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THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy



Paper No.7 / September 2014

Syrian Refugees in Egypt: Challenges of a Politically Changing Environment

Maysa Ayoub and Shaden Khallaf

THE CENTER FOR MIGRATION AND REFUGEE STUDIES

The Center for Migration and Refugee Studies (CMRS) is an interdisciplinary center of the American University in Cairo (AUC). Situated at the heart of the Middle East and North Africa, it aims at furthering the scientific knowledge of the large, long-standing recent refugee and migration movements witnessed in this region. But it also is concerned with questions of refugees and migration in the international system as a whole, both at the theoretical and practical levels. CMRS functions include instruction, research, training, and outreach. It offers a master of arts degree and a graduate diploma in migration and refugee studies, working with other AUC departments to offer diversified courses to its students. Its research bears on issues of interest to the region and beyond. In carrying its research out, CMRS collaborates with reputable regional and international academic institutions. The training activities that CMRS organizes are attended by researchers, policymakers, bureaucrats and civil society activists from a great number of countries. The center also provides tailor-made training programs on demand. CMRS outreach involves working with individuals and organizations in its environment, disseminating knowledge and sensitization to refugee and migration issues. It also provides services to the refugee community in Cairo and transfers its expertise in this respect to other international institutions.

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Opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies (CMRS) or the American University in Cairo.

Preface

The turmoil that has swept the Middle East in the past decade has generated large population movements. Since 2011, revolutions, uprisings and civil wars have magnified these movements. The millions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and refugees made Syrian displacement the largest humanitarian crisis of the 21^{st} century. Out of the three million Syrian refugees, essentially in bordering and neighboring countries, 140,000 were registered in Egypt by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This number is by far higher than that of the sum of refugees from all countries taken together. The Egyptian government's estimate, which includes unregistered individuals and families, puts the total number of Syrian refugees at 300,000.

Documenting the situation of Syrians in Egypt is particularly important. Egypt, unlike many countries in the region, has no policy of encampment. Living outside camps, among the population of the host country, ensures freedom of movement for the refugees and offers them opportunities of employment, livelihoods and integration. However, in developing countries, such as Egypt, refugees face challenges. This applies to all refugee national communities. The highly politicized context in which they moved to and lived in Egypt since 2012, adds complexity to the challenges specifically faced by the Syrian refugees in Egypt.

This study – Syrian refugees in Egypt: Challenges of a politically changing environment – documents how the challenges faced by Syrian refugees specifically evolved with the changes in the Egyptian political environment. It is one of the research priorities of the Center for Migration and Refugee Studies' (CMRS), of the American University in Cairo (AUC), to understand the livelihoods of urban refugees in Egypt and the challenges to their integration. CMRS has produced similar studies on Somalis (2003), Palestinians (2003), Sudanese (2005 and 2011), and Iraqis (2008).

The researchers who produced *Syrian refugees in Egypt* used a mixed-methods approach that includes surveying, focus groups, and in-depth interviews, learning about refugees' lives from the refugees themselves. CMRS hopes it could thus produce a useful and direct perspective on the livelihood and protection issues raised by the Syrian refugee situation in Egypt. The aim is to contribute to reinforcing the protection of Syrian refugees and to expand means of livelihood at their disposal, without disregarding the challenges also faced by a developing country such as Egypt. CMRS also hopes the study will be useful to policymakers, researchers and civil society organizations interested in improving the lives of all refugees everywhere.

Ibrahim Awad, Ph.D.

Mhin has

Director, Center for Migration and Refugee Studies

Abstract

The conflict in Syria, now in its fourth year, has produced 2.9 million refugees that are being absorbed by other countries in the region. The number of Syrians registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Egypt was 138,245 as of July 7, 2014 (UNHCR, n.d.). However, the actual number of Syrians in Egypt was higher, as the above figure represented only those who were registered with UNHCR. The Egyptian government estimated the total number of Syrians in the country at 300,000 in 2014 (Akram et al, 2014).

This study seeks to understand the challenges faced by Syrian refugees in Egypt amidst the ongoing political changes in the country, including how such challenges affect their livelihoods and economic activities. Researchers used a mixed-methods approach that included a 310-household survey, as well as focus group discussions with selected survey participants and in-depth interviews with key Syrian informants and individuals working in organizations and associations providing services and assistance to Syrian refugees.

This study found that Syrian refugees' living conditions in Egypt have shifted along with changes in the country's political environment. President Mohamed Morsi, in office from June 2012 to July 2013, openly supported Syrian opposition forces; however, after Morsi's overthrow in July 2013, both government policies and media rhetoric turned against Syrian refugees. While this shift has corrected somewhat, participants noted still feeling its effects. Participants reported economic difficulties as well, including the depletion of their savings as their length of stay in Egypt increased.

This study also reveals a lack of clarity in policymaking as it relates to Syrian refugees in Egypt: For example, how long will current visa requirements be in force? What are the criteria upon which these refugees will be granted different types of visas to re-enter Egypt? Increased clarity and the cooperation of the Egyptian government are needed to ensure Syrian refugees have access to necessary resources and stability.

Keywords: Egypt, Migration, Refugees, Syria, Syrian Refugees

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, the deepest gratitude goes to the Syrian men and women who participated in our survey and focus group discussions. We would also like to express our appreciation to members of the Syrian community in Egypt whom we either interviewed directly or depended upon to get in contact with interviewees. We particularly would like to thank Ms. Sima Diab, Ms. Rasha Arous, Mr. Wissam El Naggar, Mr. Rabea El Rawy, and Ms. Nour Mounajjed.

This research represents a collaborative effort of many people. We would like to acknowledge the contribution of the Egyptian Center for Public Opinion Research (Baseera), which implemented the survey. The development of the survey's questionnaire and the running of the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews in the first and second phases of the study were carried out by CMRS's research team, which included Ms. Shaden Khallaf, Ms. Maysa Ayoub, Ms. Naseem Hashim, Ms. Iman Ahmed, Ms. Carla Gazal, and Mr. Omar Abdelrahman. The interviews conducted in the third phase of the study were carried out by Ms. Nourhan Tawfik, who also edited the first draft of this paper. Special thanks to Ms. Fatima Adris from Tadamon, the Egyptian Refugee Multicultural Council, who provided invaluable coordination assistance in organizing the focus group discussions. Finally, we would like to thank the editor of this report, Ms. Jill Merriman, and to thank Dr. Ibrahim Awad, Dr. Alexandra Parrs, and Dr. Usha Natarajan for reviewing the report and adding valuable comments and edits.

Last but not least, we are very grateful to the funders of this study: the UNHCR Cairo office and the School of Global Affairs and Public Policy at the American University in Cairo (AUC).

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1. Introduction

Estimates provided by UNHCR reveal that about one-third of the world's 10.5 million refugees live outside fixed camp settlements. Unlike camps, urban areas can in principle offer refugees freedom of movement, opportunities for employment and financial independence, and freedom from the observation and control of camp officials. Some refugees believe cities offer greater access to medical services, educational opportunities for children, humanitarian aid, or even resettlement. Perhaps most significantly, as a challenge to the dominant assumption that refugees want to return home, seeking refuge in urban areas represents for many the opportunity to leave behind the trauma of their flight and build a new life.

Egypt has no policy of encampment. As such, all asylum seekers and refugees residing in Egypt are self-settled. According to the report *UNHCR global trends 2012*, excluding Syrians, Egypt was home to 126,949 persons of concern, including refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2013a). Before the great influx of Syrians to Egypt as a result of the Syrian crisis (now in its fourth year), Sudanese constituted the largest refugee group in Egypt, making up about 56 percent of the total refugee population; this is followed by the Iraqi and Somali communities, who make up 17 percent and 16 percent of the Egyptian refugee population, respectively. There also exists a small community of Ethiopians and Eritreans, who together make up about 8 percent of the country's refugee. Four percent is comprised of "others," which includes a small number of individuals from other African nationalities (UNHCR, 2012).

In recent years, the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Egypt has been steadily mounting due to the ongoing crisis in Syria. The latest figure, from July 2014, shows 138,245 Syrians registered with UNHCR, which is more than the total number of refugees from all other nationalities residing in the country (UNHCR, n.d.). While the vast majority of refugees in Egypt reside in the Cairo metropolitan area, Syrians refugees are scattered across a number of other governorates – including Alexandria, Sinai, Damietta, and Mansoura – in addition to Cairo.

Urban refugees in Egypt, as in other countries, face significant challenges in obtaining legal recognition, ensuring protection against arbitrary arrest or deportation, sustaining their livelihoods, and gaining access to adequate social services. For the refugee, earning an income becomes a crucial prerequisite to obtaining key livelihood resources such as food, housing, and medical services, since reliance on charity is unsustainable in the long term for refugees. The extent of the availability and accessibility to services, such as education and health care, are major indicators of the potential for urban refugees' smooth integration into host societies. Though Egypt has been described as generally tolerant of refugees within its borders, refugees nonetheless face a number of legal and socioeconomic challenges that cripple their ability to rebuild stable livelihoods. Such barriers are sometimes further aggravated by the particular nationality of the refugee community.

The most serious challenge facing refugees in Egypt is finding employment opportunities to sustain livelihoods. A 2008 survey conducted with Iraqi refugees revealed that only 22 percent had engaged in either formal or informal employment in Egypt (Fargues, El Masry, Sadek, & Shaban, 2008). In addition, studies on Sudanese refugees (most recently in 2011-2012) have suggested that many refugees work intermittently, without any job security, and often under exploitative conditions (Jacobsen, Ayoub, & Johnson, 2012). Studies have also

¹ The government of Egypt estimates the total number of Syrian refugees in the country at 300,000 (Akram et al., 2014).

² Unless stated otherwise with in-text citation, the information provided in this section is based on an earlier study conducted by CMRS on

shown that unemployment rates vary among refugee groups and within refugee communities on the basis of gender. Jacobsen et al. found that a female Sudanese refugee is more likely to obtain work in Egypt compared with their male counterpart because of the high demand for female domestic workers. In general, there is a clear trend among refugees of relying on informal employment to support their livelihoods in Egypt Although this trend must be read in context of the engagement of most Egyptians in informal work, the large participation of refugees in the informal economy has significant drawbacks. It increases their vulnerability and exposes them to abuse and exploitation.

This study focuses on the Syrian refugee community in Egypt. It seeks to understand the challenges they face and the impact of the ongoing political changes in Egypt on their livelihoods and activities. Syrian refugees in Egypt are in a highly politicized situation that is subject to fluctuations in the Egyptian political environment. Such fluctuations affect their protection, their livelihoods, and their ability to earn income.

The study is structured in two main parts. The first part provides background information on the the legal context of hosting refugees in Egypt, the Syrian refugee community in Egypt, and the methodology of the study. The second part presents the findings of the study which are divided into eight headings: demographic characteristics, the journey to Egypt, entry to Egypt, residence in Egypt, relationship with Egyptians, protection issues, employment and livelihood, and women and children.

2. Background

2.1. Legal context²

The Egyptian state does not run its own asylum system. Asylum seekers in Egypt are processed by UNHCR, which receives, registers, and interviews asylum seekers for refugee status determination. This occurs under the auspices of a 1954 memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the Egyptian government and UNHCR.

As such, an asylum seeker entering Egypt must register at UNHCR for protection and eligibility for assistance. Upon registering at UNHCR, an individual receives the asylum-seeking card (the yellow card), which enables him or her to stay in Egypt under the protection of UNHCR until a refugee status determination (RSD) interview is scheduled to determine his or her eligibility for refugee status. The length of time between receiving the yellow card and the RSD interview varies and can possibly take years. If refugee status is granted, the person becomes a recognized refugee and receives a blue card. The main difference between a recognized refugee (a blue card holder) and an asylum seeker (a yellow card holder) is that recognized refugees become eligible for one of UNHCR's durable solutions: local integration in Egypt, voluntary repatriation to their country of origin, or resettlement to a third country. A durable solution is one in which refugees regain the protection of a state and thus are no longer considered refugees.

