LEFT OUT
IN THE COLD
SYRIAN REFUGEES ABANDONED
BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL
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Our vision is for every person to enjoy all the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards.

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INTRODUCTION

We have been living here for three years. We have no family living here... My son Yousef has autism. We don't go to anyone, we don't visit anyone because dealing with him is so difficult...people stay away because they are afraid he will hurt their children. So we stay here from morning to evening...this little room is our bedroom, it is our living room, it is our everything. Our financial situation doesn't allow us to register him in such [specialist] schools... That is why we need to resettle in another country, to get help for our child. This will make it better for him and for us.

Lava, a Syrian woman who fled from Syria with her family in December 2011. She has two sons – Hassan aged 6 and Yousef, who is autistic aged 4. They live in a small room with no natural light on the outskirts of Beirut, Lebanon.

Lava and her family are among 1.1 million refugees who left Syria for Lebanon in the past three years. The Syrian refugee crisis is the world’s worst refugee crisis in a generation. But the plight of Syrians is part of a global displacement crisis – for the first time since World War II, the number of those forcibly displaced from their homes has surpassed 50 million; one in every five among them is Syrian.

Mass protests across Syria, beginning in March 2011, triggered a brutal crackdown by the Syrian government and led to an internal armed conflict and humanitarian catastrophe. More than 190,000 people are reported to have died, and some 10.8 million people are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance inside Syria.

In total, more than 10 million Syrians, or 45% of the country’s population are believed to have been forced out of their homes due to the conflict. Of those, 6.5 million are displaced within Syria and approximately 4 million people have sought refuge in other countries. Of this 4 million, 3.8 million - or 95% - are now in just five host countries: Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt. António Guterres, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, has said that the “Syrian situation is the most dramatic humanitarian crisis the...
world has faced in a very long time.”9

Despite the historic magnitude of the Syrian refugee crisis and the significant impact it has had on neighbouring countries, support from the international community has fallen far short of what is needed. One of the most urgent issues is resettlement of refugees from the five main host countries, but internationally the number of resettlement places on offer is shamefully low.

The six countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) - Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates - have pledged 0 resettlement places. Excluding Germany, the remaining 27 countries in the European Union (EU) have pledged a total of 6,305 places – which amounts to just 0.17% of the number of refugees currently living in the main host countries. Russia and China have not offered to resettle any Syrian refugees.

In total, 63,170 resettlement places have been offered globally, equal to a mere 1.7% of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt and Turkey.

Amnesty International is calling for a global resettlement surge to relocate 380,000 Syrian refugees from the main host countries, by the end of 2016. This amounts to approximately 10% of the total refugee population in those countries. At least 5% of this number should be resettled by the end of 2015. Such a bold step would make a significant contribution to the well-being of the children, men, and women who will be able to resume their lives in dignity elsewhere.

The figure of 380,000 is based on the needs identified by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); the agency estimates that 378,684 people in the five main host countries are in need of resettlement.10 They have been identified as in need of resettlement based on the following specific needs:11

- Serious medical conditions
- Single parents
- Children at risk
- People with disabilities
- People with legal and physical protection needs
- Women at risk
- Unaccompanied or separated children
- Older persons at risk
- Survivors of violence or torture
- People with family reunification needs
- People who have experienced sexual and gender-based violence
In the long-term, the number of refugee resettlement places on offer globally must increase to meet needs. Resettlement places are generally offered by countries annually – meaning they set yearly quotas. Only a small number of countries worldwide actually offer resettlement places.12 In its 2014 assessment, UNHCR estimated global resettlement needs excluding Syrians, to be 691,000 persons over several years.13 The number of places available globally is around 80,000 per year.

This briefing presents an overview of the international response to the Syrian refugee crisis – in particular the response to calls by UNHCR for resettlement of vulnerable refugees - and highlights some of the most serious human rights issues facing refugees in the main host countries.

**NOTE ON DATA AND TERMINOLOGY**

Data about the number of Syrian refugees in the main host countries is taken from publicly available information provided by UNHCR and the United National Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA).14 Data about the number of Syrian asylum applications received in European Economic Area (EEA) countries are from Eurostat, the statistical office of the European Union.15 Data about the number of Syrian asylum applications received in other countries (where available) is from UNHCR public information.16 Data about resettlement pledges is from UNHCR public information.17 Data about humanitarian appeal funding is taken from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA).

The figure for the number of refugees in the main host countries (Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt) used in this briefing is 3.8 million and the total number of Syrian refugees globally is approximated at 4 million. For the full breakdown and sources, see endnote 8.

All references to ‘Syrian refugees’ in the introduction and chapters I, II and III should be understood as meaning both Syrian nationals and Palestinian refugees who were habitually resident in Syria. In chapter 4 (conditions for refugees in the main host countries), distinctions are made between the two groups due to different policies applying to them.

Data on population and Gross National Income is from the World Bank Databank.18

For simplicity, the term ‘resettlement’ in this report is used to refer to UNHCR-coordinated resettlement programmes, humanitarian admission, sponsorships, family reunification and other visa regimes introduced to facilitate the relocation of Syrian refugees to other countries.
THE SITUATION IN SYRIA

The armed conflict in Syria has been marked by war crimes, crimes against humanity, widespread human rights abuses and shocking disregard for the lives of civilians, particularly by forces loyal to the government of President Bashar al-Assad.

Reports indicate that more than 190,000 people have been killed. 6.45 million people are internally displaced inside Syria; half are children. 10.8 million people inside Syria are in need of humanitarian assistance – the delivery of which is frequently blocked, in particular by government forces. 4.6 million people live in hard-to-reach areas, among them are over 200,000 people living in besieged areas.

Violations of international humanitarian law that have been committed by government forces and non-state actors include: the use of prohibited weapons; indiscriminate attacks; direct attacks against civilians and civilian objects; summary killings; and taking civilian captives.

