factors and Obstacles**

“Entrepreneurship activation” happens following a combination of macro-economic conditions, nature of opportunities, human behavior, and personal motives and even disadvantages in labor markets (Fong, Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam, 2007). After

exploring theories of entrepreneurship and how they can be a survival tool for minority groups to mitigate challenges in daily routines, this chapter will first tackle factors that promote it and then, challenges, which obstruct the entrepreneurial process from happening.

According to Wauters & Lambrecht (2006), entrepreneurship factors are attributed to previous activity in self-employment in the country of origin, family members, who already have their own self-employed initiatives or an appetite for entrepreneurship, and even the gender of refugees. These factors do not differ much between natives, refugees, asylum seekers, migrants and necessity entrepreneurs (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006).

Light and Gold (2000) stressed the importance of social capital where migrant rely intensively on diverse social networks within their co-ethnic communities and between their native communities. Beckers & Blumberg(2013) added that Collins and Low (2010) have stated that they depend on ‘ethnic ideologies, industrial paternalism, solidarity and ethnic institutions. As they have limited access to institutional capital, family capital and labor support their activities. However and within the absence of a supportive regulatory environment, they cannot breakout of their ethnic sectors and service mainstream economies to grow and sustain long term viability, as will be explained in the challenge sectors (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

Aliaga-Isla & Rialp (2013) noted that Vinogradov and Kolvereid (2010) emphasized the importance of intellectual capacity in entrepreneurial decisions regarding opportunities recognition and exploitations. They mentioned that Collins and Low (2010) explored the effect of education and social capital, where Achidi and Priem (2011) highlighted the role of family, ethnic ties and cultural background, immigrant’s capital endowments, in venture decisions, based the “ethnic enclave “strategy (Aliaga-Isla & Rialp, 2013)

As explained earlier necessity entrepreneurs, unlike opportunity entrepreneurs, resemble refugees in a sense that they seek self-employment out of necessity using minimal resources and with weak margins and returns. Wauters & Lambrecht (2008) indicated that refugees in Belgium occupy inferior and overpopulated sectors due to low barriers of entry, nature of available market opportunities, that refugees were successful at exploiting, difficult access to regulated employment professions, ill information and the societal environment, where negative perceptions of Belgian people towards ethnic entrepreneurs. They further demonstrated that prejudice regarding the quality of their offerings and language knowledge

insufficiency affect the number of customers, who demand their services affecting revenues consequently.

Depending mainly on their ethnic network, they rarely have access to formal financial opportunities of microcredit and for professional advice by consultancy offices and reliable evaluations of their skills. They recommended to refer refugees to training and advisory institutions, for information about self-employment, accentuating the differences between refugee and migrant entrepreneurs, where the former should be treated under a special category due to sectors they occupy and social networks they access. Additionally, they encounter more problems than migrants to accept their qualifications and diplomas issued from their country of origin and receive timely and accurate market information and capital acquisition. To ease access to entrepreneurship, the abolishment of their professional cards for admission, the application of practical tests matching their skills and experience, and the increase of opportunities to obtain credits are crucial (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

According to the survival factors for migrant entrepreneurs, Chrysostome (2010) listed the importance of ethnic cultural factors, managerial skills and experience and financial resources within an institutional and regulatory frameworks that can either hinder or support their endeavors. Institutional and regulatory frameworks align in philosophy with Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath(1999) “mixed embeddedness” theory, where the legal context has a say for entrepreneurs to structure opportunities and to match between supply and demand, especially in sectors with low margins and poor viability. Finally, it is also important to incorporate Bonfenbrenner, (1994) model of human development and analyse different dynamics and systems regulating relationships between targeted populations and hosting communities within the institutional framework (Bonfenbrenner, 1994)

Chrysostome (2010) stated that the key success factors for refugee entrepreneurs are attributed to the individual, the community and agency levels. He tackled community /agency factors by specifying the following contextual success factors for business owners:

- Access to human and financial resources that are orchestrated through proper mapping and effective allocation, due to efforts of a visionary leader.
- Strategic partnerships where a cohesive community network creates leverage.
- Cultural and linguistic capacities are important for smooth communication between the refugee groups, service providers and target population.

- Assessment of conditions and goals of micro-lenders, clarity of purpose, capacities and other of and cognitive skills must be available at entrepreneurs/
- Macroeconomic conditions must be there for support. They include capital from family, relatives, friends, reliance on grants, technical assistance from resettlement activists, mentorships, role models, and business contacts, family members interested to support the cause and social trends and political legislations.

Below is the model developed by Chrystosome summarising the five main factors that affect the entrepreneurship process, which will be followed by the listing of promoting factors and challenges facing refugee entrepreneurs.

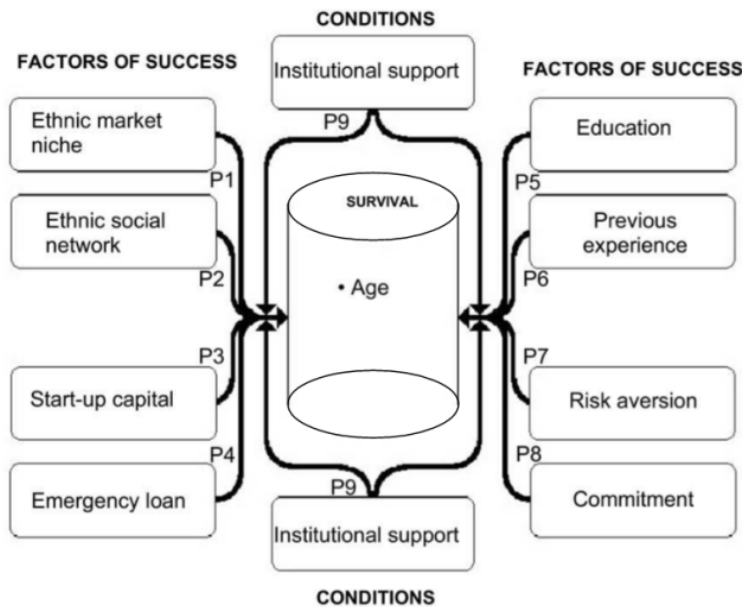


Figure 6: Survival Factors Models of Necessity Immigrant Entrepreneurs (Chrystosome, 2010)

### 2.7.1 Factors that Promote Refugee Entrepreneurship

As literature, covering the promoting and challenging factors on refugee entrepreneurship is limited, the available literature covering entrepreneurship factors among minority groups were found on migrant entrepreneurship and ethnic entrepreneurship. Accordingly findings state that migrant entrepreneurship occur as a result of value systems and formal support provided by governmental policies in the form of finance, favorable conditions, relaxing regulations, and capacity building initiatives. Among the benefits of entrepreneurship, refugees feel that they are becoming a part of hosting communities. A

common language and ability to communicate catalyze the process of their social integration (Chrysostome, 2010).

Compared to decathletes, entrepreneurs have personal traits and cognitive abilities of being motivated; they perceive risk, recognize opportunities, conscious, confident, and adaptable and have a strong desire to achieve. Fong et al. (2007) stated that they must have a positive outlook to adversity and high-risk tolerance. They must be imaginative with a sense of humor and have a surrendering attitude to the reality of cultural backgrounds. A previous experience in business, financial literacy, and familiarity to local standards of operations and business rules help them achieve success, strive and survive. Interestingly enough, social and human capital did not have as much significant effect on economic adaptation as personal attributes, educational attainment, linguistic proficiency, citizenship and even being a male. Additionally, the sense of family, community orientation and family's support affect individual decision making to pursue venture creation (Fong, Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam, 2007).

Due to contextual and cultural factors among immigrants and refugee communities, sociologists have illustrated the entrepreneurship process as an opportunity for collective groups sharing similar cultures and languages to exchange activities, experience, and knowledge. Another cause that influences this process is the technical assistance provided by institutions. It can be in the form of Individual Development Account (IDA), or bank savings accounts targeting low-income people for a predefined purpose (Asylum Access and the Refugee Work Rights Coalition, 2014).

Below are the five main promoting factors of entrepreneurship among migrant and ethnic communities.

#### ***2.7.1.1 Ethnic-Cultural factors***

They are significant features to the survival of the business and are composed of “ethnic market niches”, “ethnic social networks”, “ethnic labor” and “ethnic emotional Support”. Due to market inefficiencies, ethnic sensitivity, modest economic rewards, and limited skills to address specific ethnic needs, conventional competition and native entrepreneurs do not target “ethnic market niches”. These are considered attractive for necessity entrepreneurs, especially when extensive social networks for solidity building are developed and when the size of the ethnic community is large enough. In addition, there are



non-ethnic niches that can be a pull factor for necessity migrants, as the majority of the population is not interested to pursue low returns. This is the case of taxi, grocery, and cleaning industries. “Ethnic social networks” refer to formal and informal ethnic connections. Members and the structure of the network are important, as they liaise structural holes.

Additionally, the social environment of the hosting community impacts social ties within these ethnic groups and can stimulate the success of migrant ventures. Social networks bring up many gains as informal information, emotional support, trust, and strategic decisions that reduce uncertainties and risks. “Ethnic labor” is accessible through social networks. Despite their limited qualifications, when hiring refugees, there are some gains as low wages, familiarity to ethnic cultures and ethnic solidarity building. Family, relatives, subgroups, community centers and religious institutions provide “ethnic emotional support”, which is beneficial at times of uncertainties and hostile environments (**Chrysostome, 2010**).

#### ***2.7.1.2 Financial Factors***

Financial resources are vital to cover basic operating expenses of leasing and renting and to purchase basic capital equipment for initial mode of operations; otherwise, the enterprise can go bankrupt. They are composed of two types: startup capital, which is vital to the survival and profitability of the business and emergency loans, as Rotating Credit Associations (RCA) serving as a backup plan in case of urgent liquidity issues. Access to formal financial sources is difficult due to low credit score and lack of proper documentations and high risk of indeterminate refugee status. Through their quality ties of social relationships between family members, relatives, and acquaintances in their ethnic communities and shedding away from financial institutions and governmental initiatives, refugee entrepreneurs rely heavily on informal sources.

There are two informal capital types: startup capital, which is vital to the survival and profitability of the business, and emergency loans, as Rotating Credit Associations(RCA), that serve as a backup plan in case of urgent liquidity issues. Advantages of informal capital sources are that refugees are neither subject to burdensome loan application processes, nor subject to prohibitive late fees. It is noteworthy that Credit assistance programs, as mutual credit, reduce transaction costs and are more suitable as they do not need collaterals (Lee & Black, 2017).

### ***2.7.1.3 Managerial factors***

They are comprised of educational level, previous work experience, risk aversion and commitment. A high educational level encourages migrants to open their venture and a low level of education can seriously affect the existence of the business. Both work experience as an employee or in managing self-businesses can encourage them to undertake calculated risk to create their own venture (Chrysostome, 2010).

### ***2.7.1.4 Psycho-Behavioral Factors***

They are defined as the willingness of the individual entrepreneur to be continuously dedicated to affective, continuance and normative steadfastness. Low risk aversion and commitment are essential prerequisites for the continuity of the business (Chrysostome, 2010).

### ***2.7.1.5 Institutional Factors***

They define the rules of the game and conditions to either support or halt immigrant entrepreneurship. This is the case when governments decide to promote entrepreneurial development programs in counseling, tax incentives, and credit assistance. Counseling support at the very beginning can make a huge difference and includes technical support of business plan organization and design, accessible operating networks and enabling business environment regulations. Understanding the tax incentives system by the government, especially when customized to refugee needs, can be an attractive tool for resource constrained necessity migrants who might benefit from an alleviating option of certain tax portions (Chrysostome, 2010).

## **2.7.2 Obstacles Obstructing Refugee Entrepreneurship**

According to Chaux & Haugh (2015), there are two types of challenges refugee entrepreneurs face: institutional barriers and organizational barriers. Facing what is called the “institutional void”, when there is misalignment between formal rules and actual social and economic interactions and rules. To ensure behavior conformity and to avoid sanctions of noncompliance to the finely woven web of norms, values, perceptions and routines, refugees’ behavior is adapting to contextual circumstances. Physical, social, and economic conditions, geographical allocation, legal status and institutional expectations shape daily routines and interactions between humanitarian organizations, host communities and their governments and guide refugee behavior. These institutional contexts are pluralistic. There are three types of institutional voids: “paralysis”, “ambiguity” and “incongruence”.

“Paralysis” occurs when institutions become too entrenched and fail to be timely responsive in individual, environmental and social relations, due to rigidified formal rules that fail to adapt between what is dictated and what is legitimized yet illegal. “Ambiguity” happens in heterogeneous contexts where divergent and informal characteristics and interests co-exist due to weak enforcement of formal arrangements and there is no clear distinction between what is acceptable and what is sanctioned and non-compliant. “Incongruence” happens when interests between several informal actors are in conflict to the strongly enforced legal dictations by few dominant actors (Chaux & Haugh, 2015).

#### ***2.7.2.1 Institutional Barriers to Refugee Entrepreneurship***

Lack of functional markets, inefficient legal political system and inefficient infrastructure constitute three main institutional barriers, as below:

##### **a. Lack of Functioning Markets**

Due to uncertainty associated with prolonged nature of dislocation, insecurity and uncertain returns, formal enterprise oriented, financial institutions and functional markets to serve for refugees, are almost inexistent. When available, functioning mechanisms of seed financing and markets are ineffective or inefficient and/or poorly structured. Refugees have no other alternative but to seek support from personal networks and conduct informal financial agreements (Chrysostome, 2010).

##### **b. Inefficient Legal and Political Systems**

As demonstrated by Kyangwali Refugee in Ugandan settlements, corruption, bureaucracy, inefficient administrative procedures make the entrepreneurial process lengthy and costly and deter refugees from starting their small ventures. With weak enforcement of property rights and bureaucratic measures to access external markets and gather necessary market information, a frail implementation of legal and political systems is demonstrated (Chrysostome, 2010).

##### **c. Insufficient Infrastructure**

In developing countries, a poor infrastructure for transportation, electricity, water and sanitation, constrains the entrepreneurial activity. When supplier and consumer markets are difficult to reach due to physical isolation or movement restrictions, more threats are imposed to refugees, which prevent them from starting their own initiatives (Chrysostome, 2010).

### **2.7.2.2 Organizational Barriers to Refugee Entrepreneurship**

According to Chrysostome (2010), when it comes to organizational barriers, they include access to resources, access to finance, low levels of demand and lack of market information.

#### **2.7.2.2.1 Access to Resources**

Acquiring and affording basic resources to create goods and services can be challenging, especially for refugees in camps. Physical isolation and geographic distances in resource scarce areas add more complexity.

#### **2.7.2.2 Access to Finance**

As refugees' exile status in the country of asylum cannot be predicted, lending financial institutions are reluctant to afford them with loans, as it might undermine the program's credibility. To mitigate the repatriation risk, shorten repayment periods are demanded from refugees favoring short-term business strategies for quicker returns that undermine the effectiveness of micro finance support. This is a major hurdle due to the absence of formal financing mechanisms. Affordable credit is hard to reach in poor constructed markets. Debt finance can be hardly affordable due to high interests, depreciation and inflation rates. Refugees rely on personal networks, individual savings, remittances from their friends and relatives and informal lending. Having initial start capital is necessary for all kind of entrepreneurs to jumpstart basic commercial activities, Financial capital is primordial for all types of entrepreneurs as usually they rely on a mixture of financial options either formal or informal, debt or equity financing, relying on bank loans or venture capital (Crisp, Morris, & Refstie, 2012).

As refugees are perceived as a high-risk group, they have a denied access to formal services, due to poor repayment rates. Moreover, refugees are usually not allowed to exercise their economic rights from taking loans, opening bank accounts among other financial services Another issue, is the credit history which is usually nonexistent to refugees. Usually micro finance initiatives are held upon group solidarity, communal bonds and mutual trust and repayment is done through social and market pressures (Calabria & Omata, 2016).

There is a market gap for formal financial services targeting refugees, as there are no guarantees associated with the "Un-bankable". Micro finance contexts in refugee situations pose an institutional defiance that precludes the success of proven poverty reduction initiatives in stable population settings. There are non-successful stories ending up into loan

delinquency. This was the case with the International Rescue Committee IRC in Kakuma camp in Kenya. The lending intervention program benefited the lending programmer's interests, who lacked organizational capacity and financial expertise and failed to properly target the refugee population (Calabria & Omata, 2016).

Even if refugees are eligible to open a bank account, investment accounts, or apply for insurance, they need specific documentations, that are not easy to reach, such as a residential address, a national identity card, and a valid permit of stay (Calabria & Omata, 2016).

### **2.7.2.3 Low Levels of Demand**

Due to the low-income levels of potential consumers and their engagement in subsistence activities, there are low levels of demands. The problem is more acute if refugees cannot access outside markets, to either legal restrictions or high transaction costs. As they cannot diversity their consumer base from multiple communities, their entrepreneurial success is at risk (Chrysostome, 2010).

### **2.7.2.4 Lack of Market Information**

Access to market information, including market dynamics, competition and other political and legal factors, is important for daily and strategic decisions. Failure to know such information on time, might lead to business failure. Refugees mainly rely on personal networks (Chrysostome, 2010).

## **2.8 Conclusion**

To conclude this chapter, recent findings in literature for entrepreneurship among minority groups were stated. It is noteworthy that refugee entrepreneurs face more challenges than migrants do. As a survival strategy, their disadvantaged positions serve, as a strong motivational factor to pursue self-employment. Relying on their ethnic and cultural resources, enables them to access markets. However, they cannot guarantee their social mobility within hosting communities for consolidated economic integration and stability. Regarding political integration, the role of institutional support to enable entrepreneurs match between supply and demand is mandatory and crucial. In the upcoming chapter, the methodology used to compare empirical findings with theories is cited to address the gaps and recommend effective solutions for key decision makers.

### **3. Chapter 3: Methods**

The first part of this research includes a review of the literature for entrepreneurship among refugees and migrant communities and integration theories. In this chapter and following the proposed conceptual framework, the methodology, which is used to compare between empirical findings and found theories, is discussed. This is to later pinpoint gaps, discuss the findings in chapter 4, and recommend theoretical and practical implications in chapter 5.

Based on research objectives: does entrepreneurship promote integration in hosting communities? What are the factors promoting refugee entrepreneurship? What are the factors hindering refugee entrepreneurship? The type of these research questions is descriptive, as they illustrate what is going on and what is existing to gather information. That is not restricted to fact-finding. This is because description is needed first before examining the relationship between entrepreneurship and integration. As refugee entrepreneurship and refugee integration phenomenon is sliced to be observed, it is a cross sectional study, that is taking place at a single point in time. The relationship between entrepreneurship and integration is correlational and not causal, as the cause and effect constructs cannot be determined between these two exhaustive and mutually variables that are performed in synchronization. There is no formal hypothesis. The study is designed to be exploratory by following an inductive reasoning and a "bottom up" approach, moving from specific observations to detect patterns and regularities to finally ending up developing some general conclusions.

#### **3.1 Qualitative Research**

In this section, reasons why this study is conducted qualitatively will be listed. First, entrepreneurship is a nascent field of research (Gartner & Birley, 2002) and qualitative research is recommended for the nascent field of entrepreneurship research (Gupta, Knights, Javadian, & Gupta, 2014). Qualitative research focuses on the process of interpretation of behaviors and situations rather than on outcomes (Kohlbacher, 2006) It interconnects a family of terms, concepts, and associated assumptions by combining a set of interpretive material practices to visualize the world in an illustrative and representative way (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). It is best recommended for research questions based on “why and how” and for evocative and observational purposes (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Regarding studies who

tackled refugee entrepreneurship, qualitative research was used to explore successes and challenges of refugee entrepreneurs in Central Texas (Fong, Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam, 2007). The Research conducted by Ayadurai (2006) was qualitative as it had similar objectives of understanding the relationship between entrepreneurship and socioeconomic integration processes to achieve inclusion of 200 “Tamil” women entrepreneurs in eight districts in the North East of Sri Lanka. Findings were retrieved by using qualitative data of translated surveys, that tackled promoting factors and hindering challenges of their entrepreneurial endeavors, which demonstrates the aptness of using a qualitative methodology (Ayadurai, 2006). Wauters & Lambrecht (2006) assessed qualitatively why there are so few refugee entrepreneurs, who are active in Belgium, why their revenues are limited and what are their challenges. Findings show that the limited number of refugee entrepreneurs is attributed to their difficulties in accessing entrepreneurship, due to a lack of recognized diplomas, skills, start-up capital, market opportunities, as well as, rules and legal restrictions from the institutional environment (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006). Additionally and by treating them as a distinct category, they called on the promotion of entrepreneurship among refugees in Belgium. They also suggested further research and analysis in other countries to either confirm or amend their findings (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008).