The UNHCR cards (both yellow and blue) do not equate to residence permits in Egypt. Once a person receives the card, he or she must register with the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Upon registering there and receiving a number, he or she then proceeds to the city hall to get his or her card stamped with the residence permit, which is valid for six months. The process has to be repeated every six months (African refugee, personal communication, June 11, 2014)³.

Egypt, like many countries in the developing world, is not in favor of local integration due to the country's economic challenges, such as high unemployment. The MOU between UNHCR and the government of Egypt specifies voluntary repatriation and resettlement as the two durable solutions available in Egypt. However, because both resettlement and repatriation depend on factors that are beyond the control of UNHCR and the Egyptian government, local integration became the de facto situation for most refugees.

In case the refugee is rejected after the RSD interview, he or she is entitled to request another interview. If he or she is rejected after the second interview, the file is considered closed by UNHCR. A "closed file" means that such a person is no longer considered "of concern" to UNHCR and is therefore expected to leave Egypt. In practice, however, "closed files" continue to live in Egypt with no legal status and as such are left extremely vulnerable to abuse and exploitation.

In cases of a mass influx of asylum seekers resulting from prolonged conflict or generalized violence, such as in the Syrian case, RSD becomes unfeasible due to the large number of applications. As such, Syrians in Egypt do not go through the RSD procedure. They are given

² Unless stated otherwise with in-text citation, the information provided in this section is based on an earlier study conducted by CMRS on Sudanese refugees in Egypt that addressed the legal context of hosting refugees. The study can be accessed at http://www.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/reports/Documents/paper%20No.%203.pdf.

³ Fitting with other CMRS publications, this refugee is not named to ensure his or her protection.

the asylum-seeking card (yellow card) upon registration, which entitles them to protection and assistance. The yellow card is valid for 18 months and is renewable. Upon receiving the yellow card, Syrians, like other refugees and asylum seekers, must register at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have their card stamped for residence every six months. Syrians who are identified as especially vulnerable by UNHCR, and thus entitled to possible resettlement, are the only ones that undergo RSD interviews because a RSD is a requirement for resettlement (Del Rey, personal communication, June 26, 2014).

Egypt and Turkey were the only two non-Western participating states in the drafting of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Egypt acceded to the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol but made reservations to Articles 12(1), 20, 22(1), 23 and 24, which guarantee refugees equal treatment with nationals with regard to personal status laws, social services, housing, education, social security and welfare, and some labor laws (United Nations Treaty Collection, n.d.). Therefore, Egypt preserves its discretion on these matters, and refugees have restricted access to most state services and to the job market. Egypt is also party to the 1969 OAU [Organization of African Unity] Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. It again made reservations with regard to social services and labor market access in order to protect nationals that face poor social services and high unemployment.

The demand for labor in Cairo and other urban areas where refugees live mostly originates in the informal economy. It has been estimated that 80 percent of private employment of Egyptians is in the informal economy. Refugees face even greater difficulty in finding formal employment because they are treated as foreigners, which means that in order to obtain formal, legal employment, they must first obtain individual work permits. Such restriction imposes significant administrative burdens on both refugees and potential employers. Employers must meet labor market tests, including proving that the national labor force is unable to meet job requirements and paying fees to sponsor refugees in obtaining work permits.

2.2. Syrian refugees in Egypt

As of July 7, 2014, 138,245 Syrian refugees were registered at UNHCR in Egypt (UNHCR, n.d.). According to the UNHCR's weekly update for May 20 to 26, 2014, 78,187 were registered in Cairo, 12,470 in Damietta, 29,714 in Alexandria, and 16,991 in a number of other governorates (Egypt Weekly Update Syrian Operation, April 2014).

The arrival and registration trends have varied in correspondence with the developing conflict in Syria and the political changes in Egypt. Syrians started to arrive in Egypt at the end of 2011, and the rate of their arrival reached its peak in April 2013. The rate stabilized from April to June 2013 and then fell dramatically as of August 2013. Registration peaked in April 2013 corresponding with the high rate of arrivals. However, it declined again between May and July 2013, and then peaked dramatically in August 2013. As of October 2013, the rate have declined in correspondence with the reduced rate of arrival (UNHCR, n.d.). This trend is directly correlated with the political changes in Egypt. This study highlights the significant protection challenges faced by the Syrian community after the regime change in Egypt in July 2013. Such challenges, as will be clarified, explain the reduced rate of new arrivals after July 2013 and the increased tendency of those already in Egypt to register with UNHCR.

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⁴ Maria Bances del Rey is UNHCR senior protection officer in Egypt.

In the past, Syrians, like Jordanians, Sudanese, and nationals of some other Arab countries, were exempted from prior-to-arrival visa requirements. They received their tourist visa at the airport upon arrival and were allowed to stay in Egypt as tourists for three months, after which they were required to regularize their stay in the country by approaching the Department of Immigration at the Ministry of Interior. This open-door policy facilitated the arrival of many Syrians seeking refuge in Egypt. This has not been the case since the regime change in Egypt in July 2013.

Egypt's former president Mohamed Morsi, who was in power from June 2012 to July 2013, openly announced Egypt's support for the Syrian revolution. In addition to emphasizing the already existing open-door policy for Syrian refugees entering Egypt, he announced that they were granted full access to public services, such as free health care and education, despite Egypt's reservations to the 1951 convention.

Morsi specifically mentioned Syria in his oath of office speech at Cairo University on June 30, 2012, when he stated that, "We, as Egyptians, always support the people to obtain their freedom, their self-determination, and self-governing rights. These are general principles that all the people in the world believe in. Today, Egypt supports the Palestinian people and also the Syrian people. The shedding of the Syrian people's blood must stop. We will do our best to stop the bloodshed in the near future" (IkhwanWeb, 2012, para. 23 & 24).

In his first speech delivered to the League of Arab States in September 2012, Morsi announced Syrian refugees' right to access public Egyptian schools, stating that "Syrian students will be treated like Egyptian students" (El Dabh, 2012). Despite this important decision, which in principle should have created abundant opportunities for Syrian refugee children and their families, Syrian refugees continued to face protection challenges related to accessing education, which have swelled after July 2013, as is explained in this study.

2.3. Study methodology

Data collection for this study was carried out in three phases. The first phase took place from May to June 2013. The data collection in this phase included a household survey and a series of focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. The second phase was carried from July to August 2013 and was based on in-depth interviews that were conducted with some of the interviewees from phase one to follow up on the Syrians' situation after the political changes introduced in July 2013. The third phase took place from April to May 2014 and was also primarily based on in-depth interviews with key Syrian informants and individuals working in organizations and associations providing services and assistance to Syrian refugees; these interviews were conducted to assess the most recent changes in the situation of Syrian refugees in Egypt.

2.3.1. Survey outline

The survey was administered in the following seven governorates: Cairo, Giza, Qalyubia, Alexandria, Dakahlia, Ismailia, and Damietta. Out of a sample size of 310 households, 101 households were from Greater Cairo (20 in Cairo, 50 in Giza, and 31 in Qalyubia), 58 were in Alexandra, 21 were in Ismailia, 63 were in Mansoura, and 67 were in Damietta. The survey was carried with the head of the household but information was gathered concerning all household members. The number of family members in each household ranged from one to 21 members, and most households included four to six family members.

As such, this process of data gathering targeted approximately 1,700 individuals (See Annex 1 for the questionnaire).

Following a snowball technique in the selection of the surveyed sample, researchers approached places of residence and chose potential participants for the survey, who then introduced them to other potential participants. The distribution of the sample amongst the different locations in the seven governorates was determined by the researchers' ability to locate Syrians in these cities. Contrary to their expectations, the research team was able to meet and interview more Syrians in Mansoura, Ismailia, and Damietta than in Cairo, Giza, and Alexandria.

2.3.2. Survey limitations

The use of the snowball technique meant that the sample was not randomly chosen and could be biased. The research team did not cover all the neighborhoods in each of the seven targeted governnates, but rather only those where Syrians were known to be concentrated. The research team might have missed other neighborhoods with high concentrations of Syrians that it did know about. Moreover, in the approached areas, all the Syrians did not have an equal chance of being selected. Therefore, the sample is not representative of all Syrians in all neighborhoods.

2.3.3. Focus group discussions (FGDs)

A total of 14 FGDs were carried out in three of the seven governorates where the survey was administered. The original plan was to carry out FGDs in all of the governorates where the survey was administered. However, the June 30, 2013 protests and their aftermath, as will be explained shortly, made it impossible to cover all the governorates.

The rationale behind the FGDs was to elaborate on and give more depth to the survey's findings. Since the study was particularly interested in the situation of women and youth, one FGD each with young women and young men aged 18 to 25 took place in each of the three locations. The study also aimed to understand why the rate of registration at UNHCR at the time of the survey did not correspond with arrivals. One FGD with Syrians who were identified as having not registered with UNHCR took place in each of the three locations. Key Syrian informants who had contacts in the selected cities facilitated the process of finding potential participants.

The structure of the discussion included a basic set of questions, which was prepared in advance for each of the three groups mentioned above. It started with an icebreaker activity and included a confidentiality statement, after which a substantive discussion ensued in which the participants were asked about their arrival and registration, protection concerns, assistance and livelihoods, and integration. (See Annex 2 for the FGD guide).

2.3.4. In-depth interviews

The research team conducted face-face interviews with two groups: individuals working in organizations and associations providing services and assistance to Syrian refugees, and key Syrian informants. "Key Syrian informants" refers to individuals who volunteer to help their community and as such have in-depth understanding of their situation. The study consisted of three sets of in-depth interviews: five interviews took place in the first phase of the research between May and June 2013; five follow-up interviews with the same individuals took place in July and August 2013; and another four interviews took place in April and May 2014. (See Annex 3 for the in-depth interview guide).

3. Results⁵

3.1 Survey respondents' demographic characteristics⁶

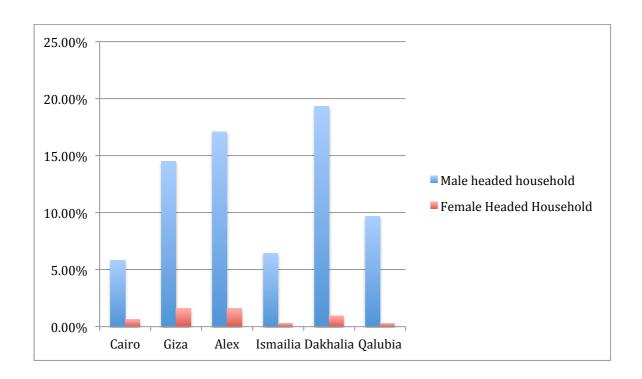
Among survey respondents, the average size of a Syrian family taking refuge in Egypt was about six persons, and 58.4 percent of the households surveyed consisted of four to six family members. Family members mostly moved together from Syria to their new destinations (55.3 percent of the families surveyed reported having moved to Egypt together). The majority of households (75.6 percent of those surveyed) were nuclear families, meaning they generally included one or two parents and children, but did not include extended family members. It is worth mentioning that the majority of the interviewed households in the survey were maleheaded (93.9 percent), as opposed to a minority of female-headed households (6.1 percent). Such demographic composition is changing, as considerable numbers of households now are headed by women. It is argued that this might be related to the rise of irregular migration of Syrians males out of Egypt (Del Rey, personal communication, June 26, 2014). In most cases, men migrate alone, leaving their families behind in Egypt in hopes of reuniting after they succeed in reaching new destinations (See section 3.6.2.2 on irregular migration).

Figure 1 shows the proportion of female to male heads of household according to the survey:

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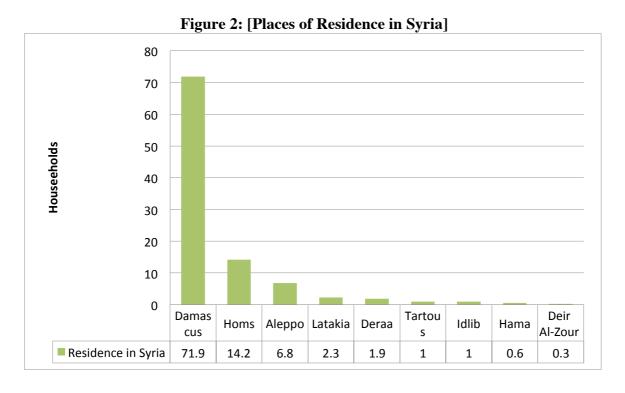
⁵ The findings presented here are based on the result of the survey, as well as the qualitative interviews carried out in the three phases of the study.