Among many egregious examples of war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by government forces are the imposition and maintaining of prolonged sieges of predominantly civilian areas as a result of which many civilians have died from starvation and lack of adequate medical care. Government forces have also systematically bombarded predominantly civilian areas causing widespread destruction and loss of life as well as massive displacement. The widespread and systematic use of torture and other ill-treatment in multiple detention centres used by government forces is believed to have caused many thousands of fatalities.

Among many examples of war crimes committed by non-state armed groups have been indiscriminate attacks, including by shelling and by the use of improvised explosive devices, which have resulted in the deaths of civilians. The armed group calling itself Islamic State (the IS) has carried out summary killings of hundreds if not thousands of people, both captured combatants and civilians, and has subjected individuals including children to torture and other ill-treatment.

Government and pro-government militias have sexually assaulted and raped women on many occasions in detention centres. The IS has committed widespread rape, sexual violence and forced pregnancy. In January 2013, the International Rescue Committee described “rape as a significant and disturbing feature of the Syrian civil war”. Fear of rape has often been cited by women refugees as a major factor in their decision to flee Syria.

There are also serious concerns with regards to the administration of justice in territory held by both government and non-state actors. These include abuses committed in the context of arrests and detention by both the government and non-state armed groups, particularly torture or other ill-treatment and deaths in custody, as well as enforced disappearances carried out by government forces. Human rights defenders and peaceful political activists are among those affected.
THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt together host 3.8 million refugees from Syria, or 95% of the total number of Syrian refugees globally. Of the five, three countries in particular - Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan - have shouldered most of the responsibility for the response to the refugee crisis with the support of the United Nations (particularly in the case of Lebanon and Jordan). In Lebanon one in every five people is a Syrian refugee.

While other countries have taken in some Syrian refugees, the numbers are much smaller. For example, the total number of Syrians who have reached, and applied for asylum, in the 28 member states of the European Union (EU) in the three years up to the end of October 2014 was approximately 150,000, roughly the same number of people who reached Turkey fleeing the IS advance on Kobani (or Ayn al-Arab) in the space of one week in September 2014.

Within the EU, Sweden and Germany have received the majority of Syrian asylum applications in the last three years; 50,235 and 46,265 applications, respectively. Excluding these two countries, the remaining 26 countries in the EU have received a total of 53,605 Syrian asylum applications in the three years to October 2014 and pledged 5,105 resettlement places.

INTERNATIONAL BURDEN AND RESPONSIBILITY SHARING

The international refugee protection regime, built in response to the displacement crises of World War II, anticipated the need for international cooperation in the face of mass population movements - the principle of international burden and responsibility sharing was thus explicitly enunciated in the 1951 Refugee Convention and numerous standards developed since. International burden and responsibility sharing takes predominantly two forms:

- **Resettlement**, which is the relocation of vulnerable refugees to countries where they can restart their lives in dignity. Resettlement gives refugees who are facing particular hardship because of personal circumstances, health, or security risks, an opportunity to restart their lives in dignity. It also relieves some of the pressure on countries hosting large numbers of refugees.

- **Financial assistance**, either through humanitarian assistance programmes coordinated by the United Nations or development agencies or to host countries directly. Humanitarian assistance programmes typically help provide education, food, health care and housing for refugees.

- **Asylum applications v resettlement**: asylum applications are made by people after they arrive to a country by their own means, rather than through a resettlement programme. Under international law, states have an obligation to examine asylum claims and provide refugee status (or another international protection status) to people feeling persecution and conflict. Most Syrians claiming asylum in EU countries enter its border through...
the Turkey-Bulgaria land border, the Turkey-Greece sea border, or after crossing the Mediterranean from Libya or Egypt. There are generally no legal means for Syrian refugees to reach the EU, which forces them to take dangerous routes. Amnesty International has documented the many human rights violations facing refugees, Syrians and others, making these journeys.38

Resettlement is distinct from the asylum system that allows people arriving in a country to apply for asylum. Refugee resettlement is a system whereby a country takes refugees from another country where they have sought refuge but where they cannot remain for various reasons, for example because they are vulnerable to violence in their current location or because they have particular medical needs that cannot be met.39

Three years on from the start of the crisis, Lebanon, Jordan and to a lesser extent, Turkey have imposed severe restrictions on the entry of Syrians into these countries, which means tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, are trapped in Syria facing abuses by the IS, forces associated with the al-Assad government, and others.39 These restrictions have mainly been introduced in response to the growing numbers of refugees entering these countries and the challenges faced by host communities.40

The international community has largely stood on the side-lines, promising support to Syrians and countries hosting them but, in reality, delivering little. While numerous countries in the Gulf, Europe and North America have rallied their resources in response to the rise of the IS, they have let down those that have fled the atrocities committed by the group.

The international community has obligations to provide humanitarian assistance and cooperation in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (UN) and relevant resolutions of the UN General Assembly, during times of emergency. This includes assistance to refugees. Of particular relevance is that the international refugee protection regime places significant emphasis on the importance of international burden and responsibility sharing to reduce the effect of mass refugee influxes on host countries.41 A key component of international cooperation in relation to large-scale refugee displacement is resettlement.

One positive development has been the creation of the Core Group on Syrian Resettlement chaired by Sweden that has, over the past year, coordinated resettlement initiatives among 23 states, the EU, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The Core Group could play a significant role in coordinating the increase in resettlement places required to meet the needs of Syrian refugees in the main host countries.

The sheer magnitude of displacement from Syria means that there must be a significantly better international response. It can no longer be reasonably expected that countries neighbouring Syria will continue to provide refuge for those fleeing the conflict without substantially increased international cooperation and assistance.

The financial support provided by the international community to UN agencies providing humanitarian assistance to refugees, and to the main host countries, has not come close to meeting the needs of the crisis.42 The Syria Regional Refugee Response Plan (RRP) – the UN’s humanitarian programme designed to assist Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries and support the infrastructure in these countries has only been 54% funded.43 This underfunding has led to reduced financial assistance and food aid to refugees and greater restrictions on the provision of healthcare.44 On 1 December 2014, the World Food
Programme (WFP) announced it was forced to suspend food assistance to 1.7 million Syrian refugees due to a funding crisis.\textsuperscript{45} Amnesty International calls on the international community to significantly increase financial contributions to ensure that the UN-led humanitarian programmes are fully funded.

