



ROBERT
SCHUMAN
CENTRE FOR
ADVANCED
STUDIES

Issue 2016/01
February 2016



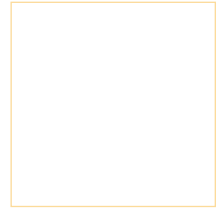
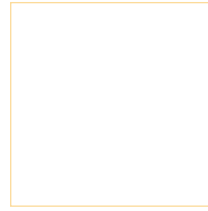
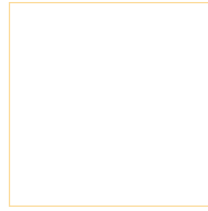
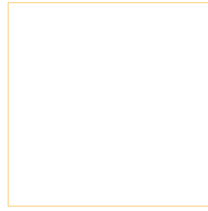
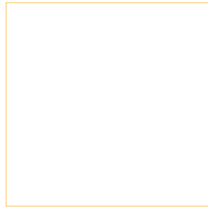
Migration Profile: Egypt

Françoise De Bel-Air

POLICY
BRIEF

Egypt is the most populous Arab country with, as of December 2015, 90.2 million inhabitants. Not surprisingly, it is the largest migrant sending country in the region to date. After a phase of legal restrictions on emigration under Nasser's regime, Egyptian emigration took off after 1971. The economy and national borders were opened to the circulation of goods and persons (*infitah*) under President Sadat. The right to migrate is enshrined in the 1971 Constitution. The 1973 War and the ensuing hike in oil prices having stimulated strong work force needs in oil-producing countries, large numbers of emigrants left Egypt for Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states, to Iraq as well as to Libya.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Egypt went through several phases of migration ebbs and flows, especially to the Gulf and other Arab States, the main outlet for Egyptian migrants. During the 1980s, the Gulf States enacted a policy of replacing the Arab work force with Asian labourers. The First Gulf War of 1990-91 forced all Egyptian workers out of Iraq, as Egypt sided with the west against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Many of these workers were redirected to Libya and to Saudi Arabia. Between 2003 and 2008, migration to the Gulf was sustained by high oil prices. Since 2011, however, and in spite of a new hike in hydrocarbon prices that ended in 2014, political events have affected Egyptian migration patterns.



The Arab uprisings spurred new policies of workforce indigenisation in Gulf countries (Saudisation, Kuwaitisation, ..); fear of political activism from citizens of new Arab regimes became stronger; and several campaigns targeted irregular migrants, many of whom were Egyptian. Meanwhile, the escalation of the war in Libya and especially the attacks against Egyptians there led the Foreign Ministry of Egypt to declare a ban on travel to Libya in September 2014. However, economic necessity compelled some Egyptian workers to stay in the country. Their numbers today (late 2015) are difficult to establish, since many of them are undocumented.¹

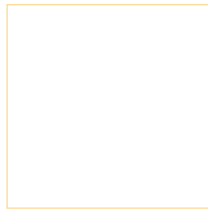
Migration flows to Europe, and especially to Italy, increased over the 2000s and peaked in 2010: there were 30,816 new permits holders for all of Europe and 21,532 for Italy. The financial crisis of 2008, however, decreased the labour opportunities there and in Europe in general. Irregular sojourn and labour are, therefore, becoming increasingly frequent and this has been compounded by a post-revolutionary economic slowdown. This has increased migration pressure and popular demands for employment. An IOM survey reveals that employment, corruption, security, wages and constitutional reforms are the most important issue for young Egyptians after the events of 25 January 2011. Yet, around 70 percent of employed respondents had troubles with work after the uprisings. Thirty percent lost their jobs and a quarter were sent on forced and unpaid leave: naturally adding still further to migration pressure.² Unemployment and over qualification, added to a lack of confidence in Egypt's stability, also drove migration from Egypt in a survey conducted in 2013.³

Following the revolution in 2011, the short-lived new 2012 Constitution was amended and replaced by the January 2014 Constitution. While constitutional guarantees such as the right of entry and exit for Egyptian citizens were stipulated in the 1971 Constitution and reiterated in 2014 (Art. 62), the new text introduced rights and protections

for Egyptians living abroad. Among these were the right to vote from abroad (art. 208), and the right of expatriates to be represented in the House of Representatives (art. 244).