⁶ Section 3.1 and 3.2 present the composition of the survey sample and how participants responded to survey questions. The results from section 3.3 onward include the qualitative findings.



The survey revealed that most Syrians (71.9 percent) came from Damascus and its rural outskirts, followed by Homs (14.2 percent). The remaining 13.9 percent of the sample came from the cities of Aleppo (6.8 percent), Latakia (2.3 percent), Deraa (1.9 percent), Tartous (1.0 percent), Idlib (1.0 percent), Hama (0.6 percent) and Deir Al-Zour (0.3 percent).

Figure 2 shows the respondents' places of residence in Syria before departure.



With regard to age, youth and younger adults made up the bulk of the Syrian family. Among the surveyed sample, 41.48 percent were under 18 years old, and 39.82 percent were between 18 and 39. On the other hand, 14.58 percent were between 40 and 50, and only 4.03 percent were over 60. The follow-up interviews conducted in 2014 indicated that the age distribution for Syrian families in Egypt remains the same. According to UNHCR's Syria regional refugee response, the bulk of those coming to Egypt continue to be young. Of those currently registered at UNHCR, 54.4 percent are between the ages of 18 and 59, 43.3 percent are under the age of 18, and 4.2 percent are over the age of 60 (UNHCR, n.d.).

Figure 3 shows the age distribution of individuals constituting the surveyed sample.

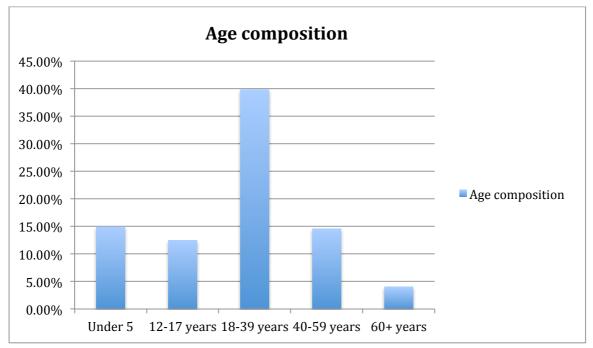


Figure 3: (Age Distribution)

The age and gender distribution is shown in Figure 4.

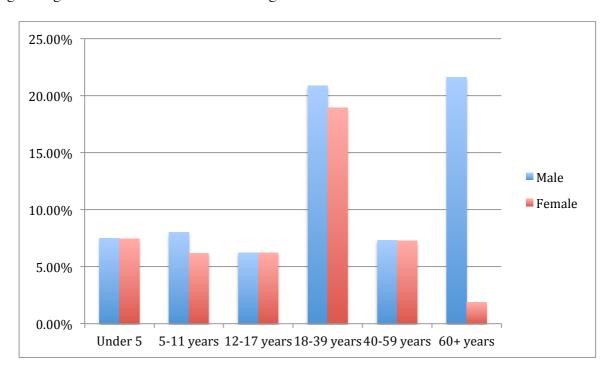


Figure 4: [Age-Gender Distribution]

Finally in terms of religion and ethnicity, the majority of the sample (99.7 percent) were Sunni Muslims, and 99.4 percent identified themselves as Arabs.

3.2. Survey respondents' journey to Egypt

Syrians mostly traveled to Egypt together with their family members, with only 27.4 percent of the surveyed sample stating that not all of their immediate family members accompanied them. Among those who left a family member behind, the majority attributed that to financial issues. A few reported that their family members remained to join the Free Syrian Army.

The respondents attributed their departure from Syria to many reasons, including the lack of security and extreme state surveillance, the desire to escape war and the daily risk of death, the destruction of their places of residence, and economic hardships. Some of the Syrian youth interviewed mentioned that they wanted to escape mandatory military service. It is worth noting that 70 percent of the survey respondents reported they were unemployed for over six months before leaving Syria

The cost of traveling to Egypt ranged from USD500 to USD 4,000. The majority (69.7 percent) reported a cost of USD500 to USD 2,000, and 20.3 percent paid between USD 2,000 to USD 4,000 USD.

Figure 5 shows the differing costs of migration.

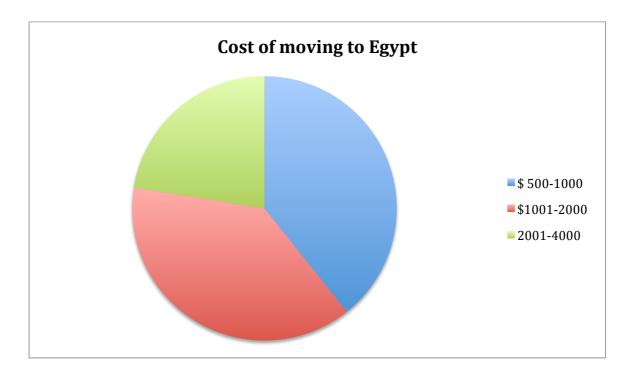


Figure 5: (Cost of moving to Egypt)

About 60 percent of the surveyed sample named sale of property (32.6 percent) or withdrawal of savings (26.1 percent) as the main sources of funding their trip to Egypt. A few (14.8 percent) indicated that they took out loans from friends and relatives.

The majority of the surveyed sample specified the cost of living in Egypt and the welcoming attitude of Egyptians as the primary incentives for choosing Egypt as a destination as opposed to other countries near Syria such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey.

To reach Egypt, most respondents passed through a transit country. The majority among them (86.60%) transited in Lebanon while others stopped at Jordan and Turkey as indicated in the below chart.

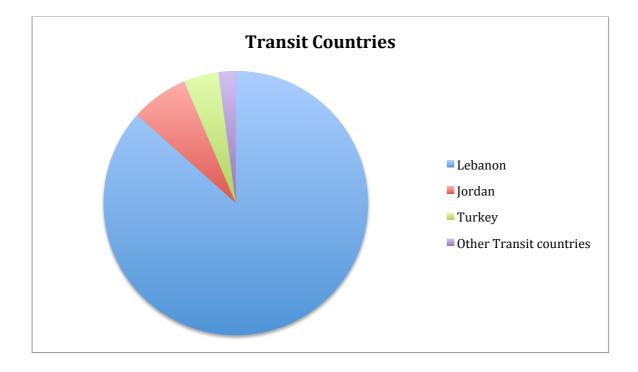


Figure 6: (Transit Countries en-route to Egypt)

Moreover, respondents reported taking several exit routes during their departure trip from Syria. Of the surveyed sample, 18.4 percent travelled through other Syrian governorates on their way out of the country, with the most common transit cities being Damascus, Tartous, and Latakia. In more complicated cases, respondents reported being forced to pass through several cities prior to their departure from Syria.

3.3. Entry to Egypt

Exempted from prior-to-entry visas, Syrians received their tourist visas in the airport upon entering Egypt at the time of the survey. The visa issued at the airport would be valid for three to six months, after which Syrians would have to adjust their status in Egypt by extending their tourist visa, getting a work permit, providing proof that they are studying in Egypt, or approaching UNHCR for registration. The overwhelming majority (99.4 percent) of the surveyed sample for this study reported not having acquired visas prior to their entry into Egypt.

However, this is no longer the case. Visa restrictions were imposed on a number of Arab nationals, including Syrians, as of July 8, 2013. The rationale behind such restriction is the deterioration in the security conditions in Egypt after June 30, 2013.

On June 30, 2013, mass protests occurred in Egypt in conjunction with the one-year anniversary of former president Mohamed Morsi's inauguration. From June 30 to July 3, 2013, protestors called for early presidential elections in reaction to perceptions of increased authoritarianism, misgovernment, and resulting threats to national security. The former president did not accede to protesters' demands. At the same time, the president's supporters and those of the Muslim Brotherhood (to which the former president belongs) initiated a smaller rally that ended with a sit-in in one of Cairo's districts. On July 3, 2013, the commander in chief of the Egyptian armed forces, surrounded by key representatives of the opposition and spiritual leaders, announced that the president had been deposed in response to people's demand. The head of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt was declared interim president for a six-month transitional period. Following the announcement, clashes took place between the Muslim Brotherhood on one side and the Egyptian army and police on the other. The security condition deteriorated, and a state of emergency was announced.

Entering Egypt became difficult for Syrians, as the state's internal security bodies were wary of the possibility that Syrian rebel groups might come to Egypt with the intent of supporting the (subsequently banned) Muslim Brotherhood, and thus exacerbate the security situation (A. Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014). This perception has negatively affected Syrians seeking refuge in Egypt. Syrians attempting to enter Egypt without a visa are put in detention centers upon their arrival, where they are kept until they are capable of paying for their flight out of Egypt. Once they provide the needed money, they are not sent back to Syria, but rather to the country of transit from which they traveled to Egypt, which is usually Jordan, Lebanon, or Turkey. In this way, the Egyptian government can claim that it is not practicing refoulement for two reasons: The refugees are sent back before their entry into Egyptian territory, and they are not sent back to Syria.8. This practice is supposed to have been at its peak during the summer of 2013. Currently, because of the continuous visa restriction and the realization of Syrians that they cannot enter Egypt, fewer and fewer Syrians try to come without visas, and as such, the number of Syrians in detention centers is declining. Surprisingly, though, a few Syrians (500 cases) were able to make it in to Egypt despite the visa restriction. It has been claimed that they resorted to questionable illegal ways to enter the country and these few are well-to-do and can pay bribes; the majority remains unable to seek refuge in Egypt. (Del Rey, personal communication, 2014).

The visa restrictions explained above are not only affecting refugees, but also those Syrians attempting to enter Egypt for study and work purposes. Moreover, it has been reported that the visa applications of Syrians (as well as those of some other Arab nationals such as

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⁷ Ahmed Badawi is a lawyer at the Egyptian Foundation for Refugee Rights (EFRR).

⁸ Jasmine Fritzsche is an independent researcher.

Palestinians and Iraqis) no longer go to the Ministry of Interior, but rather to the Egyptian General Intelligence (Personal communication with a security officer, June 2014).

3.4. Residence in Egypt

As mentioned earlier, Syrians, like other refugees, are required to have their UNHCR cards or passports stamped for residence in Egypt. Some Syrians, especially those living outside of Cairo, complained that renewing their residence permits has taken longer since July 2013, when stricter visa requirements were imposed. Such delay puts their families at risk of detention and deportation (UNHCR, 2013b).

Syrians tend not to overwhelmingly concentrate in major cities such as Cairo, Giza, and Alexandria. The survey revealed that 41.9 percent of the households surveyed were in Damietta and Dakkahliya, while 41.3 percent were located in the three major governorates of Egypt (Cairo, Giza, and Alexandria). This results in the Syrian refugee population in Egypt being different than other refugee populations such as Iraqis and Sudanese, who prefer to reside in major Egyptian cities, where they believe relief agencies and organizations, work opportunities, a sense of security, and reasonable costs of living can be found more easily. The qualitative interviews carried out for the purpose of this study indicated that Syrians prefer provincial cities because they believe they are safer, characterized by low costs of living, and offer more employment opportunities compared to Cairo. Respondents who were residing in Syria's rural areas or in the suburbs of Damascus attributed their choosing provincial cities to the relatively quiet lifestyle compared with the crowdedness and fast pace of Cairo life.

3.5. Relations with Egyptians

There is a long history of relations between Egypt and Syria, and strong historical ties exist between the populations of both countries. This section is divided into two parts. The first part provides a glimpse into the historical relations between the two populations, and the second highlights the initial welcoming attitude by Egyptians towards Syrian refugees and how such attitude later changed.

