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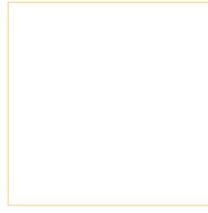
## *Migration Profile: Syria*

*Françoise De Bel-Air*

The Syrian conflict started in March 2011 with a few popular demonstrations and swiftly escalated into a civil war involving international actors. Of the approximately 22 million Syrians recorded in the country on the eve of the war,<sup>1</sup> as of November 2015, perhaps a quarter of a million have been killed;<sup>2</sup> 7.6 million were internally displaced;<sup>3</sup> and an estimated 5.6 million left the country. Of these, the great majority (4.3 million, or 76 percent of all refugees) moved to the countries neighbouring Syria: Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, Iraq, as well as, in lesser numbers, to Egypt.

Syrians who present themselves to UNHCR in Jordan are automatically recognized as *prima facie* refugees by the Agency: they are not required to undergo a refugee status determination process and are thus afforded protection and access to subsidized primary health care and other essential services. Similarly, in October 2011 the Turkish authorities declared that a temporary protection regime would take effect for all Syrians and Palestinians from Syria.

However, receiving countries' policies towards Syrian refugees have changed over the last four years. Syrians were originally welcome. But security concerns quickly mounted, and refugees came to be considered a burden on the already overstretched services-providing capacities in the five neighbouring countries. Restrictions on the entry of Syrian refugees were rapidly implemented. A report by Amnesty International stated that, "since mid-2012, Turkey has blocked thousands of individuals fleeing Syria from entering Turkey, especially those without a passport or an urgent medical need, leaving many displaced on the Syrian side of the border." Border crossing points were also reduced. In Jordan, limitations were put in place in 2013. These led to a drop in incoming refugees,



from an average of 60,000 at the start of the year to just 10,000 in September. Authorities justified the policy by fears for security and the infiltration of activists seeking to destabilise the Kingdom. However, certain categories of refugees have especially been targeted: unaccompanied men who cannot prove that they have family ties in Jordan; and people without identity documentation; not to mention Palestinian refugees from Syria and Iraqi refugees living in Syria.<sup>4</sup> Only two border-crossing points remain open between the two countries, and the Jordanian authorities claim that 50 to 100 persons a day cross over to Jordan. However, as of late 2015, 12,000 to 15,000 Syrians were said to remain stranded at the border.<sup>5</sup> Iraqi borders open and close intermittently. In Lebanon, Palestinian refugees from Syria were also targeted by deportations following a change of policy in May 2014.<sup>6</sup> In October 2014, the government finally announced that it would limit entries of Syrians to “extreme humanitarian cases.” Since then, Lebanon has turned away as many as 60 percent of people attempting to cross the border, according to the Red Cross.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Syrian refugees are prohibited from re-entering the country if they go back for a visit, one of the several new entry and exit regulations applied since 2014.<sup>8</sup> In May 2015, the Lebanese government instructed UNHCR to suspend the registration of Syrian refugees in the country.<sup>9</sup>

Refugees already residing in these five countries were also targeted by discriminatory measures. Some deportations from Egypt took place after July 2013 and the ousting of President Morsi.<sup>10</sup> In Jordan, the ‘bail out’ policy requirement forbids free movement into and out of the camps, where urban refugees have increasingly been placed since 2014. Police measures were undertaken such as the verification campaign conducted in February 2015, which aimed at biometrically registering Syrian refugees living in urban areas in order to reissue cards granting access to basic services. Services

available to Syrian refugees have been restricted. For instance, the government cancelled free access to healthcare centres for registered Syrians living in host communities in November 2014, claiming an overburdened health sector and a stretched budget.<sup>11</sup> In Lebanon, Syrians who are registered with the UNHCR can now prolong their legal stay in Lebanon for a year, but only if they pledge not to work. Non-refugee Syrians require a Lebanese sponsor if they want to remain in the country. The costs of renewing residency is also an obstacle, as it can reach up to \$600.<sup>12</sup> This compels many families to become irregular. Families drop into poverty as they lose their savings: it is impossible to work legally in Jordan and Lebanon, competition drives wages down in Turkey, and living expenses are rising. Lastly, as of September 2015, the World Food Program (WFP) had to drop one third of Syrian refugees from its food voucher program in Middle Eastern host countries, including 229,000 in Jordan. Access to education for children also became more difficult in every host state.

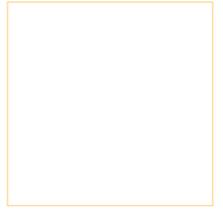
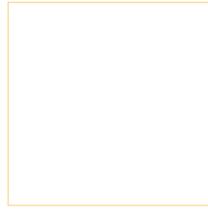
Meanwhile, war spread over the whole of Syria. No region is now fully safe. Moreover, the World Bank indicates that “public and private assets including health, education, energy, water and sanitation, agriculture, transportation, housing and infrastructure” were destroyed, leading to a lack of health care and education, to poor food availability and even to nutritional deprivation.<sup>13</sup> Such a situation prevents refugees from returning to Syria.