In terms of immigration, Egypt is host to limited flows of migrant workers, but rising numbers of refugees and asylum seekers. In addition to some 70,000 Palestinian refugees, whose families arrived in 1948 and after, tens of thousands of refugees from Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia, as well as Iraq and most recently, Syria, are now stranded in Egypt. These have been joined by transit migrants fleeing the war in Libya. Egypt adopted several legal provisions such as the acknowledgement of political asylum, in the new Constitution. The most recent initiative is the approval by the Egyptian Cabinet of a new anti-human smuggling law on 27 November 2015. The law is in line with international standards, safeguarding the rights and addressing the needs of smuggled migrants.

However, given Egypt's dire economic situation, most migrants join migrating Egyptian citizens and risk their lives in trying to reach Europe by sea, in journeys that begin on the Egyptian coast. Countering illegal emigration, by land but especially by sea has become a major challenge for Egyptian authorities: under pressure of European neighbours. With police violence and even killings,⁴ crackdowns on irregular migrants have multiplied. During 2015, thousands were captured and detained by the Egyptian police.⁵



Outward migration

Stock

As of late 2013, an estimated 4.3 million Egyptians were living abroad. The vast majority of Egyptian expatriates resided in Arab countries (86 percent), many in Saudi Arabia (around 1.3 million). Despite the political instability in the country, about 700,000 Egyptians continued to seek livelihoods in Libya, down from an estimated 1 to 2 million before the revolution.⁶ Undocumented workers were many among Egyptians migrants to Libya, as well as to Jordan and to Saudi Arabia.

	Source	Def.	Number	% of all emigrants
Arab Countries			around 3,700,000	86%
Gulf States				
Saudi Arabia	(1)	(B)	1,300,000	
Kuwait			482,692	
UAE			400,000	
Qatar			180,000	
Oman			29,877	
Bahrain			20,000	
Other Arab countries				
Of which Libya	(2)	(B)	700,000	
Jordan	(3)		636,270	
Europe 28+Switzerland+Norway			204,814	5%
Of which Italy	(4)	(A)	72,326	
UK			31,338	
France			29,446	
North America				194,747
US	(A)	143,407		
Canada		51,340		
Others			200,000	5%
Of which Australia	(A)		36,536	
Total emigrants			around 4,300,000	100%

Sources:
 (1) national population registers and other estimates, <http://gulfmigration.eu/> Estimates for Kuwait: Dec. 2012; Saudi Arabia: 2013; Qatar, UAE, Bahrain: 2014
 (2) IOM, 2013; (3) census November 2015
 (4) OECD-DIOC database, 2011 revision.
Definition of migrant: (A) country of birth; (B) country of nationality.
Europe refers to the EU-28+Switzerland+Norway

Inward migration

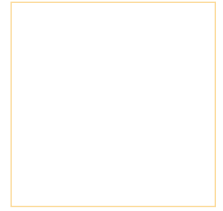
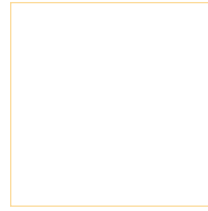
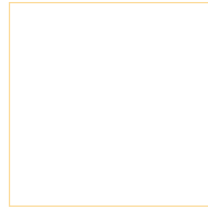
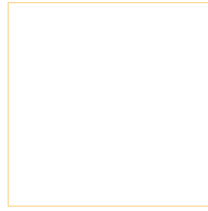
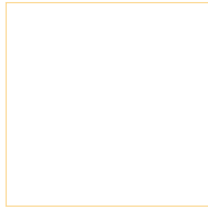
Stock

In 2006 (last available data), according to census figures, 184,070 foreign nationals resided in Egypt, or 0.3% of the total population. They came mainly from Arab (43 percent) and European (32 percent) countries.