3.5.1. History of relations between Egyptians and Syrians

The Syrian presence in Egypt dates back to antiquity, but in more recent times, it is argued that there were two major waves of Syrian immigration to Egypt prior to the current influx. The first took place between 1730 and 1780, and the second began in the mid-nineteenth century. The first wave of Syrians arrived in Egypt among immigrants from what was known as "bilad al-sham," which encompassed today's Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria. They were mostly Catholics, but also comprised Maronites and Greek Orthodox immigrants. They were traders who were able to win the confidence of the Egyptian ruling elite. The second wave of immigration of Syrians to Egypt was due to the deteriorating economic situation in Syria at a time when Egypt was booming. Cotton exports made Egypt an attractive destination, and because of their qualifications, well-educated Syrians found employment opportunities created by the ambitious modernization plan of Khedive Ismail. (Abu-Haidar, 1987: 332) (Barbir, 1986: 760-761).

Arab nationalist ideology gained momentum in Egypt after 1952 and the rise to power of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The strong sense of regional Arab nationalism was manifested in a referendum put forward to the Egyptian and Syrian people for the unity of the

two countries. An overwhelming majority in the two countries was for the union that formally came into being in February 1958 under the name of the "United Arab Republic" (Isaac, forthcoming). However, it was not long before the union was subjected to a severe threat. Nasser's socialist legislation made many Syrian businessmen and professionals leave Egypt (Barbir, 1986: 761). Moreover, in Syria, Nasser adopted the same political system as Egypt, where a single party system was established and other political parties were dissolved. The unity government nationalized the economy and introduced land reform similar to that applied in Egypt, to the extreme distress of the Syrian bourgeoisie (Cleveland & Bunton, 2012). Eventually, the United Arab Republic collapsed in September 1961 (Isaac, forthcoming).

Many Syrians had long been "Egyptianized" before the collapse of the union and Egypt's socialist turn. Many Egyptian families today are of Syrian origin. They had become Egyptian long before the influx of Syrian refugees in 2011. In fact, it was the existence of such a community that encouraged Syrians in 2011 and 2012 to consider coming to Egypt, where they had families, businesses, and/or some personal networks (UNHCR, 2013b, p. 17).

3.5.2. Attitudes toward Syrian refugees

Almost all Syrian participants in the study praised the initial friendly and welcoming attitude of the Egyptians they encountered when they first arrived. Although the vast majority of Syrian refugees are in Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon, those in Egypt indicated that the welcoming reception by Egyptians was the prime reason why they preferred coming to Egypt rather than going to other neighboring countries that are geographically closer to Syria.

However, a large majority noted a sharp change in Egyptian attitudes towards Syrians, which was attributed to three main reasons: the increase in numbers of Syrian refugees, their extended duration of stay in Egypt, and the developments in the Egyptian political scene that tarnished Syrians refugees' image through accusations that they were involved in domestic Egyptian politics.

Syrian refugees began to face problems in Egypt after a speech by former president Mohamed Morsi in which he expressed full support for the Free Syrian Army and announced the closure of the Syrian Embassy in Egypt. He called on Egyptians to join the Syrians in their fight against the Assad regime. The Syrians who participated in focus group discussions after June 15, 2013 spoke of the negative impact of the embassy's closure on their lives in Egypt. One woman, for example, indicated that her newly born son had no birth certificate because no other entity can issue such certificate except the Syrian embassy. Moreover, during the focus groups discussions of May 2013, concerns were raised about the possible outcome of the anticipated June 30 protests. On the one hand, there were concerns about the possible change of regime and the impact it would have on Syrians in Egypt. On the other hand, Syrians indicated that they were experiencing hostile attitudes from some Egyptians, particularly those opposed to the Muslim Brotherhood. These Egyptians accused them of interfering in Egypt's politics by supporting the Muslim Brotherhood.

As many Syrians expected, their situation worsened after June 30, 2013. A few Syrians reportedly participated in extended sit-ins (see Section 3.3) organized by the Muslim Brotherhood in protest against the political changes of July 3, 2013. The participation of those few Syrian refugees was highlighted in different Egyptian media channels, which led

 $^{^{\}rm 9}$ The Syrian embassy was re-opened in July 2013 after president Morsi was ousted

to the spread of anti-Syrian sentiments and the emergence of a hostile attitude toward Syrians (International Federation for Human Rights [FIDH], 2013). Some Egyptian TV presenters accused Syrian refugees of supporting the Muslim Brotherhood and interfering in Egypt's internal politics. There was one incident when a TV presenter gave Syrian refugees two days to stop their support to the Muslim Brotherhood or else Egyptians would destroy their homes (FIDH, 2013; Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2013b). The hostile attitude was highlighted in the interviews conducted with Syrians after June 30 and confirmed in the interviews with the organizations providing them with assistance. In the follow-up interviews conducted immediately after June 30, some Syrians complained that they were fired from their jobs, while others had their rent contracts terminated.

The media's fueling of hate speech against Syrian refugees was at its peak in July and August 2013, and it then receded. The fluctuation in the general Egyptian public's attitude towards Syrians is an indication of how easily the media can mold people's attitudes. After the media campaign was waged, incidents of violence against Syrian children by Egyptian children were reported. This was in striking comparison to 2011, when there were cases of Egyptian families hosting Syrian refugee families in their homes until they could find a suitable place of residence (A.Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014).

Strong nationalistic sentiments were nurtured by the media after June 30, 2013. The distinctiveness of the Egyptian identity was emphasized, and its Arab, African, and Muslim elements were downplayed. National security and the need to preserve territorial integrity were repeatedly invoked to fuel Egyptian nationalism. Conspiracy theories about attempts to undermine Egypt's national interest multiplied (Sabry, 2013). Turmoil and instability in several other Arab countries were used as evidence of the conspiracy. In the official discourse, a strong state and a solid army were needed bulwarks against the reproduction of such turmoil and instability in Egypt. This discourse portrayed the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood as bent on undermining Egypt's national interests. Therefore, the association created between Syrian refugees and the Brotherhood affected their security and threatened their protection in Egypt (Marroushi, 2013)

3.6. Protection issues

UNHCR's mandate is to provide international protection to refugees, asylum seekers, and other forced migrants who fall within the scope of its statute. UNHCR's protection mandate includes providing refugees with protection against involuntary return to a country where their life or freedom is threatened for reasons of their race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership of a particular social group. The mandate includes helping to protect the basic human rights of refugees, asylum seekers and other persons of concern to UNHCR until a durable solution is found. One of the aims of this study is to ascertain the extent to which Syrian refugees in Egypt are aware of UNHCR's protection mandate. At the time the survey was conducted in May and June 2013, there was a striking variation between the number of Syrians registered at UNHCR and the Egyptian government's estimate of refugees within the country. The survey aimed to understand why UNHCR registration numbers did not reflect the real number of Syrian refugees residing in Egypt. The first part of this section will provide the survey results with regards to UNHCR's registration, and the second part will focus on the protection challenges faced by Syrians in the aftermath of June 30, 2013.

3.6.1. Registration with UNHCR

Some of the Syrians who participated in the May 2013 survey perceived registration with UNHCR positively, while others perceived it as unnecessary. Of the surveyed sample, 57.4 percent said they had approached UNHCR for registration, while a significant 42.6 percent did not. Among those who approached UNHCR, 47.7 percent reported having already obtained the yellow card.

The survey revealed that most of the survey participants were not familiar with UNHCR's protection mandate and believed it to be solely an assistance agency. Their satisfaction was evaluated in terms of the financial and medical assistance provided. Very few commented on the organization's essential role in providing residence permits or protection against forced return. Some of the unregistered participants talked of a lack of interest in the process, which was seen as long and tedious. This was particularly true for Syrians who resided in cities other than Cairo and therefore complained about the difficulty of traveling to Cairo with their families to obtain registration. Others stated that they would rather leave registration spaces for other Syrians who are in dire need of assistance, which highlights the above-mentioned perception of UNHCR as an assistance agency. A considerable number, however, attributed their decision to registration-related problems such as fear that registration would restrict their ability to temporarily return to Syria in case they needed to bring more family members or concerns about the confidentiality of the information that would be provided to UNHCR. Many argued that they were hesitant about (and uninterested in) bearing the title "refugee," which they believed was loaded with images of weakness, desperation, and misery. A young woman in Alexandria echoed such concerns, stating, "It is better to die in dignity rather than to live in humiliation."

The reluctance towards registration was also highlighted in the qualitative interviews that were carried out before June 30, 2013. During those interviews, participants highlighted that registration was unimportant because of the lack of visa requirement to enter Egypt and the easiness of renewing residence permits. This situation was reversed after June 30, and registration rate with UNHCR has significantly increased since then. This seems to suggest that the previous reluctance to approach UNHCR was not due to lack of awareness of UNHCR's protection mandate, but was rather the belief that such protection is not needed in Egypt because, on one hand, entry and residence is feasible, and on the other hand, the political orientation of the Egyptian government was clearly in support of the Syrian revolution.

3.6.2. Protection challenges post-June 30, 2013

As mentioned earlier, Syrian refugees' problems in Egypt emerged after June 15, 2013 and accelerated sharply after June 30, 2013 (see 3.5.2). Moreover, with the evacuation of the Muslim Brotherhood's sit-in and its aftermath, the security situation in Egypt deteriorated. Alleging that Syrians had contributed to the insecurity, the Egyptian government imposed a visa requirement on Syrians entering Egypt (see 3.3). The deteriorated security situation also affected those Syrians already in Egypt who were exposed to arbitrary arrest. Their subjection to these practices coupled with the deterioration in their relationship with Egyptians, as well as the economic crisis in Egypt, has led to increasing numbers of Syrians seeking to migrate to Europe instead. As many cannot easily enter European territories, they instead resort to human smugglers and find themselves in very vulnerable positions. The below section will

discuss the rise of arbitrary arrest, irregular migration, and the particular situation of Palestinians from Syria.

3.6.2.1. Arbitrary arrest

In the past, refugees who carried the UNHCR card would rarely be subject to arrest even if their residence permits had expired. In the few cases when refugees were arrested because they were carrying expired residence permits, the public prosecutor's office would order their immediate release once a lawyer confirmed their status as refugees. This ceased to be the case as of June 30, 2013. Lawyers can no longer secure the release of detained refugees, and authorities have to thoroughly investigate the case of the detained before clearance is given. This means that the refugee may be detained for months (A. Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014)

As of July 2013, Syrians in particular are more exposed to arbitrary arrest for allegedly supporting the Muslim Brotherhood. One hundred and forty-five Syrians were arbitrary arrested between July and December 2013. Most of them have now been released, but 42 are believed to be still in detention; it is difficult to trace those who were detained because they may have left Egypt without informing UNHCR (Del Rey, personal communication, 2014).

Detained Syrians were not always arrested because of their alleged political affiliation. Some were arbitrarily arrested because they had either unknowingly broken the curfew that was imposed right after June 30 or because they held no residence permits. Although breaking the curfew was mostly unintentional, in cases of Syrians who were coming from other governorates (such as Alexandra, Ismailia, Suez, and Arish) to Cairo to renew their residence, refugees were immediately taken off buses and detained at the checkpoints. They would be arrested for long durations that often exceeded two months (HRW, 2013b; Amnesty International, 2013, October 17).

Arbitrary arrests have decreased since March 2014. Currently, it has been reported that if a refugee is asked about his or her residence permit and does not possess it, the officer performs a security check and releases him or her if no evidence of a criminal record exists (A.Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014).

3.6.2.2. Irregular migration

Irregular migration from Egypt has been a growing phenomenon since the 1990s. This is attributed to high unemployment rates in Egypt, the decreased demand from the Persian Gulf countries for Egyptian labor, and the securitization of European migration policies (Zohry, 2007, p.20; Roman, 2008, p.3); (Nassar, 2008, p.3; Roman, 2008, p.5). In recent years, Egypt has also become a transit country for Arabs, Africans, and Asians using Egypt to get to Europe through the Egypt-Libya-Italy route. Irregular migration is facilitated by networks of smugglers, who are mostly based in Libya and charge about USD2,500 per person. The means of transportation secured by those migration brokers are almost always unsafe and subject migrants to the risk of drowning in the Mediterranean Sea or being arrested by authorities (Zohry, 2007, p. 24; Roman, 2008, p.5 & p.7).