This in turn justifies the importance to explore entrepreneurship among refugees in a different context and check its potential and associated challenges in different hosting communities by emphasizing the importance of conducting a narrative study to explore entrepreneurship and integration of Syrian refugees in Greater Cairo. For the above mentioned reasons and as this research focuses on individual journeys of self-initiatives undertaken by Syrian refugee entrepreneurs to observe if they affect their integration in local communities, qualitative research is recommended.

### **3.2 Research Design and Case Background**

This research is exploratory in nature following the philosophical paradigm of post positivist, as it is the most suitable approach to the nature of reality (ontology) and how knowledge is researched between what is known and what is unknown (epistemology) (Kohlbacher, 2006). This research is "constructionist" where meanings and experiences are socially produced and reproduced, rather than inherited within individuals, depending

on socio-cultural contexts (Kombo & Tromp, 2014). It is inductive, heuristic, latent and interpretive, as there are multiple relationships and entrepreneurship and integration are two dynamic concepts (Cassell & Symon, 2004).

It uses the qualitative methods of narratives and storytelling, for evocative purposes and for investigation of natural settings of what made refugees start their self-employment, what helped them, what was against them. It also explores if having their own businesses facilitate their integration, as a mitigating tool for their challenges, or were refugees already included in society, which made opening their own venture easier.

Narrative responses, open-ended survey questions, interviews, focus groups, observations, media articles, book and manuals are sources of qualitative data (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014). Narrative perspectives have been gaining momentum in entrepreneurship research as seen in special journal issues (Neergaard & Leitch, 2015). It is the most recommended approach to become more experienced with the phenomenon of entrepreneurship and integration of Syrian refugees in Greater Cairo. It has special value for investigating complex and sensitive issues (Neergaard & Leitch, 2015).

Additionally and by following a narrative approach, qualitative research amplifies the micro level experiences of refugee entrepreneurs to undergird their integration patterns at the socio, economic and political levels. Consequently and rather than documenting whole life stories, narratives focus on a specific event in participants' lives (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). They link events in a sequential order to display people insights and offerings and better understand how they make sense of their experiences that might contain accounts of transformation (Cassell & Symon, 2004)). Another advantage of narratives is that they contain temporal information about why certain events happen and what are their effects on subsequent happenings. These events can relate to proximal outcomes revealing the connection between individual agency of entrepreneurship and the wider social context, including entrepreneurship mechanisms lying beneath the socio-cultural patterns of promoting and challenging factors and their effect on the integration process (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014).

### **3.2.1 Target Population and Sampling**

In this study, refugee entrepreneurs are considered active participants to elaborate on their personal experiences and life stories by narrating, in a descriptive fashion, their routine



and problematic moments in their daily lives and by observing if, entrepreneurship mitigates these challenges. This is to analyze refugees' motives to pursue entrepreneurship, entrepreneurship factors, entrepreneurship obstacles and integration mechanisms pertinent to the research question: "does entrepreneurship among Syrian refugees serve as an integration mechanism in hosting communities of Greater Cairo?"

The research context encompasses Syrian refugees in Greater Cairo for several reasons. First, it is the largest refugee community in Egypt (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2015). Second and according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and since the beginning of the Syrian exodus in 2011, the total capital invested by Syrians refugees and their Egyptian partners is \$US 800 million. Coming from middle to high socioeconomic strata and despite general challenges, to open a business in Egypt, and specific challenges attributed to refugees in Egypt to access labor opportunities, Syrians contributed to the Egyptian economy by hiring and training local Egyptians and by boosting exports with their expertise. They occupied large factories and micro enterprises, in different sectors including textiles, restaurants, local markets, and IT firms (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). In addition, many development agencies and non-governmental organizations support self-reliance initiatives for refugee entrepreneurs (A., 2016<sup>11</sup>; W., 2016<sup>12</sup>; A.R., 2016<sup>13</sup>).

En brief, Egypt has proven to be an attractive location to Syrian refugees despite the difficulties of starting a business in the Egyptian context, which indicates the importance of entrepreneurship for better income generation opportunities among refugees.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were used to solicit desired information by surveying a sample population that must be representative to avoid bias and error sampling (Kombo & Tromp, 2014). When research selects cases with predetermined criterion of importance with rich qualitative component, purposive sampling and the snowballing technique are best to be used (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Purposive sampling selects information-rich examples to study. Snowball sampling is also called "chain sampling" and "identifies cases of interest from people who know people, who know people and so forth.

---

<sup>11</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality.

<sup>12</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality.

<sup>13</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organisation are anonymous for confidentiality.

Cases are information-rich and are good examples for interview subjects (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014). This approach to sampling has been used in previous research study tackling migrant and refugee entrepreneurs for a small business development in Iowa, USA. Therefore, it is a necessary method to gain “*entrée*” into the newcomer communities and households, develop a sense of rapport with newcomers, interview the subjects, and observe their economic activities. Subjects suggested referrals leading to a growing number of participants, interviews and observations (Grey, Rodríguez, & Conrad, 2004).

Regarding sampling from the target population, and despite their availability, accessing Syrian refugees was a very challenging, bureaucratic and a cumbersome process. As there is no random selection, it is a non-probability sampling. As it was approached with a specific plan in mind, it is a purposive sampling (Cassell & Symon, 2004), where Syrian refugees, who are entrepreneurs, were selected, as they meet the inclusion criteria.

### **3.3 The Process of Data Collection**

The first contacted organization was the United Nations High Commissioner (UNHCR) office in Zamalek. The UNHCR Communication Officer and UNHCR Livelihood Officer accepted to be interviewed to provide more information about the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) process and types of support they offer for refugees including aid assistantship and livelihood programmes. However, both representatives refused to give out contact information of the Syrian refugees they support. The second contacted organization was International Organization for Migration (IOM) and its Livelihood Program Manager, who accepted to be interviewed at the organization office and who communicated a list of contacts of Syrian communities and Non-Governmental Organizations. The list included the following institutions: Hamza El Khatib, Al Noor, Insan, Rabetet Soureyiat, Fard, Souriana, Sawa (Al Watan), Omar Ebn El Khatib, Al Rashad, Syria El-Gad, Refuge Egypt, Saint Andrew's Refugee Services (StARS) and Catholic Relief Services (CRS).

From this list, only two representatives from two institutions working with refugees answered the call for an interview but still refused to disclose their names and did not accept to contact their Syrian refugees. On the other hand, the Chairman and CEO of a Non-Governmental Organization working with Syrian refugees referred us to two direct contacts with Syrian refugee entrepreneurs in maintenance work. Both contacts served as case study 8 and case study 11.

Additionally, a direct contact was established with Mr. Rassem El-Atassy, Human Rights Activist and Mrs. Lina el Kassah, Manager and Co-Owner of the Syrian Community Center of Rabetet Soureyiat in Obour City. This case served as case study one and they were very helpful for referencing other humanitarian cases and self-sufficient cases. By identifying the first three samples, referrals were recommended and the process of administering in-depth semi-structured interviews for an hour and half and two hours became easier as participants felt more trust after rapport establishment.

Purposive and snowballing sampling approaches yielded 13 entrepreneurs who indicated a willingness to participate. Unfortunately, one of the 13 entrepreneurs refused to participate in the study, even following signing the participant consent forms required by the university's Institutional Review Board (IRB) committee, which is attached in appendix B. This entrepreneur did not provide reasons for her non-participation and no explanation was pursued given that participation was strictly voluntary. The loss of this participant was consistent with issues of accessibility, especially among female Syrian entrepreneurs, and potential limitation of the sample, as it excludes refugee entrepreneurs, who are afraid to participate for security reasons and refugee entrepreneurs who were supported by refugee institutions, as direct contact with them could not be established.

The refugee sample is homogenous in the sense that they are all Syrian entrepreneurs; all have opened their businesses and that they self-sustain themselves from various sources. Yet, the sample is heterogeneous in a sense that it represents different sectors, such as, food and beverages, retail, education and maintenance services. They represent diverse geographic locations in Greater Cairo, as in Obour, Shorouk, Sixth of October and Haram. It is also gender diversified by including eight males and four females. This is to ensure that the sample is representative. As there were no additional insights and by the 12<sup>th</sup> interview, data saturation was reached.

### **3.3.1 Data Collection Method**

Narratives research uses typically interviews for data collection, which is often the main source of primary information (Creswell, 2013). Cassel and Symom (2004) mentioned that using in-depth interviews with minimal structure imposition by the interviewer, and a preponderance of open-ended questions to emphasize particular situations, is the best method to interpret associated meanings and amplify interviewees' perspectives of how they interpret

a specific phenomenon and assign meanings to it (Cassell & Symon, 2004). Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions allow participants narrate their stories and personal experiences (Kombo & Tromp, 2014). Singha, et al.(2014) mentioned that according to Studs Terkel, lengthy and semi-structured interviews with key participants, are the best-recommended narrative approach. This is to let participants tell their own stories to interpret their individual significance; but at the same time, still address the main area of interest, which is the relationship between entrepreneurship and integration (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014). The reason behind choosing semi-structured interviews is to investigate how refugees define integration; why do refugees pursue entrepreneurship; does entrepreneurship affect integration; is integration already settled in place through informal networks of peers and relatives; is integration a priority for them; what are the benefits for being self-employed; and what are the challenges linked to entrepreneurial endeavors. This is to get a comprehensive and a detailed understanding of the full picture from the eyes of refugees and compare it to actual information gathered from the literature review. The justification behind using open-ended questions is that they are flexible and adaptable tools, where in-depth and rich information are recouped (Kombo & Tromp, 2014; Creswell, 2013).

Secondary data was gathered from available literature including, media articles, websites, Facebook pages, published reports, as 3RP Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan 2016-2017, The 2014 UNHCR Global Report of Encouraging Self Reliance, The 2015 UNHCR- Egypt country operations profile and Amnesty International. Email communication from several representatives working on the refugee cause and notes from phone calls with participants were collected as background information. This information has a secondary role to the interview data, which constituted the primary evidence analyzed in the study (Creswell, 2013; Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014).

From the research literature, personal knowledge, experience in the domain, and informal preliminary work, the interview guide, which is attached in Annex A, is divided into contextual and background information to pursue entrepreneurship, factors that promote self-employment and obstacles that hinder the process and, finally, the relationship between refugee entrepreneurship and their integration.

Pilot in-depth interviews were held tentatively as to make sure that questions ask what is meant to look for; accordingly, the interview guide and questions were modified until

they fulfill what they intend to do. These questions were flexible enough to enable participants narrate their stories within the context of research objectives. Suggested probes are used to follow-up responses and elicit detail from participants to interpret the entrepreneurial phenomenon and check if it contributes to their economic integration, social inclusion and political participation in receiving societies.

In the first section of contextual and background information, reasons why Syrian refugees have chosen Egypt to self-settle are explored. After checking their daily challenges, personal factors and motives are investigated, by asking the following questions: How did they arrive to Egypt? When? Why? With who? Refugee or a migrant status? Do they have any legal Permits? What about renewal of permits? Did family members come with them? Did they submit any UNHCR applications? Is there any kind of NGOs Assistantships? Do they have any entitlement to any benefits? What are their challenges? What are their skills? Do they have any education degrees? What are their integration and resettlement goals?

Then, questions tackling their entrepreneurial journey are asked. For instance, what were their motives to pursue entrepreneurship? Why did they pursue self-employment and not salary substitution? What are the benefits? What are the drawbacks? How did they start their initiatives? What is their mode of operations (formal versus informal)? What kind of promoting factors? What about the challenges? Is there an access to formal financial channels? What about market access? Is there timely and reliable information acquisition? Are there any legal barriers to pursue formal activities for taxation on income generation? What about the general economic outlook?

In the last part, questions tackled entrepreneurship and integration. For example, did they reach the “outcomes” of integration by Ager and Strang (2008) and economic benefits through employment and have better access to basic services? Were social integration and social connections already there? In addition, what are the effects of such initiatives on medium-term economic integration and long-term legal integrative policies?

Before conducting the interviews and asking the participants to sign the Arabic consent form, all questions were listed to them as to make sure that they fully understand them and to make sure that their participation is out of the good will. There was a difficulty accessing female participants, especially those who work from home to offer Syrian cuisine. As mentioned earlier, one participant refused to record her interviews and to participate after

going through the interview questions and signing the IRB form. Her choice was respected without putting any kind of pressure to refrain from not participating.

From December 2016 to March 2017, interviewees with twelve Syrian refugee entrepreneurs were held. Each interview lasted, from one hour and half to two hours. After oral and written consent of participants to sign the AUC consent form in Arabic, the twelve open-ended, in-depth interviews with minimal structure imposition by the interviewer were conducted in the Arabic language and were recorded, as well. It is noteworthy that both consent forms, one in Arabic and another in English, are approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) department at AUC and are attached in Annex B.

As the interviewer is bilingual and familiar with the interpretation of colloquial terms, all interviews were transcribed after being translated from Arabic to English. Following the English translation of the Arabic audio recording, a second researcher has checked the quality of the context and data content. Following, the content analysis, codification, and themes identification, expected and observational findings are retrieved by comparing similarities and differences between stated theories and empirical findings, which are explained in detail in the data analysis section.

As shown in table 1, the twelve participants are divided into four females and eight males. There are seven participants who are registered under UNHCR and six participants are registered under educational permits. Targeted sectors are diverse. There are four participants, who are working in the maintenance works sector; three participants are working in the educational sector; four participants are working in the food and beverage sector and, finally, two participants are working in the retail sector. Unfortunately, there was a difficulty in accessing the textile industry to interview Syrian entrepreneurs, as all of the contacted Syrian refugees, who are working in the textile industry, were employees and not entrepreneurs. Six participants do not employ any personnel, and for the rest of the six participants, the range of the number of employed people is from one to seven people, which denotes that the size of all businesses in the sample is small. Three participants have licensing permits, mainly those who are under a current support of a funding organization or a government. Three participants have a licensing under an Egyptian name, as they are collaborating with Egyptian partners. Three participants are freelancers and home based, which does not require a business licensing. Five participants do not have a licensing permit.

One participant refused to mention the licensing status of the business. Only one business has closed for a lack of funding, and the eleven remaining participants are ongoing.

Table 1: Syrian Refugee Entrepreneurs Interviewee Profiles from December 2016 to March 2017

Code	Gender	Permit Type	Part Time Job	Name of the Business	Sector	Location	No. of People Hired	Licensing	Support By Organizations	Status
CS-1	Female	Educational	Researcher at a UN agency	Rabetet Soureyiat Women Community Center	Support services for women	Obour	7	Yes	AOHR	Ongoing
CS-2	Male	UNHCR Yellow Card	No	Syrian Bakery	Food and Beverages	Obour	3	Did not disclose	No	Ongoing
CS-3	Female	UNHCR Yellow Card	Supervisor at Abnaa El Andalus Community School	Home Made Syrian Cuisine	Food and Beverages	October-Haram	zero	Not Applicable for Home based Services	No	Ongoing
CS-4	Male	Educational	Volunteer in a Community Organization	Syrian Fast Food Chain	Food and Beverages	Shorouk Madinaty	5	No	No	Ongoing
CS-5	Female	Educational	No	International London Center For Training And Consultancy	Education Services	Obour	6	Yes (Egyptian Partner)	Swiss Based Organization	Ongoing
CS-6	Female	Educational	No	Female Clothing Shop	Retail	October	1	No	No	Ongoing
CS-7	Male	UNHCR Yellow Card	No	Freelancer Wall Painter	Maintenance Services	October	zero	Not Applicable for Freelancers	No	Ongoing
CS-8	Male	UNHCR Yellow Card	No	Cosmetics Shop	Retail	October	zero	No	No	Ongoing
CS-9	Male	UNHCR Yellow Card	No	Air Conditioners and Water Filters Shop	Retail	October-Obour	zero	No	No	Ongoing
CS-10	Male	Educational	No	Educational And Vocational Services	Education Services	Obour-Shorouk		Yes (Egyptian Partner)	Swiss Based Organization	Ongoing
CS-11	Male	UNHCR Yellow Card	No	Freelancer Electrician	Maintenance Services	October	zero	Not Applicable for Freelancers	No	Ongoing
CS-12	Male	UNHCR Yellow Card	No	Maintenance Shop	Maintenance Services	October	zero	No	No	Closed

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

Qualitative research excels at generating information that is very detailed necessitating categorization of “raw” data into themes using content analysis and proper coding. The drawbacks of data collection and analysis are time consuming and they can be problematic and confusing (Kombo & Tromp, 2014).

Singha et al. (2014) stated that through the identification of important themes and patterns and to analyze text data with special emphasis on its content or contextual meaning, qualitative content analysis is used to focus on the characteristics of language. Content analysis is a classical method of analyzing narrative evidence in psychology, sociology, and education. It is utilized for subjective interpretations requiring systematic classification and categorization of coding through themes and patterns identification (Crewell, 2013). The goal of content analysis is “to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study”, which is the main aim of this research to interpret the entrepreneurship phenomenon among Syrian refugees (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014).

Fong et al. (2007) used content analysis for their qualitative study that explores the entrepreneurship process of refugees in Central Texas also deployed content analysis. Therefore, in this study, content analysis is used, as it helps reaching the research aims of this study (Fong, Busch, Armour, Heffron, & Chanmugam, 2007).

Chronologies were identified for each refugee’s story of why did he/she choose Egypt as a hosting community; what has he/she faced as challenges and if there were any facilitators, that enabled him/her pursue his/her entrepreneurial journey. Therefore, evidence revealed collective stories of what motivated refugees push their entrepreneurship in hosting communities, which affect their integration in these communities.

Data analysis and as described in Table 2, starts by reviewing data to be classified into broad categories- open coding and descriptive coding- by sticking the description provided by key participants. These codes are grouped into more specific and detailed codes- expanded coding, focused coding and axial coding- to formulate themes, through analytical “memo-ing”, and finally generate theories (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014).

Expected findings are categorized according to the attached interview guide in Annex A and generated new insights were retrieved from inductive observation. All similar findings were categorized into nodes and sub nodes according to generated themes in an excel table.



In the first cycle coding of data analysis and following the summary of basic topics and sorting of emerging meanings, from the interview transcript into words or labels (Gallicano, 2013), open coding and descriptive coding are used. Open coding is used to investigate on larger processes that may be contemplated in accumulated evidence (Creswell, 2013). By staying close to interviewees' words, descriptive coding is implemented (Patel, 2014). Both coding methods are helpful in the identification of promoting factors and challenges, as well as, the importance of communication and mapping among stakeholders.

In the second cycle coding and after several reviews of data and to expand, through analytical "memo-ing", the open codes into more specific codes, expanded coding is utilized to search for highly significant codes, based on thematic or conceptual similarity. This is to document speculations about possible relationships and themes emerging from the data and to later move into "theme-ing" by identifying a concept running through the data, that it is not limited to specific segments of evidence (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014). Additionally, focused Coding and "axial coding" identified relationships and connections between open codes (Gallicano, 2013).

Themes were treated similarly to hypotheses by posing questions to ensure that recognized themes are supported by evidence. Questioning treats potential themes similar to hypotheses by getting back to the data to see if these hypotheses are backed up by evidence. Following code weaving or the narration of key code words into phrases to investigate how entrepreneurship and integration categories, themes, and concepts interrelate, four summary statements are composed.

- Market disadvantages push refugees to undertake "Necessity Based" Entrepreneurship
- Facilitators catalyze social integration for limited economic outcomes
- Institutional and Organizational Challenges prevent "Market Based" opportunities
- Political integration cannot be achieved with sole reliance of individual entrepreneurs

Theorizing devices were utilized by creating three models to capture processes suggested by the data. As a final analytical step, the three models are mentioned in the findings section of chapter four, which are necessary to extract theory for qualitative evidence (Creswell, 2013) between open codes (Gallicano, 2013; Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014).