But the international response has been most muted when it comes to resettlement and the provision of other forms of humanitarian admission, with pledges of only 63,170 resettlement places made since the start of the refugee crisis.\textsuperscript{46} Even more shocking is that only a fraction of these pledges have been fulfilled. As of 31 August 2014, only 7,000 of the refugees submitted for resettlement by UNHCR since 2013 had departed to the destination country.\textsuperscript{47} According to UNHCR, it can take, on average, between six months and two years after a resettlement case has been submitted for a refugee to reach the resettlement country.

The following chapter analyses the contributions of individual countries to the Syrian refugee crisis.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

Three years after the start of one of the biggest refugee crises in modern history, the five main host countries are in an unenviable position, hosting 95% of the refugees with very little in way of burden-sharing by the international community. In Lebanon, Syrian refugees amount to more than 25% of the country’s pre-crisis population; in Jordan, the figure is nearly 10%.

Amnesty Intentional has analysed the distribution of Syrian refugees and asylum-seekers among the five main host countries and across 47 other countries. These are countries classified as high income by the World Bank with a population over one million; EU member states not classified as high income; and other countries that have offered resettlement places to Syrian refugees (Argentina, Belarus, Brazil and Lichtenstein). While it would be expected that neighbouring countries host a large proportion of the Syrian refugee population, the analysis, which takes population and wealth into consideration, demonstrates that there has not been adequate sharing of responsibility for this international crisis. Wealthier countries can and should increase their contribution to the refugee crisis by increasing their resettlement pledges.

The extreme disparity in sharing the burden of the Syrian refugee crisis can be illustrated by the example of Lebanon. Adjusted for population size, the number of Syrian refugees hosted by Lebanon is 715 times the total of the number of Syrians who sought asylum in the EU in the last three years and the resettlement places offered to Syrian refugees by the EU.49

Within Europe, there is also a significantly unequal burden. The number of Syrian refugees hosted by one country, Turkey, is more than 10 times the number of new Syrian asylum applications received in all 28 EU countries in the past three years - and the number of Syrian refugees entering Turkey continues to increase.50

Even within the EU, there is significant disparity between Germany and Sweden on the one hand, and the rest of the EU on the other. Put together, the two countries have received 96,500 new Syrian asylum applications in the last three years, representing 64% of all such applications in the EU.51

Sweden is the country outside the five main host countries that has received the highest number of new Syrian asylum applications with 50,235 people seeking asylum in the past three years; it has also pledged 1,200 resettlement places.

Germany has pledged 30,000 resettlement places for Syrian refugees; nearly half the global total of resettlement places for Syrian refugees and 82% of the EU total. It has also received 46,265 new Syrian asylum applications in the past three years.52

Excluding Germany and Sweden, the remaining 26 EU countries have pledged a mere 5,105 resettlement places, or 0.13% of the number of Syrian refugees in the five main host
countries, and received 53,065 Syrian asylum applications in the last three years.

While Germany and Sweden provide positive examples of burden sharing in the face of such a large refugee crisis, a very different picture emerges when looking at other EU countries. For example, the five largest countries in the EU – excluding Germany – (the UK, France, Italy, Spain and Poland), which have a combined population of 275 million people have offered just over 2,000 places, amounting to 0.001% of their populations, or 0.05% of Syrian refugees in the main host countries.

Some countries, like Croatia, Cyprus, Italy, Slovenia and Poland, have offered 0 resettlement places.

Looking at the GCC, the lack of any resettlement contribution is shocking. The six GCC countries have offered 0 resettlement places to Syrian refugees. UNHCR recorded only 5 new Syrian asylum applications in the six GCC countries in 2012 and 2013 (no figures are available for 2014). GCC countries – due to their geographical proximity, historical links with Syria and relative integration potential (due to common language and religion) – should make a significant contribution to the resettlement of Syrian refugees.

Outside of the EU and the GCC, there are many examples of countries that have not offered any resettlement places. Most notable of all is Russia, which despite its political involvement in the Syrian conflict has offered 0 resettlement places. Other high income countries to have not offered any resettlement places include Chile, Japan, Singapore and South Korea. The USA, has offered an open-ended number of resettlement places to Syrian refugees; however, the size of this programme is not clear.

Large disparities can also be seen in the financial contributions made to the UN humanitarian appeal for Syrian refugees (the 2014 RRP). While countries like the USA, the UK, Kuwait and Germany have made large financial contributions to the RRP, other countries have made very small or no contributions. For example, France has only contributed $8 million, 1/6th of the $46 million contributed by Norway, despite France having nearly 13 times the population of Norway. Countries including Russia, Singapore and Spain have made no contributions.

The following table provides data on Syrian refugees in 56 countries. The table includes – to the extent that data is available – figures for:

- The number of Syrian refugees in the country (for the five main host countries), or the number of new asylum applications by Syrians received in the past 2-3 years.
- The number of Syrian refugees as a percentage of population (for the five main host countries), or the number of Syrian asylum-seekers as a percentage of the population.
- Resettlement pledges as a percentage of the population.
- Financial contributions to the 2014 RRP. Contributions made directly to host countries or through other aid programs have not been included.
- For data sources, see ‘note on data and terminology’ on page 4

Countries included in this table are:
- Countries classified as high income by the World Bank with a population over one million.
- Israel, although a high income country was not included in the analysis. Due to historical and current
political tensions between Israel and Syria, and the fact that the two countries technically remain in a state of war, the integration potential for Syrian refugees into Israeli society is very limited.