With regard to Syrians, very few intentionally use Egypt as a transit route. The irregular migration of Syrians from Egypt to Europe started after July 2013 and is a direct consequence

of the growing difficulty of entering and living in Egypt. The hate-speech campaign waged against them by the media with the ensuing arbitrary arrests, negative attitude of a good part of the pubic, and worsening economic conditions – all contributed to many Syrian refugees leaving Egypt. It is worth noting that the majority of Syrians who attempt to leave Egypt irregularly have either an expired passport due to the dangers of approaching the Syrian embassy for renewal or an expired visa due to the difficulties of renewal post-June 30, 2013 (Del Rey, Personal communication, 2014).

According to figures from UNHCR, between the months of January and September 2013, about 6,000 Syrian refugees reached Italy irregularly, with the majority arriving from Egypt. It was reported that each person had to pay between USD2,500 and USD3,500 to smugglers to afford this risky trip (Amnesty International, 2013, October 17, p. 2-4). This is despite the fact that many of those who attempt to leave Egypt are arrested upon departure. According to UNHCR, Egyptian security forces have detained over 1,500 refugees from Syria during the period mentioned above, including 400 Palestinians and 250 children, as they tried to irregularly migrate to Europe (HRW, 2013a). The detained would either be stopped at sea or caught as they stood on the coast prior to their migration attempt. In many cases, the smuggler him- or herself, knowing that the trip was bound to fail and that the boat was bound to sink, would report the unauthorized attempt to leave the country to the police (A. Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014; HRW, 2013a).

As mentioned above, most Syrians who attempt to leave Egypt in an irregular way have either an expired passport or an expired visa. As a consequence, they are detained until their situation is cleared from a security perspective by the General Intelligence Directorate. Once clearance is given, a new visa is issued, and the refugees are allowed to re-enter Egypt. Different visas are given: Some refugees are granted six months, others six months renewable, others three months renewable, and some are given three months non-renewable. The criteria upon which these distinctions are based remain unclear. In some cases, expired passports are caused by the Syrian embassy in Egypt refusing to renew passports. Moreover, if renewal is granted by the embassy, it is for no more than nine months. Most Syrians detained by Egyptian authorities in their attempts to migrate to Europe are allowed to re-enter Egypt. A small percentage whose situation could not be cleared are sent to a transit country. One case was reported in which the refugee was sent back to Syria (Del Rey, personal communication, June 26, 2014).

Irregular migration of Syrians from Egypt slowed down during the fall and winter of 2013-2014 but picked up again in spring 2014 (A. Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014). On April 20, 2014, Egyptian border guards arrested 20 Syrians – including Palestinians fleeing from Syria – by the coast of Alexandria as they attempted to migrate from Egypt to Italy (Kortam, 2014). In the same month, about 140 Syrian and Palestinian refugees, including 68 children, were detained as they were trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea on their way to Europe. They were held at the Rosetta Police Station in Beheira Governorate (Amnesty International, 2014).

3.6.2.3. Palestinians from Syria

There is a widely held misconception that Palestinians are excluded from the 1951 convention and thus the UNHCR's mandate (Amnesty International, 2013, October 17, p. 7). Accordingly, Egyptian authorities have not allowed UNHCR to register Palestinians or consider their asylum claims (HRW, 2013a). It is a misconception, because the 1951 Convention excludes Palestinian refugees from receiving assistance and/or protection from UNHCR "in areas of operation of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] for Palestine Refugees, which consist of Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, the West Bank and Gaza." Egypt is not within the above-mentioned areas of operation, and so the absence of UNRWA in Egypt makes Palestinians fall under the mandate of UNHCR and eligible for refugee status under Article 1 of the 1951 convention and the 1969 OAU convention (J.Fritzsche, personal communication, 2014).

Palestinians, particularly those fleeing Syria in recent years, face serious challenges. With regard to services, as they are not registered with UNHCR, they cannot access food vouchers, medical support, and other services that UNHCR facilitates. In some instances, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO), Doctors Without Borders, and Save the Children succeed in closing the gap by offering some services (A.Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014). The protection challenges are more serious. The lack of an organization tasked with protecting Palestinian refugees in Egypt means that in case a refugee is detained for having no visa or an overdue residence permit, there is no entity from which to request registration documents. In the case of a Syrian refugee, the lawyer can ask UNHCR to provide papers that prove the refugee is registered and that his or her file is open. However, this is impossible for Palestinian refugees from Syria (A.Badawi, personal communication, May 4, 2014).

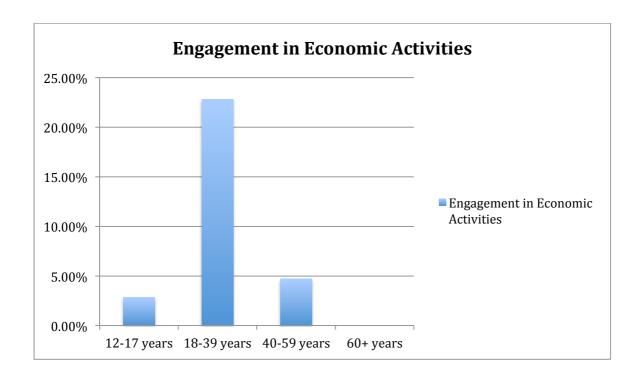
3.7. Employment and livelihood

Information on employment and livelihoods is based on the survey carried out in May and June 2013. The results of the survey revealed that work is the main source of income for many Syrian families residing in Egypt, as 45.5 percent of the surveyed sample reported work as their only source of income. The rest either depended on a combination of work, financial aid, and/or withdrawing from savings to sustain their livelihoods. A very small percentage depended on money transfers from outside Egypt as their only source of income.

The majority of those who work in Egypt are between 18 and 39. Work opportunities declined with age (See figure 7). Compared to other refugee groups, Syrians were able to carve out a niche in the Egyptian economy because of their reputation as experienced entrepreneurs and workers in the food industry. The well-to-do among them were able to start their own businesses and provide opportunities to other Syrians. Many others worked in Egyptian-owned businesses, as they were perceived as experienced and hard workers. However, it is important to note that in the qualitative interviews respondents indicated that although they were initially able to find work opportunities in restaurants or in homemade food-delivery shops, tensions emerged when Syrian refugees came in larger numbers and their Egyptian counterparts began to perceive they were preferred for job opportunities in the food industry. Moreover, as explained previously, their ability to find employment lessened with the political changes discussed above.

An alarming finding from the survey and FGDs was the increased engagement of children under 18 in income-generating activities compared with their situation in Syria as indicated in figure 8. Figure 8 also reveals that the engagement in economic activities declined with the move to Egypt with all other age groups.

Figure 7: (Engagement in economic activities in Egypt)



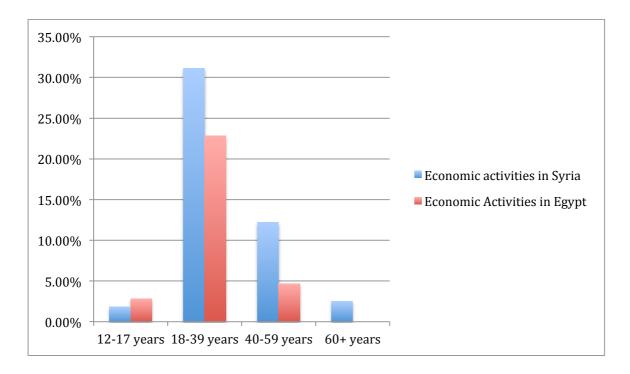


Figure 8: (Comparison between engagement in economic activities in Egypt and Syria)

The majority of the survey respondents, as is the case with other refugee groups, worked informally. Respondents reported having had to change their occupations and take up less-skilled jobs upon their arrival in Egypt. The explanations provided for such change included the inability to find suitable jobs, lack of funds to establish projects, and the inability to obtain a work permit and thus having to resort to the informal sector.

Average family incomes in the three months prior to the survey widely varied between EGP 0 to EGP 7,500. Of the surveyed sample, 14.2 percent (44 households) reported zero income. For the remaining 266 heads of households constituting the sample, the distribution of average family incomes was as follows:

- Less than 1,000: 32.3 percent reported having an average income in this category.
- EGP 1,100 EGP 2,000: 29.6 percent of the total sample belonged to this category, which amounts to about 92 households.
- EGP 2,100 EGP 3,000: 22.3 percent of the interviewed heads of households belonged to this category, with 6.8 percent estimating their income to be EGP 3,000.
- EGP 3,001 EGP 4,000: 7.7 percent of the households belonged to this category.
- More than EGP 4,000: A significant 7.9 percent reported having had an average income of more than EGP 4,000 during the three months prior to the survey.

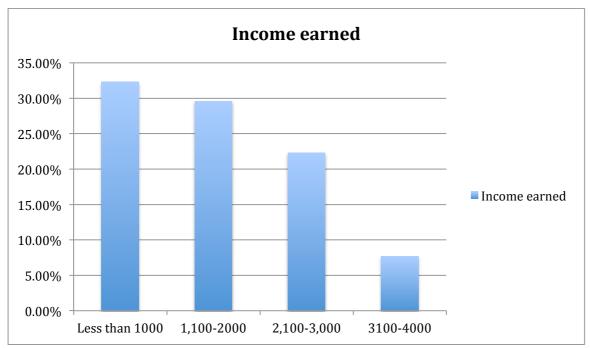


Figure 9: (Monthly income of the Syrians surveyed)

A significant percentage (around 30 percent) reported their satisfaction with their current work. Those who were unsatisfied reported the following reasons: low wages, hard work conditions, and mismatch between their jobs and their education attainment. Of the participants, 41.4 percent reported that their work is unstable and attributed that to the temporary nature of the job, the resulting irregularity of income, and the possible occurrence of dismissal at any time.

Monthly expenditures varied between EGP200 and EGP 7,000 in the three months prior to the survey. It is divided according to the following categories:

- EGP200 EGP 1,500: 11.6 percent of the surveyed sample recorded a monthly expenditures in this range.
- EGP 1, 600 EGP 2,500: 33.6 percent of the sample reported a monthly expenditure in this range.
- EGP 2,600 EGP 3,500: 29 percent of the sample belonged to this category.
- EGP 3,600 EGP 4,500: 14.5 percent of the surveyed sample belonged to this category.
- More than EGP 4,500: 11.3 percent of the surveyed sample reported spending over EGP 4,500 every month.

Figure 11 shows the average of monthly expenditures among survey respondents.

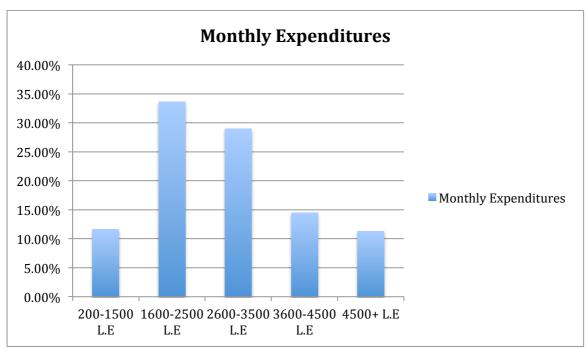
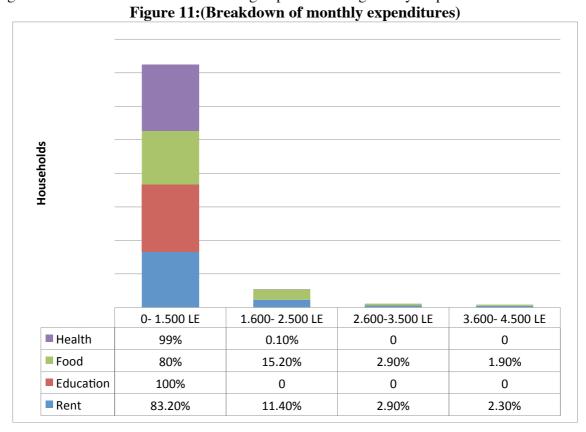


Figure 10: (Monthly expenditures of the Syrians surveyed)

Many respondents reported allocating a large percentage of their monthly expenditures to rent and food, with lesser amounts spent on other expenses such as education, health services, energy, and transportation. Rent was specified to be in a range of EGP0 to EGP2,500, with 63.9 per cent of the surveyed sample reporting spending an average of EGP0 to EGP1,000 per month, 28 percent reporting an average of EGP1,100 to EGP2,000 per month, and 16.8 percent reporting spending more than EGP2,200 per month. Of the surveyed sample, 57.4 percent reported facing difficulties covering the rent and housing costs, while 42.6 per cent reported not facing any problems.