Table 2: Data Analysis Description

Analytical Device	Description From Literature	Ideas Evolved From	Examples From This Research
<b>Open Coding &amp; Descriptive Coding</b>	- Reading interviews, marking passages with 5 or 6 broad codes to signify major categories that fit data. Not all data are coded. (Creswell, 2013; Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, (2014).	-The research topic, questions and literature review.	- Open code: - Challenges in hosting communities -Market disadvantages -Refugee Push -Refugee pull -Social integration -Economic integration -Political integration
<b>Expanded Coding, Focused Coding &amp; Axial Coding</b>	- Creswell (2013 stated that expanded codes are used to stretch data on open codes, for rich information, by reviewing and re-reviewing the data (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014). - Focused coding and axial coding” identified relationships and connections between open codes (Gallicano, 2013)	- Margin notes and analytic memo-ing, are used to describe in detail what is happening within open codes to expand them.	- Expanded, focused and Axial codes: Entrepreneurship motivations –Entrepreneurship Factors -Challenges in hosting communities: - No access to employment opportunities - Being salaried does not cover basic needs - Refugee push to create market opportunities - Ethnic cultural factors - Barriers in regulatory framework - Institutional support to target market based opportunities - Integration Outcomes - Actions, behaviors, decisions around challenges in hosting communities - Economic integration allow participation and can lead to integrative procedures. - Formalization of entrepreneurial activities - Legal stay, business permits and licensing
<b>“Theme-ing”</b>	- It is done following the abstraction of expanded codes into themes, by getting back to data and chronologies for testing emerging analytical memo-ing. (Creswell, 2013)	- Analytical memos are used to note what is conceptually intriguing or surprising, by posing questions and noting speculations, that are continued to conjecture theory. .	- Refugee entrepreneurship and Integration themes: - Market disadvantages push refugees to undertake “Necessity Based” Entrepreneurship - Facilitators catalyze social integration for limited economic outcomes - Institutional and organizational challenges prevent “market based” opportunities. - Political integration cannot be achieved with sole reliance of individual entrepreneurs
<b>Theorizing</b>	- Larger meanings of participants’ stories are interpreted within their context to visualize theories and processes, which have to be evidence based (Creswell, 2013)	- Main ideas are generated from empirical findings (theme-ing) and existing literature (Singha, Corner, & Pavlovich, 2014)	- Episodes in collective story of refugee entrepreneurship and gradual integration processes following the level and depth of entrepreneurial activities of refugees (summarized in Figures 7,8 and 9)

#### 4. Chapter 4: Findings

Findings are grouped under three sections based on the interview guide. The first section is covering contextual background information to observe what motivated Syrians to pursue their businesses. The second section is for their entrepreneurial journey where enabling factors and obstacles are explored. Finally, third section is about integration and entrepreneurship among Syrians in their hosting neighborhoods.

##### 4.1 Introduction Contextual Background Information

Refugees face more challenges than migrants and ethnic communities, who usually choose to migrate for better economic opportunities, unlike refugees who are forced to leave their country of origin due to unexpected war events. The following quotes confirm Chrysostome (2010) findings regarding “necessity based entrepreneurs”.

The following three quotes show that they were forced to depart from their home country. They depict their suffering from being outside home and have to face challenges. Case study three stated:

*“I came to Egypt with only my clothes on. We had to escape war from Aleppo to Damascus where we were hosted for free for 5 months at very good people until we decided to travel and everything was left behind out of necessity. I couldn't take anything with me and until now we live in insecurity hearing a bad news.”*

Case study six stated that they were facing war hardships and traumatic experiences:

*“Any person getting out of his country, and if he is going to paradise, he will not find it beautiful, especially from a situation of war and your psychology is not well. If we had not the war situation, we would have never immigrated. So here in Egypt, consider yourself in Syria, until the war is over. We all want to go back once the war is over; we will not be staying here. Trust me, we will leave everything behind and go back to our country to build it and renovate it. There is the Syrian proverb:” eza ma kherbet, ma beta 'amar”, or’ “it won't be renovated, unless when destructed”*

This quote shows the amount of destruction and traumatic experience during and following war circumstances and that refugees prefer to return back home unlike migrants whose primary motive is to resettle in the country of host.

Case study eight added his homesick feelings and exorbitant entry permits fees:

*“People keep on saying that it is your country and what is missing are real actions. Talk does nothing but actions do. “Migration” is a painful word when you hear it. So what about if you actually live it! We had to seek refuge due to bad conditions and we are not welcomed anywhere. We have to pay USD 3,500 to enter Egypt! Why? Am I going to paradise? In USA, It is cheaper. In KSA, you pay SAR 35, 000 with hard connections and bureaucracy measures. Paradise is much cheaper! The Syrian is not welcomed anywhere unless to Sudan and there are hard circumstances there. Jihad in Syria is a political lie! To help yourself, you must not be a slave and you must not let anyone control you. You only have one God but nobody treats you fairly. ”*

This quote shows the amount of injustice and unfair treatment that are subject to refugees. The interviewee seeks a hosting country that does not exploit his situation by paying exorbitant permits. This denotes limited funds and resources availability, and his resilience factor, that despite all these challenges, he opened his own cosmetic shop.

Additionally, refugees are subject to exploitation, segregation and isolation at peripheral locations. They have to renew permits and to have a valid permit is very costly. Housing is another issue. Renting costs are soaring, unstable and require a lot of paperwork, as getting authorized renting contracts from “*Shahr El-Aqari*”, in addition to brokerage and insurances fees.

Case study 8 denotes the vulnerability of a typical refugee, who is subject to financial and psychological stress, as quoted:

*“When we arrived, they told me that the worst is to work for an Egyptian in factories. I realized that the good and bad is in every nationality. There is no rule stating that Syrians are better than Egyptians and vice versa. Even if I am opening a business and I am employing people and that Egyptians are very welcoming. I am Syrian and Egypt is not my country. The issue of permits is very bureaucratic and problematic. You have to renew them for tourism for 6 months, education or investment. They need a lot of money and if I work at somebody and taking EGP 900/1000, as a basic salary, how can this amount cover basic living expenses of transportation, food, rent and phone? For educational permits, they are valid for one year; but, are not applicable to me, as I finished my education degree but I do not need to apply for university or school. In*

*addition, it requires a lot of money and personally, I do not have my certificate, which is in Syria. He added that: " Ana ayeish ala tagalli be ein Rab El-Alamein" or "I live on transfiguration in the eyes of the Lord of the world"*

In other words, he lives the day by day and he lives on his own, which denotes vulnerability and that refugee face more challenges than migrants do.

Case study 5 expressed her concerns towards the bureaucratic process to renew educational permits at *El-Edara El taalimyia* in the sixth neighborhood or "*El Hay El Sadess* at October city, as follows:

*"The journey of education, registration, paperwork and bureaucracy, where no one knows anything and everyone tells you to do something; so you get lost, has begun!"*

She added further that principally in the beginning, borders were open and it was very easy for Syrians to enter without visas unlike other neighboring countries. After June 2013 visa imposition, a lot of families suffered from this situation especially if they seek reunification with other family members in Syria, who cannot enter and that "*Lam El Shaml*" or family reunification helps by now some family members in Syria, who can come to Egypt, if a family member has applied for the application. Case study 6 mentioned that she had encountered very ill-mannered people, while renewing her permits.

They lack resources, documentation and access to formal sources of finance and rely on informal support. They are usually high in debt and lack proper documents, which limit their formal access to appropriate work opportunities. Applying for the UNHCR is the least preferable option as it entails many limitations. These permits need to be renewed every six months; they limit the freedom of movement of refugees and they confiscate their passport at the embassy. Concerning received aids, they are slowly diminishing, as not to mention the poor quality of services and psychological stress following assessment, as mentioned by case study 9:

*"Government's paperwork and legal requirements require too much money to renew permits, that I do not have. The government makes things very complicated that police arrested me one time, as my educational residency was not renewed. I had to apply for a UNHCR Yellow card, which does not help much except with food vouchers from Carrefour, following strict evaluation questions that harm the dignity of any human being. There are no real assistantship and no donations at all. You have to*

*depend on yourself; “mateshtaghlesh mataklosh” or “if you do not work, you won’t eat”.*

Case study 12 stated that after meticulous evaluations by UNHCR, where very offended questions, such as if they own a trash basket, are asked and the entitled amount to be received is limited and cannot fulfill on their own all life expenditures. They are summed into cash donations and monthly food vouchers from the World Food Programme (WFP), access to basic health service in” *Mashfa Mahmoud*” and some stationary and partial school admission fees coverage. He also complained from the poor quality of education. His children need to register to a public school and then go to community-based school, where Syrian teachers teach the Egyptian curriculum; and sometimes, they have to take private lessons.

Case study 7 explained that he chose Egypt, due to the common language. One of his first challenges was to find a rent. He was always subject to relocation and high brokerage fees and he sought accommodation at a friend. Having a job is another concern depending majorly on informal contacts and networks for borrowing and support. Another concern is the legal stay and permits renewal. There are three available types. 1) Tourism permits that are issued for 6 months. 2) Yearly educational permits, where one need to bring the proof of constraint document or “*Ethbat queed*” at the school to apply at the administrative building in October or Mogamaa El-Tahrir. 3) UNHCR Yellow cards for six months, which confiscate passports, as the Syrian embassy consider them as void.

The “refugee” as a word entails aid dependency and as expressed by case study 6:

*“Syrians whenever they are, they come up with good results and positive impact. We cannot be labeled as refugees and aid dependent. It is impossible for me to accept being called “refugee”. This is an insulting word, as we depend on ourselves and we stand on our feet. It I am seeking a stable and a safe place from a war country to a country of peace that’s it...that’s all...We stand for ourselves...we make positive change and develop the community and help one another....I cannot accept the word refugee. “Refuge” is a very normal word means to move from an unstable place to a stable place. Syrians cannot accept to be aid dependent and we stand on our feet. Alhamdulillah my kids are at the university and hopefully we go back to our country and not keep on staying here. My country is the paradise on earth!”*

This quote in particular denotes that to call Syrians “Refuge” is an insulating words as it denoted dependency; and on in the contrary, they are self-sufficient and only seek refuge to start a new beginning and a new living.

To conclude this section and as stated by Chrysostome (2010), refugee face more challenges, similar to the “Necessity Based Migrant Entrepreneur” They have to leave their city unexpectedly; they lack documentation; they do not have enough resources and face traumatic experiences and adaptation concerns in hosting communities. Their motivational theories can be attributed to two schools: 1) the “iron Cage Perspective/Disadvantage theory” by Chrysostome or the “Blocked Mobility Theory” by Raijman and Tienda (2000), following discrimination at labor markets. 2) The “Neoclassic perspectives” or the” Entrepreneur Model”, when there are more benefits associated by being an entrepreneur than by being an employee (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2006).

To conclude with the first narratives in this section, market disadvantages and challenges in accommodation, legal stay, access to labor opportunities pushed refugees to push their “Do-It-Yourself Initiatives (DIY) “following the same motives and characteristics of “Necessity Based Migrant Entrepreneurship”, which question their continuity due to their vulnerability.

In this section, characteristics of the entrepreneurship process are tackled in detail. Findings show that “ethnic-cultural” factors were the strongest factors that enabled refugee start their own initiatives on a limited scale with restrained margins due to the targeting of ethnic niches with low entry barriers and cutthroat competition. Following further investigation, most challenges that refugee entrepreneurs face are associated with lack of access of financial capital and markets, organizational barriers and institutional obstacles. Consequently, most refugees pursue informal activities targeting their ethnic communities and are vulnerable to sustain their activities. However as demonstrate in cases studies 1,5 and 10, minimum institutional support was effective to formalize their activities but also target market based opportunities that benefit refugees and hosting communities ,as these opportunities are not tackled by nationals. This reduces vulnerability and instability and can be a source of economic growth and local development, where creative destruction of a pull entrepreneurship is promoted. This can be an opportunity to formalize the legal stay of refugees, who complain from lawful stay difficulties and bureaucracy, and can be a novel

way to activate social integration by strengthening economic ties for a possible political participation and sustainable livelihoods.

## **4.2 The Refugee Entrepreneurship Journey: Opportunities and Threats**

This section tackles the entrepreneurship phenomenon in detail due to its critical correlation with integration, that is composed of three overlapping dimensions of economic, political and social aspects. Entrepreneurship empowers participants access income generation opportunities by employing themselves and hiring others and as stated by Drori et al. (2000), integration is a consequence following seizure of opportunities by non-national, as they fill the supply and demand gap (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013). In addition, Fielden (2008) demonstrated that the three dimensions of integration, including the equal treatment towards accessing prominent and dignified economic opportunities among refugees and local citizens, and as declared by the 1951 Refugee Convention, have to be satisfied to become a durable solution (Fielden, 2008). Consequently and in the following section, factors and obstacles that either hinder or promote the process are discussed.

### **4.2.1 Factors that Promote Refugee Entrepreneurship**

As expected promoting factors and following empirical findings, Chrysostome (2010)'s five-survival factors model for necessity entrepreneurs are confirmed by categorizing them into ethnic-cultural, financial, managerial, psycho-behavioral and institutional factors

It is noteworthy to note that findings regarding promoting factors are not limited only to the necessity based type, considering that they are a primordial step before becoming an opportunity based type, as organizational and institutional factors within macroeconomic conditions have a say in that..

#### **4.2.1.1 Ethnic-Cultural factors**

Empirical findings confirm the statement of Light and Gold (2000) and Mushaben (2006), affirming: *“Ethnic connections reduce the costs of doing business and provide investment capital, advice, raw materials, training, and access to customers. Networks render job referrals and training, and ethnic-based trust reduces conflict between workers and owners. These resources provide group members with financial, human cultural and social capital, which yields a path to economic progress that would have been unavailable in their absences.”*



Moreover, findings confirm community /agency factors by Chrysostome(2010) where access to human and financial resources, strategic partnerships for a cohesive community network create leverage, cultural and linguistic proficiency and conceptual skills for assessment of macroeconomic conditions promote the entrepreneurial process. This in turn substantiates the Mixed Embeddedness theory by Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath( 1999) that capitalizes on the power of multiple contingencies and corroborates “Refugee Push” and “Schumpeterian Pull” hypotheses, by Goel and Rishi (2012).

Main sectors Syrian refugees occupy are in Food and Beverages, retail and maintenance services for households. It is quite interesting to note that the ethnic nature of supplied products and services, especially the Syrian cuisine, was a starting point for Syrian refugees to “push” their products first among themselves and later to outreach larger circles of friends, relatives and neighbors. When ethnic people respond to a gap in their ethnic communities and provide special goods and services to fulfill their needs, it falls under the definition of the “Economic Chances Model” of ethnic entrepreneurship. This is applicable to Case Studies 2, 3 and 4.

It is noteworthy to confirm the “Utility Theory of Shapero”. At an initial stage, refugees survived by testing their markets on a smaller scale and not necessary for a lucrative market based opportunity. This explanation falls under the “Iron Cage perspective” of Necessity Based Migrant Entrepreneurs and “Reaction Model” of ethnic entrepreneurship, where opportunities of self-employment are not necessarily credible and lucrative; but they carry some non-monetary rewards that are assessed positively by refugee entrepreneurs. Out of necessity and as a reaction to the disadvantages refugees face in hosting communities while self-settling themselves, they seek informal work opportunities for themselves as being an employee entitle them to low pay.

As mentioned by Case study 2:

*“Fundamental elements are available and to open a small shop is much better. Despite paperwork and daily concerns, being an employer is better than being an employee and Egypt is a much safer country. Salaries cannot cover basic costs of living as housing, food and transportation. As Syrians, we do not need to help of anybody except to let us live in peace”. Case study 7 stated that:” Assuming working with someone and you get from EGP 70 to 100/ day, how can you make sure that all*

*expenses will be covered. You have a rent, living expenses, food expenses, transportation, home expenses, health expenditures and such amount will not be sufficient to cover your basic and survival needs.”*

Case study 12 stated that and the monthly salary offered to him by working in a factory in sixth of October was only EGP 1200, which could not cover his basic needs of transportation, rent, and food for him and his small family

It also entails that some Syrians open their own businesses for social goals, as to support one another and hire other Syrians. Case study 2 quoted that:

*“If you have capital to open a business, you should do so regardless of hardships and limited financial returns. It is important let others be employed, develop your place and community and be self-sufficient.”* Case study 5 mentioned that: *“we are here to support one another!”*

A good observational point that when refugees have access to more institutional support according to “the mixed embeddedness” theory, their venture creation turns from “refugee push” to “refugee pull” of Schumpeter’s “creative destruction” theory.

Following the market reality gap and a disadvantage of poor quality of education, they filled a market-based opportunity. As quoted by Case 5 regarding poor public education in Egypt:

*“There is the “problem of attendance” where students only register at school for examination to get a certificate by the end of the year. Actually, we came as an overload. Due to the large number of students, the child cannot assimilate lessons. The Egyptian dialect is different from the Syrian one. For Syrian children, it is hard to get lessons explained in Egyptian and it is difficult for them to understand them. So that’s why, they still attend Syrian educational centers, like ours, in orders for them to understand lessons while registering and applying at Egyptian public schools. This is a solution that satisfy both ends and we enroll Syrians, Egyptians and all other nationalities.”*

Case study 12 stated that “The smart way” initiative fills the gap in the market especially for those who had to leave school for a number of years. Instead of being unemployed, they engage in vocational programmes that are suitable to their needs and that generate a good income to support their families. Community based learning is highly demanded mainly by textile factories in the industrial zone of Obour where computer based patronage and fashion design are high in demand. This is a market-based opportunity.

The special findings about these two cases that they respond to a specific market hole in poor education to both Syrians and Egyptians. Findings by Light and Gold (2000) and Mushaben( 2006) are confirmed , as ethnic enterprises have their own benefits and can be a solution in unregulated and slow regulations with diminishing welfare to minority groups. As quoted by them: *“In all probability, the general labor market will never provide enough good jobs for all Although the inadequacy affects everyone to some extent, even the native born, white majority, the burden of scarcity falls most heavily on the less assimilated or acceptable white groups, visible minorities, non-Christians, refugees and immigrants (Mushaben, 2006, p. 211).”*

As there was a minimum institutional support, it allowed them to do more impact than other individual based initiatives. The Swiss organization interested in refugee education under supervision of the UN supported both community centers by financial and technical support in terms of vocational training. Financial support was for one time and the technical support is ongoing. This has serious implications of the importance to target interventions not just at the micro level but also at the institutional and macro levels. This matches Bonfenbrenner’s conceptual and operational framework dictating that for entrepreneurship to be an interventional solution for local development of Syrian refugees and hosting societies, “microsystems” of refugees; but also “mesosystems” between them and their families and friends; “exosystems” between them and institutions and “macrosystems between them and the government. Therefore, it is momentous to investigate the legal structure, social networks, economic status, and other informal arrangements of peers, family relatives and friends and check how all these elements affect venture activities and integration.

The findings of Beckers & Blumberg (2013) are confirmed that there are groups or “clusters” more integrated and entrepreneurial than other groups. As Syria and Egypt used to share a common history, a similar culture and language, their social integration was facilitated due to the proximity of “cultural distance”, co-ethnic group identification, especially among Syrian community centers, self-sufficiency, educational and labor market outcomes, which might affect their ability to access and service mainstream activities instead "of concentrating in their niches.

In the upcoming section, the four “ethnic-cultural” factors, that include “ethnic market niches”, “ethnic social networks”, “ethnic labor” and “ethnic emotional support” are explained.

“Ethnic market niches” are a very strong factor among Syrians. They usually start selling their products and offer their services among their families, friends and neighbors. These niches serve as initial markets and provide ethnic social networks necessary for the supply of labor, financial and emotional support. In other words and following Ager & Strand integration framework (2008), “social links” were developed among Syrians into “social bonds” to establish “social bridges” within hosting communities, as these exchanges are facilitated by the common language and relative stability and security in Egypt.