Country of nationality	Males	Females	Total	%
Arab countries	44,490	34,350	78,840	42.8
of which Palestine	18,310	13,590	31,900	17.3
Iraq	5,650	5,670	11,320	6.1
Saudi Arabia	4,570	2,360	6,930	3.8
European countries	29,630	28,510	58,140	31.6
of which Russia	7,480	9,350	16,830	9.1
United Kingdom	5,990	4,540	10,530	5.7
Germany	4,450	3,500	7,950	4.3
Other countries	29,250	17,840	47,090	25.6
of which Somalia	9,410	7,060	16,470	8.9
United States	2,160	1,590	3,750	2
Indonesia	1,980	620	2,600	1.4
Total	103,370	80,700	184,070	100

Source: Egyptian population census (2006)

In 2013, 15,655 foreign residents held a labour permit, 94 percent of them employed in the private and investment sector. Arabs, Europeans and Asians each made up about a third of the foreign work force in the sector, with Palestinians constituting the largest group (15 percent of all foreign workers and 55 percent of Arabs).¹⁸ Bangladeshis and Indians made up respectively 37 and 26 percent of all Asian workers. Most foreign workers (4,053) were in the “Legislators, senior officials and managers” occupational category (28 percent of all foreigners employed in the private sector in 2013), followed by the “Technicians and associate professionals” and the



Pinpointing the profile of Egyptian migrants is a challenge, even if studies acknowledge that in general, Egyptian emigrants are most often young men belonging to rural rather than urban areas.⁷ Their educational and occupational levels, however, differ by country of destination.

In Libya, as well as in Jordan, Egyptian workers are often employed in low-skilled professions, in the agriculture, construction and services sectors. Ninety-eight percent of Egyptian labour permit holders registered in Jordan in 2014 were employed in agricultural and in services- and production-related professions.⁸

In the Gulf States, and especially in Saudi Arabia where most Egyptians are hosted, documented labourers are often employed in white-collar, skilled and semi-skilled technical fields such as accountancy and marketing, for instance, in addition to agriculture and husbandry.⁹

Most Egyptians in the Gulf are male workers. Data for Kuwait, for instance, reveal that 77 percent of Egyptian residing in the country are males (335 men for 100 women). Only twenty-eight percent of Egyptians are registered as family dependents. Income and skill levels determine the right to family reunion in every Gulf country. The small share of dependents among Egyptian residents in Kuwait confirms that these nationals occupy professions in an intermediate income bracket, which offers only limited possibilities for family reunion.¹⁰

As of 2010-2011, non-Arab countries host much smaller numbers of Egyptian migrants, of diverse profiles. The distribution of “permanent” Egyptian migrants by age group shows the predominance of those aged beyond 25. In Australia, North America and the UK, their age distribution suggests decades-old migration trends. Those based in Australia, especially, tend to be older: more than half (54 percent) of Egyptian migrants are aged 55 and above. In

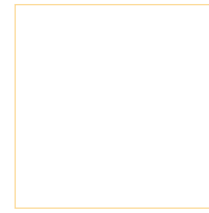
“crafts and related trades workers” (respectively 23 and 15 percent).¹⁹

Egypt also hosts refugees²⁰ and asylum seekers.²¹ The country is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, and the 1969 OAU Convention. Nevertheless, as the country has not yet developed national asylum procedures and institutions, UNHCR carries functional responsibilities for all aspects of registration, documentation and refugee status determination (RSD) under the 1954 memorandum of understanding with the Government of Egypt.

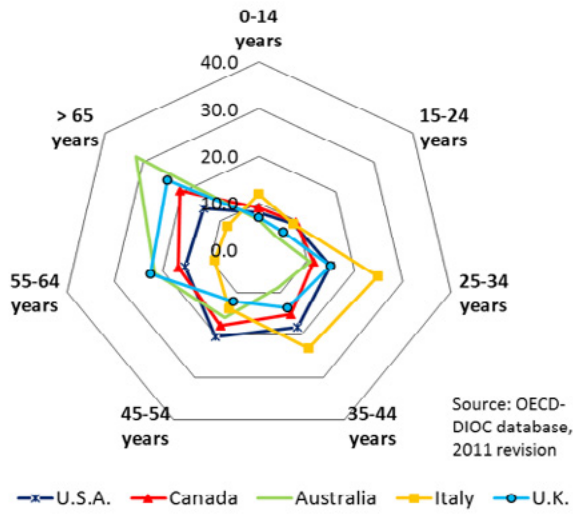
Refugees and asylum seekers in Egypt as of mid-2015	
Refugees	226,344
Of whom Palestinians ^(a)	70,021
Sudanese	10,849
Syrians	131,892
Asylum seekers	30,019
Of whom Sudanese	13,420
Ethiopians	4,241
South Sudanese	2,208
Iraqis	2,123
Somalis	1,967
Eritreans	1,532
Sudanese	1,196
Nigerians	1,117
Yemenis	464
Source: UNHCR	
(a) Refers to Palestinians under the UNHCR mandate only.	