- EU countries not classified as high income (Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania) and with a population under one million (Malta), have been included.
- The table also includes data for other countries that have offered resettlement places to Syrian refugees (Argentina, Belarus, Brazil and Lichtenstein).
- The five main host countries: Egypt (lower middle income), Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey (upper middle income).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GNI per capita, PPP</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Resettlement, humanitarian admission and sponsorship pledges</th>
<th>Syrian asylum seekers + resettlement pledges as percentage of population</th>
<th>Syrian refugees as percentage of population</th>
<th>Syrian asylum seekers + resettlement pledges as percentage of refugees in main host countries</th>
<th>Financial contributions to 2014 UN humanitarian appeal for Syrian refugees</th>
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<td>GCC</td>
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<th>Pledges as percentage of refugees in main host countries</th>
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<td>Country</td>
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<td>Population</td>
<td>Resettlement, humanitarian admission and sponsorship pledges</td>
<td>Syrian asylum seekers + resettlement pledges as percentage of population</td>
<td>Syrian asylum seekers + resettlement pledges as percentage of refugees in main host countries</td>
<td>Financial contributions to 2014 UN humanitarian appeal for Syrian refugees</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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## Left Out in the Cold: Syrian refugees abandoned by the international community

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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>GNI per capita, PPP</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Resettlement, humanitarian admission and sponsorship pledges</th>
<th>Syrian asylum seekers + resettlement pledges as percentage of population</th>
<th>Syrian asylum applications</th>
<th>Pledges as percentage of refugees in main host countries</th>
<th>Financial contributions to 2014 UN humanitarian appeal for Syrian refugees</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1.662</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Notes:

Asylum applications

- For EEA countries, the data provided is for the three-year period November 2011 to October 2014.
- For Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea and the USA, the data is for the 2.5 year period from January 2012 to June 2014.
- For other countries, the data is for 2012 and 2013.
- Where * is provided it means that no data is available; it is assumed that no, or very few, Syrian asylum applications were received in these countries.

Calculation for resettlement pledges as a percentage of refugees in the main host countries

- These figures include UNHCR-coordinated resettlement programmes, humanitarian admission, sponsorships, family reunification and other visa regimes introduced to facilitate the relocation of Syrian refugees to other countries.
- For countries that have made open-ended pledges, estimates have been made. These may be lower than the actual number that a country plans to resettle/admit.
- For Argentina, no percentages were calculated as there were no indications as to the size of the programme available to Amnesty International.
- For Brazil, a figure of 4,200, equivalent to the number of humanitarian visas already issued was used. However, it is likely that Brazil will admit a higher number of Syrian refugees over the next two years.
- For the UK, the figure of 300 was extrapolated based on the UK having admitted 90 people since its programme was announced in January 2014 where it pledged to admit ‘several hundreds’, on the basis that it is a three-year programme.
- For the USA, the estimate of 10,000 is based on indications that the USA may resettle 9-10,000 people; however the actual number over several years may be higher.
- For France, 1,142 asylum visas issued to Syrians were added to the 500 resettlement/humanitarian admission places pledged.
- For Switzerland, 4,000 extended family reunification visas issued to Syrians were added to the resettlement pledge of 500 places.

Financial contributions

- Figures for financial contributions are those for projects listed under the 2014 RRP as of 1 December 2014. Countries may have made other contributions to the main host countries or agencies working with Syrian refugees through other channels.
- The European Commission has contributed $276 million to the RRP; other unspecified donations have not been included.
- Updated contributions to the RRP can be found at: http://fts.unocha.org/reports/daily/ocha_R5_A1048___1412011535.pdf
CONDITIONS FOR REFUGEES IN THE MAIN HOST COUNTRIES

The five countries neighbouring Syria must be commended for their role in hosting 3.8 million refugees from Syria. In each case, there has been a significant impact on the country’s economy and infrastructure, but nowhere has this been more acute than in Lebanon, where the number of Syrian refugees is now equal to a quarter of the country’s pre-crisis population.

The international community, which has failed to offer sufficient resettlement places, has also failed to adequately support the main host countries financially. The UN humanitarian appeal for Syrian refugees is grossly under-funded, which has led to cuts in assistance and services to refugees. Most recently, the World Food Programme was forced to suspend food assistance to 1.7 million Syrian refugees due to a funding crisis.

The lack of adequate burden sharing, through the provision of resettlement places and financial assistance, has likely been a key contributing factor to increased restrictions by main host countries on the entry of Syrians fleeing the conflict.

Conditions for many Syrian refugees in the main host countries are leaving many of them destitute, while others are risking their lives to reach Europe to seek asylum.

This section provides an overview of some of the conditions for Syrian refugees in the main host countries, as well as key human rights issues facing them.

LEBANON

The number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon amounts to a quarter of the country’s pre-crisis population, and as of 26 November 2014 totalled over 1,132,914. The World Bank predicts that Lebanon, which already suffers one of the world’s highest debt ratios, will face increased poverty and unemployment due to the significant influx of refugees from Syria. Despite the strain on the host community, to its considerable credit Lebanon has largely operated an ‘open border’ policy.

However in August 2013 Lebanon imposed limitations on the entry of Palestinian refugees from Syria, and in May 2014 the government introduced new entry measures which closed its border to them. This was followed by changes announced in June 2014 that declared only Syrian refugees from areas where there is fighting near the Lebanese border would be permitted access. In October 2014 further restrictions were brought in and UNHCR were asked to stop registering Syrian refugees, with the Lebanese Social Affairs Minister quoted as saying Lebanon “no longer officially receives any displaced Syrians.” Exceptions have been made for Syrians on humanitarian grounds and for those with qualifications or Lebanese sponsors. There have been recorded instances in which Syrians, and particularly...
Palestinian refugees from Syria,\textsuperscript{67} have been returned to Syria.