Figure 11 shows the breakdown of living expenses among survey respondents.



The survey investigated the challenges faced by Syrians in Egypt when it came to meeting their basic needs. Low income and high prices were reported as the two main problems respondents faced. To overcome these challenges, most of the respondents indicated that they used family savings, while a lower percentage borrowed money from relatives and friends. As such, most Syrians use their saving or borrow to cover the gap between expenditures and income. Borrowing occurred mostly from friends and family in Egypt. A non-significant percentage reported receiving remittances from abroad. The follow-up interviews conducted one year after the survey found that most respondents' savings were depleted. As such, the ability to cover the gap between income and expenditures was reduced as their stay in Egypt continued.

Finding appropriate housing and the difficulty of paying rent were also reported as major problems in the survey and FGDs. Many mentioned that rent composed almost two-thirds of their income. In Ismailia, for example, monthly rent was reported to range between EGP1,250 and EGP2,000 on average, while the average income was EGP900.

Psychosocial problems were also mentioned, with many reporting experiencing symptoms of long-standing psychological stress, mainly due to the traumatic events they encountered before fleeing Syria, which they reported was further compounded by the difficulties they had faced to survive in Egypt.

3.8. Women and children

In both the survey and the qualitative assessment, a number of questions were developed to understand the situation of Syrian women and children and the particular problems they face in Egypt. The next section provides the results.

3.8.1. Syrian women

Research with other groups of refugees has demonstrated that it is usually the female who is able to find work opportunities in Egypt, mostly because of the demand for female domestic workers. This is not the case with Syrian women. The survey revealed that the male is typically the breadwinner in the Syrian refugee family in Egypt. Some women are engaged in economic activities, mostly food production, without leaving the home. The study sought to inquire about the reasons behind the reluctance of women to seek employment opportunities outside the home. The reasons given included the nature of the employment opportunities were more suitable for men, cultural stigma around domestic work, and conservative attitudes based on religious beliefs about home as the appropriate place for women. Subjection to sexual harassment and the incorrect perception that Syrian girls were available for *sutra* marriage (in which Arab Muslim men marry Syrian girls to "protect" them from difficult living conditions) were also mentioned among the reasons that prevent families from sending girls to seek educational or work opportunities.

The study focused in particular on the issue of so-called *sutra* marriage, which was reported at the time of initiating the study as common among Syrian families. In the focus group discussion with young women, aged 18-25, participants downplayed the issue, saying it was more of an incorrect perception than an actual phenomenon. However, most of them reported having received unsolicited marriage proposals from Egyptians that were either made directly to them or to their families. Because they had not emerged out of mutual consent or were perceived as a relationship between equals, many saw these proposals as insulting and demeaning. Some conceded that a few families had married off their daughters

upon receiving such proposals but explained that this would have happened in Syria anyway. They either considered these marriages special cases or justified them as mechanisms to cope with increasingly difficult economic conditions. Most participants therefore rejected associating the entire Syrian community with *sutra* marriage and dismissed considering it a widespread phenomenon. Many expressed a sense of indignation at these perceptions of Syrian women and girls. They blamed certain Salafi ¹⁰figures and NGOs for creating and disseminating them.

Another problem raised by Syrian female refugees in the FGDs was restricted mobility and its negative consequences on many aspects of their lives. Such restricted mobility was reported to either be voluntary, where young women themselves would choose to not leave their homes for fear of being subjected to harassment, or involuntary, where their parents or other family members would enforce their confinement for some reason. In terms of impact, this restriction of movement crippled their ability of women and girls to seek employment opportunities, complete their education, and take part in everyday activities, including activities that had formed an integral part of their daily life in Syria.

3.8.2. Syrian children

The study focused on three main issues that need greater attention from humanitarian organizations and others working with Syrian refugee children and youth in Egypt: education, child labor, and child trauma.

3.8.2.1. Education

Syrian refugees in Egypt have difficulty educating their children despite the Egyptian's government initiative to allow Syrian children access to Egyptian schools and universities as though they are nationals. It was reported there were some cases of Syrian students who were asked to pay a considerable amount of money for entry into their university's final exams despite the fact that they are registered refugees and entitled to free education. Such cases were reported in Cairo University and Ain Shams University (Fatma Idriss, personal communication, May 15, 2014)¹¹.

In addition to access, there are difficulties related to the quality of education and poor infrastructure at all levels of schooling (including universities). This difficulty, however, must be assessed within the context of the educational situation in Egypt, where there are grave challenges for all students regarding accessibility, quality of education, overcrowded classes, and inadequate school facilities (Nassar, 2008, p. 3 & 14).

Syrian families highlighted that most Egyptian families resort to private tutoring to make up for the poor quality of education and poor facilities. However, children whose parents are unable to cover the cost of these private lessons, including many Syrian refugee families, end up failing or leaving school. Many also mentioned the vast difference between the Egyptian and Syrian curricula, and the difficulty their children faced in following the Egyptian dialect, which led many children to fall behind their classmates. Additionally, respondents stated that the lack of documentation from previous schools in Syria and the resulting lack of

¹⁰ The Salafi movement is a movement or sect within the Islamic religion, its name is derived from the term salaf 'predecessors", "ancestors") used to identify the earliest Muslims. Salafism has become associated with strict approaches to Islam

 $^{^{11}}$ Fatma Idriss is the head of Tadamon, the Egyptian Refugee Multicultural Council – an Egyptian non-governmental organization (NGO).

equivalency certification resulted in complications in establishing students' grade level, and as a result, many children ended up repeating two or three years. The same problem also applied to university students. For young women , some parents raised concerns about harassment and security on the way to and from school.

Some young women in the focus group discussions seemed vocal and ambitious and sought to further their education with the hope they could return one day to Syria and play a role in its reconstruction. In Egypt, they expressed sentiments of entrapment partly due to the fears of harassment and consequent confinement to their residence in comparison to the relative independence they had enjoyed at their home country. However, they remained motivated to forge ahead through these challenges and sought scholarship opportunities and vocational courses such as nursing, as well as other employment tools.

3.8.2.2. Child labor

Due to the many challenges faced by school-aged children mentioned above, several participants mentioned that Syrians were increasingly taking their children out of school and having them take low-level jobs at supermarkets or as street vendors (Fatma Idriss, personal communication, May 15, 2014). The idea is to have them contribute to their family's increasingly limited income and growing living expenses as savings are exhausted and their duration of stay in Egypt is extended. In Ismailia, a number of mothers mentioned that their 13 to 15 year olds acquired late work in night shifts at restaurants, where they were working into the early hours of the morning and were exposed to mistreatment and job-related risks. UNHCR officials raised concerns in recent interviews with researchers that there have been many school dropouts in recent months, which might be related to the need to support families (Del Rey, personal communication, 2014).

3.8.2.3. Child trauma

Several participants stated that Syrian children had experienced horrors in Syria, and were traumatized as they left the country to seek safety elsewhere. Many continue to deal with the symptoms of this stress and have exhibited signs of psychosocial illness as a result. The problems encountered in Egypt compounded those children's already fragile conditions. The study revealed that the Syrian families had no prior experience of dealing with such sensitive issues, nor had they sought any kind of medical help or advice on how to deal with such conditions. It is a problem that could risk scarring a generation of Syrian children and youth for life. As such, it needs attention from humanitarian organizations and others working with refugee children

4. Conclusion and recommendations

Repatriation and resettlement are the only durable solutions mentioned in the MOU between the Egyptian government and UNHCR. However, as has been discussed here and elsewhere, de facto integration of refugees has become the long-term solution for Syrian refugees in Egypt because resettlement and repatriation depend on factors beyond the control of UNHCR and the Egyptian government. This mirrors the cases of refugees from Sudan, Somalia, and many other African countries who have found themselves stranded in Egypt with no possibility of going back or resettling in another country.

It is argued that de facto integration occurs when refugees are not in physical danger, have freedom of movement, have access to opportunities for livelihoods, have access to housing, educational, and health facilities, and are socially networked into the host community (Jacobsen, 2001, p. 8). According to this definition, Syrians in Egypt were de facto integrated in the first year of their arrival. They were welcomed by Egyptians, able to find a niche in the Egyptian local market, and granted access to educational and health facilities.

However, this situation did not last long. This study demonstrates how the living conditions of Syrian refugees shifted in tandem with Egyptian politics. The political changes of July 2013 and anti-Syrian refugee rhetoric by the media impacted these refugees' ability to engage in economic activities and access critical services. Such findings highlight the importance of political factors in determining refugees' livelihoods in their host countries – factors that are not always fully considered in studies on refugee livelihoods.

Additionally, the study also demonstrates the important role played by the media. The climax of deteriorating living conditions for Syrians in Egypt was in July and August 2013, when the media was explicitly campaigning against them; the situation stabilized when the media campaign cooled down. This finding should alert refugee organizations to the importance of working with the media to promote refugee rights. Advocacy through local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), human rights groups, journalists, and other influential media personalities may be a constructive way to sensitize the Egyptian host community about the particular problems faced by Syrians.

Despite the negative media campaign receding and Egypt's political environment stabilizing to some extent, Syrian refugees still face difficulty compared with three years ago. This is because of the depletion of their savings over time, the difficulty of finding incomegenerating opportunities due to Egypt's recession, and the increasing number of Syrians seeking refuge due to protracted conflict in Syria.

The challenges of dealing with protection and assistance on this scale can be daunting. Self-settled refugees in Egypt and throughout the region brings to the fore a need to include host communities and governments, as well as development actors and agencies, into the refugee protection arena. At the peak of the region's Iraqi refugee crisis in 2007 and 2008, models of "institutional support mechanisms" were implemented by UNHCR to assist host communities hosting refugees and thus bearing the brunt of the responsibility related to their safety and resources. Working within these parameters of institutional support mechanism is critical in the Syrian refugee case.

This study also reveals that the Egyptian government's policymaking is fundamentally unclear on Syrian refugees in the country. It is not clear for how long the visa requirement will be imposed on Syrian refugees, the criteria upon which Syrian refugees will be granted different types of visas, or how some Syrians were able to enter Egypt without meeting visa requirements. Moreover, the protracted conflict in Syria necessitate that UNHCR should seek the cooperation of the Egyptian government in discussing the lifting of the visa requirement for Syrians fearing for their lives.

This paper highlights the need for further research on Syrian refugees' conditions especially as political changes occur within Egypt and the Syrian crisis continues to unfold. Particularly important are issues related to children and young adults including access to education, the increased involvement of children in income generating activities, and the psychological impact of displacement. The Syrians with whom researchers spoke indicated that extensive trauma had been experienced, but families lacked the knowledge and resources to deal with these issues. Examining this trauma and how governmental and non-governmental entities can effectively respond to it will be essential to ensuring the long-term mental health of this extensive refugee population.

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ANNEX 1: Survey Questionnaire



العربية	مصر	بورية	جمه
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			قم الاستمارة [
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مسح أوضاع السوريين في مصر مايو 2013

البيانات سرية بحكم القانون ولا تستخدم في غير أغراض البحث العلمي

مسح أوضاع السوريين في مصر للباحث: تأكد من المبحوث أنه من بعد أبريل 2011، ودخل مصر منذ شهر على الأقل.

أنا باحث بمركز بصيرة، ونقوم بعمل مسح عن أوضاع السوريين في مصر خلال الفترة الحالية، وذلك البحث سيساهم في تحديد كل المشكلات والاحتياجات الملحة بالنسبة للسوريين المقيمين في مصر، وبالتالي سوف يساهم في تحسين أوضاع السوريين في مصر في الفترة المقبلة.