An estimated 70,000 Palestinian refugees came to Egypt as a result of the Israeli wars of 1948 and 1967. Initially welcome, since 1982 they are considered as foreigners. They have hence lost their right to residency, the right to own property and work granted to them under Nasser’s Pan-Arabist policies.

In general, accurate figures of foreign residents in Egypt are not available, as many foreign nationals reside and work irregularly. Many refugees



Percentage distribution of Egyptian migrants by age group (selected OECD countries, 2011)



Europe, most Egyptians reside in Italy. They tend to be young: almost half of them – 48 percent – are between 25 and 44 years of age.

Men vastly outnumber women (192 men for 100 women on average) and most Egyptians in Italy have a low education level: the highly-educated only go to make up 25 percent of the migrants.¹¹ This indicates the predominance of young, low-skilled workers. Italy also received families with dependents: 12 percent of migrants are in the 0-14 age group, more than elsewhere in the Western immigration countries. In the US and the UK, Egyptian migrants are often highly educated, respectively, 68 and 75 percent of the 25-34 age group for instance. Therefore, these are likely to be in tertiary education, or young highly-skilled professionals. The gender structure is also more balanced there than in Southern Europe: between 115 and 138 males for 100 women in the UK and North America.

too, have not been registered by UNHCR. The Sudanese, for example, have had historic ties with Egypt and they enjoyed visa-free entry until 1995. They are usually employed in informal economic activities and thus remain largely undetected. Others found refuge in Egypt in the civil wars since 1955, among which the Darfur conflict, ongoing since 2003, or refuge from economic hardships. Of course, not all are recorded: there are thought to be several tens of thousands, some estimates reaching 500,000.²²

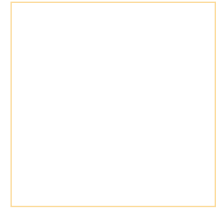
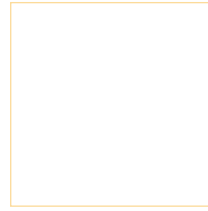
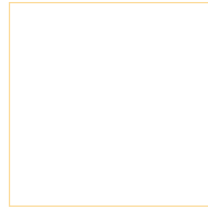
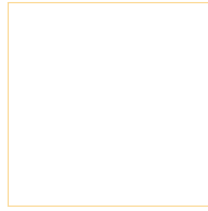
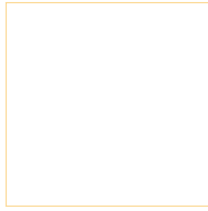
Conversely, refugees from Iraq who came to Egypt in the mid-2000s, in the aftermath of the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime and the ensuing sectarian conflicts were overestimated. A survey carried out in 2008 suggested the number of Iraqi refugees stood at 16,853, a figure that is much lower than the 100,000-150,000 often claimed.²³

Flows

Egypt is also a destination for refugees from Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia and from other Sub-Saharan countries. Beside Egypt's comparatively stable political situation until the 2011 revolution, the country is also a major regional hub for international aid bodies (UNHCR) and NGOs. It is also a transit country for refugees on their way to Europe, who often find themselves stranded in Egypt due to the closure of EU's borders. African migrants also cross Egypt to reach Israel.

After violence erupted in Libya in February 2011, UNHCR reported that close to 475,000 people entered Egypt through the Salloum border crossing. These included Egyptian returnees and Libyans, as well as third-country nationals and refugees who had been resident in Libya. It is estimated that most Libyans returned soon after.