For case study 1, the women community center serves as a social platform for exchanges and inclusion of the most vulnerable women, who are single mothers or have special concerns. Hired women work for free until products are sold. With generated income, they channel revenues to working women and when they cannot get paid, they work as volunteers to support one another and to organize exhibitions to support the neediest. As quoted by the interviewee:

*“It is all: “minkom wa ilaykoun” or “from you to you”. Any job cannot only be charitable. You have to be charitable to support the neediest; and for the business to keep going, it must be profitable. Charity is open and huge and I encourage all women to do charity and support one another.”*

The interviewee of case study 3 started to test her cuisines services and mini biscuits giveaways at her neighborhoods. She used her connections to support Syrian families of 150 members. They used to gather near the garden of El Hosary Mosque at Sixth of October to collect donations and food rations. Following war traumas and circumstances, they offer psychological support and, in partnerships with associations and organizations, they organize voluntary activities of excursions, charity events and exhibitions

Case study 5 added:

*“We empower ourselves through the civil community, it is much stronger than those ineffective institutions. We have our own resources and know-how and we provide courses to empower one another through our limited funding and informal programs.”*

Case study 6 mentioned:

*“Even if we have common grounds of language, culture and as a country, Egypt resembles Syria; same taxi, same bus and same university students. The six of October city is similar to little Damascus. Syrians living in Rehab and Madinaty, they come each Friday to do shopping, like one-day tourism and change mood. Here, we opened ethnic niches and established a business hub, where there are commercial exchanges between Syrian and Egyptians. By nature, Syrians like to help country nationals and bigger businesses. Syrian hire local Egyptians, despite that managing Egyptians is tough, and interactions happen”.*

The interviewee of case study 8 stated that he came by the end of 2015, thinking that Egypt has a cheap cost of living, which is less expensive than Syria. He found out that Syria is less expensive than Egypt by half and the only benefit in Egypt is that there is no war, no shooting, no persecution and more stability. Syria is plagued with instability, war, shooting, and risk of persecution

Case Study 10 specified that:

*“Syrians like to be self-sufficient are always open for business. We are here for impact and it does not matter which nationality you are from. We provide educational services and the support given by refugee agencies is to help families that need this kind of support in form of basic stationary coverage, that has nothing to do with our business.”*

It is good to note that Syrian communities are the primary customer base. Case study 10 has shut his first business initiative of a technology management, consultancy and training services Bureau in Heliopolis. As they were away from Syrians as a target groups, they could not enlarge their network of contacts. Same issue happened to the interviewee of case study 12, who shut dow his business, due to ineffective location, that did not target the customer base of Syrian communities.

For observational ethnic-cultural findings, most interviewees participate in voluntary activities and offer a partial of their services for free to other community members. For example, case study 4, he is a part time job employee at an organization for refugees. In addition, he has his own civil society initiative, which is developed by a group of Syrian friends, to educate values, ethics, self-development skills and shape personalities of Syrian youth and teens, who had to leave their schools for consecutive years due to war conditions.

They provide mental, sportive, and cultural activities to let them develop relationships, specifically when they are exposed to a new community where their ethics and belief systems might be shaken.

Syrians empower themselves by forming civic community organizations. These blurred associations are very powerful to respond to their own needs. These networks are mainly strong among women. They are more complex than simple liaisons. Reaching a specific size, they establish civic communities, where membership is based on ethnicity and not specifically on monetary gains. It is an opportunity for hosting communities and governments to develop a formal mechanism for their incubation and local development

#### **4.2.1.2 Financial Factors**

All twelve cases expressed real concerns regarding access to finance. There is no formal support by Rotating Credit Associations (RCA) and banking institutions with the exception of certain refugee agencies and NGOs, who are offering mini grants of basic vocational training that do not match the needs of more established Syrian businesses, as mentioned by the interviewee of case study 4. All of them rely mostly on informal sources between family members, relatives, and acquaintances in their ethnic communities. They bootstrap their resources and are very vulnerable to unpredictable changes in the external environment, which is explained in detail in the challenges section. Some cases reported having received basic aid and assistantship not for opening their business but general assistance following their application for UNHCR yellow cards. These assistantships have ceased and cannot be renewed with so much ease. The interviewee of case study 3 stated that when she first came, she used to receive donations from UNHCR and food vouchers from Carrefour. Since 2015, these donations are no longer available; assistantships have diminished and are currently stopped. Case study 12 reported that UNHCR donations include mostly cash donations and monthly food vouchers from the World Food Programme (WFP).

They are hard to be renewed following their short-term offerings of six months and meticulous evaluations that are very offensive in comparison to the bureaucracy and poor quality of associated services. Case studies 7 and 8 rely heavily on debts and are extremely susceptible to stop their business. They stated that as life in Egypt is much more expensive than in Syria, there is a dire need to diversify their income sources.

Case study 7 quoted: *“My advice is to diversify revenue base. Life expenses are hard. Do whatever you can; apply for assistantship; apply for vocational training and apply for a grant.”*

Case studies 1, 4 and 10 have contacts and connections with other organizations as Arab Organization for Human Rights (AOHR), the Kuwaiti government and UN based organizations that enable them access institutional support of a onetime financial support and vocational training. They are less vulnerable than individual based initiatives of case studies, 2, 3,6,7,8,9,11 and 12.

For case study 4, the fast food owner, who is collaborating with an Egyptian partner for legal issues, quoted the following:

*“Their grants are insignificant compared to the business type and venture expenditure requirements. For instance, EGP 5000 and EGP 10,000 grants cannot build a business- a competitive one- but maybe a home based business for limited impact. We are aiming for a competitive business. This is an issue because the Egyptian market is huge and highly competitive and much more financially stable actors are present in bloody waters. It is quite normal not to find financial support for impact and needs bigger than this scope. In addition, most of the donations targeting Syrians were for immediate relief and not targeting livelihoods, which is a much bigger word. Now there are institutions that offer small and micro grants characterized by not “enriching or satisfying hunger”.*

As observed findings in financial factors, some refugee entrepreneurs choose not to access grants offered by refugee institutions, due to mismanagement, and ineffective mapping of resources and limited financial offerings of USD 500 , that do not much the needs of their competitive businesses in the highly ferocious Egyptian market, specifically when compared to the Syrian market. Most available grants target low skilled refugees for a limited home based application, which are needed by some refugees but not all refugees. As quoted by Case study 4:

*“Targeted programs should differentiate between livelihoods and assistantship. “The fish” is assistantship compared to learning the process of “fishing”, livelihoods, which is an empowering tool for people to have a living and stand up on their own.”*

Therefore, the diversity of refugees' needs must be incorporated to administer financial and vocational assistantships that suit the needs of targeted businesses. Another key consideration is stakeholder mapping to avoid resource duplication and efforts doubling.

#### **4.2.1.3 Managerial factors**

Educational level, previous work experience, high tolerance to risk, perseverance and commitment to work long hours are necessary skills that were available in all entrepreneurs.

Case study 1 quoted: *“Work; then, work and work! The most important thing in this life is to work; to depend on yourself and to have your own life and living so you do not need anything from anyone”*.

Case study 3 mentioned: *“No one will knock on your door and tell you here is your food and here are our donations. You have to work and find a living for yourself.”*

Case study 4 advised to open a business that one is very knowledgeable about and that ignorance is a real weakness and threat, as quoted: *“If you have a million but you ignore the business, you will lose your money and people will exploit the situation. Two things are important: to be strongly knowledgeable about what you do and to have financial resources.”* He further added that preparation and hard work are important: *“As Syrians, it is in our character and nature that we love people in general, and self-employment. It took us from one year to one year and half to fully understand the pros and cons, do feasibility analysis and design and structure the idea.”*

Case study 5 said: *“In Syria, there is no way for anyone to stay without employment, we have to do something, and it is ingrained in our nature.”*

Case study 7 mentioned that there must be adaptability and continuous skill development, as follows: *“Apply for a vocational training to develop your skills and apply for a grant that would be a help by any mean. Self-employ yourself given your resources and knowledge. To be self-employed is better than to be an employee.”*

Case study 9 said: *“with our good work and good service, people keep coming back by reliable commercial exchanges that make us closer to people needs and culture.”*

Case study 11 mentioned: *“The help I need is to serve more clients and work more. I am quite happy in my second country Egypt, as it is similar to Syria and people are friendly and hospitable. But I also hope to be back to Syria someday!”*



Accordingly, observed findings are similar to expected findings available in the literature as there are no new insights.

#### **4.2.1.4 Psycho- Behavioral Factors**

Desirability to survive and stand out to support others and affect surrounding communities are reported at all cases. Busc, Marilyn A, Heffon, & chanmugam (2007) statement is confirmed, as individual characters of self-motivation, hard work, resilience, perseverance and willingness to learn were important in all cases. Beehner (2015) findings, that there are ethnicities more entrepreneurial than others, are asserted, as per the two following quotes.

Case study 2 demonstrated the entrepreneur's resilience by quoting the following statement:

*“Forget the past. Start from new with a new page in a new book chapter and Egypt is similar to Syria. As Syrians, we do not need to help of anybody except to let us live in peace.”*

Case study 4 mentioned the perseverance factor as follows:

*“We entered with patience. Until now, we did not grow up. Now we covered our expenses with limited margins. For two years, we were losing and we had to be in debt. In addition, the progress and evolution is small, minor and insignificant, specifically when compared against the invested amount of deployed funds and demand affected by people and population size in the community and your location in the neighborhood.”*

This quote shows how resilient refugee entrepreneurs are to handle minor returns and limited growth given their weak financial standing. It also denotes how vulnerable their status quo is and more support is needed for continuity, growth and sustainability.

Case study 5 mentioned that:

*“It is true that we lost money, we lost souls, we lost everything; but, we must leave behind what has been lost and to think how we can enhance the present situation given current constraints and available resources. Even if we have to move to another country whether it is Egypt or not, we cannot stay passive asking what shall we do? What will we eat? From where shall we spend? How will we get educated? We tell to ourselves: “we are in this situation; we have fallen down and we have to move on.” Therefore, we think how to find a solution and how to adapt to such circumstances.”*

This quote shows how adaptable and realistic the interviewee is to accept her current situation to optimize the inputs of her tough situation.

Here is another quote that shows strong determination and faith:

*“There is nothing called impossible; everything need willingness and determination and “tawakol 3ala Allah “or trust in Allah.” if you have a problem, you cannot stop at it. You need to move beyond it and learn from it. Life is hard for those who have a weak willingness and a low fighting spirit; but beautiful for those who say “yah Rab”, stand up and work!*

Case study 7 mentioned that:

*“The mentality of the Syrian is to work really hard and at a high quality and not just undergo the day to get the daily fee rate or “Yomeyia”.*

Case study 10 stated that:

*“Syrians like to be self-sufficient and we are always open for business. We are here for impact and it does not matter which nationality you are from.”*

However, the definition of Potocky-Tripodi (2004) denoting that social and human capital are not as significant as personal attributes, educational attainment, linguistic proficiency, citizenship and even being a male is challenged (Fong, Busch, Armour, Heffron, & Chanmugam, 2007).

First, community networks and connections among Syrians are the main sources of support in terms of moral backup, financial resources, labor supply and primary customers’ demands. The first entrepreneurial initiative of case study 10 failed, as he offered services away from Syrian communities. His success is attributed by targeting the market gap of community based learning for Syrians in Obour. Second, there are cases where entrepreneurs have basic educational levels and not university degrees; but they are willing to self-develop, as case studies 6 and 9. None of the 12 cases has citizenships and for case studies 1, 4 and 6, they are female entrepreneurs.

Moreover, findings confirm that collective groups sharing similar cultures and languages serve as a psychological support and facilitate exchange activities, experience, and knowledge among refugee communities.

Case study 4 mentioned that: *“That is why we empower ourselves through the civil community, it is much stronger than those ineffective institutions. We have our own resources and know-how and provide courses to empower one another through our limited funding and informal programs.”*

However and as observed findings, it is too early to notice if upward social mobility will be achieved by serving mainstream industries, due to shortcomings in educational and labor market outcomes and weak institutional support, that are way stronger than culture proximity and co-ethnic group identification. With the exception of case studies 5 and 1, they reported that technical support provided by Swiss based organizations is significant for growth of their customer base.

#### **4.2.1.5 Institutional Factors**

The Mixed Embeddedness Theory by Kloosterman,(1999), where institutional support promotes venture creation is not found in most cases, with the exception of case studies 1, 4 and 10. In other cases, the institutional factor is missing as the Egyptian government does not promote entrepreneurial development programs in counseling, tax incentives, and credit assistance.

Case study 1 mentioned the support of Arabic Organization of Human Rights (AOHR) to establish the community center the Kuwaiti government to provide educational grants for Syrians in Egypt. Case study 4 confirmed that there is no support supplied by the government or any public institutions other than authorizing them to open following an administrative license. Case study 10 mentioned that they refuse the intervention of any aid organization or other company, except for the Swiss organization that provide vocational services to develop refugee technical skills. “The smart way” initiative fills the gap in the market especially for those who had to leave school for a number of years. Instead of being unemployed, they engage in vocational programs, that are suitable to their needs and generate a good income to support their families. Community based learning is highly demanded mainly by textile factories in the industrial zone of Obour, where computer based patronage and fashion design are high in demand. This is a market-based opportunity.

## **4.2. Obstacles Obstructing Refugee Entrepreneurship**

For expected entrepreneurship challenges and according to Chrysostome (2010), entrepreneurship challenges are organized in institutional, organizational factors is added. Coordination among stakeholders is added as an observed challenge.

There is a mismatch between formal rules and what is happening as a market reality, as stated by Chaux & Haugh (2015). In other words, “institutional voids” in the form of

“paralysis”, “ambiguity” and “incongruence” are present. Institutions are too engrained to respond on time to refugees and community needs. This is attributed to the inaction towards refugees’ acute complaints regarding the bureaucracy of residential permits issuance, renewal, and family reunification procedures, as not to mention the inexorable prices of visa permits. Nothing is done regarding the gap to offer targeted based programs for skilled and experienced refugees. Informal practices make it hard to differentiate between legal and sanctioned actions. Finally, there is incongruent dominance of few actors towards larger informal refugees actors. This is elaborated further in the legal integration section.

#### **4.2.1 Institutional Factors.**

##### ***4.2.1.1 Lack of Functioning Markets***

Findings complement the absence of functioning mechanisms and the availability of poorly structured and ineffective mechanisms where refugees find support from informal sources, as explained in the promoting factors section. These informal settings limit rights protection of refugees and subject them to exploitation. Case study 6 the reported burglary concerns with her Egyptian partner in her previous business initiative. Other concerns include renting costs, constant change of locations and uncontrollable factors that have very negative effects to tight margins and slow growth businesses. Case study 5 confirmed that there is no support supplied by the government or any public institutions other than authorizing them to open following an administrative license. She mentioned that the hospitality of the people is the most important.

##### ***4.2.1.2 Inefficient Legal and Political Systems***

Bureaucracy, inefficient administrative procedures and a lack of a legal enforcement characterize refugees’ entrepreneurial process .it is remarkable that licensing the business is different than renewing their residential permits. To get a business license, Syrians collaborate with Egyptians, as with case studies 1, 4, 5, 9 and 10.

Case study 1 mentioned that for legal paperwork, (AOHR) protects them and they are licensed under the Ministry of Exterior and the Ministry Social Solidarity. They are ready to be formal partners with any organization or entity that would like to provide support.

On the other hand, Case study 4 expressed that:

*“To open our educational center, we went to the commercial registry or Segel Togary for licensing and get the liscense “Betaka Daribeyia”. There must be an Egyptian with you to facilitate the registration process and no other paperwork requested from Syrians for administrative business type. Syrians need to have a proper situation and a convenient permit on business and investment activities other than the already available touristic and educational permits.”*

Case study 5 added that there is no legal coverage. As they are taking a commercial license and as it is a lengthy and a bureaucratic procedure, his Egyptian friend is in charge of legal paperwork including health certificates. He quoted:

*“In general, there is no legal protection, as it is hard for Syrians to get licenses.”*

Case study 9 stated:

*“Government’s paperwork and legal requirements require too much money to renew permits that I do not have. The government makes things very complicated. The police arrested me one time and I was jailed for a few days, as my educational residency was not renewed.”*

Most of the businesses open informally, and do not care about licensing as much as paying rent, a brokerage fees and any associated costs, as with case studies 2, 6, 8 and 12. When case study 12 was asked, if he is afraid that the police will shut his business due to the absence of license, he mentioned that he has nothing left to lose and in the worst-case scenario, his business will be shut down. He lost everything already and nothing really matters after the death of his mother and the killing of his best friend. He quoted the following quote: *“Mabalek be mouwayten yanam ala azeez el rossas wa yasha ala aswat el madafeea”*. In other words: *“what do you expect from a citizen who sleeps on the whizzing of bullets and wakes up on the sounds of guns.”*

For case studies 3, 7 and 11, they are home based and on free lancing basis so there is no need for a business license.

#### **4.2.1.3 Insufficient Infrastructure**

There is a poor infrastructure for transportation to find an appropriate location. Syrians self-settle themselves within such challenges. For case studies 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 and 10, they reported that they had to relocate the business several times and that there are high renting fees, costs, and some are subjected to higher fees than others.

Case study 1 mentioned that in the very beginning, they used to reserve rooms and halls to conduct their programs' sessions for informal circles of friends and relatives. Case study 2 stated that regarding store location, he opened in another location that was less crowded. As there was no proper demand, he had to relocate to his current location, which is in a more animated area. He added that he pays higher rent charges, but there is no other option.

The interviewee of case study 9 has limited mobility outside his neighborhoods due to his health conditions. Case study 11 mentioned that the challenge for him is transportation, as he carries large tools at distant location and not all clients accepts to pay transportation charges. It is good to note that these two cases are free lancing initiatives that offer maintenance services in electricity, refurbishment and painting. Limited mobility means death to them, unlike other cases that have a physical location and where clients can come to their store location.

For observed findings, nothing is mentioned regarding their access to communication and internet services. The use of social media is primary factor their enables their outreach and expands their connections.

## **4.2.2 Organizational Barriers to Refugee Entrepreneurship**

### ***2.2.2.1 Access to Resources***

Acquiring resources is a challenge to all cases. Finding a suitable physical location is problematic; and if chosen inappropriately, this affects their business demand. Lack of resources and weak demand happened to case studies 2, 4, 5 and 10. Case study 4 explained that the available resources were conceptual, intellectual skills and human resources from his acquaintances. Their conceptual resources and social skills make their competitive advantage. They work on a professional and academic basis. They do planning very well, through soft opening, and test markets, especially when they need to adopt, a variety of pricing strategies, depending on items and prices of their food menus. However, he reported real concerns to continue his activities as their business is very vulnerable to uncontrollable factors in the market.

For observed organizational barriers findings, informal circles of friends and relatives and their community groups are particularly strong. The use social media, as Facebook and WhatsApp, facilitates outreach and enlarges their acquaintances. The use of modern

technology and questions regarding their access to basic services of internet and communications must be considered. Nothing was mentioned regarding their fair access to technological services.

#### **4.2.2.2 Access to Finance**

Findings by Calabria & Omata( 2016) are confirmed, as due to the absence of formal finance mechanisms, refugees do not exercise their economic rights such as taking bank loans and opening bank accounts. They rely on informal, debt and equity financing and there is a widespread of debt finance. The twelve case studies mentioned concerns with finance.

Case study 1 stated:

*“There is no support and there is no sponsorship. Given the harsh economic conditions in Egypt, it is hard to find people giving without return especially for volunteers who come to work without minimum transportation coverage”. She added by quoting:” As I told you, I work here without salary. Mr. Atassi pays only the rent, volunteers work free. Like coiffure sessions, we charge 100 EGP either we pay them or we buy supplies for the next session to be run. The same with kitchen, selling revenues are channeled to women who helped in order processing. It is all:”minkom wailaykoum” or “from you to you”.*

Case study 9 mentioned:

*“There are no real assistantship and No donations at all. You have to depend on yourself; “mateshtaghlesh mataklosh” or “if you do not work, you won’t eat”.*

For observed findings, case study 4 expressed his frustration of slow growth, due to fiscal constraints. He bootstrapped financial resources that are provided informally by them and from family and friends. There is a hole to provide targeted support services to match competitive needs of more established refugee businesses which limit their economic sustainability. He added:

*“Their grants are insignificant compared to the business type and venture expenditure requirements. For instance, EGP 5,000 and EGP 10,000 grants cannot build a business- a competitive one- but maybe a home based business for limited impact. We are aiming for a competitive business. In addition, most of the donations targeting Syrians were for immediate relief and not targeting livelihoods. Now there are institutions that offer small and micro grants characterized by not “enriching or satisfying hunger” or “menah wa moussa’sdat la touthmen wala touthni men gouaa.”*

He stated further: *“Our community needs assessment for an intervention, and more professional and specialized training by trusted and experienced people in addition to financial support. For the academic community, doing competitions targeting young professionals through grant writing and proposal submission for creative business ideas will be great. Also to provide consultancy and technical services to review the business beyond the startup phase is necessary to assess if they keep going despite ongoing challenges.”*

#### **4.2.2.3 Low Levels of Demand**

This is another real concern due to the external macroeconomic factors that cannot be controlled effectively when limited backup strategies are available. Case studies 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10 complained from high volatility of prices that affect customer demands and forces them to alter their value proposition and quality of offered services, especially in fast consumer goods and Food and Behaviors. Case study 4 stated that:

*” As prices go up and down and stability of the business is hard to reach, which lead them change the menu, prices and even quality, affecting clients’ satisfactions. So it is hard to control many risks in the environment, as dollar exchange rate, material prices and even the salaries of the chefs and if to be reduced, they might leave. He added further: “The smaller the community, the less is the number of people entering your shop, there are no new clients, and progress comes from getting more clients based on positive word of mouth. It also depends on location as for example Shorouk, Madinaty, Rehab are less crowded than Greater Cairo and Fifth Settlement. The location in Shorouk is less crowded with people due to less number of inhabitants and population, which affects the number of clients entering your shop, especially when the market is highly competitive. You are counting your clients reaching a point, when there are no new clients. For the business to grow, getting new clients is necessary to initiate new demands and then can keep them with good reputation and positive word of mouth.”*

#### **4.2.2.4 Lack of Market Information**

Access to timely market information is challenging knowing in advance that the Syrian market is different from the Egyptian market. Moreover, there is dominance of a few market players controlling the majority of smaller and informal players, including refugees businesses. Such institutional incongruence poses more threats for refugee business to enter the market and even much more hurdles to grow and sustain. They die soon, after losing a lot



of money. Additionally, there are many problems with the cash flow. Vendors commonly pay on credit and they rarely keep their promises to pay on time.