Refugees from Syria face numerous uncertainties regarding their legal status in Lebanon. Refugees without legal status risk detention and are limited in accessing essential services and in registering births and marriages.\textsuperscript{58} In September 2014, UNHCR estimated that around 30\% of the refugee population were without valid residency visas.\textsuperscript{69} Syrian refugees in Lebanon are required to apply for a residency visa which requires renewal after six months. The cost for renewing the visa at the end of the first year is $200 USD.\textsuperscript{70} The authorities suspended the process of renewal for Palestinian refugees from Syria in May 2014,\textsuperscript{71} however in September 2014 the government announced that it would renew residency free of charge for both Syrian and Palestinian refugees if they approached relevant centres by 31 December 2014.\textsuperscript{72}

According to UNHCR, the greatest needs as expressed by Syrian refugees include shelter, healthcare, education and self-reliance.\textsuperscript{73} There are no formal camps for Syrian refugees\textsuperscript{74} who are dispersed across over 1,700 locations in Lebanon. In July 2014, UNHCR estimated at least 40\% of refugees live in inadequate accommodation ‘including in makeshift shelters (garages, worksites, one room structures, unfinished housing) and informal settlements’ whilst ‘others are at risk of eviction or live in overcrowded apartments.’\textsuperscript{75} Difficulties in paying rent, increased consumption of electricity and water,\textsuperscript{76} political tension and security concerns have led to a spate of evictions and in September 2014 alone, more than 4,800 people were evicted from their accommodation.\textsuperscript{77}

In particular, armed clashes along the Syria-Lebanon between the Lebanese armed forces and a number of armed groups, and the kidnapping\textsuperscript{78} and in some cases, execution,\textsuperscript{79} of Lebanese soldiers has destabilised relations between refugees and host communities in some of the affected areas.\textsuperscript{80} Tensions have also led to the imposition of curfews on Syrian refugees by local police and in some cases by armed vigilante groups in a number of municipalities in Lebanon.\textsuperscript{81}

In March 2014, UNRWA estimated that 51\%\textsuperscript{82} of the estimated 53,070 Palestinian refugees from Syria lived across the twelve pre-existing Palestinian camps which have become increasingly overcrowded, whilst the remainder live in host communities.\textsuperscript{83} The results of a May 2014 study by UNRWA and the WFP showed that amongst those interviewed, shelter was a grave concern with an average of 4.6 people per bedroom.\textsuperscript{84}

Syrian refugees have in theory access to public health and educational services,\textsuperscript{85} however in practise these services are limited and difficult to access. Lebanon’s health sector is mostly privatised which has prevented many refugees with depleting resources from accessing adequate treatment,\textsuperscript{86} and funding cuts to the UN Humanitarian Appeal\textsuperscript{87} have limited the extent to which NGOs are able to provide healthcare assistance.\textsuperscript{88}

In regards to education, it is estimated that the number of school-age Syrian refugees in the country is larger than the number of Lebanese children in public schools,\textsuperscript{89} but data from July 2014 showed that the enrolment rate of Syrian refugee children in education was as low as 20\%.\textsuperscript{90} Reported barriers include class size, the cost of transport, bullying and language issues.\textsuperscript{91} Some children are taken out of education to support the family, with reports indicating that in some circumstances families have relied on negative coping strategies with
serious human rights implications, such as child labour and child marriage.\textsuperscript{92}

In April 2014, the International Labour Organization reported that almost a third of Syrian refugees were unemployed, and those that did work were paid much less than Lebanese workers in equivalent positions, taking home a monthly income almost 40\% less than the minimum wage.\textsuperscript{93} In some cases, Syrian refugees have been recruited over Lebanese nationals as they receive lower pay and work longer hours.\textsuperscript{94} The lack of sufficient employment opportunities for both the refugee population and Lebanese nationals has further contributed toward tensions in host communities.

**TURKEY**

At least 1.6 million refugees from Syria reside in Turkey.\textsuperscript{95} Officially, Turkey maintains an open-border policy for Syrians; in reality however, official border crossings have become largely accessible only to the small minority of refugees from Syria who possess valid passports.\textsuperscript{96} In meetings with Amnesty International, Turkish officials acknowledged that official border crossings were only open to refugees with passports or “urgent medical or humanitarian needs,” frequently citing the lack of capacity in Turkey’s refugee camps as a justification.\textsuperscript{97} However, even for refugees with passports, in practice entry at an official crossing gate may be impossible. Border crossings have been closed entirely when violence escalates in Syria: the Öncupınar/Bab al-Salamah crossing in September-October 2013 and February 2014; Akçakale/Tell Abyad in August 2013 and early January 2014; Cilvegözü/Bab al-Hawa in December 2013 and late January 2014; and Karkamış/Jarablus in early January 2014.\textsuperscript{98}

Many individuals seeking to flee Syria are being denied access to the safety of Turkish territory, and those who must cross irregularly are at risk of abuses such as push-backs, being fired on with live ammunition, or torture or other ill-treatment.\textsuperscript{99}

Despite this, there have been positive examples of Turkey facilitating open and regulated border crossing points for refugees from Syria without passports. Amnesty International was told by Syrian refugees of instances where they were admitted through official border gates without valid passports.\textsuperscript{100} On 25 September 2014 an Amnesty International delegate observed the Yumurtalık border crossing established by Turkey to facilitate the arrival of refugees from the Kobani area (also known by its Arabic name, Ayn Al-Arab) in the north of Syria’s Aleppo Countryside governorate, south of Suruç, in Turkey’s Şanlıurfa province. In addition to medical and registration services present at the border, police officers were present to ensure unauthorized items were not brought in.

This example of best practice – at least briefly adopted during the September-October 2014 attack on Kobani – is one that should be implemented as a general border policy, ensuring both the security of the border and the safe passage of refugees into Turkey. However, when Amnesty International delegates returned to Turkey’s border with Kobani later in October, the organization received multiple reports of people without urgent medical conditions being refused access to Turkey.\textsuperscript{101}

The situation for many refugees inside the country is also dire. Turkey has built some 22 well-resourced refugee camps, accommodating over 220,000 refugees\textsuperscript{102} and provided them with food and access to essential services; however the camps are operating at full capacity,
which leaves the vast majority of Syrian refugees outside of the camps, and having to fend for themselves.

There is widespread destitution among Syrian refugees who live outside of the government-run refugee camps.\textsuperscript{103} Because they are denied legal access to the labour market, and because their essential needs are not being met by public agencies or civil society, in order to survive, Syrians must work irregularly.\textsuperscript{104} And although it appears that the Turkish authorities tend to turn a blind eye to this irregular work rather than prosecuting or punishing them, refugees from Syria are clearly vulnerable to exploitation at the hands of employers. Many Syrian refugees are unable to access their fundamental rights to housing, education and healthcare.