Why have Syrians gone to Europe in such large numbers since spring 2015? Reasons include: the continuous emigration pressures from Syria and the impossibility of returning; the total or partial closure of the neighbouring countries’ borders to new refugees; as well as the deterioration in socio-economic conditions faced by refugees inside host countries.<sup>14</sup>



Amid Europe's "migration crisis," the flow of refugees from Syria registered in the whole region crossed the half-million threshold in the month of August 2015. After initially resisting the inflow, Germany, the prime destination for migrants, decided on August 25 to suspend the Dublin Regulation for Syrian refugees and to process their asylum applications directly.<sup>15</sup> Early September 2015, relocation quotas for all European countries were discussed, to alleviate the burden on countries of first arrival in southern Europe, where migrants were stranded, including Italy and Greece, as well as some Balkan countries. Syrian nationals are considered *prima facie* refugees. As of 24 November 2015, the confirmed pledges to resettle Syrian refugees recorded by UNHCR had reached 160,664.<sup>16</sup> Ahead of a large-scale resettlement of 200,000 Syrian migrants distributed across Europe from Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon, especially from refugee camps,<sup>17</sup> Canada and the United States have both committed to increasing the number of Syrian refugees they will accept given the global migration crisis. The US has pledged to accept 10,000 refugees in 2016, while Canada has said it will welcome 25,000,<sup>18</sup> including some from first migration Middle Eastern countries, especially Jordan and Lebanon. A number of EU countries do not have a specific resettlement programme for refugees. The policy of private sponsorship in force in Canada since 1979, whereby individual Canadians can finance the resettlement of specific refugees, provide practical and emotional support is now raising interest among policy-makers.<sup>19</sup> Such schemes exist in Germany, where most federal states allow private citizens to sponsor Syrian refugees. The UK announced recently that it plans to introduce a private sponsorship programme along the lines of Canada's.<sup>20</sup>

Europe is also trying to stem the flow of refugee. Alongside donor agencies, it is advocating increased aid to these countries of first asylum.<sup>21</sup> In this process, Turkey is of major political importance. The country is indeed the point of departure for the East Mediterranean migration maritime route, the main avenue to Europe through the Balkans,<sup>22</sup> and was accused of having "turned a blind eye to refugee smugglers."<sup>23</sup> An EU-Turkey summit took place in Brussels on 29 November. In exchange for a Turkish promise to act against migrant trafficking,<sup>24</sup> the EU agreed to pay € 3 billion for refugees living in Turkey, to enact visa liberation measures and committed to "re-energizing" the long-stalled enlargement process.<sup>25</sup> It is worth noting that these two provisions and their conditionality on the management of irregular migration by Turkey were already addressed in the Readmission Agreement signed between the EU and Turkey in December 2013,<sup>26</sup> alongside the *Roadmap Towards A Visa-Free Regime With Turkey*,<sup>27</sup> which initiated the EU-Turkey Visa liberalization dialogue.



## Outward migration

### Stocks

**Table 1. Estimates of Syrian migrants and refugees' stocks by region/ country of residence, most recent available data (2011; 2015)**

Year/ period	2011			c. November 2015					
	Source	Def.	Number migrants	Source	Def.	Number refugees	% of total refugees	Total Syrians abroad c. November 2015	% of total stock
<b>Region/ country of res.</b>									
<b>Middle East neighbouring countries</b>			<b>687.333</b>			<b>4.263.020</b>	<b>76,3</b>	<b>4.950.353</b>	<b>67,6</b>
Of which Turkey	(1)	(A)	6.774		(C)	2.181.293	39,0	2.188.067	29,9
Jordan	(2)	(B)	631.870		(D)	633.644	11,3	1.265.514	17,3
Lebanon	(3)	(B)	44.129	(8)	(D)	1.075.637	19,3	1.119.766	15,3
Iraq			n.a.		(D)	244.765	4,4	244.765	3,3
Egypt	(4)	(B)	4.560		(D)	127.681	2,3	132.241	1,8
<b>North Africa</b>	(5)		<b>20.000</b>		(E)	<b>26.772</b>	<b>0,5</b>	<b>46.772</b>	<b>0,6</b>
<b>Gulf States</b>	(6)	(B)	<b>800.000</b>	(10)	(E)	<b>567.000</b>	<b>10,2</b>	<b>1.367.000</b>	<b>18,7</b>
Of which Saudi Arabia			500.000			420.000	7,5	920.000	12,6
UAE			142.000			100.000	1,8	242.000	3,3
Kuwait			131.115			23.885	0,4	155.000	2,1
<b>Europe total</b>	(7)		<b>135.505</b>	(12)	(F) (G)	<b>700.632</b>	<b>12,5</b>	<b>836.137</b>	<b>11,4</b>
<b>Europe (EU-28)</b>	(7)		<b>129.398</b>	(9)	(G)	<b>468.470</b>	<b>8,4</b>	<b>597.868</b>	<b>8,2</b>
Of which Germany		(B)	39.200			162.565	2,9	201.765	2,8
Sweden		(A)	22.367			93.690	1,7	116.057	1,6
France		(A)	16.114			8.325	0,1	24.439	0,3
United Kingdom		(A)	9.260			8.550	0,2	17.810	0,2
<b>North America</b>	(7)	(A)	<b>85.030</b>	(8)	(F)	<b>6.545</b>	<b>0,1</b>	<b>91.575</b>	<b>1,3</b>
Of which USA			62.455			4.750	0,1	67.205	0,9
Canada			22.575			1.795	0,0	24.370	0,3
<b>Australia</b>	(7)	(A)	<b>8.393</b>	(8)	(F)	<b>402</b>	<b>0,0</b>	<b>8.795</b>	<b>0,1</b>
<b>Other countries</b>	(7)		<b>3.572</b>	(11)	(D)	<b>21.534</b>	<b>0,4</b>	<b>25.106</b>	<b>0,3</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>1.739.833</b>			<b>5.585.905</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>7.325.738</b>	<b>100,0</b>