	بيانات تعريفية						
قسم/ مركز: شياخة/قرية: التفصيل: التفال:		يلة: رب	محافظة: السم رب الأسر الأسر الأسرة: المستجيب برب الأسرة: المستحيب				
	ارات	بيانات الزي					
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ال الترميز مدخل البيانات شهر سنة يوم شهر سنة الله	كتبى القائم بأعم	بيانات خاصة بالمرا المراجع الم ينة يوم شد	المراجع الميداني يوم شهر ال	التاريخ: الكود: الاسم: الاسم:			

القسم الأول: بيانات الاسرة المعيشية:

الانتقال		مابة	الإج	السؤال	م
	فرد			كم عدد أفراد الأسرة المعيشية في سوريا (قبل	.101

		بداية الأحداث)؟	
	فرد ا	كم عدد أفراد الأسرة المعيشية في مصر؟	.102
105	1 <u>isa</u> 1 <u>isa</u> 2 <u>Y</u>	هل هناك أفراد من أسرتك المعيشية في سوريا ما زالوا يعيشون هناك؟	.103
	فر د	کم عددهم؟	.104
108	1 نعم 1 —	هل هناك أفراد من أسرتك المعيشية في سوريا سافروا دولة أخرى؟	.105
	فر د	کم عددهم؟	.106
		ما هي الدول التي سافروا إليها؟	.107
	صعوبة الحصول على تأشيرة ليهم A فضلوا الاستمرار في سوريا B لم تتوافر الأموال اللازمة لسفرهم D فضلوا اللجوء الى دولة أخرى D	للباحث: راجع الأسئلة من 101 إلى 105، إذا لم تسافر جميع أفراد الأسرة مع بعضهم اسأل: لماذا لم يأتي جميع أفراد الأسرة إلى مصر؟	.108
	ـــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ		

1. بيانات أفراد الأسرة المعيشية داخل مصر (إحنا عاوزين شوية معلومات عن الناس المقيمين عادة في أسرتك وإللي

			موجودين معاك على طول سواء أطفال رضع أو خدم)								
114	113	112		111		110		109			
الديانة مسلم2 مسيحي3 درزي3	هل (الاسم) يحمل جنسية أخرى غير السورية؟ نعم1 (اسأل: ماهي؟) لا2	العمر لسنوات لكاملة	با	لنوع	1	4 صلة قرابة (الاسم) برب الأسرة؟	1	لك ملينى أسماء الأشخاص المقيمين عادة فى أسرتك بأ برب الأسرة للاء بالاسم اختياري وليس إجباري)			
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5 حفید/حفیدة	4.زوج الابنة/زوجة الابن	3.إبن/بنت			وجة	2.الزوج/الز	Į.	1.رب الأسرة	أكواد(س سلة 110		
9 لا توجد صلة قرابة	حما/حماه/قريب آخر	8.	خ/أخت	1.7		6.5	لد/و الد	6.وا	ب الأسرة	بر	

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م َاقِهُوط ِ اَ (وَلَ هُ}؟				مصر1 نعم اعمل خار ج مصر2(انتقل 129)	ر: أسفل الجدول)			تعم۷		
الكود		المهنة		لا وأبحث عن عمل3(انتقل129) لا ولا أبحث عن عمل4 (انتقل129)						
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	ä	3. دولیا		خاصة	.2		1. حكومية	أكواد (س 123)		
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120	119	118	117	116	115
	6 سنوات فأكثر) 112،11راجع (11	(الاسم) من أي أصل؟	المذهب الديني

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5.فوق جامعي	4.جام	نوي/ بكالوريا	بة بة 3. ثا) المراد التعليمي	ری(حدد)	9.أخر	ىتانت	 8. بروتس	ي	7. أرثوذكس	وليكي	6.کاثو	5.الاسماعيلية	11(س - مذهب دين <i>ي</i>	اله
	صلية؟	18 سنة 129 129 ما هي مهنتك الأم		عدد الأف	ر علاقة بالعمل؟ ئواد أسفل	سنة فأكثر ما هي (الاسم) إنظر الأكا الجدو				ا غيرت مهنتك لأكواد أسفل الجد			126 في مصر أخر عمل سوريا؟	هو نفس	
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<u>لـــلــــا</u> ب عمل ويستخدم أخرين	3. صاحد	ر فی عمل ننظم	2. يعمل بأج	عمل) بأجر في ع منتظم	 1 يعمل		أكواد س128) لاقة بالعم		عدم وجود اریح عمل	- 2	سے فرص	 1. عدم وجود عمل مناسبة في	واد (127)	<u>ا</u> اک

الانتقال	الإجابة	السؤال	م
	للباحث:راجع 112 و الباحث:راجع 112 و الباحث:راجع 112 و الباحث الفراد 6 و الباحث	غير ذلك	.130
		لماذا لا يدرس أي من (الأسماء) في مصر؟	.131
	X أخرى(حدد) A انخفاض مستوى التعليم في مصر B الاعتماد على الدروس الخصوصية C زيادة مصروفات الدراسية D ارتفاع أسعار الكتب الدراسية E ارتفاع أسعار ملابس المدرسة E عدم تطبيق قرار المساواة	ما هي المشكلات المتعلقة بالتعليم التي تواجه السوريين في مصر؟	.132
134	عدم فهم لغة المدرسين المصريين G H		.133
		في مصر؟	.133
139	124، إذا كان يعمل داخل مصر غير ذلك	للباحث:	.134
137 ←	وظيفاً 1_ إلى حد ما 2 غير راضي 3	هل أنت راضي عن شغك في مصر؟	.135
	العمل مرهق A الدخل منخفض B الدخل منخفض C عدم التناسب مع المؤهل D سوء معاملة من صاحب العمل X (عدد)	طنا المنظية علماً تَضْعَكَ في مصر؟	.136
1 39	- 1 2 کا	هل تشعر بالاستقرار في عملك الحالي؟	.137
		لماذا لا تشعر بالاستقرار؟	.138
201	<u> </u>	هل تتلقى الأسرة تحويلات من الخارج؟ (خلال	.139

مرسل تحويلات 3	مرسل تحويلات 2	مرسل تحویلات 1	ما هي صلة القرابة من من تلقيت منهم التحويلات؟	.140
صلة القرابة:	صلة القرابة:	صلة القرابة:		
من أي بلد تُلقيت التحويلات؟	1			
			الدولة	
			المدينة	
مال سلع مال وسلع عينية عينية	مال سلع مال وسلع عينية عينية	مال سلع مال وسلع عينية عينية	نوع التحويلات	.141
3 2 1	3 2 1	3 2 1		
مرة	مرة	مرة	عدد المرات التي تم إرسال ال3 ال3 شهور الماضية؟	.142
غير ذلك 145	اً كانت الإجابة ◄ أو 3	للباحث: الماء الماء إ		.143
دو لار	دو لار	دو لار	كم المبلغ الذي تلقيته خلال ال6 شهور الماضية؟	.144
			(المبلغ بالدو لار)	
			للباحث: سجل إجمالي ما حصل عليه في ال3 شهور	
المصرية A	- ·	الى هذه التحويلات؟	كيف تحصل ع	.145
I	الأهل والأقارب القادمون م			
_	شركات تحويا			
ی (حدد) X				<u> </u>

القسم الثاني: بيانات الهجرة والاندماج في مصر

الانتقال		الإجابة	السوال	م
	1	نعم	هل	.201
	2	7	ما أن تترك سوريا؟	
	1	حلب	في أي محافظة تسكن في سوريا؟	.202
	2	دمشق/ ریف دمشق		
	3	حمص الارد :: :		
	4 5	اللاذقية حماة		
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	В	تنمية حقوق انسان مساعدات لاجئين	ما مجال عمل هذه الجمعيات أو الهيئات؟	.402
		نشاط دینی (مساجد) نشاط سیاسی نقابات (مثل نقابة الأطباء)		
	G X	لا أعرف في المراق في	ما هي أشهر هذه الجمعيات أو الهيئات؟	.403
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	B C D	منح مالیه منح عینیة تشغیل السوریین مساعدات قانونیة أخری (حدد)	ما هي أشكال المساعدات التي تمنحها هذه الجمعيات للسوريين في مصر؟	.404
408◀	1	نعم لا	هل سجلت في أي منها للحصول على خدمات؟	.405
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413	1 -2	نعم لا	هل تحصل على أي مساعدات من أفراد؟	.408
411 ←	-1 2 3	عينية مادية عينية و مادية	هل هي مساعدات عينية أم مادية؟	.409
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415 ←	هل أسرتك تشعر بالأمان في مصر؟	.413
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	وافق على زواج البنات بهذه الطريقة؟ للمسلم المسلم ال	421. هل ت
	اماذا؟ الماذا؟	.422
	عندما توجد خارج المنزل (في الشارع، المعنوف عليك المحلات تجارية) هل يتم التعرف عليك المنزل اللكنة أو المدري (من خلال اللكنة أو الملابس)؟	المطعم،
	أم التعامل معك بطريقة مختلفة في حال ينعم/ أفضل 1 و التعامل معك بطريقة مختلفة في حال ينعم/أسوأ 2 و التعرف عليك بأنك غير مصري؟	424. هل يت
	ازاي؟ ————————————————————————————————————	.425

501	هل تشعر بوجود مضایقات أمنیة لك ولأسرتك من السلطات المحلیة؟	.426
	ماهو نوع هذه المضايقات؟	.427

القسم الخامس: الخدمات الصحية

الانتقال	الإجابة	السؤال	م
503 ←	1 نعم —2 لا 2	هل دخلت المستشفى للعلاج خلال الستة أشهر الماضية في مصر؟ (المبحوث نفسه فقط)	.501
	عام 1 خاص 2	ما نوع المستشفى التي دخلتها؟	.502
	مستشفى عام م B مستشفى خاص عيادات خاصة C عيادات خاصة D المستوصفات الحكومية E عيادات/ مستوصفات تابعة للجامع أو الكنيسة X (حدد)	من أين تحصل أسرتك عادة على الخدمة الصحية في مصر؟	.503
506 ←	1 نعم 1 —2 لا 2	هل هناك أى مشكلات بتواجهك أنت والأسرة في الحصول على الخدمات الصحية؟	.504
		ما هي أهم هذه المشكلات ؟	.505
508	نعم 1	هل تعاني أنت أو أفراد أسرتك من أي أمراض مرمنة؟	.506
	[] [] [3	ما هي هذه الأمراض؟	.507
511 ←	نعم 1 —2 لا 2	هل هناك سيدة أو أكثر حامل في الأسرة؟	.508
	سيدة	كم عدد السيدات الحوامل في الأسرة؟	.509
	1 نعم / کلهم 2 نعم / بعضهم 3 لا 3	هل تتلقى هذه السيدات الحوامل أى رعاية صحية في مصر؟	.510
513 ←	1 نعم —2 لا 2	هل هناك أطفال في أسرتك في مصر أو سوريا تم ولادتهم خلال اخر 5 سنوات ؟	.511
	طفل	كم عدد الذين ولدوا خلال 5 سنوات الأخيرة؟	.512
		للباحث: إذا كان عدد الأطفال مختلف عن عدد الأفراد أقل من 5 سنوات، وضح السبب؟	.513
601	ا كان هناك أو أقل من 5 سن وات غير دلك ا	للباحث: راجع سؤال 112، إذا	.514