**JORDAN**

Over 600,000\textsuperscript{105} Syrian refugees are registered with UNHCR in Jordan with the majority living in urban communities. Refugees from Syria also reside in Jordan's five refugee camps,\textsuperscript{106} the largest of which (Za'atari camp) is home to over 80,000 people.\textsuperscript{107} As of April 2014 there were also over 13,000 Palestine refugees from Syria who had made themselves known to UNRWA in Jordan.\textsuperscript{108}

Since the start of the Syria crisis Jordan has made considerable efforts to accommodate the large number of refugees from Syria who have accessed Jordan despite the country's limited resources and the fact that the UN Humanitarian Appeal for Jordan is only 56% funded.\textsuperscript{109} The country's infrastructure has incurred significant strain following the increased demand for water, electricity, housing, schools, health care and food,\textsuperscript{110} which has contributed toward tension in host communities.\textsuperscript{111}

Whilst the government broadly maintained an open border policy for refugees from Syria, restrictions have increasingly been imposed to prevent more people from Syria entering Jordan. As of early 2013,\textsuperscript{112} Palestinian refugees from Syria were barred from entry; restrictions were also put in place in 2013 on the entry of Syrian refugees, prohibiting entry to unaccompanied men who are unable to prove family ties in Jordan, and those without identity documentation.\textsuperscript{113} As a result large numbers of Syrians and Palestinian refugees from Syria have been trapped near the border for significant periods of time, unable to access Jordan and unable to return home.\textsuperscript{114} In October 2014 it was reported that between 4-5,000 people from Syria were stranded in the no-man's land between the Syrian and Jordanian borders.\textsuperscript{115}

Amnesty International has also obtained information that suggests hundreds of refugees from Syria have been forcibly returned to Syria,\textsuperscript{116} including children.\textsuperscript{117} In October 2014, non-governmental organizations reported that between 45 and 80% of Syrian and Palestinian asylum seekers were returned from the Rabaa’ al-Sarhan Transit Centre without being able to register with UNHCR.\textsuperscript{118}

Refugees residing within camps have faced increasing difficulties in relocating to the surrounding communities. Whilst the policy of retaining the identification documents of those registered in the camps is being reformed to ensure that refugees are able to keep documents in their possession,\textsuperscript{119} camps continue to operate the ‘bail-out’ policy which is the only means through which refugees can leave camps and live in towns and cities legally and requires them to find a Jordanian guarantor who is a relative, willing to sponsor their exit.
Difficulties in obtaining such permits have left many Syrians vulnerable to exploitation in their quest to depart the camps,\(^{126}\) with some choosing to leave without the relevant paperwork at the risk of losing humanitarian assistance and being under threat of deportation.\(^{121}\)

A rise in housing costs, a lack of adequate and low cost accommodation\(^ {122}\) and difficulties in obtaining work permits\(^ {123}\) have contributed toward difficulties for refugees in meeting day-to-day needs. In some cases, this has been linked to high instances of child labour and early marriage.\(^ {124}\) Data from July 2014 showed that education dropout rates were particularly high among 15-24 year olds - partly owing to a requirement to support their families.\(^ {125}\) Palestinians from Syria are particularly disadvantaged given their irregular status and lack of residency papers which are unavailable following the government’s non-admittance policy for Palestinians brought into effect in 2012.\(^ {126}\) The UN has reported how most Palestinians from Syria in Jordan ‘live in poverty and their precarious legal status creates difficulties for civil processes, access to services and employment.’\(^ {127}\)

IRAQ

Over 200,000\(^ {128}\) refugees from Syria have settled in Iraq, the majority of whom reside in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) Access to Iraq for refugees from Syria has been hampered as a result of numerous developments, most notably the advances made by the IS into Iraq from the end of December 2013. Large swathes of the border areas between Syria and Iraq are currently under IS control.\(^ {129}\) The border between the semi-autonomous Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) and Syria has been closed on and off.\(^ {130}\) Even at the height of restriction, however, allowances have been made including for students, medical emergencies and family reunification.\(^ {131}\) Despite this 14,000 Syrians were able to enter the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) in October 2014 through the Ibrahim Khalil border crossing with Turkey, which remains open as of November 2014.\(^ {132}\) Some instances of forced return from the KRI have been reported, largely of Syrian Arabs who were escorted back to the border.\(^ {133}\)

Reports available from early 2014 show that refugees from Syria residing in the rest of Iraq were largely concentrated in Anbar province either in the Al-Obaidi camp, near Al-Qaim, or in the surrounding area.\(^ {134}\) In June 2014 the Al-Obaidi camp, which hosted over 1,500 people,\(^ {135}\) fell under IS control which meant that UN agencies and other NGOs had to leave the camp.\(^ {136}\) UNHCR reported that more than 60 families (300 people) left the camp and headed towards Syria, while some others went to Al Qaim town.\(^ {137}\) As a result it is difficult to know the current number of refugees from Syria still in the area.\(^ {138}\) As a result of the IS advance in Northern Iraq, in early August 2014 Gawilan refugee camp was temporarily evacuated with families starting to return after 24 August 2014.\(^ {139}\)

There are eight refugee camps across the KRI;\(^ {140}\) Duhok’s largest camp, Domiz, is home to over 50,000\(^ {141}\) refugees from Syria (a number significantly higher than the planned capacity of 38,135 people, leading to overcrowding).\(^ {142}\) Research has found that ‘refugees [from Syria] in camps are better off than those in non-camp settings, particularly with regards to access to food, education, registration and employment.’\(^ {143}\) This is in part due to the Kurdish Regional Government’s stipulation that humanitarian assistance should be concentrated in the camps.\(^ {144}\) Data from June and July 2014 showed that a large number of refugees from Syria living in host communities were accommodated in insecure or inadequate housing, including without tenancy agreements, on construction sites, and accommodation lacking
water, heating, adequate washing facilities and privacy.\textsuperscript{145}