**Sources:**  
(1) census 2011;  
(2) Census November 2015. The Figure for 2011 is an estimate: Total Syrians as of November 2015 - figure of registered refugees as of November 2015;  
(3) Central Administration of Statistics, Households Living Conditions Survey 1998;  
(4) census 2006; (5) census 2006, Libya; census 2004, Tunisia; census 1998, Algeria; census 2000, Mauritania;  
Direction Générale de la Sécurité Nationale, 2010, Morocco (see Carim-South database <http://carim-south.eu/> and Di Bartolomeo et al., 2013).  
(6) national population registers and other estimates as tabulated by GLMM database (<http://gulfmigration.eu/>)  
(7) OECD-DIOC database, 2010-11 revision; (8) UNHCR, cumulative monthly registration figures, c. 31 Oct. 2015;  
(9) Eurostat, cumulative monthly registration figures of first time applicants, 31 Oct. 2015;  
(10) Estimates and calculations from De Bel-Air, 2015; (11) figures of refugees registered by UNHCR as of 31 December 2014, Non-Arab Asian and African countries, South and Latin America;  
(12) Eurostat, cumulative monthly registration figures of first time applicants, 31 Oct. 2015 for EU-28+Switzerland+Norway, added to UNHCR, cumulative monthly registration figures, c. 31 Oct. 2015 for Serbia-Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia.

**Definition of migrant:** (A) country of birth; (B) country of nationality.  
**Definition of refugee:** (C) registered as refugee by the government of Turkey; (D) registered as refugee by UNHCR;  
(E) Syrian national who entered since 2011; (F) registered as asylum-seeker by UNHCR; (G) registered as asylum-seeker by receiving country.

### Stocks

As of November 2015, the total numbers of Syrian nationals abroad stand at about 7.3 million, of whom 5.6 million left the country since 2011 (Table 1). Before the war, most Syrians used to migrate to the Gulf States, around half a million in Saudi Arabia alone.<sup>28</sup> Since 2011, some 4.3 million refugees have fled to neighbouring countries now hosting 76 percent of all refugees and 68 percent of all Syrians abroad: Turkey (39 percent of all refugees), Lebanon (19 percent) and Jordan (11.3 percent), as well as Egypt and Iraq.<sup>29</sup> As a point of

comparison, Europe received more than 700,000 Syrian refugees (468,470 in the EU-28) since 2011, a few thousands have reached Canada and the US, and around 21,000 have found sanctuary everywhere in the world.<sup>30</sup>

Transnational networks played a role: some Syrians joined members of the Syro-Lebanese diaspora in South America for instance, while some of Syria's ethnic minorities such as the Armenians and Tcherkess, found outlet refuge in their ancestors' Caucasian countries.<sup>31</sup> Migration to the Gulf States since 2011 is much harder to estimate due to lack



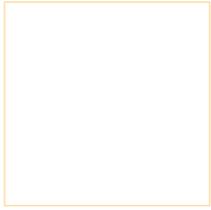
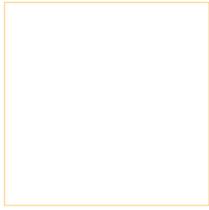
of data. For this reason, claims by Saudi Arabia that the Kingdom received 2.5 million Syrians since the start of the war, for instance, cannot be verified. The estimate proposed in Table 1 is a minimal estimate, only partially assessable.<sup>32</sup> None of these six countries are signatories to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol and, thus, do not recognize “refugees” as a legal category. Expatriates in the region are considered “guests” on short-duration visit visas, or temporary contract workers (of whom only a fraction have a right to family reunion). Moreover, security concerns and the Gulf regimes’ fears for the import of political sedition prevented sizeable numbers of Syrians from seeking refuge in these countries. Since the start of the Syrian conflict, besides offering selective opportunities for attracting highly-skilled Syrian professionals to their countries, the Gulf States claimed that they facilitated family reunion. This supports the idea that previous migration networks were used by Syrian refugees, to a certain extent.