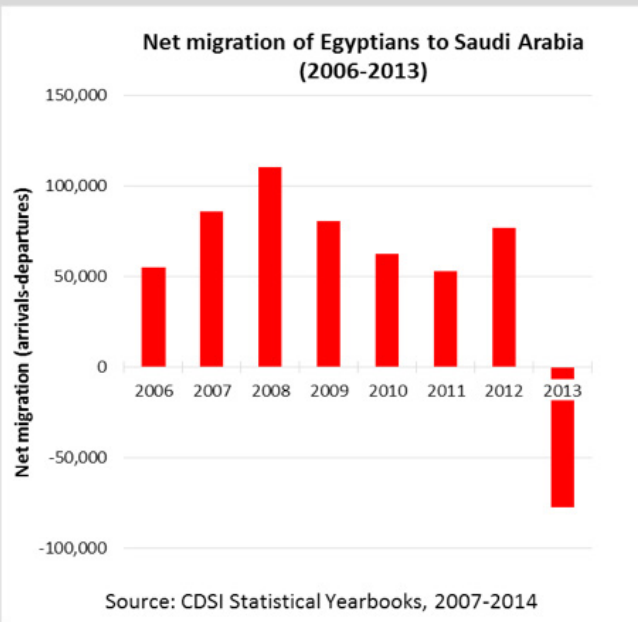
To date, Syrians form the largest group of registered refugees in Egypt, who joined relatives



Flows

During the 2000s, flows of Egyptian migrants to the Gulf were steady, owing to a hike in oil prices after 2003: this hike stimulated new structural investments and spurred work force needs.

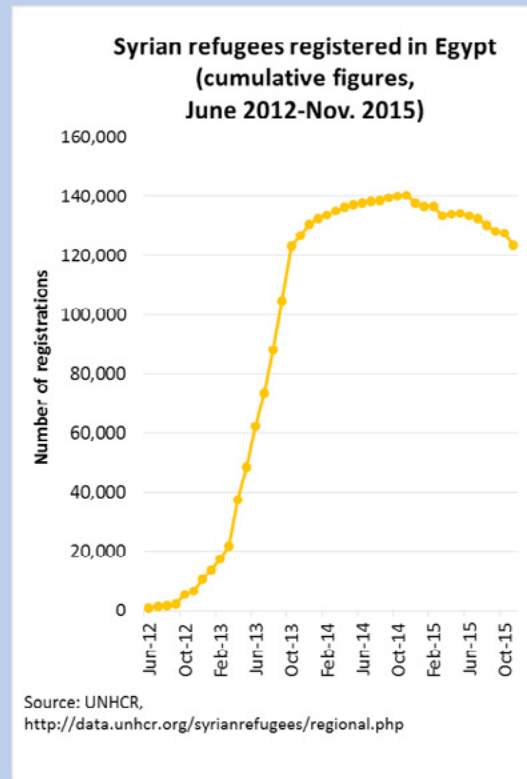
The financial crisis of the late 2000s only moderately affected net inflows of Egyptians to the Gulf, for instance to Saudi Arabia. They even increased slightly in 2012, as regime change in Egypt and war in Libya reoriented and sustained flows to the Gulf. However, crackdowns on irregular workers became more regular in all Gulf countries. During 2013, a massive regularization campaign was followed by waves of expulsions of undocumented labourers from Saudi Arabia: these included 300,000 Egyptians in irregular situation.



Many Egyptians had also to return from Libya, after the fall of Muammar Gadhafi's regime. Then, re-entering became difficult as new measures were enacted on 1 January 2012. The Libyan National Transitional Council repealed the former agreements of free circulation between

or came in search of cheaper housing and living costs than could be found in Jordan or Lebanon. Indeed, a sample survey indicated that the majority of Syrians in Egypt had first transited through Lebanon.²⁴ Initially, Syrian refugees were also welcome under President Mursi's regime. The Government of Egypt exempted Syrians (and the other Arab nationals) from entry visas. Syrians could enter on three-month-tourist visas and were directly registered by UNHCR.²⁵

However, entry requirements changed in July 2013, after General Sissi came to power. The government required procurement of a visa prior to arrival along with security clearance.²⁶ Once their visas expire, Syrians are expected to register with the government. Amnesty International also reported cases of forcible deportation to Syria and other neighbouring countries in the region.²⁷ Entries have stalled since that date, as indicated in the movement of new registrations. Moreover, hostility toward resident Syrians became open and was fed, in part, by media campaigns.