The large influx of internally displaced persons into the KRI as a result of the IS advances into the Anbar and Mosul areas has contributed toward a strain on essential services. Trends have shown that a growing number of urban dwelling refugees are arriving at the camps as a result of the rise in living costs in some parts of the KRI.\textsuperscript{146} Many IDPs have found refuge in school buildings which has delayed the start of the school year.\textsuperscript{147}

In general the number of refugee children from Syria enrolled in education is low.\textsuperscript{148} Toward the end of the school year in 2014 the reported enrolment rate for primary education in the camps was 55\%, whilst secondary education enrolment was shockingly low at 1\%. Outside the camps only 22\% of school aged children were enrolled.\textsuperscript{149} Obstacles to education have been identified as a difference in curriculum, language barriers, difficulties in paying teacher’s salaries\textsuperscript{150} and a lack of space and resources for pupils.\textsuperscript{151}

Worryingly, the humanitarian response to Syrian refugees in Iraq is threatened by a funding shortfall of 68\%\textsuperscript{152} with potential consequences affecting registration, access to education, a reduction in food assistance, reduced access to healthcare, overcrowding of camps, absence of winterization assistance and limitation in cash assistance which will serve to diminish the situation for refugees from Syria.\textsuperscript{153}

EGYPT

As of November 2014 there were over 130,000 registered Syrian refugees in Egypt.\textsuperscript{154} However, the requirement for Syrians to obtain both a visa and security clearance before accessing Egypt as outlined in the July 2013 revision of Egypt’s entry requirements, has all but halted the arrival of refugees from Syria into Egypt.\textsuperscript{155}

Additionally, at least 6,000 Palestinian refugees from Syria are believed to be residing in Egypt.\textsuperscript{156} Unlike Syrian refugees, Palestinians are not allowed to register with UNHCR or UNRWA due to instructions by the Egyptian government.\textsuperscript{157} This leaves Palestinian refugees unable to enjoy international protection in Egypt and at risk of forcible return.\textsuperscript{158}

Shortfalls in the requested funding for the humanitarian response toward Syrian refugees in Egypt has placed significant strain on service provision,\textsuperscript{159} and by mid-October 2014, the gap was as wide as 45\%.\textsuperscript{160} Syrian refugees have also met with other challenges when accessing essential assistance. To its credit, the Egyptian government has committed to providing Syrian refugees with access to public health and education services; however overstretched classrooms, enrolment fees and the cost of secondary healthcare are just some of the barriers preventing many Syrians from benefitting from these services.\textsuperscript{161}

High rents and growing tension within host communities have also reduced the ability of refugees to meet their basic needs. Since the ousting of Mohamed Morsi in July 2013, the situation for refugees from Syria has severely deteriorated. In 2013 the United Nations reported a rise in landlord intolerance and job dismissal of Syrian workers,\textsuperscript{162} whilst Amnesty International has documented how refugees have been subjected to verbal attacks, threats and incitement of violence in the national media and by public figures, arbitrary arrests, unlawful detention and – in some cases – deportation to Syria.\textsuperscript{163}

Many refugees from Syria have attempted to irregularly depart Egypt via the dangerous crossing by boat from Egypt into Europe. This leaves them vulnerable to smugglers,\textsuperscript{164} and to arrest and detention by the Egyptian authorities. UNHCR has reported that more than 1,370 Syrians have been arrested for attempting to make the crossing since January 2014.\textsuperscript{165} In
general, according to figures available to Amnesty International, there were at least 150 Syrian refugees who were deported to Lebanon or Turkey since the beginning of 2014, and at least two Syrian men deported to Syria. The 150 Syrian refugees were held in detention and were coerced to relocate to Lebanon and Turkey or else stay in detention indefinitely.166
ENDNOTES

1 According to UNHCR, 1,132,601 Syrian refugees in Lebanon, data available at: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122 (accessed 3 November 2014). In addition, according to the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), there are 42,000 Palestinian refugees normally resident in Syria who have sought refuge in Lebanon, see www.unrwa.org/syria-crisis (accessed 3 November 2014)


8 This total figure is based on the following set of figures: UNHCR figure of 3,247,539 million refugees in the main host countries and North Africa as of 26 November 2014 – Turkey: 1,097,740; Lebanon: 1,132,914; Jordan: 618,615; Iraq: 225,373; Egypt 138,543 as well as 23,367 refugees in North Africa (source http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php (accessed 2 December 2014)); an additional 70,000 Palestinian refugees from Syria who have fled the country (source http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=122 (accessed 3 November 2014)); an adjustment of 500,000 refugees to take into account the Turkish government estimates of the number of Syrians who have fled the conflict and are in Turkey, as well as the 200,000 refugees who reached Turkey as a result of the attacks on Kobani (see for example Istanbul’un yeni ilcesi Suriye!, 1 August 2014, www.sacitaslan.com/istanbulun-yeni-ilcesi-suriye-haber-207392 (accessed 2 December 2014), and UNHCR, UNHCR airlifts urgent aid into Turkey to help refugees fleeing ISIS, 25 September 2014, available at: www.unhcr.org/54241de6f.html (accessed 27 October 2014); and 140,000 Syrians who sought asylum in the European Economic Area in the last three years (source: Eurostat); 5159 Syrians who sought asylum in Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea and the USA between January 2012 and June 2014 (source UNHCR Asylum Trends, First half 2014, available at: www.unhcr.org/5423f9699.html (accessed 21 November 2014); and 1,740 Syrians who sought asylum in Bahrain, Belarus, Brazil, Chile, Kuwait, Qatar and Russia in 2012 and 2013 (source: UNHCR Population Statistics database, available at: http://popstats.unhcr.org/PSQ_RSD.aspx).