Prior to the current conflict, Syria was hosting significant numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers. The large majority originated from Palestine (526,744 were registered with UNRWA as of January 2011, most of them descendants of refugees who arrived in successive waves since 1948)<sup>33</sup> and from Iraq. These had escaped the civil war and sectarian strife in their country, which has been ongoing since 2003. About 1.5 million Iraqis are said to have transited through Syria between 2003 and 2011, while about 500,000 (about 150,000 of whom registered as refugees by UNHCR)<sup>34</sup> were thought to be residing in Syria as of early 2011.<sup>35</sup> There were also smaller numbers of refugees and asylum-seekers from Afghanistan, Sudan, Somalia and other countries, as well as some 75,000 to 100,000 foreign domestic workers, mostly from South and South East Asian countries.<sup>36</sup> Since 2011, and the deepening of the conflict, many Iraqis have headed back to Iraq, in spite of persisting

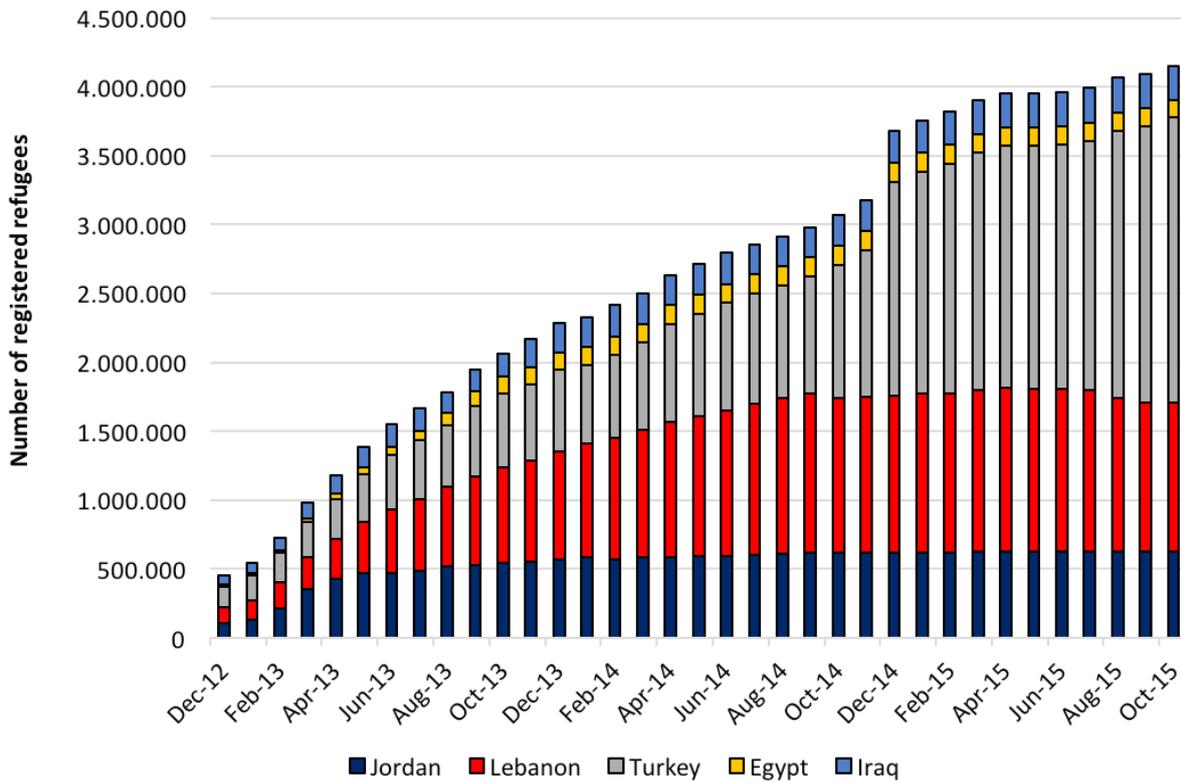
insecurity there. As of mid-2015, UNHCR was still assisting 23,500 Iraqi refugees in Syria.<sup>37</sup> As regards Palestinian refugees, UNRWA estimates that 450,000 are still in Syria, of whom as many as 280,000 are displaced within the country. A further 80,000 are in neighbouring countries: Lebanon (42,500 Palestinian Refugees from Syria, or PRS recorded), Jordan (16,000 PRS recorded), Turkey, Egypt, as well as Europe.<sup>38</sup>

With the exception of Egypt and Iraq where they are less numerous,<sup>39</sup> most Syrian refugees migrated as families to neighbouring countries. In Jordan for instance, 52 percent are below the age of 17, with a balanced sex ratio in the refugee population as a whole.<sup>40</sup> Most refugees fled to points abroad close to their region of residence in Syria in the hope that they could return rapidly to their homes once the conflict ended. In Iraq, for instance, Syrian refugees are mainly from the governorates of Hassake in North-East Syria (58 percent) and Aleppo (25 percent) and almost all of them (97 percent) reside in the three governorates of the Kurdish Autonomous Region of Northern Iraq (KR-I): namely Erbil, Suleimaniah and Duhok.<sup>41</sup> In Jordan similarly, refugees settled in the North and East of the country. Those from the governorate of Deraa in the South of Syria formed the majority (45 percent) of all Syrian refugees in September 2015. However, they were only 68 percent of registered refugees from two years before in 2013, a sign of the expansion of the conflict and of displacements since then.<sup>42</sup>