Case study 4 stated that:

*“There are differences between Syrian and Egyptian markets in terms of capital expenditures (CAPEX) and the volume of investments, nature of word of mouth between suppliers and vendors, cash flows, ethics and behaviors in terms of conduct,. The Egyptian market is huge and needs a lot of money, which is not the case. In Syria, he used to know all names of the commercials. Another difference is the nature of Egyptian labor. An Egyptian employee is interested to work the least and just pass the working hours, unlike the Syrian employee who is primarily motivated to develop the places and work really hard in “Etkan” or diligence”.*

#### **4.2.3 Urban Agglomerations Settings and Coordination among Stakeholders**

Following our interview with humanitarian agencies and NOGS, nothing was mentioned regarding if coordination was promoted among stakeholders. There is little information exchange between stakeholders. There is a huge market gap in targeted based assistance and ineffective resource deployment and resource duplication.

#### **4.3 Refugee Entrepreneurship and Integration in Hosting Communities**

In this part, integration through entrepreneurship, among syrian refugees in Greater Cairo, is evaluated. Interview findings are compared to Ager & Strang (2008) conceptual framework of integration, Berry Acculturation model (1988), socio-economic integration definitions, political integration definitions, UNHCR 1951 Convention and its 1967 protocol rights protection, and labor laws in the Egyptian context. This is to see overlaps in findings or if any new findings have emerged. This section is categorized into expected and observed findings for socio-economic integration and political integration.

For local integration to become a durable solution, three dimensions and processes have to be satisfied. The first process is legal to ensure that refugees have a large range of rights and that they are protected in hosting societies. The second process is economic to develop sustainable livelihoods for refugees and offer to them a comparable standard of living as local citizens. The third process is social and cultural processes where refugees are able to adapt and are at the same time accepted without being discriminated by community

members. Once refugees are naturalized, citizens by fulfilling the three dimensions, the durable solution and associated benefits are achieved (Fielden, 2008).

Following what Drori and Lerner (2002), Bager, and Rezaei (2000) has stated that integration affects the extent to which migrants seize opportunities to match between supply and demand and move out of their ethnic markets. As Syrians and Egyptians share a common history, language and culture, depending on education and labor market outcomes, personal motives and institutional support, they can move from their ethnic communities to serve larger populations. They must have close contacts; they must be are competent; have a strong financial base and maintain cross border business relations (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

#### **4.3.1 Socio-Economic Integration Findings**

"Immigrant integration" by sociologists explain how to incorporate migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to new environments and let them adapt into existing social systems through "assimilation", "acculturation", "incorporation" and "integration"(Esser, 2003; Engbersen, 2003; Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000). By following Unger & Szapocznik (2010) and Berry acculturation model (1988), there no cases of "Assimilation", "Segregation" or "Marginalization" among interviewed refugees as they are keeping their own identity while interacting in the dominant society either by self-employment or voluntary activities (Unger & Szapocznik, 2010). Syrians are proud of their Syrian identity. They do not want to be "assimilated" and lose their identity, while establishing relationships with hosting societies. They refuse to be labelled by the "refugee" label and they avoid marginalization, as they conduct economic exchanges while having a sense of a Syrian pride and ownership. They stated that they have different qualities, impact positively and develop local economies. They are not here for aid dependency.

Case study 4 mentioned:

*"The idea here is that we as Syrians, it is in our character, nature that we love people in general, and self-employment. An Egyptian employee is interested to work the least and just pass the working hours, unlike the Syrian employee who is primarily motivated to develop the places and work really hard in "Etkan" or diligence."*

This statement shows that Syrians keep their identities and are proud to identify themselves as a separate ethnic group with qualities of hard work and diligence. Therefore and as they

keep relationships with hosting societies while maintaining their ethnicity and culture, they sense integration but not assimilation.

Case study 7 added:

*“The mentality of the Syrian is to work really hard and at a high quality and not just undergo the day to get the daily fee rate or “Yomeyia”. “*

Another quote showing that the interviewer has pride by being Syrian for having the quality of hard work, which is not available at Egyptians.

Case study 6 stated with a sense of pride:

*“Syrians whenever they are, they come up with good results and positive impact. We cannot be labeled as refugee and aid dependent. It is impossible for me to accept being called as a “refugee”. This is an insulting word, as we depended on ourselves and we stand on our feet. it is impossible for us to stop. She added further: “I am totally against when someone tells me I am a refugee. I might beat him. I am seeking a stable and a safe place from a war country to a country of peace that’s it...that’s all...we stand for ourselves...we make positive change and develop the community and help one another....I cannot accept the word “refugee”. “Refuge” is a very normal word means to move from an unstable place to a stable place. Syrians cannot accept to be aid dependent and we stand on our feet.”*

This quote demonstrates their pride, sense of impact and positive influence through their work and economic activities, which denote a socio-economic integration orientation. Case study 8 said that:

*“With our good work and good service, people keep coming back by reliable commercial exchanges that make us closer to people needs and culture. People are kind. This shop is an opportunity to integrate and to better assimilate the culture. I love Egyptians and I am happy here in this October neighborhood. Even if I can go back to Syria, would live to go back here in Egypt (with an almost Egyptian dialect).”*

This interviewee demonstrates his love for Egypt and Egyptians and his willingness even to be assimilated socially and economically through cultural exchanges and not just limited to economic activities.

Case study 10 expressed that:

*“The value of the people comes from their positive impact in their environment. If you compare the number of Syrians to the 90 million Egyptians, it is insignificant. However,*

*they have created a noteworthy impact. Regardless of the nationality, you can be one million and you cannot feel their impact. Syrians even within the Iraqi war, we never felt the impact of Iraqi refugees, as they did not affect many local economies.”*

This quote shows that economic impact is the most effective way to let communities integrate not matter how small their population number is. It demonstrates that through employment, impact and socioeconomic integration are resulted. This reveals the importance of entrepreneurship to enhance the lives of people in general including refugees and hosting communities.

All twelve cases align with what Wauters & Lambrecht(2006) cited regarding Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) findings that the social pressure to integrate in the society motivates refugees to “*entreprendre*”. All twelve cases and following “blocked mobility hypothesis”, Wauters & Lambrecht(2006) demonstration is confirmed, as entrepreneurship is an instrument of social integration. Case studies 2, 3, 4 and 5 offer ethnic Syrian food and products, matching Tom Kuhlman (1990) statement that ethnicity strongly influences economic stratification by targeting an economic niche (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

Case study 3 mentioned that:

*“Of course, my work opened many fields and I get to know many people and I had an order for studio El Haram and had an opportunity with Egyptians from all social classes and I got familiar with the culture. I work for my own living. No one will help you. It is hard for you to surrender to the tough economic conditions, I need to adapt and live according to the conditions and always do something. That’s why I was motivated to help other poor families and also co-supervise this community school that as recently established two month ago following my acquaintance to a friend of mine.”*

This exhibits that having no job pushed the interviewee to make a living out of entrepreneurship. It also shows her resilience and desire to support her family and others by targeting Syrian ethnic communities.

Culture proximity, familiarity, and language proficiency helped Syrians to serve Egyptians, as stated by case study 6:

*“We have common grounds of language, culture and as a country, Egypt resembles Syria.....Here, we opened ethnic niches and established a business hub, where there are commercial exchanges between Syrian and Egyptians.”*

Therefore, “facilitators” enabled them to open their ethnic niches. However, targeting mainstream services based on individual initiatives remains a mystery.

Case study 11 mentioned that:

*“The help I need is to serve more clients and work. I am quite happy in my second country Egypt, as it is similar to Syria and people are friendly and hospital. But I also hope to be back to Syria someday!”*

Garba, Djafar, & Mansor(2013) cited that Harrell-Bond (1986) explained that refugee integration as a situation where co-existing is enabled among refugee and host communities by sharing the same economic and social resources without a greater mutual conflict. Findings by Tamvada’s theoretical model are confirmed by showing that entrepreneurship improves the welfare of people, who employ others enjoying a high growth rate of activity than for those who work for themselves (Garba, Djafar, & Mansor, 2013).

Case study 6 mentioned that:

*“Through commercial activities in many sectors as food and clothing, we have flourished the economy and developed markets and areas. Even before war, our Egyptian friends were the main reason why we have chosen to resettle in Egypt. In addition and of course, we cannot forget the reunification era under the Nasser regime; we were one country. I still remember the incident during the 1967 war, when transmission stopped in Egypt, there was a Syrian broadcaster who said: “ Here is Cairo from Damascus” so now we do the same and we say; ”Here is Damascus from Cairo.”*

Case study 10 said that:

*“Syrians like to be self-sufficient are always open for business. We are here for impact and it does not matter which nationality you are from. We provide educational services and the support given by refugee agencies is to help families that need this kind of support in a form of basic stationary coverage that has nothing to do with our business.”*

These two quotes show economic benefits and rewards from entrepreneurship, as it enhances the current situation, enables to open new ethnic affiliations and associations and can be a tool for communication with hosting communities

No conflict was reported with an exception of case study 6. The interviewee reported that her Egyptian partner has robbed and exploited her situation in her first business initiative in 2014. For case studies 5 and 10, and to service ethnic demands of enrolled Syrians in Egyptian public schools, these community centers hire Egyptian and Syrian teachers to serve Syrians and Egyptian students alike. Same case is applicable for Case Study 1, the women community center in Obour, as services are provided by and for both- Syrian and Egyptian women. Therefore, social integration is a necessary factor for economic exchanges following familiarity with needs and culture. As quoted by case study 1:

*“I advocate integration between both communities, as it carries only benefits. The idea of integration is to make them live together and adapt in the new environment. Following war circumstances, it might take some time, but we need to live and adapt accordingly and let our children go to school. The center is an example of how minor differences can be an enriching experience. Throughout our sessions, both nationalities communicate and we started to understand Egyptian dialect and even share food recipes.”*

Case study 5 mentioned that:

*“We learned from Egyptians to emphasize English as a foreign language; and we as Syrians we have introduced the Syrian cuisine. There is nothing called impossible; everything need willingness and determination and “tawakol ala Allah “or trust in Allah.”*

This quote shows that there are rewards out of integration and that the exchange nature improves by taking what is good in both cultures.

On one hand, the definition of Kuhlman, (1991) of economic integration is challenged. There are impediments to adequate participation in the economy, mainly for the most vulnerable refugee entrepreneurs suffering from traumatic experiences and limited health conditions, as case studies 7 and 8. Second, to ensure income generation at times of fluctuating demand and soaring prices was reported a real concern for Case studies 2, 3, 4 and 9, as their business type is fast consumable goods. At the same time, having equitable access to goods and services, mainly for

public universities and schools was facilitated by the government as, as reported in Case study 6 .

Unger & Szapocznik (2010), Kuhlman (1991) and Wijbrandi (1986) defined integration, when refugees are committed to income generation activities, at a comparable socio-economic position in relation to the local population.

All twelve case studies, with the exception of number 12 which has shut down for personal reasons of interviewee's desirability to be resettled in the UK, reported that revenues were generated at very modest levels. Case studies 3, 6, 8, 9 and 11 mentioned the causes of limited accessibility and availability of resources and less empowerment in terms of market positioning and value proposition. Also, for case studies 1, 3, 4, and 10, there are other motives than economic gains as community empowerment, which asserts Bulcha (1988) and Bernard (1973) integration theory, that dictates an attitude of "live and let live". Refugees are becoming a working part of their adopted society. They are participating in activities, but at the same time, are keeping their original cultural identity and ethnicity. Community centers of cases studies 1, 5 and 10 promote solidarity and a culture of difference by fulfilling a market based opportunity in the Egyptian society.

Case study 1 stated that:

*" Any job cannot only be charitable. You have to be charitable to support the neediest and for the business to keep going, it must be profitable. Charity is open and huge and I encourage all women to do charity and support one another."*

As an interesting finding from case studies 1, 3 and 4, interviewees serve in Syrian community centers voluntary to support one another and stand by the most vulnerable. Case study 4 stated that:

*"I strongly believe that participating in voluntary activities and even collaborating on an informal basis, will make you understand characters to better work together and develop one another as one community, including Syrians and Egyptians. This is to grow as one community regardless of the nationality. Even in my case, we replaced Syrian labor, which travelled, with Egyptian labor. Syrians previously trained them and knowledge as been transferred.. Syrians can learn Egyptians to work harder and better in all aspects in life and Egyptians can learn Syrians to be more tolerant, kind and loving to one another."*

Some entrepreneurs mainly seek to hire other Syrians, despite slow growth and tight margins, as stated by Case study 2:

*“It is important let others be employed, develop your place and community and be self-sufficient.”*

For observed socio-economic integration findings, Syrian community organizations and Syrian civil societies are empowering entities for refugees to depend on themselves and start their own initiatives. This indicates why aid is not a favorable thing among Syrian entrepreneurs who have more resources than the most vulnerable.

Case study 4 quoted:

*“That is why we empower ourselves through the civil community, it is much stronger than those ineffective institutions. We have our own resources and know-how and provide courses to empower one another through our limited funding and informal programs.”*

Findings of Kloosterman et al.(1999).

are emphasized, as regulatory frameworks associated with their activities are informal, where refugee migrant entrepreneurs’ occupy certain ethnic niches requiring limited skills and capital requirements within an intense atmosphere of cutthroat competition and low rewards. The absence of a regulatory context poses more challenges for them to diversify their business activities, and go through upward social mobility, which confirms the importance of “mixed embeddedness” theory. Consequently, structure, institutional and socio-cultural factors are associated with the entrepreneurial behavior.

#### **4.3.2 Political Integration Findings**

Political integration is explained based on “democracy” and “nationhood”. “Democracy” is used for equality of rights (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006) and to promote “incorporation”, and “participation”, “nationhood” is used for unity based on core political values for “acculturation” (Tillie & Slijper, 2010).

For observed political integration findings, when empirical findings are compared with the legal definition of political integration by Tillie & Slijper (2010), Ager & Strang (2008) as well as with Egyptian Labor laws governing refugees under the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, legal integration is not achieved by Syrian refugee’s entrepreneurship, for the following reasons:



None of the twelve respondents indicated that opening their business facilitates their legal stay as having a business license is a different process than permit issuance and renewal. Only case study 6 has mentioned a positive intervention aspect by the Egyptian government in terms of the family reunification initiative and access to public universities among Syrians.

Political integration takes time and is not a short-term concern for all cases. Case study 12 stated that he does not care about it. He escaped death, so what is the worst that can happen, especially when he quoted: *“What do you expect from a citizen who sleeps on the whizzing of bullets and wakes up on the sounds of guns.”* Additionally, he will soon be resettled to the UK, which means that integration is not a main concern to him and that he sees that the future in Egypt is not a worthwhile pursuit despite affinity, language, and culture familiarity between members of the community. He seeks a better future for his children where the UK government will support their scholarship fees. He can no longer see a brighter future in Egypt especially when he compares his status to other friends, who took the risk and went to Germany illegally through the sea!

On the other hand, political integration can be possible following the support of macroeconomic instruments. Case study 10 mentioned that:

*“To effectively integrate, I have to feel that this is my country. It is essential for me to develop it because I live in it. It should be of importance for me that the country where I live, is developed and civilized and I have a role to play in this process. Once we settle in a hosting country and to be a part of the society, it is part of our responsibility to enhance the local economy through work. If the economy is developed, you are developed. He mentioned that in “Belad el Sham” or Levantine countries, we were always exploited, which helped us push ourselves and always think how to overcome setbacks. Many Syrians serve political positions in foreign governments, as Carlos Saúl Menem who was the President of Argentina from 1989 to 1999.”*

Following Tillie and Slijper of equality of rights and political values to promote democracy and nationhood for political integration, is far to be achieved which is the foundation of Ager & Strang (2008) conceptual framework of integration.

Tillie & Slijper (2010) defined the legal integration process in terms of “Democracy” denoting equality of rights and votes and “nationhood” designating “unity” in terms of “core

political values” and “national identity”. Following findings in their motives, and by having concerns accessing basic needs, this is what pushed them to start those initiatives.

When it comes to legal practices, Article 11 of the Ministerial Labor Resolution No. 390 of 1982, states that work permits is mandatory for refugees to protect Egyptian labor. Case studies 1, 5 and 10 have a legal identify. For case study 1, the community center for women of Rabetet Soureyiat opened under the cooperation of AOHR. For case studies 5 and 10, they were legally backed up by UN based NGO promoting education among refugees children , including community based learning courses necessary in industrial zones in Obour.

Case studies 3 and 11, they do not need working permits, as they work from home and on a free lancing basis. For case studies 8, 9 and 12, they do not care about getting business licenses as long as they pay renting fees, brokerage fees and insurance and any other associated fees. For case study 4, he collaborated with an Egyptian to open his fast food restaurant.

Regarding Article 17 of the 1967 UNHCR Convention that states that refugees are autonomous persons and are entitled to engage in wage-earning employment and self-employment and work right extension, without reservation, none of the interviewed confirmed this statement.

None of the interviewed confirmed Article 17(2) of 1951 Refugee Convention, stating they refugees, who have being residing for at least three years in a country of asylum, must not be subject to labor market restrictions and that the government must guarantee “sympathetic consideration” and “equal treatment”.

None of the interviewed confirmed Article 6 of 1951 Refugee Convention, asserting the permission to obtain work permits, in case of inability to meet requirements due to hardships or forced displacement.

Therefore, findings cannot be applicable to this legal integration definition. Findings of asylum access and the refugee work rights coalition (2014), are confirmed indicating that the situation did not improve and that there are still significant “de-facto” obstacles to employment, bureaucratic issues and paperwork to renew permits at exorbitant fees, and there is lack of accurate information, emasculating refugees’ ability to access, safe, lawful and sustainable employment.

For the above-mentioned reasons, entrepreneurship among Syrian refugees, at this point of time, is not an enabling tool for legal integration in terms of having an equal accessibility to social, economic and political rights and proper enforcement of UNHCR Convention articles that protect refugees’ rights.

#### 4.4 Summary

There are clear similar points between the twelve cases, they are Syrian refugees who decided to pursue self-employment following “refugee syndrome”, as a necessary stepping-stone, a “consolation prize” a “catchment area” to run out of poverty and as a defense mechanism towards challenges they face “(Stephan, Hart, & Drews, 2015).