11 Email from UNHCR, 7 October 2014.


20 Available at: http://syria.unocha.org/ (accessed 17 November 2014)

21 Available at: http://syria.unocha.org/ (accessed 17 November 2014)


23 Available at: http://syria.unocha.org/ (accessed 17 November 2014)

24 See for example, Amnesty International, Squeezing the life out of Yarmouk: War crimes against


33 For further information on the targeting of civil society activists, media and medical workers, see http://free-syrian-voices.org/

34 Data from Eurostat, based on the number of new Syrian asylum applications recorded in the 28 EU countries between November 2011 and October 2014, available at:


36 The preamble to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees states: “Considering that the grant of asylum may place unduly heavy burdens on certain countries, and that a satisfactory solution of a problem of which the United Nations has recognized the international scope and nature cannot therefore be achieved without international co-operation.” The importance of resettlement, a key aspect of burden and responsibility sharing, has been repeatedly emphasized by the Executive Committee of High Commissioner’s Programme (ExCom), the governing body of UNHCR; see UNHCR, A Thematic Compilation of Executive Committee Conclusions, pp. 471-478, available at: www.unhcr.org/53b26db69.html (accessed 3 November 2014).

37 UNHCR defines resettlement as: “Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them – as refugees – with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country.” Source: UNHCR Resettlement Handbook, available at: www.unhcr.org/46f7c0ee2.pdf (accessed 21 November 2014)


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In 2015, high income countries are those with a GNI per capita (using the World Bank Atlas method) of $12,746 or more. The World Bank’s list of high income countries can be found at http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-and-lending-groups (accessed 2 December 2014). EU countries not classified as high income are Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania.

There are 1,174,914 Syrian refugees in Lebanon (including Palestinians registered with UNRWA), equivalent to 26.29% of Lebanon’s population of 4,467,390. In the EU, 150,105 new asylum applications were received from Syrians in the three years to the end of October 2014, in addition EU member states offered 36,305 resettlement places; both numbers totalling 186,410, representing 0.037% of the EU’s population of 506,759,671. Calculation: 26.29/0.037 = 714.96.

Turkey hosts an estimated 1.6 million refugees, while 150,105 Syrians sought asylum in the EU in the three years to the end of October 2014. Calculation: 1,600,000 / 150,105 = 10.66.

The total number of new Syrian asylum applications received in the EU in the three years to the end of October 2014 is 150,105. Calculation: 96,500/150,105 = 64.3%.

The total number of resettlement places offered globally is 63,170. Calculation: 30,000/63,170 = 47%. The total number of resettlement places offered by the EU is 36,305. Calculation: 30,000/36,305 = 82.6%.

3 in Bahrain, 1 in Kuwait, 1 in Qatar, 0 in Oman and Saudi Arabia; no figures were available for the UAE. Source: UNHCR Population Statistics, available at: http://popstats.unhcr.org/ (accessed 2 December 2014)
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54 France has a population of 66,028,467 and Norway a population of 5,100,000. Calculation:
66,028,467/5,100,000 = 12.95%.


66 Human Rights Watch, Letter to Lebanese Officials Regarding Deportation of Syrians, 4 August 2012,
(accessed 24 November 2014), Human Rights Watch, Lebanon: Syrian Forcibly Returned to Syria, 7
(accessed 24 November 2014)

67 Human Rights Watch, Lebanon: Palestinians Barred, Sent to Syria, 6 May 2014, available at:
www.hrw.org/news/2014/05/05/lebanon-palestinians-barred-sent-syria (accessed 24 November 2014)

68 The United Nations, 2014 Syria Regional Response Plan- Lebanon, mid-year update, July 2014,

69 UNHCR, Lebanon Monthly Updates, September 2014, available at:


72 It was stated those who crossed through official border crossings, and those who crossed through unofficial borders but with identity documents would receive six month residency permits, however those who crossed through unofficial channels would receive a non-renewable residency permit. For Palestinian refugees from Syria, the renewed residency visa would cover three months. UNHCR, Protection Update, September 2014, available at: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=7484 (accessed 27 November 2014); Samya Kullab and Mohammed Zaataril, Refugees flock to General Security centers to legalize stay, The Daily Star Lebanon, 18 September 2014, available at:

73 UNHCR, Lebanon Monthly Updates, September 2014, available at:


A new report has found that Syrian refugees abandoned by the international community.


87 As of September UNHCR had only received 58% of the required funding for health in 2014. Funds are provided by donor countries and private donors, UNHCR, Lebanon Monthly Updates, September 2014, available at: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/download.php?id=7482 (accessed 24 November 2014)


95 Based on Turkish government estimates of 1.4 million Syrians who had fled the conflict and were in Turkey as of last summer, as well as the 200,000 refugees who reached Turkey as a result of the attacks on Kobani (see for example Istanbul’un yeni ilcesi Suriye!, 1 August 2014, available at: 

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100 Gaziantep interview, 23 July 2014.

101 Interviews in Suruç, late October 2014.


106 There are also 10 camps for Palestine refugees. See UNRWA www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/jordan/camp-profiles?field=13 (accessed 28 November 2014)


111 Amnesty International, *Growing Restrictions, Tough Conditions: The plight of those fleeing Syria to


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UNHCR and Reach, Comparative Analysis of Syrian Refugees Staying in and Outside Camps-


Left Out in the Cold:

Syrian refugees abandoned by the international community


(accessed 2 December 2014)


WHETHER IN A HIGH-PROFILE CONFLICT OR A FORGOTTEN CORNER OF THE GLOBE, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGNS FOR JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND DIGNITY FOR ALL AND SEeks TO GALvanize PUBLIC SUPPORT TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD

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LEFT OUT IN THE COLD
SYRIAN REFUGEES ABANDONED
BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The three-year-old conflict in Syria has created one of the worst humanitarian crises in recent history. So far, nearly half of the country’s population has been forced to leave their homes and 3.8 million of those fleeing have become refugees in neighbouring countries. The staggering scale of the refugee crisis has pushed the capacity of the main host countries to the limit. The response of the international community has been wholly inadequate relative to the magnitude of the displacement. The international community should take immediate steps to alleviate the suffering of refugees and the pressure on host countries by resettling 380,000 people – 10% of the current refugee population – by the end of 2016.