In Turkey, Jordan and Iraq, camps were set up to accommodate the refugees. They host 20 percent of Syrian refugees in the first two countries and 38 percent in Iraqi Kurdistan. The largest of Jordan’s six camps (Za’atari Camp) hosted as many as 130,000 persons in early 2014 (80,000 as of today).<sup>43</sup> In Iraq, Domiz-1 camp in the Duhok region accommodates some 41,000 persons. The remaining 62 percent of refugees live in urban areas among local



**Syrian refugees by country of registration in the Middle East (cumulative figures, Dec. 2011-Nov. 2015)**



Source: UNHCR, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>

In Jordan, Iraq, Egypt and Lebanon, refugees are registered by UNHCR. In Turkey, the refugees are registered by the Turkish government.

communities.<sup>44</sup> In Lebanon and in Egypt, refugees settled within local communities. Harsh living conditions in refugee camps were widely publicised, but registration and services delivery to scattered refugees proved a huge challenge too. As indicated by relief agencies, refugees outside camps are becoming more vulnerable than their counterparts inside camps,<sup>45</sup> as refugee savings are progressively depleted and family assistance is strained.<sup>46</sup>

Twelve percent of Syrian refugees are now in Europe. Most of them are registered in Germany and Sweden, two of their favoured destinations, as well as in Hungary (71,600) and Serbia-Kosovo

(205,568) as of 1 November 2015. However, refugees who completed registration in the latter two countries most often settle elsewhere in Europe.<sup>47</sup>

### Flows

The outflow of refugees to Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey started immediately after March 2011. Assuming they would soon be returning to their homes, refugees initially fled to regions close to their original locations. In this way they could commute across the border, check on relatives and family assets, etc. Pre-conflict cross-border mobility,



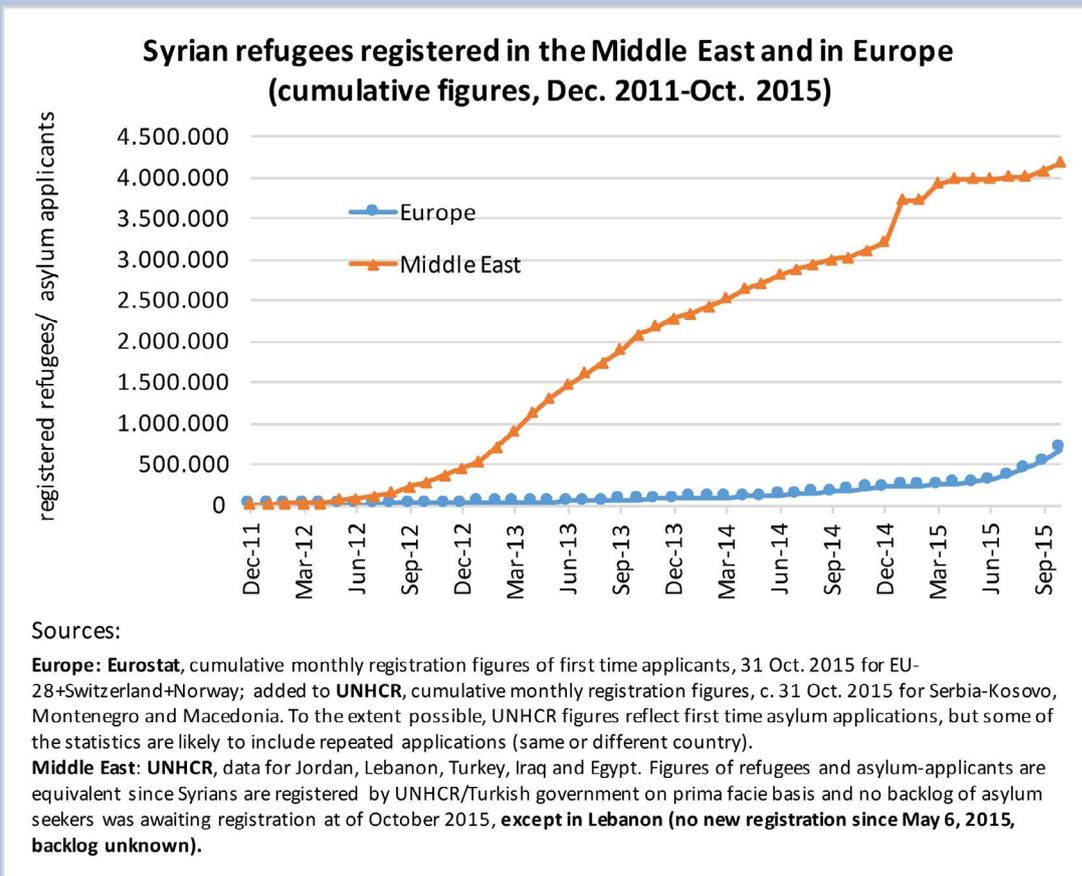
intermarriages, business relations also provided short-term assistance and accommodations at the beginning. The cumulative refugee figures registered since December 2011 highlights the rapid pace of exits from Syria to neighbouring countries, especially in 2013 to Jordan, and until mid-2014 to Lebanon, where Syrians currently make up about a quarter of the country's resident population. As fighting and insecurity have intensified everywhere, the outflow of refugees continued unabated, but 2013 witnessed a significant hike in exits with 1.8 million newly registered refugees in neighbouring countries that year, twice the figure of registrations for 2014, for instance. This drop in figures indicates the progressive exhaustion of private and receiving states' solidarity.