All cases share the cultural-ethnic factors based on the ‘ethnic enclaves’, highlighting the powerful role ethnicities, social capital, networks among Syrian communities. However and as most activities are run on informal modes of operations, they do not guarantee more economic integration, as usually these sectors are low in margins and highly competitive, which limits their upward social mobility. Consequently, institutional support is important to structure and formalize opportunities (Webb, Tihanyi, Ireland, & Sirmon(2009); Achidi and Priem (2011); Aliaga-Isla & Rialp (2013). The summary of the gradual process of refugee entrepreneurship and integration in hosting communities, is shown below

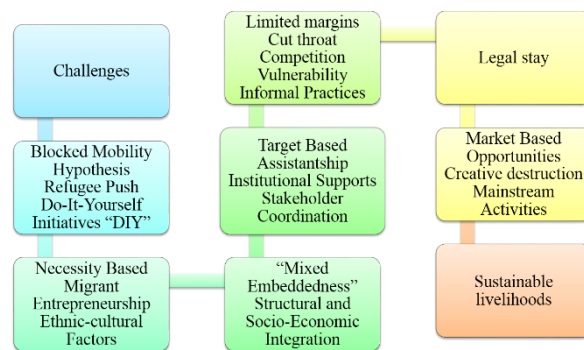


Figure 7: The gradual process of refugee entrepreneurship and integration in hosting communities

Another similar aspect between cases is that they suffer from lack of financial resources and face real issues to sustain their returns. Moreover, they undergo through tough macroeconomic factors of limited demand, weak or absent institutional support, and strong organizational barriers. Finally, none of the cases is interested in political integration. Their social integration among their communities enabled them to enlarge their circles of

acquaintances and serve other non-Syrian members towards better economic integrative processes.

The differences in cases are that some cases have formal contacts with institutions and agencies. This institutional support enabled case studies 1, 5 and 10 to explore market-based opportunities usually untapped by the majority of cases. Most of the cases lack support due to their limited social networks and formal contacts. Case studies 2,3,4,6,7,8,9 endure the most to sustain business operations with limited connections with formal organizations, especially cases studies 3, 7, and 11, which are based on free lancing initiatives. Not all cases have similar needs. Some case studies needs need more formal support than others; some cases need limited funds; some cases asks for exposure; others need technical support and access to market information. Case studies 4, 5, 9 and 10 have obvious goals to grow and expand. Case studies 1, 2, and 6 continue their business mainly for solidarity. Only cases study 12 has shut down, as integration in Egypt was not the ultimate goal of the business owner and he was applying for resettlement in the UK.

The refugee entrepreneurial process and integration findings are summarized in figure 8, which shows that market disadvantages pushed refugees to pursue entrepreneurship using promoting factors of a common language, culture familiarly and social bonds and links to target ethnic communities. For meaningful market based opportunities, that are not usually sought out by the local population due to cutthroat competition and limited margins of ethnic niches, institutional support and effective target-based assistance, coordination and mapping among stakeholders to exploit these mainstream activities are crucial. Integration among refugees and hosting societies is gradually developed from social to economic based on scalable work opportunities, legal identification, policies regulations, macroeconomic factors and individual choices can favor the direction towards this path. In the upcoming chapter, discussion followed by conclusion, theoretical and practical implications, as well as, limitations are elaborated in detail.

**1. Market disadvantages Push Refugees to Entrepreneurship**

**Refugee Entrepreneurship Themes**

- Disadvantages activate Necessity Based Entrepreneurship
- Ethnic cultural factors and facilitators catalyze social integration for limited economic returns of ethnic niches

**Action/ Decisions Behaviors**

- Market access for ethnic communities
- Common language and cultural similarity facilitate exchange
- Low margins and cut throat competition
- Gains are not economically lucrative as much as it engenders socially benefits of support

**2. From “Refugee Push” to “Refugee Pull” of Creative Destruction**

**Refugee Entrepreneurship and integration themes**

- Institutional and Organizational Challenges prevent “Market Based” opportunities
- Economic integration is enabled through more economic activation
- Creativity and innovation can be triggered

**Action/ Decisions Behaviors**

- Institutional support enable legal framework for more sustained access to resources and targeted market based opportunities
- Without this support, it is hard for businesses to target market based opportunities that are not usually exploited by local population

**3. From Economic Integration to Political Participation and Integration**

**Refugee Entrepreneurship and integration themes**

- Political integration cannot be achieved with sole reliance on individual entrepreneurs
- Importance of regulatory frameworks and stakeholder coordination to enable legal stay and business licensing

**Action/ Decisions Behaviors**

- Issuing of a database for stakeholders and refugees profiles
- Allowing effective target based assistantships according to the needs of refugees (financial, organizational, technical and vocational needs)
- Providing investment permits can be a two in one solution allowing refugees to stay legally and formal business practices
- Promoting participation in economic activities which might lead to political activation and integration

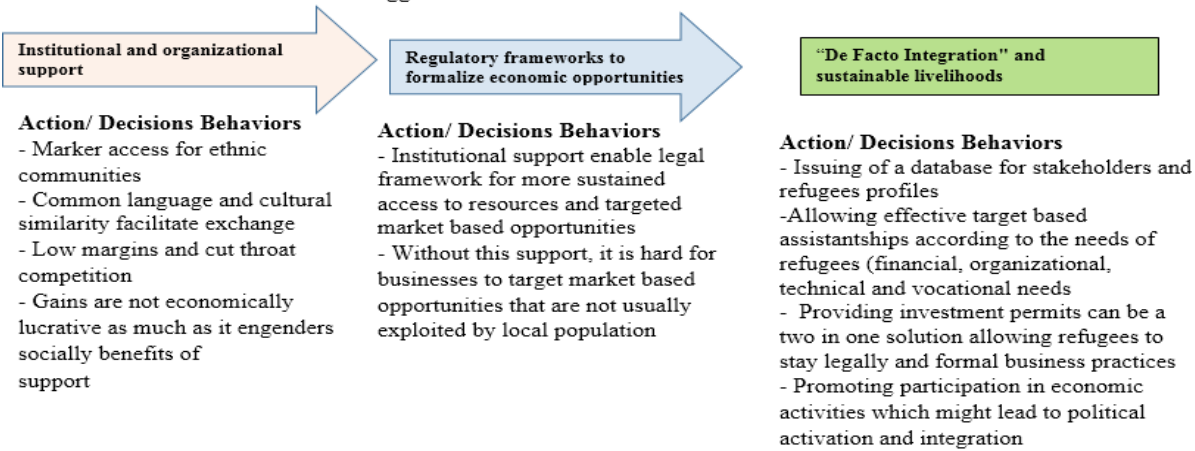


Figure 8: Summary of refugee entrepreneurship process and integration findings

## Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

To explain if entrepreneurship among Syrian refugees enables integration and what kind of integration, this thesis explored their entrepreneurial journey and how they perceive integration and by how far, following their self-employment initiatives, they are actually integrated in Greater Cairo, as a hosting community.

The significance of this study is that it provides a durable solution for a global crisis that has regional and local implications, by empowering refugees to interact across multiple systems between their communities, hosting societies, development institutions, and the legal framework. In addition, it explains how integration is a dynamic process, that takes times, as it involves levels of social, economic and political interactions and how entrepreneurship is an enabling tools towards social and economic integration. However, there are factors and challenges, such as organizations and institutional barriers, individual motives and macroeconomic trends that affect the sustainability of their economic pursuit and political activation of refugee entrepreneurs. As explained in figure 9 refugee entrepreneurs are operating in multiples systems that facilitate gradual socio-economic integration for sustainable livelihoods. As demonstrated by the ladder, the more support provided by key constituents, the more it enables further integration among refugees, who are in the middle of multiple systems governing relationships, interactions and integration. Therefore, the role of several stakeholders is emphasized, where recommendations targeting these groups are cited in the discussion part.

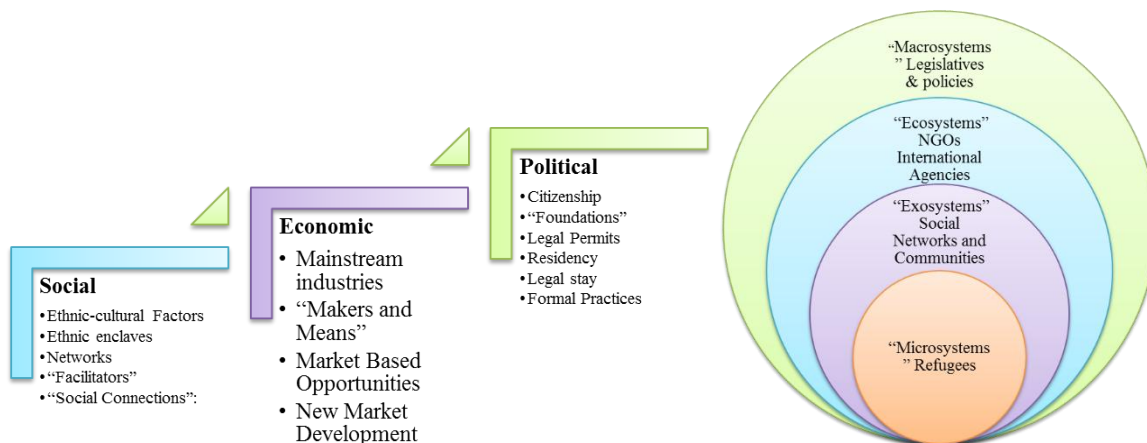


Figure 9: Refugee Entrepreneurship Integrative Process based on Ager & Strang Refugee Integration of the UK Home Office (2008) for sustainable livelihoods

Due to the importance to provide solutions based on empirical findings, in this chapter, theoretical and practical implications are suggested, as prescriptions to observed challenges and how to move forward. Limitations and suggestions for further research are included by the end of this chapter.

### **5.1 Theoretical and Practical Implications**

This research makes theoretical contributions in refugee entrepreneurship in four points. First, refugees are defined as a distinct group of entrepreneurs that share same ethnic-cultural factors, as ethnic entrepreneurs, but face more challenges than necessity based migrant entrepreneurs, who are pushed to pursue self-employment, as a survival strategy following disadvantages they face. Second and regarding promoting factors, another important advantage of Syrian civic communities is added. These communities are self-sufficient and empower one another, where refugees engage in limited margin activities for social and moral support; therefore and regarding any decisions targeting Syrian refugees, it is critical to consider the power of their communities. Third, and as the institutional void of ambiguity is cogitated a challenge hindering entrepreneurship, it is a promoting factor for refugees to seek informal self-employment, that enabled ground up local development to a certain extent. This is an opportunity for the Egyptian government to have the upper hand to regularize these informal mechanisms for the benefits of all. Finally and again, the importance of supportive regulatory and institutional frameworks, are emphasized, as they structure opportunities and enable migrants to move from their limited ethnic services to other sectors and industries for upward social mobility. In this case, entrepreneurship is not necessary positively correlated to socioeconomic integration, when migrants have better access to employment and education opportunities and considering self-employment might be less appealing, especially to second generation members. Regarding political integration of nationhood and citizenship, this is not a short or a medium term consideration. It requires first to recognize that protracted situations are very likely taking decades; refugees and community needs must be considered; and regulated mechanisms to protect their rights must be formalized, at least during their short and medium periods of stay.

As practical implications, there are many gaps for effective responses targeting refugees' livelihoods. In the upcoming part, six practical recommendations to manage Syrian refugee entrepreneurs in Egypt effectively, are stated.

First, most of the targeted programs by development aid and refugee organizations as UNHCR and IOM, and NGOs are random and ad hoc assuming that all refugee needs are the same. They do not target Syrian entrepreneurs who have already established their businesses, have some market and business knowledge and face challenges to keep going and grow. These findings are reported from Case study 4 which assert the findings of Raimondi, (2015) and Shahine (2016), that most programs emphasize the assistantship component more than resilience part. Another issue and as stated by Shahine (2016) and (M., 2016)<sup>14</sup>, is the misalignment among multiple stakeholders due to “ad-hocracy” coordination, which leads to resource duplication.

Second, most refugees face disadvantages, mainly housing challenges and legality concerns of their residential stay. Following their inability to seek a legal and a formal access to work opportunities either by being an employee or an employer, they seek informal alternatives for income generation. As stated in the data analysis part, refugees seek self-employment opportunities due to underpay and exploitation in the Egyptian labor markets. This aligns with the “Reaction Model” or the “utility theory” by Shapero, the “Blocked Mobility Theory” by Raijman and Tienda (2000) and “Iron Cage Perspective/Disadvantage theory”. Syrians realize that self-employment is a better option, especially among refugees who have high cognitive and intellectual skills of hard work, commitment and perseverance and access to social networks and resources. Income generating activities, including entrepreneurship, are critical to access services in education and health sectors, particularly when access is not adequately guaranteed by development agencies and aid organizations. These findings were confirmed from all case studies noting that case studies 3 and 7 are in real need to diversify their income base and have no problem to be employed and receive any offered assistantships to survive.

Third, it was noticed that renewing residence permits is a different process than business licensing and that refugee’s partner with Egyptians for business legality, which subjects their business protection at a disadvantage. Another emerging issue is the informal business practices within limited governmental control and rights protection to business owners and employers. Consequently, it is suggested to provide a “two- in -one” solution for an accelerated and a new type of permits that guarantee business licensing and residency

---

<sup>14</sup> The names of the interviewee and the organization are anonymous for confidentiality



issuance for longer periods of stay. In contrast to the six months UNHCR permits and one-year educational permits and depending on the type and the size of the business, longer duration of stay can be assigned reflecting refugees realities of self-settlement in hosting communities. This special investment type can be a solution to reduce bureaucracy and paperwork of permits renewal, promote stability and security, protect refugee rights, while enabling the government to have the opportunity to formalize refugees' business mechanisms and avoid tax evasion by them. This can also develop the local economy through trusted business practices and can open doors for business collaborations and empower self-sufficient communities. As refugees do not have formal access to finance due to lack of documentation and absence of collaterals, by issuing such permits, refugees can have a formal way to open Individual Development Account (IDA), or access microfinance grants. This initiative can be under the support of microfinance institutions as, International Finance Organization (IFC), Grameen Bank, The Skoll Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundations, or any organization interested in social development. Selection should not be strictly limited to economic benefits but can incorporate a social and environmental criteria, knowing in advance the power of community organization in inducing change and in this research case, most Syrians rely on their communities.

Fourth, not all refugees are low skilled, who target ethnic markets and not all migrants have developed skills and high language proficiency, who seek opportunities in the mainstream economy. Refugee groups are diverse and dynamic. Conversely, there is a market reality for their situation in Egypt but due to weak policy enforcement, the government does not dictate a command and control structure. Refugees own and solve their social issues by collective “ground-up” venturing and in an unorganized and often illegal manner. As such, effective and institutionalized” targeted based assistance”, which differentiate between assistantship and resilience, are recommended to work effectively on the needs of targeted communities and refugees. The market should provide mini grants for low skilled refugees, and also more constructive entrepreneurship, intelligent innovation, and startup development to engage the youth, underserved and underprivileged communities, including refugee and Egyptian communities. More programs that select participants from both nationalities are highly suggested. For example, programs that develop a startup business concept or build the idea with the support of a technical team to receive seed

funding and not just grant based programs.

Fifth, targeted assistance and accessibility of services outside Cairo and Alexandria must be ensured. The development of a common database with a unified codification system, beneficiary refugees cards, social protection for minors and legal advocacy for detained refugees is a highly recommended to avoid ineffective programs and duplication of services offered. Syrians use social media for outreach, so why not to initiate online platforms for skill development following the footsteps of “UNHCR Exchange” and “Codecademy” at Nakivale refugee camp in Uganda (UNHCR Global Report, 2014).

Sixth, Entrepreneurship is part of the civic life in refugees’ communities and a societal phenomenon. It is a tool for work opportunities and productive capacity building, particularly for the most marginalized refugees, as single mothers, poor women and very vulnerable refugees that rely primarily on unstable aid assistance for subsistence. Entrepreneurship is a communication medium to integrate the most isolated refugees, who keep their identities but prefer not to interact within the dominant society. This happens once they accept to be hired at a Syrian refugee entrepreneur. When networks are enlarged, refugees become assimilated in the Egyptian culture; they share knowledge and experiences, while keeping their identities intact. The most relevant case of this findings is Case study 1 of *”Rabbetet Soureyat”*, which is a physical communication platform for Syrian and Egyptian women and to Syrian and Egyptian women to encourage a sense of belonging, adaptability and tolerance. This matches the “Economic Chances Model” as this community center responds to a gap in their ethnic communities, as they have their own benefits in unregulated markets and slow regulations contexts with diminishing welfare to minority groups. However, without institutional and regulatory context, following the “Mixed Embeddedness theory by Kloosterman, Leun, & Rath (1999), social upwards mobility cannot be achieved and they will be trapped in low margins and low skilled sectors, until they shut down (Beckers & Blumberg, 2013).

A robust ecosystem breeding refugee entrepreneurs, among other stakeholders, is the bedrock of a healthy economy to activate refugee communities, mobilize societies and hosting communities incorporating both refugees and other nationalities. It is noted that there is a void of a formal legal structure and an enabling ecosystem incorporating refugees, as members of society. This poses real threats on continuation and sustainability of their

futuristic endeavors. In addition, as they rely on informal sources of capital and for those who do not have access to strong networks of families and acquaintances, or who cannot fill a real market gap or fail to apply for a meaningful grant, their survival including for the families they support, is at risk. As demonstrated in the analysis part, the institutional void, ambiguity and incongruence, were favorable determinants that pushed refugees find social solutions and fill the gap left by private and public realms. Their entrepreneurial initiatives rely on peer production, exchange and close collaboration among Syrians and at times, they form a new breed of associational models that do depend on formal market structures.

As stated by Munoz (2017), civil society ventures articulate socio-economic processes of change according to an envisioned future. At the same time, they are characterized by informal and formal mechanisms, unrestrained labor, non-economic transactions, purpose-driven profit for charity, collaborative governance and ownership, and non-scalability, which poses real challenges in governance (Munoz, 2017). Syrian communities are civil society ventures that are complex community initiatives. The administration of new instruments to engage all actors involved in the promotion of refugee entrepreneurship, including local governments, academia, NGOs, development agencies, community organizations to reconsider the how's and why's of entrepreneurship, is highly recommended. A simple suggestion is to organize open spaces for local interaction and social experimentation between Syrians and Egyptian to trigger new local initiatives, which respond to market gaps. According to his article and to move forward, Munoz states that the new legal entity formation is called "Community Interest Companies (CIC)" and promotes collective action and collective ownership. Membership to these new collective ventures is based on identity and affinity rather on contractual arrangements, as with the case of commercial entities. This has implications on startup mentoring towards a new set of strategic pathways. That is in favor of social and economic changes, including integration of refugees in community groups.

## **5.2 Conclusive Remarks**

As a durable and a local integration strategy to self-settle refugees, it is important to transform the traditional "Refugee Push/ Utility Theory" by Shapero according to "The Reaction Model" and "Iron Cage" / "Market Disadvantage Perspective" towards the "Refugee Pull" by Schumpeter and his creative destruction theory. Through "entrepreneurship

activation” innovation, economic development and inclusion of marginalized communities will follow.

Two points must be considered: market realities of Syrian civic communities. They are different from traditional economic and commercial alliances. These types of communities dictate membership based on ethnicity and affiliation and they primary have socio-economic targets as empowerment, self-sufficiency, change and integration. As refugees face challenges for legal stay, where they seek self-employment informally or through the partnership of Egyptian owners, where their rights' protection from exploitation is at risk. A "two- in- one" solution, that incorporates the needs of refugees and hosting communities, is suggested.

It is highly recommended the issuance of a new type of a legal identity that enables refugees to have a more stable residential stay and licensing permits for their commercial activities as "members" or "civilians" and not necessarily "citizens" but still away from "refugees. A similar to an investment visa type, that is longer than one year and extendable to up to five years, according to business type and impact. This visa should protect the rights of refugees, hosting communities and the Egyptian government.

This investment visa type entails many benefits. First, it accepts the market reality and the power of Syrian civic communities, where they dictate market interactions from the ground-up, which is away from the traditional command and control type of the government, who at an initial stay is not responsible for refugees' status declaration and administration. Second, it develops the local economy and limits tax evasion by transforming the traditional "refugee push"/ "Utility Theory" by Shapero towards more into the" refugee pull " type by Schumpeter and his famous creative destruction theory , where entrepreneurship is a tool for innovation and inclusion of marginalized communities. Third, it considers the diversity of refugees as not all of them are vulnerable and needy and some of them are highly skilled and experienced in the market following the "market based opportunity" type. Fourth and to avoid "ad-hocracy" coordination, target based assistantship must be institutionally administrated after careful needs assessment and resource mapping among multiple collaborators, such as donors, grant organizations, microfinance entities, refugees and UN development agencies, private companies for technical training, incubators and so forth. The development of a common database and online exchange platforms for outreach can be

proposed. Finally and following a governmental control on legalizing a new type of investment identity-, similar to “Community Investment Companies” (CIC) - more support should be provided; according to the novelty of business idea, the skill level of the refugee entrepreneur and if he fulfills a market-based opportunity that the government, the private sectors or NGOs fail to solve.