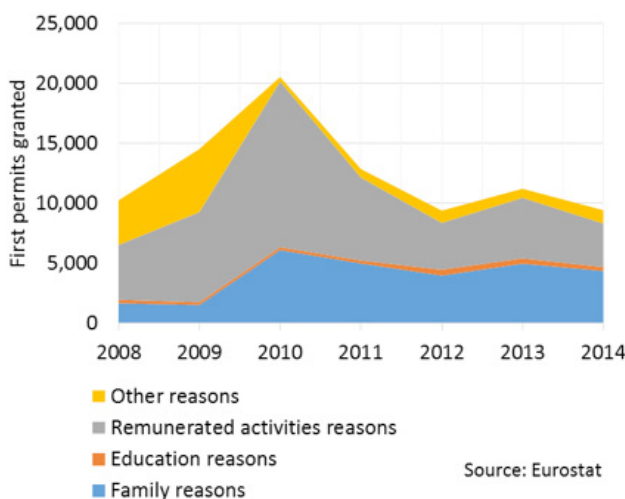




the two countries and required that Egyptian workers obtain work visas before entering Libya. However, the dire economic situation in Egypt continued forcing migrants to Libya, where 57,622 job opportunities were offered to Egyptian workers, in the last three months of 2013 alone.¹² Since 2014 and the deterioration of the security situation for Egyptians, no data is available as to how many Egyptians still commute between the two countries.

Larger numbers of Egyptians have turned to Europe over the last two decades. Italy, especially, received 67 percent of all Egyptian first permit holders in Europe in 2010. However, legal flows of new migrants to that country (and elsewhere in Europe) have decreased since then. This is due mostly to a sharp drop in the number of first permits delivered to Egyptian nationals for the purpose of “remunerated activities”, in the aftermath of the financial crisis of 2008.

Flows of Egyptians to Italy: first permits granted by purpose of stay (2008-2014)



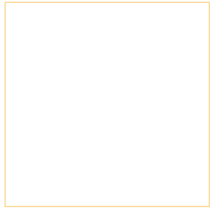
This drop affected men in particular: the number of first permits granted to males fell from 11,270 in 2010 to 4,433 in 2014. The workers among them dropped from 9,880 to 2,722 between the two dates. New women entrants displayed stable

Palestinians from Syria face specific challenges in Egypt. They can enter if they have Syrian travel documents, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not allowed UNHCR to register them, and they have had difficulty renewing their visas. Consequently, many are arrested and detained, and even, in some cases, turned away at Cairo airport and sent back to Damascus.

Egyptian authorities claim that the country hosts 300,000 refugees from Syria. As of November 2015, 123,585 Syrians were registered as refugees by UNHCR, down from a peak of 140,259 one year earlier, in November 2014.²⁸ The vast majority of refugees from Syria are concentrated in urban neighbourhoods, primarily in the Greater Cairo area (62 percent), in Alexandria (20 percent) and in Damietta (8 percent). Their being scattered within local communities makes registration and services delivery a huge challenge. Moreover, refugees’ savings dry up and family assistance is strained. Newly arrived families also tend to be less affluent than the ones who came to Egypt before 2013.²⁹

Some refugees registered in Egypt are resettled in Western countries by international organisations, on humanitarian grounds.³⁰ However, in view of the lack of immediate prospects in Egypt, Syrian and other refugees also try to reach Europe irregularly. In November 2015 alone, a total of 3,635 refugees and migrants were arrested for attempting to depart Egypt irregularly by sea: this included 553 Syrians.³¹ Sudanese migrants go to make up a growing share of would-be migrants. According to detention data collected by UNHCR, more than 650 Sudanese refugees and asylum seekers were detained for trying to leave irregularly, in the first half of 2015, as compared with around 330 Syrians.³²

However, as police controls and repression over migrating by sea from Egypt are toughening, migration routes have diversified. Egypt could

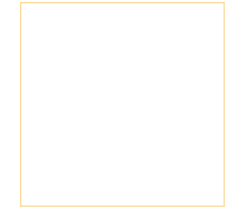
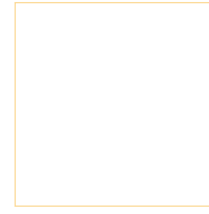
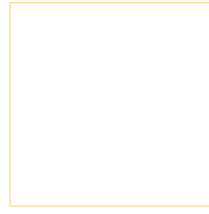
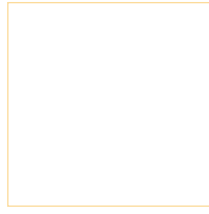


figures (2,000 to 1,648 in 2014), almost all of them entering as family dependent (88 to 91 percent over the same period).