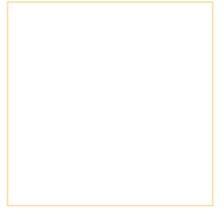
Since late 2014, the number of refugees has tended to decrease everywhere save in Turkey. In Lebanon, the decreasing figures probably reflects the

channelling of growing numbers into irregularity due to stricter policies enacted since mid-2014, as explained in introduction.

The true numbers of refugees may not be going down. A hike in the number of registered persons is particularly noticeable between October and December 2014 in Turkey. This period witnessed intense battles between ISIS and local and international fighters, in Kobane on the Turkish border, and in the Raqqa region, which spurred massive displacements of Syrian Kurds and Arabs.

A comparison between the evolution of registered refugees in the Middle East and asylum seekers in Europe since December 2011 emphasizes the gap between numbers in the two regions. It also illustrates the fact that migration to Europe only really took off in late 2014. Borders and labour markets of neighbouring countries had been closed



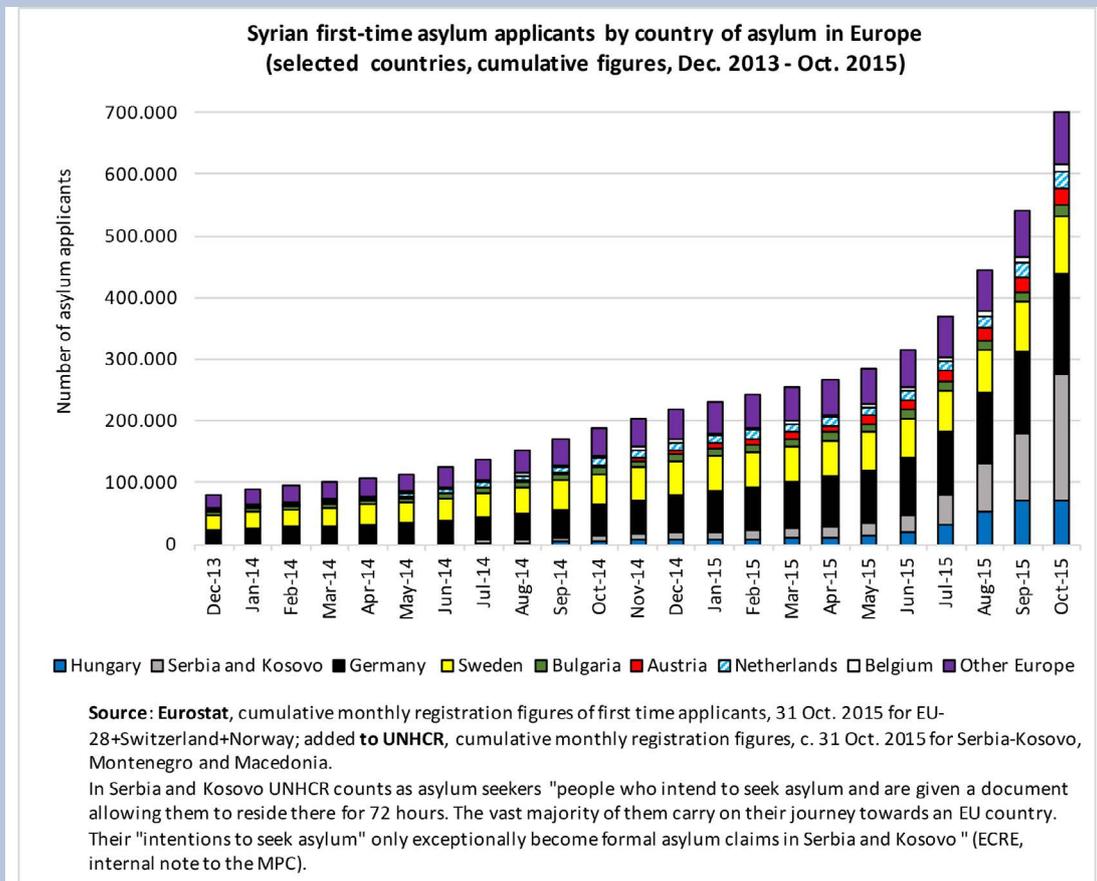


to Syrians, and hopes for the rapid settlement of the conflict had faded. Refugees to Europe are, therefore, a new wave of migrants.

A survey conducted by UNHCR of 1,245 Syrian refugees who arrived in Greece between April and September 2015 provided interesting results here. The majority (63 percent) were first migrants, having fled directly from Syria during 2015 and only transited through a third country before migrating to Europe. Over 62 percent originated from Damascus and Aleppo. The largest groups were students and working professionals, including teachers, lawyers, doctors, bakers, designers, hairdressers and IT specialists. Forty-three percent of the interviewees had a university level education, and another 43 percent had secondary level education. Half of them were single with no children, and 58 percent were planning to bring their family over to Europe once settled.<sup>48</sup> However,

the EU Family Reunification Directive limits family reunification to spouses and minor children, and does not permit reunion with parents and siblings. Therefore, these too are compelled to undertake the risky sea journey to Europe, from Egyptian or from Turkish shores.