### **5.3 Research Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research**

Discussing a very dynamic topic of refugee entrepreneurship and their integration in hosting communities is a very broad and dynamic topic that involves the consideration of many other stakeholders and key players. It varies according to the country context, developed or developing, hosting societies, nature of settlement whether in camps or urban cities, associated macroeconomic trends including policies and legislations. Entrepreneurship is also affected by the structure of opportunities, demand factors, motives of individual entrepreneurs and available resources within the institutional environment.

This research has the following limitations. First, the sample is a representation of Syrian population but cannot be representative to the completely Syrian community in Egypt. Due to the challenging access of Syrian Refugees, who are entrepreneurs in Egypt, case studies focused primarily at Syrian entrepreneurs in Greater Cairo and did not include other governorates where Syrians are present, as in Alexandria and Damietta, Zagazig and Ismailia. Therefore, findings in different contexts or on other nationalities cannot be generalized.

Second, due to the bilingual nature of the author and her familiarity to interpret colloquial terms in Arabic, interviews were held in Arabic, which is the native language of Syrian refugees, and translated to English. To ensure the accuracy of the data, a second researcher checked the audio content and verified its English translation. However, due to time and cost constraints, forward and back translation was not used, which did not affect the context of data and its quality.

Third, it is too early for economic integration to achieve its rewards of sustainable development and refugee inclusion, through random and informal entrepreneurial initiatives, without the legal dimension and the input of macroeconomic actors, who have the upper hand to regularize the entrepreneurship ecosystem, by policies deployment. Fourth, this research is a case study and a specific snapshot at a certain point in time was observed. Fifth,

practical implications were not feasibly tested to check their viability, as these suggestions that might be subject to boundary conditions that were not taken into consideration. For example, the research did not go through the process of how to issue a two in one investment visa type for refugee entrepreneurs to facilitate business in hosting societies, taxable income and legal and durable stay for refugees.

For future research, it is recommended to test the feasibility of suggested propositions and incorporate the perspectives of other stakeholder groups. It is noteworthy to consider ethnic-cultural factors, language proficiency, culture proximity, geographical territories and that not all refugees, from other nationalities, have the same Syrian motives to *entreprendre*, as there are ethnic groups more integrated and entrepreneurial than others, as specified by Beckers & Blumberg (2013).

## References

- 3RP. (2015, September). *3RP Regional Refugees & Resilience plan; Funding Snapshot-Top Donor Group Meeting*. Retrieved November 2015, from 3RP: <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/>; <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/3RP-Funding-Snapshot.pdf>
- A., K. (2016, November 4). Development Officer at a Refugee Organization. (R. Kabban, Interviewer)
- A., T. (2016, June 30). Communication & PI Officer at a Refugee Organization. (R. Kabbani, Interviewer) Cairo, Egypt.
- Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A conceptual Framework. *Journal Of Refugees Studies*, 21(2), 166-191. Retrieved from <http://www.cpcnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/19.-Ager-Strang-Understanding-Integration-2008.pdf>
- Aliaga-Isla, R., & Rialp, A. (2013). Systematic review of immigrant entrepreneurship literature: previous findings and ways forward. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 23(9-10), 819-844.
- Amnesty International. (2015, September 4). *Syria's refugee crisis in numbers*. Retrieved November 15, 2015, from Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/09/syrias-refugee-crisis-in-numbers/>
- Asylum Access and the Refugee Work Rights Coalition. (2014). *Global Refugee Work Rights Report: Taking the Movement from Theory to Practice*. Oakland, USA: Asylum Access and the Refugee Work Rights Coalition.
- Ayadurai, S. (2006). Profile of Women Entrepreneurs in a War-Torn Area: Case Study of North East Sri Lanka. *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, 11(1). Retrieved from <http://www.worldscientific.com/doi/abs/10.1142/S1084946706000234>
- Balkan Solidarity Group. (2015, October). *Call on solidarity with Refugees*. Retrieved from Cooperation Development Network: <https://www.cdnee.org/balkan-solidarity-group-call-on-solidarity-with-refugees/>
- Beckers, P., & Blumberg, B. F. (2013, May). Immigrant Entrepreneurship on the move: a longitudinal analysis of first-and second-generation immigrant entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 25(7-8), 654-691. Retrieved February 2017, from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08985626.2013.808270>
- Beehner, L. (2015). Are Syria's Do-It-Yourself Refugees: Outliers or examples of a New Norm? *Journal Of International Affairs*, 157-171. Retrieved from <http://www.spacesofmigration.org/migration/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/refugee-camps.pdf>
- Benardete, G., & Thakkar, A. J. (2016, September). *How Jordan's Refugee Camps became hubs of sci-fi tech and booming business*. Retrieved from World Economic Forum: <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/09/jordan-refugee-camps-tech-business-united-nations/>

- Bolloten, B., & Bhuchar, S. (2014). *Exiles: The Ugandan Asian Story: Learning Resources*. Retrieved from The Asian Center: <http://asiancentre.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Exiles-learning-pack-web1.pdf>
- Bonfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological Models of Human Development. (2, Ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Education*, 3, 37-43.
- Calabria, E. E., & Omata, N. (2016). *Micro-finance in refugee contexts: current scholarship and research gaps*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Center. Retrieved from <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/micro-finance-in-refugee-contexts-current-scholarship-and-research-gaps>
- CARE; Danish Refugee Council; International Rescue Committee; Norwegian Refugee Council; Oxfam; Save the children. (2015). *Right To a future: Empowering refugees from Syria and host governments to face a long term crisis*. November.
- Cassell, C., & Symon, G. (2004). Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research. *Athenaeum Studi Periodici Di Letteratura E Storia Dell Antichita*, 388.
- Chaux, M. d., & Haugh, D. H. (2015). *Entrepreneurship and Innovation: How Institutional Voids Shape Economic How Institutional Voids Shape Economic*. Cambridge: Judge Business School. Retrieved January 2017
- Chepurensko, A. (2015, June). Entrepreneurship Theory: New Challenges and Future Prospects. *Foresight-Russia*, 9(2), 44-57. Retrieved from <https://www.hse.ru/data/2015/06/30/1082518448/04-Chepurensko.pdf>
- Chrysostome, E. (2010). The Success Factors of Necessity Immigrant Entrepreneurs: In Search of a Model. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 52(2), 137-150. Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/tie.20320/epdf>
- Cohen, & Crabtree. (2006, July). *Qualitative Research Guidelines Project*. Retrieved from Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF): [www.qualres.org/](http://www.qualres.org/)
- Crewell, J. W. (2013). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Los Angeles London; New Delhi; Singapore; Washington DC: Sage Publications.
- Crisp, J., Morris, T., & Refstie, H. (2012, June). Displacement in urban areas: new challenges, new partnerships. *Disasters*, 36(1). Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-7717.2012.01284.x/pdf>
- Davidsson, P. (2006). *Nascent Entrepreneurship: Empirical Studies and Developments*. Now Publishers Inc.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research (Sage Handbooks) 4th Edition* (4 ed.). Sage Handbooks. Retrieved 2017
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research (Sage Handbooks) 4th Edition* (4 ed.). Sage Handbooks. Retrieved 2017
- Dijkhuizen, J., & Berkhout, J. (2015). Retrieved August 2016, from Selling Strength: <https://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=nl&tl=en&u=http%3A%2F%2Fsellingstrength.nl%2F>



- Feinstein International Center; Tufts University. (2012). *Refugee Livelihoods in Urban Areas: Identifying Program Opportunities: Case Study Egypt*. Somerville, USA: Feinstein International Center; Tufts University.
- Fielden, A. (2008, June). *Local Integration: an under-reported solution in Protracted Refugee Situations*. Retrieved February 2017, from UNHCR- New Issues in Refugee Research- Research Paper No. 158 .
- Fong, R., Busc, N. B., Marilyn A, o., Heffon, L. C., & channugam, A. (2007). Pathways for Self Sufficiency; Successful Entrepreneurship for Refugees. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social work*, 127-157.
- Fong, R., Busch, N. B., Armour, M., Heffron, L. C., & Chanmugam, A. (2007). Pathways to Self-Sufficiency: Successful Entrepreneurship for Refugees. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work* , 16, 121-159.
- Gallicano, T. (2013, July). *An example of how to perform open coding, axial coding and selective coding*The PR Post. Retrieved from The PR Post: <https://prpost.wordpress.com/2013/07/22/an-example-of-how-to-perform-open-coding-axial-coding-and-selective-coding/>
- Garba, A. S., Djafar, F., & Mansor, S. A. (2013). Evidence of Opportunity and Necessity Driven Entrepreneurship in Nigeria. *Journal of Entrepreneurship Management and Innovation (JEMI)*, 9(3), 57-78. Retrieved from [https://works.bepress.com/journalofentrepreneurshipmanagementandinnovation\\_jemi/42/](https://works.bepress.com/journalofentrepreneurshipmanagementandinnovation_jemi/42/)
- Garnham, A. (2006). *Refugees and The Entrepreneurial Process*.
- Gartner, W. B., & Birley, S. (2002). Qualitative Methods in Entrepreneurship Research. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 17(2).
- Goel, G., & Rishi, M. (2012). Promoting entrepreneurship to alleviate poverty in India: An overview of government schemes, private-sector programs, and initiatives in the citizens' sector. *Thunderbird International Business Review* , 54(1), 47-56. Retrieved September 2016, from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/tie.21437/full>
- Grabska, K. (2006). "Marginalization in the Urban Spaces of the Global South: Urban Refugees in Cairo". *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(3), 19(3), 287-306.
- Grabska, K. (2006). "Marginalization in the Urban Spaces of the Global South: Urban Refugees in Cairo". *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(3), "Marginalization in the Urban Spaces of the Global South: Urban Refugees in Cairo", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(3), 2006, pp. 287-306.
- Grey, M. A., Rodríguez, N. M., & Conrad, A. (2004). Immigrant and Refugee Small Business Development in Iowa: A Research Report with Recommendations. *New Iowans Program University of Northern Iowa*, 1-57.
- Gupta, V. K., Knights, A., Javadian, G., & Gupta, A. (2014). Qualitative Research in Entrepreneurship: Current Research Practices and Suggestions for The Future. (Babson, Ed.) *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*, 24(19). Retrieved from <http://digitalknowledge.babson.edu/fer/vol34/iss19/6/>

- Hall, J. K., Daneke, G. A., & Lenox, M. J. (2010). Sustainable development and entrepreneurship: Past contributions and future directions. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 25, 439-448.
- Hunter, M. (2009). The Failure of Self-Reliance in Refugee Settlements. *POLIS Journal*. Retrieved from <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/students/student-journal/ma-winter-09/meredith-hunter-winter-09.pdf>
- International Organization for Migration. (2017). *Key Terms and Definitions*. Retrieved from International Organization for Migration: <http://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>
- Jacobsen, K. (2003, October). *Local Integration: The Forgotten Solution*. Retrieved from Migration Policy Institute: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/local-integration-forgotten-solution>
- Jacobsen, K. (2006). Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas: Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(3), 273-286. Retrieved October 2016, from <http://jrs.oxfordjournals.org/content/19/3/273.full.pdf+html>
- Joint Agency Briefing Paper. (2015). *Right to Work: Empowering Refugees from Syria and Host Governments: a long Term Crisis*. Care: Danish Refugee Council; International Rescue Committee; Norwegian Refugee Council; Oxfam; Save the Children; World Vision.
- Kharas, H., & Abdou, E. D. (2012, November). *Regulatory Reforms Necessary for an Inclusive Growth Model in Egypt*. Retrieved November 2015, from <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/11/inclusive-growth-egypt-kharas/11-inclusive-growth-egypt-kharas.pdf>
- Kloosterman, R., Leun, J. V., & Rath, J. (1999). Mixed Embeddedness: Informal Economic Activities and immigrant Business in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 23(2), 253-267.
- Kohlbacher, F. (2006). The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 7(1). Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/75/153>
- Kombo, D. K., & Tromp, D. L. (2014). *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*. Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications Africa.
- Kuhlman, T. (1991). The economic Integration Of Refugees in Developing Countries: A Research Model. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 4(1). Retrieved January 2017, from [rs.oxfordjournals.org/content/4/1/1.full.pdf+html](http://jrs.oxfordjournals.org/content/4/1/1.full.pdf+html)
- Lee, W., & Black, S. (2017). Small business development: immigrants' access to loan capital. *Journal of Small Business & Entrepreneurship*, 29.
- M., R. (2016, November 15). CEO and Director of a Refugee Organization. (R. Kabbani, Interviewer)
- Mercy Corps. (2017, March 9). *Quick Facts: What You Need To Know About The Syria Crisis*. Retrieved from [mercy corps.org: https://www.mercycorps.org/articles/iraq-jordan-lebanon-syria-turkey-quick-facts-what-you-need-know-about-syria-crisis](https://www.mercycorps.org/articles/iraq-jordan-lebanon-syria-turkey-quick-facts-what-you-need-know-about-syria-crisis)
- Montclos, M.-A. P., & Kagwanja, P. M. (2000). Refugee Camps or Cities? The Socio-economic Dynamics of the Dadaab and Kakuma camps in Northern Kenya. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 13(2).

- Munoz, D. P. (2017, February). *Beyond Markets: Entrepreneurship in the Civil Society*. Retrieved March 2017, from The European Business Review:  
<http://www.europeanbusinessreview.com/beyond-markets-entrepreneurship-in-the-civil-society/>
- Mushaben, J. M. (2006). Thinking Globally, Integrating Locally; Gender, Entrepreneurship, and Urban Citizenship In Germany. *Citizenship Studies*, 10(2), 203-227.
- nDoen, M. L., Gorter, C., Nijkamp, P., & Rietveld, P. (1998). Ethnic Entrepreneurship and Migration: A survey from Developing Countries. 84-100.
- Neergaard, H., & Leitch, C. M. (2015). *Handbook of Qualitative Research Techniques and Analysis in Entrepreneurship*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Patel, S. (2014, September 18). *A Guide to Coding Qualitative Data*. Retrieved from Salma Patel:  
<http://salmapatel.co.uk/academia/coding-qualitative-research>
- Pierini, M., & Hackenbroich, J. (2015, July). A Bolder EU Strategy for Syrian Refugees. (C. Europe, Ed.) Retrieved October 2015, from <http://carnegieeurope.eu/2015/07/15/bolder-eu-strategy-for-syrian-refugees/ided>
- Raimondi, F. (2015, June). Pathways to Self-Reliance for Urban Refugees in Egypt. UNHCR; The Consultative Group to Assist the Poor(CGAP). Retrieved from  
<https://www.cgap.org/blog/pathways-self-reliance-urban-refugees-egypt>
- S., M. (2016, June 5). Regional Emergency Response Officer of the MENA Region at a Migrant Organization. (RihamKabbani, Interviewer) Cairo.
- Seed, S. (2016, august). سوريا مصر يبدعون في كافة المجالات ويتخطون عقبات الإقتصاد الضعيف بأفكارهم. (A. D. دمشق, Ed.) Retrieved from  
<https://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=ar&tl=en&u=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.anapress.net%2Fawtdimashq%2Far%2Farticles%2F%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%83%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%A8%D8%A9-%2F279940355144777%2F%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%88-%D9%85%D>
- Settlement Services International (SSI). (2017). *Refugee FAQs: What is the difference between a refugee and a migrant?* Retrieved May 20, 2017, from [www.ssi.org.au](http://www.ssi.org.au):  
<http://www.ssi.org.au/faqs/refugee-faqs/148-what-is-the-difference-between-a-refugee-and-a-migrant>
- Shahine, G. (2016, May). Syrians in Egypt: A haven despite the hardships. Cairo: Ahram Online. Retrieved 2017, from  
<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/217025/Egypt/Features/Syrians-in-Egypt-A-haven-despite-the-hardships.aspx>
- Singha, S., Corner, P. D., & Pavlovich, K. (2014). Failed, not finished: A narrative approach to understanding venture failure stigmatization. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 30, 150-166.
- Smith, M. (2006). Warehousing Refugees: a denial of rights a waste of Humanity. Retrieved from <http://refugees.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Warehousing-Refugees-Campaign-Materials.pdf>

- Snel, E., Engbersen, G., & Leerkes, A. (2006). Transnational involvement and social integration. *Global Networks*, 6(3), 285–308.
- Stephan, U., Hart, M., & Drews, C.-C. (2015). *Understanding Motivations for Entrepreneurship: A review or Recent Research Evidence*. Birmingham,: Enterprise Research Centre; Aston Business School; Aston University. Retrieved from <https://www.enterpriseresearch.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Understanding-Motivations-for-Entrepreneurship-Rapid-evidence-assessment-paper..pdf>
- T., Y. (2016, October 14). Program Manager at Catholic Relief Services. (R. Kabbani, Interviewer)
- Tamvada, J. P. (2010). Entrepreneurship and Welfare. *Small Business Economics*, 34(1), 65-79.
- Tillie, J., & Slijper, B. (2010). Immigrant Political Integration and ethnic Civic Communities In Amsterdam. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies- Universiteit Van Amsterdam. Retrieved 2017
- Unger, e. J., & Szapocznik, B. L. (2010). Rethinking the Concept of Acculturation: Implications for Theory and Research. *PubMed Central (PMC)*, 65(4), 237-251.
- UNHCR. (2014). *Global Strategy for Livelihoods: A Unhcr Strategy 2014-2018*. Geneva: unhcr. Retrieved from [www.unhcr.org/530f107b6.pdf](http://www.unhcr.org/530f107b6.pdf)
- UNHCR. (2016, july). *NHCR viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'migrant' – Which is right?* Retrieved from UNHCR: <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html>
- UNHCR Global Report. (2014). Encouraging Self Reliance.
- UNHCR; UNDP. (2016). *Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan 2016-2017 in Response to the Syrian Crisis*. UNHCR - The UN Refugee Agency and UNDP – United Nations Development Programme. Retrieved from <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/the-3rp/egypt/>
- United Nations Development Programme. (2016, May 16). *Syrian Refugees Contributed over \$US 800 Million to Egypt's Economy Since 2011: UNDP Report*. Retrieved from Egyptian Streets: <https://egyptianstreets.com/2017/05/16/syrian-refugees-contributed-over-us-800-million-to-egypts-economy-since-2011-undp-report/>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) . (2015). *2015 UNHCR country operations profile - Egypt*. Retrieved November 2015, from UNHCR.org: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e486356.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) . (2017). *3RP Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan 2016-2017*. Helsinki: UNHCR. Retrieved March 2017, from <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/>
- United Nations Relief and Works agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). (2016). *Where We Work: Burj Shemali Camp*. Retrieved September 2016, from <http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/lebanon>; <http://www.unrwa.org/activity/infrastructure-camp-improvement-jordan>:

- United Nations University (UNU)-MERIT. (2015, November). Born Out of Necessity: The Role of Refugee Entrepreneurs. Retrieved from <http://www.merit.unu.edu/born-out-of-necessity-the-role-of-refugee-entrepreneurs/>
- W., B. (2016, May 26). Director of Programs at a Refugee Organization. (R. Kabbani, Interviewer) Cairo. Retrieved from <http://stars-egypt.org/wibmer@stars-egypt.org>
- Wauters, B., & Lambrecht, J. (2006). Refugee entrepreneurship in Belgium: Potential and practice. *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal*, 2(4), 509-525.
- Wauters, B., & Lambrecht, J. (2008). Barriers to Refugee Entrepreneurship in Belgium: Towards an Explanatory Model. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(6), 895-915.
- Webb, J. W., Tihanyi, L., Ireland, R. D., & Sirmon, D. G. (2009). You Say Illegal, I Say Legitimate: Entrepreneurship In The Informal Economy. *Academy of Management Review*, 34(3), 492-510.
- Yeagain, K. (2011, February 2). *Muftah*. Retrieved May 2017, 25, from No Protection: Egypt's Refugees & Migrants: <https://muftah.org/no-protection-egypts-refugees-and-migrants-by-kelsy-yeagain/#.WSb7VZKGP3g>
- (M., 2016) (Raimondi, 2015) (Shahine, 2016)

# ANNEX A: Interview Guide and Thematic Analysis Framework

## Refugee Entrepreneurship and integration: a case study on Syrian Refugees in Greater Cairo

### Part1- The Interview Guide

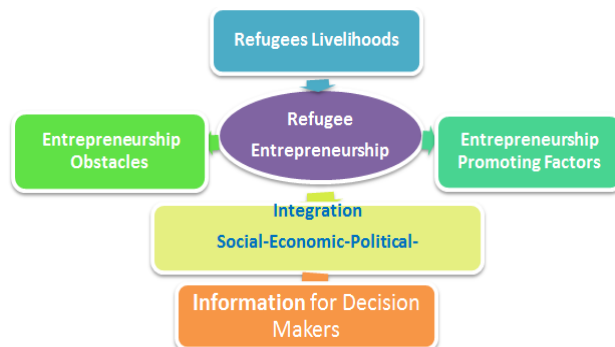
Three broad lines to consider in this interview guide, according to conceptual framework

- Background/story/journey of refugees
- Entrepreneurial activities (activities/enablers/difficulties/relevant context as to know the How's and the Why's)
- Factors linking 1 and 2 to integration

**This is to answer the following research questions:**

- Does entrepreneurship promote integration in hosting communities?
- What are the factors promoting Refugee entrepreneurship?
- What are the factors hindering Refugee entrepreneurship?