In the aftermath of Egypt's regime change, and in spite of a recent reinforcement of police controls over migrant smuggling by sea, migration pressure continues to grow as the country's economic slowdown takes effect. Consequently, increasing numbers of Egyptians seek to reach Europe illegally by boat, and especially to Italy where 4,000 Egyptians were received in 2015, according to IOM.¹³

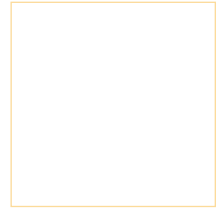
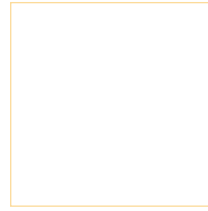
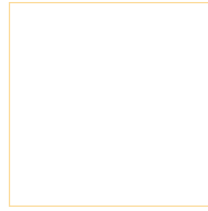
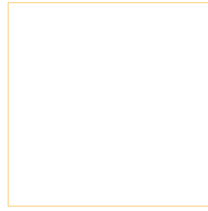
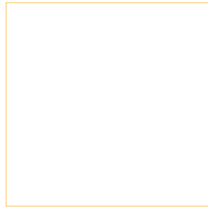
Among these are growing numbers of children without parents or guardians, or "unaccompanied minors".¹⁴ In November 2015, the Egyptian Minister of Immigration and Expatriate Affairs declared that 3,000 Egyptian minors travelled alone to Italy in 2015, up from an estimated 2,000 in 2014, according to IOM.¹⁵ Permits delivered to young boys in the 10-14 and 15-19 age groups went up for the category "Other reasons," which includes the "unaccompanied minor" category.¹⁶ Young Egyptians granted these permits were 154 in 2010 (26 percent of all permits) and 722 in 2014, 64 percent of all permits given to boys aged 15-19.¹⁷ Girls that age, by contrast, come almost exclusively under "family reunion".

become more of a transit than a final destination country as the Turkey to Balkan route, for instance, comes to be considered less dangerous and costly than the Egypt-Italy sea route.³³



Note

- 1 See <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/09/egyptians-libya-border-security.html#ixzz3x2OOjVWe> [Accessed 3 February 2016].
- 2 IOM, *Egypt after January 25: Survey of Youth Migration Intentions*. IOM: Cairo, 2011.
- 3 Amer, M., and Fargues, Ph., *Labour Market Outcomes and Egypt's Migration Potential*, EUI/RSCAS Working Papers - MPC Series 2014/55, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): EUI, 2014, pp. 18-19. Available on: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/31384/RSCAS%202014_55_rev.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y [Accessed 3 February 2016].
- 4 See http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/16/world/middleeast/egypt-israel-border-sudan-refugees-shot.html?smid=tw-nytimesworld&smtyp=cur&_r=1 [Accessed 3 February 2016].
- 5 For instance, above 5,000 in August 2015 (see <http://thecairopost.youm7.com/news/163446/news/egypt-arrests-5087-over-illegal-immigration-during-past-month-military> [Accessed 3 February 2016]). In November 2015, more than 3,000 irregulars were captured (see <http://www.mixedmigrationhub.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/MHub-Trend-Bulletin-November-2015.pdf> [Accessed 3 February 2016]).
- 6 Respectively, quotation from IOM Cairo, *Egyptian Migration to Libya-Facts and Figures*, Cairo: IOM, 2011, and figures taken from the records of permissions to emigrate granted by the Egyptian Ministry of Interior.
- 7 Wahba, J., *Labor Markets Performance and Migration Flows in Egypt*. Chapter I – National Background Paper. Brussels: European Commission. Occasional Paper 60, Volume III, 2010.
- 8 Ministry of Labour, *Statistical Yearbook 2014*, MoL: Amman.
- 9 See <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/14187-egyptians-represent-40-percent-of-saudi-arabias-total-expatriate-workforce> [Accessed 3 February 2016].
- 10 They stand between mostly highly-skilled nationalities such as Jordanians and Lebanese for instance, and mostly low-skilled professionals from Asian countries. The former have a balanced sex ratio (52 percent males) and comprise more family members than workers. Among the latter, only 13 percent of Indians, for example, are family dependents.
- 11 Proportion of tertiary-educated in the population aged 25 and above.
- 12 Ministry of Manpower and Emigration. *Important Jobs Report, 1/7/2013 to 30/9/2013*. During that period, only Saudi Arabia proposed more posts (64,853).
- 13 See <http://www.albawaba.com/news/more-half-migrants-arriving-italy-come-egypt-749082> [Accessed 3 February 2016].
- 14 For example: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/161501/Egypt/Politics/-/Egyptian-child-migrants-reach-Italian-shore-Minis.aspx> [Accessed 3 February 2016].
- 15 See <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/11/30/minister-highlights-plight-of-egyptian-child-refugees/> [Accessed 3 February 2016].
- 16 The “Other reasons” category refers to International protection status: Refugee status and subsidiary protection; Humanitarian reasons; Unaccompanied minors; Victims of trafficking in human beings.
- 17 Age group 15-19. For the 10-14 year-olds, the number goes up from 5 to 40 between the two dates.
- 18 Palestinians in Egypt are foreign nationals but are most likely not migrants (i.e. born abroad).