Once in Europe, Syrian asylum seekers turned mainly to Sweden and to Germany: their numbers went up from, respectively, 25,090 to 93,690 and from 20,680 to 162,565 between December 2013 and October 2015, a four- and an eightfold increase over the previous twenty-three months. Moreover, the dramatic increases in asylum seekers in the Balkans (for example the numbers for Serbia have gone from 1,650 to 205,568), likely represents Syrians who in fact have reached Germany. As of October 2015, Germany alone hosted 23 percent of Syrian asylum seekers in the whole of Europe, and 35 percent of those in the EU-28.





## Notes

1. Central Bureau of Statistics in Syria, *Statistical Yearbook of Syria 2011* [online], Population & Demographic Indicators (chapter 2, available on: <http://www.cbssyr.sy/yearbook/2011/chapter2-EN.htm> [Accessed 2 February 2016]).
2. Between 220,000 (UNHCR's estimates) (see <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/07/unhcr-syrian-refugees-4-million-150709033023489.html> [Accessed 2 February 2016]) and 250,000 (estimates by the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights) (see <http://www.syriaohr.com/en/?p=35137> [Accessed 2 February 2016]).
3. As of July 2015, OCHA figures, available on: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/syria/figures-analysis> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
4. Amnesty International. *Growing Restrictions, Tough Conditions: The Plight Of Those Fleeing Syria To Jordan*, 2013, p. 10, available on: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/MDE16/003/2013/en/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
5. See [http://www.rtbef.be/info/monde/moyen-orient/detail\\_crise-des-migrants-pres-de-16-000-refugies-syriens-bloques-dans-le-desert-en-jordanie?id=9182984](http://www.rtbef.be/info/monde/moyen-orient/detail_crise-des-migrants-pres-de-16-000-refugies-syriens-bloques-dans-le-desert-en-jordanie?id=9182984) [Accessed 2 February 2016].
6. See <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/05/05/lebanon-palestinians-barred-sent-syria> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
7. See <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refdaily?pass=52fc6fbd5&id=5449de498> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
8. See <http://reliefweb.int/report/lebanon/lebanese-law-forces-syrian-refugees-underground> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
9. See <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122> [Accessed 2 February 2016]. Accordingly, individuals awaiting to be registered are no longer included in refugees' figures for Lebanon.
10. See <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/10/17/egypt-detaining-anddeportingsyrianrefugeesreportsays.html>, quoting reports from Amnesty International and UNHCR [Accessed 2 February 2016].
11. See Francis, A. *Jordan's Refugee Crisis*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015, p. 24. Available on: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/09/21/jordan-s-refugee-crisis/ilpe> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
12. \$200 fee, plus the notarised "no work" pledge and letters from property owners and a *mukhtar* – a local government official – informing the government where a refugee lives. <http://reliefweb.int/report/lebanon/lebanese-law-forces-syrian-refugees-underground>.
13. See <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/syria/overview> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
14. As well as the Syrian state's decision as of mid-2015, to start issuing new passports to Syrian nationals, including to those in neighbouring countries and in some Gulf States, who were previously unable to renew expired documents; see <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/25d3781bde9842e789f60a1387275f68/syrian-refugees-seek-new-passports-ticket-europe> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
15. See <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-opens-its-gates-berlin-says-all-syrian-asylum-seekers-are-welcome-to-remain-as-britain-is-10470062.html> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
16. See <http://www.unhcr.org/52b2febafc5.html> [Accessed 2 February 2016]. These figures reflect pledges upheld by prospective receiving countries as of late November 2015. Some countries (UK, USA, Canada for instance) only received a small fraction of these Syrian migrants so far.