1	ختر	كيف تقيم المستوى الصحي لهؤلاء الأطفال؟	.515
2	متوسط		
3	لىنىء		

القسم السادس: العلاقة مع المصريين والسوريين داخل مصر

نتقال	וצו		جابة	الأ		السؤال	۴
605	←	-A B	لا توجد صداقة		طك بالمصريين؟	ما هي أنواع العلاقات التي تربد	.601
		C	علاقات عمل				
			جيرة				
		E	قرابة /مصاهرة				
		1	<u>أخرى (حدد)</u> نعم		ت في تعاملك مع	هل واجهتك اى مشكلان	.602
605	•	$-\frac{1}{2}$	Ž		المصريين؟	-5 G/	.002
		A	لمصريين لوجود السوريين	عدم قبول ا	هذه المشكلات؟	ما هی	.603
			النصب والاستغلال				
		C	سوء المعاملة مع السوريين شعب غير مضياف				
		E	سعب عير مصيف خير مصيف خلافات عمل				
		_	أخرى (حدد) التعامل في أضيق الحدود				
					کلات دی ازای؟	بتواجه المش	.604
		B X	التعامل مع السوريين فقط أخده المدد				
		1	<u>أخرى (حدد)</u> نعم		بلطات المصرية	هل تستطيع اللجوء الى الس	.605
		2	Ý			للدفاع عن حقوقك القانونية أ	.000
607	←	-3	لا أعرف		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		
			_]		لماذا؟		.606
		\sqcup					
					*	/** **** ** - * · · ·	607
		A B	أصدقا ء - أقار ب		ن السوريين في مصر؟	ما هو نوع العلاقة بينك وبي	.607
		C	علقات عمل		مصر:		
			جيرة				
		E	لا يوجد أ				
		X	<u>اخری (حدد)</u> .	مة كانت الزيارة	من خلال	كيف تحافظ على علاقتك	.608
سنة	_		شهر	متى كانت الزيارة الأخيرة	س <u>الزيارة</u>	بالسوريين في مصر؟	.000
	L						
1	f			مراد المارية أو المراد المراد	-		
$\begin{bmatrix} 1\\2 \end{bmatrix}$	و يباً يوع	 ، الأس	أكثر من مرة في	معدلات الزيارة أو المقابلات خلال ال6			
3	بوغ	ً الأس	مرة واحدة في	شهور السابقة			
			مرة كلّ				

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	ي ر ي		
معدلات الاتصال خلال ويعيًا 1	1		•
ال 3 شهور السابقة أكثر من مرة في الأسبوع 2			
مرة واحدة في الأسبوع 3			
مرة كل أسبوعين 4			
مرة في الشهر 5			
لا اتصل بهم على الإطلاق 6		794 2 79 1 44 1 4-	(00
1 is a si	_	عندما تواجهك مشكلة	.609
	لسوريين لحلها؟		(10
أحد الأقارب A		من هم السوريين الذين تلجأ ا	.610
موظفي السفارة B موظفي السفارة C أصدقاء	مسكله:		
اخری(حدد) X			
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ي يواجهها السوريين داخل مصر	المشكلات الت	القسد السابع	
ي يواجهه اسوريين داهل معمر	المستارت البر	العسم السابي.	
	، مشكلات تو احه	ماهى اكبر أو أسوأ ثلاث	.701
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7	أسرتك؟		.701
(2	أسرتك؟		.701
(3	· ·		
3	جه السيدات التي	ماهى اكبر ثلاث مشكلات توا	.702
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	جه السيدات التي		
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل سنة في أسرتك؟	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تو من 18	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل سنة في أسرتك؟	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل سنة في أسرتك؟	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تو من 18	.702
	جه السيدات التي في أسرتك؟ اجه الأفراد الأقل سنة في أسرتك؟	ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تواه ماهی اکبر ثلاث مشکلات تو من 18	.702

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	 هل یمکن أن تدلنا علی شخص آخر یمکن عمل مقابله معه؟

• نعم

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Annex 2 (A): FGD 1

Center for Migration and Refugee Studies Study on Syrian Refugees in Egypt Focus Group Discussions for Syrians who are not registered with UNHCR 20 June 2013

Ice-breaking points

- 1. Introduction of team, organization, objectives
- 2. Voluntary and participatory nature of discussion
- 3. Confidentiality
- 4. Aim to relay accurate message about conditions and needs for policy makers, to help in formulation of programs, based on beneficiary input

Substantive points

- 1. Why have you chosen to come to Egypt?
- 2. How many among you have heard of UNHCR? What do you know about the organization's role and mandate?
- 3. How do you define protection? What are its main components?
- 4. Did you know about UNHCR before coming to Egypt? If so, what was your understanding of its work?
- 5. Has anyone around you (family or friends) registered?
- 6. When you think about registration, what comes to mind?
- 7. What is the value of registration?
- 8. How were your expectations / prior knowledge about it similar to or different from reality?
- 9. What are the reasons for which you have not sought to register with UNHCR?
- 10. What in your opinion should the main benefits of registration be?
- 11. Have you had experience registering for any service or assistance with any organization other than UNHCR? How would you describe it?
- 12. From what you know about registration, what improvements would you suggest to the registration process that might facilitate it?

Administrative points

- 1. Refunding of transportation
- 2. Refreshments
- 3. If know others in other areas, should inform us

ANNEX 2 (B): FGD 2

Center for Migration and Refugee Studies Study on Syrian Refugees in Egypt Focus Group Discussions for Young Syrian Men (16-25 years) 20 June 2013

Ice-breaking points

- 5. Introduction of team, organization, objectives
- 6. Voluntary and participatory nature of discussion
- 7. Confidentiality
- 8. Aim to relay accurate message about conditions and needs for policy makers, to help in formulation of programs, based on beneficiary input

Substantive points

Arrival and registration

- 1. How would you describe the experience of being in Egypt since your arrival here?
- 2. What have been the main challenges faced by the Syrian community in general?
- 3. To what extent do you feel these reflect your own experience?
- 4. If you have registered with UNHCR, has that brought you an added value?
- 5. If not, what are the reasons for not registering?

Protection

- 6. How has the experience of leaving your home and seeking protection here affected you and the dynamics in your family?
- 7. What are the most pressing protection challenges you face here?

Assistance and Livelihoods

- 8. What are your prospects for contributing to your family's livelihoods or income?
- 9. What are the biggest needs that remain unaddressed to you and your family?

Integration

- 10. How have you been received by the Egyptian community around you?
- 11. What is your expectation about the duration of your stay here?
- 12. What would the main facilitating factors of integration in Egypt be?

Administrative points

- 4. Refunding of transportation
- 5 Refreshments
- 6. If know others in other areas, should inform us

ANNEX 2 (C): FGD 3

Center for Migration and Refugee Studies Study on Syrian Refugees in Egypt Focus Group Discussions for Young Syrian Women (16-25 years) 20 June 2013

Ice-breaking points

- 9. Introduction of team, organization, objectives
- 10. Voluntary and participatory nature of discussion
- 11. Confidentiality
- 12. Aim to relay accurate message about conditions and needs for policy makers, to help in formulation of programs, based on beneficiary input

Substantive points

Arrival and registration

- 13. How would you describe the experience of being in Egypt since your arrival here?
- 14. What have been the main challenges faced by the Syrian community in general?
- 15. To what extent do you feel these reflect your own experience?

Protection Issues

- 16. What have been the particular issues you have faced as a young Syrian refugee woman in Egypt?
- 17. Many Egyptian women face harassment of different kinds on the street or in the workplace. Have you experienced harassment or behavior that you felt was inappropriate?
- 18. Do you feel safe here?
- 19. How has the experience of leaving your home and seeking protection here affected the dynamics in your family?
- 20. Are you aware of a trend towards early marriages for girls and young women? If yes, what is your reaction towards this?
- 21. How can protection to Syrian girls and women in Egypt be strengthened?
- 22. Have you sought assistance or protection from any aid agency with regard to any particular issues you may have faced?

Assistance and Livelihoods

- 23. What are your prospects for contributing to your family's livelihoods or income?
- 24. How does your gender affect your mobility in Egypt?

Integration

- 25. How have you been received by the Egyptian community around you?
- 26. What is your expectation about the duration of your stay here?
- 27. What would the main facilitating factors of integration in Egypt be?

Administrative points

- 7. Refunding of transportation
- 8. Refreshments
- 9. If know others in other areas, should inform us

ANNEX 3: In-depth interview

Center for Migration and Refugee Studies Survey on Syrian Refugees in Egypt

Questions for Kev Informants

		27 May 2013
A) Co	nsent	·
1.	Do you consent to the outreport?	comes of this interviews being included in the study
	Yes	No
2.	Do you have any concern	to share before we start the interview?
	Yes	No
	If yes, please explain:	

B) Basic Data

- 3. Name:
- 4. Affiliation (individual/ organization):
- 5. Title:

If relevant and acceptable, you can ask: are you a refugee yourself? Syrian/ Non-**Syrian**

C) Nature of relationship with Syrian refugees/ community in Egypt

6. What is the nature of your relationship with the Syrian community in Egypt? (Please choose what applies and explain in each case)

Personal: community	Organizational (not for profit)	Commercial service	Other
member/ other			

7. If your relationsh	ip is organizational, wl	hich category do yo	ou belor	ng under?				
Unpaid volunteer	Compensated volunte detail	eer: please give	Paid jo	ob				
8. How long have y	8. How long have you been working with Syrian refugees in Egypt overall?							

- 9. How long have you been working in this capacity?
- 10. What were you doing before? (this question is mostly relevant for Syrian, other refugees and members of host community)
- 11. How long has your organization been assisting Syrian refugees in Egypt?

D) Arrival and registration

- 1. What is your sense in terms of figures and arrival trends? Increasing? From where? Due to what?
- 2. What is the trend in terms of registration with UNHCR? Are more people registering upon arrival?

plus other cities. Use "country w	ride" if so and tick both boxes.
Cairo	Other cities
0 1	does your work target? Please tick what applies
and indicate age group	
Category	Age Group
All Syrian community:	
Men:	
Women:	
Youth:	
Children:	
against each category (.e.g. peo	e space below and indicate age group ople with war injuries/ the disabled/ npanied minors/ specific religious

12. What cities/ regions does your work or the work of your organization involve?

Please indicate city and district if possible. Use both columns if working in Cairo

G) Needs Assessment (G 1-4):

G.1 Protection and Assistance for refugees:

F) Geographic location and target group(s)

Job area	Any comparative advantage?	Any comments?			
*	A	Any comments?			
G.2 Refugee Livelihoods:20. What are the areas Syrians are finding jobs in and do they seem to have a comparative advantage?					
19. How do you th	nk these problems can be ad	dressed in a better way?			
18. Is that enough?	Yes, No; explain.				
17. What do people	e currently do to address thes	e problems/ challenges?			
16. From your practice, what do you think are the main problems / challenges facing your specific target population/ groups?					
15. What are the m	t are the most facilitated aspects of their life here?				
facing the Syria					

21. What can be done to strengthen their ability to sustain themselves and their families?
G.3 Psychosocial Aspect for carers/ helpers:22. What problems do you face personally? (exploring burnout, trauma, resource shortageetc)
23. What do you currently do to address these problems/ challenges?
24. Is that enough? Yes, No; explain
25. How do you think these problems can be addressed in a better way?
G.4 Needs of your assisting organizations (or commercial service)/ colleagues:26. What problems does your organization or your colleagues face? (same as above plus exploring the need for institutional support/ capacity buildingetc.)
27. What does your organization / colleagues currently do to address these problems/challenges?
28. Is that enough? Yes, No; explain.
29. How do you think these problems can be addressed in a better way?

H) Integration

30. How do you feel Syrian refugees are perceived from within the Egyptian community or other refugee community members?

31. What is the general sentiment towards returning to Syria? Is there concern about the difficulty of returning even post-conflict due to changes in destruction

I) Support from institutions, host community, refugee community, other

32. Do you or your organization receive any support to carry out your work? (tick what applies)

No:

Yes If yes;

- a. To me personally: (Tick if yes and proceed to next question)
- b. To my Institution: (Tick if yes and proceed to next question)
- 33. What is the source of this support? Please indicate name or relationship of the source of support and nature of support

International	Name:
organization	
	Form of support:
Egyptian NGO	Name:
	Form of support:
Cymion	Who?
Syrian community in	W no?
Egypt	Form of support:
26) [1	Torm of support.
Family in Syria	Relationship:
(remittances/	
other)	Form of support:
Syrian	Which country?
community	mon country.
abroad	Form of support:
(remittances/	
other)	
Host	Specify community by group or district:

community	Form of support:		
Other refugee community in Egypt (exploring cooperation among refugees)	Community and Form of support (e.g. Iraqi/ house searchetc.)	Community and Form of support	Community and Form o support

Interviewer; Please add your notes and observations if any:

End.