19 CAPMAS, Annual bulletin of Foreigners working in the private and investment sector in Egypt in 2013, issued 22 July 2014 and Carim-South database.

20 Persons recognized as refugees under the 1951 UN Convention/1967 Protocol, the 1969 OAU Convention, in accordance with the UNHCR Statute, persons granted a complementary form of protection and those granted temporary protection as of June 2015.

21 Persons whose application for asylum or refugee status is pending at any stage in the asylum procedure as of June 2015.

22 Pagès El Karoui, D., Egypte. In: G. Simon (ed.), Dictionnaire géo-historique des migrations internationales. Paris: Armand Colin, 2015, pp. 229-235.

23 Fargues, Ph., S. El-Masry, S. Sadek, and A. Shaban, Iraqis in Egypt. A Statistical Survey in 2008, Cairo: The Center for Migration and Refugee Studies (CMRS), AUC and the Institute of Decision and Support Center (IDSC), 2008.

24 87 percent. See Ayoub, M., and S. Khallaf, Syrian Refugees in Egypt: Challenges of a Politically Changing Environment, The American University in Cairo, School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, Paper No.7, September 2014.

25 Like in other Middle Eastern and European countries, Syrians in Egypt do not go through the RSD procedure. “They are given 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” (ibidem: 9-10).

26 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 (ibidem: 18).

27 See <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2013/10/egypt-end-deplorable-detention-and-deportation-refugees-syria/> [Accessed 3 February 2016]. Deportation have continued into 2015 as reported here: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde24/2352/2015/en/> [Accessed 3 February 2016].

28 This figure may actually comprise some refugees who are registered in Egypt, but who have left the country to Europe irregularly, or transited through Egypt on their way to the West (see supra).

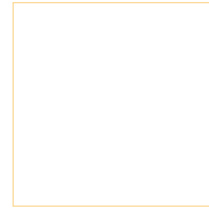
29 Akram, S., S. Bidinger, A. Lang, A. Hites, Y. Kuzmova, and E. Nouredine, Protecting Syrian Refugees: Laws, Policies, and Global Responsibility Sharing, Boston: Boston University School of Law, 2014, p. 77.

30 For example: <http://www.iom.int/news/germany-offers-protection-refugees-stranded-egypt> [Accessed 3 February 2016].

31 Reported by the Mixed Migration Hub, Mixed Migration Trend Report, November 2015. Available on: <http://www.mixedmigrationhub.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/MHub-Trend-Bulletin-November-2015.pdf> [Accessed 3 February 2016].

32 See <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/07/egypt-cairo-sundanese-refugees-sea-unhcr.html#> [Accessed 3 February 2016].

33 See <http://timep.org/commentary/border-control-and-shifting-routes-syrian-refugees-moving-through-egypt/> [Accessed 3 February 2016]. Since November 2015, however, the Turkish authorities have reinforced borders controls and clamped down upon Syrian refugees travelling to Europe.



Migration Policy Centre

The Migration Policy Centre at the European University Institute, Florence, conducts advanced research on global migration to serve migration governance needs at European level, from developing, implementing and monitoring migration-related policies to assessing their impact on the wider economy and society. The Migration Policy Centre is co-financed by the European Union.

Migration Policy Centre - Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute - Via Boccaccio 151 I-50133 Florence Italy.

Tel: (+39) 055 4685 817

Fax: (+39) 055 4685 770

mpc@eui.eu

More information about our activities can be found at: www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/