17. See <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/5bec9bee-758f-11e5-933d-efcdc3c11c89.html#ixzz3u1hrqgo> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
18. See <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/syrian-refugees-canada-united-states-comparison-1.3340852> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
19. Kumin, J., *Welcoming Engagement: How Private Sponsorship Can Strengthen Refugee Resettlement in the European Union*, MPI Research Report, Brussels: Migration Policy Institute. Available on: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/welcoming-engagement-how-private-sponsorship-can-strengthen-refugee-resettlement-european> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
20. See <http://www.irinnews.org/report/102300/canada-s-private-refugee-sponsors-in-the-spotlight> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
21. See [http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf) [Accessed 2 February 2016].
22. See <http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/migrant-crisis/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
23. See <http://www.ekathimerini.com/203392/article/ekathimerini/news/greece-says-turkey-turning-blind-eye-to-refugee-smugglers> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
24. See <https://euobserver.com/migration/131321> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
25. See <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/global-europe/eu-leaders-roll-out-red-carpet-turkey-summit-319427> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
26. See <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2012:0239:FIN:EN:PDF> [Accessed 2 February 2016]; <http://carim-south.eu/database/legal-module/proposal-for-a-council-decision-of-concerning-the-conclusion-of-the-agreement-between-the-european-union-and-the-republic-of-turkey-on-the-readmission-of-persons-residing-without-authorisation/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
27. See [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/docs/20131216-roadmap\\_towards\\_the\\_visa-free\\_regime\\_with\\_turkey\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/docs/20131216-roadmap_towards_the_visa-free_regime_with_turkey_en.pdf) [Accessed 2 February 2016]; <http://carim-south.eu/database/legal-module/roadmap-towards-the-visa-free-regime-with-turkey/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
28. Major migrant-receiving Gulf States (Saudi Arabia and UAE) do not provide data on expatriates broken down by country of citizenship. The estimates and official figures of Syrians in Gulf States quoted in the paper are taken from the Gulf Labour Market and Migration programme's database (<http://gulfmigration.eu/> [Accessed 2 February 2016]).
29. It is worth noting, here, that Jordanian and Egyptian authorities claim higher figures of resident Syrian refugees than the one quoted here (registrations by UNHCR). Estimates given are respectively 1.4 million (Jordan) and 300,000 (Egypt), but they remain unverifiable.
30. See <http://carim-south.eu/database/demeco-module/registered-refugees-by-country-of-residence-2010-2014/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
31. See <http://www.rferl.org/content/syrian-circassians-flocking-russian-caucasus-republic/27238438.html> [Accessed 2 February 2016].
32. This figure takes into account official figures of Syrian nationals in Kuwait and Bahrain, as well as embassy estimates for Qatar. Regarding Saudi Arabia and the UAE, the countries that host the majority of Syrian nationals in the Gulf, the estimate is extrapolated from (government-stated) figures of Syrian children enrolled in Saudi public schools since 2011, and from press accounts (UAE). For a discussion and tentative assessment of Gulf States' claims on the numbers of Syrians received since 2011, see De Bel-Air, F., "A Note



on Syrian Refugees in the Gulf: Attempting to Assess Data and Policies”, *GLMM Explanatory Note*, Gulf Labour Market and Migration (GLMM) programme of the Migration Policy Center (MPC) and the Gulf Research Center (GRC), No. 11/2015, available on: [http://gulfmigration.eu/media/pubs/exno/GLMM\\_EN\\_2015\\_11.pdf](http://gulfmigration.eu/media/pubs/exno/GLMM_EN_2015_11.pdf) [Accessed 2 February 2016].

33. See <http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/syria> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

34. See UNHCR data (available on: <http://unhcr.org/4caf376c6.html> [Accessed 2 February 2016]).

35. Roussel, C., Syrie. In: Simon, G. (ed.). *Dictionnaire géo-historique des migrations internationales*, Paris : Armand Colin, 2015, pp. 303-308. The Syrian Red Cross was stating that 1.2 million Syrians were in Syria before the war (see <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/19388> [Accessed 2 February 2016]).

36. MPC Team, *Syria*, MPC Migration Profile, June 2013, available on: [http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/migration\\_profiles/Syria.pdf](http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/docs/migration_profiles/Syria.pdf) [Accessed 2 February 2016].

37. The Syrian Red Cross claimed they were numbering 126,000 (see <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e486a76.html#> [Accessed 2 February 2016]).

38. UNRWA data, last consulted 12 January 2016. UNRWA confirmed that “Jordan effectively closed its borders to Palestine refugees from Syria (PRS) early in the conflict; Lebanon followed suit in May 2014.” See <http://www.unrwa.org/syria-crisis> [Accessed 12 January 2016].

39. The proportion of 0-17 year olds in the two countries is 41 percent and men outnumber women (130 men for 100 women in Iraq).

40. See <http://carim-south.eu/database/demo-eco-module/registered-syrian-refugees-by-sex-and-age-group-as-of-31082015/> [Accessed 2 February

2016] (Turkey: 54.2 per cent). Some adults and especially, elderly persons could not leave Syria, however, which may proportionally increase the share of younger age groups.

41. UNHCR data: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>, retrieved September 2015.

42. See <http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/migrant-crisis/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

43. See <http://carim-south.eu/database/demo-eco-module/evolution-of-the-number-of-registered-refugees-from-syria-in-zaatari-camp-14012013-to-23082015/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

44. See <http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/migrant-crisis/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

45. See <http://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/five-years-exile-challenges-faced-syrian-refugees-outside-camps-jordan-and-how-they> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

46. A recent UNHCR assessment showed that 86 per cent of refugees in urban and rural areas are living below the poverty line in Jordan and 70 per cent of Syrian refugee households in Lebanon. This is up from 50 per cent in 2014 (September 2015). See <http://www.unhcr.org/55eec7a36.html> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

47. In Serbia and Kosovo UNHCR counts as asylum seekers, “people who intend to seek asylum and are given a document allowing them to reside there for 72 hours. The vast majority of them carry on their journey towards an EU country. Their “intentions to seek asylum” only exceptionally become formal asylum claims in Serbia and Kosovo” (ECRE, internal note to the MPC). See <http://www.migrationpolicycentre.eu/migrant-crisis/migrant-crisis-refugees/> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

48. See <http://www.unhcr.org/5666c8de6.html> [Accessed 2 February 2016].

### *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.

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