**Following this conceptual Framework:**



**Notes for the interviewer:**

- Introduce yourself and the purpose to conduct this interview.
- Refer them to the information sheet and IRB consent form and allow time to read/translate.
- Outline and emphasize informed consent and anonymity.
- Check if it is OK to record for transcription
- Let me know that they can stop and take a break at any point

- I am looking for your views about your day-to-day life here Cairo
- It is useful if you say your name before speaking and also if you wait till someone else has finished their point • If you have a different opinion please share it

**I. Introduction: General Background-Status Quo** (context section to validate the sampling criterion of refugees, Syrians, residing in greater Cairo and having their own business)

- Tell me about yourself where you came from, asylum status etc? When did you come to Egypt? Why did u come to Egypt and prefer not to stay in Jordan, Lebanon or Amman? Did you register with UNHCR? Yes? No? And why?

**II. Perceptions of Integration and Aspirations**

Please consider the below framework:



Agar &Strang integration Framework for refugees

**- What does integration mean to you?**

- Do you feel part of society?
- Is anything holding you back/ helping you go forward?
- What barriers do you face in respect of integration?
- How important is learning to speak English in helping you integrate?
- What has been your experience of learning Egyptian colloquial ?

**• How can integration be enhanced?**

- What would improve your life here?
- Do you feel able to achieve your full potential?
- Are you able to access public services adequately? Do you exercise your rights and responsibilities?
- What changes to your daily life here in (Cairo) would help you to integrate/ become a full member of society.

- How do you see yourself?
- Do you consider yourself a refugee? Or do you see yourself as a member of Egyptian society? Do you think of Cairo as being your home? How might your lives be improved in the future? What would you most like to change about your life here in Cairo? Are you hopeful about your future here in Cairo? Do you have anything else that you would like to say?
- **Service Challenges Refugee Face In Hosting Communities** (important as to know which Entrepreneurship theory is applicable by assessing the motives. This will also make us explore factors and challenges)
  - What were your expectations of the services system and have they lived up to it?
  - What do you see as the main problems when it comes to dealing with doctors, service providers?
  - What would you like to see improved about services system?
  - What are the differences between services in your country of origin and this country and which do you prefer and why?
  - What kind of level of serviced you think you receive compared to the rest of the population?
- **Legal Challenges**
  - How easy was it to register with UNHCR? What are benefits? Do you need to renew permits? What are the drawbacks?
  - What services (legal permit, in cash donations, food vouchers, health consultancy and employment accessibility do you have access to?
  - Why you did not register under UNHCR?
- **Housing Challenges**
  - Tell me about your experiences trying to find a housing, how did you survive the first days, how did u manage to keep going? How did you pay the rent? Did anybody try to impose any extra or unnecessary charges?
  - What are the locations Syrians usually stay at? How did you know about tyour places? Do you have any families or relatives that helped you in this sea?(Checking the families bonding and linking)
- **Health Challenges**
  - Access to doctors? Hospitals? Could it be improved in any way? Issues/improvements?



- **Education and vocational skills/training**
  - Do you have access to public schools? Any kind of grants or support? Do children attend? Are they able to understand lessons and make relationships with their peers? Do permits renew smoothly? What do you think of the schools in Cairo? Are Syrian children happy at school, mixing/ part of the community? Any issues you want to bring up.
- **Social challenges**
  - Did you face any challenge in communication, or any preferential treatment based on non-abiding criterion?
- **Employment Challenges**
  - Are any of you in paid work?
  - What do (did) you do? Full-time/ part-time? Are you helping people on a casual basis? How did you go about finding work?
  - What help have you had to get employment? Was it useful?
  - How would you describe your experiences of paid work in this country? Positive /negative? why? Whom do you work with? What would you see as the main issues about working here in Cairo? How do you get on with your workmates? Are you happy in your job? Do you feel you are working to your full potential? Are you happy with your current work situation? How is it different to your previous employment before coming here?
  - What job would you like to do? Does it match your skills and aspirations?
  - If no, what factors are holding you back?
- **Entrepreneurship Factors and challenges (keep it open this is to understand if they are/have/will engage in entrepreneurial activities and how)**
  - Once you arrived here in Cairo did you have support to help you settle in/access services/ get a job? Tell me about it. What was it?
  - How useful was it? Were you happy with the help you received? Did your support cease at any time? How did this impact on you?
  - Did you start your own business? Do you intend to start? How did you start it? From where did u get help support? What capital did you start? how much? What kind? What about labor?
  - Were your friends supportive? What were the challenges? What made it work? How did you start without a legal permit? Did you start informally? Whom did you reach to the communities? Did you start a business before? Was you family supportive? Did you find any

assistsanship from UNHCR or other NGOs for self-reliance strategies? What are the benefits? Was the cash helpful to better access education and health service? Did you better understand the culture settings? Was it helpful to better understand the Egyptian consumer?

- Hindering Obstacles
- Organizational Barriers
- Access to Resources
- Access to Finance
- Low levels of demand
- Lack of Market Information
- Institutional Obstacles
- Insufficient Infrastructure
- Inefficient Legal and Political Systems
- Lack of Functioning Markets
- Urban Agglomerations Settings and Coordination among Stakeholders

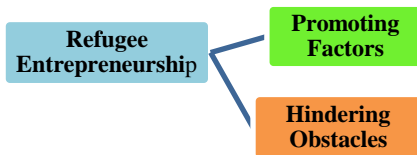


Figure 1: Entrepreneurship Factors and Obstacles

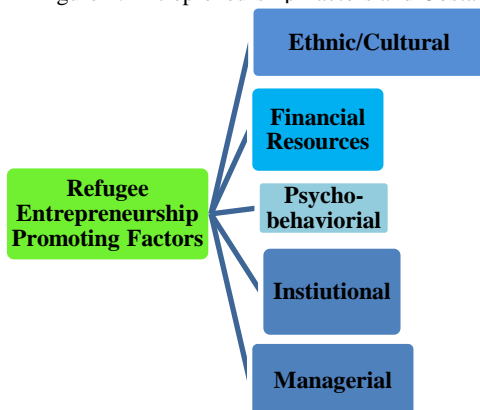


Figure 2: Entrepreneurship Promoting Factors

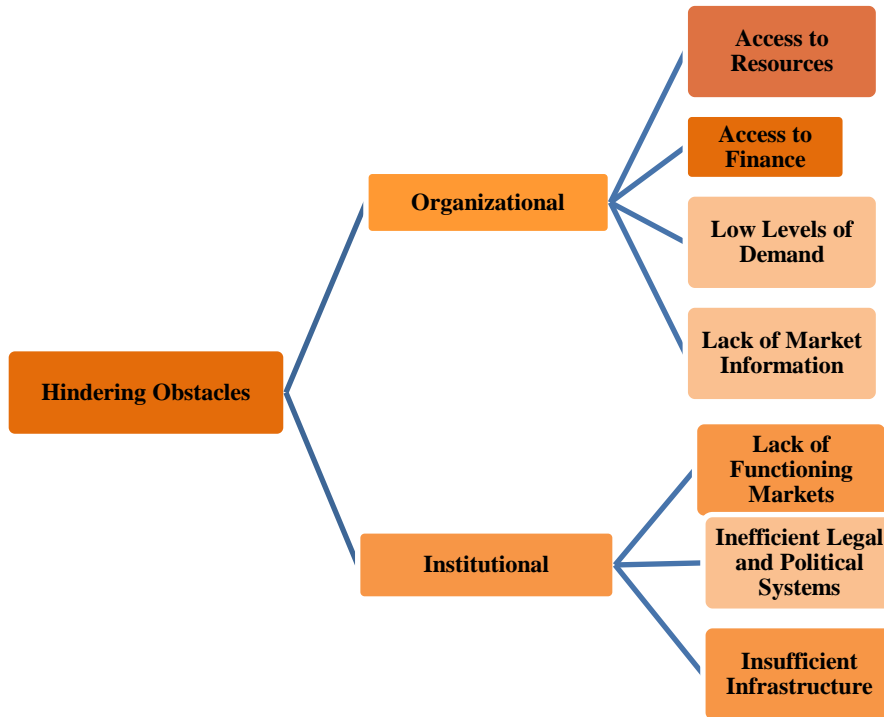


Figure 3: Entrepreneurship Obstacles

For Organizational and Institutional barriers, please consider The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) Conceptual Model. It provides an illustration of empirical relationships among factors that affect growth of national economies including with major established firms and those with direct correlation with entrepreneurial processes. It shows that entrepreneurial opportunities and capacities are affected by “Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions” of finance, governmental policies and programs, education and training, R&D, commercial infrastructure, market openness, physical infrastructure, culture and social norms, within socio-economic and political contexts, impacting the national economy due to business churning.

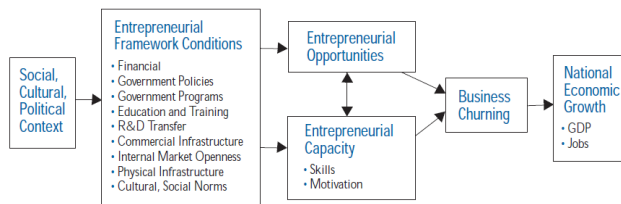


Figure 4: GEM Conceptual Model Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions

III. **Specific Integration support following entrepreneurship** (This relates to the section above about integration – you are trying to understand how or if entrepreneurial activities are related, or not, to integration while also understanding the broader context of legal and social systems)

- Did your business help in any of the following?
- Legal access/ stay? Aid application and assistantships emphasizing the resilience component and long-term impact?
- Better access to social networks and circles of acquaintances
- Improved source of income generation?
- Access To Service Provision
- Are you having better access/ improvements to particular services (e.g. Housing, benefits offices, healthcare and schools) through entrepreneurship?
- What about Healthcare provision, access to doctors and hospitals? Could it be improved in any way? Any Issues?
- Education and skills/training how do you find those kinds of services? For yourselves/children?

**Part II-The Analytical Framework for Thematic Analysis**

<b>Code</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Importance</b>
<b>Contextual Background</b>	How did he arrive to Egypt? When? Why Egypt? How? With who? Refugee Vs Migrant status? Legal Permits? Renewal of permits? Family members? UNHCR application? NGOs Assistantships? Benefits Entitlements? Challenges?	-Establish rapport and trust is necessary as to better understand Status Quo. -Necessary f to understand motives, as well as, factors that either enable or prohibit their small venture creation. -Serves as an inference for the social environment entrepreneurship theory -Institutional Factors availability that either in favor or against self employment. - Primary motive of integration versus resettlement in a third country of Asylum.
<b>Personal Background</b>	Skills, Education degree, previous skills, were he/she an entrepreneur before, Personal Traits? Sectors Involved? Availability of resources?	-Necessary to understand personal traits as resilience, self- efficacy, Self Sufficiency, persistence, opportunity recognition and exploitations, life outlook -critical to assess managerial, Psycho-behavioral and financial factors

		-Family members and if they support venture creation as an important social capital.
<b>Motives to Pursue Entrepreneurship (WHY)</b>	Why? What Types? Integration was there or not? Did it facilitate better integration? What type?	-Link it to which migrant entrepreneurship theory (Is it necessity or opportunity based? Market disadvantage or Iron cage perspectives? Is it salary substitution? -Important for performance indicators use and sustainability assessment in the long term. -Integration and resettlement goals might infer about sustainability to keep on pursuing the running of daily operations.
<b>Factors that Promote Entrepreneurship (HOW)</b>	How did you do? By What? How come?	-Institutional VS. Organizational factors Were “Facilitators” already available, as language knowledge and culture familiarity -Was it based on “ethnic/ Cultural factors”, ethnic markets, and ethnic products? -Were social and financial resources including labor and finance provided through informal sources? - What is the role of the institutional context (development agencies and humanitarian entities)? - Mode of operations (Formal: legal and legitimate,) Vs. Informal (Illegal but legitimate)
<b>Factors that Obstruct Entrepreneurship (SO WHAT)</b>	What are the challenges? How did they overcome them? What are the current challenges? How to look the way forward?	-Institutional and organizational including access to formal financial channels , Market access , timely and reliable information acquisition, legal barriers to pursue formal activities , taxation on income generation, general economic outlook. -sustainability of venture operations and affect consideration; was the effort worthwhile?
<b>Entrepreneurship and Integration</b>	How is entrepreneurship explained in terms of refugee integration in hosting communities vice versa? What kind of integration? Is it social?	-Did they reach the “outcomes” of integration and economic benefits through employment and better access to basic services? -Were “social integration” and “social connections”, (social Bonds, Bridges and links)

	Economic? Political?	<p>already there before business establishment?</p> <p>-What are the effect of such initiatives on long-term integrative policies and legal integration, such as “citizenship”, “identity” and “nationhood” to ensure “equality of votes and rights” considering of protracted refugees situation from 5 and to 20 and not all cases are accepted for resettlement in third hosting countries of asylum. (Incorporation, assimilation, acculturation and integration</p>
<b>The Way Forward (AND NOW WHAT)</b>	What to do to enhance the situation and mitigate the negative impacts?	<p>reliable information provision for empirical political implications for better decisions targeting multiple stakeholder groups</p>

## ANNEX B: Consent Forms



Documentation of Informed Consent for Participation in Research Study

---

**Project Title:** Refugees Entrepreneurship and Integration in Hosting Communities: A Case Study of Syrian Refugees in Egypt

### **Principal Investigators**

- **Dr. Tarek Hatem;**  
Professor of Strategic Management and Entrepreneurship;  
Director of Entrepreneurship and leadership Unit;  
The American University in Cairo.  
E-mail: [tarekha@aucegypt.edu](mailto:tarekha@aucegypt.edu)
- **Dr. Nellie El Enany;**  
Assistant Professor of Organization Studies;  
Department of Management;  
School of business;  
The American university in Cairo.  
E-mail: [nellie.elenany@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nellie.elenany@aucegypt.edu)

**You are being asked to participate in a research study** whose purpose is to address the concerns of refugees, service providers, and associated stakeholders to undertake the gap in international, regional, and local reactions by exploring refugee entrepreneurship and if it is an enabling tool for integration in hosting communities . Findings may be *published and presented*. The expected duration of your participation can be extended to 18 months.

**The procedures of the research will be as follows:** from 10 to 15 in-depth interviews will be scheduled. There are neither experimental procedures nor clinical trials.

There *will not be* certain risks or discomforts associated with this research.

There *will not be* benefits to you from this research such as a better understanding of the current situation and solutions might be provided to tap wasted potential of human capital. You might be linked to a helpful network that gathers several stakeholder groups and your concerns might be voiced.

**The information you provide for purposes of this research** is confidential and can be anonymous upon the request of the interviewer

Questions about the research, my rights, or research-related injuries should be directed **Dr. Tarek Hatem**, E-mail: [tarekha@aucegypt.edu](mailto:tarekha@aucegypt.edu) and **Dr. Nellie El-Enany**, E-mail: [nellie.elenany@aucegypt.edu](mailto:nellie.elenany@aucegypt.edu)

Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Signature:.....

Printed Name:.....

Date:.....



**عنوان البحث:** دور ريادة الأعمال والعمل الحر والخاص ودمجهم في شؤون اللاجئين في مجتمعات الاستضافة: دراسة حالة اللاجئين السوريين في مصر.

**الباحث الرئيسي:** د. طارق حاتم

أستاذ الإدارة الاستراتيجية وريادة الأعمال

مدير وحدة القيادة وريادة الأعمال

الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

البريد الإلكتروني: tarekha@aucegypt.edu

الهاتف: 01222180066

**الباحث الرئيسي:** د. نيللي العناني

أستاذ مساعد الدراسات التنظيمية

الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

البريد الإلكتروني: nellie.elenany@aucegypt.edu

الهاتف: 01008696249

**انت مدعو للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية عن:** فهم إحتياجات ، هموم و العقبات التي تواجه اللاجئين من قبل

جميع

الأطراف المعنية سواء من اللاجئين ، مقدمي الخدمات ، الجمعيات الأهلية، و الجهات المعنية الأخرى .  
والتعرف على عناصر إقامة ريادة أعمالهم في وسط الظروف المحيطة الصعبة و التعرف على  
قصص النجاح ، قصص الفشل ، العقبات التي تم اجتيازها والعقبات التي يتم مواجهتها يوميا لمباشرة  
أعمالهم و ما هو دور ريادات الأعمال فالاندماج فالمجتمعات المحيطة وما هي إمكانية تحسين الوضع  
الحالي:

و على هذا الأساس سيتم اقتراح حلول تكامليه و طويله المدى لحل الأزمة العالمية للاجئين على أرض  
الواقع وفي مصر بالتحديد. يجوز نشر النتائج وعرضها ويمكن تمديد المدة المتوقعة لمشاركتكم إلى ١٢  
شهرًا.

**هدف الدراسة هو:** فهم الوضع الحالي للضرورة وإمكانية طرح حلول تكامليه و طويله لدمج اللاجئين  
السوريين في مصر .

**نتائج البحث** يجوز لها أن تنشر في دوريه متخصصه أو مؤتمر علمي أو ربما كليهما.

**المدة المتوقعة للمشاركة في هذا البحث:** 18 شهرًا.

إجراءات الدراسة تشمل تنظيم من 10 إلى 15 مقابلات معالاجئين و من قبل الجهات المختصة بشؤون اللاجئين ولدرس الوضع الحالي بصورة أدق. لا توجد إجراءات تجريبية في هذا البحث.

**المخاطر المتوقعة من المشاركة في هذه الدراسة:** لا يوجد أي مخاطر أو مضايقات متوقعة من المشاركة في هذا البحث.

**الاستفادة المتوقعة من المشاركة في البحث:** فهم أفضل للوضع الحالي و إمكانية طرح نموذج تجاري شامل لتقديم حلول تحقق مصالح متبادلة لجميع الأطراف المعنية .

**السرية واحترام الخصوصية:** المعلومات التي ستدلى بها في هذا البحث سوف تكون غير سرية وسيتم إ احترام الخصوصية وعدم ذكر أي أسماء أو أي جهات مختصة وعند الطلب.

■ اذا زادت المخاطر المتوقعة نتيجة هذا البحث عن الحد الأدنى المقبول أذكر باختصار ما اذا كان هناك تعويضات أو خدمات طبية في حالة حدوث أي اصابة. كذلك أذكر نوعية الدعم المقدم وكيفية الحصول على معلومات اضافية عنه. لا يوجد أي تعويضات أو خدمات طبية في حالة حدوث أي اصابة.

أذكر الافراد الذين يمكن الاتصال بهم عند الرغبة في الحصول على مزيد من المعلومات عن الدراسة وحقوق المشاركين وكذلك في حالة حدوث أي اصابة أثناء المشاركة في هذا البحث. على سبيل المثال يمكنك كتابة التالي: " أي أسئلة متعلقة بهذه الدراسة أو حقوق المشاركين فيها أو عند حدوث أي اصابات ناتجة عن هذه المشاركة يجب ان توجه الى : د. طارق حاتم:الهاتف 01222180066  
د. نبيلي العناني: الهاتف: 01008696249

ان المشاركة في هذه الدراسة ما هي الا عمل تطوعي, حيث أن الامتناع عن المشاركة لا يتضمن أي عقوبات أو فقدان أي مزايا تحقق لك. ويمكنك أيضا التوقف عن المشاركة في أي وقت من دون عقوبة أو فقدان لهذه المزايا.

الامضاء: .....

اسم المشارك : .....

التاريخ : ...../...../.....